

WORKERS AGE

Workers of all Countries, Unite!

For Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle!

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AND FARMERS

VOL. 1 No. 25

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PRICE 5 CENTS

With the 'Age' Builders

DIEGO RIVERA AIDS "AGE"!

Noted Mexican Artist Gives \$100 To Aid Fight For Unity

Diego Rivera, the famous Mexican artist, responding to the call for help of the WORKERS AGE when it was forced to skip the issue of July 2, sent in a check for \$100 by special delivery, thus enabling the following issue to appear.

Rivera, who is not a member of the Communist Party (Majority Group), explained his attitude toward the paper and its fight for Communist unity in a letter to Comrade Wolfe, associate editor of the AGE from the translation of which, we quote below:

"Dear Ben: I am glad that my small contribution to the paper of your group has been of help . . .

"My attitude is the following: I believe that the unification of the Communist Party is absolutely necessary. We need a unification convention; the Party must open its ranks to all the different tendencies and there should be an open discussion to arrive at a unifying resolution . . .

"I want to be useful in whatever measure and manner I can to further the above . . .

"With Communist greetings, DIEGO RIVERA."

THEY COME TO THE RESCUE!

The suspension of the Workers Age for the week of July 2 shocked the Workers Age readers and supporters and resulted in the rallying of Age builders, out of town, to collect funds and get new subs.

New York City responded in greater volume than usual with heavy advances on the 5% Summer assessment which members of the C.P. Majority Group in New York City have voted to tax themselves to maintain the Weekly payments during the Summer. A marked increase in subscription renewals is also evident.

This prompt response is heartening to the paper, but has not been nearly sufficient to get it out of hot water. The boosters and supporters can find below, some good examples to imitate.

SUBS FROM ENGLAND

From England, comes an order for six subs to be mailed to three active Communist Party members and three members of the Independent Labor Party who are traveling in a leftward direction and becoming critical of the British Independent Labor Party. All six subs were gotten by one Workers Age Booster who will remain nameless until we get permission to publish her name. Readers will hear more from this comrade.

From Montreal, comes \$5 for bundle orders from Comrade Moriarity. He is a regular soldier in the ranks and we will hear from him subsequently.

From Detroit, Comrade Miller sends in orders for 20 copies of Lovestone's pamphlet "The American Labor Movement" and 20 copies of "Some Plain Words On Communist Unity" by Ben Gitlow. Also, a check for \$6, balance on three shares of the Workers Age together with news of new contacts with unemployed workers and a former S.L.P. member.

Philadelphia is big with promises. The Philadelphia comrades in face of the emergency announced in our previous issue, promise to raise a loan of \$50. All we can say to the Philadelphia comrades is that promises do not satisfy the printer. Rush the fulfillment! And other out-of-town locals might well begin with some promises!

Kenneth Epstein of Hartford, Connecticut, comes across with a new one-year subscription and Comrade (Continued on page 2)

Stop this Hooliganism!

Letter Of The Communist Party (Majority Group) To The American Civil Liberties Union

We publish below the letter sent by Benjamin Gitlow, secretary of the Communist Party (Majority Group), to the American Civil Liberties Union.—Editor.

July 13, 1932.

Roger Baldwin, American Civil Liberties Union, New York City.

Dear Mr. Baldwin:—Recently, the open-air meetings of our group, arranged in various parts of the city, have been broken up by the members of the Communist Party. It seems that the Communist Party is determined to smash every open-air meeting arranged by our group. From the press, I learn also, that the Communist Party has broken up open air meetings of the Trotsky group and also of the Socialist party.

Outside of New York, notably in Detroit, the Communist Party for months has tried to break up every meeting of workers organizations. They have conducted themselves in a most rowdy fashion at open air meetings arranged by our group, the Proletarian party and the I.W.W.

The climax of the Communist Party's hooligan tactics was reached at an open-air meeting which our group arranged to hold on Friday evening, July 8, in Brownsville at Pitkin and Bristol Streets. When our committee arrived at the corner where the meeting was scheduled to take place, they found a platform of the Communist Party on that corner. Not desiring to have any conflict, our committee decided to change the corner of the meeting and moved our platform to another corner at Hopkinson and Pitkin Avenue. Our meeting started in an orderly fashion and continued orderly until approximately 9:20 o'clock. At 9:20, a committee claiming to represent the International Labor De-

same corner on which we were holding our meeting. They demanded that we immediately stop our meeting and permit them to hold a meeting on that corner. We protested and said we do nothing of the kind, in view of the fact that we had already changed from the corner where we had arranged to hold our meeting, in order not to have any interference or trouble. Thereupon, the platform of the International Labor Defense was raised and the most rowdy, hooligan tactics were resorted to in an effort to smash our meeting. I was speaking at the time. They began to boo, yell and sing. They sent people into our crowd to shout and ask the workers to leave the meeting and go to a "genuine Communist meeting"—all in the name of the International Labor Defense, which is supposed to advocate freedom of speech and assemblage and which organization the Communist Party claims is a non-partisan and non-political organization. Women and children were sent into the crowd, the children shouting, booing and hurling all sorts of invectives. The women assumed a hysterical attitude and shouted curses, much to the disgust of the workers who were present.

They then prepared to attack the meeting. They closed in on the meeting displaying brass knuckles; some carried knives and just as soon as the chairman adjourned the meeting, which was about 10:30, they rushed the platform and started a riot. How many workers were injured, I am in no position to say, but the workers, men, women and children, were sent scampering and crying in fright in all directions.

This action of the Communist Party is one which will give the capitalist authorities all the pretexts and excuses for closing the streets to open-

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6,500 Veterans Storm at Capitol As Congress Adjourns Without Passing Bonus Bill

Bonus Army Now Determined To Stick It Out; California Contingent Pickets Capitol In "Death March"; New Red Drive Begun By Waters Who Helps Police

WASHINGTON.—The names and records of the thousands of ex-servicemen in the bonus expeditionary force have been turned over by the leadership of the B.E.F. to the Washington police, according to a disclosure here on July 18. The Veterans Administration is now scanning the lists for a survey of the veterans. That these lists will be used by the police for proceeding against the ex-soldiers, is recognized as certain and there is great protest in the ranks of the men at the shameful action of the leaders in helping the police.

Washington, D. C. The realization that Congress would certainly adjourn without paying any heed whatever to the demand for a bonus brought about a vigorous protest demonstration on the part of 6,500 angry veterans before the Capitol on July 16. For two hours the angry thousands milled and stormed, ignoring a cordon of police officers and booing General Pelham D. Glassford, superintendent of police. Twice during these eventful two hours the police ordered the arrest of "Commander-in-chief" Waters and his "chief of staff" Carter as sort of hostages. Finally the conservative leaders succeeded in suppressing the rebellion of the men and the ex-servicemen were marched back to the camps. When the adjournment of Congress became known to the veterans, the determination was heard everywhere to continue the siege of Washington until some relief could be obtained, to "dig in until 1945," as the cry went round. At the same time "Commander-in-chief" Waters began a new crusade against the "Reds," that is, against those veterans who are beginning to understand their own interests and how to fight for them.

Washington, D. C. A new turn was given to the bonus agitation here on July 14 by the decision of a group of about 400 Cali-

fornia veterans to "besiege" the Capitol by picketing it, night and day, until bonus legislation is passed. This group of veterans, headed by crippled Roy Robertson, is not affiliated to the big mass of the bonus expeditionary force here. During the afternoon and night of the July 14 nearly all of the 400 took part in the silent parade before the Capitol; the next day, however, it was arranged for shifts of from 40 to 50 to do the picketing while the others rested.

The excitement of this new form of demonstration for the bonus was heightened when, late in the afternoon of July 14, two companies of marines suddenly appeared at the

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FIGHTING RESUMED IN NICARAGUA

MANAGUA, Nicaragua.—Twelve insurgents in the Sandino independence army were killed and many wounded in a sharp engagement between the Nicaraguan force and the United States marines near Pavona in Northern Nicaragua.

Dr. Horacio Portacero was designated by the Sandino command as Provisional President of the country to begin to function when control of the country is gained by the insurgent forces. A sharp attack on the coming elections in Nicaragua as completely controlled by United States forces, was made in a statement issued by General Sandino.

At the same time reports are current of negotiations entered into by representatives of Sandino and unofficial spokesmen of the existing regime in Nicaragua for some sort of agreement.

A.F.L. HEAD WARNS OF LABOR REVOLT

Green Tells Bosses That Situation Is Serious; Executive Meets

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.—The adherence of the A. F. of L. to the time-dishonored and suicidal policy of "non-partisan" political action, was reiterated on July 18 by the executive council of the federation in session here. The executive council voiced "deep disappointment" with both the Republican and Democratic platforms in their attitude towards labor. The Republican platform, which is actually the expression of the most reactionary standpoint, was credited by the executive council with "more planks favorable to labor!"

The statement of the executive council of the A. F. of L. is an unwilling admission of the complete bankruptcy of the policy of so-called "non-partisan" political action, which is really political action in support of one or the other of the big capitalist parties. The only way out for labor is a clean break with the capitalist parties and the organization of a big party of the workers and farmers, supported by the trade unions and other organizations of labor.

Atlantic City, N. J. A sharp warning was issued to the capitalists of the United States by William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, the executive council of which is meeting here, that, unless some sort of relief of the unemployed is forthcoming, serious unrest and revolt among the workers are to be expected. Mr.

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PARLEY TO HALT CLOAK STRIKE

Lieut.-Gov. Lehman Exerts Pressure On Jobbers In View Of Elections

NEW YORK CITY.—Under direct pressure of Lieutenant-Governor Herbert H. Lehman, acting with a view to the coming elections, all of the so-called "factors" in the cloak trade of this city have agreed to submit to mediation on the controversies that have arisen between the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the various groups of employers in the trade after the expiration of the agreement on June 1. The union leaders have promised to hold off the call for a strike pending these negotiations.

Last week, the cloakmakers voted, almost unanimously, in mass-meeting, and in referendum, to strike to enforce the union demands for the limitation of contractors and against the legalization of the piece-work system in the agreement. The Merchants Ladies Garment Association, representing the jobbers, had stood out against any negotiations or mediation, but evidently Lieutenant-Governor Lehman's pressure was effective.

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—By a 4 to 1 vote the proposal of the leaders and of the Illinois district of the United Mine Workers of America to accept a big wage-cut in the new agreement, was snowed under in the referendum initiated on July 17.

CHICAGO.—Thousands of coal miners from Southern Illinois began converging on Springfield to protest the proposed basic wage-scale to be voted on in a few days. More than 5,000 reached the city on July 12 and many others were on the way. All Illinois mines have been closed since March 1 and nearly 50,000 miners have been out. Towards the beginning of July the operators and the union officials reached an agreement involving a wage-cut of over 15%. It is in protest against this agreement that the march on Springfield is taking place.

HAVANA, Cuba.—Havana University will remain closed this Fall as a result of the decision of 118 members of its faculty at a meeting on July 12. The reason for the suspension of all educational and academic activities by the university is the arrest of a considerable number of its faculty by the Machado dictatorship.

HIGH COURT VOIDS JONES VERDICT

Maryland Court Orders New Trial Because of Negro Exclusion From Jury

BALTIMORE.—A big blow against jim-crowism and racial discrimination was dealt on July 8 in a decision handed down by the Court of Appeals of Maryland in which the conviction of murder of Eucl Lee (Orphan Jones) was reversed and a new trial ordered on the grounds that the trial judge had erred in excluding Negroes from the jury which tried Jones. The defense of the Negro and the appeal to the State Court of Appeals was undertaken by the Interna-

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Anglo-French Treaty Signed; Step to European Anti-U. S. Block

Treaty Is A Continuation Of "Gentlemen's Agreement"; Germany Protests, Italy Uncertain; Danger Of War And Attack On U.S.S.R. Lurks In Diplomacy

Washington, D. C. Another step in the direction of the formation of a European united front against the United States was signaled in the announcement, on July 13, of an agreement between England and France which substantially re-establishes the Anglo-French entente as a dominant force in world politics.

As an outcome of the Lausanne conference, it was officially announced, "the two nations pledge themselves to keep each other informed and to take no important step on debts and reparations . . . without previous consultation." Germany, Italy and Belgium have been invited to sign the declaration, with the obvious intention of forming a European imperialist block in all but in name.

The Anglo-French agreement came right on the heels of the disclosure of the "gentlemen's agreement" among the former Allied powers at Lausanne, according to which the virtual cancellation of German reparations at that conference would be contingent upon some similar American action on war debts. The exposure of the fact that a representative of the United States State Department participated, unofficially at least, in the conversations leading to the "gentlemen's agreement" has proved very embarrassing to President Hoover and the Republicans, in spite of all denials, because there is great opposition in Congressional circles and thruout the country to any reduction of war debts. Leading capitalist circles are divided, the champions of revision gaining continuously in view of the growing danger to private debts that would result from a financial collapse in Europe. At the present time, however, even the pro-revision forces in this country have decided to lay low until after the elections.

In Europe itself the developing united front against the United States has met with the resistance of Germany, which today operates under the patronage of Wall Street and, partially, of Italy whose dependence on American financial capital is well known. The von Papen Cabinet has issued several statements denying its complicity in the "gentlemen's agreement" or the least readiness to support an anti-American block. The Anglo-French alliance, whether it develops into a European block or not, obviously has as one of its recognized purposes the concentration of imperialist forces against the Soviet Union. Here too the danger of a world war is growing.

The recent diplomatic developments in Europe, at Lausanne and after, far from bringing the world nearer to peace, are rapidly driving it to the brink of war. It is precisely out of such maneuvering and counter-maneuvering that world wars spring. An especially great danger today is the increasing possibility of a united imperialist offensive against the Soviet Union, beginning perhaps with economic measures and climaxing in armed struggle.

For the working people of the whole world no task is today of greater importance than to organize a powerful resistance against the preparations for a new world war now under way.

SLAVE LABOR DECREE ENACTED IN GERMANY; ELECTIONS NEARING

"Voluntary Labor Service" Scheme To Provide Reich With Scab Army; Nazi-Communist Clashes Thruout Land; Fascists Push To Victory In July 31 Elections

BERLIN.—Sharp conflicts between militant workers and Nazis marked the weekend of July 16 all over the Reich, in the course of which fifteen were killed and many wounded. Nazi bands swept thru the country attempting to terrorize the workers quarters, attacking workers meetings, and waylaying and murdering small groups of workers. The police, as usual, adopted an attitude of "neutrality" or even open support of the Nazis. A determined drive is now under way to outlaw the Communist Party, under pretext of "responsibility" for the clashes, and to proclaim a "state of emergency" (martial law).

On July 16 the "voluntary labor service" edict went into effect.

POLICE IN BRUTAL 3-DEGREE MURDER

NEW YORK CITY.—An unsavory scandal, ripping the Nassau County and the New York City police departments wide open, came out with the death of Hyman Stark, under arrest for robbery, from injuries received as a result of third-degree torture at the hands of the police. In an inquiry now being conducted before Supreme Court Justice Meier Steinbrink, it was brought out that the prisoner was being maltreated by the police for several days, to such a degree that Assistant District Attorney Martin W. Littleton, Jr. made a formal protest to the detectives. Mr. Littleton was the first witness in the inquiry. The murder of Stark calls public attention to the continuous maltreatment of helpless prisoners in the clutches of the police and adds another chapter to the disclosures of the Wickersham commission.

CONGRESS PASSES HOOVER "RELIEF"

After Demagogic Gesture Bill Is Passed Giving No Aid To Jobless

WASHINGTON.—Having gone thru the gestures of opposition to the Hoover "unemployment relief" program, the Democratic majority in the House as well as the Democrats and "progressives" in the Senate calmly proceeded to pass this program into law with but few minor changes. In a statement issued on July 17 President Hoover announced that he would sign the revamped "relief" bill very soon and went out of his way to thank the "heads of both political parties" for their "cooperation."

Before the bill was sent to the President, every feature of it that might possibly be of any real use to the unemployed was extracted, especially the provisions for direct relief, which Hoover referred to as the "charity feature."

Immediately after passing the revised "relief" bill Congress adjourned leaving the masses of the unemployed still without any relief.

CARTOON WHICH BANNED "VORWAERTS"!



This is the cartoon for which the Social-democratic central organ, "Vorwarts," was suppressed by the von Papen regime. The inscription reads: "HAIL HITLER! See now, Paul, that's why they have cut our benefits" (unemployment and war veterans benefits.—Editor!)

HERBERT ZAM SPEAKS FRI., July 22 at 8 p.m. - 228 2nd Ave. "WORKERS PARTIES IN ELECTIONS"

Vote For Foster And Ford!

WHY NEGROES SHOULD VOTE RED!

by Loren Miller

We publish below extracts from the statement of Loren Miller, former editor of the Los Angeles California Eagle, the oldest and largest Negro newspaper in the West.—Editor.

The issues in this campaign are so clear that the only thing that will prevent Foster and Ford from polling the vote of every honest Negro in the country is the wave of lies and slander that will be let loose by misleaders of both races thruout the land. Long experience has taught me that when white bosses crack the whip, cringing and sniveling Uncle Toms spring up on every hand to defraud the rest of us and bamboozle us into voting for our enemies and oppressors.

This multitude of liars and lackeys have every reason to do the bidding of the bosses. They profit by their treason. Nor do they care that the election of the Hoovers, the Roosevelts and the lesser fry dooms the rest of us to continued misery and want. For themselves, they know that they can continue to decorate swivel chairs, pulpits and classrooms, and add another inch or two to their already fat bellies. The rest of us can go to blazes for all they care.

But the time has come when we must take this matter in hand. The rapid increase in starvation and mass misery in the past four years, when Republicans and Democrats have been in control everywhere, demands that the workers band together to overthrow the system that dooms them to soup lines and flop houses while the rich have potatoes in the ocean and pour milk down the gutters.

A party that refuses to fight this system is our enemy, no matter what the Uncle Toms may say. On the other hand, a party whose platform promises us relief is the one which we must support. Here's where the Communist Party comes in. Read its platform.

Here is part of it:

Unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the state and employers.

Against Hoover's wage-cutting policy.

Emergency relief for poor farmers, exemption of poor farmers from forced collection of rents and debts.

Nobody needs to tell us that we stand in need of unemployment insurance. The bosses have been laying us off right and left, without regard for conditions. The cities and towns are full of miserable and starving Negroes who want jobs. The bosses won't give us jobs because they can't make profit from our employment. Taking advantage of our miserable condition, the employing class has slashed wages to the starvation point. There are many of us who are working for room and board. Here is a party that fights against wage-cuts. Ask yourself whether you favor that fight.

There are many more of us who are poor farmers. We can't sell our wheat, our cotton, or our corn. We can't pay rent or taxes or other bills. Our place is in a party that fights to get us relief from the hard-fisted rent, tax and bill collectors.

The things about which I have been talking are the prime matters before us. We've simply got to fight starvation. But there is still another angle to this election that points us to the Communist Party. That is the racial question. All doubts on that

A.F.L. HEAD WARNS OF LABOR REVOLT

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Green, of course, is greatly disturbed at the prospect of rebellion among the workers since that would constitute a menace to the capitalist system which Mr. Green and the A. F. of L. executive council are pledged to defend. Thirteen million unemployed workers are expected for the coming winter, Mr. Green declared.

"I do not want to be an alarmist, but there are evidences of serious social unrest due to the unemployment situation," Mr. Green asserted. "The bonus army is an army of the unemployed. Those who are flocking to Washington are idle men unable to get work. That is a menacing situation because of the possibility of rioting. While I do not think there is any danger that constituted authority may be overthrown, the situation is disturbing. Food riots may lead to social disorder."

As measures of relief the executive council proposed an extension of the functions of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the legalization of 2.75% alcohol. Federal unemployment relief and insurance, the only even partially effective remedy in the crisis, never came within the field of consideration of the executive council.

The executive council also came out in sharp protest against the attempts of the Civil Service Commission and of the Post Office Department to forbid them to take part in political activity.

A mock crusade against racketeering in the labor movement was initiated by the executive council, whose power in the trade union movement depends precisely upon the support of these racketeers.

The Pre-Conference Discussion

About the International Resolution

by H. Hanssen

We publish below a discussion article by Comrade H. Hanssen.—Ed.

In connection with the recent thesis for the international conference, there may be said a couple of words. The writer is mainly in agreement with this thesis, but there are some points that seem not quite clear nor complete.

First, it is true only at this particular stage of the development, that the increasing gap between revolutionary advance in the U.S.S.R. and the outside world brings about a crisis in our ranks. A further increase in this gap, may make it easier than now, to put the Comintern back on a healthy basis.

Already in its remarks to the XVI Congress of the C.P.S.U. two years ago, the Inkopp pointed out that the increase in membership in the Soviet Party carried with it the germ of a restoration of complete Party democracy. It was added that this would be a slow process. Further, it seems as if the successful carrying thru of the first Five-Year plan and the intensive drive against the remnants of capitalism in the Soviet Union, makes a clarification of the Russian situation possible. The internal struggles in the Soviet Party will be less factional fights and more comradesly discussions and the crises and splits in the different Parties were to a large extent reflections of such fights.

Again, we cannot expect changes of this nature to go thru overnight but already the recent letters to the American party show some such tendency. They show some tendency of the Soviet leaders, when dealing with other sections of the Comintern, to consider the situation where the sections are located more and the Soviet situation less.

The mere statement in the thesis, that the "gap" is the fundamental source of our difficulties, may lead to the conclusion that the gap should be closed by curbing the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union. It is true, that point 18, on the Russian question, excludes such ideas but this should have been done directly in connection with the stating of the "gap" theory. There have been tendencies in the International Opposition to look for a "right" development in the U.S.S.R. and, while such tendencies now seem to be overcome, it would not hurt to bring this point out sharply and clearly.

When dealing with the differences in the Opposition, it does not seem correct to the writer to oppose the "gap" to "the necessities of Soviet diplomacy." Both tendencies in the Opposition must accept the gap as a fact and likewise the predominance of the Soviet leadership in the Comintern. The differences come in, one seeing the Communist parties outside the U.S.S.R. as playing the game of the factions in the Soviet Party and the other seeing them as playing the game of Soviet diplomacy. The writer regards the former evil, the mechanical transference of the situation in the Soviet Party to other sections, as the main one. But there have also been tendencies in the latter direction. For instance, the recent outbreaks of chauvinism in the American Party, the inactivity of the Comintern when the Spanish revolution started, etc.

Facing now the possibility that the economic crisis may not lead to revolutionary developments in Western Europe and America, facing the possibility of a Fascist victory in Germany, we face a widening of the gap. As pointed out above, this may make it easier to restore correct leadership in the Comintern but we may yet face a long and hard struggle before victory is ours. How then shall we strengthen the Opposition, not only in the various countries, but also internationally. The answer must be: By doing internationally what the Comintern fails to do. United fronts on an international scale are much harder to establish than within the confines of one country. And they cannot be so all-embracing. But it seems possible that the opposition might from time to time call international conferences of Communist, centrist, syndicalist groups, etc., to consider practical agreements on problems that concern the working class internationally. Such problems are the war danger, the defense of the Soviet Union, military occupations, etc. and of course also things that may seem to concern one country only but that really will affect the workers on a world scale, such as the developments in the colonies, the fight against Fascism and so on.

Such action would knit the different groups of the Opposition closer together, make it possible to establish groups in countries that so far have none and in general strengthen the Opposition on an international scale. Such strengthening is urgently necessary, if we are to succeed in restoring the Comintern to health.

SLAVE LABOR DECREE IN GERMANY

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direct form are expected as the results of the July 31 elections.

The movement for the establishment of a united labor front against Fascism, the only way in which the Nazi menace can be smashed, is marching forward but slowly; the bright perspectives that seemed to have been suddenly opened for this movement thru the recent "new turn" in the policy of the Communist Party, are now almost dispelled again. The Social-democratic officials sharply rejected the Communist Party offer of a united front, as was to be expected they would, and the C.F. leaders, instead of pressing forward to mobilize the Social-democratic workers to force their officials into a united front, grew frightened at their temporary rally in the right direction and relapsed again into the worst sectarianism. They have held a series of sham "united front" anti-Fascist conferences all over the country, representing nobody but the Communists and their sympathizers. The divisions in the ranks of the working class and the isolation of the revolutionary forces are growing and with them the inability of the labor movement to defeat the bid for power of the Hitlerites.

AN END TO THIS HOOLIGANISM!

(Continued from Page 1) air meetings. The Communist Party, however, does not attack the meetings of the Republican and Democratic parties or other capitalist organizations. They are only determined to prevent minority parties and groups

from having access to the streets and to the masses for the expression of their viewpoint. Unless some action is taken immediately, not only to sharply protest against such tactics on the part of the Communist Party but also to assure the right of other working class political organizations and groups to hold meetings, freedom of speech and expression will be gone in the city of New York. I am sure that the Civil Liberties Union realizes what is involved in the present tactics of the Communist Party. I am sure the Union realizes that these tactics of the Communist Party are a serious blow to freedom of speech. It is, therefore, imperative that the American Civil Liberties Union take immediate and decisive steps to prevent the continuation of these tactics on the part of the official Communist Party. I hope that the American Civil Liberties Union will see to it that the right to hold street meetings is assured and guaranteed to other parties and groups. Please take this matter up at once and let me know what you have decided to do.

Very truly yours, (signed) BENJ. GITLOW, Secretary, Communist Party U. S. A. (Majority Group)

COLUMBUS, Ohio.—One miner, a youth of 18, was killed and a half-dozen wounded when the national guardsmen opened fire on July 12 on a group of miners near the New York Central bridge at Chauncey in the coal strike area. Another encounter took place at the Provident mine in Belmont County when the sheriff tried to prevent a crowd of miners from picketing.

From Chicago comes a little item—Saul Held, boosting the Age: "I like that letter in the Age regarding Jay's pamphlet. The last two issues of the Age left nothing to be desired, yes, even the book reviews."

Also, we learn that Held is going to visit Fort Wayne and deliver a lecture on "Democracy in the Land of the Free."

Orphan Jones, a farm laborer, was arrested last Winter for the murder of Green K. Davis, a white farmer, his wife and two daughters. He was immediately subjected to the third-degree and a "confession" extracted. After a farcical trial he was convicted without any evidence except what had been framed by the police. During the trial at Townson, Jones's attorneys, Bernard Ades and Solomon Levinson, both supplied by the International Labor Defense, fought insistently against the exclusion of Negro jurors. When they objected to the all-white jury, their objections were overruled by Justice Frank I. Duncan, the presiding judge.

The reversal by the Court of Appeals is rendered even more significant thru the fact that one of the grounds of appeal in the Scottsboro case, which is to come before the U. S. Supreme Court in the Fall, is the exclusion of Negroes from the jury.

NEW YORK CITY.—Salvatore Arena, a member of the Duce Fascist Alliance of New York, shot and killed on July 4 in clashes between Fascists and anti-Fascists on Staten Island, at whose funeral some high Italian diplomatic dignitaries in this country were present, has turned out to be a bank robber wanted in Canada for participation in Hochelaga bank robbery in 1924.

WITH THE "AGE" BUILDERS

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Sklar in Baltimore has sent in a one dollar bill to cover a five-month special trial subscription offer.

From other out-of-town sections a painful silence. We hope to have the Anthracite and several other quiet regions show signs of activity in the next weeks booster's column.

In passing we want to remind California that distance has been conquered by man thru such inventions as air mail and telegraph and the same goes for San Antonio.

New York shows increased activity in renewals and donations. Within the last week, we have received the following renewals:

Paterson, N. J., 1 1-year sub; Bert Wolfe, 4 1-year subs; Signer, 1 1-year sub; E. Frances, 3 1-month subs; B. Pinchuk, 1 1-year sub; Miscellaneous, 12 1-year subs; 1 6-month sub; Philadelphia, 1 6-month sub.

The Brooklyn unit has done its bit to help the Age pull thru! \$50 was raised at the last unit meeting! A good example for the other units to follow!

The Bronx-Harlem unit has promised to raise a fund of \$100 for the Age. The Downtown unit has pledged \$50. The Yonkers unit, \$125. The Brooklyn and Boro Park units are arranging to hold a Beach Party on July 31, all proceeds to the Age! The Bronx-Harlem unit is holding a Picnic, all proceeds to the Age! The response is excellent. Rush the fulfillment of your promises. Follow the example of Brooklyn!

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Also, we learn that Held is going to visit Fort Wayne and deliver a lecture on "Democracy in the Land of the Free."

Orphan Jones, a farm laborer, was arrested last Winter for the murder of Green K. Davis, a white farmer, his wife and two daughters. He was immediately subjected to the third-degree and a "confession" extracted. After a farcical trial he was convicted without any evidence except what had been framed by the police. During the trial at Townson, Jones's attorneys, Bernard Ades and Solomon Levinson, both supplied by the International Labor Defense, fought insistently against the exclusion of Negro jurors. When they objected to the all-white jury, their objections were overruled by Justice Frank I. Duncan, the presiding judge.

The reversal by the Court of Appeals is rendered even more significant thru the fact that one of the grounds of appeal in the Scottsboro case, which is to come before the U. S. Supreme Court in the Fall, is the exclusion of Negroes from the jury.

NEW YORK CITY.—Salvatore Arena, a member of the Duce Fascist Alliance of New York, shot and killed on July 4 in clashes between Fascists and anti-Fascists on Staten Island, at whose funeral some high Italian diplomatic dignitaries in this country were present, has turned out to be a bank robber wanted in Canada for participation in Hochelaga bank robbery in 1924.

UNEMPLOYED HOLD MASS MEETING

(Continued from Page 1)

A mass meeting of 600 unemployed men and women was held under the auspices of the Association for Unemployment Relief, a non-partisan workers organization, at the Washington Irving High School, Tuesday, July 12th, 1932.

The meeting was addressed by Rabbi Sidney Goldstein of the Free Synagogue, J. B. Matthews of the Fellowship for Reconciliation, Mrs. Corrigan, secretary of the Brooklyn division of the Association for Unemployment Relief, and Wm. Allen of the National Urban League, and others. The speakers emphasized the total inadequacy of the present relief program of the municipal and State authorities and the utter planlessness and callous inaction of the Federal government in the face of the mounting want and misery of the 12,000,000 unemployed workers. They urged the unemployed to unite in the fight of Association for Unemployment Relief for real and adequate relief for the destitute unemployed and for unemployment insurance.

Speakers representing the Association for Unemployment Relief invited all workers present, employed and unemployed, to join the Association. They pointed out that the Association was open to all, without regard to political affiliation, that the organization was non-partisan and non-political in its membership and program.

50 COMMUNISTS ARE EXILED IN MEXICO

MEXICO CITY.—Fifty Mexican Communists have just been deported by the Mexican government to the penal colony of the Islas Marias (Mary Islands). This penal colony is on an isolated, wild, hot and unhealthy island in the Pacific and deportation there is condemnation to certain death. State authorities and presumably include the entire leadership of the Mexican Communist Party. Such is the Mexican government that mouths democratic phrases and murders peasants fighting for the land and condemns Communists to cruel and certain death. American workers must join their voices to the protests of workers and peasants of Mexico in demanding the release of the comrades deported to the Islas Marias.

SHARP TARIFF FIGHT HITS IRELAND

DUBLIN.—A sharp tariff war is threatening between Great Britain and the Irish Free State as a result of the determination of the government of the former to exercise economic pressure upon the latter in an attempt to force the DeValera government from its position on the oath of allegiance and on the question of the payment of land annuities. For that purpose the British Parliament recently passed a 20% duty on the value of all farm produce imported from the Free State. In retaliation, the Dail passed, on July 15, by a vote of 68 to 57, an emergency tariff bill granting the Free State executive very wide powers. The executive council, in fact, is understood to be considering the possibility of placing an embargo on the more than \$7,000,000 worth of coal annually imported from Great Britain to the advantage of Germany and Poland.

In Ireland the resentment of the masses of the workers and farmers against the attempts of the British to force the tariff on the agricultural products will hit the farmers and certain sections of the working class (trans-

For Trade Union Unity And Militancy!

THE FURRIERS UNION AND MR. SCHORR

Statement Of Furriers Progressive League

About two weeks ago, the Jewish Dail Forward officially informed the furriers that at last the "labor movement" was glad to announce that Mr. Schorr, manager of the White Goods Union and leader in the ranks of the Socialist party, had accepted as manager of the Furriers Union. The Forward also informed the fur workers that all groups in the union were united and would support the new manager. The Forward aimed to create the impression that our League was part and parcel of the so-called united front. We, therefore, declare our objectives in the International Union were, and still are, to rebuild and transform this union into a militant organization. In line with this policy, we have participated in the work of the Committee of Five, elected at a conference of active members. The purpose of this committee was to let the furriers know in an official statement that the Joint Council, which is pursuing a policy of class-collaboration, was ready to condemn this policy as detrimental to the interests of the fur workers and that the Union would now on pursue a policy of struggle against violations of the agreement by the manufacturer; that the entire structure of the Union would be changed; that the struggle against the bosses would be immediately launched, thereby changing the now existing miserable conditions.

This statement was brought forward and discussed by the committee and, with the exception of a few details, which were supposed to be altered, this statement appeared to be acceptable to the entire committee. If the statement had been issued and actually followed up by activity,

there would have been every reason to believe that unity could have been established. But at this point enters the Socialist party members, who foresaw that this would mean the finish of their party's reformist influence. So they began to turn the wheels back. It was all right for them, they thought, to raise the issue and yell about "Communist dictatorship" in the union but when they found the Communists isolated themselves by their own tactics, the Socialists began to rule with an iron hand. Without consulting the membership at large, they brought in Mr. Samuel Schorr, of the White Goods Union and leader in the ranks of the Socialist party, to lead the Furriers Union.

Who is Mr. Schorr? Once the organizer and later the manager of the White Goods Union, then the salesman of silks and cottons to manufacturers, known to him thru union contacts as finally the manager of a theatre. Mr. Schorr's standing as a union leader is not a rosy one. When the former manager, Davis, of the White Goods Union was charged (in 1922) with graft, he signed affidavits that he had inherited the custom from Schorr who had protected big shops in the trade, keeping them out of union control! The fact remains that all the big and important shops remained unorganized.

The White Goods Union today is hardly worthy of the name of union. The bulk of the trade has slipped out of union control. The union does not attempt to organize the shops, in spite of the fact that there are two organizers and that Mr. Schorr acted not as manager but as supervisor. There was no room for three paid officers in that union and Mr. Schorr was, therefore, given the job in the Furriers Union.

What were the policies and tactics of Mr. Schorr in the White Goods Union? The key answer to this question will also convince the furriers of what they can expect from him in our union.

Mr. Schorr was true to the tradition of the Socialist party living in peace with the bosses. In the White Goods Union a system of check-off is used. The workers are entirely ignored. Will Mr. Schorr repeat such actions in dealing with the furriers situation? Of course! In his letter to Dr. P. Abelson, the so-called impartial chairman of the conference committee, he, Mr. Schorr, proved his mastery of tactics and practices in class-collaboration. He speaks in terms of a friendly enemy and is very careful not to appear in any way as one who would indulge in fighting the manufacturers. He sheds tears at the cut-throat competition amongst the manufacturers, but can find no words for a real struggle against the same manufacturers who are mainly responsible for the existing conditions. Not a word about the contracting system mainly violated by those who are partners to the agreement.

(Concluded in the next issue) lian Ambassador, and in Italy he is to be given last honors by Il Duce himself. . . . Birds of a feather. . . .

Now the Fascists have come across with an alibi. Salvatore Arena was not Salvatore Arena but another man from the same Sicilian town with the same name.

Reminds us of the famous verdict—Shakespeare's plays weren't written by Shakespeare. They were written by another fellow with the same name.

A Fascist Hero Salvatore Arena, the member of the Duce Fascist Alliance of New York who was slain in a clash between Fascists and anti-Fascists at the Garibaldi Memorial on July 4th, has been identified as a bankrobber involved in a \$50,000 holdup.

His funeral in New York was attended by Giacomo de Martino, Ita-

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UNITY PICNIC

Arranged by the HARLEM-BRONX BRANCH Sunday, July 24, 1932 TIBBETS BROOK PARK Field No. 7 Admission: 50c, Lunch Included DIRECTIONS:—Take Lexington-Jerome Avenue Subway. Get off at last station, then take trolley car to McLean Avenue. Walk two blocks to the park.

BEACH PARTY

Benefit of "WORKERS AGE" Sunday July 31, 1932 Admission: 35 Cents 2844 West 28 St., Coney Island. DIRECTIONS:—Take B. M. T. line, Sea Beach, West End, Culver line or Brighton. Get off at Stillwell Avenue.

CAMP SOLIDARITY

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In the Pre-Conference Discussion

Marxism and "Negro Question"

Resolution Presented To National Conference

We begin below the publication of a draft thesis on the Negro question, outlining the viewpoint of Marxism on the fundamental aspects of this question and serving as a basis for the elaboration of a supplementary thesis dealing with Communist strategy and tactics in this field. This thesis will be presented to the coming National Conference of the Communist Party (Majority Group).—Editor.

Introduction

1. Of all problems facing the American working class and the American Communist movement, the "Negro question" is the most specifically American of all "American" questions, with only secondary analogies to conditions elsewhere. It is a question of first rate importance to the American Communist Party. And yet of all questions it is the one to which the least serious attention on the part of Marxist theoreticians has been devoted; there has, in fact, not yet been made in America any serious analysis of the "Negro question" from the Marxist viewpoint. The general backwardness and sterility of revolutionary theory in America and the traditional American Socialist "nihilism" on the "Negro question" as an indirect expression of the "white supremacy" ideology ("There is no Negro question")—"There is only an economic question of workers against bosses!" are partly responsible for this condition. And, also, the Communist movement rapidly broke through the shameful white chauvinism of large sections of the pre-War Socialist movement, the theoretical reorientation has been much slower. Until a short time ago the Communist movement remained content with vague and platitudinous phrases and, when recently a new theoretical departure was attempted under the stimulus of the Communist International, it went astray as a result of a fundamentally false orientation (national minority theory). A truly Marxist theory of the "Negro question" and even a truly Marxist analysis of its main features still remains for the future.

2. At the same time distinct signs are not absent pointing to a definite revival of the independent social activity of the Negro masses in the North and in the South, in the urban and in the rural centers, under the stimulus of the economic crisis, the great growth in unemployment and the incredible chaos in the cotton economy of the South. In this situation the unsatisfactory state of current Communist theory on the "Negro question" (especially in this country) is very serious and even dangerous.

The Status of the American Negro

3. The status of the Negro in the United States is in a very real sense specific to this country; only in the most general sense does it bear any relation to the status of colored peoples in other parts of the world, in the West Indies, in Africa, in South America, etc. Only against the background of the special course of American historical development, only in connection with the concrete relation of social forces in this country, can the status of the American Negro be understood and the problems deriving therefrom appreciated.

4. The Negro people in the United States do not constitute a colonial people under the heel of American imperialism. All of the essential characteristics of a colony (geographical separation from metropolises, the distinctness of the national economy of the colony and its specific relation to the imperialist economy of the metropolises, etc.) are absent. But just as little do the Negro people constitute a national minority in the real sense of the term. For the formation of a nation there is necessary a community (and distinctness) of language, of territory, of economic life (a national economy), of psychic structure (culture) and tradition. Not a single one of these conditions is characteristic of the Negroes in the United States. The attempt to supply the necessary community of territory by the creation of a fictitious "Negro-land" (the "Black Belt") runs contrary to every fact of American history and to every conception of contemporary tendencies and movements among the Negro people. The fundamental falsity of the "national minority" orientation comes to crass expression in the obvious inappropriateness of the slogan of "self-determination" (the proper slogan for a people suffering from national oppression) to the condition of the Negroes in America. The slogan of self-determination, in a situation where every force of bourgeois law, custom and public opinion, constantly operates to maintain and widen the breach between the races, is an objective support to Jim Crowism. The attempt to view of the Negro people as a national minority is false in conception and dangerous in concrete application.

5. The Negro people in the United States constitute, in the words of Lenin, a subject caste on a racial basis. The Negro people form an integral element of the American nation and of the American national economy; their culture, territory, language are all characteristically American. In the American social edifice they, as a race, occupy a peculiar and depressed status, a caste status. A close analogy would be the position of the "de-

pressed classes," the "untouchables," in Hindu society in India.

6. The depressed caste status of the American Negroes is rooted primarily in the semi-servile condition of the Negro farmer in Southern agriculture and in the inferior position of the Negro worker in industrial life. The under-privileged state of the Negro socially (jim-crow, segregation, lynch law) and politically, follow directly. Fundamentally, the Negro in the United States forms a well defined subject caste, with a distinctly inferior economic, social and political status.

The Historical Roots of the Caste Status of the Negro

7. Caste status, as Lenin has pointed out more than once, essentially a pre-capitalist institution, a phase or a remnant of a non-capitalist social (and economic) order. How to account for the existence of this "remnant of feudalism" in the highly developed capitalist system of this country is the first problem of a Marxist approach to the "Negro question." The roots of the present subject status of the Negro in America must be traced back to the days of slavery, nearly three-quarters of a century ago. Under slavery there was an immediate and obvious basis for the social subjection of the black men as such—their economically enslaved condition as a race. Had the American Civil War really effected the complete emancipation of the Negro slave, there would indeed have been no ground for the continued existence of the Negro as an inferior caste. But the victorious industrial bourgeoisie of the North adopted a course of action that led to quite other results. It rejected the "Radical" plan of Reconstruction, a plan that envisaged the complete destruction of the economic and political power of the slaveocracy and the "bourgeois" emancipation of the Negro slaves, i.e., the transformation into free peasant-proprietors and into free proletarians. On the contrary, the Northern bourgeoisie, after considerable hesitation and vacillation, threw its support to the "Conservative" plan of Reconstruction which aimed at conciliating the old slave-owners by abolishing chattel slavery in name but retaining it in somewhat modified form in fact—the bourgeois-democratic revolution—the essence of the Civil War—was thereby stifled and distorted; the emancipation of the Negro was rendered incomplete, even from a consistent bourgeois standpoint. Thus, the present economic status of the Negro farmer is essentially a survival of slavery. And when, in the course of time, the Negro farmer comes to

enter industry, he naturally brings with him his caste status. The specially depressed economic position of the Negro is the basis upon which the whole system of social, political and cultural subjection is reared.

9. The caste status of the American Negro is essentially a pre-capitalist survival, a "relic of feudalism." But such pre-capitalist survivals find a welcome place in the decaying structure of capitalism in its final, imperialist-monopolist epoch. The bourgeoisie is no longer, as it was in the great days of its youth, the ruthless destroyer of the obsolete and the reactionary, in its semility, the decaying bourgeoisie supports everything that is backward, dying and medieval... (Lenin). The specially depressed economic status of the Negro peasant and proletarian serves as a valuable source of super-profit for monopoly-capital—in a strictly analogous manner to colonial exploitation. At the same time it serves as a point of support for the class domination of the bourgeoisie ("Divide and rule"). For this reason the race oppression of the Negro has become an integral element of the bourgeois-imperialist system in this country.

10. It is in the specific caste status of the American Negro and the integration of this status into the structure of American imperialism, that race prejudice ("white chauvinism") has its roots. Class interests are directly transmuted into class ideology; this is a fundamental social mechanism. The caste status of the American Negro—so advantageous to the ruling class from the viewpoint of economic profit and class power—is transformed into the corresponding class ideology—the theory of the "inherent racial inferiority" of the Negro, race prejudice, etc. But the ruling ideas of any age are the ideas of the ruling class" (Marx). Race prejudice thus develops into an element of the currently accepted social thought (bourgeois ideology) and is absorbed by the other classes of society to the degree that they are under the ideological influence of the ruling class. It is because the white American workers and farmers are so "backward," i.e., so much under the spiritual influence of the bourgeoisie that they are so afflicted with anti-Negro race prejudice. A secondary factor in the same direction is the role that the feeling of racial superiority plays as a form of psychic compensation to the backward masses of the white toilers for the incredible miseries of their everyday existence. Nor can the deliberate activities of the white ruling class in stirring up race hatred be minimized. (Continue in the next issue)

Slavery In The "Land Of The Free!"

ECONOMICS OF SOUTHERN FARMING

by Will Herberg

(Concluded from last issue)

The share-cropper, in the narrow sense of the term, comes to the land-lord with at least a part of the means of production—seed, tools and work-animals, part of his seed and fertilizer. The landlord supplies the rest and takes about one-third of the cotton crop and about one-fourth or one-fifth of other crops (grain). The share-cropper gets advances not only from the landlord but also from the town merchant or banker at incredibly exorbitant rates (average: 50%). This form of share-cropping is more common in the Northern sections of the cotton belt where the holdings of the landlords are usually smaller and where, in fact, the landlord sometimes himself works part of his land, while renting out a part to share-croppers. The economic position of the share-cropper, the miserably enough, is slightly higher than that of the cropper.

Case tenants, paying their rent in money, are a declining factor in Southern agriculture. The forms of their exploitation may be more liberal but its intensity is only slightly if at all less than in the case of the cropper and share-cropper. The small-owners in the South are mostly white (about 85%), in contrast to the predominance of Negroes among the tenants. At all times, and especially in the present cotton crisis, the economic position of the small-owner, who cultivates anywhere from 40 to 120 acres with the labor of his family, who is totally dependent upon the merchants and bankers, is no better, sometimes even worse, than that of the cash-tenant. Mortgages, and other debts weigh upon him like a nightmare.

In the State of Mississippi, for example, about one-quarter of all land privately owned has been sold for the non-payment of 1931 taxes. Nearly every county in the State is reported as hard hit. The records show that 36,669 farms, or 16.2% of the acreage of the State, went on the auction block, while 12% of the city property was forfeited.

Peonage In The South

At best Southern croppers and renters exist under conditions of semi-peonage because they work under conditions of semi-serfdom. The tenant is simply tied to the land like a serf; only he has not the protection of tradition and of common action

that the serf had. In many cases the planter exerts force and terrorism to keep his tenants on the land. In other cases he uses the law: a tenant who is in debt, and every tenant is always in debt, cannot leave his land until the debt is paid; or else, the tenant is arrested as a "vagrant" or for "swearing across a public road"; or for "shooting across a public road"; or, if his fine is paid by the planter and the miserably man and his family now become slaves until they can work off the fine—which is never. In Gilchrist County, Florida, for example, a planter needed six men. He proceeded to sue out a warrant against six "vagrants" and "whereby supplied himself with six serfs! Then there is the blacklist among planters not to employ each other's tenants without agreement. There are laws in nearly all Southern states prohibiting the "entice-ment" of workers from the state or even from the county. And finally, of course, there is Judge Lynch!

In 1927 much of the peonage country was flooded by the Mississippi River. Several hundred thousand Negro tenants became dependent upon the Red Cross. It is a matter of record that the Red Cross obligingly promised the planter to "return" the croppers, even against their will, to the plantations whence they came! In all encampments, the croppers were closely guarded by armed men. When the waters receded, the croppers were rounded up, with the help of national guardsmen, herded into barges, and shipped back to their masters. And this in the "land of the free!"

Capitalist Farms And Agricultural Workers

Large capitalist farms employing wage-labor are quite rare in the cotton belt, both in the deep South and along the border. Agricultural laborers in the usual sense are hardly distinguishable from the croppers, forming a sort of outer fringe. The economic relations above described, an outgrowth of the old plantation system, have proven an almost insuperable obstacle to the modernization of the cotton culture. Neither diversification of crops, nor large-scale mechanical farming, nor the utilization of soil chemistry and other branches of agricultural science, have any chance in the face of the utterly backward system of share-cropping. Nei-

HOW THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS DEFEND THEMSELVES!

Here is how the Social-democrats in Germany are fighting against the new von Papen government:

After the suppression of the Vorwarts, the official Socialist organ, and of the Koelnner Volkszeitung, a Center party paper, the Communists in the Prussian Diet introduced a motion for lifting the ban on these papers. The Communists and Fascists voted for the motion. The Socialists and Center party fractions abstained.

The Social-democratic president of Hessen-Nassau has suppressed the Social-democratic Frankfurter Volksstimme. The Social-democratic Minister of the Interior of Hessen, Lewschner, has suppressed the Social-democratic Oberhessische Volkszeitung.

POLICE ATTACK OPEN AIR MEETING

An open air meeting held by the Communist Party (Majority Group) on Thursday, July 14, at 4th Street and Avenue B, was the scene of a brutal attack on workers by New York's "finest."

For two hours 200 workers listened attentively to the speakers denounce capitalist, expose the Republican and Democratic and Socialist parties, and urge every worker to vote for the Communist presidential candidates.

A policeman, apparently unable to stand any longer this appeal to the workers, attempted to stop the meeting. He insisted that the American flag was "upside down" and was not the regulation size. He snatched the flag from the platform and refused to allow I. Zimmerman, who was speaking, to continue. Albert Bell, a war veteran, demanded the return of the flag so that the meeting could continue without further interference. By this time the number of workers at the meeting had increased and shouts for "free speech" could be heard from all parts of the crowd. This solidarity and fighting spirit of the workers and the speakers increased the anger and frightened Mr. Officer, to the point where he exclaimed to Zimmerman: "You're under arrest." This angered the workers who wanted the meeting to continue and insisted on the release of the speaker, who in spite of the policeman's attack, continued talking. The officer said that his uniform did not scare anyone and in desperation begged for someone in the crowd to PLEASE telephone for more police.

To this the workers answered in one voice: "No!" He was finally forced to release the speaker and run to telephone for the riot squad. In the meantime H. Rubinstein, chairman of the meeting, brought a regulation size flag, given to him by a nearby store-keeper. The meeting then continued peacefully for about three minutes, when from all sides came cars loaded with police, swarming down on the meeting, driving their cars into the workers, using their clubs freely, trampling on anyone in sight. One worker was severely injured on the face and had to be taken to the hospital in an ambulance.

I. Zimmerman was arrested and beaten. He was taken to the police station but was finally released.

A number of members of the official Communist Party were there. The division between the so-called leaders and the rank and file Party members was very evident. The rank and file workers joined in our fight, booted the cops and helped defend the meeting. A few, however, persisted in yelling: "Fakers, don't come here to fool the workers." They were quickly stopped by the anger expressed on all sides by workers who wanted the meeting to continue.

Every copy of the Workers Age, and every pamphlet on hand, was distributed. We're going back to hold a meeting at that corner next Thursday. This last meeting was a good example of our "democratic rights" and the "freedom of speech" meted out to workers meetings.

ther tractor nor improved plow, neither cottonseed planter, fertilizer distributor nor cotton-stalk cutter, plays any serious role in Southern agriculture; human labor-power and the mule still dominate the scene. It now remains to be seen what changes the newly improved cotton-picker, the most important invention in this field since the cotton gin, will mean in the economic relations in Southern agriculture.

Lately, new cotton lands have been opened in the Southwest (Texas, Oklahoma); here production takes place on a much larger scale and is far more modern than in the old South. Texas is rapidly beginning to supply a decisive share of the cotton crop of this country.

"Third Period Communism" in Action

Sectarian Sterility and Culture

by Jim Cork

The foundations of the old world have literally been knocked out from under the feet of the middle class intellectuals. Increasing economic insecurity, the rotten decadence penetrating to every nook and corner of the social and cultural structure, the startling contrast in the values and achievements of the Soviet Union, and the capitalist world, have all helped to shatter their complacent acceptance of this "best of all possible worlds."

The ivory tower has been shot to hell! The roar of world-shaking events begins to penetrate even the insulated existence of our intellectuals. The storms of the present epoch present them with an inexorable choice: "Either—Or!" Embrace the new world—or go down with the old! Our intellectuals are becoming politically conscious. They are beginning to take sides.

Not all, of course, become "activists" in the struggle. Every shade of confusion, fright, helplessness, flight is in evidence. Philosophers from Whitehead down plead for more foresight. Religionists plead for more faith. Reason is abdicated. Occultism, spiritualism, Hindu philosophies, insane metaphysics, abound. Idealism, mysticism, religion are permeating even the austere structure of science. God dances on the needle point of indeterminacy. His Holiness the Pope is able to proclaim that science now "proves" miracles.

T. S. Eliot embraces Catholicism and royalism. Allen Tate sings the departed graces of the aristocratic feudal culture of the Southern States. And over it all the Prussian Junker, Saugwitz croaks of "Gotterdammerung" at the twilight of the Gods.

These are not new philosophies, nor fresh adventures of the intellect. They are so many signs of the mental decay that accompanies the creeping paralysis which afflicts capitalism. Not all reactions are so passive and muddled, however. Increasing signs of a more class-conscious attitude (on both sides of the fence) are in evidence. Wyndham Lewis embraces Hitler. Irving Babbitt and the Humanists plead for a Fascist culture. The advocates of a "planned" capitalism in the United States, the Beards, the Stuart Chases and the like, what are they but the pre-echoes, in spite of their liberal pretensions, of a developing Fascist ideology, that requires the maturing of the necessary objective conditions (as yet not here) to give it greater potency?

Just as unmistakable on the other hand, is the increasing allegiance that the ideals of Communism are winning amongst the intellectuals. Dreiser, Edmund Wilson, Counts, Briffault,

are only a few of the more prominent representatives of a growing tendency amongst scientists, men of letters, professors, students.

Communists And Intellectuals

That their general ideology in this transitional mental state is confused, is to be expected. That they carry over illusions and doubts is inevitable. What is significant, however, is the direction of their development. Of decided importance in resolving the existing confusion in the right direction, in directing the potential energy into conscious left wing channels, is the attitude of the Communists towards these intellectuals. Unfortunately, the Communist Party line, here as elsewhere, exhibits the same crazy sectarianism which has already borne much tragic fruit.

In the introduction to the first number of the Marxist theoretical magazine, Unter dem Banner des Marxismus, Lenin, in defining the tasks of the Communists in that particular venture, wrote (1):

"... the collaborators who group themselves around the periodical Unter dem Banner des Marxismus may be indeed, not the most consistent materialists. It seems to me that such an alliance of Communists and non-Communists is unconditionally necessary. The magazine follows a policy of the most varied fields of activity there can be no talk of successful Communist work. Our 'third-period' experts, however, pose the question differently. 'If you're not with me, you're agin' me!' is their guiding tactic all along the line, in ideology as well as elsewhere. It is obvious that an 'alliance with non-Communists' which 'shall push the whole mass forward' cannot be based upon principles which can be accepted in toto only by a Communist. Yet consider the minimum program of the Kharkov conference of revolutionary writers (2): 1) Struggle against the preparation of imperialist wars; 2) Defense of the U.S.S.R., the bulwark of the world socialist revolution, from imperialist intervention; 3) Struggle against Fascism;

4) Struggle against social-fascism, against the outlook and practice of the Second International, the chief buttress of imperialist capitalism. Non-Communists are to be measured by the yard-stick of "third-period Communism" (theory of "social-fascism," etc.). How this works out in practice can be seen by the attitude of the Party towards Left and Front, two recent literary ventures in the United States, of general left tendencies. The editors are taken severely to task because in their statement of principles upon their appearance they had not (3)

"... from the outset expressed unequivocally their attitude to the motley crowd of renegades who for several years have indulged in counter-revolutionary slanders on the U.S.S.R. and the revolutionary movement, the adventures of the type of Max Eastman, Jay Lovestone, etc."

To be granted the title of radical (not Communist) writer in the U. S., you must first denounce Lovestone even if you have never heard of him. All non-Communist writers who show the slightest deviation from the principles of "third period Communism" must be purged from the magazines. Is it not obvious how still-born will be any attempt to develop a broad left wing movement upon such a stupid basis? Those who are approaching are not to be brought nearer. They are to be repulsed. Activity is doomed to remain on the narrowest possible basis. The New Masses and the John Reed Club are cases in point.

Both are merely shadows of the Party. The recent Diego Rivera scandal in the John Reed Club speaks volumes. As to the New Masses, I take a typical illustration, the recent article, "Women on the Breadlines," by Meridel Lesueur (New Masses, January 1932).

The objective effect of this article was to reveal the capitalist system as a monstrosity, to destroy its claims to the slightest shred of allegiance to it on the part of any human being. As such it had a wide appeal and was very effective. But it didn't supply Communist slogans, theses and directions. So the editors obligingly did that for the author in an editorial footnote which scolded her for her "pessimism," denounced her for her "defeatism" and ended: "Join the Communist Party!"

The attitude towards V. F. Calverton is especially revealing. Calverton has seriously engaged in Marxian analysis in a field where precious little has been done in the United States. I think he has made errors, some of them of a serious nature, errors for which he has to be taken to task. But as Lenin said in the very same article from which I quoted above: "Only he makes no errors who does nothing."

To the extent that the Age has considered them (e.g., on "cultural impulsives") the correct balance has hardly been struck I think between the insufficiently critical article of Will Herberg and the altogether too rigid attitude of B. Herman. But that is just the point. It is a question of discussion and criticism. And the criticism needn't be the less sharp in its nature or the principles less intransigent in character for lack of the disgusting practice of name-calling so rampant nowadays. Calverton is "accused" (by Landy in the Communist) of the following: (a) Of desiring to help the Japanese government murder Japanese peasants and workers; (b) Of showing the inevitable hypocrisy of a class enemy; (c) Of being a social-fascist, of supplying the finished system of thought of social-fascism, of pursuing the social-fascist line of the Second International in order to stem the advancing revolution.

(Continued on page 4)

indicated that insufficient propaganda and agitation for our demands have been carried out. The negotiations moved at snail's pace. The correct balance had been created the impression that the union leaders were not pushing our demands to the forefront hard enough because they did want to agitate the workers too strongly. We pointed out that if such an impression would be created it would harm the morale of the cloakmakers. We also pointed out that we must carry out more preparatory work because the "left groups" (T.O.U. groups—Ed.) were carrying on a bitter destructive campaign against the strike and were doing everything they could to harm the strike. We also publicly criticized the terrorist tactics of the right wingers as well as of the Communist leaders. We pointed out that with such methods we could not re-establish the morale of the members in their support of the T.U. It is clear that we are far from agreeing with everything and we have always said this openly. Unfortunately, in most cases, we were not listened to. The main reason for this is that the left and progressive movement is not united, poorly organized and also too hesitant in their struggle against the ruinous policies of the bureaucracy.

In conclusion, we declare that, whether there is a block or whether there is no block, we will say what we have to say and will not keep silent in case of an unfavorable settlement of the strike, whoever may be responsible for it. We will call the workers to struggle for the demands in their interests. At far as we are concerned we will do everything in our power to make the strike successful so that we may go back to the shops and work under union conditions and, after the strike, to proceed with more energy to strengthen and improve our organization as a fighting instrument in the interests of all the workers.

For Trade Union Unity And Militancy!

LEFT WING AND PROGRESSIVE BLOCK

Statement of Cloakmakers Progressive League

The following communication was issued recently by the Cloakmaker's Progressive League (Local 1, I.L.G.W.U.).—Editor.

New York City.

In the Day of July 5 there appeared an article by H. Morgenstern dealing with the Progressive Leagues, or as he calls them, the "Lovestonites," in the needle trades unions. In this article he states that we have not openly proclaimed our aims and objectives in the unions. We declare that this is not true. Dozens of times, thru leaflets, articles in the Day and in the Workers Age, have we made clear our ideals, aims and tactics in the unions.

What have we declared publicly and openly? We have declared that we will combat the dual-unionism defended and practised by the official Communist Party because dual-unionism is harmful to the interests of the workers and leads to practical scabbery of one union against the other. We have declared that we will fight for the daily interests of the workers, that we will enlighten the workers as to their class position, that we will struggle against the dangerous policies of the right wing union bureaucracy, that we will fight for a stronger class struggle union.

In full consciousness we declare that, although we have not yet succeeded in achieving what we would like to have, we have nevertheless imparted a great push forward in the direction of our aims as outlined. Only those who are blind, only bitter enemies do not see this. Our tactics in the union were not sectarian, nor isolating, as those of the official Communist Party. Because we do not believe in isolating ourselves from the masses, in pushing away such progressive elements as really want to work for the welfare of the workers and for a powerful class struggle union, we have extended a friendly hand to all progressive elements in the unions and, with a certain section of them, we have formed a block on a program of work which is in agreement with our ideas. Because we have done this, it is not correct for friend Morgenstern to maintain that we have kept certain "secrets." Just the contrary! We have openly declared that we are aiming to attract all progressive workers to our ideas. We, ourselves, were under no illusions. We

knew that we could not drive all these elements into a more progressive radical path. It is clear that we have formed the block for a certain program and have been working in the direction of establishing a class struggle union. And if anyone, whoever he may be, will deviate from this program, our relations are severed.

As far as our responsibilities in the union are concerned we want to say that it is foolish to maintain that we are responsible for everything that occurs in the union. After all, we are not the administration and, frankly speaking, we are not as yet the decisive power in the union. We are, and will be responsible only for those actions which are carried out with our consent. And let it also be clear that we have, on numerous occasions, criticized our "partners" for their lack of aggressiveness in the struggle against the ruinous policy of the top leadership of the union. We want to mention only a few facts: Our struggle for rank and file organization work; our struggle against the joint board leadership which did not take the proper stand against the offensive of the bosses on union conditions in the shop; our criticism of the last convention that it was one of the most reactionary conventions; we came out against the \$10 tax because the convention abolished the referendum vote on taxes and the International has not made the slightest effort to economize on expenses; we also introduced a number of motions in the direction of fighting for better conditions and to reconstruct the union apparatus upon a healthy basis. A number of our motions were defeated. This is not the proper place to go into the reasons for the defeat of these motions. The fact is that the fault does not lie with us. We reiterate that, tho we had a block on a program of immediate work in the union with certain elements, we cannot be and are not now responsible for Dubinsky's management as president and Heller's as secretary-treasurer because the present leaders of the International continue the same harmful policies of the former leaders. Therefore, no progressive workers can vote for them.

When one speaks of responsibility, let it also be emphasized here that we have openly stated that we do not agree with the way our union leaders, the progressives included, carry out the strike preparations. We have

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JAY LOVESTONE, Editor
WILL HERBERG, Managing Editor
B. D. WOLFE, Associate Editor
ALBERT BELL, Business Manager

Organ of the National Council of the
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BEN GITLOW, Secretary

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CONGRESS ADJOURNS!

THE first session of the Seventy-second Congress, now adjourned, should receive the close attention of every working man in this country who really wants to know to whom the government belongs and in whose interests it operates.

The Congress met in what is surely the greatest national emergency since the Civil War. Economic crisis was ravaging the land; mounting millions of workers were unemployed and were starving with their families; the wages of those still employed were being constantly reduced by the most vicious slashes; farmers were in desperation, facing famine while the granaries were bursting; countless millions of small merchants were feeling the bitter effects of the deep impoverishment of the masses; the wave of bank failures was depriving the workers, the farmers, the lower middle classes, all of the poor people in fact, of their very last dollar. On the other hand, the very meager resources of private and semi-public charity were obviously breaking down under the absolutely unprecedented strain. Destitution, hunger, misery, stalked the country from one end to the other.

What did the Congress do in the face of this desperate emergency? Its record of commission and omission is instructive enough. "Despite contests and bickerings between the Capitol and the White House," significantly remarks the "New York Times," "Congress gave the President everything he asked with which to fight the depression." All of the pre-election demagoguery of the Democrats or of the LaGuardia "progressives" cannot hide this damning fact!

Herbert Hoover's idea of "fighting the depression" was to use the powerful engine of government to relieve trust capital and to help it shift the burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the poor. And in this the Congress "gave him everything he asked!" The creation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, a gigantic relief agency for the big banks and railroads, will ever stand a monument to the shameless ruthlessness and cynicism of the power-mad capitalist class of this country. And every so-called "relief" measure passed by the Congress, including even the bill of the Tammany-"progressive," Senator Wagner, was directed primarily at increasing the capitalization or the scope of the R.F.C. Not one single proposal for real relief of the millions of jobless was raised in either house of Congress; not one single voice was heard in favor of Federal unemployment relief and insurance, the only way in which the desperate emergency could be met with at least partial adequacy.

A tremendous deficit faced the Federal budget as a result of the spreading economic crisis. The House Ways and Means Committee came in with an idea quite in the Hooverian spirit, a general sales-tax. A general sales-tax was just the thing; it would pass over the rich lightly and would search out and collect its toll from the countless poor. But this was too much—after all elections were inconveniently close. A La Guardia-led "revolt" "killed" the "principle" of the sales-tax but both House and Senate welcomed the "compromise" of millionaire Secretary of the Treasury Ogden M. Mills which included the sales-tax, separately, and in various forms as "excises." The "great principles of American government finance," to which Mr. Hoover so touchingly alluded, were saved: the budget was balanced and all that was left was for the masses to pay!

The last weeks of the Congress were rendered uneasy to its members by the great veterans bonus march. Tens of thousands of typical Americans, precisely those who, under the guise of defending their country, had been sent out to protect the interests of Wall Street, were taking direct action demanding that their promised bonus be paid now, when they were in desperate need of it, and not thirteen years later. The demagogic and meaningless gesture of the House was supplemented by the crushing defeat of the bonus bill in the Senate. Even the so-called "widows and orphans" bill, involving an expenditure of less than \$15,000,000, was defeated. Who were the ex-servicemen anyway to make demands that would "endanger the financial stability of the country," that is, the stability of the profits of big business?

With the Congress so busy helping Hoover "solve the crisis," it naturally had no time in which to consider the expanding activities of the Post Office in suppressing or barring from the mails, militant labor papers or radical publications of any kind. Nor could it deal with the nationwide drive of the Department of Labor to smash labor organizations and to cripple labor struggles by the deportation or threat of deportation of foreign-born working men who showed any disposition to stand up for their rights. Except of course, that Mr. Doak's "labor" activities received the Congressional blessing, by implication, when the House passed and the Senate committee approved the infamous Dies bill. Indeed, it is owing only to the overpowering haste of adjournment that this proposal, according to which any militant worker, any Communist, any Socialist, any "liberal" even, could, if a non-citizen, be deported offhand, was not enacted into law!

This record of the first session of the Seventy-second Congress cannot be conjured away even by the last minute pre-election dramatics in which Speaker Garner was cast in the somewhat awkward role of crusader against "class legislation." It is a record of blackest reaction, of singleminded and abject service to capitalist interests, of callous and brazen indifference to the sufferings and the demands of the masses. It is a record that proves once again, for the thousandth-and-first time, that every event of political and social life has emphasized, that the government of the United States is a government of, by and for big business!

It is only when the workers and farmers of this country break with the big parties of capital, organize their own party of labor, and fight their own battles as an independent force politically, that they will have their voices heard and their rights enforced!



Problems of the Needle Trades

'Lovestoneites' and Progressives

by Ben Gitlow

The article by Herman Morgenstern in the *Day* of July 5, 1932 is a very interesting one. The article maintains that the "Lovestoneites" are in a "tragic" position in the right wing unions. The writer refers to the needle trades unions and to the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in particular. He bases his conclusions on the recent developments in the I.L.G.W.U. He maintains that the mistake which the "Lovestoneites" made when they returned to the right wing unions is responsible for their present plight. Instead of carrying on an independent course for the purpose of spreading their views, the "Lovestoneites" made the error of uniting with existing groups of the old regime which they found in the unions when they rejoined them. The groups, the writer claims, only assumed a cloak of progressivism to win the support of the left wing masses who were returning to the unions due to the collapse of the dual-union policy of the official Communist Party. To these groups of the old regime an alliance, a wedding as he calls it, with the "Lovestoneites" was everything to be desired. It fitted into their plans and afforded them the opportunity to appear before the masses, as long as it was advantageous, as progressives. When the time came that either they must act as progressives or lose their positions, they discarded their progressive cloak and appeared in their true light as part and parcel of the old regime. And the "Lovestoneites," much to their surprise, awoke one morning to find that the bride had flown, that those with whom they had united had acted in such a way that, under no circumstances, could they approve or be responsible for their acts. The "Lovestoneites" were left abandoned without sufficient strength to go it alone and to go along was also quite impossible because it placed upon them the responsibility for sins of others which, under no circumstances, could they bear.

What Are The Facts?

Let us examine the situation, deal with the facts and draw the necessary conclusions. According to Morgenstern, the final curtain has fallen, the play is over, the "Lovestoneites" are in the position and policy of the "Lovestoneites" in the trade unions are correct, that it is necessary to work inside of the existing unions, that the policy of the Communist Party to split the unions and set up dual unions is wrong. Then, if he agrees that the general policy is correct, how does it come that he reaches the conclusions he does?

Because at the recent convention of the International held in Philadelphia and following the convention, certain leaders of the center groups in Locals 1 and 9 and in Local 22 have not acted as progressive leaders should.

Can we say that because Levy and Kurtzman have taken certain steps in the union which the progressives cannot endorse or support that ipso facto the policy of the "Lovestoneites" of uniting with groups in the union was wrong?

Morgenstern himself does not reach such a conclusion actually, though he states that the first and biggest mistake was the unity of the "Lovestoneites" with other groups in the union. Morgenstern must admit in his article that the unity was correct in principle and that the plan of the "Lovestoneites" was good, but that it did not work out according to plan. The block between the "Lovestoneites" and the center groups in the International was formed upon a definite program for bettering the union, changing its policies, for winning better conditions for the workers through militant action. It was a block against the reactionary officialdom and their policy of collaboration and harmony with the bosses.

Who Are The Center Elements?

Were the elements with which the "Lovestoneites" united elements of the old regime? Morgenstern claims they were and are. He claims that they adopted progressivism because it paid them at the time, making it possible to win the left wing masses who were returning to the unions. At the time they made the leaders and the rank and file of the center groups represented elements in the right wing union who were in opposition to the bureaucracy of the union and its policies. These groups were in existence before the "Lovestoneites" rejoined the unions and before the influx of the left wing elements from the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. In fact left wing workers who followed the official Communist Party line fought against these groups and lined up with the reactionaries against the center. The center, as a group of leaders and rank and file members, was an opposition force of a progressive character in the union. It was absolutely correct and necessary to do everything to cement a block of the center with the left on a concrete program for the purpose of directing the movement more definitely to the left and of organizing the masses for a more effective struggle to build up the union as a progressive, militant organization.

In making the block there was no guarantee that it would lead to a permanent block or to a consolidation into one left wing organization in the union. Nor was there any guarantee that the leaders of the center would for all time favor an alliance with the left.

When the block was made it showed that there took place, for the time being, a definite alignment of the center with the left for the purpose of

carrying out a progressive program in the union.

When the block was made it was made upon principle. Far from giving up their independent position in the union the "Lovestoneites" strengthened their independent position and carried on their ideological work on a much broader and more effective basis.

We are in no position to determine the individual motives of the leaders of the center groups, as Morgenstern does. Perhaps what has taken place recently in the International convinces Morgenstern of the correctness of his estimation of the center groups and their leaders.

But our group has not been quiet on the turn of events in the International. Right after the International convention we stated the following editorially in the *Workers Age* of May 28:

"However, in stressing the plight of the masses due to reactionary leadership and policies, we cannot overlook the altogether unsatisfactory role played by some prominent spokesmen of the center like Levy and Kurtzman, managers of Locals 1 and 9 respectively. In general, their fight against the black clique was feeble, half-hearted, and, at best, lacked punch. Besides, at the decisive moments, just when it was necessary to strike hardest against the Schlessinger-Dubinsky machine, precisely when it was imperative to dramatize the opposition to them, these forces didn't act as progressives should, engaging at best in shadow-boxing with the bureaucracy, and even went so far as to vote to put it back as the administration. Worst of all, was to give, at least in part, an endorsement of these class-collaborationists by accepting posts FROTH in their new administration. This is the real significance of Levy and Kurtzman accepting vice-presidencies at the hands of Schlessinger and Dubinsky. We cannot emphasize too strongly that we are not left-wingers taking or receiving even the highest union offices. But we underscore with equal emphasis that it's one thing for an opponent to fight for offices and win some of them as AN OPPOSITION and it's quite a different matter to be given offices because it stops fighting, because it blurs the issues and hides and complicates differences before the workers. In the first case, for an opponent to win some offices means vigor and growth; in the second case, it means paralysis and suicide as a genuinely progressive opposition."

We are not afraid to state our position clearly or make our criticism sharply then.

The "New Alignment" And Its Meaning

After the convention the vote of Levy and Kurtzman for Dubinsky for president of the International, their proposal of Heller for the secretary-treasurer, their general support of the Dubinsky administration, proves not only that on certain concrete matters they have acted independently of the block but that there is taking place in the International a new alignment of forces, certain leaders and elements of the center perfecting a new alignment this time with the right wing bureaucracy against the left wing, against the Communists.

This new alignment is taking place primarily because of two reasons:

1. The progressive block of the "Lovestoneites" with the center suffered a serious setback in the recent dress strike which, due to the economic depression and the open sabotage of the right wing bureaucracy, ended in a defeat for the workers.
2. Following the recent national convention of the Socialist party, the Hillquit wing of the S.P. decided upon a policy of uniting all the forces in the trade unions against the Communists, especially against the "Lovestoneites" in the needle trade unions. They have exerted tremendous pressure upon the Jewish unions to force a union of all forces for a fight against the Communists. They have gone so far as to force leading Socialists to decline to participate in an united front movements which include Communists. I, myself, know of two incidents where prominent Socialist party members were forced to decline after they had indicated their acceptance to serve in one committee with me because I was a Communist.

The realignment of forces has taken place with an accelerated tempo in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The early death of Schlessinger has helped in this acceleration. It has put Dubinsky in a position where he can take the lead and exert pressure for definitely cementing and consolidating the new alignment.

One thing is certain: the new alignment does not indicate a change in the classical policy of the right wing bureaucracy. Even though some organizational concessions may be given to the center leaders, the new alignment is based upon a continuation of the costly reactionary policies of the right wing bureaucracy. It is no accident that Dubinsky, who pursues the old policies towards the bosses and the workers, raises the cry of "harmony" and that now is not the time to "raise differences." And when the center leaders, like Levy and Kurtzman, acquiesce in the Dubinsky "harmony" plea, then they must realize that such harmony means freedom for the execution of Dubinsky's policies even to the extent of the sharpest and most bitter denunciation and attack upon the "Lovestoneites," as he has done at local meetings lately.

The "New Alignment" And The "Lovestoneites"

The perfection of a definite alignment between the center leaders and

the right wing will be temporarily a blow to the progressive movement in the right wing unions. In fact, the action of the center leaders in departing from the progressive program of the block has strengthened the right wing and very materially weakened the left wing. The progressive movement surely cannot be held responsible for the acts of some of its leaders, or even of individual members. If the whole progressive movement, if the block as a whole, would follow the center leaders in their present course, then that would have been a tragedy. That is far from the case. For the "Lovestoneites" there has been no hesitation in estimating the situation and the role of the center leaders. The "Lovestoneites" have stood by their program. They have fought and condemned those acts of the center leaders which they regarded as inimical to the interests of the progressive movement and the workers as a whole. In spite of whatever new alignments may take place, in spite of treachery and betrayal on the part of leaders and groups, the "Lovestoneites" in the unions will continue to work for a progressive program and will be ready to unite with all forces who will work for the accomplishment of such a program of struggle. In spite of what Mr. Morgenstern believes, it will be done because of two things we will never compromise: (1) On our opposition to the right wing bureaucracy and its policies; and (2) on our position against the union splitting, disruptive, sectarian policy of dual-unionism of the official Communist Party.

We are Communists and realists enough to know that no matter what the alignment is based as it is on a continuation of the harmful, costly reactionary policy of the right wing, conditions for the workers will not improve but will become worse. This is basic. This is the foundation of all progressive union opposition, the basis for progressive opposition for a left wing continuing. The "Lovestoneites," the Communist Party (Majority Group), are fully conscious of their opportunities and are prepared to grasp them. We face the future

SECTARIAN STERILITY AND CULTURE

by Jim Cork

(Continued from Page 3)

emancipation signifies already the completion of a process.

emancipation signifies already the completion of a process.

The Suicide Of Sectarianism

The inner regime of the Party which allows no discussion, permits no clarification, tends to perpetuate a situation crying aloud for correction. And so the sectarian attitude towards the masses continues unabated. It is reflected in that peculiar type of Communist snobbery which seemingly delights in repulsing the masses, and that just at a time they are coming closer. Under such conditions it is not surprising that recruiting on a large scale becomes impossible to the objective possibilities in that direction are great. It is especially damaging in view of the fact that the swing to the left amongst the intellectuals is just at its initial stage and occurs in a country where the "interests" have hitherto been able to keep practically the entire intelligentsia in its orbit. The Party line is slowing up this leftward drift by really hurrying the realization of its own objectives.

The recruiting of the Party amongst intellectuals has of course not been nil. It is significant to note, however, that in many cases, recruiting has been successful because of the very nature of the Party's sectarian line. The reason is not far to seek. The transition from bourgeois "radicalism" to crazy leftism in times of stress is a very natural one. Our radicalized intellectuals out-let even the Party's communism for them is still much of an emotional abstraction. They do not see the A.F. of L. They do not see concrete everyday demands and tasks. They do not understand, in short, the realistic tactics necessary to develop a movement. The Party line being what it is, they find a natural home in which to rest their newly "politicized" heads. In turn they only tend to strengthen the line. And wherever they have contacts outside, they spread the seeds of sectarianism.

- (1) "... an almost religious fetishization of an individual which has nothing in common with true revolutionary art";
- (2) Debs did not rise to the truly revolutionary, i.e., Leninist, understanding of the events of 1914-1918; (3) "... not the name of Eugene Debs but that of Vladimir Lenin alone can serve as the symbol of their revolutionary emancipation."

As to the first objection, aside from the fact that there is nothing anti-revolutionary in eulogizing individualism who symbolize the revolutionary traditions of the working class, it comes with special ill-grace from one who in the very same article writes:

"... above all, of course, that genial and true disciple of Lenin, the leader of the world revolution, Comrade Stalin, under whose leadership the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union are going from victory to victory, under whose leadership the working people of the entire world are waging struggle against capital."

This is the type of eulogy that has nothing in common with revolutionary morality. The germ of truth contained in the first objection is distorted to apply to a different situation entirely. It is part of the job of Communists in the U. S. to revive and keep alive always in the consciousness of the masses the revolutionary traditions in American history. Lenin stressed this repeatedly, especially in his "Letter to the American Working Class." Especially important is it for a country with so relatively backward a working class. The best of Gene Debs belongs in the broad stream of this tradition. That "best," Communists make their own, of course, not without criticism of the "other" Debs. But there is criticism and criticism! To say that Debs was not a Leninist, misses the needs of the situation entirely. To counterpose Lenin to Debs sounds great, but is in reality a piece of stupid sectarianism. Leninism includes realistic tactics designed to develop the consciousness of the masses; it does not consist in mouthing Lenin's name on every occasion. For the masses to understand that Lenin alone can serve as the symbol of their

BOOKS

FRANKLIN PIERCE, Young Hickory of the Granite Hills, by Roy Franklin Nichols. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1931.

Professor Nichols has written an interesting political biography of that contemptible futility—Franklin Pierce, fourteenth President of the United States. As the author correctly states, the book tries to "explain him (Pierce) not as himself but as a type"—the type of "dough-face," in the political vernacular of the period, of the "Northern man with Southern principles," who, in the closing days before the Civil War, served the interests of the slavovowing aristocrats with a servility that won only their patronizing contempt.

Professor Nichols has written an interesting book, valuable alike for the story it tells of Pierce's career and for the light it throws on the times in which a man like Pierce could become President. But he has not achieved his purpose; he has "explained" nothing. There is an absurdly inadequate and unrealistic analysis of the social forces that molded the political life of the period and climaxed in the Civil War and there is no real attempt made to picture the career of Pierce as the expression of these forces. For this reason the biography remains unsatisfyingly superficial.

In all American history, it seems, there was no more pitiable mediocrity than Pierce elevated to the Presidential chair until we come to Warren G. Harding. R. H. Dana, Jr. wrote bitterly but accurately: "A New Hampshire Democratic, dough-face militia colonel, a kind of third-rate county, or at most State politician President of the United States!" A change of phrase and you have Harding! The historical role of mediocrities in American political life is well worth studying, but in this direction Professor Nichols has not contributed very much.

Those who depart from the interests of the workers will, like Lady Macbeth, never be able to wipe away the stains of their treachery. Don't weep, Mr. Morgenstern! There will be many more curtain drops before the final scene. The "Lovestoneites" are not romantic sweethearts, moody Hamlets, or misled babes, but revolutionary realists!

BETWEEN HAMMER AND ANVIL

The Death of a Bloodsucker

Thomas Bata, shoe magnate and uncrowned king of Czechoslovakia, is dead. Circumstances strongly point to suicide 1932 air model. Eastman Krugger, Bata—the list of money kings who cannot stand the depression grows. They were faced with the most terrible nightmare that can threaten a capitalist—the cessation of the flow of surplus-value, of profit—and, terrible to contemplate—the possibility of having to go to work for a living!

Bata, like Ford, managed a high-power ballyhoo. Ballyhoo sells shoes. His workers were never called workers but "working partners." He compelled them to invest part of their wages in his company. He had 20,000,000 unmarketable shares in the warehouses at the moment of his death, and \$4,500,000 of his "working partners" money tied up so they could not get it back. They were not allowed to join a trade union or labor party. He was "the personification of energy" (in driving his workers) and "he" (that is, his "partners") turned out 120,000 shoes daily. The much heralded "high" wages reached a top of about \$15 a week, "enabling former peasants to live with some degree of ease and even luxury" (Times reporter). His paper, the one in town, announced his death in characteristic fashion:

"Our first working partner, Thomas Bata, has been the victim of a terrible disaster. Despite heavy mist, he decided to fly to Switzerland in the interest of the concern, which was dearer to him than life. All must honor his memory by devotion to the work that was his life's ideal."

And within an hour after his death, the "spirit" of Thomas Bata was still turning out 13,333 shoes an hour—with the aid of the "hands" of his "working partners."

PARTY GANGSTERISM

When In America Do As Hitler Does

When only your feet are in America but your head is in Europe... If you want to give yourself the illusion that the class struggle in New York is at the same stage as the class struggle in Berlin... If in Germany they are on the eve of open conflict, and the Fascist hoodlums and gangsters are breaking up meetings of Socialists and Communists and sometimes getting the worst of it... If you read every day in the paper—"Two Communists killed—three Fascists dying"—and want to have the same situation in America... and if you're not strong enough to provoke the breaking up of your meetings not to fight capitalism...

Why you can get the same sensation by trying to break up meetings of the Socialists, I.W.W., Trotskyites and of the Communist Party (Majority Group).

In Germany it's the Fascists that introduce gangsterism, blackjacks and brass knuckles and break up meetings of the Socialists and Communists. And there the Communists defend Socialist meetings against Fascist attack. In America the Communists are expected to break up Socialist and Communist meetings. So long as there are "clashes," "battles for the streets," blackjacks and brass knuckles, the effect is the same.

Evidently the role of gangsters and Fascists is not pleasing to Party members. So after the Generalissimo Browder and Hathaway and Koitel Stachel give orders to break up all Socialist, Wobblite, and Communist meetings, the Democrats and Republicans aren't "social-fascists" so they're not to be disturbed, the Freiheit maintains a modest silence, and the Daily Worker reports the shameful incidents in this wise:

"One worker was stabbed and another blackjacked following an attack upon them and other workers, directed by leaders of the Lovestone regades at Pitkin and Hopkinson Avenues, Brownsville.!!!!"

According to the Daily, Lifshitz and Gitlow came to Brownsville to break up an I.L.D. meeting! But somehow, in the same story "Lifshitz was thrown from it" (the platform) from which he was speaking.

When the Party has to report attacks so that they sound like a Japanese statesman explaining how the "Chinese attacked" them in Manchuria, it's obvious that the gangsterism leaves a bad taste in the mouths of decent Party members and the Party has to dress up its hoodlum attacks as "self-defense" in explaining them to sympathizers and Party members.

If the Party generalissimos want to fight for the streets in the future, they'd better do it themselves. Let Browder wield the brass knuckles and Weinstein the heroic "proletarian" fist. And how about trying it on Democrats and Republicans instead of fellow Communists?

Of course gangster methods perform great services to the revolution. If the Party leaders can only provoke enough riots, the capitalist police will use it as a pretext for stopping street meetings altogether. Then Browder can cable Pravda—"Communist Party outlawed—Capitalists fear growing strength—Revolution just around the corner—of Pitkin and Hopkinson Avenues, Brownsville, Brooklyn."

B. D. W.