PAPER DEFENDING THE WORKERS .

THE INTERESTS AND FARMERS

Vol. IV, No. 1.

Saturday, Jan. 5, 1935

Five Cents

At First GLANCE

JAY LOVESTONE

BIGGER AND BETTER WAR PLANS COMING

Does the Nye Committee investigating armaments hope or plan to get anywhere? The superficial and cynical might say that this committee simply means to talk for the purpose of saying nothing. We are convinced that nothing of the sort is the case. Out of all this talk bigger and better war plans will come. What Isaiah of old could only talk or dream about—the beating of swords into plowshares—the Yankee profiteers of today are living to see in reverse: the building up of a war machine to transform, at a moments notice, tractors into hell-pouring tanks.

WHO OWNS OUR **COUNTRY?**

This is the season of rosy prophecies and empty resolutions. The New Dealers are head over heels in such efforts. Statistics of all kinds are being fabricated to lend a sort of accurate and scientific touch to the White House ballyhoo. Far be it from us to enter the lists and try our hand at Rooseveltian witchcraft.

Yet certain official figures, just made public, not only tell a story of what has been going on but also show what's ahead. The Federal Deposit Insurance Company has recently reported that 1.5% of the country's depositors hold title to two-thirds of the country's deposits. This fact surely knocks into a cocked-hat the very much-vaunted claims about our millions of bank depositors bulging with cash, about the wide distribution of wealth.

MISERY ON WHEELS

A graphic picture of misery and ugliness was painted the other day in Detroit. The canvas was rather large. It was the automobile industry. The painters were talented—none other than the auto workers themselves. Low wages, life-sapping speed-up, a notorious spy system, total denial of the right to organize—these were some of the high-lights and shadows sketched in the Henderson hearings.

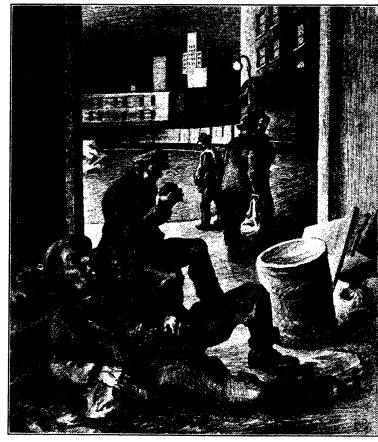
But what's to be done about it? Beg for peace and partnership with Sloane and Ford, as A. F. of L. organizer Dillon did? Organize a new, pure auto union outside the A. F. of L. as some revolutionists aspire and perspire to do? Surrender to Roosevelt and Wollman with their sundry devious and obvious company union schemes, as was done company union schemes, as was done last Spring when a fine chance to get something was thrown away by Green and his side-kicks? All of these bitter pills have been swallowed and things have gone from bad to worse. Now is the time to launch an organization drive for a showdown in the auto industry, for otherwise, all organized and unorganized labor will receive a body blow from which it will take a long time to recover. Much rather a good fight than a

"THE SYSTEM GOES ON-THE PEOPLE PERISH"

"Had I the power I would throw over our economic system in a flash, if I thought there was a better one available. . . . The system goes triumphantly on and the people perish."

These are strange and bold words for a high and mighty government official like O. W. Herridge, Minister to Washington. Apparently this brother-in-law of Prime Minister Bennett already sees a cloud no bigger than a hand on the economic horizon. But the solution does not lie in visions of would-be purifiers of capitalism. The solution lies in the hands, in the power, of the workers and farmers. In what was once darkest Russia, the working class in alliance with the peasantry, has shown not only what's to be done but how it's to be done. Inheriting a country, war-torn, civil-war ridden, and oppressed for centuries by Czarism and capitalism, the proletariat has wrought veritable miracles (in but seventeen years) in art, science, economics and politics.

DAYS WITHOUT END



(SEE PAGE THREE)

Lithograph by C. Pollock

INTERNATIONAL OPPOSITION GREETS WEEKLY WORKERS AGE

gratulate the Communist Party U.S.A. (Opposition) on the transformation of its official organ the WORKERS AGE into a weekly.

the long, aggressive fight of the C.P.O. U.S.A. for correct Communist tactics, for the re-establishment of unity of the Communist movement on the basis of democratic centralism has extended its influence over ever-broader circles of America's class conscious workers.

The Workers Age and its predecessor the Revolutionary Age have contributed a good deal to the success of the C.P.O.

The Workers Age is one of the best papers of the I.C.O. and is undoubtedly the best Communist paper that did and does appear in the U.S. The Workers Age has made successful efforts to combine theory and practice in the Leninist sense, i.e., to apply the lessons of Marxism-Leninism and the international experiences of the proletariat in order to analyze the conditions under which the American proletariat has to struggle and in order to formulate the tasks of the

Under the influence of the ultra-left

ADMINISTRATION WAVES OLIVE BRANCH BUT FIRMLY GRIPS TOOLS OF WAR

Army and Navy Plan Wholesale Raid on Treasury; **DuPont Wants Absolute Monarch** To Rule in Next War

Washington, D. C.

Our good President having announced his determination to take the profit out of war and having thus given assurance that the utmost economy would be used in killing off a portion of our population in the coming war, one would have expected that the whole matter would be forgotten by this time. But such is decidedly not the case.

Bolstering Our National Defense

Despite all statements that the present investigations conducted by the Nye Committee are not intended to meet the strained international situation, especially sharpened by Japan's adamant stand against the 5-5-3 Naval ratio (with Japan at the short end), Capitol Hill knows better. The Nye Committee has been informed that the War Department's industrial mobilization plan is complete. All the requirements for war materials have already been allotted to 12,000 firms thruout the country. Each of these firms knows, at this very mostrained international situation, especi-

30 HOUR LAW WILL FACE GAG RULE OF COMING CONGRESS

Washington, D. C.
The policy of the American Federation of Labor of supporting its "friends"
and punishing its "enemies" is going to receive a shaking up when Congress convenes on January 3, for the Democratic administration majority and our laborloving President consider some of the bills sponsored by the A.F.L. as anti-Roosevelt and have made plans to scotch

In the past a petition of 145 congressmen was sufficient to bring to a vote any bill which may have been pigeon-holed by the majority administration leaders. Such a procedure is going to be made practically impossible by the simple expedient of binding the Democratic majority to support a motion making 218 the minimum required for such a

Among the bills which are considered as anti-administration and are doomed to gather dust in the Congressional archives are the 30 hour bill, the key bill in the legislative program of the A. F. of L., and the Frazier-Lemke farm relief bill. From present appearances the inside track will be given to all types of National Defense (preparations for war) measures.

ment, the amount of supplies that would be expected from it in case of war. The War Department in its state-ment on policy read into the Commit-tee minutes appeared in opposition to retionalization of munitions. Their plan nationalization of munitions. Their plan is to keep private industry in training for war production by the use of "educational" orders, issued on a non-competitive basis to train manufactures in the construction of instruments of slaughter. Pursuant to this the War Department has authorized the sale of munitions to foreign governments also for the purpose of keeping American munitions makers in practice.

Also hard on the heels of the demands of the Army authorities for increased army personnel comes now the announcement of Carl Vinson, chairman of the House Naval Committee, that he is certain that both Congress as well as the President are supporting his program for increased naval armaments. A welltimed statement by a Panama editor, that twenty good men and true could send the whole Panama Canal skyward send the whole Panama Canal skyward in a matter of 12 hours threw the Big Navy boys into a veritable hysteria and in order to avoid such catastrophe comes the immediate proposal from Chairman Vinson for the construction of another canal, across Nicaragua, at the cost of a measly billion dollars—unemployed please note.

In Time Of Peace
Prepare For War
One should think that with so much brain-trusting going on some brand new reason would have been coined for all this sudden and feverish activity but all we are told is that in order to avoid war it is pressent to prepare forward. an we are told is that in order to avoid war it is necessary to prepare for war in time of peace. And if our memory serves us right this was the slogan under which all the countries armed themselves prior to the last world war. What we have not been told yet is that the best defense is an offensive, but we are a little premature—come it will but later.

Wanted-An Absolute Monarchy

Having made sure that we are pre-paring to avoid war it is only natural that the Nye Committee should investhat the Nye Committee should investigate the means whereby the winning of the war is to be made certain. It is equally natural that the committee should ask the advice of one of the numerous duPonts, who have managed to make quite a lucrative business out of the slaughter industry. Said this public-spirited citizen and pillar of our democratic institutions: democratic institutions:

"The only way to wage a successful war is to have an absolute monarchy. Caesar and Napoleon found that out. You never hear of a democracy waging a successful war."

So then, the week's news under our peace-loving administration can be summarized as follows: Build up the Navy, spend a billion dollars for another canal and by all means let's find ourselves a good monarch if we want to win the next war.

Employment Still Declining Secretary Perkins Reports

WASHINGTON, D. C .- According to reports from Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins it appears that reports on increases in employment have been rather premature. The number of workers employed during the past month of November decreased by 1.9% as compared with the month of October. Payrolls for the same period were 2.5% lower than in the month of October.

Attempts to explain away this condition are of course not wanting but the fact remains that unemployment during November increased and that the wages of those who were working decreased.

Soviet Workers Send Aid To Spanish Revolutionaries

The workers in Soviet Russia are enthusiastically responding to a campaign to give help to the workers in Spain. There is a special organization, known as Mopr, whose purpose is to render material and moral aid to revolutionary prisoners and their families in capitalist countries. Representatives of Mopr are addressing the workers at factories, who are agreeing to deductions in their wages from 1 per cent. to 4 per cent. to assist the Spanish revolutionaries.

It gives us particular pleasure to con-

This step affords concrete proof that

Communists in the U.S.A.

course and the burocratic Party regime (Continued on Page 4)

Our Weekly European Letter

Europe Today By AUGUST THALHEIMER

JUGOSLAV ISSUE

The League of Nations has re-assembled in Geneva. The League is often referred to as a political clearing-house but this reference must not be taken literally. The real clearing of the fundamental political question under capitalism, is war, today more than ever. Geneva settles secondary problems only-problems which do not seriously alter the relation of forces among the decisive capitalist powers.

The most striking proof of this is the fate of the disarmament negotiations. As is well known they proved to be a complete failure. "Uncle Arthur" Henderson, therefore, keeps the disarmament committee busy with secondary and tertiary problems such as international armament trade, etc.

A further proof is the manner in which the question of Jugoslavia is dealt with in the League of Nations. The Marseilles assassination was prepared not only in Hungary but also in Italy Germany. But Jugoslavia accuses only Hungary. Italy is kept out because France is trying to make an agreement with Italy. Germany is kept out mainly because the ruling classes of Jugoslavia are strongly in favor of a rapprochement with Hitler Germany. Italy has come out in support of Hungary only in order to secure better terms in the negotiations with France. On the other hand Jugoslavia is supported by two other powers of the Little Entente, Czechoslovakia and Roumania, both of whom acquired sections of Hungarian territory Catholic church in the Saar, is mobilizing Under these circumstances it becomes

clear that the best that can be expected from the League is that the question will be distorted and postponed.

But what does it mean to postpone these questions? Nothing less than the preparation for a new explosion, because all these delayed problems must be settled sometimes and as we stated above the only real solution under the political system of capitalism, is war. It is correct for a proletarian state, such as the Soviet Union, to help postpone war, but the working masses must harbor no illusions and must realize that only proletarian revolution can prevent

CATHOLIC CHURCH MANEUVERS IN SAAR

The Geneva session was preceded by an agreement between France and Hitler Germany on the Saar basin, with Italy as the mediator. The agreement provides for the possibility that the plebiscite on January 13, 1935, will be for return to Germany.

France probably made this agreement because in the last few days the chances of the Saar's return to Germany have lessened. A "German Peoples League for Christian-Social Union" has been formed, within the last few days, by leading Catholic politicians and by 70 functioning Catholic priests. In other words, the

as a result of the Versailles treaty. These a section of its clergy against Hitler are therefore, bitterly opposed to Hun- (another section is supporting Hitler-gary's demand for revision of the treaty. Vatican).

It is quite possible that this maneuver of the Catholic church will be decisive for the outcome of the plebiscite. This dual policy in the Saar is an excellent example of the highly developed art of maneuvering of the Catholic church.

SOVIET UNION BLOCKS HITLER DIPLOMACY

A further motive that accounts for the conduct of France on the Saar question is the desire to prevent Germany from signing the Eastern pact. Hitler Germany has two reasons for making this agreement. First of all, Germany cannot possibly wage war at present. Secondly, Hitler speculated on special negotiations and agreements with France to keep the latter from an alliance with the Soviet Union. But the Soviet Union cleverly blocked Germany's scheme thru its agreement of December 5. France pledges therein not to enter into any negotiations, until the expiration of the Eastern which would in any way interfere with this pact. It is obvious that this eliminated the possibility of special agreements between France and Ger-

The agreement reached on December 5 indicates that the rapprochement be-tween France and the Soviet Union may last for some time to come.

(Continued on Page 3)

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The Kiroff Assassination

THE official implication of members I of the old Zinovieff opposition, and even, it is alleged, of Zinovieff and conspiracies centering around the assassination of Kiroff, is unquestionably the most startling event in the long and devastating cycle of internal struggles thru which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has passed in the last ten years or more. To all those who have followed the history of Bolshevism and the development of the Soviet Union with any sort of understanding, it must have come as an incredible shock, momentarily paralyzing thought itself.

There seems to be little doubt that, in the dastardly murder of Comrade Kiroff, the bloody hand of German Hitlerism is to be discerned, operating perhaps thru the Fascist "independence groups in the Ukraine. Over the several score white guardists shot by the Soviet power for complicity in the assassina tion, no class conscious worker will waste a thought, any more than he would over the fate of some professional strikebreakers who may be unavoidably "hurt in the course of some desperately fought strike. But what about the "former Zinovieffites"?

The information at hand is far too meagre to enable us to pass any judgement on the facts of the case. But certain things are clear from general conand these may help us estimate the situation in its proper light. Under the conditions that have accomanied factional struggle in the C.P.S.U. in the last decade, every party opposition, whatever its program may have been, attracted a fringe of disguised anti-party and anti-Soviet elements. In addition it must be remembered that, for two years now, the Trotskyites and other elements have been openly advocating the perspective of the violent overthrow of the Stalin regime in Russia, that is, of civil war. Between advocating an armed overturn and carrying out terroristic acts there is no difnce in principle, the difference is only a tactical one. The former is frequently transformed into the latter once all hope of an effective mass movement is gone. Organized terror then seems to be the only way out. It is politically more than probable among the most desperate of the followers of Trotsky or Zinovieff, some may have been found who, under the influence of the new Trotskyist orientation and egged on, very likely, by conscious white guardists parading as nists, had sunk so low as to be capable of raising the pistol of the assassin against the representatives of the proletarian dictatorship. And it may be taken for granted that Stalin has not been at all backward in seizing upon such a situation, exaggerating it beyond all measure and utilizing it unscrupulously to deal a death blow to his fac-

All of this taken together, constitutes things have come to in the official Com munist movement under the blight of the Stalin regime. The moral foundations of our movement are thus being under-mined by arbitrary burocracy and ideological decay and only a thoro overhauling of the whole system of political leadership and inner party life, such as is contemplated by the International Communist Opposition, holds out any

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Send me more information about the C. P. O. _ State

Between Hammer and Anvil

UNSEEN AUDIENCE

No actor facing a first night audience, no composer hearing the premiere of his initial symphony is in as tough a spot as a columnist opening his wares to the

If the opening column is very, very, very lousy readers fold it over and are afterwards very careful never to look at it again. If, on the other hand, by supreme effort and a series of sleepless nights a really superb job is turned out why then a standard is set impossible to live up to and people forever after say, "He used to be good, but...."

The Blacksmith, therefore, is compromising. This is just an average column. If you like it steel yourself to reading much worse columns. If you dont be cheered by the fact that there

"SQUADS, WRITE!" IS ORDER

TO PROLETARIAN VANGUARD The Workers Age in its new overcoat bursting out with a rash of columns. All the typewriters in the office which an article by Herberg or Wolfe failed to faze them, are now getting conditioned so they break down as soon as fifteen inches of copy is completed. We are seriously considering changing our title to "The Columnist Party of the USA."

There are certain distinct advantages to the setup however. Many a budding young CPO author has had to become contributor to the New Masses or True Confessions, because after he had toiled manfully over an Age article he had to watch it shrivel and disappear before the onslaught of a four thousand word thesis. Now ensconced in a column, he can sit in his corner and defv even the weightiest analyses of world economic

GOD HELP YOU ALL THIS HAPPY NEW YEAR

The tinsel is getting pretty well clear ed off the streets and the newspapers have put the little cuts of holly wreath away till next year. The New York Times has relieved the Hundred Neediest Cases so there are only about 15,234,678 cases still in need. Macy's and Gimbel's have fired their Santa Clauses and the old gentlemen can go back to selling pencils in the subways.

Christmas, in short, is over. The New Year is the next item on the agenda. It's going to be a wonderful year, 1935. Everybody says so,-President Roosevelt, Smiling Jim Farley, Mayor LaGuardia, all the shiny, new Democratic Congressmen. The New Deal will advance by leaps and bounds in 1935. Prosperity will come back-for

dously-for some people. Meanwhile the Blacksmith has a few New Year's greetings of his own to

some people. Incomes will rise tremen-

To fifteen milion unemployed to whom the holiday season means only a time when their unheated tenements are cold-

Happy New Year!

To twenty or thirty boys in the sunny South who will be lynched and tortured in 1935 to prove that the white race is superior to the black and incidentally that "niggers" shouldn't get uppity and ask for jobs or try to organize in unions.

Habby New Year!

To the thousands of workers who will help to bring prosperity back to this great nation of ours by getting killed and mangled in preventable industrial accidents.

To the men who will be shot by National Guardsmen or company thugs in 1935 as a demonstration of the advantages of the American plan open shop over the seditious. Red, closed shop.

Happy New Year!

To all the mothers who will die in childbirth this year, tributes on the altar of rugged individualism, and the cash complex of the medical profession.

Happy New Year!

To all the men-be they thousands or millions-who will be slain in wars prove the inalienable right of domestic rather than foreign capitalists to exploit

To the workers of the world who will, in 1935, be starved and sweated, burned out in speed ups, beaten up in strikes, abused and maligned by a class enemy. May you strike back one blow and make

Happy New Year!

Books of the Age

CULTURE IN TWO WORLDS, by vedly to every American workingman Nicolai Bukharin Pamphlet, Interna- and intellec

tional Publishers, 32pp. 5c. COMRADE-MISTER: Poems by Isador brilliant study of the crisis in capitalist culture and the contrasting growth of material and spiritual culture in the

With a few powerful and suggestive strokes Bukharin etches in the chaotic and fearful outlines of a dying world: the fear of the machine, the flight from industrialization, the breakdown of the world market, the crisis in liberalism and bourgeois parliamentarism, the battle against evolution, the glorification of subservience and hierar chy, and the rejection of rational think-"Truly, it seems as the heavy giant lizards and iguanadons had again begun to crawl along the surface of the itive earth.

Follows a brief survey of a better world in birth: the emancipation of the productive forces from the fetters of private ownership, the growth of indus achievements, not omitting the problems and difficulties and temporary one sidedness and distortions, accompanying were formerly so well trained that even the growth of socialist economy and

> Twelve pages, devoted to an analysis of Fascist theory and practice, shed more light on the subject than the two whole books-full of partial confusion and ultraleftist formularism by Strachey ("Menace of Fascism") and R. Palme Dutt ("Fascism and Social Revolution"). And in three short paragraphs headed, "The orientation towards economic independence and towards a world socialist economy," Bukharin disposes effectively of all the reams of vicious nonsense that Trotsky has wirtten about "Socialism in one country."

> Only one thought saddened somewhat the enthusiasm of this reviewer: the overeagerness of the author to quote certain commonplaces from the speeches of Stalin as if they were great discoveries, remind one that Bukharin's great talents have been rendered unproductive during a number of years by the destructive wastefulness of factional warfare. But we are happy to record that Bukharin has never produced a better pamphlet and recommend it unreser

Trade Union Notes

By George F. Miles

Joseph Zack

Is Expelled The Daily Worker informs us of the expulsion of Joseph Zack from the Communist Party. This in itself would hardly be cause for comment, since expulsion have been known to have occurred in the past, were it not for the cause given for the expulsion and were there not brought to mind the role which the same Zack played in entrenching the present leadership of the C.P.

Haunt the C. P. Zack was expelled, we are told, because he resisted the Party's effort to set him on the correct road of mass work and instead persistently propagated his own slogan: "Smash the A.F. since it is dead anyway."

Naive people will raise their eyebrows in astonishment. Why, they will gasp, that is precisely what the C.P. itself has been saying for so long a time. Didn't Foster say so and so, and Lozovsky thu and thus at sundry times. To these naive people we answer, yes, they did and it is precisely for this reason that the attack against Zack comes now.

The Communist Party is engineering a change of line on the trade union field for the time being in form only. During this period they are trying hard, very lunacies by simply refusing to talk about them and by indignantly denving them mention them. In this period of bliss ful lapse of memory Joe Zack arises and bellows at the top of his lungs-Smasl the A.F. of L.! A very jarring experience-neonle have been expelled for much less than that. So Zack must go, for he stands there as a living example a constant reminder of their own past criminal stupidities on the trade union

Scape-Goat System Still Thriving

A change in line, on any question may be carried out in two ways. The C.P. can come out and examine frankly and openly its past stand, point out where and how it was wrong and present a new position based on a correct analysis. This, however, neither the Communist International nor the various puppet leaderships, have the courage to do. The second way is to deny that anything was ever wrong, to forget what initiate new policies, insisting that these flow logically out of the previous policies.

Comrade Knorin, analyzing the situation considerable abilities along these lines, still go around saying that Social Democracy is the left wing of fascism and the main base of the bourgeoisie. Honorable mention must also be given to the New York District of the Communist Party to Joe Zack as the horrible example of people who are totally lacking in the appreciation of art. These call it the scape-goat system. At any rate this is the method in common use in the various Communist parties.

If anything was needed to show that short on memory, the expulsion of Zack membership) it was Joe Zack who was chosen to salvage the sinking fortunes of the then opposition. He traveled far and wide, talked, argued, pleaded and finally swung Lozbvsky's apparatus into produced, that is, if it says nothing that line. The increased support and the would indicate that it is dissatisfied with constant promise of uncontested leadership bolstered the wavering and ensuch a play ought not be called a pro- couraged the faint-hearted. And when paganda play. Ant it isn't. And yet, the line of the Comintern veered sharply to the left, bringing with it the expulsion reformist in outlook, and, while they axioms of human conduct which, no of the leadership in the American Party may require some thinking after the play matter what the intentions of the Zack rushed back to take his well-earne of the leadership in the American Party,

place in the new leadership. And now Zack is out as an "ultraleftist"—the very issue upon which he secured leadership. To add insult to injury he is also accused of having become "the ideological leader and supporter" of even "right opportunist" deviations. Horror of horrors!

The system of leadership, now prevailing in the Comintern and the C.P.U.S.A. called for a sacrificial lamb-and he was

glimpse of that deviation it is not always what the writer, himself, might can lie down together without recogniz-

(To be continued in the next issue)

New Workers School ERNST TOLLER ANSWERS H. G. WELLS Reopens Jan. 15

The resumption of the Friday night lecture series on current events by Jay Lovestone will be welcomed by the New Workers School's many friends. The value and significance of Comrade Lovestone's interpretations of events as they occur in all phases of economic, social and political life, have long since been recognized. Contributing to the interest of the evening is the question and discussion period unique in its openness, that follows upon each lecture.

Of further interest to our friends is

the inclusion in our forthcoming Winter

Term of three new courses—to be given for the first time at the New Workers Communism" to be given by Comrade is most qualified to present this course. This course will examine the historical dencies within American Socialism, the of the historical background of the revolutionary movement and of the present state of Communism in America should register for this important

Will Herberg. Some of the basic questions raised in the development of course. Among the fields of modern thought to be touched upon are physics, nature of knowledge and science, determinism, materialism and the structure life, behaviorism, Freudism, Gestaltism, etc., in the light of dialectical material

The third new course, "Turning Points in Modern History," by George F. Miles deals with the history of the class struggle. It analyzes the struggles and decisive turning points beginning with the revolutions of 1848 and going right down the line to the Russian

Italy and Germany.
"Marxian Economics" given by Bert Wolfe during the Fall Term just ended, will be followed by "Economics of Pre-sent Day Capitalism." This is an advanced course for those who have studied Volume I of Capital or completed a course in Marxian economics. The scope of this course is so vast that we cannot possibly take up the space here to enumerate the subjects with which Comrade Wolfe will deal.

"Fundamentals of Communism" given by D. Benjamin needs no comment. Suffice it to say that this course which analyzes the economic, social and political structure and functioning of the capitalist system, the contradictions within capitalism, tendencies making for a new social order, and the nature and form of a new social order, has proved to be a great source of inspiration for those who are making their first acquaintance with Communist theory and

with the Communist movement. A Marxian interpretation of American history will be given by E. Dorf in the course. "Portrait of America." This course will analyze the decisive turning points of American history and the drivng forces that have shaped modern America, its economy, its class structure and its ideology. Diego Rivera's eloquent murals painted on the walls of the New Workers School serve to il-

For those who desire a critical analysis of the major anti-capitalist tendenciesbe of great interest and value.

Register now for the Winter Term which begins the week of January 14. Write for a full descriptive catalogue of courses to the New Workers School, 51 West 14 Street, New York City.

"Days Without End" Will Be Raffled

By Ernst Toller

On Culture in the Soviet Union

frown upon blue-print art and want to see men on the stage and not marion-

In Gorki's latest novel the capitalist is not a devil but a strong personality. It is an accepted fact in the U.S.S.R. that Socialist ideology is rooted among the masses, especially amongst the youth because it is the only ideology which possesses vitality and offers a future. This freedom is an indication of the strength of the Soviet Union. In Russia the writer is not a stepchild but "l'enfant gate," the pampered child, of society. He is expected, to be sure, to be acquainted with the great collective tendencies of the times and to know the demands of a revolution. How-ever, he is not asked for paeans of praise and every bit of self-criticism is med. He is given time, leisure, and the means to carry on his work. In The Land Of The Bakahren

Let me give you an example from my own experience. I came to the land of the Bakahren and Gabardiner the president of which, Kalmikoff by name, is an extraordinary figure. He invited me to come there occasionally and stay there for six months or a year. here," he said, "look about you and perhaps you will be inspired to write about our people. But, I know very well that one cannot force the creation of a work of art. If, after a year you see that you cannot write anything you will perhaps have learned something and that is enough.' Fifteen years ago these people were 99% illiterate. Today only 1% have not vet learned to read and write. The

The same situation may be found in many other autonomous republics of the U.S.S.R. Peoples who for centuries had

libraries have the works of Russian and

foreign authors and incidentally, of the

latter, H. G. Wells is one of the most

are today intensively engaged in buildg their own schools and universities creating their own literature and art Nowhere is cultural life suppressed: i is cultivated in every corner of the land. Nowhere are intellectual values destroyed; everywhere they are made the

property of the people.

The best works of bourgeois art and culture are preserved and cherished. One Millions of copies of the works of Push-kin, Gogol, Tolstoy, Lermontoff and, moreover, of Dickens, Swift, Balzac and Flaubert are read with avidity. While n other countries there is a lack of readers only one thing prevents the huge editions in Soviet Russia from being increased two and threefold, and that is the lack of paper. Where else in the world are books sold out a few days after they appear?

Humanity Uprooted I wish H. G. Wells had attended the Congress of Soviet writers. He would then have seen that Soviet Russia does not only create factories and cities but that it is also creating a new type of human being which differs fundamentally from that found in fascist countries. While in fascist countries the intellectual is an object of hatred and persecution, working people in all sections of Soviet Russia are seeking to enrich their lives with the products of the mind, and to form a living tie with the great cul-tural wealth of the present and the

Authors are no longer living in isola-tion. They keep in close touch with the people and the people keep in close touch with them and their works. This was illustrated not only by the many delegations of workers that attended the congress but also by the spirited dis-cussions on the congress in the factories and shops, many of which I had the I not only believe that the intellectual

life of Soviet Russia is more vigorous than in any other country but I am convinced that a literature thoroughly been oppressed by the Czarist regime, whose languages were forbidden by law, oped there.

WHAT CAN BE DONE

For the first time in American lynch result of the rioting.

The action of the National Guard and the organization, in Shelbyville, of groups of vigilantes to prevent a recurrence of the mob attack. is of interest from another angle. The periodic lynching of Negroes in the U.S. without any apparent intervention on the part of the government, had become an international scandal. With great glee the German Fascists answered American protests against their brutalities by pointing t the numerous lynchings in the U.S.

long remember.

Leninist trade union line by means of which the Communist Party had, in the past, become a force to be reckoned with in tle American labor movement.

Scell—Som D. Rocketer and Andrew Carnegie." The final lecture will deal with "Banks and Finance—J. P. Morgan."

SHELBYVILLE SHOWS

history do we find National Guardsmen actually used in resisting a lynch mob The life of E. K. Harris, 22 years old Negro, was saved when the National Guard fired upon a mob intent on lynching Harris. Three have already died as

We are firmly convinced that regardless of the pending anti-lynch bill, lynching as a manifestation in American life can be exterminated only by the organized action of the working class and others who are ready to make a determined stand against the bestial Southern lynch mobs. Perhaps we will not have long to wait before the combined white and Negro forces in the South show the manner as the Southern lynchers will circles.

BROWN WILL LECTURE ON GREAT FORTUNES

are being scheduled for the month of January by the educational department sary prerequisite for a change of line. of Dressmakers Union Local 22, These become necessary only when the burocratic Party leadership refuses to take place on Wednesday evenings, 6:15 of Dressmakers Union Local 22, p. m., at the Union headquarters, 232 West 40th Street, will deal with "The History of Great American Fortunes" and will be given by Irving Brown, one of the most popular teachers at the Union Central School.

Joint Council Aids Labor Com. Stand

The Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union of the American Federation of Labor expresses its agreement with the action of the Labor Committee on Jewish Affairs in refusing to collaborate with the American Jewish Congress in the attempt of the latter to form a so-called 'united front" of all classes of the Jewish people as a way of fighting Fascism and

Mussolini regime just because the Jews as such are not being persecuted in Italy. Indeed, some repres of the American Jewish Congress have titude to Italian Fascism just for this reason. But any genuine anti-Fascist itself-against its enslavement of the workers, against its destruction of all labor organizations, against its crazy jingoism and nationalism, against its social oppression, against its cultural degradation. How is it possible to collaborate with an organization that does not care what happens to the masses of the people as long as the Jews as such are not directly affected? It should not be forgotten that the

unions and other bodies affiliated to the Labor Committee are not all "Jewish organizations." In fact, many of them are redominantly non-Jewish in composiion. Nor is their opposition to Fascism orimarily on so-called "Jewish issues" out far more on labor issues. The Labor Committee could, therefore, find no place in the American Jewish Congress which claims to be a "general Jewish movement" embracing all classes—an impossible thing, since, among the Jews as among all other peoples, the interests of the working class and the employing class are irreconcilably opposed to eac

For these reasons the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union approves the action of the Labor Committee and greatly deplores the attitude of a number of trade union leaders who have come out for collaboration with the American Jewish Congress. We must also condemn the demagogic attempts to play upor sentiment and to capitalize political differences with the leadership of the Labor Committee to serve the cause of Jewish nationalism. The Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union reiterates that the only effective way in which Fascism can be fought, all over the world as well as in this country, is through an independent class movement of labor, rallying around it the sym pathetic elements of the masses of th

EUROPE TODAY

In Germany class struggles are sharpening and are reflected even in the top layers of the fascist dictatorship. Innumerable rumors are being spre strength of their solidarity in such a about new conflicts within the ruling

fascist economist Feder (who has already received his walking papers), the "leader" of agriculture Darre, the "leader" of the Labor Front, Ley, on the one hand and the real leader of industry in Germany, Shacht, on the other hand. There are further conflicts between the Reichswehr and the Storm Troops

The Storm Troops, which were reor ganized after June 30th, are again showing signs of discontent, especially is this true of the "old fighters." At a meeting in the Sportpalast in Berlin, Dr. Goebels came in for considerable heckling from these "old fighters."

30th, is anticipated in Germany but not expected until after the Saar plebiscite. By that time it is expected the "Reichsbischof" will have settled accounts with latter are acting rather independently lately. An announcement was read from content of the petty bourgeois masses, which form the decisive section of the clerical opposition.

JOIN

Happy New Year!

-THE BLACKSMITH

Schneider. Equinox Cooperative Press, New York. \$2.00. Isidor Schneider reveals himself in this book as a poet in transition. About half of his book is taken up with his "pre-revolutionary poetry," personal lyrics dealing with love and externalized fragments of country and city life. These poems reveal intense sensitivity to personal sensations, erotic flashes of sense successfully enmeshed in a subtle network of words. But they are lacking Ghosts of Past in singing quality, often warped by a straining after unusual images and trick out and enlarge the outlines of thin

The latter half of the book is modestly and aptly titled: "Towards Revoluionary Poetry." The somewhat shallow rhetorical pessimism of his earlier poems is replaced by a still rhetorical volutionism. The occasional straining for effects is still there, the over ornate elaboration of intellectualized externals of the revolutionary movement by a mind that has not yet grasped its spirit and feeling. Except for an occasional image the poems leave one unmoved.

thought with excessive decoration.

When Schneider tries to wring revolutionary indignation out of the fact that Lenin has been compared to Cromwell (a not altogether inappropriate comparison) or to dismiss all the romantic poets as ciphers from the standpoint of evolutionary poetry, he merely demonstrates that he has not the revolutionist's but the petty-bourgeois debunker's attitude toward the past. If he had gone to Shelley himself instead of the Sheley selected by the Oxford Book of English Verse he would have found poems like Men of England or the lines beginning Rise like lions after slumber, which can still serve the workers movement

and still nourish the revolutionary poet. Obviously, revolutionary tradition is not absorbed in a day. The important consideration is that Isidor Schneider wants to become a revolutionary poet. But he will not be aided by false flattery that tells him that he has already

Stage and Screen

critical writing is that it too often em- man with his back to the wall fighting ploys certain threadbare phrases that are almost as ready as patent medicine labels and as worthless as the contents they describe. Having a haughty disdain for what he believes to be an imposition upon his time and work perhaps the critic ought to be indulged his extraofficial bath of abuse. But, when stumped by the need for a cliche most accurately to convey his shabby thinking to the reader, the critic from the "Iknow-what-I-like" school of criticism expresses his displeasure at finding he isn't quite sure that he does, by too readily falling back upon one of these journeyman phrases of his trade, some-

one ought to call at halt. Certainly an examination of the most familiar terms, their meaning, their use and abuse, might lessen the alacrity with which our reviewers shamelessly reach into their collective hats to pul out a phrase that hasn't as much ef-

ficacy as a punch-drunk rabbit. One of the most familiar of these apnellatives, for surely it seems the oldest, "the problem play." Usually reserved for plays which promise much and give nothing, or, more to the point, plays which present accidental flaws in our social set-up without bothering to look above or below that flaw for what we consider to be the real reason for its existence, the term carries with it, perhaps only categorically, a slight note of scorn. Made respectable by the dramas of Ibsen, Pinero and Shaw, all of whom at sometime or other discussed what used to be called "The Woman Question," the term "Problem Play" cannot accurately inspirit a critic's reproach. Indeed, such plays are often not even may require some thinking after the play is over, and, altho they come under the heading of "drama of ideas," they do not differ widely enough from the general view of this as the best of all general view of this as the best of all of the economic system under which it possible worlds, to rob them of acceptive is established, and adjusts itself to the ability to all but that last remnant of

aestheticism -- "the art-for-art's-sake" boys. If there is any contumely implied that such plays are dated, and those who write them now are more likely to be as tern of the concepts which are formed crude as the French dramatists who first wrote them, than like Ibsen who exalted them into tragedy. A real term of opprobrium, however, and one which they use rather indis-

criminately, is the term "the propaganda

play." It is generally used to describe

a play in which the views expressed as to the social order differ radically from

the views of the critic, and usually it

carries with it all the derogatory im-

One of the commonplaces of nearly all plications that convey the picture of a to save his pet baboon. Which is no not be attempted by the amateur for it more than natural For while one may requires considerable histrionic skill. remain quite cold in the presence of the play which leaves us some choice, it is in the German Communist Party, shows difficult to remain unperturbed before the advocacy of an eruption which would when he points with indignation and diseverthrow a whole social order. We are may at "certain" Party functionaries who always prone to condemn those whose views differ from ours. A critic likes to call names after those whose point of

view differs from his. Our quarrel with the critic is not upon the basis of his right to be a little boy for its fine piece of acting when it points in doing, but upon his failure to be mature in thinking. His conduct is ultra-leftism. There are of course some human altho reprehensible. His prejudice, warmed by the conflagration of the drama to which he refers, like the mountain which labored and brought forth a mouse, produces a distinction

without a difference! What other distinction than that of Ingratitude of his own prejudice does he make when he calls a play a "propaganda play?"

Politics
If any The clearest possible understanding of when it comes to gratitude politics is the elements of any drama leaves us with the ultimate realization that they does just that. We recall that when the are all propagandistic in one sense or former Foster group was passing thru another. If that is true then we submit its lean years (lean in the sense of its that the term is without meaning ar its use is the clearest indication that the bourgeois critic is letting off more steam

from his extra-official bath than he has a right. If a play which has no axe to grind is the established order, it would seem that inherent in that play are certain definite author, establish its thinking in a certain sphere. As true as it is that organized religion is infiltrated with the germs system in which it flourishes, it is equally true that all our ideas are products of an established order. It is most in the term "problem play" it is mostly natural, therefore, that those ideas should have expression within the pat-

> from our earliest youth. The play which we see on the stage is fashioned in like manner by the organized thinking of one who has either slavishly followed the dictates of the philosophical order of which his ideas are a product and the economic set-up realm of ideas that the lion and the lamb of which he has been a part, or it represents the degree of diversion from ing each other. The economic system that slavish acceptance that the writer has robbed them of their sight. has made. And even when we get a

School. One of these is the much needed course in the "History of American Lovestone who, as one of the founders of the American Communist movement, basis of Communism in America and its emergence from the struggle of the tenforces molding its political evolution, Lenin's attitude on the co-existence of two Communist parties, the period of the Palmer raids, the functioning of the Party under illegal conditions, etc. Those who are eager for a critical examination

New to the curriculum of the New Workers School is the course, "Marxism and Modern Thought," to be given by modern science will be discussed in this biology, psychology, anthropology, and sociology. Comrade Herberg will examine the problems dealing with the matter, mechanism, the problem of

olution and the rise of Fascism in

Anarchism, Syndicalism, Socialism, and Communism—the course "Radical Tencies in the American Labor Movement" to be given by B. Herman, will

The Winter season of the New Workers School Forum opens Sunday January 20th, with an evening devoted to revolutionary art. Lucienne Bloch and Stephan Dimitroff, painters of the fresco at Madison House and assistants to Diego Rivera at Radio City and New Workers School will illustrate their talk with exclusive slides on Rivera's Radio City murals and Orozco's Dartmouth

A special feature of the evening will be the drawing of the raffles for Charles Pollock's "Days Without End" (see illustration) and Lucienne Bloch's "Negro Playground." Both lithographs are now on display at the New Workers School Admission for those who have already obtained raffle tickets will be 15c. Other wise admission will be 25c. This will include a raffle to either one of the two lithographs. Additional raffles may be its of trade union democracy presuppose that certain headway can be made and

union burocrats, despite their will, the opposition be but strong enough? But this is diametrically opposite to what you have been saying and writing

for years. "The problem inherent in our strike strategy are particularly dif-ficult because it is just here that every sort of opportunistic vacilla-tion makes itself most evident. This became especially plain during and after the Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress, when the question was raised in its entirety of the need for the R.I.L.U. supporters working towards independof and against the will of the reformist trade union burocracy . . ." (my

tion which characterizes the line of the Comintern and R.I.L.U. What about the period of left madness which was inflicted upon the Comintern and in which process Lozovsky was the high-priest emphasis—GFM). To Lozovsky this may have been stricken from the records. To Lozovsky the from the records. To Lozovsky the ostrich-like procedure of closing his eyes and declaring that certain developments simply did not take place, may seem like bor Unions, December 1928). Certainly a thoro student of trade union matters, such as yourself, will readily see that you can't have both-that one excludes The latter words you wrote while you

excellent strategy, but to the mass of trade unionists in this and other countries the matter is not quite so simple. These have seen their organizations disrupted and undermined, have fought and bled upon the picket lines, not only against the thugs of the bosses, but against their own fellow workers organized in dual unions, at the instigation of Lozovsky and others; have seen their conditions bargained away by competing unions in order to win boss recogition—these have paid much too dearly to appreciate the delightful humor of a Lozovsky, or a Stachel.

H. G. Wells, for whom I have great admiration as a writer and who, I know has for many years been one of the most

courageous champions of justice, stated a few days ago that the intellectual freedom of the writer in the Soviet

Union has been completely suppressed and that in Russia. therefore, "no in-

and that in Russia, therefore, "no in-tellectual life exists." He bases these

views on his trip from Moscow to Lenin

grad. I also have just come back from

Russia where I spent two months travel-

many autonomous republics and a wide expanse of the country extending far into Middle Asia. Either H. G. Wells

was not permitted to acquaint himself

with the intellectual life which is so

extrordinarily vigorous in Russia or else

how account for his conclusions.

Intellectual Freedom Increasing

he simply refused to see it, otherwise

What impressed me most in the Soviet

Union was precisely the fact that while

in the fascist countries intellectual free dom is being stifled more and more and

every writer who does not slavishly

lectual freedom is growing day by day. At the Congress of Writers the repres-

entative of the government expressed himself in this clear fashion: "In the

U.S.S.R. today every writer has freedom to write what he will except the freedom

to write badly." At this congress, Soviet poets like Pasternack, Babel, Tykhonoff,

Olyescha and Ehrenburg who are neither

members of the Communist Party nor definite propaganda poets received the

highest praise. They were honored be

that it was Stalin himself who caused

the dissolution of the Union of Prole-tarian Writers because it championed

principles that were too narrow and in doing so he cited the well-known saying of Lenin that it is easier to

bring about socialism than to create

great works of art.

Certain errors of the early years of the

U.S.S.R. have, in my opinion, been eliminated. Those in authority today

By George F. Miles

"The revolutionary trade unions

and the R.I.L.U. for many years have

been proposing seriously and without

any secret purpose to build a unified

try and to create later an interna-tional trade union unity on this basis. Herein lies the essence of the entire

policy of the Red International of La-bor Unions." (A. Lozovsky in the Daily Worker of December 15, 1934).

Herein, we might add, lies the essence of the policy of duplicity and self decep-

trade union movement in every coun-

A Plea for Communist Sanity

ause they are great artists.

obey the orders of the dictator

wander into exile, in the U.S.S.R.

ing, becoming acquainted not only with Moscow and Leningrad but also with

And what about the Communists themselves, who have become the pariahs of the labor movement because they enthusiastically, tho mistakenly, answered the call from the East for a holy-war against the "fascist" trade unions? What about these Communists who are now paying for the stupidities of the Lozovskys by humiliating themselves before the burocrats, such as Zausner, in their pleas for readmission. They may be silent today but they know that this need not have been. These also cannot so easily forget that which Lozovsky And Consistency

chooses not to remember.

article).

Within The Limits Of Trade Union Democracy promise and will never promise to give up the struggle against reform-

So, Comrade Lozovsky, you have changed your mind a bit. The struggle of the revolutionary forces is to be con-fined "within the limits of trade union democracy." Very good indeed, but why not a little self-criticism about your previous attitude, or is that also one of the lost pages of Comintern and R. I.LU. history. What becomes of your stinging rebuke to us for dancing "quadrilles" around the A. F. of L. because we insisted that the struggle must be confined within the limits of trade union democracy? What becomes of your caustic criticisms against our slogan of "Save The Union" in the mine fields, because you insisted we step outside the limits of trade union democracy and work over the heads of the burocrats? What becomes of your billingsgate against the best fighters in the ranks of the German Communists whom you have the beauty of the clean "Twigst." of the German Communists whom you hounded because of the slogan "Zwingt Die Bonzen" (force the leaders)? Does not your pledge to work within the lim-

certain concessions in the interests of

These also are your words Comrade Lozovsky (The Red International of La-

The recent turns and twists on the

analyze its own errors and therefore, in order to dramatize changes in line,

must have a ready assortment of horrible

clean house- to cast out this evil-sme

were pouring your venom on those "op-portunist vacillators" who would bend their knee before "trade union legalism" and yet what they proposed is no more than what you now proclaim—that the struggle must be conducted within the limits prescribed by trade union democracy. No amount of jugglery can bridge the gap between these two posi-tions, for the former, if meant in earn-est, eliminates the perspective of splitting and organizing dual unions, while the latter is the immediate forerunner

of splits, secessions and dual unionism.
There is only then no contradiction between the two if the policy of independent leadership has been put on the shelf temporarily only and is to be dusted off and applied with renewed vigor after a new extensive base for dual unionism has been developed. Which is it to be? You owe this answer to the working A Plea For Sanity

trade union field, as exemplified by the article of Lozovsky and echoed by the "The revolutionary workers cannot Stachels, are surface indications of possible change in the proper direction. It is yet too early to be certain—the dead past still weighs heavy upon the ism. They wish to confine the struggle to the limits of trade union democracy." (Lozovsky in the same present course—but one thing is certain and that is that the change need not be as painful as the Party leadership is making it. Expulsions, such as those of Joseph Zack and others, are not a necession.

This brings to mind that the lynching

of Claude Neal, and numerous other who went before him, could have been stopped had the authorities taken drastic action against the Southern mobsters instead of publicly proclaiming that no opposition to the lynching would be offered. Again it poves forcibly that even without the proposed anti-lynch law to be introduced when Congress convenes, the authorities are vested with sufficient powers to stop lynching. What was acking, was not the law to empower the authorities to act, but the willingness to act. In many lynchings the local author-

ities were themselves active participants

examples or scape-goats.

It is up to the membership of the party, especially to those trade unionists in the needle, steel, painters, textile and other industries where the bankruptcy of the Party line has been demonstrated to the point of liquidation—to demand an end to this mad game. It is up to the Party membership to clean haves—to cart out this avil-small. The first lecture, taking place Wednesday, January 9, 6:15 p. m., is entitled: "How It All Began-The Astor Fortune and Land Speculation." On the leaders of the clerical opposition. The January 16, the subject will be: "About ing rubbish that has passed for a trade union line; to demand, during this the Railroads-Jay Gould and Cornelius their pulpits that they, the opposition, Seventh Congress discussion, a frank criticism of the disastrous trade union line and the readoption of the healthy, Vanderbilt," and on January 23, "Oil and are assuming the leadership of the Pro-Steel-John D. Rockefeller and Andrew testant church. This action of the rebel-Carnegie." The final lecture will deal lious clergy expresses the growing dis-

A real movement against Fascism, anti-Semitism and racial oppression must be primarily a workers movement, based on the mass organizations labor. At the same time, it must be an international movement, uniting workers of all races and nationalities against Fascism everywhere and in all its forms. The American Jewish Con gress is dominated by Jewish capitalistic elements, by the representatives of the employing class, some of them the worst enemies of labor. It is impossible for any genuine workers movement to collaborate in any way with these laborhating elements. Furthermore, just because it is a capitalistic organization, the American Jewish Congress is not op posed to Fascism as such nor does it It is concerned with only one aspect of German Fascism-anti-Semitism. It does not raise a finger against the murderou

By August Thalheimer

(Continued from Page 1) NEW BLOOD-BATH IN GERMANY

There are reported conflicts of the

A new blood-bath, modeled after June

IN THE TRADE UNIONS

Progressive-Left Merger In Finishers Local 9 Scored by C. P. O.

The step taken by the Progressive Trade Union Welfare Group of Cloak Finishers Local 9, I.L.G.W.U., in making a block with the Left Group of that Local in the recent elections, was a very serious error and is very likely to have a very harmful effect upon the future of the progressive movement in that organization.

The situation in Local 9 is without doubt a difficult one. The present ad-ministration is thoroly incompetent and burocratic and has done nothing whatever to deserve the support of the cloak finishers. The previous administration, which was under the control of the Left Group, had so thoroly discredited itself by its irresponsibility and adventurism and by its obvious connection with the Industrial Union, that it practically fell under its own weight. The need for a real progressive movement, ready and able to fight on two fronts, against the burocratic administration as well as against the Left Group elements, became very acute and its possibilities very great. There was, therefore, good reason to welcome the appearance of the Progressive Trade Union Welfare Group on the scene of Local 9 a few months ago. In spite of its numerical weakness at the time, it gave promise of a healthy future—which it has now itself damaged by its recent action in allying itself with the Left Group.

What is the nature of the Left Groups in the I.L.G.W.U.? For years they have served very flagrantly as the "inside" agency of the dualist Industrial Union in its campaign to smash the Internation-Every tricky manouver of the Industrial Union in the last few years has been promptly seconded by the Left Groups; every demagogic and disruptive slogan echoed in parrot-like fashion. In spite of all their twists and turns, the dominating thought of the Left Groups in the International has always been to play the game of the Industrial Union, whatever that game may have been at the moment. To make any sort of alliance with these elements, as long as they have not definitely and finally broken their connection with the Industrial Union, is surely out of the question for any worker interested in preserving and improving his organization.

The joint declaration issued by the two groups of Local 9 and published in the press recently is plain evidence of how utterly false is the step taken by the progressives of that Local. The minimum program embodied in the statement is of course perfectly all right but this is hardly decisive. The present administration would probably not refuse to accept most, if not all, of the eight points—at least on paper! What is decisive is the section on dual unionism. It reads:

"In connection with the question of dual unionism, we want to declare that we are against dual unionism. We declare that dual unionism can be abolished as well as avoided if the union respects the democratic rights of the membership and defends their conditions. We are in favor that a way should be found for all members of the Industrial Union to become members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, affiliated to the A. F. of L. . . ."

Under present conditions, these words constitute not a repudiation of dual unionism but an apology for it! According to the statement, dual unionism becomes justifiable if the leadership of a union is reactionary, that is, if it does not "respect the rights of the membership and defend their conditions." this is precisely the time such tactics are most dangerous and harmful! Furthermore, the declaration tells us, "a way should be found for all members of the Union to become members of the I.L.G.W.U." What necessity is there for "finding a way" when the doors of the I.L.G.W.U. are wide open for all women's garment workers to come in without discrimination? To talk about "finding a way" today, means to aid and abet the unprincipled "unity" manouvers to which the Industrial Union is now resorting as a counsel of desperation. What is needed is not such abstract and diplomatic phrases; what is needed is a straight-out condemnation of dual unionism in general and of the Industrial Union in particular and a call to the members of the Industrial Union in all fields to leave the dual union immediately and come into the I.L.G.W.U. Anything short of that is virtual capitulation to dual unionism and, in the long run, plays into the hands of the reac-

For the "Left Groups" to make unprincipled alliances is nothing unusual; in fact, deals with the most reactionary and discredited elements is almost a routine matter for them. But the progressive movement has hitherto kept clear of such adventures and this has been one of the great sources of its strength. It was obviously the hope of the progressives in Local 9 that, by allying themselves with the Lefts, they would strengthen the anti-administration front. But this is an illusion. An alliance with the Lefts is not a source of strength but

LOCAL 22 WILL ADMIT MEMBERS FROM THE INDUSTRIAL UNION

An overwhelming vote of support was given to the progressive administration Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., by the membership of the Local at the eight section meetings held on Thursday, December 20, in all parts of the city. The chief issue under dis-cussion was the so-called "unity questhat is, the question of the admission of members of the Industrial Union into the International. At seven of the eight meetings the position of the executive board of Local 22 was endorsed by the dressmakers after a thoro discussion. The total vote registered at the sections amounted to 1931. of which 1174 were cast in favor of the declaration of the executive board presented to the members for approval. This represents a higher proportion of progressive votes than were cast in the section meetings last February at which the election and objection committee was

The most significant meeting of all was unequestionably the one in upper Bronx held at Ambassador Hall. This section had always been regarded as the stronghold of the "Left Group" and, on this occasion, the most strenuous efforts were made by the "Lefts" to mobilize for this meeting but all to no avail. After a vigorous debate, in which Charles S. Zimmerman, the manager of the Local, took part, the position of the progressive administration was enthusiastically endorsed.

The speech made by Zimmerman at this meeting was strikingly effective. "Today the 'Left Group' is congratulating Gold for the decision to come into the International," he pointed out. "But two years ago we pleaded with the Industrial to come into the International and form one union, which the Industrial scornfully refused. If they were sincerely out for unity, the 'Lefts' would be cogratulating us instead of attacking us in such an unprincipled manner."

"It is not a question of numbers,"
Zemmerman continued, "not a question
of whether 200 or 2,000 are to come in.
It is a question of what they are coming
in for, of what they will do in the Union,
of whether they will try to build and
improve it or to undermine and destroy
it. From their own words and deeds,
we can see that they have not given up
their dual unionist aims, in spite of the

Operators Cast Big Vote For the Progressives

A very impressive record was made by the progressives of Cloakmakers Union Local 1, I.L.G.W.U., in the local elections held on Wednesday, December 19, 1934. The leading progressive candidate, S. Zeldin, received altogether a thousand votes out of a total of less than 4,000 cast. Of these one thousand votes, 800 are officially recorded, while 200 were lost because they appeared on ballots otherwise void. Wagman, progressive candidate for business agent, received over 900 votes. Altho none of the progressive candidates were elected, the proportion of the votes they received represents a considerable advance for the progressive movement in the Local.

The administration (Levy group) candidates reached a top vote of 2,200. Between the two other opposition groups, the Left Group and the so-called "shop chairmen's" (Rothman) group, there was a partial alliance. For manager, where they ran separately, Rothman received only 410 votes and the Left Group candidates about one thousand. To the executive board, where the Lefts had the support of the Rothman elements, two of the former were elected, with a vote of about 1500.

The effectiveness of the campaign of the Local 1 progressives, with their meager resources and in the face of great difficulties, was due to the determined way in which they maintained their independent progressive position, fighting on two fronts, against the administration, on the one hand, and against the disruptive, dual unionist so-called "Left" elements, on the other.

rather of weakness; it can only bring ideological confusion and the surrender of progressive principles. The only one who can profit by it is the administration itself which wants nothing better than to have the progressives tarred with the same stick of dual unionism. This matter is all the more serious in Local 9 where all oppositional forces have to labor under the great handicap of the discredit heaped up by the Left Group during the period of its power. That is why, in Local 9 particularly, a progressive movement can develop only if it keeps clear of any imputation of dual unionism, if it organizes itself as an independent force against both the incompetent and burocratic officialdom and the disruptive elements of the Left Group. Let us hope that the progressives of Local 9 will soon learn this lesson from their own experience and return to the tried and tested path of progressive unionism!

fact that they have been compelled to dissolve the dress department of the Industrial Union. They have refused to repudiate the official declaration Lozovsky: 'That we want to destroy the reformist unions-of that there can be no doubt!' or the statement of Rose Wortis: 'Under the powerful blows of the united movement of the dressmakers, the rotten base of the company union in the dress trade (that is how she refers to the International!) will be wiped out. . . .' While they talk so much about 'unity' here in New York, they are desperately resisting the unification of the ranks of the dressmakers in Mont-There, where conditions are so incredibly miserable, unity is needed more than anywhere else. Yet there the Industrial Union has openly come out against the affiliation of the dress cut-ters to the International. There they are making the most filthy attacks upon Frank Breslow, the manager of the dress cutters union, for championing this affiliation. He has even been expelled from the Communist Party for this 'crime'! From all this the dressmakers can judge for themselves how sincere the Industrial Union is in all its 'unity

"Our position is a perfectly consistent "We have one," Zimmerman concluded. "We have always stood for unity and we stand for unity today. From the general strike on, we have been taking in members of the Industrial and have even made it easier for them to get in. No one has ever been kept out of our Local and no one ever will. The 'Lefts' have attacked me because they said other locals would keep them out. Now the International has decided that they should be admitted into all locals without discrimination and that locals with high initiation fees should make some reductions. But do they welcome these conditions, as they would if they were really interested in unity? They do not-they keep on attacking us in the same vicious manner. But, if they are not, we are interested in unity and we will fight for it until every dressmaker is in our ranks." The words of Zimmerman were loudly and enthusiastically applauded. They represent the sentiments of the great They remasses of the membership of Local 22.

Now that the membership has spoken, there is absolutely no excuse for anyone continuing the campaign of confusion on the "unity" issue. With the Spring season coming on and with the problem of settling prices in the shops moving to the fore, the dressmakers will not allow any more of this demoralization!

Anonymous

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Extended to January 15th

International Opposition Greets Weekly Workers Age

(Continued from Page 1)

there grew up a tendency in the press of the C.I. and its sections either to mechanically repeat correct, though general, slogans without developing them in connection with the concrete struggles or to issue pseudo-theoretical slogans which were thoroughly false and were not based on actual conditions. The press of the C.I. and its sections substituted empty boasts for conviction borne out of a clear political analysis of the victory of Communism; in the place of earnest and consistent efforts to convince workers not yet Communists by good arguments they printed meaningless phrases.

As opposed to this the Workers Age has shown what a Communist paper should really be like; it has carried articles which serve as models for the practical application of Marxist-Leninist theory. It has particularly shown in its treatment of the problems of the N.R.A. and the recent tremendous trade union struggles of the American workers how Communists approach these questions in order to win leading roles in mass actions.

Today the C.I. is liquidating its ultraleft course under the pressure of events and last but not least because of the consistent work of the I.C.O. and its press (which includes the Workers Age). The fact that the C.I. is today adopting those tactics which the C.P.O. has for years represented proves that the C.I. is admitting in practice that the struggle of the I.C.O., the struggle of the Workers Age has been in the interest of the entire Communist movement, in the interest of the Soviet Union.

Forward then towards the complete liquidation of the ultra-left course until democratic centralism, the pre-requisite for unity of the Communist mevement has been re-established! We are certain that the Weekly Workers Age will play a decisive role in the fulfillment of these tasks of the I.C.O. and the C.P.O.U. S.A.

The weekly appearance of the Workers Age which expresses the success of the C.P.O. in the U.S. serves as a new stimulus to the entire work of the I.C.O. and its sections.

The C.P.G.O. especially greets the Weekly Workers Age because the Workers Age, which has been carrying on an excellent campaign of international solidarity for the aid of the illegal antifascist struggle in Germany, will now re-double these efforts and be doubly helpful to them.

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