

Workers
of all
Countries,
Unite!

WORKERS' AGE

For
Communist Unity
in the
Revolutionary
Class Struggle!

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AND FARMERS

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COMMUNIST UNITY AGAINST REACTION!

M. N. Roy, India Communist Leader, Sentenced to 12 Years Exile

**Savage Sentence Against Communist Opposition Leader
Bad Blow To Liberation Movement; Masses Must
Rally To Demand Release Of M. N. Roy**

Twelve years deportation to a penal colony was the sentence pronounced on January 9 by the court at Cawnpore against Manabendra Nath Roy, leading Communist, arrested for "waging war against the King." The trial had ended in December but judgment had been reserved. This is the first deportation sentence in the present repression campaign of British imperialism.

The savage sentence against M. N. Roy is a severe blow against the liberation movement of the Indian people and the international revolutionary movement in general. Roy was born in Bengali in 1890. His father was a school teacher and he attended the high school of the National University, Calcutta. At the age of 16 he was obliged to leave school because of political persecution. From 1906 to 1914 he was a leading member of the Nationalist party and was involved in many revolutionary terrorist attempts. His first arrest was at the age of 14; since then he has been arrested eight times for political offenses. In 1915 he was forced to leave India. He visited China, Japan, the Philippines, and participated in the nationalist and revolutionary movements in these places. At about this time he became a revolutionary Marxist, a Communist. In 1918 he came to Mexico and was active there for a year, founding the Communist Party of Mexico, becoming a member of its Central Committee and editor of its Party organs. He then came to the United States and took part in the left wing Socialist movement here. In 1920 he was in Soviet Russia and cooperated with Lenin in drafting the famous national and colonial theses of the Second Congress of the Communist International (1920). For the next few years he was entrusted with the direction of the work of the Communist International in the Far East and concentrated especially upon building up a revolutionary labor movement in India that would be an effective factor in the national liberation struggle. In 1927 Roy went to China as representative of the Communist International. Throughout the whole period, Roy wrote prolifically and profoundly on the most important problems of the colonial revolutionary movement.

A year later, when sectarian policies began to gain control over the Communist International, Roy immediately allied himself with the forces of opposition, the International Communist Opposition, of which he is an outstanding leader. Early in 1931 he returned to India although he was under sentence of death in that country. His brief period of activity bore the most amazing fruits and he succeeded in reestablishing the Communist movement (under the direction of the International Communist Opposition), in reuniting the labor movement and in strengthening the left wing in the nationalist movement.

In July 1931 he was arrested. A tremendous Roy Defense movement sprang up in India and in other countries but the British power in India realized full well the character of their prisoner and the savage sentence

WASHINGTON—Dwight F. Davis tendered his resignation as Governor General of the Philippines on January 9. President Hoover accepted the resignation and immediately sent to the Senate the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt, present Governor of Porto Rico.

An End to the Division in the Communist Movement! Close the Ranks!

Appeal Of The Communist Party (Majority Group)

All Communists who are vitally concerned in the welfare of the Communist movement must give the most serious attention to the question of Communist unity. It is their imperative duty to do everything in their power to unite their ranks. Especially is it incumbent upon the members of the Communist Party to work determinedly for unity because they are in a better position to bring about the unification of all Communist forces within a unified Communist Party, than are those who have been expelled from the Communist Party and today compose the membership of the Communist groups outside of the Party.

GANDHI ARRESTED AS INDIA SEETHES WITH REVOLT; LEFT SWING SEEN

**Landlords Leave Congress As "No Rent" Drive Spreads
Thruout Land; British Persecution Intensified;
Death Penalty Proclaimed For Nationalists**

BOMBAY—A huge crowd of 12,000 people attacked a police station here and rescued three nationalist prisoners.

BOMBAY—A new ordinance, allowing the sentence of death upon any person convicted of violating the series of emergency decrees recently enacted, was announced on Jan. 8.

BOMBAY—The arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and Vallabhai Patel, President of the All-India National Congress, on January 4, and the official announcement of a new civil disobedience and boycott campaign on the part of the Congress immediately thereafter, marked the advanced stage of the clash between the British power in India and the masses of the Indian people under the leadership of the Congress. The arrest of Gandhi followed a whole series of arrests of all the most prominent nationalist leaders and the outlawing of the Congress as an "unlawful assembly."

Meanwhile the struggle has again assumed an all-Indian character. The repressive laws have not only been extended from the United Provinces to the rest of India but have been greatly sharpened. The Congress resistance movement too, has spread to every part of the country, even into some of the native states. At the same time a sharp swing to the left within the Congress ranks has been noticeable for some time. Among the younger Congress leadership, as among the petty bourgeois nationalist elements in general, Gandhi's influence and prestige, reflecting that of the nationalist bourgeoisie, are not as strong or as decisive as they once were. The work of the Communist Opposition, under M. N. Roy, among the Congress forces is beginning to tell. Furthermore, the Indian labor movement united in the All-India Trade Union Congress, freed of the curse of sectarianism and now under the influence of the Communist Opposition, has arisen as a real factor in pushing the nationalist movement to the left and in advancing the struggle for proletarian hegemony in the movement.

On the other side, the extreme right-wing elements in the Congress, the landlords and landed capitalists, whom Gandhi has always treated in a very conciliatory manner, are breaking away from the movement because of the extension of the "no-rent" campaign and the resumption of the "disturbing" civil disobedience movement. It is also noticeable that the support of the native bourgeoisie for the present anti-British offensive is much weaker and narrower than two years ago. A number of bourgeois organizations and newspapers, previously identified with the Congress, have expressed disapproval of its present course. The leftward swing and the accompanying differentiation process are very healthy signs for the nationalist movement.

LONDON—Steps are being taken to raise the British Army in India to its full strength of 68,900 officers and men. In addition to these troops from England there are 155,000 native troops and officers in active service. The British Army in India has also well equipped mechanized units in the service.

ALBANY.—In a ruling on January 5 the State Court of Appeals upheld the action of the lower court permitting the reading of quotations from the Bible in the public schools of the city of New York. The court made its reactionary decision on the basis of some technical issues altogether dodging the question of the relations of religion and the state. Joseph Lewis, president of the Free Thinkers of America, had brought in the suit. Arthur Garfield Hays was his counsel. An appeal to the United States Supreme Court has been announced.

SHARP TENSION IN HONOLULU

**U. S. Sailors Kill Hawaiian;
White Newspapers Incite
Against Natives**

HONOLULU—An atmosphere of great tension, threatening to give way to a "race war," pervades the city as a result of the intense sharpening of the relations between the population of the city and the handful of white Americans, who occupy the position of a hated imperialist caste in this island. The situation, which has been brewing for several months, was brought to a head on January 8 thru the kidnapping and murder of Joseph Kahahawai by Lieutenant Thomas H. Massie, E. J. Lord, naval enlisted man, and Mrs. G. R. Fortescue, Massie's mother-in-law. Kahahawai and four others had been charged with complicity in an alleged criminal attack upon Mrs. Massie but had been freed after the jury could not reach a verdict in "good old American fashion." Massie and his friends staged a lynching party, seized Kahahawai, dragged him away and shot him. Massie, Lord and Mrs. Fortescue have been arrested.

At the same time the white American newspapers here have opened a most vicious publicity campaign against the colored population, fantastically exaggerating the alleged "lawlessness" of the city (how would Honolulu compare in crime rate with New York or Chicago?) and urging "white action" that is, lynch action. The indignation of the people is so great and their hatred of the American oppressors so intense, that the Fleet Department has ordered the fleet to avoid Hawaii in the coming Pacific manoeuvres.

The inhabitants of Hawaii, largely Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos, are well known as a peaceful and progressive people. Their antagonistic attitude to the white Americans is not due to an imaginary "racial antipathy" but solely to the position of the white Americans as the representatives of the oppressive imperialist regime and to the recklessly offensive manner in which the Americans conduct themselves towards the colored population.

The isolation and observation for the first time under microscope of the hitherto invisible germ of infantile paralysis, as well as the growth and cultivation of successive generations of the germ outside the animal organism, was reported on December 31 before the New Orleans Annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The report, submitted by Dr. Frederick Eberson of the University of California, marks a tremendous step forward in the bitter struggle of science to master the scourge of infantile paralysis.

BRUENING-NAZI-SOCIALIST BLOC TO KILL REICH, PRUSSIA ELECTIONS

**Conservative Forces Fear Consequences Of Elections;
Fascists On Way To Power; German Government
Demands End To Reparation Payments**

According to the latest reports, the National Opposition, including the Nazis, the Nationalists, the Steel-Helmets, etc., has rejected Bruening's plan for extending von Hindenburg's term, altho it is very likely that these forces will support von Hindenburg's candidacy in the coming Presidential campaign.

BERLIN—Negotiations are busily under way between Chancellor Bruening on the one hand and the National-Socialist (Fascist) and Social-democratic parties on the other, for an agreement to avoid the Reich presidential and Prussian Diet elections, both of which are scheduled to take place in 1932.

The Bruening administration is greatly disturbed at the prospect of these elections since the heightened political activity of the people that these elections would imply would endanger the further existence of the viciously reactionary dictatorship now at the helm of Germany and which has grown more and more bitterly hated by the masses of the people in the last period of time. To a large extent, the stability of German capitalism, especially from the foreign viewpoint, would be seriously affected by the elections.

To avoid the coming presidential elections—that is, to extend von Hindenburg's term—would require a constitutional amendment for which the support of both the Fascist and the Social-democratic fractions in the Reichstag are necessary. The consent of the Social-democrats is not very difficult to obtain since the very axis of their policy is the "toleration" of the support of the Bruening regime. The attitude of the Nazis is not yet certain. Hitler has just arrived in Berlin to discuss matters. The decision of the Nazis will hinge upon whether, in their drive for power, they intend to take over the government in stages so to speak, that is, by first entering the Bruening cabinet in certain strategic positions, or whether they aim at a straight Nazi regime. In the former case an agreement is likely, in the latter, unlikely.

If Bruening succeeds in reaching an understanding, a special session of the Reichstag will be called to put thru the constitutional amendment lengthening Hindenburg's term.

For the postponement of the Prussian elections only the exercise of presidential power under Article 48 is necessary.

In the Nazi ranks the new situation has evoked some disturbance, especially among the "actionists" who protest against the "way of compromise" supposed to be favored by Hitler.

Nothing is more striking in the whole situation than the utterly shamelessly servile anti-labor, even anti-democratic conduct, of the Social-democratic leaders who are ready to sacrifice the most elementary interests of the working class in order to maintain the oppressive, autocratic regime of Bruening "law and order."

The Social-democratic leaders have even indicated that they would tolerate a Bruening cabinet with Nazi participation!

LONDON—A sensation was created on January 8 by the report that the Ambassador in Berlin of the various creditor governments had received of

U. S. Appeals to Nine-Power Pact Against Japan as Tension Grows

**Stimson Sends Sharp Note Declaring U. S. A. Will Not
Recognize Japan-China Agreements; Diplomatic
Move Foreshadows World War Danger**

In an identic note sent to the Japanese and Chinese governments on January 7, the government of the United States announced its determination to "invoke its own rights and those of its citizens in Manchuria under the Nine-Power China treaty of 1922 and under the Kellogg-Briand pact." The note reads in part: "... it (the U. S. A.) cannot admit the legality of any situation de facto, nor does it intend to recognize any treaty or agreement entered into between these governments, or agents thereof, which may impair the treaty rights of the United States or its citizens in China, including those which relate to sovereignty, the independence or the territorial and administrative integrity of the Republic of China, or to the international policy relative to China, known as the open door policy." The occasion for this note is stated to be the recent military operations of the Japanese around Chinchow.

Formally this means that the U. S. government has just discovered, after four months of ruthless Japanese invasion, that the "independence and integrity" of China "guaranteed" under the Nine-Power treaty, are being threatened. Actually it means that the understanding between the Japanese and American imperialists for the partition of Manchuria and China proper has fallen thru and that the Japanese, in the full flush of their military triumph, have gone "too far" from the point of view of American imperialist interests in China.

The appeal to treaty is one of the forms of struggle between imperialist powers and a serious one. For the diplomatic struggle is very frequently not the far-distant forerunner of war. And such a war today could not be anything but a world war!

Red Armies Advance to Hankow PEIPING—Renewed activities of the Red forces are reported here. In Hupoh an entire brigade of Nanking troops was wiped out.

Two government battalions were disarmed after severe fighting at Hwangan, north of Hankow. The Red forces stormed the city and captured 1,000 rifles and ammunition.

POLICE MURDER 7 IN SPAIN

MADRID—Seven persons, four of them women and one a child, were killed on January 5 in an attack of the reactionary Civil Guard upon groups of striking workers.

These new deaths bring the total of citizens murdered by the Civil Guard within the last week to the figure of twenty-one.

Six of the seven recent deaths occurred in the village of Arnedo. The striking Arnedo workers were holding a meeting when the Civil Guard arrived and opened fire. The other death was in Calzada in Southern Spain.

While the Civil Guard was shooting down working people in various parts of the country, Premier Azana was delivering a speech in the Cortes in which he eulogized it and declared it to be "Spain's main reliance for the maintenance of order."

The murderous activity of the Civil Guard, whose existence is made possible by the Socialists, throws a clear light upon the character of the present Spanish regime—a counter-revolutionary bourgeois regime, the bitter enemy of the working masses. It is also a significant commentary upon the "bloodless" character of the "glorious" Spanish revolution, over which the Socialists all over the world are in such ecstasies.

Diego Rivera Speaks on "Art" January 17th, at 228 2nd Avenue

With Working Youth

THE Y.P.S.L. CONVENTION IN N. Y.

The annual convention of the New York district of the Young Peoples Socialist League was held on December 26 and 27. About 85 delegates were present.

This convention marked the extent to which the Militant group, which dominated the convention, has moved to the right. It has watered down its position and is grasping at the iron strings of Norman Thomas' guidance and leadership. In its ranks there are the beginning of divisions as a result of this move to the right, especially on the "Russian question."

This was indicated in a gross form by a resolution which was passed praising Norman Thomas, the anti-Marxist bourgeois liberal leader of the extreme right wing in the Socialist party, for his "Socialist" work! To Thomas, the great Marx-killer, when he rose to speak, was accorded the most stormy ovation in the convention. The walls rang with the Internationale!!!

The Russian Question

The collapse of the Militants struggle during the past period was characterized by the resolution on the Soviet Union. This resolution presented by the Militants was written by Hillquit in 1921. It is taken from his book "From Marx to Lenin." This act demonstrates the superficiality of the Militant leaders, their lack of principle and conviction, of seriousness on such a fundamental question facing the workers.

The standpoint on Russia in this resolution signifies a big retreat from the Militant resolution of a year ago, to it is still to the left of Hillquit's present position. In the previous resolution, the objectionable remarks were confined to one very general sentence referring "to the suppression of minority opinion." In the present Hillquit resolution, its center of gravity is shifted to an attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the emphasis upon the necessity of developing "democracy" (meaning, of course, bourgeois-democracy—as if there were not a million times more democracy for the workers under the dictatorship of the proletariat) and urging "freedom for the Socialist and other working class opposition within Russia because Socialism without democracy is pseudo-Socialism." It nevertheless declares the Soviet government a workers government which has expropriated the private capitalists and socialized the industries and the land. The resolution calls on the workers everywhere give their whole-hearted support to Soviet Russia. Yet at the same time they demand freedom for the Mensheviks who gave such whole-hearted support to the White Guard armies during the Civil War and whose counter-revolutionary activities in the service of the foreign imperialists were effectively exposed dur-

ing the trial of Ramzin and his colleagues last year.

The fight on the Russian resolution was a bitter one. The followers of Hillquit, who could swallow even his plea for the Czarist oil barons against the Soviet Government, couldn't deny Hillquit's authorship, but maintained that when the resolution was written in 1921, it was correct, but that today we now have in Russia a "dictatorship over the proletariat!"

The most significant and hopeful development of the convention was the small and less eloquent minority of the Militants who voted for the resolution with the exclusion of the clause about the dictatorship. The rank and file of the Militants are beginning to revolt against the cowardice and incompetence that characterizes their leaders in their tepid fight against the Czarist-lawyer leadership which rules the Socialist party today. The bulk of the Militants voted for the resolution with minor changes. Even amongst these, many regarded the resolution as not expressing their real opinion; they allowed themselves to be taken in by the shallow, school-boy cleverness of their leaders in using Hillquit's resolution to confound Hillquit! It is not wrong to contrast Hillquit's past professions with his present, but to put forward Hillquit's resolution of 1921 as the expression of the Militant position is absurd. To be consistent, they ought to go back to Hillquit's position of 1919, when he favored affiliation with the Communist International.

The Trade Union Question

The trade union resolution was the other chief bone of contention with the Party leadership. The Militants called for a stricter check-up, for militant activity of the Socialists in the trade unions and for disciplinary measures against those who fail to carry out progressive policies. If the Y.P.S.L. will really call trade union conferences and attempt to carry out the progressive policies proposed in their resolution, it will lead to a widening of the breach between the militants and the Hillquit-Oneal leadership, which leans for support on the reactionary, trade union bureaucracy. Typical of this was the bitter attack launched on the convention by Charles Solomon on McAllister Coleman, one of the leading militants in the S. P., because the latter had insulted President Green of the A. F. of L.

At this point, Norman Thomas and August Claessens intervened with long, dull speeches that put a wet blanket on the convention, as a result of which the discussion declined. A number of foolish resolutions passed unanimously and some more or less intelligent ones were rejected (particularly one on the Labor party question). A resolution was passed condemning among other frame-up cases, the "N. Y. dynamite plot."

(Concluded in the next issue)

500 AT MARINE DEFENSE MEET

Workers Show Solidarity With Frame-Up Victims In N. Y. "Bomb Plot"

NEW YORK CITY.—Over 500 workers pledged their support of the defense of the three marine workers framed-up by police in the so-called "dynamite plot," at a mass meeting held at Webster Hall on Thursday evening, January 7, 1931.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the Marine Workers Defense Committee, which is in charge of the defense of Jack Soderberg, secretary, and William Trajer and Thomas Bunker, active members of the Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union, the seaman involved in the "dynamite plot" frame-up.

The workers present cheered as speaker after speaker denounced police brutality and exposed this latest police frame-up as another effort of the police to destroy union organization on the water-front. James P. Cannon, of the Communist League, the first speaker, told of the arrest of these workers, of the vicious third degree torture to which they were subjected, compared this frame-up to previous cases and called upon the workers present to stand behind the Marine Workers Defense Committee.

A. J. Muste, of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, announced that his organization had decided to join the committee and to cooperate fully in the defense of these workers. He called upon the labor unions and other labor organizations to help smash the police plot.

Benjamin Gitlow, of the Communist Party (Majority Group), emphasized the fact that in the present economic crisis the bosses have launched a vicious offensive against the workers. To resist this offensive, Gitlow pointed out, what is needed is the elimination of all divisions in the ranks of labor thru a united front of all elements in the labor movement.

A telegram from the imprisoned workers was read at the meeting wherein they reasserted their innocence of the act with which they are charged and repeating their determination to stand firm in their efforts to organize the exploited marine workers. The other speakers were Walter Starrett of The Road to Freedom and Carlo Tresca of Il Martello. Carter Hudson, of the Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union, was chairman.

WASHINGTON.—The Democratic tariff bill, presented by the House Ways and Means Committee the day before, was passed by the House of Representatives on January 9 by a vote of 214 to 182. The Democrats all stood solid for it and were joined by Representative LaGuardia (N. Y., Rep.) eleven of the "Progressive" bloc and two Kansas members who thereby wanted to express their dissatisfaction with the Republicans for refusal to include a duty on crude oil in the tariff bill of 1930.

It is expected that the bill will pass the Senate but that the President will veto it.

The Stage and Screen

PHILLIP BARRY'S NEW PLAY "DISTANT DRUMS" AT NATIONAL THEATRE

Pauline Lord plays the leading role in "Distant Drums," Dan Tottenrol's play of pioneer days in the West, which opened Monday night at the National Theatre. Arthur Hohl, Edward Ellis, Beulah Bondi and Edo Heineemann are in the cast.

Phillip Barry's new play, "The Animal Kingdom" opens Tuesday evening at the Broadhurst Theatre with Leslie Howard in the chief role. Other plays of the week include: "Black Tower," a detective thriller, by Ralph Murphy and Lora Exeter, opening Tuesday night at the Sam H. Harris Theatre with Walter Kingsford, Mabel Grainger and John F. Hamilton in the cast.

"Whistling In The Dark," by Laurence Gross and Edward Childs Carpenter, is scheduled for Thursday night at the Ethel Barrymore Theatre. Ernest Truex has the leading role.

Basel Sydney and Mary Ellis will be seen in "Jewel Robbery" by Laszoi Fodor which opens on Wednesday at the Times Square Theatre.

GAYNOR-FARRELL FILM "DELICIOUS" AT HIPPODROME

"Delicious," with Janet Gaynor and Charles Farrell, is the screen feature at the Hippodrome this week. George Gershwin wrote the musical numbers and brother Ira supplied the lyrics for the picture. Other players are El Brendel and Mayna Roberti, Viennese actress who makes her screen debut in this film. The vaudeville includes Harry Langdon, the comic of the talkies; Russian Revels, a musical revue with the Russian Ballet Orchestra; the Ebony Folies; Howe, Leonard and Koeppel, Charlie Hill and Laura Hoffman; Dixon and his Pal and the Kurt Bonhair Troupe.

"FRANKENSTEIN" UNIVERSAL THRILLER AT THE CAMEO

"Frankenstein" a tense thriller, screened by Universal is now in its third week at the Cameo Theatre. Boris Karloff plays the part of the man-monster. Colin Clive, of "Journey's End," Mac Clarke, John Boles, Dwight Fryc, and Frederic Kerr are featured players. James Whale directed "Frankenstein," which was based on the eighteenth century Mary Shelley tale of the same name.

JERITZA IN "DONNA JUANITA" AT METROPOLITAN

"Donna Juanita" will be presented at the Metropolitan Opera House Monday evening with Jeritza, Fleischner, Laumenthal and Schutzenfoder in the cast and Bodanzky conducting. Other operas of the week: "Lucia di Lammermoor" on Wednesday evening with Lily Pons, Martinielli and De Luca; Thursday evening, "Iris" with Dori, Tokayan and Tibbett; Friday afternoon, "Rigoletto" with Lily Pons, Lauri-Volpe and De Luca; Friday evening, "Siegfried" with Kappelaud Lorenz; Saturday afternoon, "Il Trovatore" with Ponselle and Lauri-Volpe; Saturday evening, "Carmen" with Jeritza and Martinielli.



JANET GAYNOR With Charles Farrell in their new film "Delicious," now on view at the Hippodrome

NEW BOMB PLOT IS FASCIST FRAMEUP

Bombs Sent To Discredit Anti-Fascism And To Hit At Labor

A Fascist plot for a nation-wide frame-up against the anti-Fascist movement in this country was responsible for a number of bombs sent thru the mails to prominent Fascists in America. None of these bombs, however, reached its destination although they caused the death of two postal employees and injury to four other people. The bombs were mailed from various points in the East.

The authorities immediately raised the cry of a "Red plot" but A. J. Muste, dean of Brookwood Labor College and chairman of the Committee for International Anti-Fascist Protest, declared that the bombs had been sent by Fascists themselves to discredit their opponents and to make themselves out as martyrs. Mr. Muste pointed out that "during the past two years there have been frequent attempts of a similar nature, and in each case investigation by the police authorities had proven indisputably that these dastardly crimes have been inspired and directed from Fascist sources. In this connection, he cited, among other examples, the explosion of a bomb at Nice, France, in November 1930, charged to anti-Fascists. An investigation showed that the entire affair was "a crude frame-up of the Fascists." A similar plot took place in Jean le Pins, France, on October 28, 1931 at Chambery, France, a bomb exploded in the Italian Consulate and it was later proved that the bomb had been placed from the inside. Carlo Tresca, editor of Il Martello, issued a statement to the same effect.

Representative Hamilton Fish, the infamous "Red"-baiter has announced his intention of introducing a bill for a Congressional investigation of "both Fascist and anti-Fascist activities in this country"—an obvious attempt to provide a new basis for an attack on militant labor. Already two workers have been arrested.

DIEGO RIVERA AT THE JOHN REED CLUB

An invitation extended to Diego Rivera by the John Reed Club to lecture before that organization ended in a scandalous fiasco. The great Mexican artist, without any solicitation on his part, was invited to speak on "Revolutionary Art" before the club and accepted. The purpose of the John Reed Club is to bring sympathetic artists closer to the labor movement and to Communism. It works with elements so little "proletarian" in work and sympathies as Waldo Frank, "discoverer of American 'mysticism.'" But Diego Rivera (who should never have been a Party member but who is a valuable sympathizer) is an expelled Communist and therefore Bill Dunne and Harrison George were sent down to retrieve the "error" made by the club in inviting him by heckling him and preventing him from finishing his speech!

The Mexican artist is first of all a painter and would rather paint than do anything else in the world. His proletarian sympathies show themselves in his preference for subjects and methods accessible to the masses, in his rejection of "art for art's sake," in his preference for public walls where all may see rather than private homes, and in his selection of popular and, from time to time, revolutionary themes for his powerful work.

Bill Dunne and Harrison George set out to make the artist "responsible for the murder of Mexican workers and peasants" and to brand him as "the tool of American imperialism and Mexican Fascism." This "brilliant political analysis" needs no comment!

In a club which admits (and rightly so!) artists who draw for the degenerate organ of the smart set, The New Yorker, Rivera was denounced for painting some pictures which were paid for by the Mexican government. Hugo Gellert set up as a prominent art critic for the occasion and divided Rivera's work into "three periods" (it had to be three!) The third period was the period of his "social-fascist degeneration." Alas for Gellert's third period, Rivera was at the moment painting a powerful revolutionary fresco of a demonstration clashing with the police, another showing New York as a bank vault, a morgue-like flop-house for the jobless, and a towering pile of sky-scrapers. As at all periods of Rivera's work since the World War and the Russian Revolution, some of his present work is revolutionary in theme and some just popular, or "populist."

The John Reed Club is supposed to strengthen the bond between art and Communism. The net result of the spectacle put up by Bill Dunne, Harrison George and others was to throw discredit upon our movement and alienate rather than attract the elements whose sympathies we are trying to win. Many of the members of the club and the audience of the evening were indignant at the scandalous break-up of the lecture. It furnishes a noteworthy model of how not to conduct a "united front" on the artistic field.

America First! The United States is the "most murderous country in the world with 12,000 homicides in 1930, reports Prof. Kenneth E. Barnhart, Professor of Sociology at Birmingham Southern College. The rate was nineteen times that of England. Once more America leads the world!

In the Comintern

FACTORY COUNCIL VOTE IN GERMANY

The results of the 1931 factory council elections in Germany (most of these elections took place in the early part of the year) have just been published and the lessons to be drawn from these results are very illuminating indeed.

In 1931 4,600,000 workers voted, employed in 32,932 factories. In 1930, the figures were 5,900,000 workers in 46,299 factories. The marked difference is to be attributed to the growth of unemployment on the one hand and to the increasing passivity and pessimism of large sections of the workers.

In 1931, 138,418 factory councilors were elected as against 156,143 of the year before. The percentages obtained by the various tickets running in the elections in the two years are:

Free unions	1930	1931
(Social-democratic)	86.9	83.6
Christian	7.2	7.9
Hirsch-Dunker	—	1.1
(liberal bourgeois)	1.0	1.1
Red lists and syndicalists	—	1.5
Nazis	—	0.5
Others	—	3.4

Furthermore, the free trade union lists lost 20,918 councilors in the year; the Red lists and the syndicalists combined gained 2,290. Where did the votes representing the 18,000 councilors lost to the free trade unions (Social-democratically controlled) go? The Nazis gained 710 councilors—all other tickets lost. That means that nearly three-quarters of a million workers ceased voting for the free trade union lists and ceased voting altogether in the factory council elections! The R. G. O. (German T.U.U.L.) gained only a tiny fragment of the free trade union losses.

The incredible weakness of the Communist Party of Germany in the trade unions is shown by the fact that, together with the syndicalists, its dualist lists (the Red lists) could only attract 3.4% of the union members—a Party which claims 200,000 members and which was able to get 4,600,000 votes in the elections! In those factories in which Red lists were put up, the percentage of Red list votes declined from 21.1% in 1930 to 17.7% in 1931.

Fourth Conference of the German Opposition

Berlin. On December 19 and 20 there took place the fourth National Conference of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition). The sessions opened on Saturday evening in the halls of the Prussian Landtag.

The report of the activities of the Communist Opposition since the last conference was given by Heinrich Brandler. The report and discussion on this subject was followed by the central point on the order of business of the conference, the report on the inner disputed questions, primarily the questions of attitude towards the Socialist Workers party, of the attitude towards the Communist Party and of the attitude towards Party discipline. On this August Thälheimer reported for the Reichsleitung, while Jacob Walcher reported for the Reichsleitung minority. After a thorough discussion voting took place.

The political resolution was adopted by a vote of 66 to 18. The resolution on attitude towards the Socialist Workers party was adopted by a vote of 67 to 17. On the resolution binding members of leading committees to the discipline of these committees (Koerper-schaftsdisziplin), the vote was 67 for, 17 against.

The decisions of this conference are certain to prove of the most decisive significance to the development of the German Opposition movement. The overwhelming support for the correct Communist line of the Reichs-

Germans Demand End To Reparations

(Continued from Page 1) ficial intimation from the German government that it would refuse to accept anything at Lausanne short of a final settlement which includes complete cancellation of all reparations payments for all time. The German declaration, it is hinted, was worked out in collaboration with certain English and American financiers who regard the cancellation of reparations as essential to leave a clear field for private debts.

Ingersoll Forum

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leitung received among the membership is a powerful guarantee of the continued effectiveness of the German Opposition as the leading force for unity.

Barbe Group Is Ousted In French Party

Paris. The Barbe-Lozery leadership of Communist Party of France has now finally sunk under the blows of the latest "new turn." For the last few weeks a vigorous polemic against the Barbe group has been conducted by the newly-installed leadership under Marty. The old Barbe leadership, whom the E.C.C.I. once held up as the model Bolshevik leadership in France, is now accused on "double bookkeeping" of "driving the Party in the direction of 'sectarianism,'" "giving up the struggle for everyday demands," of "limiting themselves to revolutionary phrases" of "fighting against the Social-democrats with fists," of "installing a mechanical Party regime," of "suppressing Party democracy," etc., etc.

Of course, all of these charges are true enough in fact. The only point Marty "forgets" is that the Barbe-Lozery leadership committed all these crimes under the direct inspiration and instructions of the E.C. C. I., fully in the spirit of the vicious ultra-left line dominating the Comintern today. The sacrifice of a few scapegoats like Barbe in France, Mcker in Germany, Gottwald in Czechoslovakia, etc., can only add to the general demoralization of the Party; it cannot overcome the crisis which will persist as long as the false system of leadership and the false general course maintain themselves in the Comintern. Marty, who attacks Barbe today, will inevitably become the bearer of the same policies as Barbe and will in turn be sacrificed by the "infallible" bureaucrats of the E.C.C.I.

Scandal In French Chamber Fraction of C. P.

Paris. A new scandal is shaking what is left of the Communist Party of France. Recently the Socialists introduced into the Chamber of Deputies a bill deliberately aimed at the foreign workers in France, consisting of French property and labor shortage, large numbers of foreign workers (Italians, Poles, Germans, etc.) came to France to work and live. Now, with the sharpening of the crisis, the bourgeoisie is out to "deflate foreign labor." And the Socialist bureaucrats introduced a bill to that effect in the Chamber, under the (reactionary) name of "defending the French workers" (not against the capitalists but against their foreign brothers!). On this resolution, two members of the Communist fraction, Desobin and Doelle, abstained!

The chauvinist action of these two deputies has shocked the whole Party. But the Party bureaucrats, who were so ready to expel the whole Communist Party of France, satisfied themselves with merely warning the two chauvinist "Communists!"

Strike-Breaking Work Of Party Leadership

Wilkes Barre, Pa. The actual strike-breaking conduct of the Communist Party bureaucrats and I.L.D. "leaders" in the Free Mooney movement in the Anthracite has reached an incredible level. Upon the initiative of the local organization of the C.P.-Majority Group a very broad conference, consisting of local unions, workers organizations, etc., was called for the defense of Mooney. Of course the C. P. and I. L. D. bureaucrats sabotaged every step of this work, going so far as to expel some of the best and most active members of the I. L. D. for taking part in this movement. Then, under the name of the "Mooney, Harlan and Scottsboro Defense Conference," the Party officials tried to organize a dual conference—a flat failure. Finally, in desperation, they took a step which is almost unbelievable. They sent out a letter to all labor organizations in which it is stated:

"Here in Wilkes Barre, we find at present a group of cheap politicians led by Vrataric, Nick Borich and Peter Gallia, who, to cover up their dirty deeds and to split the Mooney defense, are operating under the name 'Anthracite Mooney Defense Committee.' This clique, expelled from the International Labor Defense, are throwing their lot into the betrayal of Mooney and the other fighters in jail.

"We therefore warn all working class organizations to repudiate the FAKE ANTHRACITE MOONEY DEFENSE COMMITTEE. All organizations, who by mistake have any relationship or affiliation to the above are hereby asked to withdraw and to help strengthen the only militant Mooney defense under the leadership of the International Labor Defense."

And the same dirty, disruptive anti-labor stuff was put into a mimeographed leaflet and distributed! The irresponsible bureaucrats have now "progressed" from slander and sabotage to direct, open attempts at disruption of the only effective Free Mooney movement in the Anthracite. This is open strike-breaking!

Announcement Extraordinary!

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The Great Need of the Hour

Unite Communist Movement!

Appeal Of The C. P.-Majority Group

(Continued from Page 1) This is the deplorable situation in the working class at a time when the objective conditions, due to the crisis of the capitalist world, afford the Communist International and its sections the best opportunities for inspiring the workers with a revolutionary fervor, for organizing them into mighty mass movements against their oppressors and for leading them in revolutionary struggles.

But what do we find due to lack of unity and the splits in the Communist movement?

In face of a world-wide economic crisis in the capitalist countries, with consequent mass unemployment and misery, at a time when the living standards of the working class are being battered down by continuous assaults of the capitalists, with capitalist reaction and fascism growing, when the revolt against imperialism is rising in the colonies, when capitalist contradictions are becoming more acute, when the war danger looms upon us and counter-revolutionary military attacks against the Soviet Union are being prepared, when the reactionary forces in the labor movement together with the Social-democrats are more openly and brazenly aligning themselves on the side of the capitalists against the workers, we find the Communist International and the Communist Parties unable to make use of the full resources of the movement to take advantage of these favorable objective conditions to mobilize the workers for effective action against the capitalists.

But that is not the only price we pay for the lack of unity. All over the capitalist world, at a time when we should expect the masses to move decidedly to the left—due to the lack of militant revolutionary leadership, which only a united Communist movement can give, we witness the opposite—a marked growth of reaction and Fascism, winning increasing support in the ranks of the workers.

In England, for example, the betrayal of MacDonald, the formation of the reactionary National government with its program against the workers, received a sweeping victory at the polls. In Germany, the breakdown of German economy, the severe unemployment, the repeated drive against wages, social benefits, etc., bring to the fore the arch-enemy of Communism and the labor movement in Germany, Hitler's Nazis, the German Fascists, whose first acts upon the assumption of power will be to drown in blood the Communist Party and all the working class organizations.

Furthermore, in all capitalist countries the drive against the workers living standards thru wage-cuts, increased taxation, reduction of social insurance benefits of all kinds, and militant revolutionary leadership, which only a united Communist movement can give, we witness the opposite—a marked growth of reaction and Fascism, winning increasing support in the ranks of the workers.

In the Spanish revolution, when the political soil was being ripened for proletarian leadership, the failure of the Comintern to supply Communist leadership has helped make possible the entrenchment of the reactionary capitalist forces.

In India, in China, and wherever colonial uprisings against imperialism have taken place, the Communist International and the Communist Parties have been either conspicuous by their absence or else have failed to play their proper Communist role. These are in the main the direct fruits of the Communist disunity.

This is not the time to tolerate the continuation of the split conditions in our movement which deprives the movement of the Communist forces and power necessary for the mobilization of the masses for revolutionary struggle.

The division of our movement here in the United States, must end. The economic crisis is having devastating effects upon the working class. Over ten million are unemployed. Hunger and starvation prevail. The capitalists are taking full advantage of the economic crisis to batter down the living standards of the working class. A wave of wage cutting is sweeping the land. Capitalist reaction is growing; strikes are ruthlessly suppressed; labor organizations are smashed; lynching of Negro workers is increasing; measures for the suppression of the labor and Communist movements are being prepared. Hoover's message to the Seventy-second Congress, his anti-labor proposals, and measures for finger-printing, registering and issuing passports to forcing born workers, the suppression of the labor press, are the forerunners of a drive to wipe out the Communist movement. Due to the disunity of the Communists in the United States, the left wing is being liquidated, the working class is submissive in the face of the frightful conditions and the vicious attacks of the capitalists. The labor movement is corrupted by racketeering and gangsterism and is dominated by a reactionary bureaucracy that is openly subservient to the interests of the capitalists.

The actions of the Communist Party on the question of unemployment have failed to arouse the workers and develop any organized movement of

unemployed and employed workers around the issues of the unemployed. The strikes of the T. U. U. L. unions have in the main ended in defeat and demoralization of the workers ranks and in many instances have served to directly divide the workers and split their organizations.

The rapacious sweep of American imperialism with its war menace is not countered by an effective protest in resistance, nor is a wide movement for Soviet recognition and defense, so necessary now, being developed.

The important, pressing and tremendous problems confronting the Communist movement in the U. S. cannot be tackled unless unity is achieved, making possible the building up of a mass Communist Party powerful enough to come to grips with the leading bourgeois power in the world.

Comrades! Communists! The capitalist reaction is taking advantage of Communist division to attack our Party as they have done in Canada where the Party leadership was railroaded to prison, all Party property confiscated and the Party driven underground.

The war danger is becoming more and more imminent. Imperialist war against the Soviet Union is an immediate danger. Unity is most urgently imperative. United Communist action will go a long way in giving us united working class action—the only effective fighting action against capitalist reaction.

Comrade! These most important considerations with the need in the United States of building the left wing in the trade unions, of giving consciousness and direction to the discontented masses, of as speedily as possible utilizing the favorable conditions for the development of a mass Communist Party capable of sinking deep its foundation in American soil and giving leadership to a mighty anti-capitalist movement, then as Communists, as members of the C. P., you must have the conviction that unity is essential that it is on the order of the day, that the condition that gives rise to numerous Communist groups

must be overcome. You will then back up your convictions with action. You will have the courage to do everything in your power to again establish the genuine Party democracy and discipline which will give us a united Communist Party. The unity of the Communists is the first prerequisite for Communist growth and victory.

Our proposals for bringing about unity are the following:

1. The unconditional readmission with full rights of all comrades expelled for disagreeing with the present course of the Party leadership, readmission on the basis of the fundamental acceptance of principles of Communism (proletarian dictatorship, Soviet power, unconditional support of the U. S. S. R. as a proletarian state and center of the world revolution, etc.)

2. The initiation of a free and thro discussion in the Party with a guarantee of freedom of expression for all viewpoints.

3. On the basis of this discussion, the calling of a special Party convention at which there shall be the fullest and freest representation of all viewpoints and which shall reexamine the recent course of the Party and shall decide its future policies and whose decision shall be binding upon the entire Party membership.

These are the simplest demands of Party democracy. Only those who are blind to the critical situation of our movement or who are afraid of a free discussion can reject them. We are confident that the bulk of the Party membership will recognize the justice of these demands.

We, therefore, appeal to you to work for these proposals within the Party ranks. In so doing you will work for unity and render the greatest service to Communism. Communist unity leads to working class strength and power!

For the unity of the world Communist movement and of our party!

National Council

COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

(Majority Group)

Reminiscences Of Lenin

WITH LENIN IN SWITZERLAND

by Fritz Brupbacher

On the occasion of the anniversary of Lenin's death we publish below some entries from the book by Fritz Brupbacher, "Zurich waehrend Krieg und Landes-Streike" ("Zurich in War and General Strike"). The picture here given of Lenin's activities in the Swiss Social-democratic movement is a very instructive one and one not hitherto presented to the American workers.

Lenin came to Switzerland in September 1914 and settled in Bern. On February 21, 1916 he moved to Zurich where he lived in Spiegelgass 16. He came to Zurich in order to be able to use the Zurich library in writing his book on imperialism, as he indicated in his request to the police to allow him to live in that city.

In the police questionnaire he gave his profession as "lawyer, journalist and writer." The question as to his means of support he answered: "literary and journalistic work for Petersburg reviews and papers."

Lenin worked in the reading room of the department of social literature. He also frequented the reading room of the museum society. Very frequently he spent his time on the water and in the hills which he loved.

Even before Zimmerwald and Kienthal he became acquainted with Fritz Platten, the then secretary of the Social-democratic party and with Willy Muenzenberg, the secretary of the Swiss youth organization, two important figures in the labor movement. He used to visit them very frequently, especially Muenzenberg, and engage in long discussions with them.

Tobi Axelrod, Bronski and Charitoff, his close Party comrades, introduced him to the circle of radicals who used to meet in the Stuesshof and other places in the so-called "bowling-club". This club had been formed (before Lenin's arrival) by some Social-democrats who were not satisfied with the narrow intellectual life in Social-democratic circles and who were anxious to discuss international problems and theoretical questions.

With Lenin's appearance, the "bowling club", which previously had confined itself to general discussions in the spirit of the left Zimmerwalders, became a club of action. As such it functioned until February 10, 1917, up to the eve of the Zurich cantonal party congress in Toess. The well known figures of the Zimmerwald left in Zurich kept away from this club in order to avoid the imputation of carrying on factional work. Here Muenzenberg was an exception.

A few active Swiss workers were attracted by the members of the club. Together they took a stand in the Social-democratic party meetings and in other gatherings in the spirit of their discussions in the "bowling club". The first external activity of

the "bowling club" under Lenin's direction was the issuance of a leaflet under the head: "Against the Lies of the Defense of the Fatherland!"

This leaflet was really a model of the combination of theoretical clarity and popularity of presentation. It concludes with the demands:

"1. Pledge of party representatives in parliament to vote against all military demands and credits on the basis of an explanation of their fundamental viewpoint. Demand for demobilization.

"2. No civil peace. Sharpening of the fundamental struggle against all bourgeois parties and against nationalistic ideas in the labor movement and in the party.

"3. Systematic revolutionary propaganda in the armed forces.

"4. Support of all revolutionary movements and struggle against the war and against the governments in all countries waging war.

"5. Stimulation of all revolutionary mass struggles within Switzerland—strikes, demonstrations. Their development to open struggle.

"6. As the aim of the revolutionary struggles (which the Aar party congress in 1915 had recognized) the party proposes the Socialist transformation of Switzerland."

Out of the discussions in the "bowling club" there emerged a resolution quite in the spirit of Lenin declaring that a split from the official party, that is, from the traitorous party bureaucracy, was not only absolutely necessary but useful as well. This resolution was introduced by Bronski into the Zurich party meeting. With some weakening and dilution the resolution carried.

Just before the Zurich cantonal party congress of February 11, 1917, a report was made by Charitoff on the attitude to it of Zimmerwald lefts. The youth comrade, Baucher, brought the club resolution before the congress in the name of the youth or-

The Play

MOURNING BECOMES ELECTRA, A Play by Eugene O'Neil.

Before this play was a week old, the length and breadth of the country had been informed that O'Neil had written his masterpiece. Almost without exception, the reviewers in the press praised this piece to the skies! Success!

After seeing this success, I am glad to be on the side of the failures! I am glad to have been on the side of O'Neil when he was a "failure," and his "failure" plays were to be seen on the stage of the old Provincetown barn theatre. O'Neil, who wrote the healthy, vigorous sketches of life at sea, who created the flesh and blood humans in Anna Christie—O'Neil before he began soaring into the realm of ideas, of a society of sick individualism, whose lives and ideas are planless, confusing and confused, deceiving and deceiving. He already showed this confusion in "The Great God Brown" and "Dynamo". And now comes "Mourning Becomes Electra."

"Mourning Becomes Electra" is a study of the sick-minded, degenerate, confused, on the basis of the old legend of Electra. It is a story of fate, love, sin, retribution and ghosts. All the characters depicted are a suspicious, deceitful, spying, lying, unhappy lot. It is not strange after all that a degenerate, bourgeois society and its press should hail this play!

It takes five hours to see this play of darkness and gloom about a family in New England before the Civil War. As a contribution to anti-war propaganda, O'Neil makes one of the returning male heroes say: "Sometime, in some war, they ought to make women take the men's place of a growth of murder. Let them rip each other's guts with bayonets. After that, maybe they'd stop wailing their handkerchiefs and their gabbing about heroes."

It is a play of the perversion of love—the hatred of mother and daughter because of their love for the same man, the callousness and deceit of a wife, because of the same love, the love of a son for his mother, the love of a daughter for her father. This picture of chaotic life is very well interpreted by a cast of excellent actors. Alla Nazimova, in particular, surpasses herself. Her portrayal of voluptuous beauty and animal grace go far towards helping the success of this play. As Christine, she stands out in the play like a sudden blast of warmth after a cold wintry blast. She brings life and beauty with her artistry into all this ugliness. She certainly makes good the promise as an actress she held out before she went in for cheap, superficial movies. Long after I will have forgotten O'Neil's play, I will remember Nazimova's acting.

Allie Brady gives an excellent performance too, but in my opinion, still lacks the vision that makes a performance like Nazimova's glamorous!

By a vote of 82 against 32 the resolution was rejected by the party congress. There were only a few in those days who could foresee 1918. These few Lenin helped very greatly to open their eyes.

After the Swiss party congress in 1916 at which he was present, Lenin published an article on "The Tasks of the Zimmerwald Lefts in Switzerland." It was mimeographed and eleven copies circulated by the lefts. The main theme of this article is the necessity for the Zimmerwald lefts to open a fight against the center, that is, against Robert Grimm, Muenzenberg followed in this line and Platten also, after some hesitation Radek was commissioned to write a pamphlet against Grimm.

The outbreak of the Russian Revolution of course prevented the further participation of Lenin and Radek in this campaign.

On April 9, 1917, Lenin left Zurich and, in his famous "Farewell Letter to the Swiss Workers," he thanked for a warm word, a vanguard group around the Free Youth and the radical Swiss workers for their heroic struggle for the fundamental principles of international revolutionary Socialism.

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REV. BRADFORD YOUNG

of the Holy Trinity Church

THE CHURCH'S PLACE IN

MODERN SOCIETY

The Economic Week

THE first days of the New Year show a continuation of the downward course. Impetus to this trend has been given especially by the continued very poor showing of the steel industry now operating at less than 25% of capacity. The unfilled tonnage of the U. S. Steel Corporation for December shows another substantial drop of 198,538 tons. The few days of stock spurt have not served to stimulate confidence, because new

railroads growing out of the general debacle in industry and agriculture. The rapid ascendancy of the Fascists in Germany is having a stabilizing influence on German bonds. However, the whole international debts and reparations tangle is complicating American financial developments. Hoover's Reconstruction Corporation hasn't served to arouse any hope even in its initial stage.

Answer to a Disruptive Trick

The Road to Real Unity

Statement of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U.

We publish below the declaration of the executive board of Local 22 (dressmakers) and the committee of 25 to the recommendations of the so-called "united front committee" (the cover-organization of the Industrial Union) as adopted at the meeting of the local, on January 7, by a vote of 327 to 26.

New York, December 8, 1931.

At our last General Membership meeting, held at Bryant Hall, Wednesday, December 2, there appeared a delegation of the so-called "United Front Committee," which submitted recommendations of a conference held under its auspices.

Being aware of the fact that a continued struggle among the dressmakers is not calculated to improve their conditions, we decided to listen to what the delegation had to say, and in this way really test their integrity and remove the issues upon which they have been constantly parading before the dressmakers.

Before discussing the "proposal" of the delegation, it is necessary to emphasize the fact that the dressmakers find themselves now in a most deplorable state. Conditions have gone from bad to worse, and should the bosses succeed in putting over their latest demands, then we are surely destined for still lower wages; still longer hours; still worse standards—in short, to a return of the unbearable and highly deplorable sweat-shop system which we thought was obliterated for all time by our memorable strike of 1909.

What is most needed in this distressing hour is the mobilization of all dressmakers for a showdown fight, so that we may put an end to the present intolerable conditions. To accomplish these ends, genuine unity in the dressmakers' ranks becomes absolutely necessary. It is all the more urgent because of the impending and fast approaching general strike. Hence, to approach the question of unity in an irresponsible attitude and lack of seriousness, under these circumstances is, to say the

least, absolutely scandalous.

Instead of undertaking sincerely and earnestly the building up of one militant union in the trade, the N.T.W.I.U. works overtime to sow more dissension and create further splits in the ranks of the dressmakers.

Thus, they first organized inside our union a so called pure "left" group. But this group has already discredited itself in the eyes of the workers who have seen its irresponsible and disruptive activities. And now, on the eve of a strike, when the thought and energies of every honest worker should be devoted to the mobilization of the various strike activities, these self-styled pure "left" have carried on wholly disruptive work and have steadfastly refused to participate in the Union's efforts to mobilize the dressmakers for a militant strike. They have made no proposals regarding the strike demands; not a suggestion as to how to beat the bosses in the coming strike. These so-called "left" have not come forward with a program for any constructive action, for any campaign to strengthen our union and build it into a mighty, victorious organization of the workers.

Having failed to take the workers out of the I. L. G. W. U. or to make any headway in its destructive work inside our Union, the N. T. W. I. U. has recently turned to a new maneuver, organizing so called "united front committees." What did the representative of the "United Front Committee" propose when he addressed our meeting? Did he have anything definite or constructive to put before us for securing greater unity and effective mobilization for the strike? All the "United Front Committee" representative proposed was that Local 22 should elect a Committee of 25 which should elect together with them, lead the strike and thus disregard and eliminate our union organization entirely. Concretely, this proposal does not mean the building up of one union in the trade, but, under the guise of a new label, it really aims to create a third organization.

The whole "united front committee" maneuver is only a petty scheme. They hope thereby to fool the workers into this committee under the guise of its being a "neutral" and "impartial" group and finally, some day get the workers into the N. T. W. I. U.

That the Needle Trade Workers Industrial Union diplomats don't take their own proposals seriously is evident from their overlooking such "unimportant" facts as the existence in the trade of cutters, pressers, and Italian workers. That's why they limited their appeal to Local 22 alone!

It must be apparent to every worker that such a proposal, at its best, would not mean unity, but even further splitting. It is about time that the N. T. W. I. U. stopped believing that the workers are stupid and blind and can be tricked and fooled with such schemes. The "plans" of the so-called "United Front Committees" are nothing else but new ways of creating more division in the ranks of the workers. We will have nothing to do with such sham proposals. We say: enough discussion; enough division; enough splits in our ranks. What we want and need most is real unity of all the dressmakers against the bosses.

Our Union is, today preparing for a real strike. Our membership has already adopted the demands which we will make upon the employers. A Rank and File Committee of 25 was elected by the local membership, to mobilize all the workers for a successful struggle. The plans of this committee include an extensive propaganda campaign, drawing in the most active members of our Union by building a committee of 500. Are

(Continued on Page 4)

Bolsheviks called themselves revolutionary Social-democrats.—Editor.

Has the historical role of the Left Radicals and of Rosa Luxemburg is presented quite clearly. They were the creators of the Communist Party in Germany.

The Role of the Left Radicals

The decisive question in the estimation of the Left Radicals: Were they champions of a deviation from revolutionary Marxism, champions of a line leading away from revolution? Or were they the pioneers of Communism in Germany? Stalin sees in them merely the representatives of semi-Menshevism. This viewpoint stands in direct opposition to the facts as well as to the opinion of Lenin on the historical role of Rosa Luxemburg and the Left Radicals.

It has now become the fashion to represent the work of Rosa Luxemburg as a prize collection of political errors. The final touch has now been given by Karl Radek in a letter to the Pravda in which he attributes his having become a Trotskyite to the influence of the ideas of Rosa Luxemburg on him! According to the way history is written in the Communist International today, either the Communist Party of Germany arose as a consequence of long continued and obstinately defended mistakes or else, before the triumph of the ultra-left course, there was no Communist Party at all in Germany but rather a "semi-Menshevik" organization led by the "Brandlites" as the defenders of the revolutionary services of Rosa Luxemburg. And indeed, the latter conception is not at all unusual in the circles of the Party bureaucracy!

The Role of Rosa Luxemburg

In order to judge properly the life-work of Rosa Luxemburg it is not enough to declare that she differed from Lenin on many questions of the Russian labor movement, on the national question, etc. It is above all necessary to examine the viewpoint of Rosa Luxemburg on the decisive questions of the German labor movement at the great turning-points in its history. If we undertake such an examination we find that the Left Radicals were the most advanced section of the German labor movement, that at every historical turn, they took a decisive step forward in the interests of the proletarian revolution. Take Rosa Luxemburg for example. A straight line leads from her criticism of Bernstein thru her criticism of Kautsky up to her position after August 4 and finally to the formation of the Communist Party, to the Spartacus program, the program of the champions of the Soviet dictatorship on the model of the Russian October revolution.

The Bolsheviks were the first to form an independent revolutionary party. They were the first to work out the decisive question of the revolution, the concrete question of the proletarian dictatorship. The work of Rosa Luxemburg, the foundation of the C. P. G., was based on the absorption of the lessons of the Russian revolution. In the last stages of her activity she moreover dropped her original disagreement with the Bolsheviks on all questions.

The Rote Fahne speaks of the "underestimation of the role of the party" on the part of Rosa Luxemburg. But she founded the Communist Party in Germany while the present leadership of the C. P. G. has succeeded only in showing that it is incapable of learning from the rich experience of Lenin and the Bolsheviks how to realize the role of the party!

Stalin As An Historian

ROSA LUXEMBURG AND BOLSHEVISM

from The "Arbeiterpolitik"

Not the least of the profound errors contained in the "historical letter" (as the Comintern press calls it!) of Stalin to the editorial board of the Proletarskaya Revoluziya, is the attempt to misrepresent the historical role of the German Left Radicals, the group that developed around Rosa Luxemburg. It is only necessary to recall Lenin's words in his pamphlet on "Leftism": "History by the book, has now, on a large, universal scale, confirmed the opinion always advocated by us, that the revolutionary German Social-democracy... was the nearest approximation to that party which is necessary to the revolutionary proletariat to enable it to attain victory. Now, in 1920, after the ignominious failures, bankruptcy and crises during the war and the first years after, it can plainly be seen that of all the Western parties, it was the German revolutionary Social-democracy which gave the best leaders, restored itself, healed its wounds and gained new strength before all the others. This may be seen in the example of both the party of the Spartans and the left, proletarian wing of the Independent Social-democratic party of Germany, which carry on an incessant fight with the opportunism and characterlessness of the Kautskys, Hilferdings, Labours and Crispinians."

The following article is from the Arbeiterpolitik, daily paper of the German Communist Opposition.

Stalin's letter to the editorial board of Proletarskaya Revoluziya shows that he understands mighty little about the development of and disputes within the German Social-democracy before the war. He writes, for example, that the "lefts in the German Social-democracy" allowed themselves "to be heard from for the first time" in 1903-1904. But at that time, at the time of the Dresden

Congress, there belonged to the "left", that is, to those against the revisionism of Bernstein and his supporters, not only the later Left Radicals (Franz Mehring, Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin) but also the later Centrists around Kautsky. The independent public appearance of the Left Radicals against the Kautskites, against centrism, began only in 1910 with the debate on the mass strike.

Lenin's Position

What was Lenin's position at the time that the Left Radicals, under the leadership of Rosa Luxemburg, made their first public appearance against Kautsky and therewith, for the first time in Germany, took up the struggle against centrism? Stalin (and his example is followed by the entire C.P.S.U. and Comintern press) argues as follows: 1. It is self-evident that Lenin fought against Kautsky from the very beginning. 2. Insofar as he didn't do this, it was because the German Left Radicals around Rosa Luxemburg were miserable wretches politically. It is not clear, says Stalin, "that the Bolsheviks could not support the lefts in Germany without serious reservations?"

Stalin does not notice that by presenting matters in this way he is making a caricature of Lenin. In truth, things were in this position: at the very beginning, Lenin saw in the struggle of the Left Radicals an internal fight within the German revolution, but he did not make Lenin a centrist and he certainly did not make the least concessions to centrism, as his position in the discussions in the Russian labor movement of those days shows. For, with all his faults, Kautsky had hitherto represented a Marxist course. In 1906, in estimating the driving forces of the Russian revolution, he supported the Bolshevik standpoint against the Menshevik. In 1909, in his book "The Road to Power", he declared that the world revolution, leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat, had emerged historically on the order of business. It is therefore quite conceivable that Lenin should have refrained from taking a position as long as his judgment had not been finally formed. But when he did make up his mind it was quite different from Stalin's viewpoint according to which the Left Radicals were really a type of Menshevik.

In his article "The Collapse of the II International" (1915) Lenin writes of the work of Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and their supporters:

"In fact, there grows, becomes stronger and organizes itself a new party, a real workers party, a real revolutionary Social-democratic party." (In those days the

Workers Age

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AND NOW SPAIN . . . !

EVER since the overthrow of the Spanish monarchy, the Socialist party leaders have been boasting: "See how you can make a revolution with peaceful means. See how we did it in Spain without bloodshed. It shows the workers can win without resorting to force against the capitalists."

These are old words to an old timer. We have heard them before. They are as false today when Norman Thomas says them as they were false years ago when Kautsky revised Marx and then fought Lenin over the question of the need for a dictatorship of the proletariat in the transition period between capitalism and Socialism.

Of course, first of all we cannot underscore too emphatically the fact that the revolution in Spain was not a Socialist revolution. Power has not been transferred from the exploiting classes to the proletariat. No steps have therefore been taken to eliminate exploitation, to eliminate capitalism. All steps have been taken to shift more and more fully political power to the capitalists as against feudal and Church interests in order to enable the former to tighten and extend their grip on the economic life and resources of the country, especially against the working class and poorer peasantry.

But even within this decisive limitation, the Socialist party boast can hold no water. Force and violence were used against the working masses by the old order. More than that. The notorious Civil Guard, now champion of the republic, has been particularly brutal in mowing down and slaughtering workers fighting for civil rights and against the intolerable economic conditions. The Socialist party of Spain, of course, has been too close to the picture, its leadership has been too much an integral part of the ruthless anti-working class regime set up by the republic, to allow its colleagues in the American Socialist party to admit the facts of the situation. On our part, we are ready to admit that the bourgeoisie, the feudal forces, the Church landlords, have been treated very gently by the republican regime. Such "victories" the Socialist parties have been winning for some time. In Germany, the Hohenzollerns, the East Prussian landlords, the industrial magnates have been so treated, and very soon the "Nazis" and Hitler hooligans will be so treated by the "victorious" German Social-democracy.

And now this Socialist party "peaceful" victory in Spain is beginning to become very much too much for the Spanish laboring masses. Dozens of workers striking for bearable conditions have just been shot down on the streets of Madrid. The Civil Guard, "pillar" of the Socialist party's republic in Spain, is drowning the workers demonstrations in blood. This makes it almost impossible for the Spanish Socialist bureaucrats to continue their old peaceful song with the same ease. Thus the newspaper "El Socialista" now raves: "What is being attempted is to void the revolution. The old line politicians are now sharpening their claws preparatory to entering and sacking the republic but the working class knows how to halt the advance of oligarchies."

We are sure that the Spanish working class will soon begin en masse to stop falling for such hokum from the Socialist party bureaucrats. The "new line" Socialist politicians are the enemies of the working class—the oligarchy to be overthrown.

Spain's recent experiences only add more unchallengeable proof that the working class to win freedom from all exploitation and oppression must set up a strictly class government of its own, a dictatorship of the proletariat using forceful and peaceful means as necessary to the interests of the toiling masses.

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The Breath of Sectarianism Is Death!

Communists and Trade Unions

by V. I. Lenin

On the occasion of the anniversary of the death of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin no better form of commemoration is possible than the renewal of the determination to fight until the Leninist principles of proletarian strategy and tactics, now in eclipse in official circles of the Communist International, again emerge triumphant. In this issue we reprint the most important extracts from Chapter VI of Lenin's incomparable revolutionary manual, "The Infantile Sickness of Leftism in Communism."

Should revolutionists work in reactionary trade unions? The German "Left" consider the reply to this question to be decidedly in the negative so far as they are concerned. In their opinion, mere declarations and angry ejaculations against reactionaries and "counter-revolutionary" trade unions are sufficient to prove that it is not only useless but also not permissible for revolutionists and Communists to work in the yellow, social-chauvinist, temporizing and conservative organizations. But, however strongly the German "Left" may be convinced of the revolutionary nature of such tactics, these are in reality fundamentally wrong, and contain nothing but empty phrases. Not less laughable and childishly nonsensical appears to us the important, learned and horribly revolutionary disquisitions of the German "Left," as to why Communists cannot and should not work in reactionary trade unions, why it is permissible to refuse such work, why it is necessary to quit the trade unions and to create in their stead quite new and quite pure "workmen's unions" invented by exceedingly nice (and, for the most part, probably very youthful) Communists, etc., etc.

Trade unions marked a gigantic step forward of the working class at the beginning of capitalist development, as a transition from the disintegration and helplessness of the workers to the beginning of class organization. The development of the proletariat did not and could not, anywhere in the world, proceed by any other road, than that of trade unions, with their manual activity with the working class party.

In countries more advanced than Russia, a certain reactionary spirit has revealed itself and was unquestionably bound to reveal itself in the trade unions much more strongly than in our country. Our Mensheviks had (and in a few trade unions still have) the support of these organizations, just because of their craft narrow-mindedness, professional selfishness, and opportunism. In the West, the Mensheviks have acquired a much firmer footing in the trade unions. There a much wider stratum of "labor aristocracy"—professional, narrow-minded selfish, brutal, jealous, petty-bourgeois elements—has cropped up, imperialistically inclined, and bribed and corrupted by imperialists. That this is so needs no proof. The struggle against Gompers, Jouhaux, Henderson, Merheim, Legien and Co. in Western Europe and America is much more difficult than the fight with our Mensheviks, who represent a thoroughly homogeneous social and political type. This struggle must be conducted mercilessly until, as was done in our case, all the incorrigible leaders of opportunism and social-chauvinism have been completely exposed and thrown out of the unions. It is impossible to conquer political power, and the conquest should not even be attempted until this struggle has reached a certain stage.

This stage may vary in different countries and different circumstances. Only clear-minded, experienced and well-informed political leaders are able to estimate it correctly. We carry on the struggle against the "labor aristocracy" in the name of the working masses, in order to win them over to our side; and we battle against the opportunist and social-chauvinist leaders in order to achieve the same object. To forget this most elementary and self-evident truth would be stupid. But the German "Left" Communists commit just this stupidity when, because of the reactionary and counter-revolutionary heads of the trades unions, they jump, by some inexplicable mental process, to the conclusion that it is necessary to abandon these organizations altogether! They refuse to work in them! They invent new workmen's unions! This is an unpardonable blunder, and one by which the Communists render the greatest service to the bourgeoisie. Our Mensheviks, like all opportunist, social-chauvinist, Kautskian leaders of trade unions, are nothing more nor less than the "agents of the bourgeoisie in the labor movement" (as we always express it), or "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." Not to work within the reactionary trade unions means to leave the insufficiently developed or backward working masses to the influence of reactionary leaders, agents of the bourgeoisie.

It is just this absurd "theory" of non-participation by Communists in reactionary trade unions that demonstrates most clearly how light-mindedly these "Left" Communists regard the question of influence over the "masses," how they contradict their own outcries about the "masses" in order to be able to help the "masses" and to win their sympathy, confidence and support, it is necessary to brave all difficulties, attacks, insults, cavils, and persecutions at the hands of the leaders (who, being opportunists and social-chauvinists, are in most cases directly or indirectly connected with the bourgeoisie and the police), and to work by every possible means wherever the masses are to be found. Great sacrifices must be made, the greatest hindrances must be overcome in order to carry on agitation and propaganda systematically, stubbornly, insistently and patiently, in all institutions, societies, and associations, however reactionary, where proletarians or semi-proletarians gather together. As for trade unions and co-operatives (this applies, at least sometimes, to the latter), they are just the organizations where the masses are to be found. And the revolutionaries but unwise "Left" Communists stand by, crying: "The masses, the masses!" and refuse to work with the trade unions; refuse on the pretext of their "conservatism," and contrive new, spick and span "workmen's unions," guiltless of bourgeois-democratic prejudices, guiltless of craft feeling and narrow professionalism! These workers unions, they claim, will be (will be!) all-embracing, and for participation in them, the only (only!) requirement is "the acceptance of the Soviet system and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

A greater lack of sense and more harm to the Revolution than this attitude of the "Left" Revolutionists cannot be imagined. Why, if we in Russia, after two and a half years of incredible victories over the Russian bourgeoisie and the Entente, had demanded that entrance into the trade unions must be conditional upon the "acceptance of the dictatorship," we should have committed a stupid act, impaired our influence over the masses, and helped the Mensheviks. For the whole of the Communist problem is to be able to convince the backward, to work in their midst, and not to set up a barrier between us and them, a barrier of pedantic childish "Left" slogans.

There can be no doubt that Messrs. Gompers, Jouhaux, Henderson, Le-

gien, etc., are very grateful to such "Left" Revolutionists who, like the German "Opposition-on-principle" Party (Heaven preserve us from such "principles") or like revolutionists in the American "Industrial Workers of the World," preach the necessity of quitting reactionary trade unions and refusing to work in them. Undoubtedly, the leaders of opportunism will have recourse to all the tricks of bourgeois governments, to priests, police courts, in order to prevent Communists from entering the trade unions, by all and every means to put them out, to make their work inside these organizations as unpleasant as possible, to insult, bound and persecute them. It is necessary to be able to withstand all this, to go the whole length of any sacrifice, if need be, to resort to strategy and adroitness, illegal proceedings, reticence and subterfuge, to anything in order to penetrate into the trade unions, remain in them, and carry on Communist work inside them at any cost. Under Czarism, until 1905, we had no "legal possibilities," but when Zubatov, the secret service agent, organized Black Hundred workers meetings and workmen's societies for the purpose of ferreting out revolutionists and fighting them, we sent members of our Party into these meetings and societies. They put us in touch with the masses, acquired much skill in conducting propaganda, and succeeded in wresting the workers from under the influence of Zubatov's agents. Of course, in Western Europe, which is soaked thru with inveterate legalist, constitutionalist, bourgeois-democratic prejudices, it is more difficult to carry on such work; but it can and should be carried on, and carried on systematically. The Executive Committee of the Third International should, in my opinion, directly condemn the policy of non-participation in reactionary trade unions and should suggest to the next congress of the Communist International the necessity of issuing a general condemnation of such policy, stating in detail the reasons for the irrationality of non-participation and the excessive harm it brings to the cause of proletarian revolution.

THE ROAD TO REAL UNITY!

(Continued from Page 3)

they ready to cooperate with us in the mobilization of the workers for an effective strike against the bosses? If they are, let them give up their slanders and splitting activities, and thus make possible the solidification of the ranks of the dressmakers for the betterment of their conditions.

Every worker knows that the dressmakers of New York are going through a period of unprecedented idleness, extreme want, and dire distress. Their earnings have sunk below the pre-war levels; their working conditions have reached the unspeakable sweatshop standards. In face of these conditions, no one can honestly deny the crying need for one Union in the industry.

Everybody knows that the overwhelming majority of the organized dressmakers are today members of the I. L. G. W. U. Recently, even the N. T. W. I. U. has been forced to recognize and admit this fact. But instead of dropping the ideas of further attempts at splitting, they are still trying to create new schisms, new divisions.

The doors of our Union are wide open to all workers, regardless of race, creed, nationality or political opinion. We have never failed to emphasize this. With this in view, we have, at our last meeting, adopted a manifesto reducing the initiation fee and waiving all other formalities so as to make it easier for all dressmakers to enroll as members—non-union persons or such who have dropped out.

We are likewise endeavoring to renew the amnesty granted by our International so that all those who are taking advantage of the provisions in the manifesto may immediately assume their full responsibility and duties as full-fledged members of our Union.

It is entirely possible to have disagreements on policy and tactics between workers and workers, and between the members of our Union and their duly elected officials. But we cannot make it too plain, too clear, and too emphatic that the way to settle such differences and the way to arrive at the best results is by solidifying our ranks and, as members of one union, approaching all problems in a constructive manner instead of resorting to petty maneuvering and further disharmony.

On the eve of the great impending struggle—the General Strike—every dressmaker should join the union and should work tirelessly in the campaign to get 100 per cent mobilization for the big fight against the bosses. This is our position. We call upon all dressmakers to take part in all the strike preparations; to help carry out successfully the plan for militant action directed by our Rank and File Committee of 25, and the Executive Board, and to enlist in our rank and file committee of 500. We

are confident that the dressmakers will not be befuddled by any false issues.

We want an end to all the dissension, division, and splits in the ranks of the workers.

Strengthen the Union! Become active! If you are not yet a member you should enroll at once, and side by side, take up the struggle for better conditions in the shops!

Rally around the banner of the International and victory will be certain to crown our efforts!

DRESSMAKERS UNION
 Local 22, I.L.G.W.U.
NATHAN MARGOLIS, Chairman
MAX BLUESTEIN, Secretary.

MEXICO CITY.—Thru the operation of the new law that all clergymen must be native Mexicans and then the legal limitation of the number of priests, nearly all of the Catholic and most of the other churches here were closed on Sunday, January 3. Heavy police guards were stationed around all churches but there were no disturbances.



BOOKS

UNEMPLOYMENT STATUS OF NEGROES, by T. Arnold Hill. National Urban League, New York City, December 1931.

Mr. Hill's pamphlet is a "compilation of facts and figures respecting unemployment among Negroes in one hundred and six cities" during the present crisis. The facts and figures have been gathered from varied sources such as Chamber of Commerce officials, community chests, unemployment committees, insurance companies. The survey also throws a good deal of light on unemployment among the white workers.

From a careful reading of the report five basic facts emerge: (1) Negroes are the first to be fired. (2) Unemployment is much greater amongst the Negroes than the whites. (3) The present crisis is resulting in the displacement of Negroes by whites in domestic and personal service, as elevator runners, janitors, etc. (4) Competition between white and Negroes is resulting in lower wages and longer hours for both. (5) The Negroes are turning towards radicalism, especially Communism.

A few examples will bring these factors into bolder relief. In Philadelphia, Negroes form 11.3% of the population and 25% of the unemployed. In Youngstown, Ohio, 8.6% of the population and 66% of the unemployed. In Detroit, Negroes form 7% of the population and 30% of the dependency cases. In Kansas City one-seventh of the population and one-third of the relief cases. Of the 29,000 unemployed in Houston, Texas, the Negroes number 20,000.

Waterbury, Conn., reports that whites have replaced Negroes in both skilled and unskilled positions, that white women have gone into the homes as domestics for smaller wages and have forced a general reduction in the wages of those Negroes who have managed to hold their jobs. Atlanta, Ga., reports the displacement of Negro bellmen, truck drivers and common laborers by whites.

The following report which Mr. Hill received from Richmond, Va., is a gem of bourgeois hypocrisy. "The decrease in wages is one of the most serious problems at present. Many employers who at one time paid no less than \$8 and as high as \$12, are asking of the employee an equal amount of work for a compensation of \$5 and \$6. Within the last month we have had no less than seven calls for \$3, \$3.50 and \$4 help. Employers seem to seek justification for cheap wages by stating that they want someone who really wants or needs a home" (emphasis mine, J.S.). Richmond also reports that employers have fired Negroes hiring their wives at "less than half the wages" their husbands were getting. These few examples show the trends mentioned above. * * *

The conclusion which Mr. Hill draws from his excellent survey forms the weakest part of the pamphlet. He can see no way out for the Negro but charity. This will prove of no value to the thousands of Negroes in want and in poverty. Had Mr. Hill faced the facts he could not have concluded anything else but: (1) The whole working class is suffering as a result of the crisis. The Negro suffers first as a worker and in addition as an oppressed race. (2) The organization of Negroes and whites into militant mass unions is a burning necessity. The existence of such unions during the present crisis would have enabled both white and Negro workers to resist the attacks of the employers upon their standard of living. (3) The white and Negro workers must form their own unemployment councils spurning charity and demanding government relief. (4) Unemployment, starvation, oppression of the Negro, with us over 300 years, will disappear only with the overthrow of capitalism.

J. S.

Pilsudski, God and the Tailor
 When the mail came in from Volhynia, the clerks in the Warsaw post-office sorted it with their usual care. One letter—there was no mistaking it—was addressed: "To Almighty God."

The writer, says the Hamburger Fremdenblatt was a certain Vladislav Kaczynski, of Adamka in the voivode of Volhynia.

The letter was fully prepaid, "indicating that the writer thought Almighty God was to be found in Poland, because the stamps on it were for domestic delivery."

When the Postmaster of Warsaw looked at the epistle, he passed it along to the Postmaster-General who in turn sent it to the member of the Cabinet who was responsible for exceptional cases of this kind.

While the Cabinet Minister was puzzling over the episode, he was summoned into the presence of Marshal Pilsudski.

A bright idea flashed across the ministerial mind.

He took the mysterious communication with him and laid it upon the Marshal's desk.

Pilsudski, we read, lifted the communication high enough to read the address.

The Marshal immediately opened the letter and read:

"Dear God:
 The undersigned, V. Kaczynski, tailor by trade, is, as Thou knowest, terribly in debt."

"It is all owing to the frightful weight of taxes imposed upon me. As I can't pay them, my little property has been levied upon."

"Thus, beloved Lord, I am in dire distress, and I implore Thy pity because I have no other refuge but Thee from the hunger otherwise coming upon me and my family."

"Send me at once a thousand zloty (\$12)."

"This sum of money will at once bring joy back to my home."

This communication was duly signed in full by the tailor. It was plain that he was in deadly earnest.

Marshal Pilsudski read it from beginning to end, and then smiled benevolently.

With a soldier's promptness, he summoned his secretary and dictated a reply.

The reply was duly sent to Kaczynski upon a sheet of paper officially headed: Castle Belvedere.

The message was worded:

"Mr. V. Kaczynski:
 I have received your note.

"Enclosed you will find an order for five hundred zloty."

"I hope you will prove a good and loyal citizen of your native land."

A few days later a reply to this communication arrived at Castle Belvedere.

It ran:
 "Dear God:
 I thank Thee many times for the compassion and mercy Thou hast shown to a poor tailor."

"I know you will prove a God of goodness and of love."

"When again Thou sendest me money, don't remit by way of Castle Belvedere, for there they keep half of everything for military expenses."

What the Marshal said on receipt of this letter is not recorded.

The Altruism of the Big Fellers

President Willard of the B. & O. told the Senate committee that what's good for the railroad is good for the country. Mr. Kahn told another Senate committee that what's good for the bankers is good for the country and "what's best for the United States to do is best for the world."

Guess these rich fellers are doing us a big favor letting us know what they want us to do for them!

"All We Need Is Courage"—Hoover

"We'll come out of the depression stronger and better than we were before," said Mr. Farrell of the Steel Trust. "Thanks for their kind words!" said the unemployed steel worker as he dropped a handful of sod on the coffin of his famished child.

Magic Words

President Hoover doesn't like the word "moratorium" as used in connection with the European debt situation; he prefers "postponement." He doesn't like the word "unemployment insurance"; he prefers to call it "dole." And the bread line dole he calls "rugged individualism."

Nicholas Murray Butler doesn't like the sound of the words "War Department" and proposes to rechristen it "Department of National Defense." The Japanese Government doesn't like the word "war" and explains that it is in China to "restore peace."

New York State has just submitted to the "sovereign people" a referendum proposing to change the name of the Department of Charities to the "Department of Social Welfare." The newspaper publishers have agreed to ban the word "depression" from their headlines and news columns. The huge government donation to the railroads and banks Hoover calls "unemployment relief." The railroads call their proposed wage-cuts "readjustments for the stabilization of employment."

Words, it appears, speak louder than actions. A rose by any other name wouldn't smell at all. Names will break our bones but sticks and stones won't hurt us. All that's needed to set the world right is to reform the dictionary.

—B. D. W.

For Communist Unity!
UNITY MASS MEETING
 LABOR TEMPLE, 14 Street and 2nd Avenue
 TUESDAY EVENING, JANUARY 19, 1932, 8 P. M.

Representatives have been invited from:

The Communist Party of the U. S. A.
 The Communist Party U. S. A. (Majority Group)
 The Communist League of America (Opposition)
 The Left Wing in the Trade Unions
 The Left Wing in the Foreign-Language Workers Organizations

Discussion of the need of uniting all Communist forces into a united Communist Party and into a united Communist International

Communist unity is the best weapon against the onslaughts of reaction, against the danger of war, against the danger of an imperialist attack upon the Soviet Union, against the world menace of Fascism.

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