

WORKERS' AGE

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World Capitalism at a Deadlock

The Economic Conference in London

VOIDS VERDICT IN ALA. CASE

Judge Orders New Trial For Scottsboro Boys

Athens, Alabama.

In a statement that came as a complete surprise to both prosecution and defense and to the public at large, Circuit Judge James E. Horton set aside the verdict of guilty recently returned against Haywood Patterson, one of the Negro boys accused of raping two white prostitutes, and ordered a new trial.

The jury's verdict, he declared in his opinion, ran completely against the weight of the evidence. The unsupported word of Victoria Price, a notorious character, was held an insufficient basis upon which to condemn a man to death, especially as this testimony was flatly contradicted by all other evidence, including medical reports.

Thomas E. Knight, Jr., the Attorney General, stated that he was ready to proceed at once with a new trial, which will probably take place towards the end of the year.

The voiding of the Decatur verdict comes as a sensational climax to the Scottsboro case, which has gradually become the outstanding symbol of racial oppression and injustice in the United States. Judge Horton's action is unquestionably to be attributed to three main factors: the overwhelming weight of the evidence of the innocence of the boys, the world-wide movement of protest and the desire to avoid bringing the jim-crow jury system of the South, in direct violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, before the higher courts.

UNION MILITANT IS SHOT TO DEATH

New York City.

Henry Godell, militant electrical worker, secretary of the Fairview Club, a progressive opposition group in Local 3, New York, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, was shot and killed on Tuesday, June 20, as he stepped out of his car to go to work.

Godell was killed as a result of the incitement against him arising out of his vigorous opposition to the reactionary officialdom of the union. Godell's murder follows three other attempts against progressive union members, the shooting of William Sorenson and Frank Duna and throwing of acid at Bert Letcher. Fortunately none of these latter cases was fatal. The first two attempts were made in the union headquarters; a business agent is now being held for them.

The campaign of terror will not intimidate the progressive elements of Local 3, who are determined to go ahead to clean house and make the union a real defense of the workers.

Thru the maze of press reports it is clear that the World Economic Conference, in session in London, is at a deadlock. All of the honeyed phrases of "international good-will and cooperation," so hollow in their hypocrisy that even the newspaper correspondents cannot stomach them, are unable to hide the fact that nothing has emerged from over three weeks of negotiations but the open accentuation of all of the economic antagonisms between the big powers that are tearing the world apart today.

The Prelude Of The Conference

The World Economic Conference, called, according to the "New York Times," to "see if capitalism can make the grand effort to stabilize itself as a world system," had a very appropriate prelude. When the United States went off the gold standard, the great attempt of the British to bring about a stabilized depreciation of the pound sterling in terms of the dollar was defeated. The British answered in their own way and the Argentine trade agreement showed which way things were headed. Nor is that all. Just before the conference opened, the French Chamber, after a heated session, placed a 15% increase in customs duties upon United States

imports in answer to the decline of the dollar and the indications are that further measures are in store. At any rate, it was obvious when the conference started that a major engagement of world powers was at hand under cover of mutual hand-shaking.

The United States At The Conference

In a fundamental sense the two great figures at the conference are the United States and the Soviet Union. The American delegation came to the gathering determined to smash thru ruthlessly to accomplish the imperialist objectives of Wall Street and, in spite of all of the curious doings behind scenes, this objective has been maintained thruout. From the very beginning, the United States insisted that any consideration of war debts must be ruled out and when MacDonald threw the subject into the conference, the gathering faced the danger of disruption. The United States has consistently insisted on the postponement of the stabilization of currencies to some time in the future when "American prices are stabilized." Thruout the proceedings, the American delegation carefully abstained from taking any well-defined public stand, preferring instead to let its opponents exhaust themselves, so

to speak. The only proposal made by the U. S. delegation, a general 10% tariff cut, was immediately withdrawn as a "matter for the experts." The dominant economic nationalism of America's policy, which throws it into opposition to the very conception of a world conference, was gleefully emphasized by the Nazi spokesmen, who saw in it a justification for their own policy.

The great opponent of the United States at the gathering is unquestionably Great Britain and the Anglo-American antagonism, revived and strengthened under the impact of the world crisis, is again coming to the fore. The very sharpness of the situation has paralyzed the conference. The two official committees (currency and economic) set up are a mere show, while the semi-official bankers committee and wheat conference are still barren of results.

The Soviet Bid

The great sensation of the conference was made by the speech and declaration of Maxim Litvinoff, the head of the Soviet delegation. In picturesque terms, he described the thriving economic condition of the Soviet Union, rising on a socialist foundation, in contrast to the decay and disintegration

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June 6 Jobless Demonstration

THREE JOBLESS BODIES UNITE IN JOINT MOVEMENT

New York City.

Under the slogan "For Bread and Rent," 3,500 employed and unemployed workers demonstrated on June 6, 1933, against the stoppage of rent payments for the unemployed and against the general starvation policy of the city administration. The demonstration took place under the united banners of the Association of the Unemployed, the Workers Committee on Unemployment and the Workers Unemployed League. The Communist Party-controlled Unemployed Councils refused to participate because political banners were not allowed in the demonstration.

The line of march started at Second Avenue & Houston Street, a densely populated working class district, and proceeded to City Hall, where the Board of Estimate was in session, presided over by Mayor O'Brien. This session of the Board of Estimate was called to consider unemployed relief appropriations.

TO THE RIGHT: The van of the joint unemployed demonstration of June 6. Leading the march, from left to right, are: Jack Altman, Workers Unemployed League; E. K. Welsh, Association of the Unemployed; A. G. Becker, Association of the Unemployed; David Lasser, Workers Committee on Unemployment.



As the line of march came abreast of City Hall a delegation of forty-five, representing the joint committee of the three organizations, stepped out of the line of march as a committee and went before the Board of Estimate to present the demands of the unemployed. The parade continued past City Hall, on down into Broadway, cutting in to Wall Street. From there on, the march proceeded to Battery Park, where a mass meeting took place. The mass meeting was presided over by Edward Welsh of the Association of the Unemployed.

Altho the newspapers had maintained a deadly silence before the demonstration, sympathetic workers lined the streets along the entire line of march. While marching by the House of Morgan, the paraders shouted: "Make Morgan pay our rent." This slogan received the sympathetic approval and hand-clapping of thousands of white-collar workers that lined the streets.

The delegates, upon entering City Hall, were followed by a large detachment of police. Headed by Weinfeld, of the Workers Unemployed League, the delegation presented a statement to the Board of Estimate demanding an increased appropriation from \$5,000,000 to \$15,000,000 per month. In addition to demanding that rent be paid for the unemployed, the demand was made for the relief of single men, until now completely

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CLARA ZETKIN IS DEAD AT 75

C. P. G. Leader Fought Many Battles

The labor movement of the whole world suffered a tremendous loss when, on Tuesday, June 20, Clara Zetkin, veteran German Communist leader, died in a sanatorium near Moscow at the age of seventy-five. Her death ascribed to natural causes.

Clara Eisner, who, as Clara Zetkin, is known wherever the revolutionary workers movement has penetrated, was born in Saxony on July 5, 1857. She became a school teacher and, as such, came into contact with the factory workers of Leipzig and their children. While still a girl, she became associated with the Social-democratic movement and, in particular, with a group of exiled Russian Socialists in Leipzig, one of whom, Ossip Zetkin, she married.

During the Bismarckian era and the anti-Socialist laws, Clara followed her husband to Zurich and later to Paris. These years she experienced the most bitter poverty. In 1899, Ossip Zetkin died and she returned to Berlin.

She quickly rose to prominence in the Social-democratic movement and became the leader of the Socialist women's organization. As editor of the Socialist paper for women, "Gleichheit", she made this journal into a powerful organ of radical Socialist thought. She early became associated with Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Franz Mehring and the other leaders of the developing left wing in the German Social-democratic Party. When the war broke out, she stood with the revolutionary internationalist Socialists and fought the chauvinistic "Socialists" with great effectiveness and determination. She helped in the formation of the Spartakus League which later was turned into the Communist Party of Germany.

In the Communist Party, Clara Zetkin maintained a position of unquestioned leadership. She was regarded by Lenin as the outstanding figure of that party. "The only strong man the German Communists have," he was accustomed to say, "is an old woman." When the bankrupt adventurers of the Ruth Fischer-Maslov group took control of the C.P.G. in 1924 with the help of the Communist International, Clara Zetkin, along with Heinrich Brandler and August Thalheimer, was made the object of their despicable abuse and political incitement. It was then that Stalin suddenly discovered that she was a "doddering old fool" with "Social-democratic ideas"! However, Clara did not waver in her views nor in the determination in expressing them. After the ousting of the Fischer-Maslov leadership (1925), which had brought the party to the brink of ruin, she again came into the forefront but only for a short time because, by 1928, sectarian policies again began to dominate the official Communist movement and Clara came

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Labor Party and Socialism in Britain

Main Problems of the Present Period

by J. T. Murphy

We publish below an article by J. T. Murphy, until recently one of the outstanding leaders of the Communist Party of Great Britain and editor of its theoretical paper, "The Communist Review." Comrade Murphy, it will be recalled, recently resigned from the C.P. of Great Britain. Since then Comrade Murphy has joined the Socialist League, that section of the I.L.P. which remained within the Labor Party at the time of the disaffiliation. It will be obvious to the reader that, in many respects, the viewpoint of Comrade Murphy differs from that of the Communist Opposition.—Editor.

London, England.

The fall of the Labor Government in 1931 was the outward sign of the collapse of the theory and policy which had dominated the labor movement for decades.

Time had to elapse before this was reflected in the consciousness of the Labor Party itself. The first really marked manifestation of this was seen in the Leicester Conference of the Labor Party last October. Although no alternative was clearly formulated, there was the emphatic declaration of the conference delegates that there was no more of gradualism and that the next Labor Government must go straight for socialism. The conference banged the door on MacDonald, Snowden and Thomas and bolted it. They began to discuss what a Socialist Government would do with the banks. The conference did not get much further than this, although, in the discussion, those who stood for piecemeal measures were decisively defeated and the defeat included the defeat of the platform. The mountain of constitutional procedure, traditional associations and weight of the machinery of officialdom weighed heavily upon the conference.

The Socialist League

But the movement had begun. The Socialist League, formed out of the split of the Independent Labor Party, harnessed real and sound demand for drastic Socialist measures. It was too much to expect the newly formed grouping to do more than they did. Enough at this point to recognize the beginning of the attempt to crystallize the forces of this country, the collapse of gradualism and the need for a new fundamentally Socialist policy.

Since then important events have followed each other with amazing rapidity. A new political awakening has begun in the midst of this situation. In this country, after a short period of comparative quiescence in the working class, this year has opened with a new advance. At first it appeared as if the Communist Party was about to rally big forces with the Hunger March. But, by virtue of its inherent sectarianism, it shattered the support it gathered. The petition it had organized landed in the lost and instead of a railway station in front of Parliament. The Communist leaders of the unemployed were arrested and little happened. The I. L. P. did not step into the breach. By February of this year the labor movement, taking up the same issues as the Hunger Marchers, rallied a demonstration to Hyde Park of 250,000 workers. A few weeks later, the Rotherham by-election turned a 700 deficit into a 16,000 majority for Labor. The awakening of the masses to new activity has begun and it is quite obvious that the Labor Party is regarded by the working class as their party.

Since then, however, events in Germany have sent a thrill of alarm through the working class movement. The Fascist government has shown a little discrimination in the ranks of the unemployed movement. The Fascists have battered the heads of Social-democrats and Communists alike, suppressed their newspapers, imprisoned members and leaders and destroyed their organizations. The big fact of Social-democratic movement in Germany as of the same social

basis as the Communists—namely, working class and anti-capitalist. So acute is the situation throughout Europe both as regards war and Fascism that the Communist International has changed its line once more in response to the appeal of the Left Socialists and is prepared to negotiate with the Second International and its parties for a united front of working class struggle against Fascism and war. It is to be hoped that more will come of this than of previous efforts in a similar direction. Sufficient for the moment to indicate it as a measure of the tremendous change in the situation and the kind of issues and action the Labor Party is now discussing.

Effects On the Labor Party

What effect has the changed situation upon the internal affairs of the Labor Party? Certainly there are few who will talk of gradualism, even among the leaders, whilst the mood of the working class is increasingly bold. Socialist challenge to capitalism. This is obvious from the speeches labor leaders have to give to hold the workers. But how far has the Socialist challenge crystallized in terms of program and leadership?

The conference banged the door on MacDonald, Snowden and Thomas and bolted it. They began to discuss what a Socialist Government would do with the banks. The conference did not get much further than this, although, in the discussion, those who stood for piecemeal measures were decisively defeated and the defeat included the defeat of the platform. The mountain of constitutional procedure, traditional associations and weight of the machinery of officialdom weighed heavily upon the conference.

The article below is one of the series: "The 'New Deal' and the Workers" by Jay Lovestone.—Ed.

History has a peculiar way of playing pranks. I know of no more peculiar than the case of the Democratic Party now serving as the agency of vast government centralization. This is the party which was born, bred and, now and then, elected to office as the friend and champion of real and individual rights. Small wonder that Hoover's Attorney General, William D. Mitchell, speaking before the New Jersey Bar Association, recently fretted: "What has happened in Washington in the last three months will keep lawyers occupied for the next three years." Eloquent testimony to the first success of Roosevelt's Recovery Act!

What is the "New Deal" really all about? And why the "New Deal"? As our first witnesses were not to call upon the masters of social science, Marx, Engels, Lenin, but rather the masters of American industry to bear witness to the significant social developments and to explain their why and wherefore. Let Gerard Swope, President of the General Electric Co., underscore to us:

"The nation is moving in a gradual evolution from its former capitalistic trends. Just now Washington is a seething caldron with everybody running around in circles, but beneath it all is a foundation of rationalism.

"A scientific evolution is taking place. Capitalism is being modified and so is its system, but we must remember that it has been doing that for a hundred years. Yet capitalism now is not what it was ten years ago. The theory of capitalism now is that the employer should regard himself as a kind of trustee."

Stripped of all its bombast and ballyhoo, Swope's conclusion indicates the maturing of the consciousness of the American employing class as a class. To begin to face and grasp the social and economic consequences of the world's greatest crisis, one need not organize a "Brain Trust" headed by so eminent a thinker as Charles William Taussig, President of the American Molasses Company, and composed of the junior professors of Columbia University. Rather one should trust brains, just a bit, at least. The real question is: Where are we going? Whether

There is no doubt that the Socialist League has travelled far since the Leicester Conference. It took up at once the question of what a Socialist Government would do or ought to do. In a series of lectures, now published in pamphlet form, it has begun the hammering out of a program which it hopes to see adopted by the Labor Party as its mandate for the next Labor Government.

Briefly stated, these pamphlets focus the demands for "socialization of banking," "state control of credit and prices," "state control of foreign trade," "the socialization of industry and land," "the independence of the colonies," "the abolition of the House of Lords," etc. They discuss the possibility of a "constitutional revolution."

It is not possible here to deal with them in detail. Enough for the moment to indicate the fundamental character of the proposals and to show how far they are crystallizing in the minds of the workers. The gradualism of "Labor and the Nation."

It must be observed that this program starts from the premise

of a Socialist parliamentary majority. It then visualizes the carrying thru of the above-mentioned measures in the course of a few years. Up to the present, all the pamphlets visualize Socialism thru the spectacles of parliamentary government. They view the opposition of the ruling class mainly as to the opposition of the House of Lords and promptly propose to abolish it.

The fundamental defect of each of the pamphlets in their approach to the problems before them lies not in the working out of projects of Socialism on the basis of having achieved a parliamentary majority or of attempting to visualize socialized industry. Both are necessary. The defect lies, in my opinion, in the legalistic analysis which is made of the situation instead of the social-political analysis. It is not wrong to aim at a parliamentary majority. The working class of this country will not attempt to reach socialism by any other way until experience proves to them that this is closed. The following is to shut one's eyes to what the Socialist program will do to prevent the workers from getting such a majority and what steps the propertied classes of this country

will take and are taking to fight Socialism. The resistance of the capitalist class will not be limited to the veto of the House of Lords. The ramifications and key positions of the ruling class are numerous. What of the press, the class domain of the army, navy, air force, civil service, etc.?

How To Win Power?

Again I repeat: It is very good to consider and work out plans of socialization for a Socialist Government but it is no less advisable and necessary to consider how the various social forces are set in motion when revolutionary changes are afoot? It is a Marxist axiom that the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class. It is confined to voting for Socialism? The writers of the pamphlets declare for Marxism. Very well! Surely the first thing we must be realistic in facing the task before us? Has not Socialism its own state form? Are socialists and capitalists so much alike that the capitalist parliament will do for socialism? Yet the writers so far have only thought out a socialist scheme to be operated thru parliament and it would appear that the workers have only to delegate powers to their M. P.'s who will appoint Socialist specialists to reorganize industry, and so on.

The Socialist League will have to go much further along the path of Marxism before it has effectively crystallized revolutionary Socialism in the labor movement and must tackle the problems not only of getting a Socialist majority in Parliament but the part the working class is going to play in the revolutionary changes which the Socialist League agrees must be effected. It is not the Socialist League has begun the job, it is not shirking the issue of the class struggle. Whatever its shortcomings, it is the beginning of a new development of revolutionary Socialist policy within the Labor Party, and indeed of replacing gradualism by revolutionary Socialism and making the fundamental attack upon capitalism.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Labor Party is in transition once again. The more serious the situation the more urgent will be the question of the ascendancy of revolutionary Socialism within its ranks. It has passed thru a number of stages since MacDonaldisim first triumphed in the period when it was still possible for gradualism to appear reasonable in the eyes of the masses. It is called the Communist Party members in those days. The crash of 1931 shattered MacDonald on the rock of the working class foundations of the labor movement. Gradualism now appears ridiculous in the face of the universal challenge of the crisis. The time has arrived for the advance of revolutionary Socialism within the labor movement and especially the Labor Party. Either Socialism, revolution in aim and content, now rapidly wins its way in the ranks of the Labor Party or the next crash which comes leads to a colossal working class defeat and a period of Fascist dictatorship. It is only necessary to reflect on the fate of the German working class to realize that this estimate is not exaggerated.

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The "New Deal" And The Workers—III

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS OF THE "NEW DEAL"

by Jay Lovestone

America? Some of the super-salesmen and saleswomen of the new Administration, like the President's better-half and Anne O'Hare McCormick, would have us believe that: "We are in the last phases of a wholly American revolution, without a leader, without a manifesto, which had no prophets of its own and was uninfluenced by any foreign prophets, Marx, Lenin, Mussolini or any other."

But not every spokesman for the Administration is as modest as all that. Secretary of the Interior Ickes flattered the commencement exercises of Washington and Jefferson College, the other day, along this line:

"We are in a midst of a social revolution today, not only in America but in every country of the world. We have lost our old success, our old confidence that we are particularly favored of God, that nothing can happen to us, the best of all people, in the best of all worlds."

"We are acustoming ourselves to drastic changes in our modes of living. Hesitantly, even fearfully, we are embarking on new social adventures just as surely as our forefathers set out on untrodden and uncharted paths in the earlier days. . . Instead of offering you platitudinous advice, we are today standing before you and confessing, frankly and humbly that we have made a mess of things. Rugged individualists are running to the government

in Washington begging the strong man there to give them more government in business, to enable them to save something for themselves out of the wreckage that they so wantonly brought about. For we must build a new social order."

Delving thru the depths of this confusion, concoction and confusion, we reach the bottom of it all in the "strong man's", in Roosevelt's, emphatic declaration when he was still Governor of New York, that: "The American system of economics and government is everlasting." With this as the firm foundation of its ventures and adventures, the "New Deal" reveals certain definite economic and political features. What are they? Let us examine them.

The concentration of capital and monopolization of industry. This is a decisive feature of the "New Dealer's" program, particularly as exemplified by the Industrial Recovery Act. This act wipes out even the anti-trust laws, that last weak pretext at resisting the inevitable logic of capitalist evolution. A well-known financial writer puts it this way: "It eliminates the refractory minorities which have heretofore stood in the way of the concentration of trade associations, for the President may refuse licenses to conduct interstate business to the rebels." The "New Dealer" is striving to pamper back to economic health big business in the form of powerful trade associations. But the little independent manufacturer, whom the anti-trust laws were supposed to help, this little man, is now to become an outlaw." Senator Huey Long, speaking for the little fellow in the course of the debate on the Industrial Recovery Act, even more significantly than pathetically, pleaded for "the little molasses-maker and the country sausage-packer down in my country."

As against this cry of anguish, listen to the rejoicing of bigger and biggest business. Mr. Robert L. Lund, President of the National Association of Manufacturers, hastened to greet the adoption of the Recovery Act, by declaring that his Association "has at all times been in sympathy with the declared objectives of the legislation. . . Industry has a right to be encouraged by this action. It will now have an opportunity to police itself against ruthless competition in the form of unregulated price-cutting. . . I am convinced that the administration of the measure will be in safe hands. . . We have every as-

sure that the law will not be so administered as to upset existing, satisfactory employment relations."

And Mr. Henry L. Harriman, President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, has proudly proclaimed: "The National Industry Recovery Act constitutes the most important step in our progress toward business rehabilitation. . . The act will permit legitimate business enterprise to lift itself above the destructive competition which has prevented recovery and which has been threatening to bring about complete economic demoralization. . . The Chamber of Commerce of the U. S. has consistently stood for the real open shop and I appeared before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives to urge that the principle be contained in the bill."

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Some Questions of Communist Unity

The Proletarian Party and the C. P. - O.

by Herbert Zam

We are printing below an article by Herbert Zam, expressing the point of view of the Communist Opposition, which we hope will be the first contribution to an extensive and fruitful discussion on the problems of Communist unity, particularly unity between the Proletarian Party and the Communist Party (Opposition). We invite other comrades to contribute their ideas on this matter. We particularly invite members of other organizations to do so. All contributions will be published as written with or without names as requested.—Editor.

Only a blind person can fail to see the fermentation inside the labor movement resulting from the blows of the crisis and the inability of the present labor movement to really lead the working class. The Communist movement, which is not living in a vacuum and which is affected by the currents and winds blowing in the ranks of the workers, sees a similar fermentation inside of its own ranks. The splits which have taken place since 1929, the formation of numerous groups and grouplets and then the splits in the new groups, all of these are not accidental phenomena, nor expressions of personal attitudes. There can be no doubt that they are expressions of a general process of division inside of the Communist movement, representing a struggle over ideas. But just as we have a process of disintegration, there exists at the same time the opposite tendency also. There is no doubt that at the present time there is beginning a general re-orientation, expressing itself as yet on a very small scale but extremely important nevertheless, because pointing also to a general regrouping of forces.

The Proletarian Party

In this light we have to analyze particularly the relations of forces among the various Communist organizations existing in the United States and their mutual interactions. America, which is the land of "exceptionalism", is also "exceptional" in this respect. The world Communist movement, which is divided into three main streams, is here divided into four streams. There are the official Communist Party, the Communist Opposition and the Trotsky group, as in other countries; but there also exists the Proletarian Party, whose adherence to the fundamentals of Communism to appear reasonable in the eyes of the masses. It is called the Communist Party members in those days. The crash of 1931 shattered MacDonald on the rock of the working class foundations of the labor movement. Gradualism now appears ridiculous in the face of the universal challenge of the crisis. The time has arrived for the advance of revolutionary Socialism within the labor movement and especially the Labor Party. Either Socialism, revolution in aim and content, now rapidly wins its way in the ranks of the Labor Party or the next crash which comes leads to a colossal working class defeat and a period of Fascist dictatorship. It is only necessary to reflect on the fate of the German working class to realize that this estimate is not exaggerated.

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welcomed but actively promoted. This is the situation which exists today as between the Proletarian Party and the Communist Opposition. These two are the most important of the Communist opposition groups. They are not only the strongest and most influential but they are also the closest politically. And this is true in spite of the fact that, in the leadership of both groups, there are comrades who in the past occupied extremely antagonistic positions. It is clear that if the political crisis for unity between these two groups is found to exist and if such unity is actually achieved, it will have an importance which cannot be overestimated, and not only in this country. Does such a political basis exist?

First of all, it is necessary to repeat that, on the fundamentals of Communism, there is absolute agreement between us and never has there been any disagreement. There is further agreement on the attitude to the Soviet Union as a workers state and the rejection of all conceptions which would see this state as the instrument of bringing back capitalism (the "thermostat" theory in its various forms). Con-

sequently there is left to discuss the more important questions of current strategy and tactics of the Communist movement today.

Fortunately, it is not necessary to discuss these questions only in the abstract and to measure agreement and disagreement thru the medium of words on paper. Many of these matters have been weighed in actual joint work among the workers and in the labor organizations. The Mooney Congress at Chicago, in which the Proletarian Party and the Communist Opposition participated, demonstrated our agreement not only on the question of the united front but also on a whole series of other questions which came before that body. It is a fact that the Proletarian Party and the Communist Opposition found themselves united in a common position against the sectarian and, in the last analysis, splitting policies of the official Communist Party, which on this question also received the support of the Trotsky group. The united front has also been demonstrated in many instances by work of

these, official celebrations, etc. Of course properly so, because these campaigns are of great importance. But no sign of any party campaign against German Fascism. Perhaps, it may be argued, there is going on a secret (non-public) campaign in the ranks of the party. But even if this very improbable supposition were to be the case, what about the millions of workers and peasants in the Soviet Union? Are not they to be aroused in support of their German fellow-workers? Are they not to be aroused against the Fascist menace?

We reject what is apparently the easiest explanation of this phenomenon: that the campaign of the C.P.S.U. is being suppressed in the interests of the foreign policy of the Soviet state. We reject this explanation because it is nonsense. What "interests of foreign policy" could possibly be an obstacle to a campaign of the C.P.S.U. against Fascism, when the Nazis as a party are carrying on the most shameless campaign against "Bolshevism"? The C. P. S. U. has carried on campaigns against Italian Fascism, while the Soviet Union was negotiating diplomatic and commercial agreements with Italy. The C.P.S.U. has carried on campaigns against British imperialism, while the Soviet Union was trying very hard to improve its economic relations with Great Britain. The C.P.S.U. has carried on a vigorous campaign against American lynch justice in connection with the Scottsboro case, while the Soviet Union was doing its best to obtain recognition and credits from Washington.

The Real Reason

No! The real reason is to be found not in the alleged "nationalistic" policy of the Soviet power but in the fundamentally false and self-defeating policy of the Communist International.

In the resolution of the executive committee of the C. P. of Germany, adopted on April 1, 1933, and published in full in the "Pravda", we read:

"The presidium of the E.C.C. declares that the political line and organizational course which the C.C. of the C. P. of Germany, with Comrade Thaelmann at the head, followed up to the Hitlerite overturn and at the moment of their overturn, was completely correct."

In his report, which was approved in this resolution, Comrade Thaelmann stated that really the workers had not been defeated in Germany at all, that the "revolutionary upsurge" was still "growing", that Fascism was "declining" already, and so on and so on. The German Communist Party, which was, of course, the policy of the leadership of the Communist International, has led to the victory of Fascism—but nevertheless it is "completely correct."

The masses of the Soviet party and of its sympathizers have been fed upon the illusion of the perfection and infallibility of the leadership of the Communist International. The maintenance of this doctrine of infallibility and perfection is precisely the condition for the maintenance by the present regime of a method of political leadership in the C. I. To launch a "German" campaign in the C. P. S. U. would be the most devastating challenge, even repudiation, of this claim to infallibility and perfection. It would threaten the whole bureaucratic structure built up in the last several years. It would dramatize to every Soviet worker, to every Soviet peasant, that the much-advertised Communist Party of Germany, which did not take a step without the knowledge and the approval of Stalin, has failed, completely and miserably failed and failed in spite of the most favorable circumstances, has failed, moreover, after years of reports of its constantly mounting successes! Obviously im-

country to the political requirements and factional necessity of the Communists of another country, whether the Soviet Union, Germany, or Prinkipo. On all of these matters, the Proletarian Party and the Communist Opposition agree. For all of these reasons, in the last period of time, a great deal of cooperation has taken place in actual mass work, without any formal agreements. It is not quite clear that the time has come to establish this cooperation on a more substantial basis and even to go beyond mere cooperation?

Some Disagreements Remain

That disagreements still exist between the two organizations cannot be denied. We disagree as to the interpretation of each other's past. We do not yet agree entirely on the nature of the proposed demands which it is permissible for a Communist organization to advocate. There also exists some differences as to party structure and methods of work. But it is clear that our agreements far outweigh our differences. They cannot remain as insurmountable obstacles to unity or cooperation.

The question of the interpretation of the past should remain open. We are as yet too close to all these events to be able to pass objective judgment with final authority. Just as there is no unanimity within the ranks of the Communist Opposition on all matters of historical interpretation just as our present position may in many cases be different from our position in the past, so the questions some time ago, so it is inevitable that such differences should also exist in a united Communist group, made up of comrades from different streams of the movement. But such differences will not in any way impair our unity of action on current problems, which is the essential question.

The unification of the Proletarian Party with the Communist Party (Opposition) (if this desirable step is achieved) would by no means solve the problem of Communist unity. It would be an important step in that direction, to be followed up by consistent efforts to further unify the ranks of the Communists, so as to build in this country, a united, powerful mass Communist Party.

possible! Therefore, soft-pedaling everything about Germany except endorsements and "analyses" that will help bolster up old illusions! This is the secret of the peculiar embarrassment that the C.P.S.U. feels in the face of the German events.

This is an explanation—but not a justification! Such an ostrich policy merely deepens the present grave defeat and invites future disaster. It not only deprives the German workers of the support they naturally expect and should receive from their Soviet brothers; it also degrades the political understanding of the Soviet party and the Soviet workers; it prevents any possibility of real self-criticism and learning from costly errors; it drives the Comintern headlong towards another catastrophe.

Have You Read?

THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, by Jay Lovestone 10c

SOME PLAIN WORDS ON COMMUNIST UNITY, by Ben Gitlow 5c

THE HERITAGE OF THE CIVIL WAR, by Will Herberg 5c

FOR REVOLUTION, by V. F. Calverton 25c

Reductions for bundle orders

WORKERS AGE PUB. ASS'N 51 West 14th Street

the two organizations in Detroit. The Proletarian Party and the Communist Opposition both are opposed to the tactics of splitting the trade unions and other labor organizations, of setting up "dual" "revolutionary", "rank-and-file" trade unions; both favor working within the existing unions in order to win them and the workers in them to a revolutionary policy.

The Proletarian Party and the Communist Opposition both are opposed to the conception of the American Negroes as a national minority and to the slogan of "self-determination." The Communist Party (Opposition) and, we believe, the Proletarian Party both favor the slogan of "full social, political and economic equality", as being applicable to an oppressed racial minority. The Communist Party and the Communist Opposition both believe, with Marx, that the international revolutionary movement is "international in content, national in form," that the prime task of the Communists in each country is the solution of their own problems, arising out of the conditions in their own country and are therefore opposed to the practise of subordinating the policies of the Communists of any

with the Scottsboro case, while the Soviet Union was doing its best to obtain recognition and credits from Washington.

No! The real reason is to be found not in the alleged "nationalistic" policy of the Soviet power but in the fundamentally false and self-defeating policy of the Communist International.

In the resolution of the executive committee of the C. P. of Germany, adopted on April 1, 1933, and published in full in the "Pravda", we read:

"The presidium of the E.C.C. declares that the political line and organizational course which the C.C. of the C. P. of Germany, with Comrade Thaelmann at the head, followed up to the Hitlerite overturn and at the moment of their overturn, was completely correct."

In his report, which was approved in this resolution, Comrade Thaelmann stated that really the workers had not been defeated in Germany at all, that the "revolutionary upsurge" was still "growing", that Fascism was "declining" already, and so on and so on. The German Communist Party, which was, of course, the policy of the leadership of the Communist International, has led to the victory of Fascism—but nevertheless it is "completely correct."

The masses of the Soviet party and of its sympathizers have been fed upon the illusion of the perfection and infallibility of the leadership of the Communist International. The maintenance of this doctrine of infallibility and perfection is precisely the condition for the maintenance by the present regime of a method of political leadership in the C. I. To launch a "German" campaign in the C. P. S. U. would be the most devastating challenge, even repudiation, of this claim to infallibility and perfection. It would threaten the whole bureaucratic structure built up in the last several years. It would dramatize to every Soviet worker, to every Soviet peasant, that the much-advertised Communist Party of Germany, which did not take a step without the knowledge and the approval of Stalin, has failed, completely and miserably failed and failed in spite of the most favorable circumstances, has failed, moreover, after years of reports of its constantly mounting successes! Obviously im-

possible! Therefore, soft-pedaling everything about Germany except endorsements and "analyses" that will help bolster up old illusions! This is the secret of the peculiar embarrassment that the C.P.S.U. feels in the face of the German events.

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WORKERS AGE PUB. ASS'N 51 West 14th Street

51 West 14th Street New York City

"Lefts" Join Rights in Local 22

T.U.U.L. Group and Reactionaries Combine Against Unity Plan

New York City. One of the most significant meetings ever held by Dressmakers Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., was held on Thursday, May 18. This membership meeting was very well attended, over 500 being present. The best spirit ruled at the meeting.

The meeting was concerned primarily with the question of one union in the dress trade. The Executive Board of the local proposed that, in the interests of the workers, the T.U.U.L. union, the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, should amalgamate into the I.L.G.W.U., the A. F. of L. union. The representative of the so-called "Left Group" opposed this proposal of the Executive Board and countered with the proposal that Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U. should call a conference of the I.L.G.W.U. and the N.T.W.I.U. to work for a "united front for one strike" and to deal with the question of one union in the industry.

A thorough discussion ensued. Nathan Margolis, Louis Nelson, Label and C. S. Zimmerman, defended the position of the Executive Committee of Local 22. The proposal of the "Left Group" was supported by a unit of the most reactionary elements, with the "revolutionary" supporters of the N.T.W.I.U. and its sundry auxiliaries parading under various names. It is significant that one of the staunchest defenders of the proposal of the "Left Group" was Prisman, who had been thrown out of office as manager of the Dressmakers Union and was subsequently a dress contractor. Other representatives of the reactionary Club also supported the "Left Group" scheme.

The position of Local 22 executive was defended by Zimmerman in his summary remarks. He made it quite clear that the plan of the "Left Group" would not lead to unity but would create further confusion and division. The proposal of the administration was carried 246 to 154. This latter number represented the maximum voting strength of the ultra-left "Left Group" together with extreme reactionaries.

AND SAME IN LOCAL 1, CLOAKMAKERS

New York City. The General Executive Board of the I.L.G.W.U. decided at a meeting in New Haven, Conn., that we, the cloakmakers, would present our demands to the employers on the basis of week-work only. After the decision was reached, Breslau, manager of Pressers Union Local 35 and Vice-President of the I.L.G.W.U., accepted a decision on his membership meeting and decided for piece-work meeting a communication was sent to the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers Union. The chairman's ruling was to place this communication on file for the reason that the General Executive Board had decided that our demands be week-work and by this ruling not to allow any discussion on the floor. About a week or so later a leaflet was issued by the so-called "Club," a reactionary faction, supported by Breslau, openly agitating for piece-work. At the following meeting of the Joint Board, I, as a delegate, wanted to put on the order of business the action of a vice-president of a union acting contrary to the decision of the Joint Board. The chairman at that meeting refused to accept this on the order of business. I appealed from the ruling of the chairman. However, the organized machine of the Joint Board sustained the ruling of the chairman. June 15, a meeting took place of local at Irving Plaza and, when the minutes of the Joint Board were read, I took the floor and made the following motion: that our local union protest sharply against the action of Brother Breslau. At the same time, I asked if this was accepted the protest should be sent to the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers Union. The chairman of the meeting refused to accept my motion

Death of Brother Schneider

New York City. On Thursday evening, June 7, J. Schneider, business agent of Dressmakers Local 22, International Ladies Garment Workers Union died at Saint Vincent's Hospital of wounds inflicted upon him when he was shot in union headquarters a few days before. The slayer, who gave himself up and admitted the crime, was an adherent of the right wing action in the union.

The murder came as the result of the bitter attacks directed against Brother Schneider, who was a member of the progressive Trade Union Circle, on the part of the reactionary elements.

Brother Schneider was a very active and conscientious union official and his loss will be greatly felt by his organization and his fellow-workers.

The official Communist Party spokesmen and the "Freiheit" whose attacks upon Schneider added to the incitement against him, are playing a most shameful role, practically condoning the murder.

We publish below the telegram of condolence sent by the Communist Opposition to Local 22.

C. S. Zimmerman, Manager, Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., New York, N. Y.

The National Committee of the Communist Party (Opposition) expresses deepest condolences at the death of Brother Schneider and extends heartfelt sympathy to the

With the Working Youth

Statement of Former Y.C.L. Member by Joe Davis

When I joined the Young Communist League, one year ago, I was firmly convinced that the official party line was correct. I was sure, at that time, that the working class was so radical that it was ready to follow our party immediately, that Communists could on no account work in reactionary labor unions but must rather form purely Communist - controlled unions and that Communists could never form a united front with a reformist organization. All these theories were a part of the official line of the party and no one was more loyal to the party than I.

I do not believe in any of these theories any more. Much against my desire I have been forced to admit that the American working class is as yet very conservative, that Communists exercise, right now, only a small influence in the labor movement, that the work before us is long and difficult. I have been forced to acknowledge that the trade union line of the party, dual unionism and independent leadership, has failed miserably and instead of entrenching the Communists in the labor movement, has instead practically wiped out all outside the Communist wing in the unions. I want to admit now that the policy of the "united front from below," the refusal of the small and weak Communist Party to form united fronts with the labor organizations, has resulted in the Communist Party of the reformist leaders but has strengthened their hold on their working class followers. All this I have found from my daily experience, from the daily fight of the party for Communism. I have found that the Communist Party, the American Communist Party was a stronger and better party during the days of the Coolidge prosperity, that practically every major section of the Comintern has become much weaker since the present line of tactics was adopted in 1929, that outside the Soviet Union, in spite of favorable objective conditions, the World Communist movement has failed to advance, has actually retreated! All this evidence points to but one thing: the fact that the "new turn" of the Comintern in 1929 was a bad turn, a turn away from growth and power, a turn away from the proletarian revolution.

One thing has stood out more than anything else in convincing me of the wrongness of the line of the Comintern. This inability of our German party to win the very radicalized workers away from the totally discredited Social-democracy has been the living proof of the fact that the fruit of sectarianism is impotence. The refusal of our German party to offer a united front against Fascism to the Social-democracy until it was too late played right into the hands of the Socialist leaders, who did not want a united front and of Hitler who had most to fear from a united labor movement. Our German party was the only important party in the Comintern which made even any paper gains since 1929 and yet even in Germany the party was defeated, was rendered unable to carry out its historical tasks because of the ruinous ultra-left line of the Comintern.

Because I have come to understand these things and because I said some of them in my YCI unit during a discussion period, I have been expelled from the Y.C.L. And since there was no real basis for my expulsion, since I had spoken only during a discussion period and had not given a chance to defend myself, it was announced that I was a "paid spy" and a "tool of Roosevelt." The District Committee has issued a statement in which it is difficult to discover one sentence not containing a direct lie. I am accused of class collaboration upon the unions, the answer which is eating away the vitals of the American labor movement today. For a union to fulfill its elementary function of defending the economic interests of the workers against the employers it must be completely and unconditionally free of any entangling alliances with the capitalists, their organizations and

Trotskyism on the German Situation

For edification of our readers and for the documentation of the tremendous errors and self-contradictions of Trotskyism on the German situation, we publish the following significant quotations:

1. From "The Militant", April 8, 1933, article by Trotsky, dated March 14, 1933: "It would be patently stupid to believe that the subsequent evolution of Germany will go to the Italian road, that Hitler will strengthen his domination step by step without serious resistance. . ."
2. From "The Militant", February 4, 1933, article by L. D. Trotsky, dated February 5, 1933: "Even under the most favorable conditions for Hitler he requires a long number of months . . . in order to establish the hegemony of Fascism. . . . Yet today, he cannot hide behind the mantle of a Kaiser and he is forced to resort to the brown shirt of the Nazi. There is no way of getting around without the Nazis. But it is likewise impossible to get over to them the actual power. . . . The new governmental combination (puts) military and economic posts in the hands of the masters, while the plebeians are assigned the decorative or second-rate posts. . . . The chief instruments of power are not in Hitler's hands."
3. From "The Militant", March 1, 1933, article by M. S.: "The Life and Death Question: Leninist United Front in Germany or Disaster. It (the Communist Party of Germany) must put a stop to the self-deceptive jabbering about the 'united front from below' which 'unites' only the Communists and their supporters and set in motion the Leninist united front of all the workers to decimate the Fascist hydra. . . . It is now that it must strike for the united front which, in turn, will strike the dagger from the hands of Fascism and Fascism from the seats of power."
4. From "The Militant", April 8, 1933, article by Trotsky, dated March 14, 1933: "In this situation voluntary unions of Communist and Social-democratic workers may and will be realized for various episodic tasks but the systematic realization of the united front is inexorably thrust back for an indeterminate future. There must be no illusions on that score."

WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

(Continued from page 1)

tion of capitalism in crisis. The Soviet Union, he announced, was ready to buy one billion dollars of the world's goods if the capitalist countries were ready to make the necessary economic and political arrangements, that is, trade credits and diplomatic recognition.

In contrast to the remarks of Litvinoff, Hugenberg, the National member of the German delegation, threw before the conference the demand for the return of African colonies to Germany and the partitioning of sections of the Soviet Union as territories for settlement and construction of great works of peace. Without the least doubt in the world, this proposal represents the real aspiration of the Nazi regime, which hopes to solve its manifold difficulties on the international arena. Hugenberg's remarks served as a tribulation, to test the reaction of the other elements involved. Naturally, they were immediately "with-drawn," of course tentatively, and Hugenberg made to bear the brunt of the situation. But more will be heard of the Nazi insistence for colonies in the future.

The World Economic Conference mirrors the tangle of ineradicable contradiction and confusion in which the capitalist world finds itself under the shadow of the world economic crisis and the consequences of the war. The permanent stabilization of capitalism as a world system is today altogether out of the question. Whatever may be the prospects for momentary recovery, the fact remains that capitalism is in a state of chronic crisis and has been since the World War. To bring order out of chaos, to restore the world to economic health and prosperity, it is necessary to transform basically the very foundations of our social order, to clear away the ruins of capitalism and open the way for a new society resting on the collective ownership of the means of production and real international cooperation made possible thereby.

But only the revolutionary working class, united and conscious of its tasks, can accomplish this great overturn.

(Continued on page 7)

The Real Spain: the Spain of Workers and Peasants

A Review Of: "Spain, A Workers Republic"

ESPAÑA, REPUBLICA DE LOS TRABAJADORES (SPAIN, A WORKERS REPUBLIC), by E. Eremburg. Translated from the Russian into Spanish by N. Lebedeff. Madrid, Cent, 1932.

In this book Eremburg does not write about the legendary glamor of Spain. He speaks to us of the lives and the superhuman struggles of Spain's workers and peasants. He takes us from one end of the country to the other. We meet the worker on the land, in the factory, at the trade union center, on strike, at demonstrations, in the hunger, how it has intensified his resistance, how it has intensified his valor and his solidarity. For an entire generation, since "La Barraca" no book on Spain has depicted the lives and problems of Spain's peasants with as much understanding and as much feeling as Eremburg. "I find no words to describe the poverty of Spain, of the peasants of Sanabria, of the workers of Cordoba, Jerez, San Fernando, Sagunto, of the lumpen-proletariat who beg to live, who care for bread.

"Spain is not Carmen, nor the bull fighters, nor Alfonso, nor the diplomats of Lerroux, nor anything that the country exports to foreign lands. . . . Spain is twenty million ragged Quixotes and mountains of sterile rocks mixed with bitter justice. . . .

"Spain is the songs sad as the murmur of dry olive trees—sad as the buzzing of strikers.

In Spain there is no unemployment insurance and the unemployed live on the solidarity of their fellow workers. In Barcelona a worker shares his roof with his family. In Extremadura the worker gives half his bread to his unemployed neighbor. And all this is done so quietly that it passes almost unnoticed. You can enter the hut of a peasant or worker in any part of Spain and he will share with you the greatest of his hospitality. Eremburg extols his great valor:

"This much talked-of Spanish valor is found only among the workers and peasants. At the first sign of danger King Alfonso ran away from Spain. The general strike of the revolution, the most habitable place in Las Hurdes is the cemetery. . . ."

On the other side of the mountain lies the city of Salamanca—a gay square, with a grand hotel, music, dancing and an ancient University that the foreign press writes about.

In Las Hurdes the light has gone out completely; all over Spain there are many hunger spots like this one. But the organization of peasants in Extremadura, in Castille, Aragon, Andalusia, La Mancha, and the organization of the workers in Barcelona, Bilbao, their militant, stubborn strikes, the national revolts, are all indications that

Declaration of Joe Davis

(Continued from page 6)

the attempt to stop the members of the Young Communist League from hearing the truth about the situation of the international Communist movement.

There is one charge which has been thrown at me to which I now want to plead guilty. I have been accused of agreeing with "renegade elements," the "Lovestones." As one who has just joined the Communist Opposition, I want to say that the Communist Opposition has been the only group to fight continuously against the self-strangling tactics of the party, to point the way to victory in the name of Marx and Lenin. I want to say this: if you are really interested in building a powerful revolutionary party of American labor, if your loyalty to Communism extends further than your membership card, if you really want to bring about a Socialist America, then you must fight inside the Communist Party and the Young Communist League for a restoration of a correct political line; you must support the struggles of the Communist Opposition and you must join the Communist Opposition.

"Everything in Las Hurdes belongs to the wealthy landowners on the other side of the mountains. And because the doctor can find no way of curing the hungry he compiles statistics. So it was before the revolution, so it is now.

"On the other side of the mountain live the owners of Las Hurdes. They have bread, olives, peaches, kind, and republic. For their amusement they have built themselves this good road to Las Hurdes where they go slumming to see these strange creatures. They come and go, but the peasants of Las Hurdes go nowhere. Now, just before the revolution, the most habitable place in Las Hurdes is the cemetery. . . ."

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STATEMENT OF THE CARLISLE CLUB

We publish below a statement issued by the Carlisle Club of the Young Circle League of America on the so-called "united front" National Young Day demonstration of the Young Communist League. A similar protest was issued in leaflet form by the youth group of the Conference of Progressive Labor Action.—Editor.

New York City. The Carlisle Young Circle Club, Branch 1030, Workmen's Circle, after participating in the National Youth Day demonstration and, after hearing the report of its representative to the United Front Committee, deems it necessary to make the following statement of

(Continued on page 8)

Spain's workers and peasants are on the march and eager to intelligent leadership to help them take the country, which belongs to them. The translation of this stirring book into English would give America its first real understanding of modern Spain—the Spain of yesterday's Republican and tomorrow's proletarian revolution.

—ELLEN WARD

The Joint Demonstration of The Jobless on June 6

Three Unemployed Bodies in Common Action

(Continued from page 1)

Meeting the repeated cry of poverty which the Board of Estimate has been making and their insistence on their "inability" to raise any additional funds, the statement pointed out the possibilities of taxing stock-gambling as well as the income of public utilities. Another item on which the city could save millions, the statement declared, was the elimination of self political jobs.

As emphatic as the statement was for getting more revenue for relief purposes, it, however, rejected the idea of a sales tax or a also rejected the proposed automobile tax and the cutting of wages of civil service workers. Delegate after delegate took the stand demanding that the Mayor give a positive answer to the demands of the unemployed for a \$15,000,000 appropriation for the month of June. Each time Mayor O'Brien evasively replied: "The City will do all it can." After repeated efforts to get a definite answer from the Mayor, the delegates decided to leave and proceed to the mass meeting where they were well received. Here the answer of O'Brien to the unemployed was given.

The Disrupters At Work

Altho the Unemployed Council had been invited to participate as equals, it saw fit to make separate arrangements. Some of its followers marched behind the demonstration of the joint committee. The Union of the followers of the Council gathered at City Hall. When the line of march came up to City Hall, the marchers at the end of the line dropped off and waited until the Council representatives came out of City Hall about two o'clock. The demonstrative impression which they wished to create by this action was absolutely nil.

Just as the last speakers of the united demonstration were winding up, after two hours of speech making the Council lines appeared at Battery Park. Mixing with the workers already present, the Council supporters started to shout. Bedlam broke loose. What ensued, name-calling and cat-calling, the meeting no longer had the appearance of a demonstration of workers solidarity. A group of

A Big Success

The first effort of the unemployed for united action must be recorded as a big success. Not only was the demonstration representative and enthusiastic, but it impressively dramatized the possibility of joint action of the various organizations of the jobless, hitherto divided as rivals. That it did not remain without effect as far as the city government is concerned, is shown by Mayor O'Brien's orders to the city marshals a few days later instructing an eviction unit, representative of the Home Relief Bureau appeared in the spot to take care of the case and making some other adjustments along the same lines.

In spite of these concessions, the demands of the unemployed, as voiced at the demonstration, have not yet been granted. The need for joint action, for unity and militancy of the unemployed, still remains.

RECOVERY ACT AND WORKERS

(Continued from page 3)

their government. The Roosevelt plan, providing for union participation in a whole maze of government boards, completely dominated by trust capital, strives to make the organizations of labor the vehicles for carrying out the plans of the capitalists.

With the full power of fixing and enforcing wage and hour standards in the hands of the President, the unions are menaced with a loss of their very possibility of existence, for this possibility depends upon the efficacy of unions in winning and enforcing wages, hours and other conditions for the workers. It is already more than hinted that strikes against the decrees of the President will be officially banned and suppressed by the Federal government; that the President will have the legal power to do so under the new act can hardly be questioned.

What will be the standards that the President in his new omnipotence will decree for the American workers, can already be more than guessed in view of the \$1 a day reforestation camps and the \$10-\$11 a week minimum wage being proposed in the textile and other trade codes.

The public recognition of the

sub-starvation wage standards of the depression era, the new and legally decreed "American standard of living" will be the great achievement of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

These are the most direct and most immediate dangers to labor. In the background, however, looms even graver menace. It is more than probable that the company union movement will gain great impetus with the strengthening of the hold of the most vicious open-shopers upon the country's industries. The very labor planks about which the A. F. of L. leaders are in such ecstasies, may turn out to be a boomerang, as has, indeed, already been hinted.

Nor is forced labor in some form of manner altogether out of question. The analogies with the war period forcefully bring to our attention the notorious "Work or Fight" order. With the right to strike gone, with all industry and all union organization under the dictatorial command of the President, forced labor is but a step away.

The Duty Of Labor

It needs hardly an argument to prove that the only attitude labor can take, in conformity with its own class interests, is determined opposition to the National Industrial Recovery Act. Those labor

leaders, from Green to Hillman, who are championing and advertising it as a "labor measure," are not serving the interests of the workers but rather those of the employing class and its government. As against the bill and its "labor planks," the unions and the other workers organizations should have presented a number of proposals of direct interest to the masses, an anti-sweatshop law, an adequate minimum wage law, a law for the shortening of the hours of labor without cuts in wages, an unemployment insurance law. Thus labor and capital would have stood counterposed, in public sight as well as in fact.

Now that the act is law, it is the most elementary duty of the labor organizations to refuse positively to participate in the "mixed" government committees to be set up under the act. Such participation would be the grossest surrender of the interests of the workers and a costly blow at the unions. The representatives of labor would at best be hostages in the camp of the enemy, a screen to hide and to sanction the offensive of capitalist union leaders. The business of the capitalists carry thru their plans but to defend the interests of labor against capital at all points. The representatives of labor have no more place in the mixed boards

then they have in the Chambers of Commerce or than Matthew Wolf has in the National Civic Federation.

While keeping their hands clean of all cooperation with the employing class, the unions must not, however, simply ignore the facts of the case. The Recovery Act situation. The Recovery Act boards will legislate on matters of the most vital concern to the workers and it is clearly the business of the unions to present to employers and employers organizations, sets of demands expressing the interests of the workers. But these demands will have power and effectiveness behind them only if the unions succeed in maintaining a critical class independence, only if the unions strengthen themselves organizationally and build up militancy and fighting spirit, only if the unions save themselves from the attempt made upon their very existence by the National Industrial Recovery Act.

The whole labor movement in this country, weak, demoralized, divided as it is, faces a grave menace in the immediate future the complete loss of its class independence as a workers movement. Today, as never before, is the struggle for the class independence of the American labor movement, the most fundamental task facing the militant workers in this country!

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July 1st, 1933

THE "NEW DEAL" IN ACTION

THE settlement effected in the railroad industry by Joseph R. Eastman, coordinator of transportation, is being hailed far and wide as a signal triumph for the "New Deal". Under the benign auspices of President Roosevelt, a 12½% wage cut has been avoided, labor and capital reconciled, the way opened clear for recovery. Such is the official myth being assiduously spread by those who know and those who should know better. What are the facts?

The fact of the matter is that the railroad workers have been saddled with a wage cut and made to like it by a shabby piece of trickery only too notorious in the labor movement. Over a year ago the railroad executives succeeded in forcing on the men a direct wage cut of 10%, with the comforting promise, twice repeated, that it would be "merely temporary." Now, when the time had come round for revocation of the "temporary reduction", the company executives not only demanded that the 10% cut be made permanent but insisted on a 12½% slash in addition, making a cut of 22½% total! It was the old, old game—demanding twice as much to get what you want, with the hope of getting even more as a result of a well-planned offensive. In steps Coordinator Eastman, as "personal representative" of the President, and brings about a "reconciliation". The "threat" of a new 12½% cut is withdrawn but the 10% reduction is continued for another year. The railroad companies have gotten their wage cut, labor has won a "moral victory", and all join voices in ecstasy at the "New Deal." And the net result is: a wage slash for the railroad workers in the very midst of the "upturn!" Such is the "New Deal" in practise for the railroad workers!

In his statement on the Administration policy under the National Industrial Recovery Act, President Roosevelt declared: "It seems to me equally plain that no business which depends for existence on paying less than living wages to its workers has any right to continue in this country . . . By living wages I mean more than a mere subsistence level—I mean the wages of decent living." On the basis of the 1928 investigation of the National Industrial Conference Board, an employers agency, the income of a workers family for "decent support" should be, adjusted to current price levels, at least \$1,350 a year, or \$26 a week. Three days after the President's statement, the employers in the cotton industry submitted their trade code. In it a minimum wage of \$10 for the Southern regions and \$11 for the Northern is provided, and even this minimum is not to apply to learners, cleaners and outside workers. Less than half the standard minimum for a decent living! To grasp the full depths of the situation, it must be remembered that, as soon as this trade code goes into effect, it supplants all state laws in regard to minimum wages. For example the Massachusetts \$14.65 weekly minimum for the textile industry will be set aside in favor of the \$11 standard of the national trade code. Such is the "New Deal" in practise for the textile workers!

It is becoming clearer than ever that the "New Deal" in general and the National Industrial Recovery Act in particular are, for the employers, new weapons in their offensive against labor, weapons all the more effective because the masses of the working people do not see their menace but regard them indeed as a boon and a blessing.

THE FURRIERS NEED UNITY!

THE events of the last few weeks have exposed clearly enough the true character of the drive to "rebuild" the International Fur Workers Union thru a united front of the fur bosses, the reactionary A. F. of L. officials and the police. This drive constitutes one of the most shameful examples of class collaboration ever witnessed in the American Labor movement. Union officials, alleged representatives of labor and Socialists to boot, have the audacity to appeal to the bosses and to the police to destroy a rival organization, the Fur Department of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, and to drive the workers into their own! Can any honest worker, respecting himself and his class, stomach such a performance?

In the Socialist Party, which officially sponsored the move and with which the reactionary furriers officials are associated, there is arising a growing voice of protest among workers who have never had much sympathy with the left wing before. That Norman Thomas could speak at a meeting under the auspices of a T.U.U.L. union is significant enough!

It is becoming as clear as daylight that the dual union system, the system of conflicting rival unions, is the intolerable curse of the fur trade. Today the Fur Department of the N.T.W.I.U. has some hold in the trade, while the I. F. W. U. has practically collapsed. A little while before the relation of forces was reversed; in the near future perhaps, it may again be reversed, and so on and on. At one time, the A. F. of L. union is on top; at another, the T.U.U.L. union, but the bosses are on top all the time, while the workers are becoming increasingly demoralized and disgusted at the unceasing conflict of unions and at the ebb and flow of a constantly declining membership from one to the other. The fur workers are themselves the most tragic victims of the whole situation, paying and paying heavy in organization and in working conditions.

The collapse of the I.F.W.U. is due directly to the class collaboration policies of the reactionary union officialdom and to its complete disregard of the interests of the workers. The present campaign of the I.F.W.U.-manufacturers-police united front is a continuation of the same disastrous tactics; it can bring no good to the workers and it certainly will not unify their ranks. The only way out is the direct way out: an end to the suicidal dual union system! Let the Fur Department of the N.T.W.I.U. demand affiliation to the A. F. of L., on the guarantee of no discrimination. Let the Fur Department of the N.T.W.I.U. fight for unity with the other fur workers organizations and with the organized American labor movement as a whole. With the abolition of the degrading inter-union struggle, with the left wing in a position where it can do the most good, the fur workers will gain new heart and again stride forward to win for themselves the place they once occupied in the ranks of unionism.

Deeds, Not Words!

The Communist Opposition In Harlem

We publish below a leaflet recently issued by the Harlem (New York City) Branch of the Communist Opposition.—Editor.

Lost to all sense of decency and responsibility, the Harlem Liberator supposed to be published by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights but actually the organ of the narrow-minded clique running has turned its June 3, 1933, issue and running the Communist Party into a sewer of abuse against the Communist Opposition, the only vital Communist force in Harlem today.

Its shameless distortion and invention of "facts", its reckless demagoguery, its wild charges cannot hurt us because deeds speak louder than words. As usual, abuse and slander are an admission of the lack of sound argument, a confession of defeat. But the convincing exhibition that the Harlem Liberator has given of its own political degradation can and will hurt the cause of Communism because it publicly parades as a Communist paper. We say to the working people of Harlem: "Do not judge Communism by the Harlem Liberator! Communism, the grand movement for the emancipation of all humanity from exploitation, oppression and prejudice, has nothing in common with the loud-mouthed impudence of these irresponsible demagogues. Judge Communism by those who really represent it, by the strivings and activities of the Communist Opposition group in Harlem."

While the official Communist Party leaders are discrediting the name of Communism thru their clownishness and ignorance, the Communist Opposition is winning support for the ideas of Communism among the people of Harlem.

While the official Communist Party leaders are strengthening the reactionary philosophy of Garveyism by appeals to race prejudice and by jim-crow propaganda about a "Negro nation" in the United States, the Communist Opposition is championing the idea of a solid front of labor, Negro and white, and is fighting for the complete social and political equality of the colored people in this country.

While the official Communist Party leaders were unscrupulously intriguing behind the scenes with discredited politicians, ministers and journalists in the Scottsboro case, the Communist Opposition publicly branded these dangerous maneuvers and called for a real united front of labor and lower middle class organizations in Harlem.

While the official Communist Party leaders were allowing the I. L. D. in Harlem to die thru their irresponsibility and stifling sectarianism, the Communist Opposition helped to organize the Roy Wright Branch of the I. L. D., one of the biggest and most vigorous of the branches in Harlem.

While the official Communist Party leaders are choking the life out of the I. L. D. by destroying its non-partisan character and by making it into an open appendage of the Communist Party, the Communist Opposition is fighting hard to preserve the I. L. D. as a non-partisan organization because only a non-partisan organization, broad enough to embrace people of all political viewpoints and therefore unattached to any political party, can effectively meet the challenge of the Scottsboro frame-up and of capitalist class "justice" in general.

While the official Communist Party leaders are wrecking their unemployed movement by rowdyism and by making it a tail-end of the Communist Party, the Communist Opposition has helped to build up a strong and militant organization of the jobless in Harlem, really non-partisan and non-political in character and therefore all the more able to defend the interests of the unemployed.

In brief, while the official Communist Party leaders are undermining and discrediting Communism on all fields, the Communist Opposition is spreading the influence of Communism and is rebuilding its prestige among the

working people of Harlem.

Workers of Harlem! Answer the indecent anti-Communist slander of the Harlem Liberator with the contempt it deserves. Support the activities of the Communist Opposition! Join the Communist Opposition.

Harlem Branch
Communist Party of the U. S. A.
(Opposition)

STATEMENT OF THE CARLISLE CLUB

(Continued from page 7)

its position:

We participated in this united front against the advice of the Senior Central Committee of the Young Circle League and the City Youth Committee of the W. C. because we felt that the best way to promote a genuine united front was thru active participation in the united front and active criticism of all violations of it on the part of other participating organizations. We still believe this to be a fundamentally correct policy to pursue. We feel, however, that the action of the Young Communist League in this united front movement was a violation of the united front agreements and therefore requires this declaration of facts on our part.

The Young Communist League used its position as the leader of the United Front Committee to violate agreements of the committee, particularly in connection with platforms and speakers of the participating organizations. In a high-handed manner, they excluded speakers from organizations whose views (on matters with which the united front was not concerned) did not coincide with theirs. The excuse was "lack of time" but there seemed to be sufficient time for unscheduled speakers from the Young Communist League and Communist Party. And there seemed to be sufficient time for Irving Herman of the Young Communist League to speak many times over his allotted 5 to 10 minute time limit. In addition, without any decision of the United Front Committee, the "Red Front" was put in charge of "maintaining order" at the meeting. Needless to say, they acted as factional agents of the Young Communist League, and not the instrument of the united front.

This policy of the Young Communist League of continually breaking decisions of the United Front showed itself not only at the demonstration but in the preparation for it. (Violation of the committee's original decision not to include attack upon the Y.P.S.L. leaders in leaflet to Y.P.L.S. members).

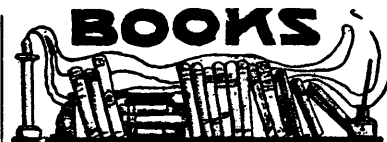
We were for the united front when we entered and we are for the united front today. We are remaining on the United Front Committee because we believe it is a necessity in spite of the anti-united front tactics of the Young Communist League. We will remain as long as the activities of the United Front Committee, on which the Young Communist League has a majority, permit us to remain without becoming the tail to the kite of the Young Communist League.

On Tuesday, June 20, Rose Pastor Stokes, American Socialist and Communist, died at Frankfort-am-Main. A heart ailment was given as the cause of her death; she had recently been operated on for cancer. Her age at the time of death 54.

She became active at an early age in labor organization work and in journalism. In the course of the latter work, she met the millionaire liberal, J. G. Phelps Stokes, whom she subsequently married.

During and after the war, she went with the left wing in Socialist Party. For an article published in the "Kansas City Star," she was sentenced to ten years in prison under the Espionage Act but the conviction and sentence were upset on appeal.

From its foundation she was a member of the Communist Party altho, of late years, she could not be active because of her ailment.



THE MODERN MONTHLY, edited by V. F. Calverton. No. 3 (April 1933), No. 4 (May 1933), No. 5 (June 1933), No. 6 (July 1933).

In examining the last four issues of "The Modern Monthly," the question naturally arises: To what degree do the fundamental criticisms made of the first two numbers ("Workers Age," March 1, 1933) continue to apply to these? It is gratifying to record that the development of the journal has been precisely in the direction of overcoming its grave original shortcomings.

No longer can it be said that "The Modern Monthly" fails "to come to grips with certain problems that demand treatment in a journal of such a character." The nature of Fascism is significantly analyzed from the Marxist viewpoint in an article by V. F. Calverton, which, in spite of certain unclarity and inappropriate formulations, is certain to prove of great value. Inflation, barter, unemployment insurance, the coal industry the Roosevelt policies, are all treated in articles, of unequal value, it is true, but all of interest. The labor movement is still comparatively neglected but David J. Saposs's articles "The Catholic Church and the Labor Movement" constitute a very good beginning.

There is obviously some but entirely insufficient effort to overcome the totally inadequate treatment that the theoretical foundations of Marxism received in the early issues. Max Eastman is featured in articles, interesting in deed, but characteristically thin and substanceless. Unfortunately, Sidney Hook's engrossing series on the early history of Marxism seem to have met with a sudden end in the April issue. Three articles by Bertram D. Wolfe on "Marx and America" are promised. But, or the whole, an adequate and substantial discussion of Marxist theory is still far from achieved in the numbers under consideration.

The great problems raised by the contemporary crisis in the Communist movement are treated in an editorial on the united front in an open letter from V. F. Calverton to Leon Trotsky, very inferior from a political viewpoint and in an interesting symposium in which the standpoints of the Trotskyites and the Communist Opposition are presented. More of such material will add greatly to the value of the journal.

An attractive feature of the June issue is the series of reproductions of some murals by Diego Rivera and an article by him or "What Is Art For?" The magazine is to be congratulated on the acquisition of this great revolutionary painter as its art editor.

The general quality of the book reviews has unquestionably improved but curiously enough significant articles of vital literary criticism or of the theory of literary criticism are strikingly absent.

The fact of the matter is that "The Modern Monthly" is still in the process of becoming. Its natural objective seems to be a forum for the free and unhampered discussion of the problems of Marxism and of the problems of contemporary economic, social, political and cultural life from the point of view of Marxism. This goal it has not yet achieved but it has struck out vigorously on the way to it.

—Will Herberg

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