

















Left to Right: J. C. Perkins - Wallace Pike - E. C. West - C. W. Pike - Howard Scott - William Howard - John Kitta - E. R. Blomberg - Edward Lubsen - Irwin Lockwood - R. E. Marchand.

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Five Cents

# **New Deal Rule** Is Upset Again

WITH THE DECLARATION of the unconstitutionality of the AAA the right wing of the bourgeoisie has completed the first part of its struggle against any and all types of governmental sanction of relief and benefits to the workers and farmers. The significance of the Supreme Court decision lies not so much in the question of "states' rights," as in the outlawing of benefit

payments to the farmers, on principle. Nevertheless, the immediate task of farmers and workers is certainly not to fight with Roosevelt for the reconstitution of the AAA. For this agricultural scheme of rehabilitation was an expression not of "reform" but of the inability of capitalism to solve the agricultural crisis and overcome the "scissors" between industrial and agricultural prices.

According to the figures of the Dep't Dear Comrades: of Agriculture, the program of crop destruction resulted in an artificial rise of 1935 \* addressed to the Executive Comcommodities at the point of production mittee of the Communist International point of consumption. The prices re-tion conference has not been answered ceived by the farmers stood at 100 within the time limit proposed in that (1909-14 being the base years) on Dec. 15, 1935. However, the price for the ECCI has again rejected negotiations for things they had to buy, stood, on the communist unity with the ICO and its afsame date and with the same base years, at 122! Nor is this all. With the inclusion of interest on debt and taxes, the index both the German and American Comof farmers' costs had risen, under the munist Parties have made a number of same conditions, to 126! Thus, despite all attempts to win over individual comadministration ballyhoo, the agricultural rades or local organizations from the crisis was absolutely worse.

This means that crop destruction and the Communist Parties. These maneuvers benefits played mostly into the hands of have failed miserably. the cotton textile magnates who were able to jack up their selling prices while red simultaneously and were identical in decreasing the wages of their workers, the various countries, leads us to believe and the big farmers, who had good land, that these Parties acted in accordance and being able to afford modern improve- with instructions handed down by the ments, increased the yield per acre. The ECCI itself; namely, to refuse negotiamass of the farmers suffered foreclosure, tions with the Communist Opposition or were driven out of the process of and to attempt to disrupt and smash its production when their lands were declared sub-marginal. Why it was that the big farmers gained, can be seen from the following official figures: In 1929, to enter the Party, but immediately 44,500,000 acres were planted, with a withdrew this proposal when it learned yield of 159 lbs. per acre, giving a total that our comrades had conducted a of 14,800,000 bales. But in 1933, the first critical discussion of the resolutions of (Continued on Page 3)

# Why Is the Comintern Silent?

The following letter from the Buro of the International Communist Opposition to its various sections, deals with the document sent to the Communist International, of which excerpts appeared in last week's issue of Workers Age. (The document will be printed in full in the first number of INTERNA-TIONAL CLASS STRUGGLE.) While adaressed to the members of the ICO, this letter is of vital concern to members of the Communist and Socialist Parties and to the labor movement generally.

The document, presenting the position of the ICO today, accurately portrays the present status of "unity relations" between the ICO and the CI.-Editor.

To All Sections of the International Communist Opposition:

-but also a much greater rise at the by the International Communist Opposiletter. All of which means that the filiated sections.

At the same time, the leadership of Opposition for unconditional return to

The fact that these maneuvers occur with instructions handed down by the

organizations. In Czechoslovakia the Central Committee asked our organization in Asch the Seventh World Congress and their PEOPLE'S FRONT ON WENZEL SQUARE

The "Praguer Tagblatt" of December 19th carries a report on demonstrations on the Wenzelplatz.

"Demonstrations were held at the Wenzelplatz in the evening. . . The crowd sang the national anthem, national songs and finally even the International. There were constant shouts of "Long live President Benes," "Long Live constant shouts of "Long live President Benes," "Long Live Masaryk, our emancipator," "Down with Fascism," "Long Live the People's Front Government." In the meantime, the police chief who had made careful preparations placed strong squads of policemen all around the square. . . . Altho the police had crowded the great majority of the participants in this demonstration for President Benes into Stefansgasse, new groups assembled at the lower end of the square shouting, "Long live the peace policy of President Benes," "Long live Masaryk, our emanci-pator," "Long live the People's Front, Down with Fascism."

application and were insistent upon their right to propagate their views within the Party.

The above mentioned facts give a clear lead as to the reasons why the ECCI has rejected negotiations on the basis of the letter of the ICO and is instead attempting, in vain of course, to smash our organizations. The decisive reason is that neither the ECCI nor the leaders of the CI can afford a serious critical discussion of the present right opportunist course; nor can they afford to have the cadres of the Communist Opposition assume their proper places in the CI and its sections. All of which means that the leaders of the CI and its sections are opposed to the introduction of inner Party democracy.

In his summary, Comrade Dimitroff said the following:

"We want the workers who belong to the Second International and the

Amsterdam International and those workers who belong to other political organizations to discuss these resolutions with us; to bring us their practical proposals and supplementary proposals, to try to think of the best methods of application and to join us hand in hand to carry them out in

Dimitroff said further:

"We must develop the initiative of our Party comrades when it comes to new problems, we must contribute to the discussion of Party activities, and must guard against prematurely accusing a Party member who has made critical remarks on the practical tasks of our movement of deviating."

We took these words seriously: In our letter to the ECCI we proposed a discussion of the resolutions of the Seventh Congress in order to improve them thru criticism and constructive suggestions. The ECCI disregarded all this. The attitude of the CI is certainly in sharp contrast with that of Dimitroff. Inner-Party democracy has been granted on paper only.

The Comintern burocracy is now attempting to consolidate its position considerably shaken by the fiasco of the ultra-left course—by steering an ultra-right, opportunist course. It is determined not to yield an inch

The Communist Opposition must draw the proper conclusions from this situation. First of all, we regret that the restoration of Communist unity has again failed because of opposition by the leaders of the CI and its sections.

Secondly, we realize that the Communist Opposition must continue its fight most energetically as an organized com-munist tendency. We are now entering a new phase. We are now fighting against the ultra-right course and for the restoration of inner-Party democracy, not only in words but in actual practice.

The Communist Opposition can point to the numerous practical confirmations of its policies and even to the "self-criticism," inadequate as it was, at the 7th World Congress. We do not doubt for a moment that the ultra-right (Continued on Page 3)

### Omaha Car Men In Bomb Frame-Up

OMAHA, Neb .-- After holding 16 strikers incommunicado the local authorties finally permitted the press to break the news of a great bombing conspiracy arising out of the hotly fought car strike. Of the 16 originally arrested 4 have been released and of these it is rumored that one or two are police plants who will be used later in the trial. The police brag of signed confessions from a number of workers but in union circles it is well known how these so-called confessions are secured. All workers intend to plead not guilty to charges of conspiracy and syndicalism, and, in some cases, also malicious destruction of prop-

The bombings are supposed to have occurred on May 14 when a car barn was bombed and on May 23 when a street car was bombed and damaged. It was recalled in local labor circles that it was also a result of a street car strike that the employers swore to get Tom Mooney.

Despite widespread resentment against this attempted frame-up no defense organization has yet materialized. Both the local union and the Central Labor Union appear to be very slow in getting under way. It has become known that the Civil Liberties Union has offered its

#### GREEN PLACES JOBLESS AT 11,672,000

WASHINGTON, D.C.-William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, has again raised his voice for the shorter work week. He pointed out that although business has recovered half of its depression losses, only 30% of the unemployed have been put to work. He estimates the number of unemployed to-day as 11,672,000.

Mr. Green also called attention to the growth of child labor in the textile industry in New Jersey and North Caroline. Other states as New York and

California show the same tendency. The ratification of the child labor amendment would halt this condition,

# AMERICAN LEAGUE HEARS LIQUIDATION PLEA AT CLEVELAND CONGRESS

#### ZIMMERMAN TELLS DELEGATES TRADE UNIONS MUST ORGANIZE INDEPENDENT OF LEAGUE

The 3rd Congress of the American It was all but drowned in a veritable League held in Cleveland on January 3, tidal wave of religious, pacifist, liberal, 4, and 5th was another convincing illustration of its fatal weaknesses. Both democracy, brotherhood of man, Statue the organizational status and the ideologic deliberations at the congress made stitution, evils of war, evils of fascism, its limitations more than ever painfully etc. apparent. Tho the Congress attempted to give the appearance of a broad, non- a substantial racket out of "War is a partisan character, the reality was un- Racket", was the chief speaker, and was fortunately quite different. The Congres was obviously composed in the main of two categories, communists and com munist sympathizers on the one hand and middle class elements on the other religious, liberals, pacifists, professionals etc., with the former undoubtedly do The ovation given the out standing C.P.ers, upon their appearance on the stage (Browder and Hathaway would dispel any doubts in this direction They literally brought the house down As to its composition, on the basis of its own figures (placarded dramatically or the stage at the end of the last session the congress had only 197 delegates representing the trade unions out of a total delegation of 2 201. More than 91% of the delegation was thus admittedly nor trade union.

It would be merciful indeed to draw the curtain of obliviou over the out pourings at the mass meeting with which the Congress officially opened before the public on Friday evening January 3rd. The meeting began with the singing of "America" to which everybody dutifully stood up-or rather, most everybody-(a small minority, impolite enough to retain some glimmer of class conscience couldn't stomach it). The three main speakers were a bishop, a rabbi and a general, the bizarre Smedley Butler. The authentic voice of labor, of a clear, class conscious approach to the twin problem Smedley Butler, who is making quite

put on the air. His incredible ranting hodge-podge, in which the only intelligible positive statement was to send tele grams to the president, was a fitting end to an evening of such ideological fare. The whole travesty was an inevit ble result of the character of a move ment without anchor in a firm proletarian base, and swollen out of all proportion with middle class influence. A sharp symbol of the fatal dualism which grips the League, C.P. controlled on the one hand, and on the other a pacifist outfit of the most nauseating sort, with patriotism, al la Smedley Butler thrown

The Congress got down to business discussion was directed to the various

SOCIALISTS GIVE THE LIE TO THE DAILY WORKER

In answer to claims by the Daily Worker that the Socialist Party has decided to join the American League Against War and Fascism, Clarence Senior, national secretary, stated that the S.P. will support only such movement as is based on the trade

Mary Fox of the League for Industrial Democracy made the following denial: "I sent no communication whatever. I am personally in favor of the resolution presented by Local 22 of the ILGWU, which suggested liquidation of the League Against War and Fascism and pointed to the need of a strong anti-war movement initiated by and based upon the organized labor movement."

Saturday morning with the report of Chairman Ward. The report was quite perfunctory. The Congress was announced as too large and unwieldy for open discussion at full delegate sessions These would be reserved for speeches greetings, announcements, etc. Concrete

#### SOCIALISTS ALSO PLEDGE SUPPORT TO NEW MOVEMENT BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS

commissions. The discussion, at least at the trade union commission, the largest and most important of all, turned out to be prepared in advance with a readymade speakers list. The speeches were mostly descriptive, or of the "How I fought-Fascism-here-and-there" type. The Congress was in fact well on the way to a continuous siesta of self praise with very little critical discussion of problems or perspectives, when its complacency was rudely shattered by two individuals, Chas. S. Zimmerman, manager of Local 22 I.L.G.W.U. and Paul Porter, national labor secretary of the S.P. They were there as observers and not as delegates of their respective organizations, neither of which are affiliates of the League. They furnished the only critical and constructive opposition at the Congress. Their viewpoints similar in fundamentals were both presented at the trade union commission. Zimmerman presented the line of the statement adopted by Local 22, that the

"American League is not now nor

# THE FIRST \$1,000 ARE ON HAND

### By Jay Lovestone

Yes, comrades and friends: Our Intivity campaign for \$5000.00 beginsofficially-January 15th. But, even before the starting date, we have managed to raise a little over one-thousand dollars in cash.

It is true. Here are the facts and figures. You did it. We were sure you would and could do it. We thank you all.

However, this is only a good begin-

gether too far, from our goal. Hundreds | do? of our readers, thousands of workers who are with us, who fight shoulder to ternational Solidarity and American Ac- shoulder with us in the coal pits, in the garment factories, in the machine shops, on the waterfront and ships, have yet to be heard from.

Unless we hear from these workers soon, unless they send on something quickly we'll be up against it. This time the "we" means you as well. After all, of war and fascism, was almost indstinct. I ning. We are far, still very far, alto- doing that which you want to and should

Here is our proposition. It is made to you as friend to friend and as comrade to comrade.

1. Drop in on us and do your bit-Pitch in, do your share. If you're too ing against the movement, because busy or don't live in New York mail in Zimmerman himself is fighting against your cash or check.

2. Then sound out at least one friend of yours on this idea: Tell him or her, you have given, why you have given, cussion, and threatening to penalize and the time is short. Before you know the two months will be over. Why delay why he or she should do likewise—should democracy in his union. He's only an

(Continued on Page 2)

can it in its nature become the vehicle of an effective mass movement of labor against war and fascism in this country. . . . In its origin and development, in its composition and leadership, in its whole appeal and method of operations the American League has been essentially a narrow, partisan organization with only the slimmest connections in the general labor movement. It has, moreover, become so mechanically identified with one particular tendency in the labor movement, and so thoroly compromised by the sectarianism of its earlier days that it has lost all possibility of appeal to the masses of organized workers."

He indicated the necessity for the dissolution of the League and called for building up anew a broad movement initiated by and based in the main on the trade unions, inclusive of working class political organizations and drawing behind it all other elements. preceding Zimmerman also spoke about the necessity of building a broad movement based chiefly on the trade unions. After Zimmerman finished the fun began. Ben Gold of the Furriers launched into a vicious attack against Zimmerman. 'Yes, we found it difficult to win workers from the trade unions to the League. But why is that? Because of the reactionary weight of the social reformist leadership of the trade unions, because the colleagues of Zimmerman are fightthe League. He is frightened by the attempts in his union to elect delegates from the shops so he is squashing dis-(Continued on Page 3)

Church and 'Blutkultur' As Feeders of Fascism

By JAY LOVESTONE

pects the most important he has deliver-

ally on what he intimated, insinuated and inferred. Harping on the need of ful silence for many weeks. facts, the President gave none. Em-

and opinion. This is most meaningful. It indicates much more than a certain phase of the Democratic strategy in the coming election appeal. It reveals that coming election appeal. It reveals that we are going to have an election campaign in many respects similar to the McKinley-Bryan struggle of 1896. It is certain that Roosevelt will appear, in form, radical. No Republican opponent will throw down gauntlets to him. Trustbusting, driving the money-changers out of the temple, renovating, re-invigorating, bringing up todate Populism will be Roosevelt's stock.

EUROPE TODAY. Jay Lovestone, just returned from a tour of Europe, will analyze the battle to death between Fascism and Communism, in this, Europe's most critical hour, in a lecture course at the New Workers School on Friday nights at 8:30 P. M.

Distinguished by his ability to fore-cast events by estimating the political strategy and tactics of the decisive or progressive leader, resigned as manager.

EUROPE TODAY. Jay Lovestone, just returned from a tour of Europe, will analyze the battle to death between Fascism and Communism, in this, Europe's most critical hour, in a lecture course at the New Workers School on Friday nights at 8:30 P. M.

Distinguished by his ability to fore-cast events by estimating the political strategy and tactics of the decisive or the progressive Group, recognizing now that it had been correct in its analysis of the situation and in its policies. The Progressive Group has strategy and tactics of the decisive or the progressive leader, resigned as manager.

Naturally this will involve the role of aries, voted down a collective agree-

made, no more tragic misstep could be already at an end. taken by the workers than to fall for the | The rejection of the agreement was a Roosevelt appeal—regardless of how mistake for which the silk workers in radical a hue his phraseology will assume. Capitalist demagogues remain pay heavily. If the union could secure mortal enemies of labor, no matter how today, after ten weeks of strike, the ably they ply their craft. What labor needs in 1936 is a political party of its January, the Communist Party would give as much or more and do so soonest. January, the Communist Party would give as much or more and do so soonest. B. Solomon own having as its foundation the trade acclaim it as a gigantic victory, as in-unions. Practically speaking, this ap-pears not likely of realization—on an ef-the membership which it had under Kelfective national scale. However, certain ler's leadership, or the wages and con-shopmate, colleague, friend or comrade. Norma Berlow steps can and should be taken to unite ditions that the union had gained then, of labor's political organizations the Rank and File leaders would boast behind one set of standard-bearers on a of their achievements. It is under their common minimum program against all leadership that the conditions of the capitalist parties and forces. Such a workers toboganned downward and the move will go a long way towards speed- union dragged down to inevitable defeat. ing up the development of a labor party After taking office a year ago the -particularly if an earnest fight is Rank and File Group leadership caremade and honest cooperation is practised in the stormy election struggle conomic situation. Every walk of life is replete with proof of the growing dis-

EVIDENCE OF THE DECAY of capitalism in the United States is to be found not only in the statistics of the monopolies, the degeneration of some of

# LET FREEDOM RING cators of the processes of decline of the present socio-economic order as are the figures of unemployment.

are taking this occasion to yell for a so-called war on crime—which in reality is

o be an attack on foreign-born workers.

The Lindbergh "flight" is now being seized upon by Hearst as the "reason"

for introducing the registration of "aliens" in the U. S.

We know of no more dangerous weap-

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45c to \$1.50

# A Strike for Worse Conditions

By B. HERMAN

The Paterson Silk Strike is now in its though the number of paid organizers local strike, and rushed into the strike on enth week. While not officially called off was doubled, they were so ineffective in the principle that "things are so bad, the state of the strike is such that the combatting the the attacks of the em- they can't get any worse. Strike Committee has voted more than a week ago to disband. But of approx-reduced to almost half. Alex Williams, Strike III-Timed THE PRESIDENT'S JACKSON DAY imately 500 shops the union has settled manager of the union stated in the Daily This would have been bad enough even relief which still remains unspent and only 38; the overwhelming majority of Worker of October 8, 1935 that "wages if the strike had been called last August, having been equally impressed, or perdinner speech was in many resting the shops are now in operation. An in- are at starvation levels ... many work- which was the beginning of the busy haps I should say disgusted by the ed. In some respects it was among the significant number of workers—less than ers earn only \$9 or \$10 for a 40 hour season. There was a certain amount of total uselessness of many of the proone hundred-attend "strike mass meet- week." While under progressive leader- work during August, September and jects thought up by the Washington ings." There have peen no picket lines for ship the broadsilk department had 5,000 October even the conditions in the trade Brain Brokers, I wish to make a prothe last five weeks and no relief is being members and a large treasury, the mem- have been quite unfavorable. But the posal for a new project. We charge no handed out to the remaining strikers. bership has declined to 1,000 and the strike was turned into a mad adventure thing for the idea. Let pick it up who Our evaluation rests not so much on The Daily Worker, which during the first treasury was exhausted by October 1935. doorned to utter defeat when the union will. We propose a national survey of what Roosevelt said in this address. We base our conclusion rather on what the Chief Executive left unsaid—and especiand file leaders," has maintained a pain—

The Daily Worker, which during the limit workers which did not be striked of 8,000 silk workers "under rank the limit work of 8,000 silk workers "under rank the limit work of 8,000 silk workers "under rank the limit work of 8,000 silk workers "under rank the limit work of 8,000 silk workers "under rank the limit work of 8,000 silk workers "under rank the limit work of 8,000 silk workers "under rank the limit work of 8,000 silk workers "under rank the limit work of 8,000 silk workers "under rank the limit work of 8,000 silk workers "under rank the limit work of 8,000 silk workers "under rank the limit work of 8,000 silk workers "under rank the limit work of 8,000 silk workers "under rank the limit work of 8,000 silk workers "under rank the limit work of 8,000 silk workers "under rank the limit work of 8,000 silk workers "under rank the limit work of 8,000 silk workers "under rank the limit work of 8,000 silk workers "under rank the limit work of 8,000 silk work The Progressive Group repeatedly

broadsilk strike and proposed that steps ministration, he resorted to distinct discreteness and chose not to examine or even discuss them Political accountry to make the proposed that steps oblivious actions.

The individual shop settlements that have been made are scandalous. The means of victory. It declared that failing oblivious actions. even discuss them. Boldly mentioning the Supreme Court decision on the A.A.A., he thought it better to tell the world that he feels it best, as yet, to pass no indement on it. Of same of the strike are scandalous. The means of victory. It declared that failing to get the support of the other silk centers, the Paterson union should wage a guerilla war—a continuous and vigor—ous campaign of shop strikes. The pass no indement on it. Of same of victory. It declared that failing to get the support of the other silk centers, the Paterson union should wage a guerilla war—a continuous and vigor—ous campaign of shop strikes. The pass no indement on it. Of same of victory. It declared that failing to get the support of the other silk to get the suppor the Supreme Court decision on the A.A.A., he thought it better to tell the world that he feels it best, as yet, to pass no judgment on it. Of course, this is neither a new nor profound method of wary politicians putting themselves on record.

We are not interested in the heights or depths of demagogy attained by Roosevelt in his message to the Jones families. Nor are we concerned withhis of delivery, or aggressive approach. Just now it appears that the Republican Parts hasn't a dark horse in its stable to make it a close race in November.

Roosevelt was than those extant before the strike, and file leading for \$1.94 and the workers are quivalently and the workers are quivalently and the workers are guerilla war—a continuous and vigor by soph strikes. The progressives pointed out that only 15% for broad silk production was now located in Roome was possible to strike the strike was doomed to failure and participated half-heartedly. Strike meetings were poorly attended, with his for Paterson's silk is produced in the "family shops." Under such circumstances only at the content of years back. Moreover 40% of Paterson's silk is produced in the "family shops." Under such circumstances only at the continuous hat-in-hand relation of and force a collective agreement. In 1933 and again in 1934, under progressive from a statement of the Strike Committee is so reasonable and modest that it could hardly arouse of poverty, malnutrition and hunger. Roosevelt was the first President to make an open frank appeal to so progressive, to so left a section of American politics as the Farmer-Labor fold and onlying. This is most at the lowest amount. The could get, down to \$1.50. One shop is settled for 4c a yard, another for 3\%c, another for 3\%c, and still another for 3\%c. Under such conditions all shops will soon be working for leaders ignored these warnings.

#### EUROPE AT THE TURN

EUROPE TODAY. Jay Lovestone, just

Ing, bringing up todate Populism will be Roosevelt's stock-in-trade.

January 1935. At that time Eli Keller, progressive leader, resigned as manager as manager and tactics of the decisive organizations of reaction and of the work-department for executive board and of-great vitality in the presidential contest.

Group, in combination with the reaction-dominant trends in France Cormany and dominant trends in France Cormany and dominant trends in France Cormany and dominant trends in France Cormany and force or successive vents by estimating the political grown in membership rapidly during the past two months. The prospects for ployed 134.75, Students 68.62, Average Weight (in pounds)—Unemployed 127.27, Employed 134.75, Students 138.20. Average Weight (in pounds)—Unemployed 134.75, Students 138.20. Average (in pounds)—Unemployed 134.75, Stu the Supreme Court and proposals for ment which Keller had secured with the secone with the secured with the secured with the secured with the modernizing its prerogatives. But let manufacturers. In the Joint Board they no one expect Rossevelt to make a had refused to allow the agreement to expect Rossevelt to make a had refused to allow the agreement to expect Rossevelt to make a had refused to allow the agreement to expect Rossevelt to make a had refused to allow the agreement to expect Rossevelt to make a had refused to allow the agreement to expect Rossevelt to make a had refused to allow the agreement to expect Rossevelt to make a had refused to allow the agreement to expect Rossevelt to make a had refused to allow the agreement to expect Rossevelt to make a had refused to allow the agreement to expect Rossevelt to make a had refused to allow the agreement to expect Rossevelt to make a had refused to allow the agreement to expect Rossevelt to make a had refused to allow the agreement to expect Rossevelt to make a had refused to allow the agreement to expect Rossevelt to make a had refused to allow the agreement to expect Rossevelt to make a had refused to allow the agreement to expect Rossevelt to make a had refused to allow the agreement to expect Rossevelt to make a had refused to allow the agreement to expect Rossevelt to make a had refused to allow the agreement to expect Rossevelt to make a had refused to allow the agreement to expect Rossevelt Rossevelt to make a had refused to allow the agreement to expect Rossevelt Rosse no one expect Roosevelt to make a frontal attack on this sanctum sanctorum of vested capitalist interests. He will rather begin his attack on the right will rather begin his attack on the right.

3. After you shall have done this good J. A.

fully refrained from calling the general garded the real weakness of the organstrike which it had itself demanded. Al- ization and its lack of preparedness for a

leadership called it at the end of October the effects of extended unemployment on -at the tail end of the season. It is a!- the industrial proletariat. most unbelievable that a union leaderwarned against the adventure of a local ship could be either so ignorant of contruth be told it came to me while readditions and seasonal changes, or as long about a similar award or appeal of the could be compared to t obilivious of the consequences of its

modest that it could hardly arouse opposition even from those manufacturers who have shown the least sympathy for the deplorable conditions of Paterson mill employes."

The militancy of previous strikes had the Rank and File leaders.

g-class, Lovestone will probe into the department for executive board and of-minant trends in France, Germany and ficers are very favorable. The workers 113.30. Average Pulling Power (in of the lower federal courts to determine the constitutionality of legislation.

No more serious mistake could be general strike although the busy season was made, no more training of the properties of the union from destruction, the leader-about, but only in this class treated with Marxian realism.

More than the general labor movement and to save today, a subject romanticized, practiled the union from destruction, the leader-about, but only in this class treated with Marxian realism.

Marxian realism.

# **OVER \$1,000 COLLECTED NOW**

ditions that the union had gained then, the Rank and File leaders would boast of their achievements. It is under their leadership that the conditions of the workers toboganned downward and the union dragged down to inevitable defeat.  After taking office a year ago the Rank and File Group leadership care-	Here is a simple inexpensive plan for helping to break the Hitler chains, for lending a hand to the proletarian revolutionists at home and abroad. This is applying Stakhanoffism in rearing towers of working class loyalty. It is simple, sound, straightforward and spells sure success.  Here is what and how some comrades and friends have already done!
economic situation. Every walk of life	What and how about You?
is replete with proof of the growing dis-	Our appreciation to all—today—instead I
integration of the bourgeois social order.	of tomorrow.
The racketeer kingdom, the rapacious practices inseparable from the huge	N
monopolies, the degeneration of some of	THE HONOR ROLL
"our best families" are as forceful indi-	[   <del></del>
cators of the processes of decline of the	A. Bell
present socio-economic order as are the	W. D. 100.00 A 48.35
figures of unemployment.	B. and L. Lerner 10.00
In our opinion the Lindberg case is a	L. S
model combination of such types of de- generation. It contains a rich murky	E. Frances and B. Herman 20.00 S
variety of the germs gnawing at the very	I. and R. Brill
vitals of American social and economic	S. Zeldin 10.00   J
relations. Undoubtedly the crown prince	E. and G 25.00 E
of Wall Street, Captain Lindbergh, must	P. Kutt 25.00 F
have had special reasons for flying off	C. L. 5.00 C
to England on a freighter. Somehow	[2. 2a,13
we cannot escape the conclusion that it	S. S. Vivian
was not the desire for safety that motivated the "escape" to England. Not	Eli Keller 3.00 E
even Lindbergh's unquenchable thirst for	Lena Greenberg 5.00 H
irrevocable punishment being handed out	Sarah Gross 5.00 A
to Hauptmann can clear up this "mys-	Peter Gallia 2.00 C
tery" to us. Probably Jafsie could sup-	B. Rosen 5.00 E
ply the country with an enlightening	J. Gissing 5.00 F
footnote. Perhaps some blue-bloods of	M. Zelnick 5.00 F
"our four hundred" have more than their	Ed Sagarin 5.00 F
fingers in this most sordid of kidnap tragedies.  But what concerns labor most in this	BRADLEY'S
whole mess is not abstract justice. It is of immeasurably sinister significance that the arch-reactionaries of the land	: CAFETERIA

o nlan for M. Yablon ... S. Tiger Bernie Broder Jack Broder Rose Cohen Ed Welsh Clarence Jenkins ...... Gertie Lifshitz Hirshman and Mesnil ..... Claire Greene Julius Stone 5.00 corresponding months of 1934. The figures for September showed 275 Beatie Evans 3.00 ers in progress with 518,000 work-O. Schleifer ..... Vasquez ..... Evelyn Lawrence ..... Ellen Ward ..... C. P. E. B. M. Ethel Polk ..... H. Fried ..... Florence Reed ..... 10.00 Robert Strong ..... 5.00 Antonio Maduro ..... 2.00 X. Y. Z. Summit, N. J. (B.D.W.) Mort and Molly ..... **SEASONABLE** Ida Alpert ..... Bob Lewis ..... REASONABLE PRICES STILL TO GO ......\$3,967.80 on to place in the hands of the open-shoppers, in the arsenal of the vilest en-

# ..... 5.00 STRIKE FIGURES ..... 50.00 2.00 Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y., under-other act of March 3, 1879. WE NEED \$5,000.00

# TRADE UNION NOTES

By GEORGE F. MILES

Having been duly impressed by the The idea is not exactly original. If the

ing about a similar survey (on a small scale) conducted in London during 1935 by E. P. Cathcart and others. This study (The Physique of Man in Industry) re veals a most shocking state of affairs in as far as the unemployed workers are f poverty, malnutrition and hunger.

The study covered some 13,000 men of which over 10,000 were employed workers, over 1300 unemployed (at least six months immediately prior to this sur The militancy of previous strikes had been converted into "reasonableness" by the Rank and File leaders.

Yey), and about 1700 were students. In all cases only volunteers were taken and the reasonable reasonab the same age groups were of course used. The test consisted of height and weight measurements, and also gripping and pulling powers measured in term

The following results were obtained or the various tests: Average Height (in inches)—Unemployed 65.63, Employed 66.54 Students 68.62, Average Weigh

error index in the above, is it not significant that the unemployed group was found deficient in every single testincluding height and weight. The figures are extremely provocative and call for extensive study also in the U.S.

This is perhaps neither the place nor the time to enter into a discussion of the significance for the revolutionary novement of such a condition among the unemployed proletariat. Such a declassed section of the proletariat in the process of deterioration may readily sink 5.00 into the category of the lumpen-prole-5.00 tariat and become the rich soil from 15.00 which a fascist movement may draw 5.00 sustenance and strength.

A study along the lines begun by 5.00 Cathcart in London, but going further 1.00 and covering more ground would be most 5.00 welcome to every student of the labor

50.00 MUCH TOO LATE

It has become known that the Supreme Court unknowingly upset the apple-cart 5.00 F. of L. when it declared the Wagner Law unconstitutional. Basing themselves on the Wagner Law a number of the craft organizations planned to protect 5.00 themselves by taking out an injunction against the industrial unions which 2.00 threaten to encroach upon their domain. 25.00 This is one effect of the Supreme Court 15.00 action over which few tears need be shed.

Strike figures for the first 9 months way, is a record of some sort. A total of almost three million working days were lost. The strike of 400,000 soft-coal miners accounted for the greater portion of the half a million workers involved in strikes or lockouts in Sentember

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# A Discussion of Comrade Herberg's Article on Fascism

In an early issue Comrade Herberg will

beards. In like fashion this "fascism" to historical definitions of national slipped into Spain and Austria and of polity. course Comrade Herberg could have ad-

By EDWARD PETERS

The Fascists In America?"-has aroused

Comrade Herberg's article-"Who Are

considerable discussion. The following ar-

ticle taking exception to certain of Herberg's

much was left unsaid.

capital"; "Saviour-Leaders."

valid in point of time and place but they

are of no value in determining just what and where "fascism" exists in the United

States. Negatively there can be little

doubt that Comrade Herberg is right when he pillories the Browder thesis

is fascist and Roosevelt is peaches and

ded Italy and a few miscellaneous other State and Citizen spots. This same obfuscation that harass- There are three basic definitives of the workers of Europe now is in the relation of the state to the citizen, evidence in the United States, and right- and vice versa. The first is Hegel-Hitler ly, Comrade Herberg nails such confu- -that the state is master and the citinists to the cross. His analysis of the zen a slave. The second is Jeffersonfog that envelops Socialists, Trotskyites, Mattei-Bellarmine—that the state is a and Browderites is brilliant; yet, be- slave of the citizen. The third is that cause his space was limited or because both the state and citizen are slaves he tired of flailing those eminent prole- of God who by metonymy is the Church, tarian twins-Browder and Dimitroff- which by definition is a congregation of holy men wearing cassocks. The definition of "fascism" that he The first example of these types

gives is an orthodox Communist formulation but it certainly could be translation but it certainly could be translation. ed from the general and abstract to the has created a Blutkultur or intensely All the foregoing characterizations are

conclusions is presented for purposes of diseverybody but, getting down to cases, ly died of starvation. A hundred box cussion only and not because of agreement just exactly what will United States cars, dozens of thousands of milch cows, antecedent "revolution" staged and won fascism be like? Is it here in the off all sorts of other appurtenances of the by the fascists themselves. Our representing? Who are its mahouts and apostles? | land, rolled out of Germany into France | atives (not "Democratic" as most people | develop further his point of view in an article entitled—"The Face of American Fascism."—Editor.

To arrive at answers to such questions it is necessary to use predetermined yardsticks for the measuring of political trends. The first of these would seem to be that "frequency of the political trends." The first of these would seem to be the first of these would seem to be the frequency of the political trends. The first of these would seem to be an atypic priest—a unique clerical demangence assume) form of government is too root described assume) form of government is too root demangence as In the Workers Age for January 4th seem to be that "ffascism" although ism took root and began to grow. Ger-diagnosis is that within our legal frame-In the workers age for January 4th originating in fundamentally identic man chauvinism or Blutkultur or fas- work the de facto essentials of fascism It will surprise Communists to learn and illuminates somewhat the workings causes takes on different forms in each cism is simply a primitive example of are quite probable—but in new dresses. of fascism in the United States. He country. The second is American—the "pie in the sky" or beatitude psychology. points to the idiotic confusion of the expression of American fascism may or Her persecution of the Jews is caused Who Is Who? Communist-Social Democratic leadership may not be the same as in Europe. Both by the same psychology that induces a that permitted Hitler to sneak into power these yardsticks, interrelated, deny emo- boy who has been thrashed by a bigger while his opponents pulled each other's tional name-calling and affirm an affinity boy to kick the hell out of the first smaller boy he meets. Theocratic Austria

God." Its law is anchored in, and is part experiences of Thyssen and the cartels property, types of public officials, etc., to the Church—the priesthood has veto quite silly to ascribe any intelligence to —yet these documents can be had for power over the secular power. In the destruction of Socialists, when Dollfuss velt and his brain trusters do have some shows Coughlin to be a meticulous ed from the general and abstract to the specific and concrete, with a great deal of resultant clarity. His definition is say that this fascist government displays and the other opponents of the New say that this fascist government displays and the other opponents of the New from door to door holding crucifixes because the door holding crucifixes because the say that this fascist government displays and the other opponents of the New force them and preaching a holy war of least tendency is due to the say that this fascist government displays and the other opponents of the New force them and preaching a holy war of least tendency is due to the say that this fascist government displays and the other opponents of the New force them and preaching a holy war of least tendency is due to the say that this fascist government displays are the say that this fascist government displays are the say that this fascist government displays are the say that the say that

of resultant clarity. His definition is:
"Fascism arises when, under the impact of a deep, all-national economic and social crisis, it has become impossible for the bourgeoise to continue to rule society thru the customary machinery.

... while at the same time the proletariat, tho a formidable social force is unable, organizationally and politically, to seize political control." In addition to seize political control." In addition to the above definition, the following extents of "fascism": "treactionary mystigeness of "fascism": "treactionary mystigeness when, under the impact destruction against anti-Christ Socialists. The third type is personified by Mussolini is a default ruler—a to seize political control." In addition to the above definition, the following extents of "fascism": "treactionary mystigeness when, under the impact of a destruction against anti-Christ Socialists. The third type is personified by Mussolini is a default ruler—a social snobbery inherent in what amounts to the history of a half-killed of the cause is due to the intellectual—social snobbery inherent in what amounts to the American ruling class. It's dim, to be sure, but "Harvard men" and Cappe Shambles after the butchering. His rule is neither theocratic nor Blutkultur, altiough some pretense in those directions think that the cause of our troubles is nature of our economic crisis that causes destruction against anti-Christ Socialists. The third type is personified by Mussolini is a default ruler—a sheriff who is overlord of a ruined to the history of a half-killed of the cause is due to the intellectual—social snobbery inherent in what amounts to the American ruling class. It's dim, to be sure, but "Harvard men" and Cappe Cod gentlemen and Carter Glass of Virginia and second-generation aristocratic is neither theocratic nor Blutkultur, altiough some pretense in those directions that the cause of our troubles is neither theocratic nor Blutkultur, altiough some pretense in those directions that the cause of our normal governmental g cepts of "fascism": "reactionary mys- is not a cause but an effect; that we enstein cushioned in historical lies of political carpet-baggers. tical nationalism"; "Asolutist, Totalitical nationalism"; "Asolutist, Totalitical nationalism"; "Communists must not fall into the error Roman grandezza, et cetera. Italy is a tarian State"; "contempt for convention- of judging history (in the instance dissection of judging history) of judging history (in the instance dissection). al bourgeois legality"; "unstinted vioparagingly) by any "Great Man" yardkeeping up with the Joneses. Even in There is a real menace of fascism lence"; "parliamentarianism in decay and stick. After the world war the Allies discredited"; "petty-bourgeois national-ist movement"; "petty-bourgeois national-ist movement" who hived bully of high whole very constitutes are neither in the United States—in fact two distinct agencies, relief projects, social mechanism menaces. These menaces are neither in the United States—in fact two distinct agencies, relief projects, social mechanism menaces. These menaces are neither in the United States—in fact two distinct agencies, relief projects, social mechanism menaces. These menaces are neither in the United States—in fact two distinct agencies, relief projects, social mechanism menaces. These menaces are neither in the United States—in fact two distinct agencies, relief projects, social mechanism menaces. These menaces are neither in the United States—in fact two distinct agencies, relief projects, social mechanism menaces. These menaces are neither in the United States—in fact two distinct agencies, relief projects, social mechanism menaces. These menaces are neither in the United States—in fact two distinct agencies, relief projects, social mechanism menaces. These menaces are neither in the United States—in fact two distinct agencies, relief projects, social mechanism menaces. These menaces are neither in the United States—in fact two distinct agencies, relief projects, social mechanism menaces. The menace of the United States—in fact two distinct agencies, relief projects, social mechanism menaces. The menace of the United States—in fact two distinct agencies, relief projects, social mechanism menaces. The menace of the United States—in fact two distinct agencies, relief projects, social mechanism menaces. The menace of the United States—in fact two distinct agencies, relief projects, social mechanism menaces. ist movement"; "the hired bully of big whole year against Germany. In that conflicts inside a bare cupboard.

poses. Such a truism is understood by time six hundred thousand people literal-| In pure theory "fascism" is impos-

Hearst and the Liberty League are not pit, the priests yell that when a secular "fascists" but are laissez-faire enthu- government legislates on "faith and siasts. These people operate on the sure morals" it is not to be obeyed, that such knowledge that the United States con-stitution, if enforced to the legalistic the Catholic church is judge and jury letter, would make fascism look like a and executioner of what "faith and The second type of fascism is that of Austria. This is a theocratic kind, the Liberty League nor Hearst wants "means" anything under the sun. And inspiration for an actual conduct of gov- bureaucratic and nationalistic inter- this revolutionary attitude is not a mere ernment, originating in no less a gentleman than God. The new Austrian Fedfascism. General Motors does not want rical. The program of the church in its eral constitution explicity affirms this to be "kept" like Fiat in Italy, and encyclicals delineates how to organize thesis-"all government originates in United States Steel knows with fear the unions, laws of usury, distribution of of, two letters or "encyclicals" of Popes of Europe. Similarly Huey Long was no etc. Americans are queer people; not -Rerum Novarum and Quadragesimo fascist. He belonged to that ancient once have I seen Coughlin's utterances Anno. The "State" is exactly subordinate brood known as demagogues and it's compared with the two papal encyclicals clinched this fascist rule, priests went fascist coloration-more than Hoover mouthpiece of his holy bosses.

# American League Urged to Liquidate

(the latest twist that the Liberty League etc. etc.

the prices of these commodities in the destinies of the League were doing some cities to such an extent that meat is worrying behind the scenes over the out of the question for large sections of problems, especially that of the proved an expens ve item. Thru the cotton pro- to draw the trade unions in from the gram the farmer himself is hit hard outside. This reflected itself in diverse when (and if) he goes to buy clothes. ways. In the organizational commission Thus, the AAA resulted in the double for instance, Solomonick, the trade union exploitation of worker and farmer, while "specialist" of the League in New York, the manufacturer, financier, and big paid some lip service to trade union

ment from their ranks. Says the South
justice as practised by the AAA proern Combed Yarn Spinners Association: gram thru its cotton processing tax." which amounted to 6 cents per lb. They have to a great extent absorbed the tax

(Continued from Page 1)

This is merely a face-saving proposition beserver. Why isn't he a delegate?"

This is merely a face-saving proposition to continue the League as of old. What sharply, the brazen irresponsibility of in the United States. Boiled down to its cream). In like fashion it is a dead certainty that the money-barons will prostitute and then abort any democratic governmental process no longer serves money's purposess no longer serves money's purposes no longer serves money's purposes and the social feed of the process no longer serves money's purposes and the social feed of the floor to answer Gold's slanders, were met by League. On the other hand, Hathaway, in bringing the greetings of the C.P. further from the truth. The resolution of the Executive Companies to the Congress definitely said, if even in a very cautious and guarded manner, mittee. Zimmerman and Porter tried to strongly phrased. speech he pilloried Gold's statements as point to instructions to the top leader- (not much) were made, was due to their AAA year, with 10,500,000 acres with-AAA year, with 10,500,000 acres withdrawn from production, the yield decreased to only 13,000,000 bales because
of the increased production per acre.
And during 1935, with the crop down to
10,700,000, the yield per acre was 190 lbs.

| brazen lies, indicated that it was such an attitude which contributed to narrowling down the movement, and reiterated his positive position for building anew a broad movement based upon the trade unions.

| brazen lies, indicated that it was such an attitude which contributed to narrowling down the movement, and reiterated his positive position for building anew a broad movement based upon the trade unions.

| ship of the C.P. to liquidate the League. The bottom, of course, knows nothing of the such as stated before the Conposing the question directly, for fear of arousing resemment amongst the religious, the liberals, the pacifists. They do the pressure. Had the representative of the course will be refuted in actual life as S.P. stuck more stubbornly to his guns of the course will be refuted in actual life as S.P. stuck more stubbornly to his guns of the course will be refuted in actual life as S.P. stuck more stubbornly to his guns of the course will be refuted in actual life as S.P. stuck more stubbornly to his guns of the position for course, knows nothing of the c.P. to liquidate the League.

| ship of the C.P. to liquidate the League. The bottom, of course, knows nothing of the such as a stated before the Conputation are will be refuted in actual life as S.P. stuck more stubbornly to his guns of the course of the bottom, of course, knows nothing of the c.P. to liquidate the League.

| ship of the C.P. to liquidate the League. The bottom, of course, knows nothing of the c.P. to liquidate the League. The bottom, of course, knows nothing of the c.P. to liquidate the League. The bottom, of course, knows nothing of the c.P. to liquidate the league. The bottom, of course, knows nothing of the c.P. to liquidate the league. The bottom, of course, knows nothing of the c.P. t And during 1935, with the crop down to 10,700,000, the yield per acre was 190 lbs.

This increase could only take place on large scale farms, where modern equipment can be used to advantage.

The track of the pacifists. They do not know how to handle the hot potato, a swollen middle class Frankenstein of the necessity of beginning a new movel as where modern equipment can be used to advantage.

The track of the League, initiated by the resolution adopted by restored the self-confidence of the Congress by calmly stating that if a reference of the League indicated by the resolution adopted by the resolution adopted by the resolution adopted by the committee of the League indicated by the resolution adopted by the

ISM. LITERATURE AND ART

Egerram D. Worke, affector of the New Workers School, will blaze an illuminating farmer reap the benefits.

What are the plans ahead? The administration is playing with the idea of a "little AAA", thru the state governments—a proposal which will collapse like the "little NRA" schemes. Most important and most dangerous are the proposals for tariffs in order to create an internal market. This can lead to no economic solution—it was tried by all the post war Republican administrations—and can serve only to sharpen internal market. This can lead to no economic solution—it was tried by all the post war Republican administrations—and can serve only to sharpen internal market. This can lead to no economic forthcoming from the anti-administrations—as been many more than the administration.

As a natter of fact, those who blared most about the high cost of living being the most about the high cost of living being the most about the high cost of living being painters, and an examination of real forms and most of the convertion that the daministration.

As a natter of fact, those who blared most about the high cost of living being the market. This course will baze an illuminate was heaven the paint and may the imperialist at tack upon Ethiopia has demonstrated better than anything else possibly could be theter than anything else possibly could better than anything else possibly could better than anything else possibly could at tack upon Ethiopia has demonstrated better than anything else possibly could that facism is the implacable enemy of civilization and peace. A growing num-tack the case of the truth the very civities, in a class on Marxism, Literature in this field, extended to see that the League workers and problems involved, and attempt to give the convention of the A. F. of L. reflected the temper of powerful unions have already to divivilizations on the basis of concrete demands and the proposal attempt to give the convention of the convention of the A. F. of L. reflected the temper of the truth tack upon Ethiop ing trail through the jungle of confusion tack upon Ethiopia has demonstrated

any more than the administration.

As a matter of fact, those who blared most about the high cost of living being indeed to see that the Supreme Court has seen fit to remove this travesty on has seen fit to remove this travesty on has seen fit to remove the high cost of the New Workers has seen fit to remove the high cost of the New Workers has seen fit to remove the high cost of the New Workers has seen fit to remove the high cost of the New Workers has seen fit to remove the high cost of living being high novices in this field. The New Workers hour. And the time is ripe now. giants of the New Masses school of 'proletarian art" and the diluted reds of ern combed rarn spinners Association:
"The combed yarn spinning industry has The American Cotton Manufacturers the liberal mags to attend. It is desired HAVE YOU CONTRIBUTED paid out millions in the processing tax Association has announced that no mill to have Exhibit A in pretended Marxist criticism in person, both for close-range -M. S. M. analysis and demolition.

stituted cannot win the trade unions. | positions before the Congress as a whole is needed is not the forlorn attempt to the "Daily Worker" which seeks t pump some new blood into an anemic create the impression that Zimmerman

restored the self-confidence of the Congress by calmly stating that if a referend on the date of the A. F. of L. membership were dum of the A. F. of L. no less, fitted the actual producers, that is, the share-croppers. It is widely known and has been shown time and again by the Share-croppers Union, that due to the Share-croppers Union, that due to the cropper borrows ahead and is therefore in constant debt to his landlord) the benefits went directly to the landowners!

Finally, the AAA, by its slaughtering of hogs and burning of wheat, has raised of these commodities in the destinies of the League were doing some of the Congress, Zimmerman and Porter were invited to state their of the creation adopted by the resolution adopted by the executive committee of the League windicated by the resolution adopted by the executive committee of the League windicated by the resolution adopted by the executive committee of the League windicated by the resolution adopted by the executive committee of the League windicated by the resolution adopted by the executive committee of the League windicated by the resolution adopted by the executive committee of the League windicated by the resolution adopted by the executive committee of the League windicated by the resolution adopted by the executive committee of the League windicated by the resolution adopted by the executive committee of the League windicated by the resolution adopted by the executive committee of the League windicated by the resolution adopted by the executive committee of the League windicated by the resolution adopted by the executive committee of the League windicated by the resolution adopted by the executive committee of the League windicated by the resolution adopted by the r point in that direction. A movement of such a character could find ready response in the ranks of American labor today. Increasing movement of the left Social Democracy whose long struggle against the hourgeois coalities. out of the question for large sections of the problems, especially that of the proved the working class, and bread has become an expens ve item. Thru the cotton pro- to draw the trade unions in from the today. Increasing masses of workers are beginning to realize the perilous condition policies of the right wing of Social Democracy has suffered a beginning to realize the perilous condition policies of the right wing of Social Democracy has suffered a beginning to realize the perilous condition policies of the right wing of Social Democracy has suffered a beginning to realize the perilous condition policies of the right wing of Social Democracy has suffered a beginning to realize the perilous condition policies of the right wing of Social Democracy has suffered a beginning to realize the perilous condition policies of the right wing of Social Democracy has suffered a beginning to realize the perilous condition policies of the right wing of Social Democracy has suffered a beginning to realize the perilous condition policies of the right wing of Social Democracy has suffered a beginning to realize the perilous condition policies of the right wing of Social Democracy has suffered a beginning to realize the perilous conditions and the perilous condition policies of the right wing of Social Democracy has suffered a beginning to realize the perilous conditions and the perilous conditions are the perilous conditions and the perilous conditions are the perilous condition tion in which the world finds itself. The severe blow because the Communist of European fascism have stirred the horror and indignation of American la-Workers School, will blaze an illuminat-

J. C.

TO \$5,000 FUND?

of the perennial political panacea venors. The two real menaces are perfectv obvious and rarely understood and scarcely mentioned. Consider them seri-

tim.
The first is Father Coughlin and the Catholic Church. The danger in Coughlin is that Americans reckon him to States preaches "Revolution" more ardently than any Communist anywhere. Day in and out, in every Catholic pul-

do not refer to the provinces but to our most populated urban centers. Its extent in New York is amazing. It goes into public utility offices, the workrooms of a "white" pogrom and its danger-potential is limitless. Because of these two menaces, I have

been impelled to take issue with Comrade Herberg. The tactic of the Comnunist Party Opposition is in tragic danger if it accepts any partial or too essence we must fight two things in American life; the theories of the Cath-

## WHY THE SILENCE?

Parties are reviving and strengthening

countries. Let's go.

BURO OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST OPPOSITION

December 21, 1935.

he Comintern on the 13th.

Written on Nov. 9, and dispatched to

# Mehring's Life of Marx Is an Indispensable Work

By JIM CORK

The translation of Mehring's monumental biography of Marx\* fills a longfelt need. Aside from Riazanov's "Marx and Engels" and the volume on "Marx, Man, Thinker and Revolutionist" which are hardly comparable in scope, there is nothing of sustained biographical writing in the English language worth much To merely mention Spargo's worthless compilation or the psychologic gymnastics of Otto Ruhle is to prove the point. Mehring's work towers among these like a giant among pygmies. Not that the book is flawless. Historical research has since corrected some serious errors of Mehring (his defense of Lassalle and Bakunin). One can further disagree with certain minor points of judgement, ask for more details in certain places, insist upon different emphasis in other places. But, by and large, Mehring's biography has charted the main course, making it unnecessary in the main for the same path to be retraced in the future. It re mains the most important single fulllength portrait of Marx and is absolutely indispensible.

# FORMATIVE YEARS

Against the background of contemporary historical development Mehring unfolds with sympathy and insight the dramatic tale of the development of Marx as thinker and fighter. Marx threw himself into the fray right after his student days. In his early twenties as editor of the "Rheinische Zeitung" he was already a feared voice amongst the Junkers and feudal reactionaries. He had not as yet cast off entirely the democratic politics of his formative period. That was finally accomplished in the years '43 to '48 after his voluntary exile from Germany with the suppression of the "Rheinische Zeitung," first in Paris and then after his expulsion from Paris by Guizot, in Brussels. Here he goes deeply into the study of 18th century French materialism, as well as French socialism and communism. He works out his views in philosophy, supplying the necessary dialectical corrective to the mechanical and absolutistic character of materialism. He becomes convinced of communism and applies here also the needed corrective to the non-historical abstractions of the Utopians. He meets Engels who in his "Conditions of the Working Class in England in 1844," had brilliantly analysed the economic and social development of England, the country most typical of capitalist development and had been driven to the same general conclusions as Marx. Engels' experience goes to further clarify their from now on commonly developing thought and struggle in what was to be the most incomparable mental alliance in history. Together in the "Holy Family" and the "German Ideology," they settle final accounts with the Young Hegelians, and philosophic idealism generally, criticise the shortcomings of Feuerbach, and pillory petty-bourgeois socialism and the anarchistic vaporings of Stirner. The devastating polemic against Proudhon, "The Poverty of Philosophy" in 1847, already proclaims the fundamental leading ideas of historic materialism. 1848 sees the publication of "The Communist Manifesto." The basic tenets of scientific socialism were now practically completed. Marx and Engels had brilliantly rounded out their critical study of German classical philosophy. French materialism and socialism, English economic and social development, to provide the proletariat with a realistic guide to action for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

### MATURITY AND ACTION

deepen and extend the influence in a of Germany?" Now the transcending of practical organizational sense of the ideas brillantly hammered out. To this task Marx applied himself with an energy and a singleness of purpose granted only to the rarest of spirits. Neither personal or family hardships, which pursued him all his life, nor the houndings of various governments, swerved him one iota from his self-appointed task at which he toiled unceasingly, giving to the end of his unparalleled powers as writer, speaker,

\* Karl Marx, The Story of Ilis Life, by

organizer. In his "Capital," he lays bare the anatomy in motion of the capitalist system, uncovers the exploitative process inherent in it. In the "Eighteenth Brumaire" and "Class Struggle in France," Marx serves brilliant notice of the superiority of historical materialism as a methodological weapon of analysis of historical events. In his "Civil War in France" he rears the glorious epitaph to the heaven-storming Paris Commune, with it blazed a warning to the bourgeoisie. Every event of historical importance, whether in the Far East, on the continent, in England or in America was analyzed from the class viewpoint of the proletariat, and the tasks of the working class indicated. From the Communist League thru the trying days of the First International he gave unsparingly of his time and energy to put the movement on an organized functioning basis. He fought tenaciously against any attempt to sidetrack the movement into impasses, against watering down its basic class principles, against disregarding the necessary realism of its tactics, against compromising its independent organiza tional base. Against "r-r-revolutionary" yappings, anarchist vaporings (Bakunin) compromising flirtations with enemy classes (Lassalle) he set his face like flint. The socialist movement was flint. grounded differently for his having lived. He had supplied the proletariat with an inexhaustible arsenal for the successful struggle against the bourgeoisie.

#### MARX ON HERO CULT

The portrait of Marx as it emerges under Mehring's skillful hand is threedimensional, a living, breathing figure. Mehring pays Marx (and incidentally himself) the high compliment of a critical and not a kowtowing approach. Where he thinks Marx made a mistake he says so. His most serious charges against Marx are the latter's supposedly harsh (and undeserved) treatment of Lassalle and Bakunin. These charges have to be examined.

Admittedly when Marx fought he fought hard with all the magnificent powers at his command. Did he make mistakes? Of course. He was no demigod, and never thought of himself as one When he was convinced he had erred either in evaluation of an event or judgement of a person, he admitted it openly His correspondence abounds in revisions of previous estimates. He was the last person in the world to fall for the blandishments of infallibility. Personal cultism was decidedly distasteful to him. One can recommend the following to our modern "cultists" in the

"Neither of us (i.e. Marx and Engels) cares a snap of the fingers for popularity. As a proof there is my constant opposition to all forms of personal cults. During the period of the International I never permitted the numerous maneuvers of recognition with which I was molested from various countries to be made public, and I never answered them except perhaps with a rebuke.'

### A FIGHTER FOR PRINCIPLE

The sharpness of the struggles Mary waged was not determined by the per sonalities involved, but by ideas which Marx regarded as detrimental to the cause of the proletariat. It was so in the case of Lassalle. Marx's fight against Lassalle was eminently justified. Mehring was wrong in his defense of Lassalle. The basic issue involved was the same which split German Social Democracy into two camps, in the 60's, the Lassalleans and the Eisenachers (Liebknecht and Bebel). The basic problem posed was, "What should be the policy It remained to illustrate and defend, to of Socialists in regard to the unification the divisions of the feudal principalities in Germany was definitely a progressive task, historically speaking, and a central task in the carrying thru of the bourgeois democratic revolution in Germany Bismarck was making a drive to "solve the unification problem "from above," around the dynastic drive of Prussian Junkerdom, His goal was a unified Germany with a monarchical state form dominated by the Prussian Junkers. As against this Marx stressed the necessity of the independent political activity of Franz Mehring. Appendix by Eduard Fuchs. the proletariat as the driving force in Translated by Edward Fitzgerald. Covici carrying thru the bourgeois democratic revolution together with the peasants

# LOSING THEIR CHAINS... by James Sand

# The Anarchists in America

FTER THE HAGUE Congress of the First International A in 1872, the Bakuninists and some of their allies broke away and constituted themselves an international. Johann Most, the intellectual father of American anarchism, was then a member of the German Social Democratic Party. He had just been released from prison in Vienna. Born in 1846 in Augsburg, Germany, he learned the trade of bookbinder and traveled in Switzerland and Austria, where he contacted the growing labor movement, and where his activities landed him in an Austrian jail. He was released to Germany where he was elected to the Reichstag, which he soon nicknamed the "House of Marionettes." Parliamentary methods of approaching the social revolution went against his impatient character, and he became an anarchist. Thus begins a career which is to be of far-reaching importance to the far-off land then going through the era of carpet-baggers and scalawags, of Ku Kluxism and early Jim Crowism.

From Bakunin and his followers, Most learned the logic of anti-parliamentary socialism. He learned "that the destruction of every kind of political power is the first task of the proletariat; that the organization of political power, even though nominally temporary and revolutionary, to further the aforesaid destruction, can be nothing but deception, and would be as dangerous to the proletariat as any extant government; that the proletarians of all lands, spurning all compromises in the achievement of the social revolution, must establish, independently of bourgeois politics, the solidarity of revolutionary action." This was sheer utopianism; it over looked completely two stages in the march towards a communistic society (which was the aim of Bakunin as well as of Marx); rst, the stage of revolution and the ensuing dictatorship of the proletariat; second, the withering away of the state under the proletarian dictaforship, until a communistic society is achieved. Marx rightly saw that we must deal with society and human nature as capitalism gives it to us, and that the transition to communism is a long, hard process. This Bakunin denied. The result was the tactics of terrorism.

Johann Most learned from the Bakuninists that there was no use fighting for partial reforms or palliatives. This was pure nonsense. It was nonsense even later when a Marxist like Daniel DeLeon upheld it as an adequate tactic. Immediate demands become an instrument for making inroads into capitalism, for solidarizing the working class, and instilling confidence in the proletariat when they are won, and of teaching the proletariat the significance of better and wider organization when they are lost.

The denial of the efficacy of political action and of the tactics of immediate demands can lead to the formulation of but one course to be pursued: insurrectionism and terror through "propaganda by the deed" (Attentat). That is just where Bakuninism led, and that is just what Most was led to believe. Most carried the ideas of the European anarchists to their ultimate conclusion in practice. He was twice arrested in Germany for urging terroristic acts, after his term in the Reichstag, and finally in 1878 he was forced to leave. He left for London, where he immediately set up a publication, Die Freiheit, which served as the forerunner of the paper he was to publish later in the United States. During his English sojourn, his published views were repudiated by Wilhelm Liebknecht, leader of the German Socialists, and he broke with the party. When, in 1881, he praised the assassination of Czar Alexander II, the English threw him into jail. On his release in December 1882, there was no place in Europe where he was safe. The land of liberty and laissezfaire, the land of onrushing capitalism, alone beckoned him.

From the time of his arrival until his death in 1906, continual storms of controversy and fists beat about him. Most brought to the American revolutionary movement vitality, strength, courage, and fire, but no political sense whatsoever. And as for an understanding of the ebb and flow of history and economics, and an adequate proletarian philosophy, they were conspicuous by their absence. His political tactics and ideas were as wild as Bakunin's. Despite the unrealistic tactical ideas of anarchism and its absurd advocacy of individual acts of terror, Most's arrival in America came at a propitious moment.

The Americans who were soon to become adherents of Most were calling themselves revolutionary socialists at the time of Most's arrival. They had held a convention in Chicago in 1881, where the New York club of social revolutionaries had meantime affiliated with the "International Working People's Association," known as the Black International, where Most wielded great influence. The convention announced that it stood ready "to render armed assistance against encroachments upon the rights of the workingmen." A second national convention was held in Pittsburgh on October 19th, 1883 and there we find Johann Most. He intensified the growing unrest and influenced the whole movement by the force of his ideas.

Most began editing Die Freiheit in New York and its influence was soon wide. The socialist paper in Chicago, Die Arbeiter Zeitung, became an anarchist organ. Especially impressive to the exploited workers, who had been thrust down into the lumpenproletariat, was Most's pamphlet showing in detail how to carry on the revolutionary fight. Its title is ludicrous and so are its underlying ideas, altho the spirit of revolt is something to be cherished. It is called "Science of Revolutionary Warfare-A Manual of Instruction in the Use and Preparation of Nitroglycerine, Dynamite, Gun-Cotton, Fulminating Mercury, Bombs, Fuses, Poisons, etc." The ideas in it are almost as savage as those propounded at the time by capitalists like Jay Gould.

Gompers and his ilk always confused socialism and anarchism. They saw in anarchism an Eastern European with a long beard and a bomb in one hand which he was lighting with the other. This symbolic description of everyone and everything that was opposed to the development of the capitalistic economy and the philosophy of trade unionism built upon it is actually based upon Most's own physiognomy and ideas. He had a long beard, which was accentuated by the deformation of one side of his face, and he did believe in individual acts of terror. Johann Most is the prototype of the bearded, bomb-throwing anarchist. Gompers and the bourgeoisie he worshipped promptly labeled all those opposed to the existing order with this cartoon. The caricature of Most and its misapplication is about all there is in common between him and Marx. He was always as far away from scientific socialism as his master. Bakunin.

But Most was no fool, Emma Goldman, who was his most important gift to American life, says that he had revolutionary history at his finger-tips. His desire for a change in the social system was genuine; indeed, it was over-genuine. It led him into outlandish tactical errors and made his life fruitless from the standpoint of actual furtherance of his fundamental aim, the overthrow of capitalism. One does not help to verthrow capitalism by throwing to the winds all knowledge of the objective world. Most mistook the immediacy of his desire to overthrow capitalism for the possibility of the immediate, single-blow overturn of the whole

In addition to these scientific errors, Most had much to overcome psychologically. The deformity of his face was a source of constant irritation to him, and it was a blessing when he finally could grow a beard. He is said by Emma Goldman to have had a beautiful voice and a remarkable platform manner. Laying aside the adulation to be expected from an admirer and pupil, there is every reason to believe that he was a really fine orator,—that is, in point of style.

Opposed to political action, and unsympathetic to, as well as unwanted by, the trade unions, Most's influence could emanate from a periodical, from the lecture platform, and from personal contact with students and workers. He effectively employed all three to advance the cause of anarchism. Die Freiheit we have already mentioned. In addition, he converted several socialist periodicals to work for propaganda by the deed. Lecturing occupied much of his time; he would have been gratified if it had occupied more. He loved to act and he loved to talk. His personal influence seems to have been enormous. Nowhere did it bear such ripe fruit as with Emma Goldman. To a lesser extent he affected Alexander Berkman, until they broke over what they thought were matters of principle, but which seems to have been the love of Emma Goldman. (To be continued)

and petty bourgeoisie. Lassalle on the other hand, neglecting the independent political role of the proletariat, became handmaiden to Bismarck, flirting with the "revolution from above" in order to get some concessions for the workers On this basis Marx attacked him and with justice. Mehring's defense of Lassalle derives from a lack of understandaccuses Marx as an exile of having lost touch with concrete German developments (remember the similar accusations against Lenin by the stay-at-homers) On page 198 of another work of his, "Zui Deutsche Geschichte," Mehring defends Lassalle's flirtation with Bismarck on the ground that Lassalle was playing with and using Bismarck and not viceversa. How illusory was Mehring's optimistic judgement is illustrated in a letter of Lassalle to Bismarck discovered after Mehring's death:

"... how much they (i.e. proletariat)

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monarchy of the privileged classes in that Marx also was correct. into a social and revolutionary people's monarchy.

Marx's fear in regard to Lassalle that class compromise in politics would in-evitably revenge itself and lead to a lisastrously false relation to the existing

Similarly in the case of Bakunin, Meh- of American radicals.

would be inclined . . . to accept the ring does not see sufficiently the deep crown as the natural instrument of a importance of the issues involved. Marx's social dictatorship (!!) . . . if the sharp handling of Bakunin was deter-crown on its part could make up its mined by the necessity of keeping the mind to take the . . . step of adopting a really revolutionary and national clear of the debilitating effects of unpolicy and turn itself from a realistic and nihilistic anarchism. And

With the corrective of Mehring's errors supplied in the appendix the How thoroly does this letter vindicate material in this book, as said before, offers the best single introduction to the life of Marx.

The publishers, the translator, and especially Eduard Fuchs who made the translation possible, deserve the thanks

of the German Social Democratic Party, 1910.

#### **Quotation** Marks

The present "People's Front" stage in the tactics of the Communist International has reopened once again the whole question of the relation of the proletarian party to the parties of the bourgeoisie. We submit below an interesting excerpt from a speech on this question made in 1910 by August Bebel at the Magdeburg Congress of the German Social Democratic Party. Members of the Communist Party will please think of France and Czechoslovakia while reading the lines below.-Editor.

TF I AS A Social Democrat, enter into an alliance with the bourgeois parties, you I may wager a thousand to one that it will not be the Social Democrats but the bourgeois parties who are the winners; we shall be the losers. It seems to be a law of politics that wherever Right and Left unite, the Left loses and the Right wins. . . . What is the necessary consequence of such an alliance between me and my sworn enemies, who necessarily think and act differently from the way in which a Social Democrat thinks and acts? If I enter into a political relation of friendship with a party fundamentally opposed to mine, I must necessarily adopt my tactics, i.e., my mode of conflict, in such a way as to prevent the alliance from going to pieces. In other words I cannot criticize as I like, I can no longer fight in accordance with rigid principles, for this would offend my new allies; I am forced to be silent, to cover many things with the mantle of charity, to justify many acts that cannot be justified, to whitewash what should not be whitewashed. AUGUST BEBEL: Speech delivered at the Magdeburg Congress

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