MEETING, 1 p. m., Battery.

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

VOL. 2. No. 5.

NEW YORK, N. Y. DECEMBER 15, 1932.

PRICE 5 CENTS

For Labor Unity and Militancy!

STRENGTHEN THE FIGHT FOR COMMUNIST UNITY!

ership in the ranks of labor. There is at present no force in the labor movement able to unite, inspire, drive forward the spontaneous and localized actions of the workers, to help translate into action the rebellious mood of the masses. Thruout the whole crisis, the A. F. of L. leaders have played true to their role as labor lieutenants of the capitalists and have done their best to hamstring, even defeat whatever struggles have taken place. And the Cincinnati convention of the Federation, just completed, shows that, in spite of everything, the conservative trade union leadership in general is determined to go ahead serving the interests of the bosses rather than those of the workers, is determined to go ahead with its policies of surrender and sell-out. The Socialist party, corrupted at its heart by the fatal poison of reformism, is merely the faint echo of the reactionary trade union officialdom, as far as the big problems of the labor movement are concerned. From neither source is effective, militant leadership in the present crisis to be expected!

The Communist Party, from whom the workers had every right to expect leadership, has itself surrendered the opportuni-

RELIEF IN DANGER OF SUSPENSION IN N.

Wall Street Bankers Hold Grip On City, Dictate Finances

New York City. The entire city program of work and home relief is threatened with complete suspension on December 17 unless new funds were provided, according to the letter, dated December 1, of Lawson Purdy, chairman of the Emergency work and Relief Administration to the Board of Estimate. Mr. Purdy pointed out in his letter that the \$1.000 000 which the city has received from the state for home relief plus accruals would be spent by December 17. Additional funds are at present unavailable because the big bankers, who have a stranglehold on the city's economic life, refuse to buy up city bonds until its finances are "stabilized", that is, wages of municipal employees cut, relief and social serexpenditures slashed, etc. Meanwhile, the bankers have decreed that the unemployed should starve!

The brutal ultimatum of the bankers should be a sharr challenge to the masses of the unemployed workers in this city. Only by organizing their forces into a broad, non-partisan jobless association and making their voices heard will they be able to safeguard their fundamental inter-

THE great tragedy in the labor movement today is the bankruptcy of lead-up to the historical tasks facing it. Owing up to the historical tasks facing it. Owing to its utterly sectarian tactics, it has intensified confusion, multiplied division, discredited militancy, isolated the Communists from the masses of the workers.

At a time when conditions are most favorable for spreading Communist influence among the working masses, for strengthening the connections of the Communists with the labor organizations, for giving real vital leadership to the labor movement, the Communist Party, in spite of all fanfare and flourishes, has sunk into a condition of impotent sectarianism as compared with its strength and influence in the much more difficult years of "Coolidge prosperity." It has lost all sense of American reality; it lives in a world of romantic, revolutionary-sounding phrases. It has deserted the mass labor organiza tions, segregated its members and sympathizers into special "Red" unions and similar bodies, and undermined and destroyed their influence among even the advanced workers. It has obstinately rejected the traditional Communist tactics of the united front and has thus built up an almost insurmountable wall between itself and the non-Communist workers. It is unable to lift itself out of this desperate condition because of the suppression of all freedom within the party, because of the oppressive weight of the burocratic system that has grown up. Worst of all, the very ideas of Communism and militancy are being discredited among the workers by the suicidally irresponsible course of the official Communist Party.

It was in resistance to this suicidal sectarianism that the Communist Opposition (Continued on Page 2)

Join the Communist Opposition! |Build the Left Wing in the Unions! TURN THE UNIONS INTO FIGHTING ORGANIZATIONS!

THE one great lesson that comes out of Ito the demands of militancy in order to re-

I the Cincinnati convention of the American Federation of Labor is the burning need for the building up of a broad, strong, ORGANIZED progressive movement in the American trade unions, a movement that can make its voice heard and its will enforced.

The Cincinnati convention of the A. F. of L. was a striking sign of the tremendous sentiment that is gathering in the ranks of the A. F. of L. against the traditional policies of surrender and sell-out of the conservative leadership. To the door of these reactionary leaders must be laid the largest share of responsibility for the disastrous condition of the labor movement today. In the whole crisis of trade unionism, they acted rather as agents of the bosses than as leaders of labor. They refused to initiate any nation-wide movement against wage-cuts and resisted, sabotaged and often helped to defeat the strike struggles that did take place. They allowed corruption and racketeering to get a death grip over the workers organizations. For years they resisted the demand for Federal unemployment insurance. Only a short time ago they were at work selling the "labor vote" to the bosses parties at so much per head! With such "leaders" it is really a wonder that there are still trade unions left in this country!

The Cincinnati convention took place under the sign of the growing militancy of the workers in the trade unions. The leaders of the A. F. of L. did not come to Cincinnati to consider ways and means of saving the trade unions and putting them on their feet again. On the contrary, their whole thought was directed to the problem: "What is the minimum we must concede

tain leadership?" They were determined to ride the storm to prevent it from breaking down the defense of conservatism they had erected. But the concessions they were forced to make under pressure of the rank and file were in many cases serious. The right-about-face reversal on the question of government unemployment insurance is of great significance, in spite of the grave shortcomings of the actual plan of the executive council. Green's "militant" speec! for the five-day week, six hour day, without cuts in wages, his "threat" to use "force" (that is, strikes) to gain this objective, struck a note that had not been heard in A. F. of L. conventions for years. Only those who are blind to facts and realities will insist that "everything was the same" at the A. F. of L. convention in Cincinnati.

On a number of matters, however, the A. F. of L. leaders could stand pat, or almost pat. They "settled" with the cancer of racketeering in the unions with a careless gesture. No plan for saving and spreading unionism, for resistance to the wage-cut offensive, was suggested. The question of a Labor party was hardly mentioned. Green and his friends were able (Continued on Page 2)

BE DEPORTED FOR COMMUNISM

Hal Bojer Arrested In Fort Wayne: Held In Detroit

Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Charged first with having a false visa and then later on with belonging to an "illegal organization," Halvard L. Bojer (Boyer), the organizer of the Fort Wayne local of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Opposition), is being held in the Detroit county is illegated. ing held in the Detroit county jail the United States Department of Labor for deportation!

Bojer, who is a Norwegian citizen and an engineer for the General Electric Company, was suddenly arrested on Monday, November 21, by Federal agents who raided his residence, confiscated all his books, papers and similar possessions, tore up the flooring and finally took him off to jail. The pretext for his arrest was that his visa was "false" since Bojer was using the name "Long" in his work. Soon, however, the absurdity of this charge was evident, and the Federal officials came out with the real charge— Bojer was a member of the Com-Bojer was a member of the U.S. A. (Op-munist Party of the U.S. (Op-munist Party of the U position), which like all Com-nist organizations, is "illegal" in the eyes of the government, and any alien, adhering to or sympathizing with the Communist movement, is liable to immediate deportation!

(Continued on Page 2)

JOIN!

TOIN the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Opposition) and do your bit towards uniting the Communist movement on the basis of effective, realistic Leninist

SUBSCRIBE!

CUBSCRIBE to the "Workers Age", of-

icial paper of the Communist Oppo-

sition, and keep informed as to all devel-

opments of interest to labor at home and

Sub rates during drive: \$1.00 a year; \$0.50 for six months Write to: 228 Second Avenue, New York City

Bert Wolfe

On Dec. 11, 228-2nd Ave. Marxian Theory of Crises

With the Working Youth

The N. Y. Anti-War Conference

by Morris Stone

New York City most notable things about the conference was that, for the first time in many years, there were in one gathering, official spokesmen of all anti-militarist tendencies, from representation was obtained. the Gandhiite pacifists to the Communists, including the official Young Communist League.

The Conference And The Socialists

The conference was conceived by the League for Industrial Democracy and, on the basis of the original plans, was to be largely of a pacifist or Socialist-pacifist character. The Young Communist League (Opposition) was added to the list of "sponsoring organizations" after most of the arrangements had been made. However, by putting up a vigorous demand, by putting up a vigorous demand, we got some modifications, notably the decisions to have a Communist speaker at the conference and to have a continuation committee elected by the conference mittee elected by the conference carry on after the conference. The latter proposal was very im
One of the worst features of the loractising engineer, a skillful athoractising engineer, a skillful athoraction and that they have completely abandoned all semblance of genusian dandoned all semblance of genusian abandoned all semblance of genusian question, how to fight war, was a member of the Communist Opposition group "Mot Dag" in Norway. When he came to the United States, he immediately took his place in the ranks of the Communist Opposition group "Mot Dag" in United States, he immediately took his place in the ranks of the Communist opposition group "Mot Dag" in the carrying thru of the elections.

The relf-styled "Left" group is over to the camp of the carrying thru of the elections.

The relf-styled "Left" group is over to the camp of the Communist opposition group "Mot Dag" in the carrying thru of the elections.

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came obvious that the Socialists at on the Far-Eastern crisis and one the conference, forming a majority, on the Litvinoff disarmament promeant to run it without regard to posals. The last named was adoptany minorities or even to the right ed unanimously over the votes of nobody else! It is clear that the ly. There was no question that, official Socialist conception of the united front is no different from Y. C. L.-O. was the livest and the official Communist Party con- most vigorous force at the conferception, without the latter's revo- ence. lutionary conviction—just as narrow, just as sterile! It should be nbered that at the conference were delegates of the Young Communist League, of the Communist that the Y. C. L. and the N. S. L Youth Opposition, of the Trotsky- had, temporarily at least, dropped ite youth (Spartacus Youth Club), of the National Student League, and of a large number of unaffilisted left wine alaba. liated left wing clubs.

The Communist Youth Opposition At The Conference

united front and against sectarian- be simply to advertise the Chicago united front and against sectarianism and burocracy of all sorts. The Young Communist League and the National Student League, which it controls, remained absolutely passive, satisfying themselves with a "We knew it all along "attitude. The Trotskyites refused to join in with any group certainly not with with any group, certainly not with improve the conference, to make it

the Y.C.L.-O. We raised the fight, however, for a representative committee and finally we got the conas a result of protests. Upon re-A big anti-war conference of cession that representatives of the quest of the national office of the couth organizations was held on various organizations would be alyouth organizations was held on various organizations would be al-November 25, 26 and 27 in the lowed to "participate in" the ses-November 25, 26 and 27 in the lower to participate in the ses-Rand School. Over 600 delegates sions of the resolutions committee. from student organizations; a good number of the delegates, however, were young workers. One of the handed manner, allowing the "par-

> The resolutions committee acted on a few resolutions brought in by Chicago student anti-war conference being called under Communist auspices, with the support of some iberals. On the latter question, the Socialists again betrayed an anti-united front attitude. Later, how-ever, the Socialist leaders "changed their minds" and brought in their own resolution urging support of the Chicago conference and of a number of regional conferences Communist movement. A graduate of famous technical schools, a

portant since the conference promised to be, and actually was, largeised to be, and actually was, largely a talk-fest and, if anything definite was to be done and a minifinite was to be done and a minif attitude to war, a resolution on fore again the attempts of the gov-From the very beginning it be Soviet Union, one on U. S. imperialism in Latin America, one

of free expression of minority opinion. A Socialist chairman, a Socialist vice-chairman, a resolutions committee of seven Socialists and Latin America was adopted entire-

Y. C. L. And N. S. L. Tactics It was gratifying indeed to see

conference was far from gratifying. They had nothing concrete or constructive to propose, not even resolutions, except a few proposals, which, if carried, would have

DEPORTED FOR

(Continued from page 1)
Bail was put at \$5,000 but, some can Civil Liberties Union has taken charge of the case and is pushing forward the legal struggle for the release of Hal Bojer. Bojer's arrest came as a part of

the offensive that the Fort Wayne Chamber of Commerce and similar boss organizations, hand in hand with the local government, are called "Left" group. with the local government, are waging against the Communist Opposition, the fighting elements in the Unemployed Council and militancy in the labor movement militancy in the labor movement the Communist Youth Opposition and upon a resolution brought in by the N. S. L. for support of the Chicago attached actions of the Chicago attached actions of the Chicago attached action of the Chicago action of the stroyed. The arrest of Bojer, how-tion in the coming local election ever, has aroused a great deal of would be treachery to the interests resentment in liberal and labor of the cloakmakers. Our policy has circles here, as the big protest been, is, and will continue to be

> Halvard L. Bojer, altho 27 years union. old, is already a veteran in the

ernment authorities to illegalize the Communist movement in this country. The whole labor movement is faced with this challenge an attack against the Communists today means an offensive against all labor organizations, the most conservative included, tomorrow!

The Consolidated Gas and Elecpay envelopes of their employees, be deducted every week for the d a check for \$100,000 to the com- employment. mittee "from their workers". An accountant of the Company, who should be in a position to know, neat little profit of a few thousand dollars on the transaction That's what you call "service harges!"

nore representative of the parcipating organizations, to expose the inadequacy and falsity of the pacifist and Socialist-pacifist views DECEMBER 11— Again the Communist Youth Opposition took up the fight for the Their whole objective seemed to the Chicago on how to fight against war and,

The World of Labor

Against a Block With the Rights!

of the I. L. G. W. U. was issued the purpose would be to combat 1932.—*Editor*.

The issue of the "Day" of November 23 reports that the "Lovestoneites", the Center group and the

We declare most emphatically to and never will agree to such an unprincipled combination. We meeting in the Unitarian Hall on one of uniting with progressive ele-Sunday evening, November 27, ments to fight against the reacments to fight against the reac-tionary policies of the burocreacy candidates of the Club on the elecand for a militant policy for our

> If the leaders of the Center group in Local 1 should make a

ALBANY .-- Compulsory unembloyment insurance on a state resorted to on several occasions by basis will very likely become law the so-called "Left" group (last n the opinion of the legislative year's election in Local 9 when the committee holding sessions in New "Left" group and the Club distriommittee holding sessions in New York City and to report to the Legislature at its next session.

buted the same slates, and in Local 22 when the Club and the "Left" Legislature at its next session.

not yet public in details but it is to such an alliance in the coming xpected that it will be similar to election in Local 1 or anywhere the recent Ohio proposal with all else or at any other time. tric cut a "voluntary" 2% from the its faults, including payment by ever blocks or united fronts we employees, long waiting period, will enter into will be based solely small benefits, and especially benefits and especially benefits. next twenty weeks, and then hand- fits limited to a short period of unagainst all reactionaries and em-

The statement below on the sit- | be for the purpose of combating ation in Local 1 (Cloakmakers) the so-called "Lefts"—in reality, by Charles S. Zimmerman to the press and was published in the Communists and Communism. We Jewish "Day" on November 29, will never participate in such an alliance or combination and will fight to the finish against it.

> We have tactical differences with the so-called "Left" group. We consider that their false policies left wing and the union as such. We will continue to fight against these wrong tactics of the "Left" group. The reactionary policies and tactics of the Club are even the union and we will never give up our opposition to them. Such a combination would be an unprincipled alliance into which we will not enter under any conditions

Our comrades at the last Local tion objections committee. was a grave error, even tho they also voted for representation of the "Left" group, with the intention

soever to such an unprincipled alliance. Such alliances have been The provisions of the bill are group united on the resignation of Bluestein, etc.) We will not resort

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THE MARXIAN THEORY OF CRISES | SPINOZA AND MARX

DECEMBER 18-Jim Cork

New Workers School

JOIN THE COMMUNIST **OPPOSITION!**

(Continued from page 1) Opposition stands for a realistic examina- day tion of American conditions and the form- Members of the Communist Party! Revo-Communist work in the conservative trade Communist Party into such a party? unions to turn them into organs of class | Support the struggle of the Communist of union splitting and dual-unionism; we sition!

stand for the united front as the road to labor unity and to labor militancy. We stand for real party democracy and for a fundamental change in the system of the arose in this country, as in the rest of the leadership in the Communist International, world, and it is to the restoration of the providing it with a real international colunity and fighting power of the Communist lective leadership and guaranteeing the inmovement that it has dedicated its struggle dividual parties the initiative and self-defrom the very first. The Communist Party pendence absolutely essential to their funcof the U.S. A. (Opposition), as part of the tioning as the vanguard of the proletariat. International Communist Opposition, A strong and politically effective Com-

strives to unite all Communist forces in this munist Party is a life-and-death necessity country in the fight for the rehabilitation for the struggle of the workers for emanof the Communist movement on the basis cipation. The fight of the Communist Opof effective Communist tactics, tactics form- position is a fight to transform the Comulated by Marx and Lenin and tested by munist Party into a leading and inspiring years of class struggle. The Communist force in the American labor movement to-

ulation of strategy and tactics on the basis lutionary workers! Are you not ready to of such an examination. We stand for strike a blow in the fight to make our

struggle. We stand against all varieties Opposition! Join the Communist Oppo-

BUILD LEFT WING IN UNIONS!

(Continued from page 1) to dodge all of these questions because the fronts. Such a movement could save unionmilitant protest of the rank and file, tho ism in this country and transform the growing, is still vague, confused, unorgan-unions into real bulwarks of the interests ized and without definite and clear-cut of labor!

ing unless there is developed within the unions a strong, organized, fighting proon all vital issues of unionism, a move- of the conservative leaders but also against ment broad enough to include militants of the compromising reformism of the Socialall political tendencies, Communists, So- lists and the suicidal sectarianism of the ofcialists, and workers without political affi- ficial Communist organizations. liation. Such a movement could turn the Forward to the rebuilding of the left existing discontent and dissatisfaction in wing movement in the unions!

the A. F. of L. into effective action. Such a movement could not only utilize the forced concessions of the conservative leaders as vantage points for further strugggle but

And here we put our finger on the sore The promising left-wing progressive spot in the trade union movement. The movement under way in the unions some 'militant" gestures that the hardened offi- years ago has been dissipated and almost cials had to go thru to their great discom- destroyed by the sectarian tactics of the offort at Cincinnati will mean absolutely noth- ficial Communist Party. The rebuilding of gressive movement with a clear program only against the systematic sell-out policies

SCHLEICHER BIDS The A. F. of L. 'Turns Left' JEWS KILLED IN What Happened At The Cincinnati Convention? The A.F. of L. Proposal For Unemployment Insurance—What Now In The Trade Unions? FOR NAZIS

New Chancellor Tries To The Cincinnati convention of the American Federation of Labor Form Reactionary Block

Berlin, Germany.

The reorganization of the militarist-Junker cabinet, involving the mous acceptance of resolution for amounts almost to a revolution. dropping of von Papen and the a Labor party at the United Texevolution of Kurt von Schleicher to the chancellorship, has taken place what actually happened at the Cinobservers of developments in this youd these expectations. Governcountry. Negotiations between ment unemployment insurance was approved almost unanimously. the new cabinet and the Nazis, with a view to obtaining the latter's support or at least toleration, are under way. Collaboration between the reac-

tionary government clique and the Nazi movement is being urged by leading bourgeois newspapers in Germany, spokesmen of decisive sections of trust capital. The shift from von Papen to von Schleicher is significant precisely because the new Chancellor is politically and otherwise much nearer to the Nazis and in a better position to improve relations. But such collaboration is possible for Fascism the balance sheet of Cincinnationly on the basis of its unques. The most outstanding achievement tioned leadership in the united of the convention was unquestioncamp of reaction while the Junker ably the endorsement of compulgenerals and their landlord and sory government unemployment incapitalist allies are not yet ready to subordinate themselves to Hitler. At the same time, Hitler's scrap the whole discredited humther Nazi losses in the Thuring-

reen actually spoke of "forcible ferent was the picture as contrasted with the ultra-reactionary Vancouver convention the year before. Only the willfully blind can deny that something strikingly "new" came out of the Cincinnati con-

What Happened At Cincinnati?

just as was expected by open-eyed cinnati convention went even be- ng to resign ourselves to a situa- old officials reelected without methods" to realize the 5-day week, queer to hear such words issuing o-hour day, with no wage reductions. Delegates spoke darkly of the "impatience" of labor and the necessity for militancy. How differences at work there are going to strike for the forces at work there. It was as the forces at work there. It was as the forces at work there.

Let us first draw, very briefly, capitalist allies are not yet ready to subordinate themselves to Hitler. At the same time, Hitler's hesitation and manouvering behind the scenes are alienating large sections of his proletarian followers. Thus is to be explained the further Nazi losses in the Thuring-Thus is to be explained the further Nazi losses in the Thuringan municipal elections.

The conditions that have made the further Nazi losses in the Thuringan municipal elections.

The conditions that have made the further Nazi losses in the Thuringan municipal elections.

The conditions that have made the further council is faultless. On the congeneral basic American industry is almost totally ununionized. Yet the convention did not even face insurance system is planned on a federal basis and spreading unionism in this losses in the Thuringan municipal elections.

The conditions that have made the further than the congeneral basic American industry is almost totally ununionized. Yet the convention did not even face insurance system is planned on a federal basis and spreading unionism in this losses. The conditions that have made for the rise and spread of Fascism in Germany are still operatcism. And the only force able to challenge the menace of Fascism, a united, militant labor front is still non-eixstent in Germany.

State instead of a Federal basis and spreading unionism in this country. Racketeering is a veritable plight upon the labor movement; Green pretended he could
from the many good features of conjure it away with a few vague phrases. The convention retused
still non-eixstent in Germany.

The whole situation. Without a strong organized left wingprogressive movement within the unnons, the concessions wrung from the burnoracy at Cincinnati will
phrases. The convention retused
ing of union conditions, no contrito take any action to remove the vi
(Continued on page 4) ling of union conditions, no contri- to take any action to remove the vi-

made a startling sensational "turn but the left." Of course, we all butions by the workers to the inforesaw something of the sort; the surance runds, etc.), the very acaction of the executive council on ceptance of any unemployment injobless insurance and the unani-surance plan at all whatever

30-hour week without decrease in wages; indeed, in some cases unrest is all the more suprising in wage increases are to be sought! Now let us look at the other

by Will Herberg

ored workers in many unions. But worst of all, with the lesson of the recent Presidential elections staring them in the face, the A. F. of L. leaders had the brazen shamelessness to endorse unanimously the fraudulent "non-parti-Equally significant were Green's san" policy; the Labor party idea remarks on the shorter work-week was not even raised directly thruand the statement of the A. F. of out the whole convention. And to

and the statement of the A. T. of the whole convention. And to sen, etc. The riots began on Novon where eleven to fifteen millons are to be continually idie?"
Green demanded of the assembled
labor fakers who must have felt
was overwhelmingly defeated!

ay week. 6-hour day) We bound reactionaries, who have run and ruined the A. F. of L. for ho we may be compelled to resort many years, were carefully calcunied the realization of this great growing militancy among the rank reform. It will be given to us in and file, if they, the leaders, were response to reason or we will so cure it thru force of some kind!"
And it should be noted that the issues they stood pat or dodged.
The tremendous effectiveness of the rank and file response to reason or we will se- to retain leadership. And these the pressure of the rank and file view of the fact that there was no the growing unrest and discontent organized left wing or even pro- of the masses of the Polish people.

cious discriminations against col- Anti-Semitic Riots Rage; Land In Sharp Crisis

> Warsaw, Poland Over 300 Jews were injured and everal killed in a series of muring in this city but spreading thru-out the country, especially affect-ng centers like Vilna, Cracow, Poember 28 and lasted for several days. Jewish students were driven from the universities, Jewish tacked, houses pillaged, synagogues destroyed—in other words, a wave of pogroms swept the coun-

try.
The Polish government, secretly in alliance with the pogromists, went thru the gestures of suppressing the riots, but. curiously ready to crush every sign of labor o forcible methods to compet in- lating exactly what concessions militancy, did not seem to be able lustry to yield. We will not be de- had to be made by them to the to do anything to stem the tide of anti-Semitic violence.

The anti-Semitic outbreaks are due primarily to the attempts of the nationalistic organizations, backed by the government and the Catholic Church, to turn away ranks of the toilers and dissipate the spirit of class revolt.

Miners Robbed, Driven As J. L. ENGDAHL IS Tammany Plans Big Wage-Children Face Starvation | DEAD IN MOSCOW | Cuts; Forgets Promises

Wilkes-Barre, Pa. The condition in this region are becoming worse every day. The coal companies are taking advantage of the great amount of unemployment created by the closing of the mines or by putting them on part-time. Thousands of miners have been without jobs for a

because of the suffering endured by children due to lack of a

ed are most marked in regions one single car!

where the wage-earners are dependent upon one or two industries for a livelihood, particularly in the soft-coal areas and in the Anthragite sections (varied by the soft of the city—an agree-poor people of the city—an agree-poor people of the city—an agree-ployees are cut, the subway fare whole situation. No longer down to the higher officers of our organization down to the officials of the subway to the subway to the officials of the subway to t cularly in the soft-coal areas the higher officers of our organiand in the Anthracite sections of the Wyoming and Lehigh local unions, the answer is the thracite is a stinging challenge to duced, they would declare a boy-cott on city bonds and thereby drive into a financial crisis. The and in the Anthracite sections zation down to the officials of the

fars a week. Tens of thousands of children are suffering from malnutrition.

The coal company knows this and gives instructions to the mine forement to work out the worst chambers of February 29, bers of the mines without paying anything for dead work. The 1932, we read:

Aid. He had just concluded a tour winter stands in the way of any of these action to cut the salaries of muninot ready to grant any of these demands and thereby antagonize one of the Scottsboro defendants, in the way of any of these demands and county employees. When one of the Scottsboro defendants, the salaries of the city populations are repealed, anything for dead work. The campaign.

Aid. He had just concluded a tour winter salaries of muninot ready to grant any of these demands and thereby antagonize wage slashes will be put thru, it was declared, taking off at least the city populations. The coal company knows this and of many European countries along with Mrs. Ada Wright, mother of one of the Scottsboro defendants, the interests of the Scottsboro defendants, anything for dead work. The coal company knows this and of many European countries along with Mrs. Ada Wright, mother of one of the Scottsboro defendants, the interests of the Scottsboro defendants, anything for dead work. The campaign. "A report of the State De- miners don't get enough supplies, "A report of the State Department of Health shows that imber or props and have to lose partment of Health shows that imber or props and have to lose days of work if they are not to put their lives in danger; they have to go to the finished chammeasured are in the underweight class. It is explained weight class in error about three or five hundred whether the proder weight class in the control of the state of the city employees—Tambal babor and Socialist movements for many years. In the S. P. he was taken immediately after the committee of bankers that her city completely under the committee of bankers that the city completely under the committee of bankers that the city completely under the committee of bankers that the committee of bankers that the committee of bankers that the city completely under the city complete. Tammany the "poor man's friend"! that the under-weight class in- ers about three or five hundred He came with this group to Com- large-scale wage-cuts were put that the under-weight class includes children who are 10% below standard weight for their height and age. About 6,000 were examined. In some districts the record of malnutrition showed a 10% or 12% increase over the same inspections in 1929.

He came with this group to Communism in 1921. He was active on the editorial staff of the "Weekly Worker", the organ of the Worker", the organ of the Worker, as in the put thru, the serial bonds upon which the city depends for its unemployment relief funds for December have a six inch top but the mine foreman wants eighteen inches for the "Daily Worker." In 1929 he became head of the I. L. D. and it was in the interests of labor defense that his last years were to replace a man who refuses to fense that his last years were de- tional Bank, have laid it down as pense of the unemployed and their "The statement goes on to load from twelve to sixteen hun-voted." say that the conditions indicat- dred pounds of coal for nothing in

alleys. same. The policy of surrender and all the Anthracite miners. "The situation is deplorable class collaboration of the U.M.W.A.

Engdahl had been active in the \$20,000,000 from the 1933 budget. ies of the city employees—Tam-

ed by children due to lack of a sufficient quantity of food; they are likely to suffer permanently due to bodily weakness and ills brought on in youth."

Mothers will make any sacrifices for their children. But even these sacrifices cannot meet the situation. The father is willing to the sufficient quantity of food; they are likely to suffer permanents suffered a big loss has allowed the mask to slip off and the grim reality beneath to be glimpsed! On November 30, pital, Moscow, U. S. S. R., on 1932, the Board of Estimate unanimously voted to appeal to the governor of the state to call a special tional Labor Defense to the world session of the State Legislature to situation. The father is willing to the sacrification of the state Legislature to congress of the International Residence in the election over, Tammany better and even suggested the closance where the sacrification of all public free educational institutions higher than mously voted to appeal to the governor of the state to call a special tional Labor Defense to the world session of the State Legislature to congress of the International Residence. year or two, living on a few dolliving on a few dollistuation. The father is willing to congress of the International Red repeal the "mandatory legislation" Tammany was in a quandary! lars a week. Tens of thousands take any job to help his family. Aid. He had just concluded a tour which stands in the way of any On the eve of the elections it was

trenchments" are made, that is,

The American Communist and With the election over, Tammany "liberals"; indeed, McKee went one

their ultimatum that, unless "re- families, of the workers and other that unless the wages of city em- poor people of the city—an agreedemands of the bankers were en- people of this city; it is still not TURIN thusiastically echoed by Acting- too late to organize the fight!

Theatrical by Group Theatre Actors and 50c Tickets at Dance Dec. 24, Irving Plaza 50c Tickets at 228 2 Av.

Some Questions of Comintern and C.P.S.U. Policy

The article below is part of the post-conference discussion on the general line and inner-party course of the C.P.S.U. being conducted by the Communist Party of the U.S.A. (Opposition). All comrades and readers of the "Age" are invited to participate. Articles are limited to 1,000 words.— Editor.

Every Communist organization should, from time to time, discuss in a critical manner some of the most important problems confronting it. Such a discussion, conducted in an objective manner, even if selves in the course of it, can only seives in the course of it, can only help clarify and explain the policies of the organization, with resulting improvement in its work. It is the absence of such discussions from the ranks of the Communist Party today which makes it so extremely difficult for even the most serious and outstanding errors to be corrected. Within the ranks of the Communist Opposition we can never tolerate such a system. Should serious differences arise, far from suppressing them, it is the duty of the leadership to bring them to the open, and, in the course of comradely discussion, encourse of comradely discussion and twists" in policy in principle. The class struggle does not develoption to the class struggle does not develoption that the present discussion. On they argue about this or that factors of the comrades will indig antity during the comrades will indig antity deny this. But so will Stal the comrades will indig company or collective farm; they canont see that it is just as absurd for the comrades here to build itself to the comrades of the comrades and ory, or railway, or collective farm; they canont see that it is just as absurd for the comrades will indig company they canont see that it is pust of the comrades will indig company they canont see that it is for the treast for the class present discussion on the "Russian question." which the Communist Opposition is conducting, will no doubt help hundreds of Communists and revolutionary workers to a better understanding of this

The Source of Many Difficulties
It seems that a good deal of the
confusion on the "Russian question" is due to a mechanical unification of this question with the problems confronting the Communists in the capitalist countries, a sort of inverted Stalinism. Comrades start from the generally accepted (in our group, of course) viewpoint, that the general line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on questions of Communist policy in capitalist countries, as policy in capitalist countries, as expressed in the general line of the leading figures in the Communist International growing Communist Opposition in the some of them do not go along the report of the Trade Union United on an agitation for the with- from our enemies. The "New York Times", in its issue of November 30, comments editorially in the report of the Trade Union United on an agitation for the with- from our enemies. The "New York Times", in its issue of November 30, comments editorially in the report of the Trade Union United on an agitation for the with- from our enemies. The "New York Times", in its issue of November 30, comments editorially in the report of the Trade Union United on an agitation for the with- from our enemies. The "New York Times", in its issue of November 30, comments editorially in the report of the Trade Union United on an agitation for the with- from our enemies. The "New York Times", in its issue of November 30, comments editorially in the report of the Trade Union United on an agitation for the with- from our enemies. The "New York Times", in its issue of November 30, comments editorially in the report of the Trade Union United on an agitation for the with- from our enemies. (which, we can agree, is largely determined by the C.P.S.U.), is incorrect. This line is ultra-left, that is, it tends to push forward Com-on a number of specific matters, from some of the accepted Leninist tactical principles. Starting from this generally correct criticism, comrades then ask: "How is country. In Bombay, where we are it possible for this same party to be so wrong everywhere else, and right in Russia?" And they and swer for themselves that it must be that the same party to be so wrong everywhere else, and right in Russia?" And they and they are swer for themselves that it must be tride union movement were because the barner of the A.-I. T. U. C. swer for themselves, that it must in the trade union movement were therefore be wrong also in Russia. charged under Section 124 a (see in more unions what the Stalinist method of argument dition) and Section 153 (creating all these months. is that, because the Russian par-ty has been demonstrated to be class have been convicted for one generally correct in Russia, it must necessarily be correct also in other countries. We see that both these comrades were at the head of the unions such as Gieni Kamagar countries. We see that both these arguments are the same: It is one stick, but Stalin is holding it by the thick end and the comrades referred to are holding it by the thin end. The Communist Opposition has rejected and must reject the mechanical and rigid "logic" represented by this stick. We draw a sharp line of distinction between represented by this stick. We draw a sharp line of distinction between general Communist policy, as applied in the Soviet Union, where the building of socialism is proceeding, and in the capitalist countries, where we are still struggling for the overthrow of capitalism, or, to be more exact, where (in most countries) our task is not yet even the overthrow of capitalism but the development of the Communist Parties into mass parties.

To mechanically unite the tactics

ference of the trade union movement was to meet. The reformists, afraid of our forces, did not dare hold the conference in Bombay and shifted the place to Madras. The arrest of all these comrades, who would have presented a unit-ed from at the conference against the reformists, removed them and only one representative from Bombay and a few from Madras could form a revolutionary opposition inside the conference. Moreover, the Executive Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress. To mechanically unite the tactics All-India Trade Union Congress, in the Soviet Union with those too, was to meet and possibly the in the capitalist countries, is to de- government did not like the prestermine in advance that such tactics will be wrong in one or the other place. At present they are wrong in the capitalist countries because the thick end of the stick is in Stalin's hands, but the common towards us were cast into prison at this critical moment. Most of them and our comrades rades who propose to reverse the stick and subordinate Soviet tac- lawyers to be the followers of M.

In the Post-Conference Discussion

tics to those in the capitalist countries, are not offering a solution they are merely guaranteeing advance incorrect tactics for the as ridiculous to demand an advance Soviet Union. The Communist in the capitalist countries because Opposition stands for the elimination of the stick from the relations between the C.P.S.U. and the Communist Parties in the capitalist are doing, as to demand a slowing

About "Turns and Twists" at a rapid tempo, in the Soviet discussion on the "Russian question". This represents a great class struggle in the capitalist countries necessitate a similar adsolute the structure of the similar adsolute the structure of the similar adsolute the structure of vance? Obviously not! It is just "gap theory", upon which the Com- But the comrades who sigh about

by Herbert Zam

in the capitalist countries, because of conditions in the Soviet Union as the leaders of the C. P. S. U up or change in the socialist advance in the Soviet Union, because of the slow development of the revolution in the capitalist coun-We cannot be opposed to "turns tries, as some of the comrades are and twists" in policy in principle. doing in the present discussion. On At the same time that it is necessary to advance in the Soviet parties. In a similar manner, the The hardships and difficulties, in-Union, it may be necessary to retreat in a capitalist country. At largely by the developments here the present time, an advance is and are unconsciously transferring form during the last period which and, bringing disillusionment and taking place all along the line, and their political conclusions to the marked a sharp break in the di-

going lines, represents the weapon which we must utilize.

Essentials And Non-Essentials Another error which comrades are apt to make is neglect essen-

ed for the acceptance of the Girni Kamgar Union platform. We car-

the "tightening of the belt" should remember that, without it, the Five-Year Plan itself would have meant hardships and difficulties munist Opposition bases its poli-tical conclusions and whose logic of an even greater and more in-I have tried to follow in the fore-tense character a little later, lasting for a longer period of time. The strain, the sacrifices, the hardships, which the first mighty effort at the building of socialism called forth, have already justified them

The resolution of the National cials and to argue over matters of secondary importance. They cannot "see the forest for the trees." led off the track of objective, Leninist analysis by motives of revenge the forest for that fac-Committee on the "Russian ques-

LEFT!"

demoralization in the wake of pas-

The Significance Of The Convention

It would be a major error to stimate the Cincinnati convention in an abstract, static manner, t limit ourselves to what is perfect ly correct, that Green and Company have not changed heart, that they are still in all essentials labor lieutenants of Big Business. True enough; but that is not what is new in the present situation, that is not what is specific in the present relation of forces. Let us learn ried on an agitation for the with- from our enemies. The "New happened at Cincinnati:

"Such a militant attitude (as exhibited at the convention.-W. H.) is fortunate. It cannot fail to be disturbing to all who have thought of the Ameri-can Federation of Labor, under its present leadership, as inclined . . . (to) carefully studied means and ... conciliatory methods ... At the moment when all should be trying to work together, when the order of the day ought always be ... cooperation between labor and coneration between labor and capi tal, President Green's extravagant and menacing words sound like bells jangled out of tune."

For the militant workers the meaning of the Cincinnati convention is very great indeed. It calls striking attention to the growth of unrest and militancy in the ranks of the convention of the of the conservative unions, still unformed and vague but tremendous in its potentialities. It marks The efforts in the direction of a definite retreat on the part of reating more party groups con- the labor officialdom. But, most tinue and are pushed vigorously. important of all, it points the way cial line have nefariously disrupted to a magnificient opportunity for other hand, the "law and order" ces in the A. F. of L. Upon the crowd too is not slow in dealing effectiveness of these forces will depend, in the long run, whether All-India organization—that is, the All India Communist Party or the actionary burocrats in Cincinnati Revolutionary Party of the Indian Working Class (R.P.I.W.C.). The draft program has been circulated value for the American workers!

There is a big controversy about which, in his opinion, was confusslogan of "Constituent Assembly" the C. P. between ourselves and the remnants of the official line. classes. I told him that that slog-Some time back a fellow came an of "Soviets" must be linked up from England. I knew him when I was in Frankfurt at the Anti-Imperialist Conference in 1928. He ship of the proletariat" and, when is an Indian. I met and I had a we are organizing the anti-impertalk with him. When he saw the lialist movement on the slogan of reality of the situation here he benational-democratic revolution, the

The Advance Of Communism In India

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE REVOLUTION IN INDIA

We publish below extracts from recent letter from India. Communist tactics at a pace so rapid and imprisonment of M. N. Roy.

* * * Bombay, India, September, 10, 1932. You must, I believe, have heard about the arrest of several of our comrades in various parts of the by K. (Bombay)

It is expected that the Trade ty in the ranks of the labor move Union Congress will adopt the Platform of Unity of the Girni Moreover, this session will bring in more unions which were neutral have isolated themselves from the

V. F. CALVERTON "Liberation of American Literature'

228 Second Avenue New York City THURSDAY EVENINGS IN

December 15, 8:30 P. M.

December 22, 8:30 P. M. TOWARDS LIBERATION!

filled by the second line of de-fense and thus today, when I am writing to you, the Trade Union point of view was not accepted, Congress is meeting at twelffth would be a fatal mistake. session in Madras.

All along the campaign of unity in the ranks of the trade union novement in India, we have press-

LECTURE COURSE

New Workers School

December 8, 8:30 P. M. THE PURITAN MYTH

THE FRONTIER FORCE

Admission -:-

Altho deprived of practically the whole of its executive and of most of its active workers, the trade union congress twelfth session had

Our Campaign Of Unity

a blow at us.

DECEMBER

tactics, methods and program of came to certain extent disillusion-ed about the line of the official leaders. But he insisted that the slogan of the "Soviets" was fit-

ment on the basis of the principles of class struggle as formulated in the G. K. U. platform of unity And to break away from the Trade Union Congress would be falling in line with the ultra-leftists who labor movement as well as from the movement for national libera-

Building The Party

We shall soon come out as an for acceptance and is now in print and will be available for the mem-bers and various groups in the and therefore we must give up the

In the Post-Conference Discussion

"Historically Inevitable and Correct.....

post-conference discussion on the general line and inner-party course

at the same time avoiding to ex- al line is too general. amine the very basis and nature of it. It avoids to mention the sky's arsenal) and consequently

Paragraphs 4, 5, 6 and 7 of the resolution (printed in November 15, 1932 issue of the "Workers Age") would have been timely four years ago as an historical estimate of planned economy. Today thi. is not enough. Today when the Five-Year Plan is being completed, we must examine the policies and tactics applied and state our position, approaching the question critically, from the angle of drawing a lesson for ourselves, and, if mistakes in policies and tactics were made, criticize and help to correct them. This the resolution

fails to do. The outline for a new resolutions, presented by Comrade Gitlow (which, I assume, is thru an unintended error entitled "Reso lution", should become the basis for a new resolution, because in proposes to include in it whatever is timely in the adopted resolution and, in the second paragraph, pro poses to deal with that which i left out from the resolution adopt ed by the conference—to examine the policies and tactics which were applied in carrying our of the to 1,000 words. Editor. Five-Year Plan.

Mistakes Must Be Examined

When we are examining the poli-When we are examining the policies and tactics applied in the Five-workers Age" for an unhamper-Year Plan and, if we detect that as as a result of the application of a sian question. Never before is wrong policy or tactics, the build- such a discussion as vital as it is ing of socialism has met with lesser success than it should, or that in doing so it has opened an aveit strained the relations between nue of expression not only to its the city and village, or it has creat- members but to the members of the ed within the working class itself | party whose voice has been stifled such a condition which is tempo- by a party which would not dare to rarily retarding the tempo of the attempt an unhampered discussion building of socialism, we should ree from expulsions on so pro examine it and find the cause. "Blaming the switchmen" will not the broadest possible basis there is help matters. To hide such mis- a need to clear the issue. A thore takes that cause the hardships is examination of the resolutions of doing no good to the Soviet pro- the National Committee and that letariat. You cannot hide it from of Comrade Gitlow shows to the the enemy. He will find it out. careful reader a similarity in The hiding will then be done from many respects and yet a diverthe proletariat and from its par- gence that must be clarified. In this case it will only do harm. A wrong policy applied, or to the proletariat that holds the state power in its hands, will pre- paring them we find that both vent the party and the working resolutions are identical in "that class to speedily correct the errors we reaffirm our position in favor and will serve only to aggravate of the Five-Year Plan." Both resothe situation.

Likewise, we should remember, abuse" suffered as a result of that in a Communist Party at no time before was there a factiontime before was there a faction-al struggle, unless there were se-disagreements titude towards criticism and sug-Therefore the factional struggle that took place in the C. P. S. U. should not be attributed to bad speaks of the gap between captalist countries and that of the same that of t temper, ill health or bad manners. Instead, the differences which existed or still exist, should be ex-

Is The General Line Correct? The resolution states, that the general line of the C. P. S. U. is leadership of the C. P. S. U. on corect. What is the general line? the questions of the Comintern." To say, as Comrade Herberg does, that: "The general line represents the main strategical we point the difficulties faced by

course of socialist construction for the specific period under consideration, is not saying much. One does not become more enlightened after he finds out from Comrade Herberg: Nobody is crying. But this must be remembered: the decisions of the partyr and the peasantry? (2) To what extent did the peasantry? (2) To what extent this must be remembered: the decisions of the partyr must be remembered: the decisions of the partyr must be carried out not by and thru type down, resolutions, but by real live membership and the working class at large for the policies of the partyr? (3) To what extent the membership and the working class at large for the policies of the peasantry? (3) To what extent did the general line was the problem right after the October Revolution. It was stressed at every party plenum, conference and congress of the C. P. S. U. Soviet Union is inadequate. Some sections of it are out of date. Chapter 3 is totally out of line with the general line was the peasant line wa general line of the C. P. of the Soviet Union is inadequate. Some sections of it are out of date. Chapter 3 is totally out of line with the resolution itself. It accuses the Central Committee under the lead. that this chapter about the general line?

Then what is the general line?

Then what is the general line?

Then what is the general line?

In brief it is as follows: (1) The development of heavy industry as a guarantee for the successful ounding of socialism.

The the question is: What was a fighting mood.

The question here is not what was achieved during this period under consideration, the "scissors" between prices on manufactured and agricultural products narrowed or widened? (6) in this or that branch of the national economy (and no one can minimize the great achievements in electrification and heavy industry) but here is not what was achieved during this period under consideration, the "scissors" between prices on manufactured and agricultural products narrowed or widened? (6) To what extent did the total output of commodities increase?

The answer to these questions in the village" then the Trotsky opposition should have presented in the years 1925
The most "correct" general line the question is: What was achieved during this period under consideration, the "scissors" between prices on manufactured and agricultural products narrowed or widened? (6)

To what extent did the total output of commodities increase?

The answer to these questions in the village" then the Trotsky opposition should have presented in the years 1925
The most "correct" general line?

The most "correct" general line? resolution itself. It accuses the ter to "the main features of the ditions. The the question is: What Central Committee, under the leadership of Stalin, of factionalism, that this chapter about the general tree avoiding to ever the same time avoiding the same time avoiding to ever the same time avoiding the same time avoiding to ever the same time avoiding the same time avoiding to ever the same time avoiding to ever the same time the nature of disagreements, the branding of Comrades Bukharin, Rykoff and Tomsky as "right wingers" (borrowed from Trot-

der agriculture, to make collectivization possible and to (3) Increase the production of commodicies (light industry); (4) the attitude towards the poor and middle peasant; (5) the elimination of ulak as a class; (6) the estimaon of the Nep; (7) the standard of living of the proletariat, and (8) the theoretical basis for the Nobody can claim to be original when saying that the fastest possible building up of the heavy industry will insure the wiping out of the heavy in philistinism," says Comrade Her is a protectariat is going from factory and no discipline to factory and no discipline the degree of difficulties are to be associated with wrong policies and tactics? In my opinion a number hardships which is to be associated with wrong policies and tactics? In my opinion a number hardships which is to be associated. scruggle against the "right wing."

The article below is part of the post-conference discussion on the

general line and inner-party cours

the C.P.S.U. being conducted by

The National Committee of the

Communist Party (Opposition) is

to be commended for its action in

In order that the discussion have

The Two Resolutions

Taking the resolutions and com-

lutions point to the "factional

gestions, aggravating differences

monopoly of leadership" while the

tween the proletariat at the peas-antry, have thrown the middle peasant into the kulak arms and endangered the dictatorship. The success of building socialism in the Soviet Union depends on the firmest alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, under the guidance of the proletar-

In The Post-Conference Discussion

CLEAR THE ISSUES OF THE "RUSSIAN QUESTION"

by Al Schaap

the Communist Party of the U.S.A. Five Year Plan and this readers, the party membership and is also done in the resolution of the "Age" are invited National Committee when it points

masses are undergoing as a tempo-

And lastly each pledges that re

gardless of the errors and mistakes made we firmly hold to the mast of

he Soviet Union and stand ready

hat needs to be cleared up? Just

committee in precisely the follow-

ng points (quoting from his reso-

ition): 1. The mistakes towards

he peasantry in the collectiviza-

ion of agriculture; 2. on the mis-

akes made in the collectivization

Clear The Issue!

It appears to the writer that no

OPEN MEETING

COMMUNISTS

.Wednesday, Dec. 14, 8 P. M

228 Second Avenue

Speaker: D. BENJAMIN

Admission Free

Auspices: C.P.-Opposition

(Down-Town Unit)

Ouestions

LABOR PARTY

Discussion

to defend it as the fatherland of

Eliminating therefore the

he working class.

to participate. Articles are limited to "the strain" that the Soviet

branch, but taken as a whole as a | The Soviet Union is confronted national economy. In this case it today with severe difficulties. Let is not a question of hardships to us state here that, even if the most be associated with the building of correct policies were applied, there socialism only. Now the Soviet would still, because of the back-Union is faced with a commodity wardness of the country, of its infamine, with the result that the dustry, exist hardships. The workproletariat, which has only so re- ing class would have to "pay" for cently strained itself in order to, its "apprenticeship." in the shortest period, complete the The question: Are these difficul-Five-Year Plan, showing discipline and self-sacrifice, today this ist construction, of socialist growth same proletariat is going from fac | and success" (Lovestone) or, that

thorogoing discussion can be ha

unless we examine the above enum

erated points and are prepared to

Therefore we are dependent up-

the C. P. S. U. in carrying out the present these problems before our

guard against.

line must give an answer to the following: (1) To what extent did

cation of correct policies, which happened at the best of times, but mistakes in policies were made. Comrade Kaganowich, reporting

to the Moscow district organization stated: "Productivity of labor does not increase, the cost of production does not decrease, and the result is-the plan is not carried out"-low discipline, a 100% turnover of workers in the factories, shortage of food, manufactured

In my opinion the present difficulties are largely due to mistakes in policy. What are thev?

1. The deviation from the fifon the comrades in the center, who teenth party congress in relation rary sacrifice "in their speediest completion of the Five-Year discussion to furnish us with such the direction of Trotskyism. show an eager desire for such a to building of heavy industry, in material as would permit us to dis- 2. The underestimation of the cuss the matter with intelligence. importance of the light industry.

it stands to reason that we can not as a means of exchange of manuexpect such information from the factured goods, for agricultural official party as they do not watch products and raw material. 3. The uprooting of the capital-

from our everyday work and this place same by goods of the socialliffers from that of the National committee should ist factories thru government or cooperative apparatus.
4. The deviation from the Len-

There need be no fear, however, inist line in regard to the middle of factional groups cropping up on this issue for the very method that he National Committee has adoptakes made in the collectivization ed, as announced in the "Age" gress was made by the Stalin lead-f agriculture; 3. on the question which gives the broadest possible ership in the direction of Trotskyquality of industrialization; 4. pasis for a discussion, can set such ism. Not only this. But in the the question of light industries. fears aside.

> Winnipeg, Canada. Judge Stubbs of Winnipeg, Man., being investigated under orders being investigated under orders the Federal Department of Justine Federal Department of Just by the Federal Department of Jus tice. Complaints were first made by several of his fellow-judges, who resented some of the statements of Stubbs apropos of certain judgements. But the climax has undoubtedly been reached by a decision of Stubbs which freed six strikers who were charged with rioting and possessing dangerous

weapons. Not only were the men released but his lordship handed out a few jolts all around. The police, he declared. "used more physical force and violence than was necessary, or proper, and some of it was used for purely punitive purposes". "By society", said Stubbs, "is meant the few who rule and control the many . . . " Pulpit and bench were both included in his judicial strictures. It is little wonder that his confreres are after

events in the Soviet Union with a critical and constructive eye, but ist elements—the almost total abowith rather a hasty one in which lition of the private, non-governvious agreements as expressed in hey can cable their "Amen". ment production of the handicrafts-There, of course, is the danger man and the abolition of the open oth resolutions, what then is there that this discussion may deter us market, without being ready to rethat this discussion may deter us market, without being ready to re-

The revision of Leninism and also of the fifteenth party con-gress was made by the Stalin leadstruggle against the so-called "right wing", Trotsky's theory of Thermidor was paraphrased. Comrade Stalin, before he had

"In what consists the danger of left (Trotsky) deviation in our party? In that that they overestimate the forces of our enemies, the forces of capitalism, they see only the possibility of capitalist restoration, but they fail to see the possibilities of building up socialism with the forces of our own country, they have a descripted and they they became desperate and they find consolation in babbling

about Thermidorianism of our party. While we live in a petty peasant country, there is a much more solid base in Russia for capitalism than for Communism-from these words of Lenin the left deviationists are drawing the wrong conclusion, that it is generally impossible to build up socialism in the U. S. S. R., that nothing can be done with the peasantry, that the thought of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry is outlived, that if

(Continued on Page 8)

The Group at Work

The Jobless Conference in Ohio

ers Age."

THE ANTHRACITE

Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
On December 17, the C. P. Opposition is arranging an affair and banquet for the benefit of "Work-

H. Zam is to address the next

ession of the club on the A. F. of

Chicago, Ill.

L. convention on December 18.

CHICAGO, ILL.

The mass meeting to be address-

······

SUNDAY, DEC. 18-4 P. M.

1660 Fulton St., Brooklyn

IRA DeA. REID

National Urban League

NEGRO AND ECONOMIC

PROBLEMS

······

WANTED: Copies of Revo-

lutionary Age, Vol. II, No. 14,

March 7, 1931, to complete

sets for binding. Comrades

having any copies of this num-

WORKERS AGE

228 Second Ave.

AT ONCE

ber bring or send them to

Interracial Forum

Detroit, Mich.
The membership of the Detroit present. The meeting was a complete failure."

The membership of the Detroit group is increasing. On December 11 the organizer, Comrade Miller, will deliver a lecture at the Libertarian Forum on: "What Does the C. P.-Opposition Stand For?" Definite steps have been taken to tie up the work among the unemployed with similar activities in nearby territory. It is reported to us by Comrade Miller: "On November 5 Comrade Miller: "On November 5 Comrade Neill and myself journeyed to Niles, Ohio, to attend a con-willed to Niles, Ohio, to attend a con-willes, Ohio, to attend a con-will be ference that was called for the on the "Results of the Elections purpose of uniting the various examples of the Elections and Their Meaning for Labor." isting unemployed councils. It was a well-attended affair. Practically every county as well as some of the large cities in Ohic were represented at this conference. Something like 100 delegates were seated with voice and vote; besides there were five fraternal delegates seated with voice but no vote.
These five were W. J. White, H.
Conners and another comrade
from Fort Wayne. Comrade Neill
and myself were from Detroit. I
was given the floor for ten minutes and Harry Conners got it for
five minutes. The official party
had something like ten delegates.
They tried their darndest to run They tried their darndest to run the conference and proposed at least a half-dozen amendments that if they were adopted would have wrecked everything that these Frederick Douglass workers were undertaking to build up. Failing in their efforts, they refused to become part of the state conference . . . The 'Daily Worker' for November 15, on page 2, had a typical lying statement about the role the 'Lovestoneites' played at this conference. The only poat this conference. The only political argument raised in this unsigned article was that Wm. Miller of Detroit led the conference in the singing of 'My Country 'Tis of The!'"

FORT WAYNE, IND.

Fort Wayne, Ind. In Fort Wayne, Indiana, the reactionaries have united to destroy the C. P.-Opposition which has been gaining initialize in the ranks of the unemployed thru its fight against the attacks of the K. K. K. and the Champer of Commerce on the Unemployed Council. The recent progress in the movement for a Lauor party precipitated the arrest of hal bojer who is now being neid by the Federal authorities. The arrest was instigated by W. F. Gan, president of the General Electric plant here. Primarily, thru our activities over a period of months, the vote for the C. P. and Comrade Poster was raised from 7 in 1928 to 242 this

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

San Antonio, Texas The San Antonio Unit is on the 000 inhabitants, where there are job. The secretary's latest activity 5,500 families dependent upon the all its slime, he is branded as a sive fight will be made not only 5,500 families dependent upon the ty report says: "About sixty American workers were present at our meeting. This is actually the first time that the American workers responded to our call. Compade Pauline Lifshultz was in the for deportation. Compade Rojer of the state in the arrest rade Pauline Lifshultz was in the for deportation. Compade Rojer of the state in the arrest rade Pauline Lifshultz was in the for deportation. Compade Rojer of the state in the arrest rade Pauline Lifshultz was in the state of the union. After state was projected as a "dangerous alien". The majority locally but nationally against this Dies bill locally but nationally against this Dies bill value in attendance of the union. After state was projected to consisting of two Opposition and one member of the office pauline Lifshultz was in the state of the union. After state was projected the projected radial pauline last states as a "dangerous alien". The majority locally but nationally against this Dies bill locally but nationally rade Pauline Litsnutz was in the chair. Comrade Symons spoke on the economic achievements of the economic achievements of the hoted author, Johann Russian Revolution. Comrade J. Russian Revolution. Comrade J. Russian Revolution. Comrade J. Russian Revolution. Company, champion of Electric Company, champion of the dispossessed worker has been all Bojer for deporting a priminant for deporting a priminant solution and isolation policy of the Communist Party. Here, in Electric Company, champion of the dispossessed worker has been all Bojer for advocating Communist doctrines.

What had this comrade done to be classed as a "dangerous alien"? Fort Wayne, the Communist Opposition has been able to win over ITS DEPTH! Russian Revolution. Comrade J. Murphy urged the American workers to follow in the footsteps of the Russian comrades. Comrade Rodriguez stated that the capitalists were building Muscle Shoals and Hoover Dams for imperialist war and oppression while the Soviet Union was building the Dniepostroy for the betterment of the Russian workers. Comrade J. Shaffer's subject was: The fiften years of the exist..nce of the Soviet Union with its socialist structure of industry are an answer to all its enemies, including the Soviet Union with its socialists of the Socialists of the Socialists of the Socialists of the Society, and the writer, all snoke of this brilliant young for the manner of Commerce. The chamber of Commerce the Commerce at the true teneral Electric Company, champion of the classed as a "dangerous alien"? He has fought against mass star." He has fought against mass star vation, against eviction of the workers and of the workers, against the misery of the workers, against the misery of the workers, against unemployment, against unemployment, against the dumping of food because it couldn't be sold for profit and against the whole vicious system of capitalism have shown the workers the workers in their struggle against the workers. These attacks of agents of the Unitarian Society, in which the sold for profit and against the whole vicious system of capitalism have shown the workers in their struggle against the comment of the workers. The fiften of the Unitarian Society, in which the sold for profit and against the whole vicious system of capitalism. This case of Commence the workers in their struggle against the commence of the workers against the workers and of the workers a national. He urged the workers to tarian Society, and the writer, all unemployed movement against the lit only shows we are getting renational. He urged the workers to tarian bociety, and the winter, an unemployed movement against the be ready to defend the Soviet spoke of this brilliant young for-Chamber of Commerce, the Comsultant of Soviet spoke of this brilliant young for-Chamber of Commerce, the Comsultant of Soviet spoke of this brilliant young for-Chamber of Commerce, the Comsultant of Soviet spoke of this brilliant young for-Chamber of Commerce, the Comsultant of Soviet spoke of this brilliant young for-Chamber of Commerce, the Comsultant of Soviet spoke of this brilliant young for-Chamber of Commerce, the Comsultant of Soviet spoke of this brilliant young for-Chamber of Commerce, the Comsultant of Soviet spoke of this brilliant young for-Chamber of Commerce, the Comsultant of Soviet spoke of this brilliant young for-Chamber of Commerce, the Comsultant of Soviet spoke of this brilliant young for-Chamber of Commerce, the Comsultant of Soviet spoke of this brilliant young for-Chamber of Commerce, the Comsultant of Soviet spoke of this brilliant young for-Chamber of Commerce, the Comsultant of Soviet spoke of this brilliant young for-Chamber of Commerce, the Comsultant of Soviet spoke of this brilliant young for-Chamber of Commerce, the Comsultant of Soviet spoke of this brilliant young for-Chamber of Commerce, the Comsultant of Soviet spoke of the Comsultant of Soviet spoke spoke of the Comsultant of Soviet spoke of the Comsultant of So be ready to defend the Soviet spoke of this brilliant young for-Union. All the speakers were received with great enthusiasm. In contrast to our successful meeting the so-called 'party' arranged a celebration on the same evening with Bariow as the only speaker. Spoke of this brilliant young for-iegner whose courageous stand on the political and economic questions of the day had won thousands of admirers. Comrade Bojer would be an asset to any community; but, because he exposed capitalism in 'The State and Revolu-iegner whose courageous stand on the political and economic questions of the day had won thousands of admirers. Comrade Bojer who is a victim of that force of the workers, to broaden out and correct thru results the stupid line of the party.

Lovestone Tour

Lovestone Tour

PHILADELPHIA

December 11, 8:00 P. M. 431 Pine Street LESSONS OF THE U. S. AND GERMAN **ELECTIONS"**

DETROIT

December 18, 7:30 P. M. People's Forum HITLER AND HITLERISM'

FORT WAYNE, IND. December 21, 1932. "THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT"

CHICAGO

Decembear 23, 1932 Mirror Hall 136 North Western Avenue "THE RISING TIDE OF FASCISM"

MONTREAL, Canada December 30, 1932 HITLER AND HITLERISM

COMMUNISM IN **CHINA**

We publish below a extract from the Lytton Commission Report as published in the New York Times of October 9, 1932. This unwilling testimony of an enemy is a very effective indication of the nature and aims of the Chinese Soviet regime.—Editor.

"Communism in China . . . has ecome an actual rival of the National Government. It possesses its own law, army and governnents and its own territorial

"Large parts of the provinces of Fukien and Kiangsi, and parts of Kwangtung, are reliably reported to be completely sovietized. Communist zones of influence are far more extensive. They cover a large part of China south of the Yangste, and parts of the provinces of Hupeh, Anhwei and Kiangsu north of that river. Shanghai has been the center of Communist propaganda. Individual sympathizers with Communism may probably be with Communism may probably be found in every town in China. So far two provincial governments only have been organized, in Kiangsi

In the Comintern

Entire Leadership Expelled in Spain-

ish Communist Party is proceed-

growing in strength and influence.

BRINGOLF IS NOW

MAYOR!

Communist Opposition, has been elected mayor of Schaffhausen by

IN HUNGARY

A number of Hungarian Com-

sition group and established

The differences in the C. P. H.,

out of which the Opposition move-

ment emerged, arose in resistance

to the dangerously sectarian poli-

cies and burocratic regime of the

party; it did not take long, how-

ever, before the Hungarian com-

rades saw the internacional impli-

cations of their struggle and got

in touch with the International

THE WILL TO UNITY

IN GERMANY!

The will towards unity on the

part of the Communist Party mem-

bership and the growing opposi-

tion to the ruinous ultra-left trade union tactics of the party, were shown very clearly in the united front established between the frac-

tions of the Communist Party and

the Communist Opposition in the Stuttgart German Metal Workers Union (D.M.V.) elections. The

elections were to the district con

ference of the union. After nego-

tiations a joint slate was proposed,

consisting of two Oppositionists

and one member of the official C.

Berlin, Germany.

Opposition center.

Budapest Hungary.

Schaffhausen, Switzerland. A. Bringolf, leader of the Swiss

Madrid, Spain. accused of following "a policy of Four members of the Political tail-endism which would make Buro of the Central Committee of working class an appendage of the the Communist Party of Spain, republican bourgeoisie." As to the have been expelled from the party! actual views and program of the This action was taken immediately expelled—not a word in the offiafter the twelfth plenum of the cial reports!

E. C. C. I. by a joint session of the political and organizational the E. C. C. I. and the Interna-disintegration of the official Spantional Control Commission.

The four Spanish Communist ing apace under the impact of the eaders, Adame, Trilla, Bullejos suicidally sectarian course and bu and Vega, constituting the entire rocratic regime forced upon the top leadership of the party, were charged with "sectarian and anarcho-syndicalist methods" and were Communist organization, the Iberian Communist Federation, is

and Fukien, but the number of minor Soviets runs into hundreds. "When a district has been oc-cupied by a Red Army, efforts are made to sovietize it, if the occupation appears to be a more or less permanent nature. Any opposition is suppressed A Communtst government is established . . . The program of action consists in the cancellation of Comrade Bringolf followed the debts, the distribution among land-smashing victory of the Communist less proletarians and small farmers Opposition in the municipal elecof land forcibly seized, either from large private owners or from religious institutions, such as temples, monasteries and churches. Taxation is simplified; the peasants have to contribute a certain part of the produce of their lands. With a view to the improvement of agriculture, steps are taken to develop irrigation, rural credit system, and 10% of the membership of the

cooperatives. Public schools, hospitals and dispensaries may also have formed a Communist Oppoe established. "Thus the poorest farmers denections with the German Communist Considerable benefit from munist Opposition and with the Communism, whereas the rich and International Communist Opposimiddle-class landowners, mer-chants and local gentry are com-garian Communist movement is pletely ruined, either by immediate strictly illegal in view of the bloody expropriation or by levies and Horthy dictatorship and the Hunfines; and in applying its agrarian garian Communist Opposition is program the Communist party extherefore doubly illegal. pects to gain support of the

Have You Read?

THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, by Jay

SOME PLAIN WORDS ON COMMUNIST UNI-TY, by Ben Gitlow THE HERITAGE OF THE CIVIL WAR, by Will

V. F. Calverton ______ 25c Reductions for bundle orders WORKERS AGE PUB. ASS'N

The Arrest of Hal Bojer in Fort Wayne, Ind.

Fort Wayne, Ind. In this industrial city of 110,-

by Harry. H. Conner

tion." At the present time friends and comrades of Comrade Bojer

into a second round of revolutions and wars, realizing its readiness for these conflictsif all this is true, this is the historical merit of Comrade Stal-

In other words, Stalin invented the class struggle!

The case for revolution receives an excellent treatment in the hands of V. F. Calverton. In his usual concise and logical manner, the author makes a plea for revodutionary social change that carries weight and a considerable amount of clarity. Within the amount of clarity. Within the limited bounds of this small pamphlet (24 pages), there is concentrated a Marxian defense that roots itself in the American landal limited world must be roused in defense of the Du-hsiu. The criminal silence of the official Communist roots itself in the American language and traditions.

Calverton at first proceeds to show the iron necessity of revolutionary change. After analyzing the inevitable contradictions smashing of the state. Such an approach is inevitable because in Calverton's own words: "As a class (the industrialists, bankers—I. B.) turity of the American working class steeped in its present patry they are bound by the system of which they are a product, and will bourgeois, individualistic ideology;

BOOKS A Help Save Chen Diu - Hsiu!

The veteran Marxist and Chinse leader, Chen Du-hsiu, has been FOR REVOLUTION by V. F. Calverton, No. 15 John Day Pamphlet. The John Day Company. New York, 1932. can imperialism. About two years ago Chen identified himself with the Trotskyist Opposition whose

> at the hands of the Kuomintang press and of the Internation Labor

follow three points in the case for revolution—an anlysis of the hisdefend it by force as long as they a well-written and solled ed presentation of the revolutiona well-written and sanely conceiv

perience day by day." Further-the need for expressing the submore, V. F. Colverton acquaints stance of revolutionary Marxism

Women and Children in U.S. S.R.

This is the concluding install- nancy. Everyone knows that is ment in the article by E. R. Brand. this country anything but a "thera-Again we see the scrupulous care tious doctor will perform one.

Many quacks prey on unfortunate or personality which is so conpicuous by its absence in our clin- chance at dying than at anothe

ics. The home is visited before the woman sees the physician and, says Mrs. Fields: "The visitor tries." The abortionist, be he ever so to find out something of the wo-Comrade Chen is facing death man's problems and temperament, ever so many bootleg operations, Is she unhappy at home? private consultation continues to I know one man who treated a guage the woman's temperament highly intelligent and sensitive wo-

Defense must be broken. For the does he select from among the the operation was a complete sucdefense of M. N. Roy and Chen many available contraceptives, one cess from the doctor's point of briefly which he thinks would be most satisfied. The freedom of their own esteem. Says Mrs. their own esteem. Says Mrs. Field: "The freedom of their lives by the patient was violated breeds self-respect as it could neving the inevitable contradictions under captalist economy and its present period of decline, the need for the complete scrapping of the system becomes ever more clearly a resultant urgency. Towards the problem of "how disestablish," the author states in unequivocal terms the Marxian thesis of a forcible smashing of the state. Such an

The chapter on abortions seemd to me the most interesting porion of the book. Nothing points up the difference between our and revolution, a defense of revolution is presented in terms of its advantageous aspects rather than its incidental evils (which such men as Stuart Chase and Norman Thomas constantly emphasize). Instead of

emphasize the sudden deaths that illar progressive and revolutionary cannot be enough praise for Calcent and performed by a qualified a revolution occasions but entirely character. In the constant alluverton, especially when the offia revolution occasions but entirely character. In the constant alluscent the slow living death that sion to American backgrounds, the cial Communist movement speaks a foreign tongue, politically considured the working class examples of the workin

peutic abortion" is a crime equivalent to murder. Therefore no cauwomen who would rather take

skilful from having performed is more than likely to treat his patient with the bullying contempt
."The doctor at the clinic in of one who wields absolute power. guage the woman's temperament and sensitive wold in her sex life, what she thinks She loathed him and yet had to toady to him and to lay down \$125 til a job is available. There is a before he would touch her. Tho this intensive and personal study before he would touch her. Tho isfactory in her case. Every ten emotionally to such a degree that day she returns to the clinic for she has not yet entirely recovered.

In Russia, abortions are definitely discouraged. Birth control is and the danger is advertised by whatever methods seem most comwhatever methods seem most compelling. All wolmen are made cog- A social worker friend of mine tageous aspects rather than its incidental evils (which such men as Stuart Chase and Norman Thomas constantly emphasize). Instead of the namphlet lies in the conscious

formulation of the tactical problems involved in organizing for the lems involved in organizing for the revolutionary seizure of power.

The outstanding achievement of the namphlet lies in the conscious of sentimentalizing about inevitabilities and weeping over the rigors of reality, the author strikes out in clear-cut tones to say: "We over
which they are common forefunners to a pregion for the conscious desire of the author to root present revolutionary ideology in the sent revolutionary ideology in the contrary, an abortion is still into the contrary.

YOUNG COMMUNIST

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

tion of women and children which again finds no parallel, not the slimmest shadow of one, in our society is the treatment of prostitutes. In Russia, there are no outcasts. Russia is responsible for its failures. In the Prophylactorium conscious plan thruout to lift them in their own esteem. Says Mrs. er do in an ordinary woman's privisits aid greatly in keeping up the morale of the inmates as well substituted to eliminate the need as that of the doctors and nurses,

utter futility of their own jobs, no matter how conscientionsly they are executed, because of the absence of any integrated plan or social Mrs. Field's important book.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

On Discipline

by Bertram D. Wolfe

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

The conditions of the class struggle change from day to day, and even a correct line becomes wrong unless it is subject to frequent examination and criticism. If members are afraid to voice objection and criticism, if analysis, whether correct or incorrect, is met not with argument and clarification, but with abuse and expulsion, then the party stagnates and grows corrupt, burocracy flourishes as a rank growth that chokes the party's life, and a system of jesuistic hierarchy and rigidity takes the place of the democratic centralism and realistic flexibility which are the cornerstone of Communist party structure.

"Democratic centralism" is a term with two poles. Party democracy implies full and free discussion by every party member. It implies a free play of viewpoints on all questions of tactics and strategy and general line, so long as there is no departure on fundamentals, no abandonment of the basic principles of Communism. Party democracy implies selection of all officials by the membership (in an illegal party this is not always possible) and complete accountability of these officials to the membership which remains the supreme power in the party.

On the other hand, the Communist Party, as a party of action and not a perpetual debating society, must set terms to party discussions, limits at which a dis-cussion should stop and decisions be made by the membership. Thereafter, there must be a subordination of the minority to the majority on the point in question, until the question is again subject to examination, as, for instance, during a convention discussion period.

Such in brief is the mechanics of democratic centralism. Ye there is not a point in the above outline that is not systematically violated in the present life of the party. The line of the party is not subject to examination. Critics and questioners do not have their views examined, accepted or patiently refuted, but are met with a flood of abuse, threats and expulsion. Comrades are expelled not for differences on fundamentals (proletarian dictatorship and Soviet power) but for questioning the correctness of tactical

measures or the limitless wisdom of party officials. The membership, afte ra thoro discussion, voted by 90% for a given line and leadership at the Sixth National Convention of our party but the leadership was removed, the decisions of the membership reversed and over a third of the Central Committee expelled by cable decree "from above."

Expulsion and slander were substituted for discussion and conviction, and raised to the dignity of a system. To doubt the wisdom of abandoning the trade unions or the united front, was to earn the epithets "renegade", "counter-revolutionist", "agent of Hoover," "social-fascist", "enemy of the Soviet Union." The "Daily Worker" and the "Freiheit" even published weird stories of alleged burglary of the national office, stealing of funds, stool-pigeons, consorting with gangsters, and what-not lurid slanders in the best style of the "Jewish Daily Forward" or the tabloid

Lenin once characterized such methods in this wise: "There is one method of a corrupt press that has everywhere and always proved itself useful and 'infallible' above all others; lies, shouts, slanders, repetitions of lies . . . , 'something will stick!' The heroes who use such methods are already thru."

But the party burocrats have gone farther—even to the point of breaking up, or trying to break up discussion meetings by force, as if cracking heads were a convincing way of reaching the brains of comrades who differed with them!

Why the resort to such methods? The answer is very simple: DISCUSSION MUST BE AVOIDED AT ALL COSTS. THE PRESENT LINE OF THE PAR-TY WILL NOT BEAR EXAMINATION!

THE QUESTION OF DISCIPLINE Inner party democracy is a key to the growth of a mass party. An unhealthy inner line makes impossible the winning and assimilation of new members. No one is born fully Communist and new members naturally come in with doubts and questions and suggestions. If they are met with patient explanation and comradely discussion, they can be made into fully developed Communists. If not, they are alienated and repulsed. During the past three years, it is not true that the party has been unable to attract new members. But it has been unable to HOLD them! By its own records over 45,000 workers have joined the party since 1929 and over 50,000 have left it! The result is a net loss—a loss that is directly attributable to the errors of the party and the unhealthy condition

of its inner life. The enemies of Communism have always tried to attack Communist discipline and to pretend that it is a mere matter of orders from above and obedience from below. In the measure that the party leaders have reduced discipline to such a caricature, they have given ammunition to our enemies and checked the stream of movement toward our party.

LENIN ON DISCIPLINE

The discipline of Communism is not discipline based upon threat, but upon conviction. We are a voluntary association for a common cause, a cause which enlists our enthusiasm and devotion. Therefore, the primary consideration, the foundation of all discipline, is a correctness of line and the convincing of all members of its correctness. Without these, discipline is a grotesque caricature.

Here is how Lenin put the question of discipline:

"Upon what does the discipline of the revolutionary party of the proletariat rest? How is it tested, controlled, reinforced, strengthened? First: by the clarity of aim of the proletar-

ian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolu-

tion, by its steadiness, spirit of self-sacrifice and Second: by its ability to lead the toiling masses, to form contact with them and to a certain extent to fuse itself with the proletarian masses

Thirdly: the correctness of the political leadership carried out and by the correctness of its political strategy and tactics, based on the idea that the workers convince THEMSELVES of the soundness of this political leadership, strategy and tactics thru their own experience. Without all these conditions, discipline in a revolutionary party of the advanced class whose object is to overthrow the bourgeoisie and revolutionize all of society, is impossible of realization. Without

these conditions, all attempts to create discipline

result in empty phrases, in tomfoolery, in clown-

Thus Lenin makes the correctness of the line of the party THE VERY BASIS OF DISCIPLINE and not discipline a substitute for a correct line. To Gorki he also wrote:

> "You must and certainly will understand that once a member of a party is convinced of the absolute incorrectness and harm of a certain doctrine, he is duty bound to take a stand against it . . . AT ALL COSTS."

Next Issue: "WHAT SHOULD A COMMUNIST DO IN THE PRESENT SITUATION?"

Workers Age

Published Twice Monthly by the

Workers Age Publishing Assn., 228 Second Ave., New York, N. Y. Phone: GRamercy 5-8903

Organ of the National Council of the COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A. (OPPOSITION)

Subscription rates: Foreign \$2.50 a year. \$1.50 six months. 5 cents a copy. Domestic \$1.25 a year. \$0.75 six months.

VOL. 2. No. 5.

December 15, 1932

THE A. F. OF L. CONVENTION AND THE **HUNGER MARCH**

THERE is a great deal of significance in the fact that, just about the time that the American Federation of Labor convention in Cincinnati was making its sensational right-about-face and endorsing compulsory government unemployment insurance, the Unemployed Councils, together with the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League, began the second nation-wide Hunger March to Washington.

The change of policy of the A. F. of L. on unemployment insurance constitutes an event of major importance in the history of the American labor movement. The threadbare appeals to the fraudulent "rugged individualism" of the Hoover variety no longer seem to work; the A. F. of L. has definitely gone in for social legislation, as the horror-stricken reactionary press has not been slow to point

The change of policy of the A. F, of L. on this vital social question came, it is clear enough, only as a piece of diplomatic strategy of the hardened burocrats running the Federation, as a form of accomodation to the rising tide of militancy in the unions. In saying this we by no means diminish the great significance of the change of front at the convention; on the contrary, we estimate it in its true meaning and are therefore better able to judge it in all its consequences.

It is no less clear that if the decision of the A. F. of L. convention is to mean anything in life itself, it must be followed by a vigorous mass campaign, involving the whole trade union movement and large sections of the unorganized as well, for only such a movement could exercise the requisite pressure upon the state legislatures and Congress in order to effect any concessions whatever. General expression of sentiment will not suffice, nor will lobbying do. Only the organized might of the workers, determined to make their demands heard and respected, can accomplish anything.

It is just here that the Hunger March comes in. A march upon the state and national capitals is the traditional way in which the jobless, and with them the labor movement as a whole, express their demands for relief and their determination to win them. A Hunger March organized and conceived on the proper basis could go a long way indeed in helping achieve government unemployment insurance in this country.

Unfortunately, however, the Hunger March under way today, in spite of all the ballyhoo and advertising, is doomed to complete futility. It will come and go and leave hardly a ripple in the actual movement of labor or in the actual struggle for jobless insurance. For this Hunger March suffers from the same fatal shortcomings that did the first about a year ago. Instead of being broad and nonpartisan, it is openly and completely a Communist Party affair, organized, run and monopolized by Communist auxiliaries. Instead of being based on the trade unions and other bona-fide labor organizations, it is satisfied with a glittering parade of paper organizations, representing nobody at all except Communists and sympathizers. Instead of attempting to unite the employed and unemployed in one movement, it almost deliberately disregards the former and widens the chasm between the two. As a result, the present Hunger March, like the first, is nothing and can be nothing but a Communist Party must push the drive forward with like the first, is nothing and can be nothing but a Communist Party demonstration, completely isolated, in organization and in sentiment, from the masses of the workers, including the unemployed.

Conditions are ripe and over-ripe for a real mass movement of the unemployed and in such a movement it is for the Communists to give leadership and Inspiration. But the official Communist Party will never be able to rise to this great task until it unburdens itself of the suicidal sectarian course with which it has been cursed for all tion of the quota and raised it in

Dance and Theatrical

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1932—8:30 P. M.

IRVING PLAZA 15 Street and Irving Place

Improvisations by Group Theatre Actors

Admission 50c.

Auspices: Workers Age

Diego Rivera Hits "Daily . Worker" Slanders

Declaration To The "Workers

Age"
"The 'Daily Worker' favors me with another calumny in the cam-paign of slander with which it has honored me since my expulsion from the Communist Party of Mexico, not 'desertion' as the lying burocrats phrase it.
"I request the 'Workers Age' to

print the following statement on my own personal responsibilityso that the workers may judge my

conduct in this case.

"A group of Mexican workers in Detroit, all of them belonging the Mexican peasantry, asked me help them return to Mexico. This group consists of 200 men, many of them with wives and children worn by months and years of unemployment and misery, and daily threatened with greater hunger and their children with dis-

"'We prefer', they said to me, to return as peasants to Mexico where we can live from our own work than to die slowly in an angony prolonged by the alms of

public charity.

"I told them that in order to realize their aim, organization was indispensable and so they organized the Mexican Workers and Peasants League which todate numbers more than 3,000 men. Add to this the women folk and the children and you have close to 7.000 people who desire, under any circumstance, to return to Mexico

"I have done all that is humanly possible to develop in them classconsciousness, which the clerical elements—the agents of the bourgeoisie-have constantly worked to suppress. Nor has the official Communist Party in the eight years of its existence here in Detroit, done anything to combat this reactionary clerical influence among these Mexican workers. This Communist local has never had even 100 Mexican members and today has less than 18.

"I am convinced that these Mexican workers returning to Mexico from the United States, will undoubtedly become a source of ferment and a builder of class consciousness among the poor peasants of Mexico. Even the terribly oppressed, these people returning with a knowledge of the machine and of the best methods of cultivation will push the peons to struggle for better living conditions and will imbue the small landed peasants with better methods of work and struggle.

"I am well aware, and I have told it to them many times, that the proletariat, in the best defense of its interests, must always strengthen the nearest battlebattlefront in the class struggle--in this specific instance—the United States. But they have answered that, being a suppressed and de-spised minority here, they would be deported as soon as they should onenly enter into the struggle, and they prefer returning to their native land, to deportation. And for that reason, I repeat here, the words which the servants of Stalin have twisted into a calumny against me: It was impossible in a few weeks to develop so rapid a growth of class consciousness as o make these Mexican workers orefer to enter the ranks of the party of the proletariat here rather than to return to the ranks of the neasantry in Mexico.

"Now. then, the facts are these: I am asked to help 3,000 men and more than 4,000 women and children. cold, hungry, tubercular, who in Mexico could have at least corn and sunshine. It is not I who am urging their return. It is they who ask my aid. It is they who wish to return. And naturally I have done what I could to help hen a iackal is better than a Stalin call me a jackal—very well then, a jackall is better than a

DIEGO RIVERA

Over the Top by Dec. 15th!

with an active group of Commu-is rapidly coming to a close. We nists engaged in numerous mass have done some good work but the activities, failed even to make a job is by far not finished. The start. How come? Will the com-drive for 400 subs is about 100 rades please offer us an explana-shy of completion. The total tion (A word to the wise—the best drive, including the proposed in-creases of 600 in bundle orders, has resulted in a net increase of over 700 in our circulation.

Comrades: we can not be fully satisfied with these results especially because of the poor response of a number of our organizations. The figures above merely indicate increased energy to complete it by December 15.

The standing of the units in the drive remains, in the main, unchanged. The exception is the Youth Unit, which is doing some forced marching. Its eleventh hour dash brought a 53% complestanding from thirteenth to eighth place.

The Down-Town, New York, Unit, with a quota of 115 subs, has done some patient and consistent olugging. With 85% of the quota neatly tied up, it promises to the mark.

The banner units in the drive are the Anthracite, which tripled its quota. Chicago, now over the top by 35%. Pittsburgh, with 120% of its quota filled, and Philadelphia,

now has an even 100%.
Hartford, Troy. Detroit and
Fort Wayne, have been disappointing. They made an excellent start but failed to keep up steam. In the case of Fort Wavne, the arrest of our Comrade Hal Long on the charge of membership in an organization which agitates for the overthrow of the government sky some of (meaning the Communist Opposi- were adopted. tion) has, of course, hurt the drive

The drive for 1,000 new readers, temporarily. San Antonio, Texas, explanation will be subs and more subs).

The comrades who have done some hard work in the drive and have brought in five or more subs are listed below:

1. Rainey, Chicago .. Bert Wolfe, N. Y.16 3. Jay Lovestone, N. Y.14 4. Anna Thompson, N. Y.12 5. Eva Stone, N. Y. .. 6 Gene Sorenson, N. Y. 7. Peter Ross. N. Y. 7 8. Lily Rubinstein, N. Y. 6 9. Leon Lerner, Pittsburgh 6 10. Maxwell Stewart, N. Y. 5 11. Albert Bell, N. Y. 5

"INEVITABLE AND CORRECT ... "

(Continued from page 5) aid will not come from a victorious revolution in the West, the dictatorship of the proletariat must fall or degenerate. that if a fantastic plan of super-industrialization will not be adopted which shall be carried out even at the price of a split between the working class and the peasantry, then socialism in the U.S.S.R. should be considered as perished. Out of this comes the adventurism in the policies of the left deviation-

How correct! Comrade Stalin said it not in 1932. No! It was in 1928 when the C. P. S. U. was fighting against Trotskyism. To-day while still denouncing Trotsky some of the Trotsky policies

(Continued in the next issue)



Grand Coffee Roast

With an annual coffee export of 14,000,000 bags, Brazil has burnt over 10,000,000 bags in the past year. Now the government has given orders that no new coffee trees are to be planted in the next three years. This should give food for thought to those who insist that the cause for the present crisis is not the system but the machine.

The machine produces plenty (and we don't mean the "coffee percolator") and the earth produces plenty, but the capitalist system is not run for the production of plenty—it is run for the produc-tion of profits. The only thing capitalism can do with plenty, is to plough it in, to burn it up, to prohibit it. Anything but give it to the producers. There's no profit in plenty.

There may be an overproduction of coffee but you can't tell it from the stuff they serve you in the "Coffee Pots". And as for the breadline slop—the less said the

Destroving the products of nature and man, and adulterating the stuff that's sold to the producers—that's capitalism!

* * * Another Red Plot

And now, out of Russia, comes "yarovised wheat", a process of inducing artificial fermentation in yarovised wheat" seed by combinations of tempera-ture, light and humidity, obtain-ng four to five generations of Spring wheat in one year. Similar successes are reported with cotton and other crops.

When the capitalist world is burning wheat to avert "overpro-duction" the Bolsheviks are ploting to multiply wheat production fourfold! No wonder the imperalist powers want to crush the Soviet Union!

Smile At The Hungry

Now that the election is over and the "forgotten man" has been forgotten again, the "new deal" is beginning—Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt has presented a "national smiles" award, delivered a radio address urging "optimism" up-on the fellows whose digestive sysems have been idle so long that their stomachs think their throats have been cut, called upon the nation to end the depression by sing-ing "Pack Up Your Troubles in Your Old Kit Bag and Smile, Smile, Smile" and donned a chef's apron and dipped out some soup from a huge kettle and served it as the first meal given by the Union News Company to some needy breadliners. We don't know what the new deal soup was like but as for the rest—it's the same old applesauce.

With this heartless buffoonery does the new President's wife symbolize the "program" of the new Administration to meet the depres-

Thanksgiving and Christmas

A swarm of scribes and oharisees and sky-pilots have made hideous the day with their invention of reasons to be "thankful" Hoover's proclamation thanked God for the depression and the elec-tions. Pulpit-pounders thanked God that the lack of hope for bread on earth was turning starving men and women to indulgence in the narcotics of the pie-in-thesky dispensers. The Lord's prayer was amended: "Give us this day was amended: "Give us this day our daily dope" and the "New York Times" gave its first page to the headline: "200,000 needy get holiday feasts here—wide charity leaves no one hungry on Thanks-giving." That will have to do the iobless till Christmas. Then, if dysentery and pneumonia don't get them in the interim they're due for another "square meal"!

And as a text for a depression rmon we propose: "Prepare to sermon we propose: meet the co-maker!'

* * *

-B. D. W.