

WORKERS AGE

Workers of all Countries, Unite!

For Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle!

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AND FARMERS

VOL. 1, No. 10.

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Workers Age Builders

We are herewith reprinting a letter sent us by one of our subscribers in renewing his sub to the AGE. Under the severest handicaps Comrade K. manages to work for and boost the AGE. The workers in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles and Pittsburgh can certainly draw considerable inspiration from this model revolutionary loyalty. Comrade K shows the path. Let all loyal workers follow.

I did not know that my sub to the WORKERS AGE had expired before the receipt of your call, and since the last of my few dollars saved in the former years is gone, I had to renew the sub COLLECTIVELY which took so long. There are only two men besides myself who read the paper here and they both are penniless. The rest have no use for revolutionary literature whatsoever. They subscribe to the capitalist papers and believe everything they say. Mostly all of them are merchant seamen—one of the most oppressed class of workers! That shows the great "radicalization of American workers" which was supposed to be going on even three years ago!

—J. K.

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- 1. "Short Stories Out Of Soviet Russia."
- 2. "Social Implications Of Art," by Diego Rivera.

SALES-TAX OUT IN HOUSE

March 28, 1932.

By a vote of 223 to 153 the insurgent coalition behind LaGuardia defeated the sales-tax measure in the Crisp-Mills revenue bill. With this step, added to the amendments passed by the insurgent block in the past week, the Ways and Means Committee bill stands effectually slaughtered so that Representative Crisp himself officially disowns it. A large number of amendments and proposals were defeated.

In the excitement of the breaking of party lines in the House, a temporary block of insurgent Democrats and high-tariff Republicans put thru on March 26, an amendment for a duty of 10c a hundred pounds of coal and coke imports. The vote was 113 to 67. The high-tariff break was stopped, however, thru a "plea" by Crisp, supported by LaGuardia and Hawley. Further proposals to raise tariff rates were defeated.

The triumphant course of the insurgent coalition has now reduced the Crisp revenue bill to complete chaos. A Ways and Means subcommittee has begun work finding new tax sources which would stand the fire of the LaGuardia block, while President Hoover has issued a public statement declaring that the balancing of the budget was the "keystone of business recovery." The proposal to legalize 2.75% beer as a basis for new taxes was defeated in the House on March 25 by a vote of 216 to 132.

NEW YORK CITY.—Over \$14,140,000 was turned over by the city administration here on March 23 to 66 banking institutions in the form of tax refunds of bank taxes "illegally collected" between 1923 and 1926. The beneficiaries were, among others, the First National Bank, the Manufacturers Trust Company, the Bank of Manhattan, the Corn Exchange Bank, the National City Bank, the Irving Trust Company.

At a time when the miserably inadequate relief agencies of the city are being closed down for "lack of funds," the city administration has the brazen insolence to turn over millions to the big banks!

Out with the Jingo Poison From Our Party

An Appeal To Communists In America

The poison of chauvinism, the crassest form of opportunism, which transformed the powerful Socialist parties of the world into "whited sepulchres," is being pumped into the veins of our Party, in ever greater quantities and in ever more violent forms, by its false leaders.

Several weeks ago, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. raised the slogan: "Demand the expulsion of the diplomatic representatives of murderous Japanese imperialism from the United States!" Every thoughtful worker could see that this was a demand for the breaking of diplomatic relations between the United States and Japan, for war between the two imperialist powers. If slogans mean anything, this slogan meant that the leaders of the Communist Party were urging the American workers to support Wall Street in a war against Japanese imperialism, a war brought about by the execution of their own slogan!

And then, as if to expose the full rottenness in the top circles of the Party, powerful imperialist elements in the Assembly of the League of Nations made exactly the same proposals as the Communist Party of the U. S. A.—to break diplomatic relations with Japan!

Now our false leaders have gone further. They not only endorse the proposal to break diplomatic relations but they actually endorse the proposal for an economic boycott of Japan, first raised by Newton D. Baker and supported by leading forces in Wall Street. Thus they, the leaders of the Communist Party, step in with both feet into the ranks of the jingo war-mongers, the worst enemies of the working class.

The DAILY WORKER of March 19 declares in its editorial: "The revolutionary proletariat supports fully . . . the boycott of Japanese imperialism and its commerce an all popular expressions hostile to its foreign representatives, demanding they cease their activities and return home."

Only a few weeks ago the DAILY WORKER and the Party leadership, still had a spark of Communist decency left and strongly opposed the boycott proposals of Wall Street. Today the DAILY WORKER supports the economic boycott and attacks the "Lovestonites" for exposing its shameful, anti-labor, reactionary course.

Every step forward in the swamp of chauvinism draws one down further into the bog! In order to justify their slogans, the Party leaders and

DIST. 9 MINERS IN BANKERS DEMAND COAL STRIKE HIGHER FARE

10,000 Join Big Struggle; U.M.W.A. Officials Help To Break Strike

ASHLAND, Pa.—The Shenandoah Mine Board, representing at least 10,000 miners, voted, on March 25, to join the "insurgent" strike that had been initiated a few days before by the miners of District 1 of the Anthracite region. The Shenandoah Mine Board is part of District 9.

The District 9 organization also called upon Governor Pinchot to remove the State police which has been terrorizing the miners and doing everything else to break the strike.

Meanwhile, thru the pressure of the reactionary officials of the U.M.W.A., who are helping the coal companies smash the strike, a number of collieries have returned to work, but so far the gains in spreading the strike have outnumbered the losses.

The strike is primarily a struggle over the equalization of work in the Anthracite field (the full demands were presented in the last issue of the Workers Age) and was called by a number of locals in District 1 without the "authorization" of the International and district officials of the United Mine Workers of America

Role of U.M.W.A. Leaders We publish below some extracts from a letter of a leading Communist Anthracite miner, who is fighting a prominent role in the present strike. The letter shows clearly the shameful role of the reactionary (Continued on page 2)

REPUBLICAN ARMY IN BIG PARADE

Irish Radicals Show Power In Dublin; Rift With DeValera Grows

DUBLIN.—Two thousand men of the Irish Republican Army paraded thru crowded Dublin on March 27, sixteen years after the famous Easter uprising. The parade had been legalized by the DeValera government.

They wore no uniforms and carried no arms but they paraded in military formation with the precision of well-trained soldiers. Opposite the Post Office in O'Connell Street, where some of the fiercest fighting in 1916 had taken place, the buglers sounded a salute, the flags were dipped and the orders "Eyes left," echoed down the line from the officers.

A two-mile procession of women's and children's Republican organizations followed the army to Galsvenin Cemetery where the heroes of the 1916 rising lie buried.

Numerous speeches were held thru-out the city demanding the complete independence of Ireland from Great Britain and the establishment of an Irish Workers Republic.

The friction between the DeValera moderate nationalist forces, supported by the Free State Army, and the radical Republicans, with the well-trained Irish Republican Army, is growing greater every day.

The election of DeValera was both a sign of and a stimulant to a rapid leftward movement of the Free State population, especially the peasants and the workers. The reformist and legalistic methods of the Fianna Fail are certain to manifest their complete bankruptcy when put face to face with the great problems DeValera himself is raising—the oath, the land annuities, etc.—and the support of the radical Republicans, who realize that the freedom of Ireland is to be won only thru uncompromising mass struggle of the people under the leadership of the Irish proletariat, has already begun to grow and to root itself deeply thruout the country.

SYDNEY, N. S. W. — The New South Wales Labor party conference has adopted a resolution pledging sympathy and support to the "struggle of the Irish people for freedom and self-determination."

DELHI, India. — Virtually every (Continued on page 2)

Scottsboro Death Sentence Is Confirmed by Ala. High Court

May 13 Set As Date Of Legal Murder Of Seven Scottsboro Victims; Court Declares Lynch-Verdict 'Fair Trial' Chief Justice Dissents; I. L. D. To Appeal

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—By a vote of 6 to 1 the Alabama Supreme Court, on March 24, confirmed the legal lynch-verdict of the lower court in the Scottsboro case, condemning to death seven of the eight Negro boys for alleged assault upon two white prostitutes. In the case of Eugene Williams, one of the defendants, the verdict was reversed and a new trial ordered on the ground that he was a

minor. The date of execution of the seven legal lynch-law victims was set for May 13.

Every fact that had been brought forward by the most impartial investigators as evidence of the utterly prejudiced character of the trial of these boys (the refusal of a change of venue, the brutal haste in convicting the victims, the mob spirit in the town, the presence of large bodies of State militia, etc.) was held by the court to confirm the validity of the verdict of the lower court! The Supreme Court also held that the exclusion of Negroes from the jury was quite legal and justified!

Chief Justice John C. Anderson dissented from the decision of the Court, declaring that no fair trial had been had in the case.

Upon the announcement of the verdict the International Labor Defense, which has been championing the case of the victims, issued a statement, sent to Governor Miller of Alabama, as follows:

"Millions of workers thruout world enraged at State Supreme Court confirmation of death verdicts against Scottsboro boys. Every scrap of evidence proves the boys innocent, victims of blatant frame-up, railroaded ruthlessly thru legal lynch machinery designed to terrorize workers, especially black ones. Supreme Court verdict reveals highest courts working hand in glove with owners of America against working class. We demand release of Scottsboro victims and immediate halt of lynchings, legal and otherwise, in your State. I. L. D. pledges to leave no stone unturned to free these boys."

Roger N. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, commented as follows:

"The Alabama Supreme Court runs true to Southern form in upholding the death verdict in the Scottsboro case. Considering the general attitude in the South toward any rape case, however disputed the facts, it was hardly to be expected that a new trial would be ordered."

George W. Charles, chief counsel for the defendants, announced from Chattanooga that he would immediately request a rehearing of the court, and that the International Labor Defense would ask an appeal from the Alabama Supreme Court to the United States Supreme Court.

ATLANTA.—The lives of six Communists, Ann Burlack, Mary Dalton, Joe Carr, M. Powers, John Story and Gilmer Brady, the latter two Negroes, are in danger as a result of conviction under a savage law passed during the reactionary days after Reconstruction in order to suppress any struggle of the Negroes for freedom. The law provides the death penalty for "conspiracy to overthrow the sovereign state of Georgia."

The six Communists were convicted and condemned to legal death for carrying on Communist propaganda and distributing Communist literature!

Appeal has been made to Judge Edgar H. Pomeroy, who has taken the case "under advisement."

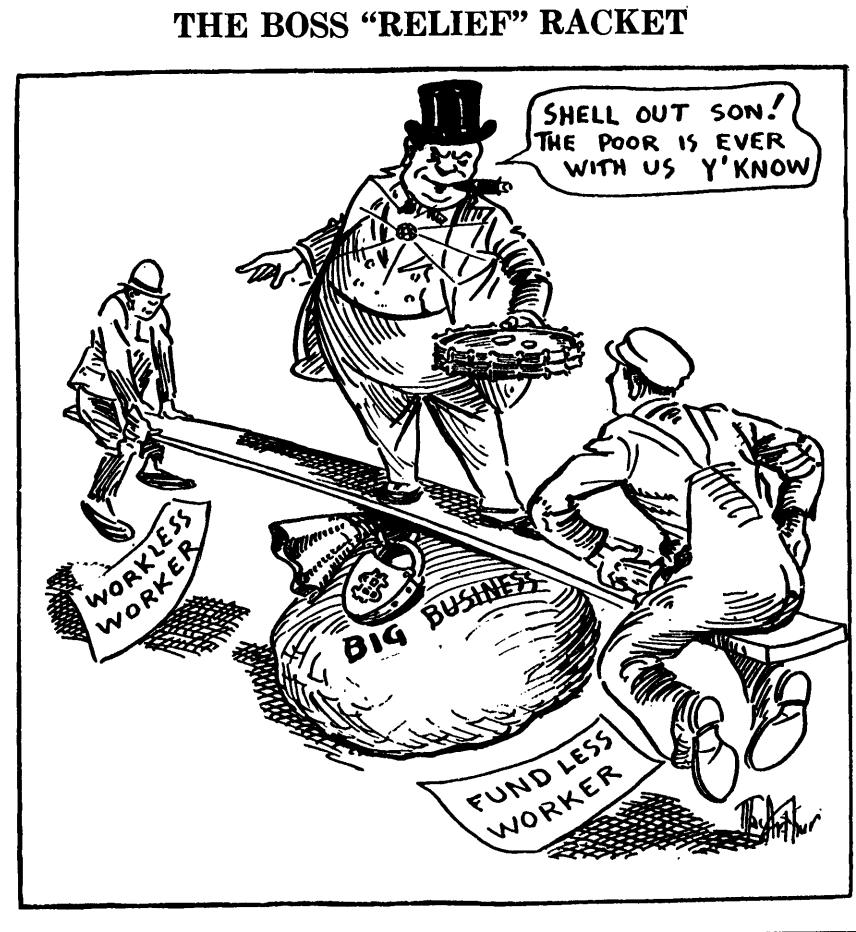
RIVERA TO SPEAK ON APRIL 3

Diego Rivera, the world-famous Mexican revolutionary artist, who has been working in the United States will make his final public appearance in New York at a lecture to be delivered the coming Sunday, April 3, at 8 P. M. at the New Workers School Forum, 228 Second Avenue, corner 14th Street.

Diego Rivera will speak on the subject "Trends in Modern Art." He will discuss the tendencies in art as manifested today in the United States, in Mexico, in capitalist Europe and in the Soviet Union. At a previous appearance at the New Workers School Forum, Diego Rivera spoke on the "Social Implications of Art" to a packed hall, and the lecture aroused a tremendous amount of interest as indicated by the discussion from the floor.

Workers who heard Rivera's previous lecture will surely not miss this one. Everybody is urged to come early as the seating capacity of the hall is limited.

Bert Wolfe will act as translator. Admission to the lecture is 25 cents.



"PEACE" TALK IN EAST BREAKS DOWN AS JAPS REFUSE TO LEAVE CHINA

Jap Invasion Is Extended; Kuomintang Government In Collapse As Revolts Loom In Canton And North; Red Armies Advance; Rebellion In Manchuria

SHANGHAI.—The much-advertised "peace" conferences between the representatives of the Japan and the Chinese "central" government, finally broke down on March 29 after a few days of futile negotiations. The Japanese definitely refused to withdraw their troops from the occupied areas and spoke of keeping them there all summer and of building permanent barracks for them.

The Japanese army heads are preparing for further advance and a resumption of fighting is already reported.

Kuomintang Government Collapses

SHANGHAI.—The complete disintegration of the Kuomintang "central" government, under the impact of its loss of prestige from the defeats administered by the Japanese, is now an immediate prospect, according to observers here.

In spite of the support of U. S. imperialism, the Nanking government has been declining with the greatest rapidity. It is now completely discredited among the masses, who are very willing to fight against the aggression of Japan but whose energies are suppressed by the "central" government out of fear that they may go "too far."

The very important Cantonese faction is reported as being at the point of breaking with the Nanking government, utilizing as the issue the failure of Chiang Kai-shek to support and relieve the Nineteenth Route Army in its vigorous resistance to the Japanese.

I.L.P. TO STAY IN LABOR PARTY STUDENTS DRIVEN OUT OF KY.

"Conditional Affiliation" Adopted; Dutch Social-Democracy Split

BLACKPOOL, England. — By a vote of 250 to 48, the conference of the Independent Labor party, the left-wing Socialist organization within the British Labor party, meeting here, decided, on March 28, in favor of "conditional affiliation" with the Labor party. The "conditions" have not yet been formulated.

Earlier, a motion for immediate disaffiliation from the Labor party, which was vigorously criticized by the majority of the delegates for its conservative and non-Socialist course, had been defeated by a vote of 182 to 144. A motion for unconditional affiliation was likewise defeated by a vote of 214 to 98. Then the proposal for "conditional affiliation" was adopted.

The I. L. P. conference is itself the scene of a sharp struggle between the right and left wings of the party. The left elements, led by James Maxton and George Buchanan, seem to be predominant in the party although it is not certain that they will be able to carry all their proposals at this conference. In recent developments, considerable sections of the left wing of the I. L. P. have approached very close to the revolutionary Socialist, i.e., Communist, position.

Dutch Social-Democrats Split

THE HAGUE.—Repeating the recent developments in Germany, a left Socialist party has been established in this country as a result of a split in the Social-democratic Labor party of Holland.

The conference of the Social-democratic party which met here during (Continued on page 2)

Arbitrarily Chased Out By State Officials Under Coal Company Orders

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — Anyone sympathizing with labor in its struggle against the merciless oppression of capital, has no rights at all in Tennessee. Governor Horton of this State informed a delegation of Eastern college students and instructors, who, after arbitrary expulsion from Kentucky, where they had gone to investigate conditions in the strike areas, were denied the use of the public roads in the State of Tennessee.

The local Tennessee officials had assaulted them and driven them off the highways as they were passing thru the State. They appealed to the Governor who attacked their alleged Communist sympathies and refused to extend any protection to them against the arbitrary terrorism of the State officials.

The group of students and instructors of a number of Eastern colleges, who came down to investigate the inhuman conditions under which the miners live and the reign of terror maintained by the company-owned State and local officials, had a taste of the latter when, on March 25, they were arbitrarily ejected from the state and forced to leave for Tennessee. The first bus load of students and instructors came thru Cumberland Gap, were halted by State officials and turned away. The second group tried to get in at Fonde, ten miles west, but were also stopped by County Attorney Walter B. Smith.

Mr. Smith declared that, in his opinion, the students had come to Kentucky to "no good purpose," and therefore he would keep them out. He also declared that he "suspected" (Continued on page 2)

DIEGO RIVERA Lectures SUNDAY, APRIL 3, 8 p. m. 'Trends in Modern Art', 228-2nd Av.

LESSONS OF THE RECENT STRIKES OF LOCAL 66, I. L. G. W. U.

by George Halpern

New York City. The general strike of the tuckers, pleaters and novelty stitchers was terminated a week after it was called, March 9, when the union reached an understanding with the association regarding terms of a collective agreement. The strike was conducted by Local 66, I. L. G. W. U., formerly known as the I. L. G. W. U. of the tuckers, pleaters and novelty stitchers, but now comprising also the workers of the above mentioned crafts, as a result of the merging with Local 41 of the tuckers, pleaters and stitchers several months ago.

Conditions of Workers
The workers of these crafts were working under most miserable conditions. They had to work all hours and any day of the week the bosses wanted them to. Wages were as low as \$8-\$20 a week for girls experienced on all machines. Piece-work became widespread among tuckers. In the once better-paid shops wages were reduced three, four and five times. There was no semblance of working standards of any kind.

Workers Disgusted With the Union
When Local 66 took over Local 41, the latter was practically nonexistent as a union. During the last four years Local 41, under the leadership of the right-wing, had carried thru two strikes—both of the notorious 1930 City Hall dress strike type. An agreement had been arranged for with the association, then the "strike" called, the bosses made out the checks for the dues and the workers went back with the previous conditions unchanged. Needless to say, between the "strikes" the union did nothing to protect the interests of the workers. Naturally the workers got disgusted with this kind of unionism and they dropped out of the local almost to the last member.

Strike Forced Upon Local 66
Local 66, soon after the merger, began negotiations for a new agreement for the tuckers, pleaters and stitchers. The bosses, however, were in no mood to yield to the most moderate demands of the union, and there remained only one course—to call a general strike. Several times the union called upon the workers of those trades, thru circulars distributed in the market, to come to meetings and discuss the situation in the trade. The response, however, was negligible.

Militants Fail In Their Duty
There are working in these trades several loyal Party members and a number of Industrial Union sympathizers (so-called "left-wingers"). It would seem obvious to any unsophisticated mind that the prime duty of the "left-wingers", and particularly of the Communists, was to be the first ones to respond to the call, to take the lead in rebuilding the union, to prepare the workers for a real struggle against the sweat-shop conditions. There was a splendid opportunity for left-wingers and Communists to show to the workers indeed that they were the ones who had their interests at heart, that they were in the first ranks in the fight for bettering conditions, thus gaining the confidence of the workers and winning them for class-struggle policies.

Unfortunately, not one Party member, not one "left-winger", came to any of the meetings to discuss with the workers, the strike demands or strike policies. On the first day of the strike these "militants" were most conspicuous by their absence. Some were even found working behind locked doors under "protection" provided by the boss. Such anti-working class, poisonous fruits did the dual-union tactics of the official C. P. bear!

Workers Gain Little from Settlement
The agreement now in force provides for a minimum scale of \$42 for tuckers, \$35 for pleaters, \$42 for pleaters helpers, \$25 for stitchers, with the exception of zig-zag machine operators and button makers whose scale is \$18. This wage-scale will give a slight increase to a portion of workers of these trades. Time-and-a-half pay for overtime is to take effect on September 1. The working week is to remain 42 hours, and, if by next February the union will succeed to organize 80% of the trade, the working week will be reduced to 40 hours. The prospects for a shorter week during the life of this agreement are thus made very slim. The agreement further provides for a two weeks trial period with a no-discharge clause, and a labor bureau, that is, the employers must obtain their help exclusively from the union. The settlement brought but slight improvements for the workers in the

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STUDENTS DRIVEN OUT OF KY.

(Continued from Page 1)

that some of the visitors believed in Communism, was "a crime in this region." When asked to show the legal warrant for his action, the district attorney emphatically announced that he was "all the law necessary." An appeal to Governor Laffoon for protection against the despotic and illegal attacks of the local authorities brought no respite whatsoever. An appeal to the Federal Department of Justice for protection met with the reply from Attorney General Mitchell that "the Federal government has nothing to do with it; it is up to the State."

One of the assaulted students being a British subject, Garriell Carritt, son of E. F. Carritt, Professor of Religion at Oxford University, a protest was made to the British Embassy. Donald Henderson, instructor in Columbia University, went to Washington to see what could be done by bringing the outrageous actions of the Kentucky officials before Congress. He conferred with Senator Costigan, author of a bill before the Senate Manufacturing Committee for Federal investigation of conditions in Harlan and Bell Counties.

The regime of arbitrary terrorism set up by local and state authorities in the coal regions, upon behalf of the coal companies, can only be compared to the despotic rule of the slaveholding oligarchy before the Civil War, when abolitionists and anti-slavery agitators, and even impartial investigators not wedded to the slavery cause, were driven out of the slave states, tarred and feathered, and often murdered, legally or otherwise. At that time the slave power held the nation in its deadly grip; today it is the power of trust-capital. As one was smashed, so will be the other!

DISTRICT 9 MINERS JOIN STRIKE

(Continued from page 1)

union leaders in helping coal companies and the local government to suppress the strike. When the strike was called and mass picketing started in some cases we were able to close the mine down completely and the local union then decided to stay out on strike. In other cases, pickets would shut down the mine about 80% and then the local officers of that particular union, together with the bosses, would canvass the miners and urge them to work. They succeeded in this to a certain extent. In the other cases local officers, with the bosses, would gather the men at a certain place and then they would march in a body to work (South Wilkes Barre and Dorance). In some cases local officers were deputized and lead their men to work (Woodwards Colliery). Then, we find again in local unions (Loomis and Buttonwood Colliery), which the company controls indirectly, that after the membership voted for strike, the local officers would put forward the theory of a referendum vote. This referendum is nothing more than a scheme to have the men go back to work. In this referendum, in order to identify him as

the representative of the Communist Party will get the same time allotted to the speaker of the Socialist party and the speaker of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Majority Group). I trust you will recognize how important it is that the issue involved in the German Presidential elections be thoroughly discussed so that the conclusions can be drawn as to the proper policies and tactics which must be used in a situation like the one in Germany, where it is of paramount importance to fight and wipe out the menace of Fascism to the working class.

The Letter To The Communist Party
The Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Majority Group) has arranged a meeting to discuss the results of the German Presidential elections which will take place on April 10th. The results of these elections will be of momentous importance to the entire labor movement. The results will also be of special significance to the Communists on account of the role played in the elections by the Communist Party of Germany since it appeared in these elections for the first time with a candidate who was unopposed by a candidate of the Social-democratic party. Furthermore the issues raised by the Communist Party of Germany and the refusal to issue a call for a working class united front against Fascism will have a direct bearing upon the results of the elections and the future of the movement.

For these reasons the committee arranging the meeting has decided to invite the Communist Party of the U. S. A., District of New York, to send a representative to this meeting to present the viewpoint of the Communist Party, it being understood that

of that particular local union, it was necessary for a man to have the due bill on which he drew his pay at the colliery. The actual fact is that the great majority of the men had destroyed this due bill after they received his pay and because of this the local union officers and the company were able to claim that the majority had voted to go back to work. The actual fact is that the big majority couldn't vote, due to the fact that they didn't have their due bill.

All this, together with the big terror of State police and other government strike-breaking agencies, operated to bring about demoralization of the active picketing. Since the sheriff's proclamation, mass picketing has been weakened to a great extent. At the same time it must be said that the people in general of the organization of picketing have also let down on their activity (4th Inspection District, Lower part of Wilkes Barre). There have been many protests sent to the Governor against the terror of the police. In answering these telegrams, Governor Pinchot says that he will not stand for the clubbing of pickets by his police but, on the other hand, he says that the violence of the miners is increasing. This shows the actual stand of Governor Pinchot since it actually carries with it indirect instructions to the State police and to the deputy sheriffs to club the striking miners into submission.

Six men have been selected to meet the Governor on Monday, March 28, at two o'clock, at Harrisburg. These six men represent the organization of pickets which is leading the strike. The miners cannot expect to get anywhere or anything from this conference. There is no question about the fact that the capitalist newspapers were lying about the strike in order to confuse the miners and get them back to work. This includes the representative of the New York Times.

AMALG. CIRCLE HOLDS BIG AFFAIR
The Amalgamated Clothing Workers Progressive Circle held a successful banquet to celebrate the formation of a progressive group in the A. C. W. The affair was held at 228 Second Avenue on Saturday evening, March 26. Over 100 workers attended. Brother H. Ostrinsky was chairman and Brother Vichick presented the policies and plans of the organization. Brothers Goodman, Riger, Tartasky, and Alex Cohen participated in the discussion. Ben Gitlow, Secretary of the Communist Party (Majority Group) and an expelled member of the Amalgamated, greeted the circle. Ben Gitlow reviewed the history of the Amalgamated and of the left-

COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST PARTIES INVITED TO SPEAK ON GERMANY

Letters Of Communist Party (Majority Group)

In preparation of the discussion meeting on the significance of the recent German election and the runoff election of April 10, organized by the Communist Party (Majority Group) for Friday evening, April 22, at the Labor Temple, 14 Street and Second Avenue, invitations have been sent to the Communist and Socialist parties to send speakers to the meeting to present their viewpoints on the tactics followed in the elections and on the results. No replies have as yet been received. The letters follow:

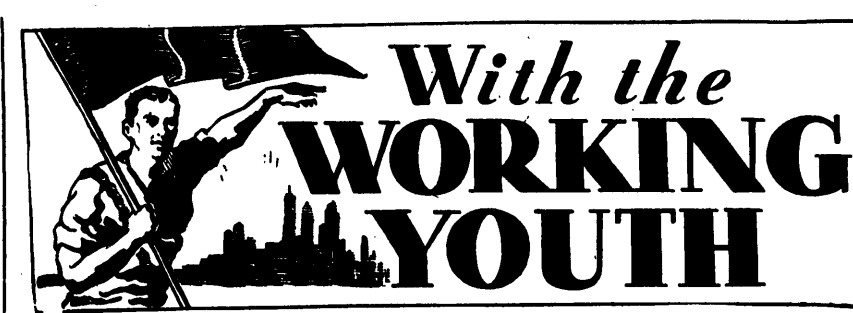
The Letter To The Socialist Party
The Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Majority Group) has arranged a meeting to discuss the final results of the German Presidential elections which take place April 10th. The meeting will take place at the Labor Temple, 14th Street and 2nd Avenue. The results of these elections will be of momentous importance to the entire labor movement. In view of the fact that the Social-democratic party of Germany has decided to support the candidacy of Hindenburg in order to "insure the defeat of Hitler" and has formed a bloc with the Bruening bourgeois forces for that purpose, rejecting an anti-Fascist working class bloc, the committee organizing the meeting considered it advisable to invite a representative of the Socialist party to explain the position of the Socialists in the light of the final results. On behalf of the committee, I request that the New York City organization of the Socialist party send a speaker to this meeting to represent their viewpoint, it being understood that the Socialist representative will be given the same time allotted the speaker of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. who will present the official Communist position and the speaker of the Communist Party U. S. A. (Majority Group) who will represent the opposition viewpoint in the Communist Party of the U. S. A.

SILK WORKERS IN FEDERATION
About 60 delegates, representing more than 8,000 silk workers of Allentown, Easton, Bethlehem, Northampton, Stroudsburg, Wilkes Barre and other large silk centers of Pennsylvania, and from Paterson, West New York, Pompton Lake, Summit, Phillipsburg, silk centers of New Jersey, met in Easton, Pa., on Sunday, March 13, to form the American Federation of Silk Workers within the United Textile Workers. W. Kelley, International vice-president of the U. T. W. A. presided and introduced Frank Schweitzer, general secretary of the central executive board of the amalgamated unions of Paterson, N. J., who gave an outline report on the proposed plan of the new organization.

"The silk industry has been in a state of chaos and confusion for many years which has resulted in starvation wages and long hours for the workers," Schweitzer said in his address to the conference. "It is time that the workers generally should attack this problem intelligently. Capital has always seized the opportunity to attack wages and lengthen hours by using the workers in one district against the others during their struggles. "We must, therefore, organize the

wing struggles within it. He outlined his suggestions as to how best to fight the bureaucracy. Gitlow was greeted with loud applause. The banquet marks the second big achievement of the Circle amongst the men's clothing workers. A few weeks ago it was responsible for the holding of a successful meeting of the clothing workers in Stuyvesant Casino. The speakers pictured the terrible conditions that existed in the shops. They pointed out the class-collaboration policy of the leaders of the Amalgamated and their refusal to fight for better conditions in the trade. At the same time they criticized the wrong policies of rank and file committee cover-name for the N. T. W. I. U.

Symposium - Debate
RELIGION—Dr. G. F. Beck
Director of Labor Temple
CAPITALISM—W. Gordon Merritt
SOCIALISM—Charles Solomon
LIBERALISM—Arthur Garfield Hays
COMMUNISM—Jay Lovestone
Wednesday April 6, 1932
8:30 P. M.
LABOR TEMPLE
14th Street and 2nd Avenue
Admission 35 Cents



NEWSBOY STRIKE IN HAVANA

Recently, hundreds of newsboys in Havana, Cuba, militantly protested against the half-cent increase in the price of the newspapers, *El Pais* and *Informacion*. Police reserves had to be called out in an attempt to defeat the efforts of the newsboys to maintain the former rate. So effective was the action of the newsboys that only a small portion of the usual 25,000 to 30,000 copies of the newspapers reached the public. The newsboys said they would prevent further sale of these newspapers unless the original prices were restored.

The capitalists of every nation try to place as much as possible of the burdens of crisis upon the backs of the workers, especially if they be the weak backs of unorganized children whom they believe incapable of effective struggle. Let us hope that the working class of Havana will come to the aid of these children in their struggle. The newsboys must become part of the organized labor movement where they can be trained to be militant fighters in this way they will also strengthen the movement of the adult workers.

Any Undernourishment In The United States?

At the National Canners Convention held in Chicago several weeks ago, Dr. H. E. Bernard, director of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, made this remarkably impudent statement: "American children are not undernourished. They are just as healthy today as they were in the boom days of 1928 and anyone who denies this fact is either ignorant of his facts or is guilty of spreading 'red' propaganda." We are sorry to have the worthy doctor contradicted by no less a person than President Hoover himself, in his speech delivered at the 1930 White House Conference on child health and protection. On page 8 of the official publication of this conference we find the following statement in Hoover's speech:

"One of your committees reports that out of 45,000,000 children, 6,000,000 are improperly nourished, 1,000,000 have weak and damaged hearts, 382,000 are tubercular, etc."

workers in the entire industry so that we may present a united front in our efforts to better conditions. We are presenting a program that we feel will meet a great need among the silk workers and we hope that from today great strides will be made in this new national union.

The resolution establishing the A. F. S. W. stated that the objects of the new union are the complete organization of the workers in the silk industry and the establishing of uniform wages, hours and conditions of work. Frank Schweitzer, secretary of the central executive board of the amalgamated silk unions of Paterson, was elected temporary secretary of the new federation. A call for a second conference to be held on April 10 at Allentown, Pa., will be sent out from the temporary headquarters at 201 Market St., Paterson, in the very near future.

New Workers School Forum
228 SECOND AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY
SUNDAY, APRIL 10th, 1932 — 8 P. M.
BERT WOLFE
Director New Workers School

THE JEWISH QUESTION
Origin of Jewry; the Chosen People and their "mission"; The Jewish Religion; Why History Preserved the Jews; The Ghetto and Assimilation; Race, Nation or Caste; Anti-Semitism; Jewish Bankers and Jewish Labor; The Wandering Jew at the End of Pilgrimage; Zion or Birobidjan; How Socialism Solves the Jewish Question.

This lecture will also be given in Philadelphia on Friday, April 29. Watch for Hall address.

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DEBATE

THE FUTURE OF DICTATORSHIPS and PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

Dr. Reinhold Niebur
President New York Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy
Professor, at Union Theological Seminary

Jay Lovestone
Editor Workers Age

Andrew J. Biemiller
Chairman

SATURDAY, APRIL 9
12:45 Sharp

VAN TASSELL'S RESTAURANT
13th St. above Walnut St.
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Auspices: League for Industrial Democracy, 20 S. 15th Street, Telephone Rittenhouse 4469

DANCE AND PACKAGE PARTY
SATURDAY APRIL 2ND, 1932—8 P. M.

— NEW WORKERS CENTER —
228 Second Avenue — New York City

Auspices: New Workers School
Negro Jazz Band :: Admission 25 cents

Mobilizing Industry for Imperialism

Labor in the Coming War

from Official Army Instructions

We publish below extracts from the Special Text No. 229, "Industrial Mobilization," for use with Army Extension Courses. It illustrates the plans of the War Department, with the aid and assistance of the reactionary officials of the labor unions, to deprive the working men of this country of all rights won thru decades of struggle and to reduce them to a status lower than prison-labor as enslaved adjuncts to the war machine of American imperialism.

Assistant Secretary of War, The—A civilian appointed by the President who, under the direction of the Secretary of War, is charged with supervision of the procurement of all military supplies and other business of the War Department pertaining thereto and the assurance of adequate provision for the mobilization of material and industrial organizations essential to war time needs.

To accomplish this supervision a planning branch has been established in the office of the Assistant Secretary of War under a Director of Procurement. In time of peace suitable personnel must be selected, trained, and organized for efficient execution of the program and a study made of such additional laws as it may seem desirable to ask of Congress when the emergency arises.

The Army Industrial College was established in February, 1924, for the purpose of training Army officers in the useful knowledge pertaining to the supervision of procurement of all military supplies in time of war, and the assurance of adequate provision for the mobilization of the material and industrial organizations essential to war time needs. Its supervision and control is vested in The Assistant Secretary of War who is supported by an advisory board composed of the chiefs of the supply arms and services.

Industrial control agency.—An agency to which the President delegates authority to coordinate and control certain war activities of the executive departments of the Government and of industry of the United States.

Those items which involve special difficulties in procurement are listed by the procurement arms and services. Such lists, known as lists of priority items, are submitted to The Assistant Secretary of War for approval and changes therein are made only upon his authorization. Specific procurement plans are being prepared for these items.

The second class can be minimized by foreseeing and preventing wherever this is possible and, in cases where this is not possible, by having the machinery for conciliation or adjudication ready to function immediately such disputes have become acute. A study is being made to determine how best to utilize both existing and specially created agencies to accomplish this end.

Whether or not an organization is created for the control of labor in general, such an organization will be required in the War Department both to aid the manufacturing establishments operated directly by the procurement arms and services in the recruitment of labor and to recruit and maintain the labor supply in the civilian industries from which the arms and services procure supplies. As problems connected with this work are almost exclusively local, the work must be completely decentralized to procurement districts and industrial areas. An organization which accomplish this has been worked out. This organization will operate as a part of the labor section of the office of The Assistant Secretary of War.

Industrial. The office of the Assistant Secretary of War has made an exclusive study of the organization, policies and activities of the various so-called super-agencies developed in this and other countries for the control of industry during the World War. Many of the leading actors have illuminated the reports of these bodies by informal discussions in conference with the Assistant Secretary of War and his assistants. These studies are analyzed to determine what super-structure should be erected in order for the control of industry and to insure the proper coordination between the procurement policies of the war making agencies. Plans are on hand and are under constant revision and correction for the organization of those super-agencies which are considered essential.

Trade unions and associations of employers can be extremely helpful both in the maintenance and procurement of the labor supply in war time and in the peace time planning for the performance of this mission. Constant contact is maintained with both classes of organizations and provision is made for their representation in equal numbers on all advisory boards having to do with labor movement. Constant contact is maintained also with the United States Department of Labor, the Navy and the Shipping Board. All these agencies are freely consulted in the preparation of all plans for war control.

The war effort will call large numbers of women into industry. Many of these women will have had previous experience and these can be fitted into the industrial machine with little effort. Some will be moved by economic stress and many others will be moved by patriotic impulse. These,

particularly the latter group, will require guidance in order that their efforts may be diverted into channels where they can accomplish the greatest good. A group of prominent women all of whom had experience along these lines during the World War, is giving this subject intensive study and there has been evolved the skeleton of an organization whose specific duty it will be to solve the problems connected with the employment of women and children in war industries. Constant liaison will be maintained with this organization to secure its cooperation in securing the necessary women labor in war industries.

The war reserves required may consist of finished items, where manufacturing processes are long or complex or both, or of the strategic raw materials which are required in manufacture. In the latter case, in order that these war reserves may be held to a minimum, priorities in their use are prescribed either by the established preference lists of facilities or by rationing.

Another class of war reserves which may be required to insure the proper flow of certain essential items to the troops is the skilled labor required in their fabrication. This subject, however, is more appropriately studied in connection with labor than in connection with priorities.

Labor is an essential in the production of requirements of equal importance with raw materials, power, facilities, and transportation.

The War Department's interest in the labor supply includes both re-

quirements and national resources of labor; total numbers in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations and numbers by occupational classifications in the skilled trades. It includes also a study of the geographical distribution in industrial areas of all classes of labor.

Plans and studies are based on the settled policy of the War Department that this labor is to be secured by voluntary means. Both the temperament of the American people and the experience of this and other countries during the World War indicate that the Congress will not authorize compulsory methods in the employment of labor and that any form of labor conscription would fail to accomplish the desired results even though authorized. "Priorities" furnish a means of indirect pressure whenever such pressure is required.

In addition to the problems arising from the determination of labor requirements and the bringing of the job and worker together, there will be those of keeping the job and worker together and thereby avoiding excessive labor turnover and wasteful loss of time. These problems will be of two classes; those that arise from unethical competition for labor by employers and those that arise from differences between employers and employees.

The first class can be minimized, if not entirely eliminated, by insertion in contracts with allocated facilities of a provision requiring that labor be recruited thru the United States employment service and by use of the priorities power in the case of recalcitrants.

The Lessons Of The Dress Strike

N. T. W. I. U. IN DRESS STRIKE

by Chas S. Zimmerman

(Concluded from last issue.)

The response to their strike was much less than was generally conceded to them. It was less than 1000. They then began pulling shops with committees. They had to resort to tactics that were so bitterly denounced only about a year and a half ago by Johnstone, who was then the boss of the Industrial Union, namely to pulling committees. But here again they committed the same stupidity. In the first days of their strike they sent their committees to pull International shops. A number of shops were forced to go down to their strike hall. There they stayed a short while, then went to the office of the Joint Board, had a meeting and went back to work to await the strike call of their union.

Underbidding on the Demands

Among the demands put forward prior to the strike by the Industrial Union were: 40-hour, 5-day week, minimum guaranteed wage-scales, etc. These demands were adopted at a mass meeting in Cooper Union and also approved by their shop delegates conference on January 30. The International also had a number of similar demands, chief among these was the demand for a minimum guaranteed wage-scale. The Industrial Union here began to underbid. One of the main demands for which the workers of the International were going to strike was dropped by the Industrial Union on the day of their strike, namely the demand for a guaranteed minimum wage-scale. They claim to be carrying thru the decisions of the rank and file. They approved this demand at the Cooper Union meeting and the conference on January 30. Who then decided to withdraw this demand? How many workers in the Industrial Union know that this demand was withdrawn on the day of the strike and was not in the strike circular? Their great strategy led them to this—to underbid in order to be able to make settlements quicker.

The settlements they began toward the end of the first week of their strike call, even before the International called its strike. When the International called the strike, i.e., a week after the Industrial Union strike, they were already making settlements with all who came to settle! The result was that when five or six contracting shops who work for one jobber were striking in International strike halls, one contracting shop working for the same jobber would be settled by the Industrial Union and returned back to work. Thus the workers in this shop would directly scab against the workers who were striking in the International halls. Let me give a concrete and striking example. There is a manufacturer in the trade who operates two shops. One is called the Eagle Dress. For this shop the manufacturer had an agreement with the Liberty Dress are still on strike. Thus the workers of one shop are scabbing on the workers of the other with an Industrial Union agreement to make it "kosher."

Thus the result of the sectarian dual union tactics of the Industrial Union leads them to the advocacy of smashing unions, creating demoralization among workers and eventually to open scabbery.

The Results of Their "Strike"

They now announce the result of their strike. They say they have settled around two hundred shops. How many are missing to make up 200 will not bargain for now. It is immaterial whether it is 150 or 200. One thing must be clear: with 200 shops out of a total of over 3000 in the industry, no union conditions can be enforced. And in order to maintain these shops the Industrial Union permits all kinds of conditions to exist there. It is about time to learn—and this strike should teach all workers the lesson—that you cannot build a union by trailing along after another union, and trying to capture the strikes that the union is calling. You had the example of this strike here in New York. The same thing happened in Boston. When the International called a strike there, the Industrial Union immediately hurried to declare a "united front strike" there too. Why trail along?

It is about time to realize that schemes and tricks do not build a left wing movement, that a destructive policy does not win the masses of workers. This strike should be a lesson to all members of the Industrial Union that a drastic change is necessary, that the only way in which a left wing can be effective is to be where the masses are—to work with them not to destroy the unions but to strengthen these unions—to revolutionize them and make them effective organs of struggle in the hands of the workers.

In the early days of the left wing the Forward and the reactionaries of the union called every left winger, who fought for a militant, constructive policy in the union, Communists, "agents of the bosses," spies, provocators. Now the Freiheit and the bureaucrats of the Industrial Union are resorting to the same methods. Every one who fights against dual unionism and who strengthens these unions to revolutionize them and make them effective organs of struggle in the hands of the workers.

Slanders, name-calling, mudthrowing to which the leadership of the industrial union resorts to answer our arguments, do not help the situation. Now is the time for the change to be made. You have learned your lesson in this strike—the masses do not want to give up their union and go to you. You must therefore have the courage to face the situation. Give up the Industrial Union and join the union where the masses of the organized workers are!

Another article in the series "The Lesson of the Dress Strike" will appear next issue.

Statistics-fressers who are disheartened because the depression has caused all statistical curves to sag in melancholy fashion, can take new hope from the fact that President Hoover's report on bankruptcy figures has climbed steadily and manfully in number and size from 15,000 in 1921 to 60,000 in 1931 with liabilities increased from 171 million to over a billion. Rugged individualism means bigger and better bankruptcies and puts "America First."

The Hero-Cult in America!

American Masses Called On To Celebrate I. Amter's Fiftieth Birthday!

The hero-cult has started off with a bang in America! And with none other than I. Amter as the Special and Particular Hero.

The Soviet Union has its Stalin; Germany, its Thaelmann. But for the U.S.A., I. Amter will have to do!

The Daily Worker (which had so little room for Ruthenberg) carries a grandiloquent manifesto on the occasion of the Hero's auspicious semi-centenary. The District Committee has arranged a Birthday Banquet at Central Opera House for this heaven-sent Demi-God.

And, of course, the innumerable feats and achievements of the Hero are topped off by his valiant struggle "in behalf of the line of the Communist International against counter-revolutionary Lovestonites and Trotskyites."

Far be it from us to parade the skeleton at the feast! But we cannot refrain from recalling the following pregnant words from the letter written by the Hero himself to a friend (Carl Hacker) in the days after the Address of the Comintern to the C.P.-U.S.A. (July 1929):

"It will ruin the whole movement; it is terrible. . . . They talk of appealing to the Tenth Plenum, the Comintern. This is nonsense. Who will be the Tenth Plenum, who is the Comintern? The representatives of the German, Czechoslovakian, French, etc. parties, which have been ruined and demoralized such as ours is going to be! It is no use. . . . No use in appealing, or fighting against the running of our Party—therefore becoming the chief wreckers yourself! This is the measure of the Hero!"

YOUNG CIRCLE CLUB HOLDS BIG DEBATE

What promises to be one of the most important events of the year in the radical movements of New York is being arranged by the Forum Young Circle Club Branch 1025 W. C. It is a symposium on the vital question of "Capitalism, Socialism and Communism." The participants in this symposium are the best available.

Capitalism will be defended by Dr. Wilford I. King, Professor of Economics at New York University and secretary of the American Statistical Association. Socialism will be defended by Algernon Lee, President of the Rand School and former Socialist Alderman; and Communism will be defended by Benjamin Gitlow, secretary of the Communist Party (Majority Group) and Communist vice-presidential candidate in 1924 and 1928. The symposium will be followed by questions from the floor.

The symposium will be held on Sunday, April 17, at 2:30 P. M. at the Rand School, 7 ast 15th Street. Admission is free.

Profit-Tears For The Unemployed

Speaking of relief, the New York bankers have ordered a rise in sub-way fares so that the jobless should be glad that they don't have to ride to work.

And Hoover proposes inflation and sales tax and high tariff so that they should be glad they don't have to buy anything.

Now if Congress will only cut the cost of pine boards and cemetery plots it will be a pleasure to die for our country, reducing the unemployment. The way the richest country in the world gives jobless relief makes one proud to be an American.

SYMPOSIUM on WORKERS EDUCATION

SPENCER MILLER, Jr. Workers Education Bureau

Prof. GEO. S. COUNTS, Columbia University

A. J. MUSTE Brookwood Labor College

BERTRAM D. WOLFE New Workers School

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About Trotsky's Recent Interviews

Trotsky "Changes His Mind"

by Herbert Zam

In a series of interviews which Leon Trotsky has recently given to the press, he has "changed his mind a little" on a few big questions. But in the typical Stalin-Trotsky manner, he not only denies having changed his mind in any way whatsoever, but insists that the views he expresses now are those which he has always held. Certainly no one can object to any changes of mind by Trotsky, particularly when many of the new views are far more correct than the old ones. After all, even Trotsky can, on occasion, be right. What is objectionable is the method of changing views—not a frank statement rejecting the previous view and affirming a new one (which is the Leninist method) but an insistence that there has been no change of opinion whatsoever. A glance at some of the points will make the issue clear.

The Five-Year Plan

Several months ago, after a long period of silence, Trotsky came out in favor of the Five-Year plan, approving it and predicting its successful fulfillment. Now Trotsky has gone one step further and maintains that the Five-Year plan was borrowed from him by Stalin, that he was always for it, and he was in fact persecuted for advocating it. Trotsky forgets that when the Five-Year plan was adopted, he was opposed to it, in principle and in detail, condemning it as a product of the "right wing" (at that time, it was still admitted that the "right wingers" Rykov and Bukharin, had had something to do with the authorship of the Five-Year plan). He issued a counter-plan

("Economic Theses of the Left Opposition") which the Communist Party rejected, whereupon Trotsky predicted utter failure for the Five-Year plan, and roundly condemned it. At late as March, 1930, Trotsky wrote as follows of the general conceptions upon which the Five-Year Plan was based (Preface to American Edition of "Permanent Revolution"): ". . . the general historical criterion by which the Party and State leadership directs the development of industry as planned economy assumes decisive significance. Here two principle variants are possible: (a) the course . . . towards the economic enrichment of the proletarian dictatorship in one country until further victories of the international proletarian revolution (the viewpoint of the Left Opposition); (b) the course towards the construction of an isolated national socialist economy and at that in the shortest historical time (the present official viewpoint)."

"These are two distinct, and in the final analysis, directly opposed theoretical conceptions of socialism. Out of these flow basically different strategy and tactics." "To gain economic independence speedily with the aid of the fastest possible tempos of industrialization and collectivization!—this is the transformation that has taken place in the economic policy of national socialism in the past two years. Crawling was replaced all at once by the line of adventurism."

Here we see Trotsky's attitude toward the general conceptions underlying the Five-Year Plan, as well as

his estimate of the first two years of its operation. It can hardly be said that the proper pride of the "author" in his work is shown in this enthusiastic praise. If Trotsky has changed his mind, well and good! But let him state so definitely and frankly. And let him furthermore declare whether he still maintains the same general conception as described in the above quotations, on the basis of which he should not under any circumstances be for the Five-Year Plan.

And Thermidor

In line with his change of mind regarding the economic questions, Trotsky modifies a "little" his ideas on Thermidor. The retreat from complete Thermidor is very welcome. But again it is covered behind a sheet of hypocrisy. "I have never, at any time said that the present stage of the revolution was 'Thermidorian'." No? How about the "Kerensky film rolled backwards"? How about the characterization that Stalin is Kerensky "upside down"? And what about the oft-repeated thesis in "My Life" that "Trotsky's enemies came in to power on the wave of 'reaction against the October Revolution'?" No, it is difficult to believe even the changes of mind when they are accompanied by such dishonesty. If Trotsky honestly declared: "I no longer believe in this and that. . . . it would be a sign that I am moving in the right direction, but so long as he insists: 'I never believed.' " we know it is just the old Trotsky game.

America and Europe

With regard to America, Trotsky returns once more to his previously abandoned theory of America conquering Europe. "I think as a result of the present crisis the predominance of America over European capitalism will grow still more pronounced." True, he foresees growing contradictions in American imperialism, but thru the importation, so to speak, of European ills into healthy America. And then he joins Stalin in attacking the American Communist Opposition as "exceptionalists!" He utterly fails to see that the result of the present situation will make it not easier, but more difficult, for American imperialism to conquer Europe. The antagonisms among the imperialist powers are sharpening, and the resistance to American imperialism is growing. The very assistance which American imperialism gave to sick European capitalism is rebounding against it with redoubled force. The rising tariff walls, the campaign for the cancellation of war debts and reparations, the realignment of forces on the European continent and in Asia, are all indications of a general trend, directly contrary to Trotsky's predictions. But isolated at Prinkipo, he cannot see them, just as Japan's anti-Soviet Union drive is also invisible to him.

The Labor Party Question

To American Trotskyites, the biggest snob will undoubtedly be Trotsky's sudden conversion to the idea of a Labor party, for which he sees stormy development. Trotsky was a pioneer in the struggle against the Labor party idea, as early as 1924

BRING THE WORKERS AGE TO THE MASSES OF WORKERS

25. He stormed and raved against it. He was opposed to the Communists having anything to do with it. When the American Trotskyites, after having freed themselves from the Foster group factional prison, came out in favor of a Labor party in the United States, Trotsky quickly convinced them to change their minds. But now Trotsky has gone to an extreme in his advocacy of the inevitability of a Labor party. He declares:

"The emergence of a Labor party is inevitable. It may begin to grow with an 'American tempo', leading to the liquidation of the two old parties, just as the Liberals have disappeared in England."

All we can say to this is that we hope Trotsky's prediction comes true. We have advocated a Labor party as a means of promoting the class-consciousness of the working class, and we have not changed our minds regarding the question. But it is to be hoped that Trotsky will not again change his mind if this hopes for rapid development does not take place.

The more China lagged behind Europe and Japan, so much the more was it threatened with dissection and national disintegration. China could only be "restored" by the heroism of the revolutionary masses of the people, capable of forming a Chinese Republic in the political sphere, and able to ensure in the agrarian sphere, the most rapid capitalist progress by means of nationalizing the land. As to whether this will succeed and to what degree, is another question. Various countries have brought into force varying degrees of political and agrarian democracy during their bourgeois revolution, and, moreover, in the most variegated combinations. In China it is the international situation and the correlation of social forces that will decide matters. The Emperor will probably unite the feudal landowners, the bureaucracy, the Chinese clergy, and prepare a restoration of a bourgeoisie which has hardly

had time to become Liberal-Republican instead of Liberal-Monarchistic (will this be for long?) will conduct a policy of manoeuvring between the monarchy and the revolution. The revolutionary bourgeois democracy represented by Sun Yat-sen is correctly seeking a path to the resuscitation of China in developing the greatest independence, determination and boldness of the peasant masses, in the way of political and agrarian reforms. Finally, in accordance with how the number of Shanghais grow in China, so also will the Chinese proletariat grow. It will probably form some kind of Chinese Social-Democratic Labor party which, while criticizing the petty bourgeois utopias and the reactionary views of Sun Yat-sen, will be sure to select with care, to preserve and develop the revolutionary-democratic nucleus of his political and agrarian program.

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BALANCING BUDGETS

MUCH more significance is to be attached to the forces causing the recent struggles in the House of Representatives than to the actual struggles themselves. The frontal repudiation of the sales-tax was certainly a manifestation of determined resistance by the spokesmen of smaller and middle capitalist interests to the headlong drive of the biggest bankers to pile up profits for themselves and burdens for others in the crisis.

However, what happened in Congress is only an inadequate and distorted expression of much more basic social and economic forces at work outside. It is interesting to note that less than fifty Democratic congressmen voted for the sales-tax, tho it was officially a Democratic party proposal. Keeping in mind Hoover's blessing and Wall Street's applause, it is surprising that even as many Republicans as did, actually voted against the measure. The whole vote cut clear across party lines and reflected struggles between interests rather WITHIN the capitalist parties than BETWEEN the Republican and Democratic parties as such. Here we have only further evidence of the growth of those economic and social forces making for the disintegration of both big capitalist parties. This vote shows how the two parties AS SUCH today no longer reflect accurately the various bourgeois interests. The conflict of class and sectional interests goes on as much inside each party as outside between the parties.

What is the problem here? What's involved in this "balancing of budgets"? American capitalism is hard hit by the crisis. The sources of government income, not unlike the sources of other income and really as a mirroring of the general income decline are more and more dried up. The government cuts the meager social services in the name of economy. Still, this does not mean getting sufficient funds with which to build armies, navies, and police forces as well as to hand out bonuses to shipping, railway, and banking interests. Therefore, new levies must be made on the incomes, new taxes. Naturally, the richest, who count most politically and do most of the counting financially, try to shift the burden of payments to the social strata below them and furthest from them. Hence, the frantic attempts to enact sales-taxes and to tax incomes of \$1000 or so. These attempts are merely moves to make those people who are not yet on the bread lines pay still more for the crisis and consequently to reduce the standards all around.

It is this great pressure of the top capitalists, these burdens piling up on the middle classes in the city and on the land, particularly at the time of a national election, that account for the momentarily sharp resistance on the part of many congressmen to the sales-tax and to levies on lower incomes. But the wavering, vacillating, unstable and treacherous role of the petty bourgeoisie, of the middle classes, was bound to show itself at the decisive moment of the deliberations. After defeating the sales-tax, the middle class spokesmen, like La Guardia and others, began to yield inch by inch and soon mile by mile—here and there in a round about way, it is true—to the biggest capitalist interests. The ground was carefully prepared for new tax schedules. In fact, Hoover's New York mouth-piece "The Herald Tribune," proudly declares that: "The substitute amendments . . . were drafted after conferences with treasury and federal reserve bank officials and officers of the New York Stock Exchange." (March 30).

It all came to a head in a spreadeagle speech by Speaker Garner, having a rising roll call for congressmen and selected spectators, under the slogan of "Balance the Budget." This is the slogan under which the British reactionaries led by MacDonald and the German bourgeoisie, led by Bruening and Hindenburg and supported by the Social-democrats have deliberately cut the standards of the English and German masses. Of course, for the Wall Street ruling class the matter of balancing the budget is no ordinary question. It involves the international prestige and the solidity and stability of the financial system at home. And to force the workers to pay for balancing the budget means to make the masses bear the increasingly oppressive burden of maintaining dollar exchange at its present level in the world money market and to spare many a banker many a financial headache and bankruptcy.

Precipitated by the temporarily unfavorable outcome over methods of balancing the budget, concretely over the sales-tax, United States exchange was recently going down to points lower than it had reached at any time in twelve years. So shaken has been the foreign capitalists' confidence in the soundness and stability of the American dollar that they have withdrawn in recent months nearly two billion dollars from the United States. Truly, Garner did not exaggerate the critical situation for Wall Street finances when he spoke of the possibility under which "there would not be in existence in the United States in 60 days a bank that could meet its depositors."

Under these circumstances the petty bourgeois spokesmen in Congress, true to their class character and role, soon floundered and began to give way. Already Congress has rushed thru its tax on matches, chewing gum and candy and has raised levies barring the way of large sections of the middle class to radios, phonographs, sporting goods, cameras, etc. More burdens are obviously in store for the great majority of the people in this country. In Cohoes, N. Y., the mill owners have decided not to pay their 1932 taxes until such time as the municipal budget is lowered. In New York City, at the same time, there is proposed a 2c tax on every 5c fare—an immediate, outright, 40% increase. Some of the taxes recently levied by Congress on the higher bracket incomes will probably soon be reconsidered to suit the richest.

The workers will have to pay still more because they are not politically organized, AS A CLASS. Nothing can be expected by the masses from Congress in the way of relief. Buffeted about between fear of the masses outside and the pressure of the biggest finance capitalists operating the government from the inside, a large group of middle-class congressmen rural and urban, can always be counted upon in critical moments to have Congress behave as if it were "a cross between a troop of monkeys and a herd of sheep."

What the working class needs and needs very badly just now is the organization of a mass political party of its own, a Labor Party based primarily on the trade unions, to fight for its immediate interests. The struggle over the sales-tax and budget balancing only shows once more the urgency of the working class declaring its political independence from all the parties of the capitalist class.

The Meaning of the Reichstag Elections

The Fronts Form in Germany

from "Gegen den Strom"

The paragraphs below are taken from the leading article of March 12, 1932 issue of *Gegen den Strom*, theoretical organ of the German Communist Opposition. It was, of course, written before the elections.

Berlin, Germany,
March 12, 1932.

"To beat Fascism—elect Hindenburg!" "With the moderate against the extreme wing of the bourgeoisie!" reads another variation of the same slogan, under cover of which the Social-democracy and the trade unions have fallen into the arms of the dictatorship. It is the logical continuation of the coalition and toleration policy—but it is not the end, by far. Another stage is already foreseen in the Social-democracy that is ready to "accept" a Hitler come to power "legally." Will it prove impossible for these leaders to discover a "moderate" and an "extreme" wing in a Hitler come to power "legally"?

All this flows very logically from the reformist point of departure that the working class must collaborate in the bourgeoisie, that the bourgeoisie is the starting-point for socialism, and that the capitalist economy must be strengthened, or at least not weakened, in order to be able to get to socialism.

Methodical lunacy and lunacy out of cowardice! The fear of revolution, the hatred of revolution, forces the Social-democracy to rush blindly, even enthusiastically, straight into the extended spears of the Fascists and militarists.

But many, many Social-democratic workers too have fallen victim to the illusion that the "iron front" is really a weapon against Fascism; they cannot see that, be they ever so determined, they cannot fight an enemy into whose deadly embrace their leaders are driving them.

The "iron front" marches behind Hindenburg, Groener, Schleicher, Bruening. But these people still fight against Hitler-Hungenberg-Duesterberg!—so insist the Social-democrats, the trade unions, and hundreds of thousands, million of workers. Is then Hindenburg the "same" as Hitler? With this question the Social-democrats believe they reduce the proposal of independent action into the working class to an absurdity. Many Social-democratic workers content themselves with declaring: When the time comes and the generals make their peace with Hitler, then we will carry on the fight ourselves, if necessary against the will of our leaders! But this is a deceptive argument! When that moment comes, the masses gathered under the banner of the "iron front" will be as helpless as the masses of the Social-democratic workers on August 4, 1914, when the heads of the Social-democratic party deserted to Wilhelm. The organization was beheaded, without leadership; but the enemy was ready to fight and was strengthened by the deserters. The war should be a lesson. It is a dangerous, harmful illusion that binds the reformist workers to the "iron front", an illusion that will be paid for with tremendous sacrifice.

Unfortunately the leadership of the Communist Party has failed to do anything to facilitate the emancipation of the workers from these illusions. Marx and Lenin's quotations are good in their place but more effective is the propaganda of facts. The Party committed a serious and costly mistake when it failed to prove the concrete possibility of the unification of the working class against the militarists and the Fascists, against Hindenburg and Hitler, by placing before the reformist organizations the question of a common advance against both. This failure made it all the easier for the reformist leaders to eliminate from the situation any possibility of the independent appearance of the workers on the political stage.

But are not Hindenburg-Groener-Bruening and Hitler-Hungenberg-Duesterberg indeed two opposed forces whose (not so slight, not so temporary!) antagonisms must be utilized by the working class? To this question of the reformists the answer must not be, as it too often is: There are no longer any antagonisms between the two! On the contrary, we must examine what these contradictions are and how they may indeed be utilized by the proletariat. Every worker knows that the slightest and most temporary antagonisms in the enemy must be taken advantage of by the proletariat. But to really utilize them requires the independent, consolidated, offensive activity of the proletariat. The working class can only develop its fighting power by going into action for its own class aims. To speak concretely: The fighting power of the proletariat cannot be developed by defending emergency decrees and the Article 48 system!

What is the present relation between the militarists around Hindenburg-Groener-Bruening and the Fascists? On the basis of a few recent facts it is possible to make a fairly accurate analysis.

The first of these facts is the Reichswehr rescript of Groener. This document includes two phases: (1) Recognition (by the Nazis) of the Reichswehr generals as leaders of the Reichswehr, and (2) the legalization of the permeation of the Reichswehr by the Nazis.

The second fact is the announcement of Bruening in the Reichstag that he had been ready to make way for the right-wing government but that the whole thing had foundered upon the demand of the National-Socialists for the entire executive power—something to which the Hungenberg wing would not agree. The struggle between the Nazis, the Nationalists and the Stahlhelm for the various government posts was essentially a struggle for hegemony in the Fascist camp. And so the advent of a right-wing government failed not because of the resistance of Hindenburg and Bruening but because the struggle for hegemony within the Fascist ranks had not yet been decided!

The third fact is the declaration of the leader of the Center party, Kaas, that he was ready to "sacrifice" the party existence of the Center, "to allow it to dissolve into a 'larger whole.'" Already joint publishing houses have been established between Center and Nazis to enable the partners to become accustomed to each other. The Catholic clergy is already beginning to take account of the swing of the big industrialists and big agrarians into the Fascist camp; under certain conditions it is ready to sacrifice the Center party. It should be remembered that the Italian clergy too gave up, at a certain definite point, the Catholic party, the Popolari.

The fourth fact is the disruption of the German People's party by the departure of its heavy industrial wing to Hungenberg.

All of these facts declare unambiguously the same thing: the "moderate" wing of the bourgeoisie, represented thru the Reichswehr generals, the Center leaders and a section of the big industrialists, are already prepared to share power equally with the Fascists, but are not yet ready to subordinate themselves entirely to them. This is the decisive point in the present situation.

But if this is true, it is also clear that it requires only a step to complete subordination to Fascism. What is necessary for this step to be taken? Two things: (1) that the political preponderance of Fascism in the camp of the bourgeoisie continue, and (2) that the hegemony of National-Socialism within the Fascist camp be definitely established. Both proceed hand in hand.

If the working class will not be

able to let loose an independent class offensive movement, then the question will be settled in a short time in favor of the Nazis. The lists are already drawn. On the one side is "tradition", the "men of the past," the top bourgeois strata that have governed hitherto and who want to "keep things as they are"; on the other side, the plebian-demagogic forces of the counter-revolution, those who want to "change things" along the lines of the fantastic illusions of the desperate petty bourgeoisie.

Only under this condition can the contradictions in the bourgeois camp be utilized: that as against the pseudo-revolutionary energy of Fascism the really revolutionary energy of the class-conscious working class be counterposed, that is, that the working class undertake a united class offensive. This offensive would weaken the hold of Fascism over the petty bourgeois masses, perhaps make them vacillate and change their direction of movement. It would tend to make the leading circles of the bourgeoisie consider again a retreat behind the wall of "pure democracy." For it is the weakness and division of the working class that stimulate the passage of the decisive elements of the bourgeoisie to Fascism.

Without the building up and consolidation of such a united class force of the proletariat, the economic crisis, the material pressure upon and the misery of the working class, operate in favor of Fascism, with such a united class front, the same factors would operate in favor of the proletarian revolution.

The Reichs-Præsidential elections possess this significance, that they will measure on a large scale the chief forces that will be decisive for the future political development of Germany.

First: the bourgeois governing strata of the past (with Social-democracy as an element and a support)—against—the bourgeois strata striving to govern, the Fascists.

Second: the plebian-demagogic wing of ascism (Hitler)—against—the aristocratic-bureaucratic wing (Hungenberg).

Third: that section of the working class that is ready, as an independent revolutionary force, to fight the entire bourgeoisie (Thaelmann).

In appearance it is a struggle of persons; in reality of classes, their leading circles and organizations, and their mutual relations.

TOM MOONEY TO SIBERIAN WORKERS

A Voice From Prison

We publish below the letter of Tom Mooney to a group of Soviet workers in the town of Turak, district of Karsk, in Siberia.

California State Prison,
San Quentin.

Dear Comrades:
I read the letter addressed to the political prisoners at San Quentin. It gives me great pleasure to answer and I know that I am also voicing the sentiments of the other victims of capitalist justice incarcerated here.

What a tremendous inspiration is your glowing message of hope, coming from far-off Siberia. It seemed like a dream to have penetrating these these thick walls a message directly from workers, descendants of those who were serfs for centuries, just a few short years free from Czarist oppression and bondage.

You tell us not to lose courage. I have never wavered one iota in my devotion to the cause of labor. That is why my enemies are so relentless. That is why they have willed that I die in prison. I have grown old in this Bastille where they keep militant fighters for labor who have dared to take a stand in defense of their interests, who have had the courage to demand some of the good things of life for themselves and their families and their fellow-workers. They have not broken my spirit. I gaze unflinchingly into the future. I have never compromised my principles, and have ever held aloft the banner of a better world for workers and shall continue to do so as long as a spark of life remains within me.

At a time when the capitalist world is experiencing a crisis which is shaking it to its foundations, when death is raining on the workers and their families in far-off Shanghai and Manchuria, when imperialism is getting ready to cut loose with another mass slaughter on an unprecedented scale, it is an unforgettable sensation to read how you workers are constructing a new land and a new life.

I agree with you that the time will come when the gates of the prisons will be broken and the fighters for labor are buried alive shall swing open and free those who have devoted their lives to the cause of the toilers. I greet you in the name of that day when the blackness of reaction shall be dispelled by the sun of freedom and an opportunity to live like human beings, to be able to work constructively for the common welfare, shall be given to the toiling mass the world over.

So build your land! Rest assured that the tombstones we are by concrete and steel, our vision is not blinded. We are watching you closely. We glory in your achievements. We are with you in your struggles, as we know it is difficult to build

where there was nothing before. We are thrilled to see arising out of the muck and filth and ignorance and superstition that was old Russia, the new land of the Soviets, the homeland of the world's proletariat. From the ashes of the dark past we see arising, phoenix-like, a new world. I express to you from the bottom of my heart, my solidarity with you.
Comradely greetings to you all!
I am with you heart and soul.
Comradely yours,
TOM MOONEY—31,921

Hitler! Hindenburg! Communism!

What's Next in Germany?

WHAT THE ELECTIONS IN GERMANY MEAN
THE ROLE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY
THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
WHAT THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION PROPOSED
HITLERS THREAT TO THE LABOR MOVEMENT OF GERMANY AND TO THE WHOLE WORLD.
WHAT'S TO BE DONE?

Discussion Meeting

FRIDAY EVENING, APRIL 22 at 8 P. M.

LABOR TEMPLE
14th Street and Second Avenue

SOCIALIST and COMMUNIST PARTIES INVITED
to send speakers to present the viewpoints of their respective organizations!

Questions and Discussion from the Floor

ADMISSION — 15 CENTS

Auspices: Communist Party, U. S. A. (Majority Group)

READ THE WORKERS AGE—The Worker's Weekly—5c a Copy



SOUTHERN EDITORIALS OF SECESSION, Edited by Dwight Lowell Dumond. The Century Company, New York, 1931.

The collection of editorials from leading Southern newspapers, in the period of the Secession crisis, offers the student of the Civil War some extremely valuable and interesting material.

The Southern papers of the period spoke clearly, frankly and with considerable editorial vigor on the chief issues of the day, but especially on the great issue that was fast relegating all others to the background, the "irrepressible conflict" of the sections. And their testimony is valuable and enlightening.

Nothing emerges clearer from a study of this mass of political journalism than that the issue of the great conflict was Slavery—in the first place, its extension and then its very existence. The conciliatory, conservative Borderland Administration of Lincoln, and the "clever" politicians of the Republican party, endeavored with all their might to suppress the emancipatory character of the Union struggle, to the great detriment of the morale and fighting power of the North. They tried to elevate the "saving of the Union" into a super-historical fetish, devoid of any political and social content. They tried to conduct a great historical movement by the narrow-minded legalisms of a country lawyer fighting a petty case (Marx). It was only in the third year of the war that the pressure of Radicals and Abolitionists forced a change of course.

But the leading ideologists of the "slaveholders' insurrection" (as Marx termed the Civil War) were never under any illusions as to the real meaning of the crisis. Slavery was the issue—and the idea reappears in many forms through the editorials under consideration: "The safety of domestic servitude," "the protection of the peculiar institution," "the maintenance of our labor-system," and so on.

I can not refrain from calling attention to the high level of political writing in these editorials—however odious to me is their political content.

THE TEMPO OF MODERN LIFE, by James Truslow Adams, Albert and Charles Boni, New York, 1931.

James Truslow Adams is accounted a profound philosopher in America—which only goes to prove that in the country of the blind the one-eyed man is king.

Most of the miscellaneous essays contained in this book are trivial productions interesting only in illustrating the hopelessly reactionary standpoint from which Mr. Adams approaches his criticism of modern America. It is the viewpoint of aristocratic humanism. Its social background is the intellectual upper middle classes with the genteel British tradition: its contemporary social base is the parasitic rentier-bourgeoisie, with its contempt for the "middle classes" and its pretensions to culture.

Mr. Adams' comments on our contemporary life are sometimes fairly acute but usually nothing but banal snobbery. After you get the viewpoint, it all becomes insufferable. . . . The five essays on history and biography are the most interesting in the book, not for what Mr. Adams says—which is confusion worse confounded—but rather for the great problems raised.

X. Y. Z.



Father Cox's March
(To the Tune of Yankee Doodle)

Father and I went to Washington,
Along with Brother Gooding,
And there we see the lobbyists,
As thick as hasty pudding.

Chorus:
Yankee Doodle, hit it up!
Yankee Doodle, dandy!
Mind the music and the step
And with the prayers be handy.

And there we see the moneybags
As rich as old Squire David,
And what they wasted every day
I wish that I could save it.

We went into the capitol
To see the White House wonder
And wonder true it was to us
To see how he could blunder.

We asked about the dinner pail
The chicken and garage, sir,
Hard words was all he answered us
He said, 'twas a mirage, sir.

And then we saw our congressmen
With gentilefoks about him.
They say he's grown so tarnaal proud
He will not go without 'em.

He gave us all a big handshake
And put on lots of airs, oh!
And Father said: "Cheer the congressman,
And then we'll say some prayers,
oh!

Then Father Cox held up a cross
And said if we'd be good, sir
We'd get a handout now and then,
If we would saw some wood, sir.

I started in objectin' then
And so did lots of others.
Father said: "Now listen, boys,
Be good, think of your mothers."

And then I see a soldier's gun
A pointin' at my noodle.
I asked him what he's pointin' at
He said: "At Yankee Doodle."

I had no 'un so I beat it quick,
Nor stopped, as I remember,
Nor turned about, till I got home,
And safe within my chamber.

Next time I march on Washington,
'Twon't be with cross in hand, sir,
We made this country what it is;
We'll take the whole big land, sir.

Chorus:
Yankee Doodle start it up,
Yankee Doodle, dandy,
You've got the number, get in step,
And with the gun be handy.

Matzoth, Melameds, and Maney
"Money Talks." So B. Manishevitz, Horowitz and Margaret and Goodman and Son, the holy trinity of the hemstitched cardboard or unleavened bread industry, have put up \$10,000—the first donation of a sum of \$200,000 owing in back salaries to the striking melamidim or Hebrew teachers.

Now all the little Jewish boys will get their alaph, beth, gimel, again till the Hebrew teachers discover that \$10,000 is not \$200,000. By that time, maybe the kosher butchers will come across. Or the prayer-shawl manufacturers. Or the prophet Elijah. If the Jews are unemployed and starving that's not so important. But if they have no lessons in a dead language and a deader ritual, then they'll stop eating matzoths and kosher chickens and stop patronizing the rabbis the prayer-shawl manufacturers and the profit Elijah. And that will never do! So when the melamidim strike, the matzoth makers to the rescue!

Dumb Dora Explains
"I think Hoover's cure for the depression is just too keen for words," gushed Dumb Dora. "The idea seems to be that the unemployed are to help themselves out of a hole by giving each other jobs. Then we're all to draw our money out of the bank and buy baby bonds so that the government can help the poor banks we drew our money out of."

"We're going to tax those who haven't anything so as not to discourage those that have. Then we'll raise prices to encourage everybody to start buying again."

"And then the President had a lovely thought that shows why he's the leader of the nation. He's going to have Rudy Vallee write a song about it and using it over the radio to chase the depression blues. Think of what that'll mean to all the unemployed!"

"But I do wish he had picked Russ Colombo or Bing Crosby instead. Rudy is so passe, if you know what I mean."

"Anyhow Rudy Vallee's a nice young man," added Dora, "and since he's the Republican choice I did my share by writing a song for him." And lifting up her lovely neck Dora began to croon:

"Happy days are here again,
A cut in wage is near again!
Get the news,
Chase them blues,
We're getting back our beer again!
Elect our great engineer again,
For happy days are here again."

"That ought to cure any depression," ended Dumb Dora, and she looked so pretty with her eyes flashing and her breath coming fast from talking so much that I hadn't the heart to disagree with her.

—B. D. W.