

WORKERS' AGE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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Hail 15 Years of Russian Revolution!

MOONEY EXPOSE IS MADE PUBLIC

Suppressed Report Now Published In Book

A sensational exposure of what American capitalist class "justice" really is, is contained in the suppressed report of the Wickersham Commission on the Mooney-Billings case. This report, made by a committee of distinguished jurists, was refused publication by the government, altho all other sections of the report were made public. It is now published by a private concern, Gotham House, 66 Fifth Avenue, largely thru the efforts of Senator Burton K. Wheeler. The report emphasizes that Mooney and Billings, the two Californian labor leaders serving life terms on a bomb plot frame-up, were "tried unfairly" and that the prosecution included instances of "flagrant violations of the statutory law of California."

The following are the main conclusions of the report: "(1) never any scientific attempt by either the police or the prosecution to discover the perpetrators of the crime . . . The police investigation was reduced to a hunt for evidence to (Continued on page 2)

DEPORTED FOR COMMUNISM!

CHICAGO.—The United States Circuit Court of Appeals ruled, on October 19, that membership in the Communist Party or in an organization "connected with" it, is sufficient grounds for the deportation of a foreign-born resident of this country! The case was that of Niels Kjar, a Danish worker resident in this country for ten years. Because of his activities in the unemployed movement, Kjar was arrested a year ago on a warrant issued by Secretary of Labor Doak and ordered deported. The decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals has now confirmed the action of the labor-hating Secretary of Labor.

The ruling of the United States District Court of Appeals is a practical illegalization of the Communist Party as far as the foreign-born workers of this country are concerned! Deportation for merely being "associated with" the Communist movement! But the blow struck at the Communists is a blow at the whole labor movement, at whatever rights and liberties the workers still have. Every militant striker, every champion of the cause of the unemployed, is in danger—today if he is foreign-born, tomorrow even if he is a native-born or naturalized citizen! All labor must unite to beat back the attempts to illegalize a working class organization and to victimize militant workers!

Forward in Struggle for Emancipation!

FIFTEEN YEARS AGO THE RUSSIAN WORKERS AND FARMERS OVERTHREW THEIR MASTERS AND ESTABLISHED A WORKERS STATE; TODAY THE WHOLE WORLD IS IN DEEP CRISIS BUT IN U. S. S. R. A NEW FREE LIFE IS FLOURISHING!

FIFTEEN years ago, in November 1917, the Russian workers and farmers arose in their might and took their fate and their future into their own hands. To us in this country today, weighed down as we are by the crushing burdens of unemployment, low wages, government oppression, desperate misery and mass starvation, the fine flowers of the capitalist system in the throes of decay, what happened in Russian fifteen years ago and what has been happening ever since are of utmost significance—something we should all think about and think about very seriously!

Fifteen years ago, the masses of the Russian people, awakened at last to their true interests, shook off the oppressors from their backs, the degenerate Czar and his court, the rotten landowning aristocracy, the exploiting capitalists. Brushing away the whole mess of old rubbish with the iron broom of revolution, they set up their own government, a government of, by and for the workers and farmers, a government guaranteeing the broadest and most effective democracy of the toilers thru the form of workers councils (soviets). Immediately the wolves of world capitalism jumped at the throat of the young workers republic. Imperialist intervention and blockade from the outside, sabotage and counter-revolutionary attempts at restoration from the inside, the Russian workers and farmers beat these and greatly strengthened their revolutionary power. Against almost insuperable obstacles, they emerged triumphant.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, under the guidance of Lenin, the Soviet masses then attacked the problem of reconstructing their economic machinery as a preparation for a direct socialist drive to build up a new society. These were the years of the "New Economic Policy", when all the faint-hearts and enemies, open and disguised, shouted about "going back to capitalism." Having steadfastly accomplished its purpose, the Soviet working class forged ahead. In the face of really incredible difficulties within the Soviet Union and without, the gigantic Five-Year Plan, which has won unwilling admiration from even the bitterest enemies of the Soviet power, is being accomplished in a little over four years. Backward Russia is today an advanced

industrial country—in less than five years. Almost all industry and a good section of agriculture are today collectively owned and collectively operated. At last the socialist goal is in sight, the goal towards which hundreds of great thinkers and millions of working men the world over have striven for generations. Already before us is the new society without capitalists, without exploitation, without classes, without unemployment, without poverty, without misery, a society that plans its own life in the interests of the people, a society in which the liberty and free development of each is guaranteed by the liberty and free development of all!

The Soviet Union demonstrates to us that the murderous system is not "everlasting", as Franklin D. Roosevelt, self-styled "progressive", tries to tell us. It shows us that the workers can find a way out of the blind-alley of war and starvation into which mankind has been led by the capitalist powers-that-be. It shows us that the workers can find this way out thru their own united efforts by settling accounts with the capitalist system and striking out to build their own future. The Soviet Union has shown us the real form of working class rule, a democracy for the masses a thousand times more democratic than ever seen before, an iron dictatorship against the enemies of the workers and farmers. The Soviet Union is the inexhaustible source of inspiration and instruction for the toilers in mine, mill, factory, and farm, for the scores of millions of colonial slaves, for all the dispossessed, oppressed and exploited!

The capitalists the world over realize quite well that the Soviet Union is a dagger aimed at their very heart, a bone in their throat. They have never given up their hope of a successful assault upon the workers republic and of a restoration of the power of the capitalists. Especially now, under pressure of the economic crisis, is there a strong feeling among the imperialists that the way out for them is by converting the Soviet Union into a colony and the Soviet masses into colonial slaves. We all saw a few months ago how close to war against the U. S. S. R. was Japan, backed up by other big powers. Today, the Soviet Union is in very great danger. The enmity of the great robber powers (Continued on page 2)



THE FATEFUL RACE!

The Soviet world is building up a new socialist society—The capitalist world is rushing headlong into another world war—Which will win?—It is up to the workers of the world to help decide!

POLICE ATTACK HUNGER MARCH

Big Battle As Jobless Protest "Means Test"

London, England. For more than three hours, on November 1, the fully mobilized police of the metropolis of the British Empire battled with the thousands of Hunger Marchers and their sympathizers in order to prevent the latter from getting a hearing for their demands in parliament. About five thousand jobless had converged on London the week before in a Hunger March under the auspices of the National Unemployed Workers Movement (N.U.W.M.), supported by the Communist Party and by a large number of unions and local Labor party branches. The chief demand in the program of the unemployed was the abolition of the hated "Means Test," according to which the jobless have to "prove" that they are without means before they can get relief. The operation of the "Means Test" has deprived any relief and humiliated hundreds of thousands more. Thruout their route, the marchers received demonstrations of the sympathy of the English working people. In London, about 50,000 workers turned out to cheer them and demonstrate along with them. The MacDonald "National"-Tory government immediately mobilized its forces of repression and called in (Continued on page 2)

20% CHILDREN IN CITY STARVING

More than 20% of New York City's school children are suffering from malnutrition, that is, from the effects of starvation and bad food, according to the report of the Health Department submitted to the Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee. Of the 111,160 school children examined in the first quarter of the year, 22,748 or 20.5%, were undernourished. This was an increase of 3% over 1931 and more than 7% higher than in 1929. On the same day Dr. C. C. Carstens, executive director of the Child Welfare League of America, made public that the number of children placed in institutions thruout the country has increased 48% since July 1930. A more than 60% increase in evictions in New York City for September 1932 as compared with September 1931, was reported by Frank J. Taylor, Public Welfare Commissioner. These evictions hit primarily the unemployed and their families, of whom there are 985,034 in the city, in 391,670 families, according to the report of Mayor McKee based upon a police census. It is generally recognized that this report greatly underestimates the actual amount of unemployment in the city.

J. B. Matthews On Nov. 13, 228-2nd Av. "Russia in 1932" 8 p. m.

The News in Brief

AT HOME :: ABROAD

O'BRIEN THREATENS WAR ON LABOR

NEW YORK CITY.—A bitter war against radicalism and labor militancy was threatened by John P. O'Brien, Democratic candidate for Mayor, on November 1 in an address before a group of publishers at Hotel Astor. The police department, he said, would see to it that this "army of radicalism" would be "crushed".

GRAIN PRICES FALL TO NEW LOWS

CHICAGO.—Grain prices dropped, on October 26, to lower levels on record. Even lower than in 1896, corn, wheat and oats were priced in Illinois, Iowa and the South-West at less than half the freight rates required to get them to Chicago, at one-fourth of the bare cost of getting them to an export market. Wheat prices in Kansas dropped to 20¢ a bushel, the lowest on record and representing about one-fourth of production cost. In Canada wheat is being sold for \$9 a ton, while the prevailing price of sawdust is \$10 a ton.

And all the while that wheat is cheaper than sawdust millions are starving because they have no bread!

PLAN 3 NEW MARCHES ON WASHINGTON, D. C.

WASHINGTON.—Three new marches upon Washington are being planned for the coming winter. The Unemployed Council, a Communist Party-controlled organization, is planning a new Hunger March to arrive at Washington on December 6, the day upon which Congress will convene. On December 7, a large delegation of farmers will arrive for a meeting for the Farmers National Relief Conference. Another march is being undertaken by unemployed seamen, but the date and details are not yet public.

SEC. DOAK IS EXPOSED AS BRIBER BY LAWYER

WASHINGTON.—Charges that Secretary of Labor Doak tried to bribe Donald R. Richberg, attorney for the standard railway labor unions, with the promise of a Federal judgeship in order to get the lawyer to agree to kill the anti-union bill before Congress last Winter, were made both by Mr. Richberg and by Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska. Doak has met these charges with nothing but abuse.

SUSPEND 11 FROM C.C.N.Y. FOR PROTEST

New York City.—Eleven students of the College of the City of New York were suspended and the threat of wholesale expulsions made in an attempt on the part of the college authorities, headed by President Robinson, to suppress by means of a reign of terror the strongest protest of the student body against the dismissal of Dr. Oakley Johnson, a teacher of English, because of his sympathy for Communism.

CHICAGO.—About 15,000 jobless marched here on October 31 thru the Loop and then congregated in Grant Park as a demonstration to back up the set of demands presented to Mayor Cermak. The demonstration had been organized by the Unemployed Council, a Communist organization, in collaboration with a Socialist unemployed organization.

BALTIMORE, Md.—Over 125 striking armament workers, 118 of them women, were arrested on October 27 for activity in picketing struck shops in this city.

SOVIETS RAISE WAGES FOR MECHANICS

MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.—The Council of People's Commissars, on October 24, raised the wages of tractor mechanics by an average of 45%, with a premium of 10% for the first year's work on one job, 15% for the second year and 20% for the third year. These measures are taken not only as part of the systematic plan to raise labor standards but also in order to help in the harvesting and counteract the large labor turnover.

TORIES BREAK U. S. R. TRADE TREATY

LONDON.—The breaking of the Anglo-Soviet trade treaty by the National-Tory government of Great Britain was announced here on October 18, when J. H. Thomas, former Laborite and now Dominions Minister, declared that this step was being taken in order to carry out the agreements reached at the recent Ottawa Empire Conference. Opposition to this economic attack on the Soviet Union was voiced by the Laborites, the Samuel Liberal group and by the Lloyd George family.

The Moscow newspaper "Izvestiya" declared in its issue of October 21, on the occasion of the breaking of the treaty, that the British government to prevent Canada's further rapprochement with the United States.

ARMAMENT RACE GROWS AMONG POWERS

WASHINGTON.—An official statement that the United States navy would be "greatly enlarged", should the "disarmament conference" fail, as it is certain to do, was issued by President Hoover on October 26, on the occasion of Navy Day. The strategy of the United States, like that of every other imperialist power is: first to make impossible anything but failure at the "disarmament conference" (by rejecting the Soviet proposals for real disarmament), and then to use this failure as an excuse for further armament. Two days later Premier Herriot of France announced that he would propose at the next meeting of the "disarmament conference" the "substitution of national militias by all European countries for regular armies", an obvious scheme to increase the armed forces of France.

JAPAN COMMUNISTS GET LONG PRISON TERMS

TOKYO.—Seventeen Communists sympathizers, the last of 185 revolutionists arrested in the 1928 raids, were sentenced, on October 29, to heavy terms of imprisonment. Four leaders were sentenced to life imprisonment; two got fifteen years; one, twelve years; eight, ten years; one, two years.

OUST COMMUNISTS FROM BULGAR PARLIAMENT

SOFIA, Bulgaria.—All Communist deputies were forcibly ejected, on October 28, from Parliament after they shouted: "Down with the Fascist government!", upon the appearance of King Boris, who heads the murderous regime that has the country by the throat. The Communists are gaining very rapidly among the masses in both city and country. In the recent municipal elections in this city, the Communist Party emerged the strongest party.

MANCHESTER.—Nearly 200,000 cotton spinning operatives went on a general strike on November 1 in protest against a new wage-cut.

MANILA, P. I.—The sedition sentences against thirty Communists were affirmed on October 26 by the Philippine Supreme Court. The American Civil Liberties Union aided in their defense in lower courts.

EXPULLED AS A SPY

Paris, France.

A tremendous sensation in all labor circles was produced recently by the official announcement of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France that R. Celor has been expelled from the C. P. F. as a spy! R. Celor is no ordinary party member. He was a member of the Central Committee, a member of the Political Bureau, a member of the District Committee of the Paris district, and District Organizer of this district! He had been in the front ranks in fighting the Communist Opposition which led to the expulsion of the whole C. P. of Alsace in 1925, this pillar of the official course of the C. P. F., this "renegade" eater, has been in the service of the French police!

MOONEY EXPOSURE IS PUBLISHED

(Continued from page 1) convict the arrested defendants, (2) There were flagrant violations of the statutory law of California by both the police and the prosecution. . . (3) Immediately after the arrests of the defendants there commenced a deliberate attempt (by the prosecuting officials) to arouse public prejudice against them. . . (4) The "identification" of the witnesses were accepted despite the fact that these witnesses were never required to pick the defendants out of a line-up, or to demonstrate their accuracy by any other test, (5) . . . Witnesses were produced at the trials with information that was in violation of the demand of the local to demand unemployment insurance of Hillman, not to mention his conduct at the meeting of the kneepants makers in Clinton Hall where his actions helped in bringing about the election of the Hillman clique. . . situation is shown by the fact that Levin, who was a boss in Chicago six years ago, is now a party member and in charge of the Rank and File Committee in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The actions of Fliani, Dickstein and Rosenstock were bad enough, but I cannot understand how the District Control Commission has permitted this situation to go on for two months after having had definite charges brought before it. I must protest against this bureaucratic and impermissible method of conducting party work. I have been denied a hearing that I requested on a matter that seriously involves the prestige of the Communist Party and the work of the left wing in the A.C.W.A. Not only has the most elementary rights of the party democracy been violated, but a situation is permitted to exist which undermines our work in the A.C.W.A. In 1929 I joined with the comrades of the Communist Party (Opposition) in their struggle against the false line and wrong methods of the party, but in 1931 I felt that I could more effectively fight to correct the wrong policies of the party within the party, by rejoining the official party. I was immediately entrusted with most responsible work by being

HAIL THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY OF REVOLUTION!

(Continued from page 1) towards the one working class land is growing ever more acute and the menace of armed attack ever nearer. The overthrow of the workers government in the U. S. S. R. would be a disaster, a body blow to the workers and farmers of the whole world; it would usher in a wave of the blackest reaction and would set back the labor movement for decades. It is to our immediate interest as American workers to stand by the Soviet Union and defend it against all capitalist attacks!

The United States today remains the one great power in the world that has not yet established regular diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. This is a great obstacle to the Soviet Union, economically and politically; it is a great obstacle to the growth of Soviet-American trade, which would be a big help in view of the unemployment crisis in this country. We American workers and farmers must demand and fight for the recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States government!

In the Party

I Learn from Experience!

District Control Commission, New York District, C.P.U.S.A. Dear Comrades:

A very serious situation faces the left wing group in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Actions have been taken by party comrades and left wing workers which discredit the left wing and tend to demoralize our forces in the Rank and File Committee.

It is already over two months that I brought the critical situation in Local 19 of the A. C. W. of A. to the attention of the District Control Commission. In my charges against Comrade Fliani (his support of Dickstein's betrayal of the left wing and working with the reactionary forces of the union) and against Comrade Rosenstock who had supported the right wing grafters and reactionaries, I gave detailed, concrete evidence of their activities and how that was hurting our work in building up the left wing.

I do not think it is necessary for me to repeat how Rosenstock voted to acquit the grafter, Abe Dun; how he nominated the reactionary M. Abramson; how he campaigned for one of the reactionary right wing cliques in the last election for the Trade Board. Nor is it necessary for me to repeat how Comrade Fliani has refused to take any action against Dickstein after the latter had cooperated with Hillman in calling off a mass meeting called over the head of Hillman, after Dickstein had refused to go with a committee of the local to demand unemployment insurance of Hillman, not to mention his conduct at the meeting of the kneepants makers in Clinton Hall where his actions helped in bringing about the election of the Hillman clique.

The rotten situation is shown by the fact that Levin, who was a boss in Chicago six years ago, is now a party member and in charge of the Rank and File Committee in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

The actions of Fliani, Dickstein and Rosenstock were bad enough, but I cannot understand how the District Control Commission has permitted this situation to go on for two months after having had definite charges brought before it. I must protest against this bureaucratic and impermissible method of conducting party work. I have been denied a hearing that I requested on a matter that seriously involves the prestige of the Communist Party and the work of the left wing in the A.C.W.A. Not only has the most elementary rights of the party democracy been violated, but a situation is permitted to exist which undermines our work in the A.C.W.A. In 1929 I joined with the comrades of the Communist Party (Opposition) in their struggle against the false line and wrong methods of the party, but in 1931 I felt that I could more effectively fight to correct the wrong policies of the party within the party, by rejoining the official party. I was immediately entrusted with most responsible work by being

made secretary of the left wing group in Local 19. Before I became secretary there was no left wing group in Local 19 in contrast to the group and strength we now have. I have carried on my task and duties in a responsible and loyal manner; in fact, I have incurred the hatred of the reactionary manager of the union, Jimmy Massimo, because of my Communist and left wing activities. I was a member of the party when it was illegal and underground. For 27 years I have been a member of the American labor movement, of the U. G. W. and the A. C. W. of A. I thought that it would be possible for a rank and file member of the party to point out shortcomings and supporting the struggle against such serious nature. But I see it is impossible. Discussion is not allowed; criticism is not permitted. The leadership refuses even to discuss or consider the charges. Fliani, who has been guilty of gross neglect of duty in tolerating and supporting Dickstein's treacherous actions, informs me that the Party does not recognize me anymore, does not trust me. Instead of calling betrayers to account, devoted, active, loyal comrades are disregarded and punished.

LOUIS STUENITZ

ENGLISH WORKER IN BIG HUNGER MARCH

(Continued from page 1) to action the entire police, especially the notorious "emergency police," which had made such a scab by record for itself in the great General Strike of 1912. Brutal attacks were launched on the jobless demonstrations, especially at the tremendous meetings in Hyde Park and Trafalgar Square. On the eve of the day upon which the Hunger Marchers announced their intention of marching to parliament and presenting their demands, W. A. L. Hamington, head of the movement, and other leaders were arrested on the charge of sedition, and the offices of N.U.W.M. raided and destroyed. The authorities hoped that by depriving the movement of its leaders, they could easily disperse it but the three-hour battle on November 1 showed their mistake.

While not as broad or as deeply rooted as the unemployed movement of some years ago, the present Hunger March represents a significant action of British labor. It was the recent partial turn of the British Communist Party away from its sectarianism towards more realistic and effective tactics, that made the movement possible.

The world today is divided into two parts. Five-sixths are under the dominion of capital: everywhere the blight of the severest crisis in world history, factories closed down, scores of millions of workers jobless, farmers completely bankrupt, lower middle class people desperately impoverished, oppression, chaos, ruin, disaster. . . One-sixth is under Soviet rule; everywhere the dawn of the new society rising from the wreckage of the old, unprecedented industrial progress, gigantic factories being opened up, no unemployment, constant material and cultural advance, freedom, planfulness, confidence, hope. . . .

Mankind today is at the cross-roads: it is either the way of the Soviet Union or else the steep decline to barbarism! We must choose! Forward in the way of the Soviet Union! For the defense of the Soviet Union! For the recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States government! Into the class struggle of the workers against the capitalists, for freedom, for bread, for a world fit to live in! Forward to Soviet America!

PAPEN IN DRIVE AGAINST LABOR

Decrees Against Unions And Press Bans

Berlin, Germany. As the Nov. 6 Reichstag elections approach, the von Papen regime, in its determined effort to convince the decisive circles of trust capital that it can be relied upon to defend against further their interests even more efficiently than the Nazis, is launching into a campaign of the most brutal terror against the labor movement in all its tendencies. The provisions of the recent economic decrees making the trade unions legally and financially responsible in case of strikes against wage-cuts, are being applied to the full. A number of local struggles have already been crushed: nevertheless, the resistance movement is spreading all over the country. A new wave of suppression of labor papers has begun. The responsible editors of the German Communist Opposition paper "Arbeitertribune" have been arrested and charged with treason. This follows the recent suppression of the Opposition central organ, "Arbeiterpolitik". Communist Party papers are being declared illegal in increasing numbers.

The Social-democratic party is dodging all responsibility of leadership in the resistance of the masses to the von Papen regime by concentrating all attention upon the Reichstag elections under the slogan: "Election day is the day of reckoning!" While the Social-democratic leaders are prating in this manner, it is becoming increasingly clear that the real field of battle is not the Reichstag elections, but mass struggle against the von Papen dictatorship, that the decisive social forces are not in the Reichstag but altogether outside of it, in the Reichswehr, in the Nazi Storm Troops, in the trade unions and labor organiza-

tion.

Wheat Cheaper than Sawdust - Millions Starve

The historic gibe that hungry people eat sawdust or grass has become a tragic truth. The American farmer is at the present time receiving less for a ton of wheat than he could get for a ton of sawdust. The sensational figures of farm prices just issued show wheat at the low ebb of \$9 a ton (to the farmer) while sawdust is selling for \$10 a ton.

This is a bitter mockery, not only to the farmer who produces the wheat but above all to the millions of unemployed workers in this country and throughout the world. The farmer is offered such a low price for his products that it is cheaper for him to destroy them, while the price of these same products to the consumer is made so high as to place them beyond the reach of the unemployed and the poor people of the cities.

At the same time that the farmer's price for wheat has fallen to about one-tenth of the level of several years ago, the price of bread has hardly decreased. When the ton of wheat sold by the farmer is converted into bread, its selling price becomes about \$140 per ton (7c per pound). Between what the worker pays for his bread and what the farmer receives for his wheat there is a difference of \$131.00 per ton! Who gets this difference?

The railroad gets a substantial slice. To transport a ton of wheat from the wheat belt to Chicago costs approximately \$20.00. That is, the railroad, for merely carrying the wheat several hundred miles, gets a share of the selling price twice as great as the total share of the farmer for producing it: for his labor, for his investment, for the labor of his family, for his risk, and trouble and hardship. In between the farmer, who

produces the wheat, and the worker who consumes it, there stand the united blood-suckers—the railroads, grain trusts, speculators, baking trusts and chain stores. This enormous apparatus, backed by the government and the system of capitalist law, is the medium for robbing the workers at one end and the farmer at the other. And in the same manner, the products which the worker produces and the farmer consumes undergo a like financial transformation. Both the worker and the farmer are robbed of the fruit of their toil, which pours into the pockets of the rich.

The present situation should serve to expose all the capitalist myths about the rewards of industry, initiative and efficiency. In earlier days, before the present advanced state of civilization had been reached, bad harvests brought famine which good harvests meant days of plenty. But today the better the harvest, the more certain the famine, brought about by low prices to the farmer and unemployment for the worker.

Today, the more a worker produces, the sooner he is thrown out of a job. The more a farmer produces, the sooner he is thrown into bankruptcy. The unemployed worker in the cities is starving because he has no food. The farmer is being thrown into bankruptcy because he has produced a superabundance of food which is not worth his while to sell! The corporations standing between the worker and the farmer prevent this superabundance of production by worker and farmer from benefiting either. Thus capitalism destroys initiative. It destroys productivity. It makes efficiency a bane instead of a blessing. Today, farmers are

America's "Forgotten Children"

300,000 Boys And Girls Are Wandering Over Country Without Food Or Shelter, But No Government Relief Or Jobless Insurance—That Would Be Destroying "Rugged Individualism" And "American Spirit!"

For years the enemies of the Soviet Union used to point with glee to the "bezniproni," the homeless children, who roamed the country as a result of years of devastation caused by imperialist war and capitalist intervention, as a result of the destruction of their homes and the shooting of their families. The propagandists of the bosses claimed that this was the result of the "failure of the socialism," that Bolshevism means the "destruction of the home," and that "socialism cannot, in a period of only four years after the cessation of the intervention and the civil wars, be able to completely solve the problem and to put the homeless youth into schools and into productive industry.

There are no homeless children in the Soviet Union, just as there is no unemployment. On the other hand, in the United States we see, as a result of the crisis and because of the policy of the government, whether city, state or nation, in rejecting unemployment relief, in a period of only four years after the cessation of the intervention and the civil wars, was able to completely solve the problem and to put the homeless youth into schools and into productive industry.

The children's bureau of the Department of Labor advised some weeks ago that 200,000 boys and girls have been converted into homeless tramps, vagrants and beggars. The "New York Times" estimates the number at 300,000. In an article in the September "Survey Graphic" entitled "An Army of Boys on the Loose," A. M. Ladd, Director of the Bureau of Child Welfare, writes of the "Social-democratic tactics, coupled with the sectarian opposition of the official Communist Party to any united front of labor, are paralyzing the power of the working class to beat back the onrush of Fascism.

Wayne McMillen discloses the vast extent of acute misery existing amongst these migrating unemployed youths.

Hundreds of thousands of young workers have been driven by capitalism which is "everlasting," according to the Democratic nominee, (Roosevelt) into a homeless, wandering, wild and wretched existence. Destitute, they suffer untold miseries because of their "crime"—being unemployed. For example, in one town alone, Phoenix, Arizona, thirty-five young men and boys were taken from the box cars last winter seriously ill, many in an acute stage of pneumonia. There are some who, like the unidentified youth in Ogden, Utah, was discovered by railroad police last winter frozen to death in a box car.

The migration of homeless youth last winter was concentrated in certain sections of the country: Florida, the Gulf States, the South-West and California. However, these youths were certainly not confined to those states only nor do they, for the most part, come from the cities. In fact, New York State provided more than 100,000 boys going thru Los Angeles last winter than any other state.

Unemployment and starvation in the homes of the workers have driven these children out on the highways of the country. In many cases the families are completely broken up. In others, the boys leave home, rather than being a burden on the family, taking food out of the mouths of their hungry brothers and sisters and parents. McMillen writes of a seventeen year old boy from East Liverpool, Ohio, who had left home because, "his father had been allowed only \$3.30 a week for food. Recently even

A Lesson from Engels

To those "Socialists" who justify their counter-revolutionary opposition to the Soviet Union by references to economic difficulties as proving the "unripeness" of the U.S.S.R. for socialism, to those who drag out every report of commodity shortage or failure to reach plan figures as sufficient proof of the incorrectness of the general line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in economic construction, we recommend the following passages from Engels' introduction to Marx's "Wage-Labor and Capital":

"A new social order is possible, wherein the class differences of today will have disappeared and wherein—perhaps after a short transition period of materially difficult circumstances, but morally of great value—thru the systematic use and development of the enormous productive forces already in existence (with equal obligation upon all to work), the means of life, of enjoying life and of developing all the physical and mental capabilities, will be at the equal disposal of all in ever-increasing fulness."

trying to devise means of burning their corn and wheat, instead of coal. Milk is being split into rivets. Coffee is being made into coal briquets, vegetables are dumped into the sea—while millions starve.

This is the marvellous system which Hoover, Roosevelt and their masters, the capitalists, are upholding as "eternal and everlasting!" It is this system, the capitalist system, which creates all the misfortune from which workers, farmers and other toilers suffer. Their suffering can be abolished only thru the abolition of the system which gives birth to these evils.

CANADA LABOR FOR JOB RELIEF

Unemployed Insurance Is Asked By Delegation

TORONTO, Canada.—A limit of 25 was placed upon the size of the delegation which visited Premier George Henry in Toronto on October 18, 1932. Backed by more than sixty workers organizations from both the city and its outskirts, the delegation sought unemployment insurance in place of the miserly scales of relief recommended by the Ontario government advisory committee.

The Premier had an unhappy time of it for a couple of hours. He clashed with W. Moriarty, chairman of the delegation, when Moriarty declared that the capitalist system would have to be replaced by a socialist system. Henry declared it to be an academic question as to whether one system was preferable to another. He was told that the existing academic about the existence of three-quarters of a million unemployed in Canada. Other speakers were Arthur Hawkes, Reverend A. H. Ferry, Mrs. E. Morton and Maurice Spector.

Psychic Baseball

From playing baseball to watching hired teams play it. From watching to listening to hired watchers who see the game for you and report it over the radio or in the press. And now comes "psychic baseball", a "mental form of the national pastime", played with cards!

This development is in line with psychic unemployment relief, psychic participation in government and psychic food, clothing and shelter for the unemployed. The world is getting more spiritual every day!

Bankers Refuse Relief Money; Graft Budget Is Passed

New York City. The stranglehold that the big bankers have over the financial life of this city was again shown on October 31 when they announced at the executive session of the Board of Estimate that they would refuse to advance to the city the \$2,000,000 absolutely essential to cover the most meager relief program for the winter. Beyond November, for which the Board of Estimate voted \$3,000,000, which, with accruals, will amount to the necessary \$5,000,000, there are no funds for winter relief and the hundreds of thousands of jobless and their families in this city are facing the prospect of the complete collapse of relief machinery!

The bankers, represented by Charles E. Mitchell of the National City Bank and Winthrop W. Aldrich of the Chase National Bank, declared that the question of relief "could not be considered apart from the general financial problem of the city." They demanded a program of "economy" as a condition for their financial assistance. By economy they made it quite clear they meant cutting down relief, wage-cuts for municipal employees and the scrapping of the five-cent fare. On the eve of the elections Tammany was not ready to grant any of these demands and so the bankers remained obdurate. What will happen after the elections when the question of votes will not be so immediate or pressing, is quite another story!

The Tammany Budget Scandal The budget adopted by the Tammany Board of Estimate is one of the shameful pieces of political graft yet seen in the city. Tammany has gone "economical" and so the allowances for education, hospitals, care of handicapped children, sanitation and other so-

cial services were sharply cut. But nothing whatsoever was done to pare down the fat salaries of Tammany henchmen who are on the city payroll and do nothing but collect their pay. Nothing whatever was done to get rid of the swarm of parasites who fatten on the city's money. Tammany can consider cutting wages of civil service employees but these leeches are sacred—or else how could Tammany maintain its political machine?

Acting on newspaper announcements that there would be an open hearing on the budget and especially on questions of relief, the New York Association of the Unemployed, as well as a number of other organizations, sent a delegation to the sessions of October 31. But no attempt was even made by Acting Mayor McKee and his henchmen to go thru the formalities of an open hearing. The budget was rushed thru the board session without giving the slightest opportunity to any of the organizations represented or individuals present to say a word. The bankers, of course, had had their say previously!

After Elections—What?

Once the elections are over, there can be no doubt that Tammany will reach an agreement with the bankers on the budget and city financing—an agreement at the expense of the unemployed and their families, of the workers and other poor people of the city—an agreement that will slash relief, cut wages, pare down education and social services and raise the subway fare. The coming winter will be a terrible one for the masses of the people of this city; it is still not too late to organize the fight!

"I Am Alarmed at the Party's Isolation . . . !"

A sensation has been created in informed circles in the Communist International by the recent events in the Communist Party of Great Britain. The attempt to put over the "three-quarters turn," a partial return to Leninist trade union tactics (on which we commented in the "Age" more than once), immediately aroused the resistance of a group of disaffected ultra-leftists in the C. P. G. B., headed by R. Palme Dutt. These comrades, who at least had the courage of their sectarian convictions, immediately raised the cry that the "new turn" was "opportunistic" and constituted a repudiation of the whole system of tactics of the Comintern for the last four years. The voices of Dutt and others have found a strong echo in the ranks of the party membership which has been desperately confused by the ultra-leftist nightingale of recent times. The party leaders now find themselves on the defensive and in trying to bring a little sense into their tactics, they are forced to resort to the well known arguments of the Communist Opposition. It is only necessary to add that the British Trotskyites (the "Balham group") have taken a position even more sectarian than Dutt and are attacking the C. P. G. B. as "opportunistic."

We are very glad to publish below the most important sections of an article by one of the whole London "Daily Worker" of September 26. Only considerations of space prevent us from publishing it as a whole. Aside from a formal bow in the direction of the "social-fascism," Comrade Pollitt's article is fundamentally sound and emphatically in place. Only Comrade Pollitt should direct his criticisms not merely to Dutt and his friends but to the leadership of the Comintern, and especially to Comrade Losovsky, the head of the Red International of Labor Unions. In the "R. I. L. U. Magazine" of February 1932 Losovsky declared: "That we want to break up the reformist trade unions, that we want to weaken them, that we want to explode the trade union apparatus and to destroy it, that there cannot be the slightest doubt!" It should be remembered that Harry Pollitt was one of the Comintern representatives who helped to put over the ultra-left course in the American party in March, 1929.—Editor.

What is the problem our party is faced with? That of winning the majority of the working class to carry thru a revolution in England. That is impossible unless we can win the organized trade unionists who have proved themselves the most keen and disciplined fighting section of the working class. These millions are trade unionists because they want to be organized. The fact that, in spite of the long record of betrayals and treachery of the union leaders, millions retain their membership of these unions at considerable weekly financial sacrifice, is the indication to me, at any rate, that they look upon these trade unions as something entirely different from the conception Communists generally hold. The steadily increasing number of economic struggles, their bitter character, all carried thru against the will of the trade union leadership, the growing independence of the trade union branches and district committees, the deep-seated

For a Return to Leninist Union Tactics!

by Harry Pollitt

loyalty to the principles of trade union organization that is revealed scores of times a week in factories, union branches and strikes, is, in my opinion, the clear warning signal to our party for a speedy and decisive turn in its revolutionary work in the reformist unions and in the approach to carrying out this turn.

The Party As Anti-Unionist
What I hope I have succeeded in doing is to assure some members that the destruction of the power and influence of the reformist leadership is the chief task inside the unions and that this cannot be done without building up a powerful movement of militant workers, carrying out the line of the Minority Movement.

But what is the present position? Simply that our party, in the eyes of the very workers we have to win if we mean to become a mass party, is anti-trade union and anti-unionist.

The policy of the trade union leaders is a policy of social-fascism, but that is a vastly different thing from labelling the whole of the trade unionists social-fascists, which I am afraid is the general tendency of the reformist leadership. The policy of the leaders is to make the union machine a part of the apparatus of capitalist exploit-

ation. But it is precisely against that policy that the trade unionists are fighting every day of their lives, and in Lancashire fighting it on their bellies. It is the fight of the trade unionists that determines the general standards of the majority of the working class, and they don't see or understand the fine theoretical distinctions we unionists attempt to draw between the trade unions and the trade unionists.

On Winning The Unions
I don't propose to be drawn into any speculative discussion on how we can win the whole apparatus of trade unionism, an fighting for the winning of the whole of the trade unionists, and passionately want to remove the barriers which our folly and our wrong presentation of the question have placed between the party and the trade unionists.

I have never put, or meant to put, the question of "capturing the unions"; that expression of Comrade Dutt's explains much of the misunderstanding that has arisen in the minds of the workers. They have thought of it as a favor, ulterior motive of our party to capture their unions instead of placing the question in such a way

that we are able to convince the workers that our line and policy is the only one that will strengthen their fight in the factories and in the unions.

And how can we win thousands of workers by building up a mass movement inside the unions without strengthening the workers unions, is something that I confess I don't understand.

We can strengthen the union branches and district committees for our revolutionary line and the full stop. This far and no farther is the motto. Anything that happens after that, anything which is forced thru a reformist union machinery suddenly becomes a "cunning maneuver."

That my presentation of our mistakes in regard to the trade unions is not exaggerated is seen in the article of Comrade Wilson on the same page as Comrade Dutt's article where he writes:

"Only this week have I spoken to a trade union committee member who supports the militant line against the leaders, but he firmly believes it to be the first principle of our party to smash the workers' trade union machinery" ("Daily Worker," September 19, 1932).

In Lancashire it is appalling how widespread this conception is. Comrade Arnot addresses a meeting in Haslingden, after which a

worker approaches him and says: "I always thought you Communists were out for smashing up the trade unions."

I addressed a meeting in Accrington and a worker gets up and says: "If your members were not so insistent in damning trade unionism and trade unionists you would get more support . . ."

Poor benighted worker! You don't see the fine distinctions between the reformist trade union machine, firmly wedded to a social-fascist policy, and the trade unionists firmly wedded to the revolutionary trade union opposition. You commit "opportunistic distortions" and so keep out of the party which you believe is "so insistent in damning trade unionism."

Out of recent experiences in Lancashire could multiply these examples many times, at the very moment when we need every ounce of help, when we haven't half-a-dozen centers in the unions in the strike contacts, when we are moving heaven and earth to break thru this isolation.

We have carried our wrong presentation as to our line in the trade unions to such an extent that even when our members are active in the unions, they are often suspected by everyone else in the party local, either for being "wing legalist tendencies" or "choosing the easy methods of party work" or, worse still, are accused of "doing no party work, only attending their (union) branches."

I believe that I am correctly interpreting the views of a large section of our party who realize what has to be done to win the trade unionists and the trade unions, but have been hesitant for fear of being accused of wanting "to reverse international decisions," or wanting to "go back to the old line."

Mass Pressure Not Played Out
I should like to introduce another controversial point in this discussion—the question of mass pressure. It is also the prevailing fashion to distort the facts themselves. The cloak-makers still remember very well the discussions which we carried on precisely in 1930 in the open meetings in Cooper Union, in Bryant Hall and in the market, where the cloak-makers were again in the International, we declared that we had to organize again a left wing movement in the right wing unions. Their answer was that these unions were "company unions." When we called their attention to the fact that these tactics were false, and when we in 1930 said what they are saying today, namely, that the leaders were indeed reactionary but the members were ready for a struggle against the leadership forced on them, then their answer was that we were "opportunists," "betrayers," "agents of the bosses" and other such gems.

What To Do In The Unions?
It took them two years to admit that we were right then, that the lefts and progressives in the International were ready for a struggle against the reformist leaders. "Better late than never," altho the damage they helped to bring about and the sufferings for the cloak-makers are terrible. At any rate, it is clear to everyone that their tactics in 1930 were false.

What should be the line and tactics in the right wing unions? To the rank and file everything seems clouded, veiled with a heavy curtain. Tendencies are fought, tendencies dominating the Left Groups, particularly among the cloak-makers; but concretely what should be the policy of the left wing members in the right wing unions, nothing whatever is said.

Is this perhaps a "new turn" of riding two horses at a time so as to avoid the necessity of admitting mistakes? Or perhaps it is no clear what course must be taken? Because one paragraph contradicts the other! In the same article of August 17, point 3, we read:

"Among the leading comrades of the Left Oppositions there is still a tendency to continue their activities in the same line that we had in 1925, of boring from within the unions. They forget that because of the causes mentioned we did not then build our own revolutionary unions as we are doing today."

We are to understand, first, that we must not now mobilize the

The Industrial Union and the Cloakmakers

I would advise the comrades of the Industrial Union to make their estimates not simply once in three years, and then "admit their mistakes," but rather to make such examinations at least once every three months. Perhaps in this way they could avoid the artificial maintenance of fundamental errors for years. In the unions an error is not only a failure to do proper work; the essential point is that an error introduces confusion in the minds of the workers and, thanks to this confusion, bureaucratic elements in the unions are able to consolidate themselves and to continue with their work unhindered. This is admitted by the "Freiheit" itself in its August 17, 1932 issue. Among other things it is there said:

"The role of the Left Oppositions in the reformist unions. At the convention of the union in 1926 a serious mistake was made on this question. In the attempt to fight against the liquidationist policies of the Lovestonites, the union adopted a policy of isolating itself entirely from the masses of the workers in the reformist unions. We were satisfied with characterizing the reformist organizations as company unions and we made no distinction between the social-fascist leadership and the masses of workers who are still members in those unions. "The result was that the Lovestonites took advantage of it and utilized the left and dissatisfied elements who were ready for struggle against the reformist leaders."

In order to minimize this tremendous error," the "Freiheit" makes use of misleading phrases and even distorts the facts themselves. The cloak-makers still remember very well the discussions which we carried on precisely in 1930 in the open meetings in Cooper Union, in Bryant Hall and in the market, where the cloak-makers were again in the International, we declared that we had to organize again a left wing movement in the right wing unions. Their answer was that these unions were "company unions." When we called their attention to the fact that these tactics were false, and when we in 1930 said what they are saying today, namely, that the leaders were indeed reactionary but the members were ready for a struggle against the leadership forced on them, then their answer was that we were "opportunists," "betrayers," "agents of the bosses" and other such gems.

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We are to understand, first, that we must not now mobilize the

workers for decisive struggle as we did in those days, in the famous "joint action" fight. And secondly, we must conclude that in building separate unions it is necessary to smash the existing unions and not to make these unions into militant organizations.

The Price Of Union-Smashing
But how is a union smashed? A union is not a table or a chair that can be smashed with a hammer or axe. In order to smash a union it must be weakened so that it became no factor in the trade. In order to achieve this there are two ways: first, thru an organized, open struggle of the bosses against the union, or, secondly, thru systematic depression of the conditions of the workers in the trade so as to make the union impotent and thus get the members to leave the union in masses (as happened in Montreal with the Amalgamated tailors).

In both cases the end is the same: to depress the conditions of the workers. This is unavoidable if you want to smash unions. If you want to build your own union you cannot at the same time strengthen the opposing union! Two paragraphs further, however, we see:

"The policy of coming to the members of the reformist unions and telling them that they

Appeal for Unity and Against Dualism

by L. Kleinman

Left Opposition is there for the purpose of taking out the members from the union is just as bad as the policy of legalism. This means that the rank and filers must not be told of the purposes of the Left Groups in the unions or, as Losovsky says: "It is not necessary to cry from the house-tops that we want to smash the right wing unions."

Such double bookkeeping can only be carried on by people who feel no responsibility to the cause. Wherever we look we see a chain of contradictions. And this, we are told, is all for the best! The masses are regarded as brainless sheep who don't know what is good for them; they must not even be asked, but everything should be brought to them ready-made. The result is that, thanks to the great politicians of the Industrial Union, the progressive forces of the cloak-makers union are split up and the same is true for the dressmakers union.

Unity The Need Of The Hour!
These harmful tactics have made it possible for the leaders to continually escape responsibility and to blame it all upon the friction among the active members. We are wasting our energies in fac-

ional struggles while the bureaucrats sit peacefully in their office patting themselves on the back. In 1930 one of the right wing leaders declared: "We right wingers are sure of maintaining our jobs in the union as long you left wingers continue fighting among yourselves."

Wouldn't it be a good idea to throw their calculations into confusion and unite our forces to save the union? The idea of "divide and rule" just fits the cloakmakers—because as long as the progressive elements in the union are divided, disunited, the right wing leaders rule. There is no cause in the world for the left and progressive elements in the union to remain divided. All progressive forces must unite themselves on a trade union basis.

It must be said clearly that we do not believe that the right wing unions are "social-fascist unions." This is a bad mistake, comrades! We say that they are labor unions; only the leaders are no good. We must not try to break the unions because the leaders are reformists; the leaders must be fought thru united action and, with the help of all progressive forces, the bureaucracy must be removed from our union.

This, we believe, can only be achieved if all of us unite. We

have shown in the past that, thru united action and with a constructive and clear policy and tactics, we can get rid of the harmful elements in our union. The dangerous dual unionist policy must be rejected because it brings nothing but harm to the working class and helps only the bosses and the reactionary union leaders. Help us unite all progressive elements and the results will be even greater than before!

of its existence its membership consisted mainly of the painters doing the work in the Bronx co-operative houses and some left wingers who were not members of the A. F. of L. In the early Spring of the year, this organization committee succeeded in organizing a few small alteration shops on the basis of recognizing shop committees. When it became known that District Council 9 had decided to call a strike to renew the agreement with the employers on an \$11.20 scale per day, and such action was being urged and supported by the left wing in the A. F. of L. locals, this organization committee called a conference and decided to change its name to Alteration Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers Union of Greater New York, leaving out the T.U.U.L. from its name, to make it appear for the mass of unorganized painters as a non-partisan union. With this action of the conference the leaders of the T.U.U.L. actually admitted that to attach T.U.U.L. to the name of the union would be a barrier against the workers joining it. Or did they wish to save the official name from the scab actions that were soon to be carried on by the Alteration Painters Union?

Immediately after changing its name, the Alteration Painters Union made preparations for scabbing. A few days before the District Council 9 called the strike, the Alteration Painters Union called shop meetings of the few shops controlled by it. At the meeting of the workers of Sol and Cohen shop, the organizer of Bronx Section 1 of the Alteration Painters Union, Shapiro (not the secretary of D. C. 9), instructed the workers to prepare themselves with proper tools so that when the "fake" strikers of the A. F. of L. locals would try to take them down on strike for higher wages, the workers should attack the pickets. The wages of the workers in this shop were \$6 a day. At a meeting of Bronx Section 1 held one week before the strike, the scab policy was outlined in the following way: The strike called by District Council 9 affects only Association employers doing work on new buildings. It does not effect the alteration trade, therefore we have nothing to do with this "fake" strike! They deliberately concealed the truth from the workers, that the District Council strike committee had plans for organizing the alteration trade and with the calling of the strike proceeded to do so.

Until a few weeks before the strike the official name of this outfit was "Alteration Painters Organization Committee of the T.U.U.L." For the almost two years

The N. Y. Painters Strike And Its Betrayers

THE TRADE UNION UNITY LEAGUE AND THE STRIKE

by H. Edwards

We publish below the third installment of the article by Comrade Edwards on the New York painters strike. The third will appear in the next issue.—Editor

In this whole treacherous spectacle, the strikers were totally lost; their morale broke down; pickets were in any form stopped, with no leadership to take the situation in their hands to continue the struggle. The Socialists in the union were helping the cliques in their particular local to betray the workers. They found themselves in both of the cliques. The Socialist Galt, financial secretary of the biggest "Jewish" local, Local 261, shouted loud enough to be heard in the "Forward" against the "gentile scabs," and Galt's chief in the strike, which followed, raised his wages as financial secretary of his local; he even got the consent of Dave Shapiro, secretary of the district council, to help him in that. The Socialist, Wagner, business agent of Local 499, joined the chorus against the "Jews" and for the necessity of joining John Haller's racketeer outfit known as the Building Trades Council. With the support of the Socialists, Ed Ackeryer was given full power and, with the full cooperation of the Socialists, the return votes of the referendum on the two scales of wages, voted by the members in their locals, were falsified. In Local 261 when the referendum vote was taken for the two scales of wages, the chairman, Baron, announced 169 votes in favor of the two scales, but every one present at that meeting saw that the actual number voting was much less. In the official report sent to the district council, the vote of Local 261 for the two scales was given as 614! Similar falsifications were made in other locals where Socialists are either the administrators or part of it.

The Record Of The Left Wing
The left wing group in the union was the only group which could offer the workers a program of action, expose all fake maneuvers of the bureaucrats and help lead the workers in a genuine struggle

to better their conditions. It was a moment ripe for constructive action, for only a few weeks before the strike was called, on June 25, on election day for district council secretary, M. Boardman, the candidate of the left wing, had received 1518 votes, while the present secretary, Dave Shapiro, had been elected with 1837 votes, gathered for him by all corrupt elements in the locals, by repeating and by bringing in the gangsters from Brooklyn to vote for him. In the elections for local officers the candidates of the left wing received a big vote, electing two council delegates, Agorod from Local 905 and Rothstein from Local 490. In Local 1011, where Rosenthal received a good vote, the local clique broke up the election. The votes for the left wing candidates were, in their greater part, a protest against the falsified referendum, and were given to the left wing candidates in spite of their failure to unite all progressive elements on the basis of a constructive program.

The ultra-leftist line of the present leadership of the Communist Party and T.U.U.L. did not prevent (on June 3, 1932) the left wing group in Local 261 from endorsing and work for the nomination of Dave Shapiro as candidate of this local for council secretary (this action made it possible for Mr. Shapiro to be in his present office). But this same line was absolutely against organizing a united front of progressive and left wing groups for the purpose of the election and, even more important, for the strike, which followed three weeks later. When the strike was called it found the left wing group isolated from the masses and a complete failure as a leading force in the struggle for the betterment of the conditions of the workers. The attitude of this opportunist "left" wing towards the strike was that, regardless of the willingness and enthusiasm of the workers, this was a "fake" strike. The "Freiheit" and "Daily Worker" repeated this every day in their "news." No effort was made by the left wing group to stimulate and organize the workers on strike or to expose

the treachery of Lindeloff and his clique in District Council 9 to the workers at the local meetings or in the strike halls. No effort was made to organize the workers in a fight against Lindeloff's sell-out of the strike. On the question of the two-scale agreement the left wing proposed that there should be one scab only; even this was done at the last moment when the question was being voted on and therefore without any effect.

Scabbery Under Revolutionary Phrases
While the left wing group in the locals of District Council 9, thru their sectarian actions, were a complete failure, a different wing of the T.U.U.L. has shown some activity—open unmistakable scabbery on the workers who were picketing their jobs. This wing, the Alteration Painters Union, became one of the demoralizing factors in the strike and a great help to Mr. Lindeloff's associates in New York to complete the betrayal of the workers.

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Women And Children In The Soviet Union

WHEN WE'RE THE SAME, WE'RE DIFFERENT!

by E. R. Brand

PROTECTION OF WOMEN & CHILDREN IN SOVIET RUSSIA, by Alice Withrow Field, New York, 1932.

A friend of mine, picking up this book, looked at me, it hastily and commented, "Looks very nice. Nursery schools, maternity centers, free milk stations . . . I dare say an American could get up just such a book and make our institutions sound good too. You know, we also have nursery schools, clinics, free milk stations. True and all quite true! The author, Mrs. Alice Field, who, to quote Dean Arps of the Ohio State University, "has made wide and continuous psychological and sociological study of the conditions of women and children in Russian and other European countries," has this to reply: "The difference (in social and educational work) does not lie so much in the Russian institutions as in the women's reaction to them. It is not that the advice to be found in the Russian museums is different from that given this country but that it reaches every woman. . . ."

No Charity In Soviet Union
One obvious reason is that there is no charity in Russia. Social workers are accepted in the home as a right. The author, measuring by American standards, felt the homes were over-visited but points out significantly that she never saw evidence of anything but pleasure on the part of those visit-

ed. Those services which American philanthropy offers to the poor or foists on them, are sought freely by all independent citizens of the Soviet Republic as a right and a privilege, and never a favor. The reason for the basic difference in the reactions of the people is for the basic difference in the type of society in the role of the state.

That is why Communist social work includes the duties and not the vices of ours with a tremendous plus for the fact that where we stop short, even in our best services, they can link each unit up with the whole system and so be helpful wherever the need leads. I have experienced so much of the uncoordinated and incomplete and overlapping social services in our system that this point especially impressed me.

Take as an obvious instance, the nursery school system of which America is so proud. That comes first to my mind because I am at present confronted by its shortcomings in my own daily routine. One of the avowed functions of nursery schools is to help working mothers by caring for their children during the working day. Of course, only a small proportion of working mothers can take advantage of them. But even with those who can, what happens? I have my child in such a school and am satisfied that no creche in Russia can, within its four walls, offer better education and training to the children. But how far does it succeed in freeing the mother to be a worker? At least a third of the school days, the nurse has examined my son and told me to take him home as he has or seemed likely to have a cold. Where does my job come in then? Or, in the middle of the morning, a call comes that my boy seems overtired or has a stomach-ache or that a child in the class may have come down with measles and there will be no school for ten days. Where is my job then! On Saturdays, there is no nursery school at all, or, in some cases, nursery school ends at eleven. Where is my job then?

How do the Russians manage? The author gives the theory of

Russia's protection of women and the very practical applications of it. She shows how Russia meets the difficult problem of "allowing women and mothers to maintain an equal and active position equivalent to that of men."

A few practical examples which show pointedly how their nursery schools function where ours stop short. If a cold or other ailment is discovered, a child is not sent home but is referred to an isolation ward or infirmary where it receives expert medical and nursing care without involving the mother: She can count on being free to work every single day, free in mind as well as body.

The children are bathed and breakfasted in the school. Compare this situation with that of American mothers who start every day in a mad rush to bathe, clothe and feed ourselves and children so that we may be ready on hand at the time when school and work are scheduled by isolated authorities to begin. The morning strain often leaves parents and children tense and tired for the rest of the day. In Russia the problem of calling for the children is likewise solved. The end of the school day is co-terminous with the mother's seven-hour working day.

Nursery Schools And Parents
Another problem we meagerly meet is so richly and completely worked out in the Russian creche or nursery school. I refer to the effort on the part of some of our best private nursery schools to contact the parents and help them carry over nursery school technique into the home. With us, there are two or three meetings a year with the staff, desultory conversations and a few school meetings on general child problems. In Russia, there is an arrangement whereby the mothers visit the nursery school lunch room daily for one to two hours when they meet the youngest students (children enter at one month) eat their own lunches, talk together and, according to very carefully laid plans, are thrust into regular individual conferences during which they can bring up problems and questions as they

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On General Line and Inner-Party Course of the C. P. S. U.

1. The present schisms in the Communist International, the urgent need to rally all forces for a defense of the Soviet Union, the valuable lessons in the Soviet experiences for the workers of the rest of the world, make a constructive, non-factional consideration of the "general question" essential.

2. When the Communist Party (Majority Group) was organized, it was quite clear that "our struggle has never been nor can it be an appendix to any principal group in the C. P. S. U. While we have always condemned the anti-Bolshevik methods used by the Stalin leadership in the struggle against Comrade Bukharin on the Russian question, our struggle has never been based upon or associated with the anti-Comrade Bukharin on these questions. . . . Our struggle is based exclusively upon the task of overcoming the present crisis in the Comintern and of restoring it and our Party to a Leninist line" (Statement of the National Council of the Communist Party Group, Revolutionary Age, December 15, 1929). From the very first we supported wholeheartedly the general policies of the C. C. of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the decisive and possible extension of the Socialist base of the Soviet economy as the only objective method of rapidly strengthening the power of the proletarian revolution and its struggle against its capitalist enemies from within and from without. At the National Conference in July, 6, 1929, we reaffirmed this attitude and hailed the strengthening of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Socialist construction through the Five-Year Plan—"in heavy industrialization and in the development of a new culture at an accelerated tempo—despite the hostility of all the imperialist powers."

3. But while we have always clearly formulated, our lack of an extensive and objective examination of the general line and the inner-party course of the C. P. S. U. has become more and more obvious. Such an examination is today impossible in the present conditions of the C. P. S. U. as it has become more and more obvious. Such an examination is today impossible in the present conditions of the C. P. S. U. as it has become more and more obvious. Such an examination is today impossible in the present conditions of the C. P. S. U. as it has become more and more obvious. . . .

The resolution on the general line and inner-party course of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union published below, was adopted unanimously by the bureau of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Opposition) in the Spring of 1931. The recent national conference of the Communist Opposition (September 1932) reopened the question and, after a thorough and fruitful discussion, endorsed this resolution by an overwhelming majority. At this conference Comrade Gitlow introduced a contrary resolution which was rejected by the same vote. This resolution also is printed below. For the sake of the greatest possible clarification of this extremely important question, the National Committee has decided to initiate a post-conference discussion beginning on November 2. In this discussion, according to special decision of the National Committee, every member of the Communist Opposition is allowed the fullest freedom of viewpoint without

regard to the decision of the national conference or to the stand of the National Committee itself. This applies also to National Committee members. Full details as to the conduct of the discussion have already been sent out to the organizations of the Opposition. With this issue this discussion also begins in the "Age". Articles sent in for the discussion pages should be limited to 1,000 words MAXIMUM so as to make possible the greatest utilization of the space available.—Editor.

a) A systematic, earnest effort to lay the basis for constant extending Party democracy in the C. P. S. U.

b) The development of an attitude of thoroughgoing Leninist self-criticism in the ranks of the entire C. P. S. U.—leadership as well as membership.

c) A merciless struggle against bureaucracy no matter where it manifests itself—even if it be in the highest committees of the Party for Soviet apparatus.

d) The Party must wage a ruthless war on all expressions of enemy class pressure where the C. P. S. U. is under conditions of the proletarian dictatorship where the C. P. S. U. is the existing political party. But never for a moment must Communist proposals, discussion or criticism be stifled by a false demagogic raising of a cry of "enemy class viewpoints" as has been done by Stalin and Bukharin and by Stalin against Bukharin. Practical questions like those of balance between industry and another, between, let us say, transport and mining, can only be discussed in an atmosphere of mutual confidence, practicality and sober analysis of facts and situations, and not in the atmosphere of mutual recrimination and abuse which met the wisdom of the decision—as happened in the factional abuse which met the views expressed in "Notes of an Economist."

e) Unity of the Communist International, the vanguard of the international working class, the basic and main line of defense of the Soviet Union in the capitalist countries.

f) It is not only desirable but also necessary for the Communists of all countries to take a constant, deep interest in the problems, difficulties and successes of our Russian comrades in their tasks of constructing Socialism. It is the duty of all sections of the C. P. S. U. to help our Soviet brothers in their historic work as contractors of Socialist construction. This requires a constructively critical attitude on the part of the non-Russian comrades toward the achievements and mistakes of the C. P. S. U.

g) The systematic development of a genuine collective leadership in the C. P. S. U.

whereby the C. P. S. U. will be the leading Party, the first among equals, in the Comintern, and not the sole dominating force. The C. I. must have a genuinely collective international leadership.

III. THE INNER-PARTY COURSE OF THE C. P. S. U.

10. While it is not only the right but also the duty of all sections of the C. I. to advise and criticize the policies and leadership of the C. P. S. U. we cannot emphasize too strongly the fact that this criticism must be only positive and constructive. Otherwise the criticism would be harmful to our Russian comrades engaged in Socialist construction under the state of proletarian siege and economic blockade by the imperialist powers.

11. The general line of the C. P. S. U. Socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. is correct. In the present Party regime, however, we find a number of errors. Among these, the main ones are: (a) the narrowing of the inner-Party democracy, a factional attitude towards criticism and suggestions, aggravating differences instead of settling them, hindering the spirit of genuine self-criticism and initiative, mechanical control and bureaucracy; (b) the narrowing of leadership within the Party; (c) the promotion of an odious anti-Leninist "hero-cult"; (d) the use of factional methods in carrying out the Five-Year Plan (as for example, in connection with the March, 1930, retreat in which the system of scapegoats was used to hide the scrapping of the tendencies to revise the line of the XV Congress in the direction of Trotskyism).

12. While making the above criticism of the present Party regime we reject unreservedly the proposals of the Trotskyites and others for so-called "unlimited formal democracy" and the secret ballot in the C. P. S. U. Regardless of the criticism which may be made of some of the methods of the Party leadership in the C. P. S. U., the defense of the Soviet Union, as the only fatherland of the workers of every land, is the absolute and unquestionable duty of the Communists at all costs. Our energetic fight for world Communist unity and a Leninist tactical line is an integral part of our struggle to have the greatest

masses be best prepared to defend successfully the Socialist fatherland against the growing danger of imperialist war. Only such criticism can or should be made as will help the Party to strengthen itself and to strengthen the will of the workers of the world to defend the Workers' Republic.

IV.

THE CRISIS IN THE COMINTERN AND THE SITUATION IN THE C. P. S. U.

13. In rejecting all opposition to the general line of the C. P. S. U. we again reject all efforts to make our group a tail to the kite of any C. P. S. U. group. We have our own view of the general line of the C. P. S. U. on Socialist construction that we were taking steps to save in the direction of becoming a tail to the kite of the present dominant group in the C. P. S. U. that we have our struggle against the utterly false tactical line of the E. C. C. P. S. U.

14. The basic cause of the crisis in the Comintern is to be found in the gap that has developed between the victorious proletarian revolution and steady development of Socialism in the U. S. S. R., on the one hand, and the development of the proletarian revolution in the capitalist world on the other. The existence of no mass gap makes especially imperative the development of an international collective leadership reflecting the world Communist movement as a whole. In such a world leadership the C. P. S. U. would naturally assume the leadership of the Comintern to the fact, the leadership of the Comintern today lies exclusively in the hands of the C. P. S. U. which has lost its leadership of leadership. It is this narrow, non-international and non-collective method and system of leadership which has led to the failure of the leadership of the Comintern to reflect the world Communist movement as a whole in its present leadership.

15. The reasons for the crisis are: (a) the leading Socialists in its most responsible positions. Harry W. Laidler and Norman Thomas are its executive directors. Paul Porter, another leading Socialist, is the secretary. Among the members of the board of directors for 1932-33 are Brown, Coleman, Vladick, and Waldman. Paul Blanshard is special lecturer for the organization.

In the same issue of the L. I.

With the Working Youth

The Pot and the Kettle

From the "Young Communist," paper of the Communist Youth Opposition.—Editor.

Since the beginning of the year a battle of words has been in progress between the National Student League and the League for Industrial Democracy. The L. I. D. accuses the N. S. L. of being "Red". The N. S. L. replies that the L. I. D. is "yellow". However it was not a matter of color differences, that caused this discussion. It was a question of policies and control.

In short, the L. I. D. has, for a number of years, had the privilege of having affiliated to itself a good number of college university clubs—liberal, international and social problem clubs. Now the L. I. D. may be appear to be an anomalous and innocent organization. But actually it is the lecture organization of the Socialist party. It calls itself a membership society engaged in education toward a social order based on production for use and not for profit. It is primarily not a student organization at all but rather an organization of lawyers, doctors, professors and other middle class professional men.

The L. I. D. is kept safe for the Socialist party by having leading Socialists in its most responsible positions. Harry W. Laidler and Norman Thomas are its executive directors. Paul Porter, another leading Socialist, is the secretary. Among the members of the board of directors for 1932-33 are Brown, Coleman, Vladick, and Waldman. Paul Blanshard is special lecturer for the organization.

In the same issue of the L. I.

YOUTH WORKERS! YOUTH STUDENTS!

Jay Lovestone
Speaks on
"Fascism and the Youth"
at
228 SECOND AVENUE
on
WEDNES., DEC. 7—8 P. M.
Questions and Discussion Will Follow!
Admission . . . Free

Youth Opposition At Work

The Communist Youth Opposition is making excellent strides forward.

On October 22, 150 people, predominantly young workers and students, gathered at the "John Reed Nite" arranged by the Youth Opposition. The affair was morally and financially very successful!

The short program presented was enthusiastically received. The new youth paper, "Young Communist," was for the first time brought before those present. Nearly a hundred copies of the paper were sold.

On Wednesday, October 25, Bertram D. Wolfe lectured before an open meeting arranged by the Youth Opposition on: "What the Communist Opposition Stands For." Approximately eighty were present. The meeting was made up of members of the Y.P.S.L., of the Young Communist League, of the youth branches of the F. S. U., of student clubs, etc. etc. Many new contacts were made. Comrade Wolfe delivered an interesting talk which was followed by many questions from the audience. The Youth Opposition is planning to hold another open meeting with Comrade Lovestone, who has recently returned from an extensive tour of European countries, where he made a careful study of the Nazi movement. Comrade Jay Lovestone will speak on: "Whither the Youth—Communism or Fascism?" The meeting will take place on Wednesday, December 7, at 228 Second Avenue.

It is up to the thinking college students, especially the Communist students to work for the union of the L. I. D. and N. S. L. on such a basis as suggested above. The continuation of the present

YOUNG COMMUNIST

Issued monthly by the Communist Youth Opposition of the U.S.A.
5c a copy—50c a year
YOUNG COMMUNIST
228 Second Avenue
New York City

The chief thesis of the Trotskyist theory of the "permanent revolution" is that, outside of the reactionary dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, there is no other state possible under modern conditions and that the "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" is either another way of saying "proletarian dictatorship" or else it is reactionary nonsense. Furthermore, the Trotskyists insist that such also was Lenin's viewpoint in spite of repeated evidence to the contrary. They say that in the early days Lenin played with the idea of the "democratic dictatorship" but that the two Russian Revolutions of 1917 taught him better. The following quotation, from Lenin's famous article on the tax-in-kind (April 21, 1921), completely demolishes this contention: "It must be emphasized that this (quotation from an article written in September 1917) was written under Kerensky that here it was not a question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, not of a socialist but of a revolutionary democratic state."

Evidently Lenin, both in 1917 and in 1921, believed that it was possible to have a "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship" as distinct from both the reactionary dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and from the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat!

A. L.

HISTORICAL ESTIMATE OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN

4. Planned economy is an inherent feature of Socialist construction. The beginnings of planned economy and substantial progress in economic construction were made before the Five-Year Plan was adopted. It is a fact that the Five-Year Plan represents the highest and most concentrated form of planned economy hitherto applied in the Soviet Union. It marks the transition of the period of reconstruction to that of Socialist construction; it is the first general, all-embracing plan of Socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. (previous plans were either plans of reconstruction or else were of limited scope).

5. We regard the Five-Year Plan as the most effective program for hastening the completion of another stage in the development of Socialist construction in the U. S. S. R.—the extension of the Socialist revolution to the agricultural front (collectivization) and the rapid development of heavy industries (industrialization).

INNER-PARTY COURSE AND SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

9. The most successful completion of viewpoint of the inner-Party course of the Five-Year Plan requires from the C. P. S. U. the following:

a) The greatest unity in the ranks of the C. P. S. U.—leadership as well as membership.

b) The systematic development of a genuine collective leadership in the C. P. S. U.

PRESENTED TO THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

That we instruct the incoming National Committee to restate our position on the question of the general line of the C. P. S. U. along the following lines:

1. That we reaffirm our position in favor of the Five-Year Plan, which includes the speediest possible construction of heavy industry and the collectivization of agriculture as the prerequisites for the building up of socialism in the Soviet Union.

2. That we criticize the line adopted by the leadership of the Soviet Union in the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan pointing out the errors made:

(a) The factional use of the Five-Year Plan in the party of the Soviet

THE RESOLUTION OF COMRADE GITLOW

That we point out the difficulties faced by the C. P. S. U. in carrying out the Five-Year Plan due to the backwardness of the Russian masses, the effects of the economic crisis, the acuteness of the war danger.

5. That we reiterate in spite of the errors and mistakes made by the C. P. S. U. leadership our support of the Soviet Union, its achievements, the example it sets for the world proletariat and our pledge to defend the Soviet Union in the event of a war against the S. U. to the maximum of our ability and with all our resources as the center of proletarian revolution and the fatherland of the working class and oppressed masses of the world over.

CONCLUSION

The answer of the Communist Opposition is unqualified: "Yes!" The A. F. of L. contains more than 3,000,000 workers. They are the overwhelming majority of the organized workers in this country. The Communists must not voluntarily separate themselves from these workers, nor split off the more progressive sections of them, nor abandon the backward ones to their reactionary leaders. The policy of dual unionism, of setting up "Red" unions containing only the Communists and their closest sympathizers, of skimming off the "cream" by pulling out small groups of workers as soon as they become progressive or radical, of forming "pure," virginal, revolutionary organizations instead of working from within to transform the existing craft unions into militant industrial unions—such is the policy of the official Communist Party. For opposing this policy more than for any other difference the Communist Opposition was expelled.

Yet the policy of union-splitting and sect-forming has been tried many times and found wanting. It was tried in the days of the Knights of Labor by sectarian Socialist immigrants from Germany and was sharply condemned by Engels.

To friends in America Engels wrote:

"It is far more important that the movement should spread, proceed harmoniously, take root and embrace as much as possible the whole American proletariat, than that it should start and proceed from the beginning on theoretically perfectly correct lines. . . . The great thing is to get the working class to move as a class; that once obtained they will soon find the right direction and all who resist. . . . will be left in the cold with small sects of their own. Therefore I think also the Knights of Labor a most important factor in the movement which ought not to be pook-pooked from without but to be revolutionized from within."

WHAT WE STAND FOR

On the Question of Trade Unions

by Bertram D. Wolfe

SHOULD COMMUNISTS WORK IN REACTIONARY UNIONS?

We continue below the series of articles by Bertram D. Wolfe, "What the Communist Opposition Stands For".

The fatal policy was tried once more in the first days of the Communist movement in this and other countries and called forth the powerful argument of Lenin against sectarianism embodied in his great pamphlet on Communist tactics "Left Communism: An Infantile Sickness."

"The Communists," wrote Lenin, "must join such unions in all countries in order to make of them efficient and conscious organs of struggle for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of Communism. . . . Any voluntary withdrawal from the economic movement, any artificial attempt to organize special unions. . . . threatens to isolate the most advanced and most conscious workers from the masses who are on the road to Communism. It threatens to hand over these masses to the opportunist leaders thus playing into the hands of the bourgeoisie. . . ."

"Communists must on no account leave the ranks of the reactionary federation of labor. On the contrary, they should go into the old trade unions in order to revolutionize them."

With irresistible logic Lenin answered all our "profound" arguments (the writer of these lines was once a dual-unionist on principle as were all the founders of the Communist Party at that time) and he answered in advance all the "profound" arguments that the present leaders of the party have been able to invent or rather drag out of their graves.

"It is difficult to work in the reactionary unions. . . . So is it difficult to overthrow capitalism. The question is: Is it necessary?"

"We will lose our purity. . . ." Communists who worry about their virginity had better give up being Communists.

"The leaders of the A. F. of L. want to expel us. . . . Of course! They want to separate us at all costs from the backward workers. But is it not strange that reactionary bureaucrats and Communist leaders should agree in wanting the Communists out of the regular trade unions!"

"It is hard to work in unions controlled by reactionaries and gangsters. . . ." The Bolsheviks worked in unions organized and offered by the Czar's police!—and worked so well that these unions (the "Zubatovschina") led a general strike in Odessa.

The Bolsheviks did not appear as union-splitters either before, during or after the Russian revolution! So the problem is no new one! It isn't as if the matter had not been argued out and analyzed before!

UNION-SPLITTING AS THE ROAD TO REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM

The course of the American labor movement has been the blood-letting process of dual unionism.

THAT "CHANGE OF LINE"

Today, under the fire of our criticism and the pressure of our example coupled with the patent failure of their policies, the leaders of the party pretend to beat a shameful and hesitant retreat. They have launched a whispering campaign about a "change of line."

"Don't go over to the Lovestonites. We are changing our line. We recognize that we have been neglecting (!) the work in the reactionary trade unions. We are correcting this. . . ."

They publish long theses about "mistakes" in the trade union work, and then repeat the same "mistakes." They adopt resolution against "neglecting" the work in the reactionary unions and then send a handful of workers into one or another A. F. of L. union, not to seek to rebuild and transform the old unions, but to undermine and destroy each and every one, as soon as he becomes a bit sympathetic, to leave the old mass union and go into the rival paper union.

They do not even take the first step toward a genuine change of line. They do not give up their dual unions! Every Communist who enters a mass union of the American Federation of Labor enters loaded with the weight of an awful handicap—he has been sent in to split off fragments, to "build the rival Red union" by "boring from within." The average worker who has developed enough class consciousness to be loyal to the unity of his union sees in the Communist not a builder but a splitter, not a unifier and organizer but a disrupter and divider. Therefore, it is easy for the reactionary leaders to expel the Communists with the whole-hearted approval of the union members!

The Communist Opposition proposed that the party abandon its stupid and suicidal tactics of union-splitting and blood-letting, of deserting organizations because they are not yet militant enough. We propose to liquidate all the artificial revolutionary "unions" that exist only on paper and that serve no real purpose except to help the reactionaries in their expulsion campaigns and to separate the Communists from the rest of the organized workers. We propose to end the situation where the Communists appear as union-splitters and restore the state of affairs in which the Communist appear as the banner-bearers of trade union and working class unity. And the Communist Opposition, besides striving to correct this false and dangerous course, shows by example in the daily struggle both to party members and the working class as a whole that the true Communist policy is not union-splitting but union organizing and rebuilding. The other path is the "easier" but it leads away from working class and Communist progress. It leads into the blind alley of sectarianism and isolation!

THE NEXT ARTICLE: THE UNITED FRONT

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NOVEMBER 15, 1932.

THE A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

THE annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting this month in Cincinnati, will be confronted with graver problems than have faced the workers of this country for many a year. How these issues will be met, issues that involve the very existence of the trade unions, will be determined by what strength the progressive and militant elements in the unions are able to muster among the rank and file and what pressure they are able to exert upon the hidebound conservatives who are running and ruining the federation.

The situation in the labor movement today is nothing short of frightful. Taking advantage of the most acute crisis in the history of the country, the capitalists have unleashed a fierce attack upon the workers, their organizations, their standards, their very existence. In the ranks of labor the spirit of unrest, of protest, even of bitter anger, is growing. The possibilities for a determined resistance to the capitalist offensive are present. Yet the sober fact is that the general discontent has not risen to the level of action, that the labor movement today is divided, demoralized, confused, apathetic. The largest measure of responsibility for this disastrous condition must unquestionably be laid at the door of the reactionary officialdom of the A. F. of L. and of the trade unions in general. In this whole crisis of trade unionism, they have acted rather as agents of the bosses than as leaders of labor. They have refused to initiate any nationwide movement against wage-cuts and have resisted, sabotaged and often helped to defeat whatever strike struggles have taken place. They have allowed corruption and racketeering to get a death grip over the workers organizations. For years they resisted the demand for Federal unemployment insurance, the only effective form of relief. Even now they are cynically at work selling the "labor vote" to the bosses parties at so much per head! With such "leaders" it is really a wonder that there are still trade unions left in this country!

Signs are multiplying that, in spite of the self-isolation of the official Communist Party and the confusion and demoralization it has brought into the left wing movement, sentiment is gathering in the ranks of the A. F. of L. against the suicidal policies of the officialdom. This sentiment, unorganized and vague and unclear though it is, has already gathered strength enough to shake the hardened union bureaucracy, to force Green to tip his hat to unemployment insurance and McMahon of the U. T. W. to allow a unanimous resolution for a Labor party. It is this growing militancy of the union membership that provides the ray of hope in the whole dark situation.

The leaders of the A. F. of L. are not coming to the Cincinnati convention to consider ways and means of saving the trade unions and putting them on their feet again. On the contrary, their whole thought is directed to the problem: "What is the minimum we must concede (to the demands of militancy) to retain leadership?" Whatever of benefit to the trade union movement will emerge from the Cincinnati convention will have to be wrested by main force, so to speak, from the unwilling grasp of the reactionaries!

The great immediate issues that face trade unionism today, the great immediate issues around which all progressive and militant elements will do well to unite, are:

1. Save and spread trade unionism! The A. F. of L. convention must organize a nation-wide plan of resistance to the wage-cutting and union-smashing drives now in progress. The A. F. of L. convention will have to take some effective measures for spreading unionism among the unorganized.
2. For unemployment insurance! The platonic endorsement of the executive council will have to be translated into fact. An all-inclusive drive for the enactment of a Federal jobless insurance law must be initiated.
3. Out with racketeering from the unions! If a firm stand against corruption and racketeering in the labor organizations of this country is not taken in the near future, it may very soon be too late. If the workers want to save the unions, they must drive out the racketeers and all labor officials associated with them.
4. For a Labor party! The tragic farce of the regular sale of "labor votes" to the boss parties must be ended. The trade unions and all other labor organizations, together with the associations of working farmers, must establish their own party under the banner of which the workers and farmers can be won away from the two capitalist parties and take the first steps in the direction of independent labor politics.

This is a simple program. Every sincere trade unionist can understand and endorse it. To put it thru, and thus to save unionism in the terrible crisis in which it finds itself today, it is necessary to build up a broad, strong progressive movement in the unions and to make its voice heard in no uncertain tones.

On "Solving the Crisis"

by J. O. Bental

I knew a lot of folks would jump on me for dragging into the open some of the more profound solutions of the depression without mentioning theirs.

A spiffy lady without a divorce in her silk bag jumps up to remark that she scorns me for not letting the population of the earth in on her secret in solving the dreadful problem of the depression. "In my household", she chirps, "we have been accustomed to fourteen servants and a six-course dinner. Since the depression we have managed to get along with only twelve servants and have reduced our dinners to four courses. Now if I were unemployed I would certainly not be too proud to adopt this plan and I would suggest to you in all modesty that you tell the twelve million jobless that I am willing to sacrifice this much for my country and think they should be glad to do as I have been forced to do."

Thank you! But may I ask you, if you have figured out the complicated fact that if all the twelve million jobless let out two servants each that we will then have twenty-four million jobless on our hands?

"I agree with Nicholas Murray the Butler," writes the junior partner of John D. senior, "but I am sure my faithful servant would agree to include among his glorious anthems the inspiring chorus: Onward Christian Soldiers, especially when we reach Ludlow, Colorado, on our next concert trip. In all my experience with such small inconveniences as a four or six year depression I have found singing most excellent in keeping up my usual appetite. And when my butler came out so heroically with his suggestion that we chase away the depression by every one singing: Parlez Vous, I felt new life simmering into my veins and have been joyful ever since. Never have I and my good friend J. P. had such a splendid Butler before. He did a fine job for us in Chicago where he unfurled his great intelligence and our glorious flag and even improved his ringing Parlez Vous with the ripping: Parlez Boozee."

Well, J. D. Jr., we're certainly glad to hear from youse and hope you will lend us your wisdom again

and let us have it a long time.

It is with fear and trembling that I record what our great American statesmen and financiers have given to this generation as a brainy solution of our lingering depression. I want to say, that you should not blame me for just telling a waiting world what our wise ones have said. Be fair or I will have to stop altogether to perform the mission of a martyr in the interest of truth.

And dear old Bably Babson the chronic static statistician, comes roaring down the Boston Road from his sage-brush villa in Massachusetts and impolitely informs me that he never so much as dreamed of cutting down the corners in our country in order to find behind which our shy and mebbe naked prosperity is hiding. He jumps out of his limousine with uplifted hands ready to pounce upon our innocent manhood and declares we lied about his solution, that his angelic message to our bewildered world was to cut down wages, cut them to the bone.

So that is that! Now I will admit that if the wages of the twelve million jobless tower like the massive banks in Wall Street, Bably Babson has probably hit upon a most original idea. So I want to ask Bably a question or two: (1) What constitutes prosperity? (2) Who do you expect to buy the piles that are now crowding the storehouses and clogging the market? (3) If we raise a hundred million bushels of wheat and if the fat fellows with money can eat only one million bushels how are we going to get rid of the other ninety-nine million bushels that the masses with cut wages cannot buy? (4) If a cut in wages brings prosperity why not cut off the wages altogether and get double prosperity? (5) Would you suggest that we cut the wages of Hoover and Dawes and Morgan and Mellon and Rockefeller and Schwab and Jimmy Walker and the Butler to about ten dollars a week? Why not?

Now, Bably, go home and figure this out and have a reply for me right away. I am going to fight this out with you if I have to take you to the woodshed and spank your very donkey red as a Bolshevik.

Sub Drive Reaches 50% Mark

Anthracite Over The Top! Downtown, N. Y.; Brooklyn, N. Y., Philadelphia, Pittsburgh And Hartford Pass Half-Way Mark!

With six weeks of the sub drive still left to complete our sub drive we have now reached 50% of our total national quota and are still going strong. All indications point to the fulfillment of the full quota by December 15.

Despite the ravages of unemployment in the hard-coal fields our Anthracite comrades are the first to pass their quota. 140% of their quota is the standing to date. A little more work and the Anthracite will double its quota.

Especially gratifying is the response from our out-of-town units. Of the six units which have passed the 50% mark only two are New York units. The following are the units in the order of the quota reached:

Chicago, 80%; Pittsburgh, 80%; Downtown, New York, 59%; Hartford, 55%; Philadelphia, 53%; Brooklyn, 52%.

The following comrades have done excellent work and deserve special mention:

Bert Wolfe, Brooklyn, N. Y.: 13 subs; Anna Thompson, Downtown unit, N. Y.: 12 subs; Eva Stone, Downtown unit, N. Y.: 9 subs; A. Rainey, Chicago: 8 subs; Jean

Sorenson, Downtown, N. Y. 8 subs. The merit roll is still open. It's not too late to get on!

THIRD SEASON OPENING

Frederick Douglass Interracial Forum

SUNDAY, NOV. 6—4 P. M.

1160 Fulton St. Brooklyn, N. Y.

ROY WILKINS

Asst. Sec., N.A.A.C.P.

on

"EXPLOITATION OF NEGRO WORKERS ON THE MISSISSIPPI FLOOD-CONTROL PROJECT"



Overproduction

Columbia University Library has on its shelves more than one hundred plans to cure the business depression. Looks like the depression is being prolonged by overproduction—of plans.

Speaking of barter with the Soviet Union, we suggest the exchange of the whole hundred plans on the Columbia shelves for one American edition of the Five-Year Plan.

Economic Merry-Go-Round

"The depression, according to our 'authority,' is caused by the lack of purchasing power of the farmer for factory products, which is caused by the lack of purchasing power of the factories for labor power, which is caused by the lack of purchasing power of the farmers for factory products, which is caused by the lack of purchasing power of the workers for farm products, which is caused by . . . but you can go on from there yourself."

Technological Unemployment

And now the professors at Massachusetts Institute of Technology have invented a machine for shuffling cards at bridge. Ten million more persons thrown out of night employment.

A Radical Cure

"Peace time slumps in business are the direct result of booms, so that the boom and not the slump should be the direct object of the attack."—from the economic wisdom of Roosevelt during the campaign.

The proposal to prevent depressions by abolishing prosperity is like the famous suggestion of Professor Noodle, who, on learning that all accidents occur by the collision of the first and last cars of trains, solved the problem by cutting off the first and last cars!

Through The Eye Of A Needle

One result of the depression is a wage-cut for sky-pilots and a cut in the price of pie in the sky.

Pew rents in the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church have been cut 20%. If this fall in the price of raw materials (or should it be "raw spirituals"?) continues, there'll be a panic in heaven.

Prices now range from \$8 to \$120 a year in the church orchestra and \$6 a year in the gallery. Gallery sittings have not been reduced. No few cuts for poor parishioners! It's going to be as hard for a poor man to buy a seat in the kingdom of heaven as for a camel to get thru the eye of a needle.

What The Well Dressed Man Is Wearing

Realizing that the depression means cutting down on expenses, the Merchant Tailors Society has opened an exhibit on Fifth Avenue of twenty-nine outfits that represent the minimum wardrobe of a gentleman during the depression. It includes evening clothes, dinner clothes, hunting suit (a man's got to hustle for his partridge these days!), club coat with monogram, sports' attire and outfits to harmonize with the make-up of the women you escort to certain functions. It is hoped that these twenty-nine suits will be included in any budget worked out by the home relief bureau.

Working clothes are not included, of course, if you need overalls, that's extra!

Humanitarianism

The bosses have been giving so many wage-cuts these days that sympathetic social workers are urging them to include a bottle of mercurochrome and some sanitary bandages in every envelope.

After all, the bosses have to put something in the envelope!

—B. D. W.