A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

VOL 2. No. 12.

NEW YORK, N. Y., APRIL 15, 1933.

PRICE 5 CENTS

# For Labor Unity Against Fascism

The unity of labor against Fascism and the offensive of capital is the great need of the hour. With the way opened before them by the criminal policy of compromise and surrender of the Social-democracy, by years of practise of the policy of the "lesser evil," the Nazi murder regime is in the saddle in Germany and capitalist reaction has received a tremendous impetus all over the world. Upon the international Communist movement has fallen the grave responsibility in this crisis of raising and championing the tactics of labor unity against the class

In its Manifesto, published in the "Daily Worker" of March 18, the Executive Committee of the Communist International urges all Communist Parties to propose to the Social-democratic Parties and to the labor organizations of the various countries, a united front against Fascism and the offensive of capital. The Communist Opposition, which has for years championed the Leninist tactics of the united front and emphasized the life-and-death necessity of the unity of labor against capitalist reaction and the menace of Fascism, enthusiastically greets this sharp and very welcome turn in official Communist tactics and pledges itself to throw all its energies into a genuine and thorogoing execution of a policy of and thorogoing execution of a policy of unity. Never were Communist unity and the united action of labor more needed than today and no obstacle must be permitted

As laid down in the Manifesto of the Communist principle. It represents a capitulation to the "non-aggression pact" manduler to the Secretariat of the C.C. of the C.P. today and no obstacle must be permitted.

As laid down in the Manifesto of the Communist principle. It represents a capitulation to the "non-aggression pact" manduler to the "non-aggression pact" manduler to the "Daily Worker" results in virtual liquidation of the Communist principle. It represents a capitulation to the "non-aggression pact" manduler to the "Daily Worker" results in virtual liquidation of the Communist principle. It represents a capitulation to the "non-aggression pact" manduler to the "Daily Worker" results in virtual liquidation of the Communist principle.

# Manifesto of the C. P. - Opposition! nist Party. In the original theses on the united front issued by the Communist International in 1922, the Executive Commit-

to stand in the way of their realization.

\* \* \*

### TWO DANGERS!

It is in this spirit, in the constructive spirit of contributing to the development of a really effective turn in the tactics of the Communist International and of our party, that we raise the following grave political questions for your consideration and for the consideration of all party mem-

1. In its enlarged session of February-March 1926, the Executive Committee of the Communist International indicated two fundamental mistakes that a Communist Party must avoid in applying the tactics of the united front: "(a) In the cases in which our parties have appealed to the Socialdemocrats, they have put up as a condition for common action demands which are not immediately acceptable to the reformistically inclined workers...(b) In attempting to reach an agreement with the Social-democracy, our organizations have sometimes undertaken the obligation of carrying out no agitation against the Social-democratic

on March 18, the united front policy contains both of these grave errors. At the present time to insist that a united labor front, in the U.S.A. as in other countries, be set up not on one or two fundamental, burning issues but on an extensive, all-in-clusive program, embracing everything from Roosevelt's economy program and the ship ment of munitions to Japan up to German Fascism, is very clearly to "put up as a condition for common action demands which are not immediately acceptable" to the masses of the workers in the A. F. of L unions and the S.P. It would be far more realistic and would serve much more effectively the cause of labor unity, if the at-tempt were made to initiate each united front action on a closely related group of immediate issues, above all today on the basis of a protest against the Nazi murder regime and of a movement for the relief and defense of the victims of the Fascist terror in Germany.

To undertake to "refrain from making attacks on the Social-democratic organizations . . . during the time of common fight against capital and Fascism", as the E.C.C.I. recommends, is a most serious violation of

'The Executive of the Communist International considers the absolute and complete independence of each Communist Party entering into any contact with the parties of the Second and the Twoand-a-Half Internationals as the main condition, equally and unreservedly ultimative for the Communist Parties of all countries; and particularly their complete freedom in expounding their views and in their criticism of the adversaries of Com-munism. Whilst the Communists submit to the principles of a common action, they must preserve the right and possibility of expressing their opinion on the policy of all the organizations of the working class without exception, not only before or after the action but, if necessary, even during the action. Any desistance from this condition is not to be allowed under any circumstances

We feel it necessary to warn that, unless these two grave errors are immediately corrected, the turn of the E.C.C.I. will be futile; it will remain merely a gesture on paper, sterile, without meaning except to add to the confusion; or, what is even worse, it will lead to the disarming of the Communist Party before the trade union

(Continued on Page 7)

# IN LOCAL 22

### Is Elected Manager; Big Majority In Executive

New York City Charles S. Zimmerman, candidate of the joint Dressmakers Progressive League-Dressmakers Trade Union Circle, was elected manager of Local 22, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, in the elections held on April 6. Out of a total of 825 votes cast he received 396. Stempler, the candidate of the so-called "Left Group", (Continued on page 2)

### MORRIS LANGER IS **MURDERED!**

Newark, N. J. Morris Langer, Communist leader of the New Jersey fur workers, died recently as a result of injuries received when a planted bomb exploded in his automobile. Thousands of workers crowded the neddle trade district in New Fork to attend his funeral.

Langer, the victim of a brutal assassination, was a trade union leaders of long standing among the fur dressers and dyers and was conducting a strike against the A. Hollander Company.

This is the murder committed by hired assassins of this viciously anti-union firm in the present strike. Armed with immunity by its local political influence, the Hollander Company has always used the most ruthless terror against attempts to organize its plants. Langer is the fourth to fall victim to the fur dye bosses murder drive since organization attempts were made.

## ZIMMERMAN IN The "New Deal" Is A Double Deal S. W. P. THRU 'Economy' Measures, Farm 'Aid' And Jobless 'Relief' GERMANY

WHAT the "New Deal" of President Roosevelt | a day! From all parts of the country, especially is really turning out to be is becoming only from invested 1.

is really turning out to be, is becoming only too clear to the people of this country—a brazen DOUBLE-DEAL, a crude confidence trick played upon the masses of the workers and farmers of the United States!

## "ECONOMY" AND FARM "RELIEF"

Tens of thousands of veterans voted for Franklin D. Roosevelt, as a protest against the bloody treatment the Bonus Army received at the hands of Herbert Hoover. And among the first acts of the new President was to force thru a law giving him dictatorial power to cut veterans pensions as much as he liked. This, and a 15% cut in salaries of government employees, constitute the "New Deal" program of "economy"! In what does Roosevelt differ from Hoover by so much as a hair's -breadth?

Then comes farm "relief." surpluses of grain and farm products generally and yet the farmers are destitute and millions of jobless pet the farmers are destitute and minions of joiness in this country are starving. What does our "New Deal" President propose? Not to have the government get the "over-produced" grain to the starving! Oh, no! That would be Socialism, Communism, and other "horrible" things that used to bring nightmares to Hoover. What Roosevelt's farm "relief" plan aims at is to to use government pressure to cut down acreage and production and to raise prices of farm products, in other words, to raise the cost of living even more for the hard-pressed masses of town and country! A "New Deal" indeed!

## UNEMPLOYMENT "RELIEF" THRU FORCED

And unemployment "relief"? The special feature of the Roosevelt plan to "help" the unemployed is to take away millions of dollars of funds set aside for regular public works and to use these funds to set up labor camps at which men will men will work under military discipline (under control of the War Department) for the munificent sum of one dollar

from innumerable labor organizations, headed by th A. F. of L., have come vigorous protests against this scheme not only as a plan of forced labor, depriving the jobless of their ordinary personal and civil rights, but also as a lever for lowering wages thruout the country, intensifying distress, cutting down buying power and thus really increasing unemployment. And so, in answer to the protest, Congress has cut out the dellar-a-day provision and has given President Reosevelt dictatorial power to set the wage for these militarized laborers! Now they are to be slaves indeed! This is the "New Deal"!

## FOR A REAL NEW DEAL!

Is it any wonder then that, in the "New York World-Telegram" of March 27, Dr. H. Parker Willis, former secretary of the Federal Reserve Board,

"Indeed, those are not lacking who incline to the view that fundamentally after all, there is no great difference between the philosophy of the old and the new administrations as to 'relief', however much contrast there may be in the forms the underlying ideas may take.

"No great difference between the philosophies" of Hoover and Roosevelt! Right! Both stand for the same robber system of capitalism, which breeds poverty, misery, unemployment and war. Both stand for Big Business, for Wall Street, for the bankers and manufacturers; both completely ignore the "Forgotten Man", the worker and farmer.

If the workers, employed and unemployed, and the working farmers are to accomplish anything politically in their own interests, they must begin by breaking loose from the big boss parties and by forming a broad and powerful Labor Party, based on the trade unions and other workers organizations as well as upon farmers leagues. Such a party would be a big first step to a real "New Deal" for labor

# Left Socialists Return

## To Reformist Party

Berlin, Germany, By majority decision of its na-tional committee, the Socialist Workers Party of Germany (S.W.P.) has decided to dissolve and to urge its members to rejoin the Social-democratic Party. This decision was made upon the recommendation of the leaders of the party, Seydewitz, Rosenfeld, A. Siemsen, etc. What the left wing of the party, headed by former members of the German Communist Opposition (Walcher, Froehlich

etc.), will do, is not yet clear.

Thus ends the illusion of resurgence of revolutionary Socialism thru a movement "in between' Social-democracy and Communism!

Only a short time ago Trotsky wrote in "What Next" (p. 149): "In reality, if one juxtaposes these two organizations—the Socialist Workers Party and the Commu-nist Party Opposition—the advan-tages are on the side of the former. The S. W. P. is not a morass but a live trend. Its direction is from the Right to the Left, to the side of Communism. . . The demonination morass is much more applicable to the correspond to the composition of applicable to the organization of Brandler-Thalheimer, which is characterized by a complete ideological stagnation."

And today, the "morass" of Trotsky is the only Communist force actively fighting in Hitler Germany, while his "live trend" has returned to the bosom of Social-democracy. History has the peculiar trick of puncturing the factional speculations of the "genius of error" at Prinkipo!

# V.F. Calverton MARXISM and CULTURE April 16 at 51 W. 14 St.

For One Union in the Needle Trades!

Workers Need Unity and Militancy!

by Chas. S. Zimmerman

League Dressmakers Trade Union Circle ticket .-

intense exploitation of the dressmaker, with its

pay, long hours, short seasons or no seasons at all?

Even the press is compelled daily to report ex-

Now, when it is supposed to be the height of the season, thousands of dressmakers are walking the

streets looking for work, while in the sweatshops of

to work 55, 60 and 65 hours a week.

over again: "What is to be done?"

owing to its dual unionist policy.

cigarettes and candies from the

camp at prices much higher than

city prices. Cigarettes, for instance,

which cost 9 1/2 c per package are

Connecticut and New Jersey dressmakers are driven

Bad as conditions are, they are constantly getting

worse. The situation is the same in all shops, union

shops and open shops, International shops or Indus-

And yet nothing is being done to check this fright-

ful situation! Nothing is being done to begin a fight

nilitant, who have always been in the forefront to

fight for better conditions, are now discouraged,

demoralized and disgusted. They have only a curse

on their lips and repeat the same question over and

THE TWIN CURSES OF CLASS COLLABORA-

TION AND DUALISM

Under normal circumstances, the dressmakers

would look to their union thru which to carry on a

collaboration. The Industrial Union is paralyzed

The leadership of the International depends

The dressmakers, who have always been

there no way out of the present chaos?

\$4 to \$8 a week!

trial Union shops.

to improve conditions!

Charles S. Zimmerman, leader of the genuine left, workers. It does not believe that the workers can wing forces in the International Ladies Garment be mobilized for struggle and therefore it is con-Workers Union, is running as candidate for manager stantly working out new schemes of new forms of

What is to be done? This is the question on the policy in the shops for fear of antagonizing the

lips of every dressmakers. Is there no limit to the Association and so conditions in these union shops

to the union. As a result of this, union conditions

are not being enforced in union shops. The leader ship of the union is afraid to adopt an aggressiv

are no better than in the open shops. Such a policy

is being pursued by the International under Dubin

sky's leadership just as it was under his predeces

The Industrial Union is paralyzed because of its policy of dual unionism. The leadership of the

industrial Union is constantly at work devising new

schemes and new manouvers in this direction and

these merely bring in more demoralization in the

One day it creates a "united front committee"

The next day it is a "committee of 40." Then the slogan is: "One drive." The next day it becomes a "unity committee." Under the cover of these

artificially created committees, the Industrial Union

leaders are trying to play on the sentiments for

unity prevailing among the workers but they suc-

ceed only in creating more chaos and more demoral-

ization.

What is necessary now in order to begin a fight

to check the present misery? To begin immediate

preparations for a general strike would shake up

for the dressmakers in the shops; it would bring one union in the industry. Dressmakers of all shades

of opinion are beginning to realize this.

responsibly, without any manouvers.

union in the industry:

merged into the International.

whole industry and bring direct improvements

The question of one union in the trade is too

painful, too vital, to close to the lives of the dress-

makers to be played around with. The question

THE ROAD TO UNITY

The leadership of both sides must be ready to give in on some points. I believe that if both sides

would approach the question with a real desire

We propose the following as the basis for one

1. That both unions should be amalgamated or

I believe that the unification should be car-

(Continued on page 6)

for the establishment of one union in the industry, it

would be possible to carry it out into reality.

must be taken up seriously, courageously and

ranks of the dressmakers.

# Join the Communist Opposition!

We continue below the publication of statements of adherence to the Communist Opposition of workers and groups of workers in a Socialist Party member in Hartvarious parts of the country. In ford, Connecticut, who has carried this issue we present the declarations of a group of colored work-logical conclusions.—Editor.

## STATEMENT OF FORT WAYNE COMRADES

We, six Negro comrades, have joined the Opposition to fight joined the Communist Opposition for the unity of the Communist thru coming into contact with it in movement, in the U.S. A. and unemployed movement. Its internationally. fight for the unemployed, its cor- In Fort Wayne, the C. P. O. is rect policy on the Negro question in the forefront of all fights. We new, protesting against the conduct interested us in the C. P. O. The are all new in the Communist of the New York Tom Mooney C. P. O. is the only organization that can effectively fight for equal rights for the colored people beshoulder to shoulder with the white colored people beshoulder to should be should cause it understands that the comrades, in the mass organizacause it understands that the comrades, in the mass organiza- In response to your appeal of ican working youth, and become the message of Communism to the American Negroes are a part of tions, in the Unemployed Associa- March 8th, this year, and the sub- instead a real mass organization, working youth, has to go where the American people, more exploit- tion, for the Labor party, in youth sequent invitation from the Tom ed and more oppressed, and not a work, and everywhere else. separate nation, as the official

Seeing a need for a united Com-

overthrow capitalism are bound to comes when the workers of the ment, and is determined—under all be futile as long as they follow an world are forever emancipated circumstances—not to permit a incorrect program.

I believe in the basic principles age! of Communism, which is revolutionary Socialism in actual fact. I firmly disagree with my comrades of the left in the S. P. who have the illusion that they can turn their party into a truly revolutionary Marxian organization. Do they really believe that the burocrat Hillquit and his associates, who, in 1919, expelled 66,000 left Socialists with the help of the capitalist police, will now suffer a turn of heart and allow revolutionary Marxists to capture the party How can revolutionary Marxist Socialists, who believe in Communist principles, be consistent with themselves and at the same time belong to a party which has a non - Marxist, non - revolutionary program. On principles there can be no compromise!

I am a Communist. My place i in the Communist movement. choice was between the official C. P. and the C. P. Opposition. From what I have observed of the tactics of the C. P., I am convinced that these have served to isolate the party from the masses. The severe economic crisis has given rise to conditions favorable to the building of a mass Communist movement, yet the C. P. has shown itself incapable of taking advantage of favorable opportunities This, I believe, is due to the sectarian policies of dual unionism, the refusal to form real united fronts with outside organizations the mechanical transferring of tactics used in the U.S.S.R. by the C.P.S.U. after the proletarian rewhere the majority of the workers still support the capitalist system. I have joined the C.P.O., firmly convinced that the tactics for which it stands are correct and correspond to the degree of development of the workers in U.S. A. I join the C.P.O. in the firm belief

Fort Wayne, Indiana. munist Party with correct tactics,

## STATEMENT OF HARRY YOUNG

as a part of international Social- that it is the only Communist ecutive Committee at its last meetdemocracy, is obstructing and mis- tendency striving for a united ing, held March 14, 1933, at whose leading the struggle for the emancipation of the working class from
the Communist Party will be rethe Communist Party will be rethe Communist Comthe yoke of capitalism. I do not the Communist Party will be reduced the sincerity of the thousands of S.P. members, who honest-sands of S.P. members, who honest-sands of services and services are services and services are services and services are services and services are services and ser ly believe that their party offers conscious worker is plain: join the ly captured the control of the Tom them a correct Marxian leadership C. P. Opposition, help spread its Mooney Molders Defense Commitbut, no matter how good their in- influence thruout the whole work- tee, is bent upon running the tentions may be, their efforts to ing class movement, until the day "show" for its own aggrandize-

HARRY YOUNG

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A D M I S S I O N — 25 c ......

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Local No. 22 Protests At Gross Sectarianism

We publish below a letter of Max Bluestein, manager of Local 22, I. L. G. W. U., to Tom Moo-

Mooney Molders Defense Commit-

Hartford, Connecticut. that it is following the teachings the conference, and that his with-The Socialist Party of America, of Lenin in the class struggle and drawal was approved by the Exinstructions this letter is writter.

> from the chains of capitalist bond- genuine united front of all workers organizations, regardless of their

> political or social views. It appears, further, from the report of our delegate that even your own personal representative, Louis Scott. has aligned himself with the Communists and is completely ignoring the efforts of some of your friends to broaden the aspect political and social opinion.

We yield to no one in our loyalty to you and our absolute convinction that the ruling class of this country, in keeping you behind bars.

Checkup is made every two months ment and incredulity upon the days when "mass work" was cartry, in keeping you behind bars. does so for the sole purpose of TO HIS EARS IN WORK. The magazines called the 'Labor Unity' thwarting every effort on the part average League member spends called on workers to split their of the working class for its libera- four or five nights a week doing unions and when recruiting camtion. And we are equally convinced that such tactics on the part of the made. What is wrong? ommunist enthusiasts, as herein

liberation, and with fraternal greetings, I am,

Sincerely yours

Tel. DRy Dock 4-0372

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ELECT ZIMMERMAN MANAGER LOCAL 22

(Continued from Page 3) also endorsed by the reactionary Welfare Club, received 319. All of the four business agents

elected ran on the Progressive Of the twenty-five members of

ahead. This situation, as well as the extremely bad weather, accounts for the small total vote. Had ing "mass work" where there are the vote been larger, the Progres- no masses! But then, the section sive lead would certainly have been said it was O. K. He was doing

# With the Working Youth

"Mass" Work in the Y. C. L.

New York City. Every section, district and na-

Passing The Buck

does not grow?

with the members who refuse to to do then is to belong to purely do any work. But this evil can Communist organization, agitate very soon be remedied. A strict among ourselves, keep the checkup of the activities of the secrets of Communism away from members of each unit and threats the profane ears of the non-Comof disciplinary action where com- munist youth. And this is the your friends to broaden the aspect radely explanation does no good policy of "mass work". The logic of the campaign for your ultimate will soon bring the desired results. is perfect. At least perfect, "third liberation, to include all shades of The leadership of the Young Comperiod" logic. munist League knows this well enough. As matter of fact, such a members will look with amaze

The real seat of the trouble will day, alas, is too far off! indicated, are hurting your, and be found on the type of mass work which the League members are With best wishes for your speedy carrying on. It is in reality no mass work at all. It consists almost entirely of belonging to purely Communist organizations, trying to Dressmakers Union Local 22, win to Communism people who I. I. G. W U. consider themselves as "loyal" as (signed) MAX BLUESTEIN Browder himself! League members elong to the International Labor Defense, the International Workers Order, the National Student League, occasionally to the "Red" mions. It is considered the highst type of League work to spend all of one's time in propagandizing n these "mass organizations." Let is take a typical case: Comrade Smith belongs to a vouth group of the International Labor Defense and to the National Student League. He is so busy in the I.L.D. however, that he rarely enough time to work in the N.S.L. His I.L.D. branch has twelve memhers. Nine of them belong to the Y.C.L., and the other three are conrinced Communists. (One of the three is a former League member, the second is writing his master's thesis on "Dialectical Materialism and the Dictatorship of the Proetariat" and the third is also a nember of the I.W.O.). Comrade Smith is the fraction secretary of the branch, because, in such an obviously non-Communist organization, it is absolutely necessary for the fraction to meet every week before the regular branch meetthe new local executive, sixteen ran on the Progressive slate. The other nine were put forward by the "Left Group."

The new local executive, sixteen ing and formulate all decisions beforehand, so that the party line —God bless it—should be kept intact. Comrade Smith is also on A few days before the elections, the executive committee of the the G. E. B. had "advised" the branch. There are, besides this, postponement of the voting for two weeks by the local decided to go Y.C.L. meetings. Comrade Smith

good I. L. D. work. "Keep it up

by Y. C. L. Member | Comrade Smith, you're doing

What Is Mass Work? I want to ask anybody whose tional convention of the Young head has not yet been made too Communist League emphasizes the dizzy by "revolutionary upsurges" fact that it is absolutely impera- what on earth is the sense of such tive that the Y.C.L. stop being a "mass work"? The Young Comlittle sect. isolated from the American working youth, and become the message of Communism to the containing tens of thousands of the youth is and not where the young workers. In order to achieve Y.C.L. thinks it should be. Any-Johnson, Murphy, Taylor.

(The names of the three other comrades cannot be disclosed)

The solution participated this worthy aim it is proclaimed that work should go to the Y's, to the do mass work, must be in contact at Irving Plaza, this city.

With as many non-Communist various social clubs. Mass work I regret very much to inform with as many non-Communist various social clubs. Mass work you that our representative was youth as possible. At each and forced to withdraw officially from the conference and that the conference are sectarianism is officially buried by I. L. D. a second-hand party but five or six party and League rather a real, non-party mass orfunctionaries in long and laborious ganization. But then it is against speeches. Since this does not seem the rules to do all these things. to be enough, the Young Communist International itself addresses a letter to the American says Papa Losovsky, we can't go League belaboring it for its sectar- to the unions! We can't go to the anism and calling for a "turn to street gangs, because they are not mass work." Everybody, it seems, Communist, and therefore are not is againset sectarianism. Why does as "pure" as we are. As for makremain a sect? Why is it then ing the I.L.D. a mass organization that the Young Communist League that rank opportunism. Not only

is it "opportunism" but it is "rotten liberalism," "capitulation to the Social-democracy" and a dozen other manifestations of "left The fault, say the leaders, lies social-fascism". The only thing left

Some day enlightened party League work. Yet no progress is paigns were sonorously labelled

J. K., Member of the Young Communist League

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## LET TOLERANCE **BEGIN HOME!**

Challenge Of The Harlem of Local 22 on the joint Dressmakers Progressive partnership with the Association to deliver shops Interracial Forum

Upon request of the Harlem Interracial Forum, we publish the letter sent by the Forum to Governor Herbert H. Lehman, Former Governor Alfred E. Smith, William misery, starvation, unemployment, degradation, low Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, Bishop William T. Manning, Rev. Stephen S. Wise, and Chas. H. Tuttle, chairamples of the frightful conditions of the workers in the dress industry. In New York, the center of man of the Interfaith Committee. the dress trade, workers are forced to slave for from

We were very much interested t note thru the public press your vigorous expressions of abhorrence and protest at the outrages perpe trated upon the Jews in Germany Your regard for the oppressed and your readiness to defend the vic tims of racial persecution deserve the sincere praise of all men devoted to freedom and humanity May we hope, therefore, that, in

your enthusiasm for racial toleration and the fundamental rights of man, you will raise your eloquent voice and wield your great influence to help put a stop to the murderous persecution of millions of our colored fellow-citizens in the Southern states, to the disgraceful conditions of lynching, jim-crowism, discrimination in economi endeavor, education and social life generally? We feel that your protest against the outrages perpetrated upon the Jewish race in Germany would be more effective reason for it is that we are cursed with two unions if it were associated with an equal- in the field that keep the ranks of the workers ly vigorous protest against the divided. Both are paralyzed, unable to do anyoutrages perpetrated upon the thing for the workers in the industry. The Inter-Negro race in this country of ours. | national is paralyzed owing to its policy of class

Very respectfully yours, Harlem Interracial Forum W. A. DOMINGO, President entirely on the employers association to maintain A. THOMPSON, Secretary | the union for them. It has no confidence in the

by Paul Crane

recruit over 200,000 able-bodies,

men for one year's service.

amounts to forced labor.

December 19, 1932.

An "Experiment In Rehabilitation"

A scheme like this one, on a

much smaller scale, has been in

operation in New York State since

Camp Bluefield, at Blauvelt, N.

Y., starting with 30 men recruited

from New York City's Municipal

Lodging House, has now grown t

over 200 men. This camp, operated

by the "Workers Relief Project" i

conjunction with the "State Un-employment Fund," is, according

to it sponsors, an "experiment in rehabilitation."

These homeless men, who were

told that they would receive 50c

an hour, for a two-hour day and a

six-day week, are now forced to

work at least eight hours a day

quired to work ten or more hours

New York City.

The Truth About Camp Bluefield

Forced Labor in New York UST OUT!

> and The Workers

President Roosevelt will soon retailed to the men at 15c. If they rebel, as some of the men hungry, homeless men who will before them have done, they are consent to plant trees from sun- shipped back to New York City a up until sun-down as long as they their own expense. First, however will be assured three meals a day their useful clothing and under and a bunk in which to sleep. It is wear which had been "loaned" t

the President's plan to enlist these them when they arrived at the camp, is taken from them and the Instead of jobless relief and un- old clothes in which they had aremployment insurance, Roosevelt is rived, are substituted. "The men substituting what practically who leave of their own accord" af ter a few months at the camp, have

a little more than train fare left. (Continued on page 6)

German Fascism

Leo (Berlin)

**WORKERS AGE** 51 West 14 St. New York City

## A LETTER FROM TOM MOONEY

Labor Martyr Writes To **Communist Opposition** 

California State Prison San Quentin, Cal. March 4, 1933. ear Comrade Lovestone:

I was mighty glad to get this etter and all of your other letters out I hope you will forgive me for not attempting to answer them ersonally, as this is impossible. I have asked special permission to write this note of explanation to you. The warden has not only askbut insists that I have my ommittee answer my letters for me. I write very few letters direct rom here because of this rulingyou will understand.

I have sent over two hundred etters and post cards to my committee for acknowledgements during the past three months. The committee is constantly making a desperate effort to carry on a real struggle for my freedom under the most difficult of circumstances. The worst is lack of funds with which to hire the muchneeded clerical help to make prompt replies to all letters received.

The committee is now working on a great mass meeting thru a united front, to be held in the San Francisco Civic Auditorium on March 19. Then its major efforts will be put forth to coordinate the nationwide efforts for the Free Tom Mooney Congress for April 30 to May 2, with, we hope, the greatest labor demonstration ever held in any city in this country at any time, on May First or April 30. Being Sunday that would enable a larger crowd to partici-

I hope you will do all in your power to rally as much support for (Continued on page 4)

## Shoe Workers Are Fighting! A Fighting Union Is The Great Need!

5c a Copy

3½c in bundles

by Observer

Boston, Mass.

For the first time in about forty years the shoe workers have be-come organized and have signed up seventeen factories out of twenty and the other three will undoubted ly be signed before this is printed.

This has been one of the great-

workers of all the cities and towns of this section of the country began to stir and demands began to pour into Lynn for organizers to come to help them organize. Boston shoe workers even began to go to Lynn and sign up as members of the National.

Organization Work Is Started On Monday, March 6, Chester W. Bixby, a well-known worker in est organization campaigns in the history of the shoe industry. He trade was delegated to start the organizing campaign by Wilfollowing the revolt which result- liam B. Mahan, general organizer ed in a general strike in Lynn and of the National. A group of workthe organization of that city, under ers were gathered together who the banner of the National Shoe formed themselves into a voluntary Workers Association, the shoe organization committee and start-

ed to work. On Thursday, March 9, Mahan and Bixby appeared before the treers, who had organized themselves about 90% into a club and succeeded in getting them to join the National. On March 11, a mass meeting of shoe workers was called at which overflow meetings had to be taken care of by opening up additional halls. At these meetings it was decided to call a meeting for the following Tuesday, March 14, to vote on the question of a general strike in Boston. This meeting was held and unanimous vote was cast for a general strike to take effect the ollowing morning. The response

was magnificent. The chief demands were: the ecognition of the union, the abolition of all contract jobs, the abolition of all "yellow-dog" agree-ments, and the refunding of all security held by the bosses on those

greements. Immediately a large group of the manufacturers got together to consider what they would do. There was a split among them and nine of them decided to form an association and deal with the union.

They made overtures to the organ-(Continued on Page 7)

# Help Victims of Nazi Terror!

the framed-up burning of the Reichstag building, the Nazi terror, the ravages of the National-Socialist murder bands, have been raging throut Germany. All labor organizations are fac-

Often, when "special duties" are assigned to the men, they are reof "shot in flight" or under no

These men, working fifty of more hours a week for \$6 are required to turn back to the camp \$3.50 each week for their maintenance. The actual cost to the "Workers Relief Project" each week is less than \$2 per man. The profit by the camp on food alone, is over \$300 a week!

The men buy their own shoes

Since the elevation of Hitler to the Reichs-Chancellorship, and especially since of others are being hounded all over the land by police and Nazi spies and are living in misery.

ing destruction and annihilation. Particularly since the fraudulent elections of March 5, Communists, Socialists and revolutionary workers are being murdered with impunity by the brutal Nazi bands under the pretext

pretext at all! Thousands of the best workers, hundreds of bourgeois democrats and pacifists, doctors, writers, intellectuals, are to be found in the prisons and in the concentration camps. Thousands | love freedom to support, effec-

Tens of thousands of their dependents are literally dying of nunger in the deepest distress. In such a situation, practical olidarity with the victims of Fascism means the most speedy material aid. This is the great task of the anti-Fascists of all

countries. The I.H.V. (The International Relief Association), therefore

calls for the initiation of a broad movement of solidarity of the anti-Fascists of all countries. It calls upon its sections and sympathetic organizations to start money collections immediately for the victims of the Fascist terror in Germany and appeals to the workers and to all who

darity! On with the money collec-

Let all organizations take their place in the ranks!

HELP! HELP! SHOW REAL SOLIDARITY! The Foreign Committee Relief Association.

In response to this burning appeal, the National Committee of the Communist Opposition has already sent \$50 and has decided to throw all its resources into this campaign. Send all money collected for our German fellow-workers to: Jay Love-stone, 51 West 14 Street, New York City.

# "But Then Germany Is Not Italy!"

Berlin, Germany
"Germany is not Italy!" Both
the Social-democratic and official Communist Party leaders never tire of repeating this phrase in the attempt to justify their "theory" that, after all, the Nazi regime in Germany is "not quite" the classical Fascism of Italy, that, after all, it will "collapse of itself", even if the working class does not succeed geoisie itself, seeing no other way in uniting and collecting its out, called him in to hand the strength for a counter-offensive. strength for a counter-offensive.

Never was a phrase more thoroly it was the preceding government of Schleicher that tried to resort to false and more dangerous!

What are the facts upon which this thesis "Germany is not Italy!"

I assert the same as we now know, it we really planning such a putsch.

Fascism signifies the handing supposed to really planning such a putsch. Fascism And The Bourgeoisie is supposed to rest? Two facts are brought forward to show that in

and economic existence. The Fascist dictatorship rests upon the position of monopoly of the Fascist party, clutching the state apparatus in its own hands and dentrying all other party. paratus in its own mains and the priving all other parties, the priving all other parties, the bourgeois parties included, of any This whole line of argument control over the executive power and even of their very existence. This has happened in Italy but, we Germany. The German bourgeoisie is alleged to be altogether too strong for the Nazis to deprive it of direct control of power altogether. The significant difference between the two countries, the dif ference in their economic structure, one being primarily an agrarian country and other a highly devel-oped industrial land, is supposed to have shown itself even in the

because the Fascist movement was l very strong and the bourgeoisie powerless: in Germany, on the other hand, Hitler did not dare a march on Berlin because of the dressmakers that something of the dressmakers that something resistance of the ruling bourgeois circles and so German Fascism has been forced to forego all claims to improve somewhat their misermonopoly and to satisfy itself with

But what is the truth? If any comparison in the organizational strength of the Italian Fascists among the dressmakers, the Joint and the Nazis is to be made, the Board leadership has not taken advantage must be recognized as any effective measures to check a fight to enforce union conditions residing with the latter. Both the this condition and has even made in the union shops, a conference Italian bourgeoisie was quite anxious, of course, to have the Fascists participate in power, to send a few representatives into the government, but it was certainly not enthusiastic to hand over the whole apparatus to them. When, in the apparatus to them. When, in the sociation and begin a fight to improve conditions in the union shops. Another objective was to the International and the International and the International and the International and the Joint Board made a new partnership deal with the Association to carry on a joint campaign against the officialdom and its leadership of the International and the International and the Joint Board made a new partnership deal with the Association to carry on a joint campaign against the officialdom and its leadership of the International and the International and the Joint Board made a new partnership deal with the Association to carry on a joint campaign against the jobbers. On the basis is only thru the mobilization of the leadership of the International and the Joint Board made a new partnership deal with the Association to carry on a joint campaign against the jobbers. On the basis is only thru the mobilization of the leadership of the International and the Joint Board made a new partnership deal with the Association to carry on a joint campaign against the jobbers. On the basis is only thru the mobilization of the leadership of the International and the Joint Board made a new partnership deal with the Association to carry on a joint campaign against the officialdom and its leadership of the International and the Joint Board made a new partnership deal with the Association to carry on a joint campaign against the officialdom and its leadership of the International and the Joint Board made a new partnership deal with the Association to carry on a joint campaign against the officialdom and its leadership of the International and the Joint Board made a new partnership deal with the Association to carry on a joint campaign against the officialdom and its leadership sie stood in the same position as men, at a special meeting, heartily the German capitalists reached ten endorsed this plan. years later, when the bankruptcy of the parliamentary system became perfectly clear, when a solution of the crisis without the inter-vention of the Fascists was alto-Bluestein, manager of Local 22, vention of the Fascists was altogether out of the question, it was was appointed to take charge of proposed to form a new cabinet the drive. But as soon as he accept-under the conservative, Salandra, the Italian Papen, to which some the Joint Board began. Fascists were to be invited. But since Fascism positively refused to The Sabotage Of The Joint Board have anything to do with the In spite of all pledges of coopergovernment unless it completely ation on the part of the Internacontrolled the executive power, it tional and the other locals of the issued the call for the march on Joint Board (Locals 10, 35 and Rome. Only under the impact of 89), no funds were provided to

## Away With Any New Illusions!

In Germany, on the contrary serious threat of it, no marching

coup d'etat to save itself from Fascism: as we now know, it was Fascism signifies the handing over of direct political power by the

misses the fact that, in Italy too, the traditional bourgeois parties took a long time, after the march by A. P.

Fascism And Bourgeois Democracy non-Fascist parties, aside from the on Rome, in disappearing from the geois democracy and to the parlia- or in fact. Already, within a few

weeks, parliamentarism is com-pletely and thoroly done away with! Here again, years in Italy

Substantially the same is the

Fascist government, that Mussolini achieving a temporary ameliorawas able to get rid of his allies and set up a purely Fascist cabinet.

The point of departure of German Fascism is obviously much more favorable in this respect. The more favorable in this respect. The end of 1926 did the opposition enemy!

The point of departure of German Fascism is obviously much more favorable in this respect. The end of 1926 did the opposition enemy!

### THE N. Y. MAY DAY CONFERENCE

The New York May Day Conference held on Sunday, March 26,

As customary at recent conferences, Carl Winters of the Unemployed Council opened this one too. Clarence Hathaway, district organizer of the Communist Party, was the reporter. To the usual The sabotage of the organization drive also had another objective, to by concealing the facts of the real undermine the idea of the pos-situation in Germany. He insisted sibility of rank and file organiza- that the working class of German, tion work and to discredit the pro-gressive administration of Local upon the differences existing in the Fascist camp. He placed great hope upon the continuation of the crisis to cause the collapse of Fascism. He stressed the supposed advantages of Italian Fascism over the organization department was German Fascism. So blind have

a false line.

The program proposed for the conference touched upon all the important points of the Communist program instead of dwelling upon Don't for one minute think that one or two specific questions on I have not held a deep heartfelt which a maximum number of or-

Fascism And The Government

bourgeoisie to the Fasicist movement. The truth of this conception style is "impossible": on the one hand, the strength of the bourgeoisie; on the other hand, the strength of the labor movement. In this article we will consider the bourgeois particle with the strength of the labor movement. In this article we will consider the bourgeois particle truth of this conception is shown by the example of Italy. The Mussolini government consists only of Fascists; in it there are no representatives of the traditional bourgeois particle. this article we will consider the first phase of this question.

The Fascist dictatorship signifies

The Pascist dictatorship signifies the handing over of direct political power by the bourgeoise to the Fascists in order to save its social and economic existence. The Fascist

important bourgeois parties into the cabinet. Along with six Fascists, there were in the Cabinet majority for the Fascists a new formula in the cabinet majority for the fascists and formula in the cabinet majority form representatives of the "Social Democrats" (a left bourgeois party), one conservative, one democrat and this majority was finally obtained.

Nazis share power only with the parties lose their parliamentary Nationalists, a relatively weak existence. Only in 1928 was parlia party. They already control all the decisive posts in the government. What it took Mussolini years to finally ready to give up its parliaaccomplish. Hitler is bringing mentary sanction. A long and

The attitude of Fascism to bour- Nationalists, are outlawed in law

ed with its struggle against the

traditional bourgeois parties. Here political stage. When Mussolini also the German workers can get cratic rights. The destruction of the freedom of the press, which Storm-Troops, were needed to bring was named Premier by the King no "consolation" out of any compathiler to power. Here the bourgeoisie itself, seeing no other way he came to power in the "legal" In its early stages, Italian Fascism (Germen recently) Mystellini was net "decree for the protection of the German people", Mussolini was not way, according to the prescriptions of the constitution—he did not form a purely Fascist cabinet imform a purely Fascist cabinet immediately; on the contrary, he took the representatives of the most important bourgeois parties into

> To go around prating: "Germany is not Italy!" is to confuse and two representatives of the Popolari, A short time after that, following disarm the German working class the Catholic popular party, which stood more to the left than the German Center. It was only at the end of 1924, after two years of against the Fascist regime and in the hour of its gravest crisis. The Nazi regime of murder and enslavement can be beaten back and smashed only if the German

> > New York City

once more revealed that the party is far from having made a com plete turn in the united front. Of the 530 delegates and 116 organizations, there were only nine delegates from five A. F. of L. locals! There were two delegates from the Paoli-Zion organizations. All the ther delegates were from the Communist Party, Young Communist League and their auxiliaries.

the party leaders become that they chase after every illusion to bol-

Places for Socialist speakers were left open also a place on the acting

There was evident a desire on he part of the party members to make a turn toward a genuine united front. But it was also evident that the turn cannot be nade so easily after three years of

want you to extend to them my best fraternal comradely greetings of proletarian fellowship and thank

# The Civil War in North America

We publish below some para-graphs of an article by Karl Marx entitled "The Civil War in North America." The article was published in the Vienna "Presse" of October 25, 1861, This article, as well as a number of others written by as a number of others written correspondence between Marx and Engels, emphasizes not only the the Northern Democracy, repeatedgreat thinker followed American events but also his realistic insight into their historical significance.

London, Oct. 20, 1861.

For months, the tone-setting condon press, weekly and daily, and the Union became the slave of the Union became the slave of the Day of the Union became the slave of the Day of the Union became the slave of the Day of the Union became the slave of the Day of the Union became the slave of the Day of the Union became the slave of the Day of the Union became the slave of the Day of the Union became the slave of the Day of the Union became the slave of the Day of the Union became the slave of the Day of the Union became the slave of the Day of the Union became the slave of the Day of the Union became the slave of the Day of the Union became the slave of the Day of the Union became the slave of the Day of the London press, weekly and daily, has been busy repeating the same litany on the American Civil War. While it insults the free states of the North, it anxiously defends itself against the support of the states of the states of the states of the support of the states of the support of the suppor defends itself against the suspicion of sympathizing with the slave been shattered by the alliance of states of the South. In fact, it contacts of the South it contacts of the slave or states of the South it contacts of the slave or states or states of the slave or states or states of the slave or states or stat cuses its attacks upon the North....

> The Republican Party And The South

tion for the presidential election, May 17, 1860, the Republicans repeated their program of 1856, only enriched by a few additions. Its chief content was this: not a foot of pew territory is hepcoforth to generate the program of 1856 and the second peritors of new territory is hepcoforth to generate the poor whites. With the principle that all further expansion of slave territory is to be legally forbidden, the Republicans therefore attacked the domination of the slave-holders at its very root. The Republicans therefore attacked the domination of the slave-holders at its very root. The Republicans of the class struggle. Rome was "continual formation of new slave holders at its very root. The Republicans of the class struggles are classes to the class struggles and the poor whites. With the principle that all further expansion of slave that all fu At their second national convenciples, does not touch the slavery tion for the presidential election, of new territory is henceforth to be ceded to slavery! The bucaneering foreign policy must cease. The reopening of the slave-trade is amount to more than 300,000, a publican election victory naturally had to drive to an open struggle between North and South. This electoral victory itself, as already

(Concluded in this issue)

Under a system of technocracy,

every family will receive the equiv-

alent of a \$20,000 a year income

Karl Marx on American History

South had, thru its alliance with tion are to be passed.

frequently since 1817, had hitherto One of the leaders of the South, tinually writes two articles: one tinwally writes two articles: one article in which it attacks the North, and another in which it ex
in the Democracy with the Northern Secession congress of Hongsonics; sity lead to its gradual extinction of in accordance with economic law, engineering which were not dupli
would politically destroy the hegein the Northern Secession congress of Hongsonics; sity lead to its gradual extinction of in accordance with economic law, engineering which were not dupli
would politically destroy the hegein the North, and another in which it ex
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the slaves out . . . '

mentioned, was conditioned by the split in the Democratic camp . . . . The Meaning Of The Great

Struggle

The entire movement rested and rests, us we see, upon the nan, the domination which the for the furthering of free coloniza- sult of the concentration of landed slave question. Not in the sense tion are to be passed.

The decisively important point only be compared with that of the should not be directly emancipated the Northern Democracy, repeatedly usurped over the Union, reached ed its height. In internal policy as well as in foreign policy the guiding star of the government was the interest of the slave-bolders.

Armed extremely important point only be compared with that of the in this program was that not a foot of new territory was to be accorded to slavery, that it should thru the acquisition and the prospect of the acquisition of new to subordinate themselves to an oligarchy of 300,000 slave holders, whether the vast territories of the states in which it already existed positions is it possible to recognize

> ritory takes place, the slaves will would finally expose the slave veal the answer. These civilizarun the whites out within fifteen holding oligarchy, within its own tions were not destroyed from withyears or else the whites will run states, to threatening danger from out; they were shattered from within, by the sharpening of the

> > cal development is in a straight ne-"unidirectional and irrevers-That is not true. Human society has developed in a zig-zag fashion, in cycles, in spirals and thru contradictions. The development of human society can be understood only thru the application of the yardstick of Marxian dialectics (according to Scott, an "interesting intellectual pastime.") The technocratic method cannot rereal the historic process, cannot calories per man per day. These indicate the direction of developare the three great changes in hument, cannot even trace the develman society, the three stages in opment of engineering itself.

## Technocracy started out as a fad

and rapidly is being transformed and exclusiveness. Technocracy This conception is utterly false. has made every effort at mystery Man has progressed not merely and secrecy, expressed in its lanthru improved mechanics, thru guage, ideas and methods. How Technocracy is a self-sufficient greater production of energy, but we come to the exclusiveness. The system of ideas. It contains a cri- also thru better social organiza- scientific utopia which we were "from the stand-point of its geologic set-up, equipment, personnel, competent and ready to inaugurate a new era in the life of man." Not having this geologic set-up, etc., the people of the rest of the world are doomed to either extinction or a return to medieval conditions.
This is a sort of technocratic Montinental area"! With Mexico? With with South America? Canada is, of course, included. A nice little imperialist dream covered with engineering terms and utopian prom-

The working class in Germany, in England, in Italy, in France, in the Soviet Union, the millions of tinent to another. Changes in class toilers in China, India, Africa relations were the primary movers technocracy has no future for them.

They do not fit into its engineering tion or consumption. The complete strait-jacket. The international omission of class relations from character of capitalism, of the the canvas leaves us a frame with class struggle, of imperialism, havout the picture. The technocrats ing converted the world into an in-Iternational system of economy and one nation by another on the basis established the basis of internationof a higher energy-level. (Chase al working class solidarity, have thus explains the conquest of the also made possible the overthrow Incas and Aztecs by Spaniards.) of the system of capitalism on a But in that case, what is the ex- world scale and the erection of a planation of the conquest of a na- world socialist society. As in all tion (or civilization) at a higher other questions, technocracy would energy-level by one at a lower one? destroy the international solidarity How explain the conquest of Rome of the working class, eliminate the by the barbarians? How explain struggle against imperialism and (Continued on Page 8)

## Against The Sabotage Of The Union Burocrats! WHY THE ORGANIZATION DRIVE WAS CALLED OFF

We publish below a statement

Circle.—Editor. The much-advertised organizawould be done during this season

Why The Failure? Why is it that in the face of

their parliamentary strength show should be acquainted with the this. When Mussolini triumphed in 1922 he had only 22 deputies in a long the parliamentary strength show should be acquainted with the conference with the Association, the Joint Board, upon the recombendary of 525 (22 the beside of the conference with the Joint Board, upon the recombendary of 525 (22 the beside of the conference with the Joint Board, upon the recombendary of 525 (22 the beside of the conference with the Joint Board, upon the recombendary of 525 (22 the beside of the conference with the Joint Board, upon the recombendary of 525 (22 the beside of the conference with the Joint Board, upon the recombendary of 525 (22 the beside of the conference with the Joint Board, upon the recombendary of the laid bare the laid this. When Mussolini triumphed in 1922 he had only 22 deputies in a chamber of 535 (on the basis of the elections of 1921); in the musch on Rome hardly more than 50,000 Black-Shirts took part. Possessed of much greater parliamentary tradition than the German bourgeoisie, having held power for a much longer time, the Italian bourgeoisie was quite anx-bourgeoisie with the Association, the Joint Board, upon the recommendation of Hochman, who claim-mendation of Hochman, who claim-mendation of President on the Association of President Dubinsky, made a decision with the Joint Board and edistion of President Dubinsky, made a decision to deliver shops has been proved

apparatus to them. When, in the fall of 1922, the Italian bourgeoization department. The shop chair-

In view of the fact that Local

of marching Black- begin the campaign or to make it Shirts did the government give up its resistance and Mussolini was tensive scale. In spite of the decinamed Premier.

Instead of carrying out the decision for a more aggressive stand against the Association and begin

From the Suppressed Statement of N. N. Roy on Trial for Treason Before Sessions Court, Cawnpore, India. With an Introduction by

— 10с а сору reductions for bundle orders

51 West 14th Street

According to this interpretation, Mussolini was able to carry thru his coup d'etat, his march on Rome, because the Fascist movement was assigned to Brooklyn to conduct the drive there along the old lines, with the "professional" committees.

Thus the Joint Board nullified its drive also had another objective, to

decision to rid the union of these "professionals", who are pests in the union, but merely transferred them from one corner of the union to another. Such sabotage of the decisions and of the work of the organization committee went on in

membership of the two organization drive? The dressmakers when they took power and ization drive? The dressmakers when they took power and ization drive? The dressmakers when a new partnership scheme where a new partnership scheme where a new partnership is the discussion, ripped the false

## "I Accuse!"

M. N. ROY

ASWANI KUMAR SHARMA

Order thru the

WORKERS AGE New York City

bitterly drawn out process.

And in Germany? Already the

## The Drive Is Killed

In the face of the hardships that confronted with this season, particularly the lack of work in the shops, this sabotage on the part of the Joint Board made it impos-

dressmakers, thru the building up of a rank and file organization department, thru an aggressive stand against the employers associations and thru an uncompromising struggle against the union burocracy, can the workers find a

way out of the present chaos in the ndustry. TOM MOONEY'S LETTER (Continued from Page 3)

this great working class undertaking as is humanly possible. appreciation for the international ganizations of various political solidarity expressed in the many views could be rallied. messages you have relayed to me from our comrades in Germany. I

### eignty . . . The war between the North and South . . . is a mere tariff war, a war between a system of protection and the system of free trade, England standing

The Red Herring Of Free Trade This brilliant discovery was reserved for the "Times." The "Ecothe "Examiner," "Saturday Review," and tutti quanti developed the theme farther. It is characteristic of this discovery that it was not made at Charleston but at London. In America, everyone naturally knows must we do to attain such a societhat from 1846 to 1861 a free trade ty. Nothing! It seems that the tariff prevailed and that Repre- mere desire to have it will eventsentative Morrill put his protective ually bring it about. The technotariff thru Congress in 1861 only crats scorn political action, econafter the rebellion had broken out. omic action, demonstrations,

The palliative reasons are essentially as follows: The war between

North and South is a tariff war.

Moreover, the war has no prin-

question and turns, in fact, upon the desire of the North for sover-

naturally on the side of free trade.

Shall the slaveowner enjoy all the

fruits of slave labor, or shall he be

cheated out of a part of it by the

protectionists of the North? That

is the question involved in thi

Secession, then, did not take strikes—any form of struggle. place because the Morrill Tariff They deny the need of a social had been passed in Congress. But, agency to change this society in-at best, the Morrill Tariff was to their own. A few more pertinent

sive... The question of the principle of the American Civil War is answered by the battle-cry with which the South broke the peace. Stephens, the Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy, declared in the Secession Congress that what essentially distinguished the newlyhatched constitution at Montage in the fact of exploitation as a significant constitution at Montage in the fact of exploitation as a significant constitution at Montage in the fact of exploitation as a significant constitution at ment is measured thruout the entire continental area" is to state an great transformation in humanity's energy-level, resulting in the pressent property relations have existed in the sent high level of 150,000 kilogram stantly and efficiently. The advocates of capitalism will assert that what essentially distinguished the newlyhatched constitution at Montage in the fact of exploitation as the continental area" is to state an great transformation in humanity's energy-level, resulting in the pressent high level of 150,000 kilogram stantly and efficiently. The advocates of capitalism will assert that what essentially distinguished the newlyhatched constitution at Montage in class and contage in class are continental area" is to state an great transformation in humanity's energy-level, resulting in the pressent high level of 150,000 kilogram stantly and efficiently. The advocates of capitalism will assert that what essentially distinguished the newlyhatched constitution at Montage in class and contage in class are contaged in the same great transformation in humanity's energy-level. Different property energy-level, resulting in the pressent high level of 150,000 kilogram stantly and efficiently. The advocates of capitalism will assert that what energy-level area and contage in the same co essentially distinguished the newly-hatched constitution at Mont-gomery from the constitution of the Washingtons and Jeffersons was that now, for the first time, North drew its sword for the stroying shop windows, parks, mudefense of the Union, had not the seums, and buildings. A pretty South already declared that the utopia for a quavering petty bour-

## by Herbert Zam

The Newest "Substitute" For Communism

TECHNOCRACY AND THE WORKING CLASS

geois—a deceitful illusion for a history. There is no room for so militant worker. The emancipa- cial changes, only for mechanical tion of the working class can be the work of the working class class changes accompanied by changes in alone. It can have no truck with the means of the production or into a cult. Among the requireanything which counsels passivity, utilization of mechanical energy ments of a cult must be mystery inaction and submission—the trade (not human energy). marks of technocracy.

at best, the Morrill Tariff was passed in Congress because secession had taken place. When, in 1831, South Carolina had its first which we were to the passed in Congress because secession had taken place. When, in the technocrats. What will happen to proposal for another one and an interpretation of history, all based to private ownership of the means to private ownership of the means to proposal for another one and an interpretation of history, all based to private ownership of the means to proposal for another one and an interpretation of history, all based to private ownership of the means to proposal for another one and an interpretation of history, all based to private ownership of the means the point about energy level (150,000 kilogram callon). sion had taken place. When, in 1831, South Carolina had its first fit of secession, the protective tariff of 1828, to be sure, served it as a pretext but only as a pretext, as is known from a statement made by General Jackson. This time, however, the old pretext was, in fact, not reneated. At the Secesin fact, not repeated. At the Secession Congress at Montgomery, they
in terms of dollars man-hours or sion Congress at Montgomery, they avoided every reference to the tariff question because the sugar cultivation of Louisiana, one of the cultivation of Louisiana, one of the cultivation of Courtboar states will that social mechanism he estimated by the first of the history of the change from one of the third of the history of the change from one of the industrial revealed to a higher one. The original energy-level of man (the human machine) was 2,000 kilo-human machine) was 2,000 ki

most influential of Southern states, rests entirely upon protection.

\* \* \* \*

Slavery The Key To The Situation

Above all it must be remembered that the war did not emanate from the North but from the states and the would consist of units commensurate from the North but from the states in the chanism for doing so. How most influential of Southern states, will that social mechanism be established? Who will run it? On what basis will these certificates be issued? Merely to say, as do the technocrats, that "individual income under technological control would consist of units commensurate from the North but from the states are the chanism for doing so. How will that social mechanism be established? Who will run it? On what basis will these certificates be issued? Merely to say, as do the technocrats, that "individual income under technological control would consist of units commensurate from the North but from the states of the technological say. With the gram calories per day. With the gram calories per day. With the gram calories per day. With the discovery of a few simple tools, man's energy rose to 4,000 kilogram discovery of a few simple tools, man's energy rose to 4,000 kilogram discovery of a few simple tools, man's energy rose to 4,000 kilogram discovery of a few simple tools, man's energy rose to 4,000 kilogram discovery of a few simple tools, man's energy rose to 4,000 kilogram discovery of a few simple tools, man's energy rose to 4,000 kilogram discovery of a few simple tools, man's energy rose to 4,000 kilogram discovery of a few simple tools, man's energy rose to 4,000 kilogram and the discovery of a few simple tools, man's energy rose to 4,000 kilogram and the discovery of a few simple tools, man's energy rose to 4,000 kilogram and the discovery of a few simple tools, man's energy rose to 4,000 kilogram and the discovery of a few simple tools, man's energy rose to 4,000 kilogram and the discovery of a few simple tools, man's energy rose to 4,000 kilogram and the discovery of a few simple tools, man's South. The North is on the defen-South. The North is on the defensive... The question of the principle of the American Civil War is

slavery was recognized as an Technocracy promises permanent institution good in itself and as prosperity and great leisure (to the foundation of the entire state the chosen people of the American structure, while the Revolutionary continent) without the necessity of Fathers, men possessed with the lifting a finger in its attainment. prejudices of the eighteenth cen- without the sordid business of tury, had treated slavery as an strikes, demonstrations, Hunger evil imported from England and to Marches, political campaigns, revobe removed in the course of time. | lution, without coming into con-Another matadore of the South, flict with the "law", without break-Mr. Spratt, called out: "For us it ing friendly relations with one's is a question of founding a great boss, without arousing your neigh-slave-republic . . . " If, then, the bor's ire, without injuring or de-

Technocracy As A System

THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, by Jay Lovestone OME PLAIN WORDS ON COMMUNIST UNI-TY, by Ben Gitlow THE HERITAGE OF THE CIVIL WAR, by Will FOR REVOLUTION, by

V. F. Calverton

Reductions for bundle orders

here, not changes in energy producpresumably explain the conquest of

he destruction of slave civilization

A confinement of slavery within

the poor whites. With the principle

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

According to technocracy, histor-

From Fad To Cult

# The C.P. Opposition on the United Front

We publish below the theses on the united front recently adopted mmunist Opposition (I.V.K.O.)

1. The purpose of the proletarian united front must be the common struggle of the masses of the Social interests against capital, against self ready to accept, under certain the bourgeois state and the capital-circumstances, the "non-aggression"

For the organization of this common struggle of the masses it is necessary that the Communist and Social-democratic parties, in spite munists are possible only if both of their differences in principle, sides have full freedom to present reach agreements for the execution their fundamental principles, and of common actions for definite demands. These common actions must within the limits of the discipline be of an extra-parliamentary character (meetings, demonstrations, strike, etc.), because only in aggression pact", however, would this way can the broad masses of signify that the Communists were the workers be really mobilized and ready to given up the maintenance set into motion, because only in this way can real improvements in These fundamental principles de
It is the task of the Communists to extermination of the Fascist will be magnified a thousand-fold dictatorship against all proletarian when 200,000 starving men will be the conditions of the workers be won from capitalism. Joint parliamentary actions can only be an auxiliary to the extra-parliamen-

The Purpose Of The United Front 2. The purpose of the international agreements on the proletarian united front must be the carrying thru of common actions in the individual countries. International "decisions of struggle," formed without the simultaneous initiation of common struggles of to an address by Jay Lovestone on all workers in the individual coun- the crisis in Germany. Many worktries on the most burning issues, ers were turned away for lack of would be a deception of the masses. space.

Such decisions would necessarily be condemned to remain on paper. 3. Agreements between leading John Reed Club were among those committees are a means for the setting up of the proletarian united representation from the C.P. Befront but are not enough in them- sides, the meeting also attracted selves for that purpose; rather quite a number of workers who are must the workers and their organ-member of bona-fide unions in the izations everywhere enter into city. Scores of questions were relations and create organs of the asked. Two dollars worth of united front everywhere in the "Ages" were sold. More than 25 few. We are making plans for a therefore be the subject of a meetindividual factories and localities. workers left their names and ad- hall and hope to make a success." In agreements reached between dresses to be called in to future leading committees there must be discussions. provided for the creation of organs of the united front.

The Objects Of The United Front 4. As the objects of various united fronts on a national and inter-

of capital, against unemployment; organizer writes us: international coordination and support of the struggles of the work- work in the different sections. We ers of the individual countries called a meeting last Sunday Febagainst the offensive of capital. b. International struggle against leaflets. In spite of the rainy wea-

Fascism is today the most presther and intimidation of the police, sing task; united struggle of the we had seventy-five American German workers against the Hitler workers present at this open-air terror. International support of the meeting. Eighteen became mem-Italian, German and other workers, groaning under the yoke of asked us to hold another meeting Fascism. Sharpest struggle against the following Sunday in order to the demoralizing efforts of the so-thereafter for ten weeks. The

Union. Rejection of all military credits in bourgeois states. Joint demonstrations against imperialist war preparations and war-mongering. Actions to prevent the export of munitions for the purpose of

imperialist war.
d. International struggle against the imperialist peace treaties, against the imperialist debt agree-

many years and have attacked the Communist Opposition in the sharpest manner because it defended the policy of the proletarian

## Declaration of the International Buro

lightenment activity is the constant criticism and refutation of the

Social-democratic conception that

the working class can achieve its

emancipation within the frame

work of the parliamentary-demo-

cratic bourgeois state. The Com-

munists must, therefore, never

cease for an instant their struggle

of principle against the Social-

democracy. The proposal of a "non-

aggression pact" is nothing but a manouver of the Social-democracy

with which to hide its opposition to

any joint struggle of the masses.

The Communist Opposition at Work

LOVESTONE SPEAKS to acquaint themselves with our in the United Clothing Workers

out of every dollar goes for over-

consisting of four hundred mem-

From the standpoint of Comnunism we regard it as impermisdemocratic and Communist work- sible for the Executive of the Comers in defense of their rights and munist International to declare itpact" of Social-democrats and Com-munists proposed by the Socialist International. Common actions of the Social-democrats and the Comthis signifies mutual criticism

IN PHILA.

More than 250 jammed the hall at

the Brith Sholem building to listen

The entire Trotsky group of five

SAN ANTONIO MOVES

FORWARD!

The San Antonio unit is contin-

"We have aiready begun our

San Antonio, Texas.

Philadelphia, Pa.

of the ultra-left rejection of these | mand of the Communists that they, | workers as to the character everywhere and at all times, strive these manouvers and not to let decisive international and natioal convince the working masses of themselves be misled by these very organizations of the workers partthe necessity of struggle against same manouvers. the bourgeois state and for the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship. A part of this en-

The I.V.K.O. And The United

Front
6. The I.V.K.O. calls upon the Social-democratic and Communist workers to have their leading committees realize the proletaria united front. In order to effect this and to create the practical beginnings of the proletarian united front, united front bodies should immediately be set up everywhere (Continued from Page 3) in the individual factories, local-They are sent back destitute, tired organized actions initiated as far as pessible.

7. In view of the triumph of It is the task of the Communists to Fascism in Germany and the war of extermination of the Fascist will be magnified a thousand-fold

organizations, in view further of the growing danger of imperialist war, the I.V.K.O. considers as urgently necessary the immediate convocation of a conference of the ies for the establishment of the proletarian united front on an international and national scale. At such a conference, the I.V.K.O. willi defend the conceptions out-

(Continued from Page 3)

The Menace For Labor very pleased with our work. They remarked that in comparison with the two classes. The attendance of And now, under a revised

And now, under a revised bill the whole relief program will be left to Roosevelt. The original \$1 a day will be changed to a "cash allowance." This will be an undecided amount and will perhaps be less than \$1 a day, if we are to learn anything from Camp Blue-

The new "employment" measure will employ the men not only for reforestation, but also in flood-

demand immediate jobless relief and unemployment insurance. A united effort of all the workers,

## MARXISM CLASS IN **CHICAGO**

Chicago, Ill Students of Marxism, workers vishing to improve their Marxian nowledge, as well as those wishng to become acquainted with the Marxian system of ideas, are urged to enroll in the class in THE THEORETICAL SYSTEM OF MARXISM which will begin in asked us to hold another meeting arations, we also had to counteract will continue every Wednesday Fascist tendencies in the countries still under bourgeois democracy.

c. Struggle against imperialist war in the Far East against the danger of a new imperialist world danger of a new imperialist world branch council.

called "united front committees of the official C.P. These "united from the official C.P with A. Rainey, 6102 Eberhardt Economic Scientific Society came "Our comrades are also working Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

### head, we were doing splendid work. Also spether delegation composed ZAM TO SPEAK IN Also, another delegation composed of Negroes, led by Rev. E. M. CHICAGO Wright, came to our headquarters members and practically the entire to ask for information and asked Chicago, Ill. The recent victory of Fascism in our council to organize their group

bourgeois relief work, where 42% both classes is about 50 students.

Germany, the reign of terror against the Communists, the labor ovement generally and the Jews, "Our great disadvantage is in the the threatening war danger resultfact that we haven't enough people ing from the new situation, have o organize the different groups. focused the attention of the entire The burden of the work falls on a world upon Germany. This will ing arranged by the Communist Party (Opposition) in Chicago at which Herbert Zam, national or-ganizer of the C. P. O. will speak.

## THE OPPOSITION IN MONTREAL Montreal, Canada.

"The unit in Montreal is going national scale, we propose:

The San Antonio unit is contin- ahead more substantially after a using to make real headway. The slow start. The comrades have been active in the cloakmakers strike which was mishandled i typical fashion by the I.L.G.W.U. reactionary burocracy. None of the International leaders found it nec-

ruary 26 for which we distributed essary to visit Montreal and address the strikers. The financial aid given by them was pitifully small. In this strike in which our comrades were very active on the picket line and in the strike prep-

"A delegation representing the makers.

# For One Union in the Needle Trades

against the imperialist debt agreements, for the right of self-determination of the oppressed peoples.

\* \* \*

(Continued from page 3)

ried thru so that the one union should be a part of the main stream of the American labor movement.

Before it adopted the dual unionist policy, the left The C. I. And The United Front

5. The I.V.K.O. declares that the laddren of V.K.O. declares that the leaders of the Communist Inter- wing to be within the American Federation of Labor national, who have rejected the method of the united front for so imperative today as it was ever before.

united front, have now taken a I believe that if both sides would sincerely desire step in the direction of the united to do away with the present chaos and bring about

leadership, because it is afraid that the influx of left wingers might unseat it. In spite of these obstacles, we are proposing this plan to the dress-makers so that they should initiate a movement so strong and exert a pressure so great as to compel the leadership of both unions to carry thru this unification immediately. It must be done now so as to provide first effective means for the mobilization of the dressmakers for a general strike in the industry to wipe out the present intolerable conditions. The establishment of one union in the trade would arouse the old militant spirit of the dressmakers, would arouse a new enthusiasm among the workers, would give them a new hope, and would bring such a readiness to struggle, would overcome front tactics in their answer to the proposals of the Socialist International, but only after the victory of Fascism in Germany had given trial Union leadership, because it still adheres to fearful proof of the harmfulnessthe dual unionist policy, and the International all obtacles in the way, bring back union conditions

March, 1933.

### FORCED LABOR IN NEW YORK

ties, districts and regions, etc., and and broken, but they have been "rehabilitated."

separated from their families and received by the army. General Mac Arthur, when asked about the ntended supervision of the men, stated that the army would receive liminary guidance" and, to quote him: "If they don't behave we him: "If they don't behave we would drop them." In other words work. We gave them literature and explained the nature of our work to them. They went away

and other public projects which had formerly employed laborers at \$4 or \$5 a day. It is not at all impossible that many of the men will be assigned to building and maintenance work in the War

The meeting will take place on Sunday afternoon, April 16 at 2:30 strength and power to compare the Sunday afternoon, April 16 at 2:30 form of "relief"—really forced labor. The 13,000,000 unemployed immediate jobless The workers must exert all employed and unemployed to obtain this relief must be successful!

> — In The Next Issue MARXISM — LENINISM

STALINISM" (The Birth of New "Ism") by Bertram D. Wolfe

THE UNITED YOUTH CONFERENCE AGAINST WAR by Eva Stone

WHAT IS REAL AMERICANISM? by Harry H. Conner

## "What Is the Communist Opposition?"

by B. D. WOLFE

10 cents In bundles of ten or more 7 cents

WORKERS AGE 51 West 14th Street New York City

The Nature Friends is the Amer-(Continued from page 3) | Beck, one of the chain store ican section of an international organization with a membership of 170,000 workers in twenty-one countries, consisting of 1700 local The shoe workers of Boston branches. Its international head-have established their organization quarters are in Vienna. Austria. and the results to be attained are The American organization consists

question and was adopted by them and the settlement committee was instructed to sign. The settlement do not and allow their agents to mountains and forest a welcome carried was the following: (1) Recarried was the following: (1) Re- weaken and not maintain the relaxation, so that hiking as an cognition of the union. Work to be rights of the membership, then the organized sport is as natural as value of their organization will be baseball.

Immediately after the settlement the bosses began to try out the union by discharging workers. A in most cases have grown to be (3) All "yellow-dog" agreements to be abolished and all security held by the manufacturers to be elected by the general strike complete to act for the union until to act for the union until workers. In this way the N. F. paid back. (4) The prices (wages) mittee to act for the union until to be arbitrated by the State Board the locals and their officials have become established, with William Seligman as chairman and Henry Due to the fact that the workers Lang to assist in the capacity of were more interested at this time agent. They are now handling the heautiful regions suited for hiking in establishing organization and grievances. The shoe workers of Boston have built by the members themselves organized and now they must see for an admirable spirit of solid-

to it that they elect the best pos- arity and endurance prevails in the August 1, 1933, as, at that time, sible people to represent them and groups. the new season would be starting, and, with organization stabilized, do represent them. A union that The American section possesses they would be in a position to dedces not protect the worker on the at the present time eleven such sections each political viewpoint is mand wages that would give them job can not last. The union will strongholds for hiking. sports and permitted fullest expression. a chance for an "American standard of living" One by one the

## ACME MIMEOGRAPH CO.

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For the encouragement of hiking

organization as a whole has acquired some 400 Nature Friends homes" and shelters in all counbeautiful regions suited for hiking. Practically all these houses were

least call a little space their own. cultural program, in the form of all over the world were expelled rather than help destroy our Com-To these who have grown up in cities of millions, and who seldon have ventured into some nearby park or picnic ground, these parts of real country and montains are the purpose of educating members and other workers in the light of stairs by the strong-arm gangsters but Mr. Prokopos, who, after he had gone thru the Lenin School, like magic.

camps and to satisfy the modern necessity of building labor sport; trend for sports, especially among and cultural centers as against the younger generation, more and more athletic activities were the bosses the Nature Friends ex-adopted by the organization. The tends a hearty welcome. Write to organizational committees are mak- Nature Friends Headquarters, 12 movement for the revolutionary ing great efforts at the present time to get into the Nature Friends | mation. more workers and hope thereby to

## New England Shoe Workers About the Nature Gangsterism in the Jugo-Slav Workers Club

New York City.

For more than a decade the Jugo-Slav Workers Club has been ran away with the money given the city. in existence and never before has him) made a motion that all the club been in such great diffi- "counter-revolutionary renegades culties. Since the Communist Party changed its line to the mechanical domination of workers clubs, it has This proposition was placed before the shoe workers who met in
shop crew meetings to consider the
control and was adopted by them

The Settlement up to them. Their organization will of sixteen local branches.

The Nature Friends began as a been making one blunder after anhands if they keep the same hiking organization. It sprang this populated and poority, as a result of the new turning to the meeting to the meeting to the meeting of sixteen local branches.

The Nature Friends began as a been making one blunder after anhands if they keep the same hiking organization. It sprang to the meeting of sixteen local branches.

The Nature Friends began as a been making one blunder after anhands if they keep the same hiking organization. It sprang to the meeting to the meeting of sixteen local branches.

The Nature Friends began as a been making one blunder after anhands if they keep the same hiking organization. It sprang to the meeting to the meeting to the meeting of sixteen local branches.

The Nature Friends began as a been making one blunder after anhands if they keep the same to member got up and put the followity, as a result of the neal. But before the most of sixteen local branches.

The Nature Friends began as a been making one blunder after anhands if they keep the same to member got up and put the followity, as a result of the neal. But before the most of sixteen local branches.

The Nature Friends began as a been making one blunder after anwould like to ask what Comrade the party leaders are now trying Hathaway thinks of the motion. hypocritically to show that they Hathaway got up and informed the are not dominating the club but in meeting that he had discussed the essence their tactics are the same question many times with members as before and even worse because of the club, with party members

of the confusion they sow.

Some time ago, the leaders of the Jugo-Slav Workers Club issued a call for a general free discussion for ex-members and sympathizers. This meeting took place on March 23, 1933, with Hathaway as the main speaker. Just before Hathaway took the floor, a certain personage (he had been sent by the

further the character of the organization, so that its growth and future will be a greater factor in The Nature Friends members are class conscious but the organ-

ization is non-partisan. Within the picked some of the most beautiful the task of offering its members nature spots where workers can at and friends a thoro educational and

In order to make full use of the been outlined, and who realize the those institutions maintained by stand that, in spite of all terror

Harry D. Rubenstein.

and with sympathizers and that, if there were any "Lovestoneites" or

"Trotskvites" present at the meeting, they should be treated as police spies, even if they were not police spies. Right after this, A. Sandrin got up and demanded the floor for five minutes. The burocrats gave the signal and about twenty strong-arm men fell upon Comrade Sandrin, overpowered him and threw him downstairs. When this happened, many good, old members left the meeting in protest and many who remained were disgusted. They knew that Comrade Sandrin has been in the movement for eighteen years and has passed thru many hardships and many sacrifices for the movement. But, three years ago, when the new sectarian line went into effect, he The organization has set itself was convinced that it was dangerous and he took his stand against the purpose of educating members munist Party. He is thrown downested in such activities as have been outlined, and who realize the country to do Communist work, is

a "loyal Communist!"
And Mr. Hathaway should under-East 17 Street, N. Y. C. for infor- organization of the workers, will

A Jugo-Slav Worker

## FOR LABOR UNITY AGAINST FASCISM!

Are Fighting!

ization, offering to sign the same systems in the shoe trade.

agreement that had been agreed to

The Settlement

done in the factories only by mem-bers of the National Shoe Workers

Association. (2) All contract jobs in the factories to be abolished.

of Conciliation and Arbitration, to

Due to the fact that the workers

did not demand or get any materi-

al increases in their wages, the

agreements were signed to expire

ard of living." One by one, the other bosses joined in and signed

with the union until Saturday,

March 18, four days after the general strike had been called,

One firm, the Gold Seal Cor

poration, which has other factor-

ies in several places, two of which

are in Newburyport and were on

strike under the Shoe Workers Protective Union, held out and put

up a struggle. This crew, which

was being directed by Bixby, stood

single waverer, and the Gold Seal

was forced to sign, on Friday, March 24. The Gold Seal makes

shoes for and is controlled by A. S

together like a man, without a

sixteen firms had signed.

seventeen manufacturers in

(Continued from Page 1) officials and the Socialist leaders.

THE TURN MUST BE EVALUATED

2. If the new turn is to be effective, must be openly and honestly recognized as a sharp change in policy and so evaluated. It is impossible to attack a certain policy one day as "counter-revolutionary" and then adopt it the next day, as if nothing had ever happened—and yet expect the new policy to be taken seriously by the Communists and the workers as a whole. There can be no successful united front unless the nonparty workers are convinced that it is meant

Towards the middle of 1929, the authoritative spokesman of the Communist Inter- | change in tactical line, unfortunately leaves national, Comrade Manuilsky, declared, in the door open to the thoroly discredited

"Let us consider the question of the for the majority of the working class."

Just about one year later, towards the middle of 1930, Comrade Molotov, reporting on the Communist International at the XV congress of the C.P.S.U., told us that "the essence of the tactics of 'class against class' consists in the rejection of all alliances with the Social-democracy. Only three years ago, the Communist Parties still used to make these temporary alliances with the Social-democracy but the transition to the ers against Fascism.'

today that its recent Manifesto represents no change of course! For the sake of the absolutely necessary political clarification without which no Communist action is possible, for the sake of the very effective execution of the turn, for the sake of gaining the confidence of the workers in the genuineness of the new turn, the radical character of the change of policy must be openly stated and brought home to all party members and workers.

## NO "UNITED FRONT FROM BELOW"

3. If the new turn is to be effective, it must be made whole-heartedly and without any reservations. The Manifesto of the E.C.C.I. while marking a generally welcome his main report at the X Plenum of the tactics of the "united front from below." E.C.C.I.: diately and without waiting for the results of the negotiations and agreements with the the words of the 1922 theses of the Execu- change in line; tactics of the united front. We have never considered it as a formula for everybody, for all times and peoples. Today we are stronger and we proceed to and with workers of other persuasions." It tered into between the separate sections of more aggressive methods in the struggle is necessary to emphasize that this is no the Communist International and the parmore nor less than the old tactics of the ties of the Second and Two-and-a-Half In-'united front from below." If such a policy ternationals, it certainly cannot desist now is to be carried out it will make impossible from entering into similar agreements on any real united front at all and the whole an international scale." No real united new turn will become a mere deceptive world struggle against Fascism is possible trick that will ost our movement dear in except on the basis of a definite united the confidence of the workers and our pres- front agreement reached by the leaderships tige among them.

cannot be restricted to one field or branch of tactics; it must be made general. Is it tactics of 'class against class' has liquidated all such alliances." Commenting on the appeal to the A.F. of L. and yet continue political results of the XI Plenum of the E.C.C.I., "Pravda" (April 24, 1931) went even farther. "There can be no block," it it possible to advocate a real united front policy and yet FOR THE SEVENTH C.I. CONGRESS declared, "with the Social-democratic work- stage such spectacles as the recent Albany York "Free Mooney conference," examples tactics raised by the Manifesto of the In the face of these and countless similar declarations it is the sheerest self-deception for the Communist International to insist

Of sectarianism run mad? There must be a rock-bottom change all along the line or else the new turn will only add to the condiscussed in the light of our past experi-

fusion and chaos, will only intensify the ences and of our future tasks. They are

## FOR COMMUNIST UNITY!

If the new turn is to be genuine, i must be accompanied by a movement for ment, now split and divided. If the tactics roposed for so many years by the Comnunist Opposition are now to be adopted y the Communist International how can he mass expulsions of the oppositional communists be further maintained? If the Communist Oppositionists are "renegades" and "counter-revolutionists" how can the tactics which they have championed for years now be adopted? In the present grave situation, we again appeal to the Central Committee of the Communist Party to take up the question of Communist unity, to appoint a committee to discuss with a similar committee of ours the unification of our movement, on the basis of the restoration of party democracy, the readmission of the expelled and the calling of an emergency

of the Communist and Socialist Internationals. An effective united front policy tional agreement with the Social-democracy on the issues of fighting against Fascism and the capitalist reaction.

The many grave questions of policy and

problems that involve the life and work not only of our party but of the whole Communist International. Such a basic political discussion is all the more necessary in order to prevent the loss of many party members who have been only too well "educated" by four years of the theory and practise of ultra-left sectarianism and who will now find it very difficult indeed to readjust themselves to the sharp change of policy. For all these reasons, we strongly urge the immediate convocation of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, already overdue more than three years, to be preceded by a special convention of our party. If these congresses are to mean anything in the life and development of our movement, they must be organized on the basis of real party democracy, with the guarantee of full freedom of expression of opinion for all tendencies. The previous readmission on a world scale of all comrades expelled for opposing the ultra-left course, on the basis of agreement with the fundamental principles of Communism and pledge to abide by party discipline rooted essential for any really fruitful discussion in 6. Finally, it must be emphasized, in the Comintern, for any basic and effective

## TWO ROADS

Comrades! The Comintern and our party stand at the parting of the ways. One road leads to the rehabilitation and reunification of our movement, to the restoration of its political influence and its organizational strength, to the establishment of an effective fighting front of labor against Fascism and capitalist reaction! The other road leads to an intensification of the sectarianism, isolation and political confusion that have brought our movement to the brink of ruin, to the further discredit of Communism among the masses, to the even greater disunity and demoralization of labor under the blows of capital! We call upon you to appreciate the gravity of the crisis in time, to unite and to consolidate our forces so as to guarantee that our movement takes the first road—the road to victory!

National Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY of the U.S.A. (Opposition)

## Workers Age

Published Twice Monthly by the
Workers Age Pub. Assn., 51 West 14 Street, 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. 12.

April 15, 1933.

### NAZI POGROMS AND JEWISH BANKERS

THE murderous outrages perpetrated upon thousands of Jews in Germany by the power-drunk Nazis must meet with the severest condemnation of all freedom-loving people the world over. The Communists, and the labor organizations generally, should be in the front ranks of any genuine protest movement against the brutal anti-Semitic persecutions of the Hitlerites.

All the more vital is it, therefore, that the militant labor organizations keep clear of any movement which, under the cloak of sympathy for the suffering Jews in Germany, really constitutes an obstacle in any effective action of protest and defense. Of such a character is the movement recently initiated by the American Jewish Congress. Pretending to be a "broad people's movement". it is really inspired, organized and completely dominated by the reactionary clique of big Jewish capitalists, bankers, financiers and merchants These very same personages, whose hearts are publicly bleeding for their fellow-Jews in Germany, are privately, in the way of business, negotiating loans for the Hitler murder government and are cementing more firmly their relations with the big Jewish capitalists of Germany, who are today shamelessly defending Hitler and condoning the murder of their own people. No movement under their control and leadership can hope to release that independent mass force and free popular energy that alone can generate an effective protest against the pogroms in Germany, that alone can guarantee the integrity of the movement in the face of the shameless manouvers of Hitler and his friends in the American State Department. How can the Jewish bankers lead a fight against Hitlerism when they condone, if not welcome, the murderous repressions against the labor movement? How can the Jewish bankers lead a fight against racial persecution when they are as silent as death about the lynching, jimcrowing and other atrocities committed against the Negroes in this country of ours? No truck with the reactionary Jewish bankers, who are the enemies of labor and of the Jewish people! This must be the slogan of the Jewish workers in this country.

It was certainly a big mistake for the Workmen's Circle and other Jewish labor organizations to participate in the conference called by these financial friends of Hitler, disguised as "friends of the Jewish people." It was an even greater opportunistic mistake of the official Communist Party to have its auxiliary, the International Workers Order, send delegates to this conference with the avowed objective of setting a movement in the grip of the bankers "on the right track!" The very same people, who shudder in their purity at a united front with the Socialists or with conservative unions, rush headlong into the arms of Wall Street.

A broad, popular movement against anti-Semitism in Germany must indeed be organized, a movement embracing the masses of the Jewish workers, of the lower middle classes, of the intellectuals. But such a movement will mean anything effective only if it is established under the hegemony of the Jewish working class, only if the Jewish labor organizations are in the vanguard of the movement, only if the Jewish bankers as a group are taken for what they are, at bottom the enemies of the Jewish people.

## FOR A UNITED MAY DAY!

THE heroic tradition of the proletarian struggle has raised May Day into a universal manifestation of international working class solidarity. May Day retains its ever-vital significance precisely because at every stage of the class war, it reflects the great issues of the proletarian struggle and arises as its indomitable symbol.

May Day 1933 is approaching under the sign of two great issues for the American workers: the struggle for the release of Tom Mooney and the movement of protest against German Fascism and for the relief and defense of the ever-growing number of victims of the Nazi terror. Under these slogans, the workers of the United States must be welded together in a solid fighting front, without regard to race, color, religion or present political opinion. May Day—the day of labor solidarity for Tom Mooney and the German working class!

Nothing would dramatize more effectively the power and inspiration of a united labor front than a great UNITED MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION, organized and supported jointly by Communist and Socialist parties, by trade unions, by all labor organizations ready to defend their interests thru unity and action. An end must be made to the spectacle of separate and mutually antagonistic May Day meetings, under Socialist and Communist auspices, which make it impossible for the mass of the workers, who are affiliated with neither side, to participate in what should be a demonstration of labor solidarity. The very meaning of May Day is completely stultified if the labor organizations are ready to parade their inability to put up a common front against the enemy, at least on this day of international solidarity.

If the sharp turn indicated in the March 5 Manifesto of the Communist International is to mean anything more than a phrase, it is now up to the Communist Party of the United States to take the initiative in calling upon the Socialist Party and the trade unions for a joint May Day demonstration on the issues indicated. Only the continued retention of the suicidal sectarianism of the last four years in the face of an alleged change of policy, can account for any refusal on the part of the C.P. leadership to take this most obvious and necessary step.

On the other hand, if the Socialist Party wants its repeated assurances that it has the cause of labor unity at heart to be taken seriously, it must itself place no obstacle in the way of realizing a united May Day demonstration; it must, on the contrary, welcome the idea and show thru action that its deeds correspond to its words!

# C. P. - Opposition Accepts United Front Offer

### **Declaration Of National Committee**

March 30, 1933.
To the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the U.S.A.
Dear Comrades:

In reply to the appeal for united action made by the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A. to the national committees of the various labor organizations of this country, as published in the "Daily Workers" of March 30, the National Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. (Opposition) wishes to declare its wholehearted acceptance of the proposal.

We are very glad indeed to note that the Central Committee has at last come to see the vital necessity of united labor action against capital. We feel that the only way in which the last four years of lost time can be made up for is by a vigorous and clear prosecution of the policy of the united front on all fields of working class struggle. As you are aware, the Communist Opposition stands committed by its very program to this task and we pledge ourselves to throw all our energies to its achievement.

For an effective policy of the united front, it is above all necessary convince the masses of the workers in the non-Communist labor organizations of the sincerity of the offer. To maintain, as does the C.C.. that this present appeal for a united front is merely a repetition of previous offers of a similar character, that, in other words. there has been no change of line, serves merely to confirm the suspicions of many Socialists and trade unionists that the present united front call is simply another of those discredited manouvers of the past that have so seriously undermined the influence of the party within the last few years.

From this point of view would like to point out that the character of your appeal is not best calculated to achieve the end which you yourselves regard as "an imperative necessity"—"that workers organizations, the A. F. of L., the S. P., and the C. P. particularly, should join in a united effort to weld together a solid fighting front of all the toilers." It would surely be far more effective in the interests of labor unity if, instead of trying to set up one united front on all of the issues enumerated in your statement, the attempt were made to establish each united front upon a closely related group of demands directly acceptable to the workers in question. It is surely clear that there are hundreds of labor organizations that might be drawn into a genuine united front movement for the release of Tom Mooney but which are far from ready to fight against the proposed unemployment "reserves" bill. To place the second issue as a condition for united action for the first, as your statement seems to do, is surely to narrow down the possibilities of an effective united front. Many unions may be against forced labor and wage-cuts and quite ready to fight on these issues but may, on the other hand, be totally passive No on such questions as the war in the Far East. Do you insist that they join in on the latter issue pefore you will unite with them on the former? We feel that the Central Committee should make itself quite clear on this point in the interests of the broadest unity of labor possible under the circumstances.

## No "Non-Aggression Pact"!

As Communists, as adherents of the tactical principles of Leninism, we must declare that we find it impossible to agree, as does the C. C. in its statement, "to withhold all attacks upon the Socialist, A. F. of L. and other working class bodies" entering into the united front. It has always been the practise of the Communist Opposition to refrain from all forms of abuse, slander or groundless and malicious attacks upon any working class organization, whether in a united front with us or not. But to undertake to refrain from mak-

ing attacks on political adversaries in general under any circumstances is to give up your right to existence an independent organization. The very idea has been condemned repeatedly by the Communist International. It is not enough, as does the C. C., to reserve "the right of any organization . . . to freely make and discuss proposed demands and actions in the course of efforts to reach agreements." What about after agreements have been reached? What about the absolutely essential political criticism of the Socialist Party and A. F. of L. on policies not involved in the united front? Basing ourselves on the best traditions of the Com-munist International, we must declare: We are quite ready to undertake all the obligations of the discipline of action involved in a united front but we must reserve for ourselves the unconditional right of the free expression of our opinions at all times and of free criticism on all questions, the same rights being, of course, guaranteed to all other elements of the united front. We hope that you will see you way clear to breaking with your present attitude on this question, which constitutes an un-fortunate concession to the "nonaggression pact" manouvers of the ccialists, and to readopting the oft-repeated directives of the Communist International,

In spite of these disagreements, we want to reiterate our whole-hearted endorsement and support of any movement for the genuine united action of the labor movement in this country and on a world scale against the offensive of capital.

Fraternally yours
National Committee
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE
U. S. A.
(Opposition)

### TECHNOCRACY AND THE WORKERS

(Continued from Page 5) substitute the illusion of the "chosen people" for the American workers. Technocracy is no promise to the workers; it is a menace, a menace which would tie the workers hand and foot and make them helpleds, a menace to be fought and doctors and make them helpleds.

fought and destroyed. Technocracy as a phenomenon of the crisis is an expression of the exceptional development of Amercapitalism, a development which, so far, has not been under-stood by American Communists, and for lack of understanding of which Communism in this country has failed to make any appreciable progress. It is also an expression of the political backwardness of the American working class-and not only of the working class. Instead of the general, widespread nationwide radicalization, the crisis in the United States has produced techonocracy, the barter system, and the farm holiday movement. nmunism nas ranks of the workers, of the unem-ployed, but these various fads and cults. All this only indicates once more that the American workers will not be won to Communism on the basis of the blueprints drawn in Moscow, Berlin or Prinkipo. If Communists are to make headway. they must learn to understand grasp and utilize those features which are peculiar to America and which offer the key, the entering wedge to an approach to the masses of the population. And not until this is done will the Communist movement in this country become a factor in the life of the tailing masses

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HOMICIDE IN THE UNITED STATES. by H. C. Brearley, University of North Carolina Press, 1932.

In collecting and sifting the statistics concerning the extent of homicide ("the non-accidental slaying of one person by another") in the United States, the author has performed a valuable service. The presentation of the carefully arrayed facts enables one to visualize the extent to which homicide has reached in the United States. Twelve thousand per year is the estimate put forth. Comparing the figures with the other leading countries (France, England, Germany, etc.) this figure assumes even greater proportions and becomes peculiarly an American phenomenon as the following statement of the author shows: "In 141 American cities the rate (per 100,000) for 1928 was 10.4 and for 1929 it was 10.5, while for Canadian cities the corresponding figure was 1.7 for 1928 and for England and Wales it was 0.5." And in contrast to the common conception of homicide as greater in the cities an dindustrial sections, such as New York, and Chicago, the actual figures show that the South, with the bordering states on the West, have the highest number of homicides. The presence of the Negro element, maladjusted, discriminated against, viciously segregated and so on, has been a factor in the greater proportion of homicides in the South; but even after discounting this factor the South still remains at the head In this connection, the author has quite clearly pointed out the greater severity of punishment meted out to the Negro who commits homicide than to the white. And with all these homicides in the United States and the inability to meet the problem effectively, the added fact that the greater number of homicides have occurred in sections with capital punishment, makes the problem all the more complex and mystifying to the conservative student.

These facts, among many others, presented in the book demonstrate without doubt the seriousness of the problem. And thus it becoces really essential to delve into the causal connections and the conditions peculiar to the American scene that form the background and furnish the key to the solution of this social problem. The author, however, seems to be overawed by the many "possible" causes of the evil and has failed completely to present any really worth-, while serious analysis. Proceeding in a muddled manner, he draws forth the most curious determinants that might possibly affect the situation—such as seasonal variations, impulses, weather, race, psychology, etc. Finally, he con-cludes that there really aren't any valid conclusions to be formulated! (Beware, Mr. Brearley! Even such conclusion may involve you in difficulties.) Such indifference and intellectual hopelessness prec sely indicate the state of our conventional scholars with their "seven reasons for and seven reason against." To formulate definite and concrete conclusions seems to be a heinous sin to be avoided at all costs in order to keep within the confines of the chaste and fragile "pure truth." Any attempt to unify contradictions or to weave the many sides of the problem into a single picture overwhelms Brearley and his type of superficial statistician. Such an approach would have meant a correlation of cold figures with living reality, i.e., the socio-economic complex that nourishes such social evils as homicide and gangsterism, resulting from social conflict, economic insecurity and class divisions. Then, to account for the American peculiarity of the problem, the author should have presented the specific historical roots making for violence in this country. But this the author has failed to do and so the book remains shallow and useful only as a reliable source of reference.