

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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PRICE 5 CENTS

## Workers Age Builders

Did You Miss The "Age"? Say It With Deeds?

March 27, 1932.  
Enclosed find money order for \$14.30, distributed as follows:  
Three bundles of the WORKERS AGE (March): \$ 1.80  
One year sub (renewal) for myself: \$ 2.50  
Donation: \$10.00  
\$14.30

I missed the AGE an awful lot the week it didn't appear. At the same time, we got news on the job that some would be fired. I might be one of them and the rest should have a severe cut. But that didn't worry me as much as the non-appearance of the AGE and I want to help prevent similar things in the future. . . .  
—H. L.

## "Age" Shareholders Hold Banquet-Meeting

The Workers Age Publishing Association held a very constructive discussion and dinner at Anmah's Restaurant last Friday.

About fifty of the most active AGE shareholders gathered to discuss the contents and makeup of the WORKERS AGE. Many concrete valuable suggestions were made to improve the character of the AGE, as well as its circulation. Jay Lovestone, editor, reported and Ben Gitlow, president, a special committee of shareholders consisting of Alex Bail, Herbert Zam, Jim Cork, Ben Gitlow and A. Bell was elected to prepare a report and plans for improving the WORKERS AGE on the basis of suggestions and proposals made at the meeting.

The next meeting of the Workers Age Publishing Association shareholders will be held within a month to act on the report of the sub-committee.

## WORKERS AGE Subscription Drive

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- "Short Stories Out Of Soviet Russia."
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## BIG MAY 1 AFFAIR IN NEW YORK

## C.P.-Majority Groups Holds Celebration On April 30 New Harlem Casino

The May Day celebration of the Communist Party (Majority Group) will be held on Saturday evening, April 30, at the New Harlem Casino, 116th Street and Lenox Avenue.

A program of speeches, musical numbers and dancing has been arranged to celebrate International May Day. The speakers will be Benjamin Gitlow, national secretary; Edward Welsh, Negro organizer and Minnie Lurye, youth secretary.

As part of the musical program Miss Gertrude Davidson will play a number of piano selections. Miss Davidson is a well known pianist who has played as soloist with leading symphony orchestras here and abroad. Music critics universally acclaim Miss Davidson as an artist of unusual delicacy, ready technique and intelligent, skillful interpretation. Besides Miss Davidson, the program will include a talented singer.

The dance music will be played by the deservedly popular Negro jazz orchestra: Kid Taylor's Band.

All workers, Communists and sympathizers, are urged to join in celebrating May Day, the day of international working class solidarity. Tickets are now on sale at the Workers Age, 228 Second Avenue.

## For the Freedom of Comrade M. N. Roy

We have received the following report from our Indian correspondent: After his sentence to twelve years transportation (which really means imprisonment with hard labor) Roy was taken from the Cawnpore prison and carried away under a heavy guard of European police. He was awakened at midnight, made to don the clothing of an ordinary criminal, loaded down with chains, and taken to the central prison in Bareilly.

Next morning a rumor spread through Lucknow that Comrade Roy was to be taken from Cawnpore to some destination unknown. There are thousands of railway workers in this city of parasites. Over 5,000 of them demonstrated before the railroad station, calling out: "Long live Roy! Down with British domination!" As the train came in it was discovered that it was not Roy but some Congress member who was on it. But

the demonstrators refused to believe this and continued shouting: "Long live Roy!" and demanding his release.

Roy's condition in the central prison at Bareilly is really terrible. He is treated as an ordinary criminal and is forced to live in a cell with a number of desperate characters. He has neither bed to sleep on nor all sufficient food. But most distressing is the spiritual starvation. Even newspapers and philosophical books are denied him. The authorities are determined to break him, to render him incapable of political work, if he should ever be out of the hellish dungeon.

That's how things are here. You must do something to arouse the European and American proletariat! Do everything you can at least to relieve his misery!  
—A.

## A Letter from Geneva

## The Broken Sword

by Karl Radek

Some twenty-five or thirty years ago a Russian worker, on getting into his hands a thin booklet with the "Geneva" imprint on it, would hide it as a sacred object. Those booklets printed on the thinnest paper, represented a sort of condensed dynamite that was destined to blow up tsarism. Geneva was the place where exiled Russian revolutionaries printed their stirring appeals to the Russian masses that were clandestinely smuggled into the country.

Surrounded by this halo, Geneva always had for the Russian worker the spell of a revolutionary Mecca. It was at Geneva that Plekhanov gathered his disciples, and Lenin, after the split, sharpened his weapons. Geneva was the center of attraction alike for young revolutionary students who went abroad to study revolution, and for workers who were hounded out of Russia by tsarist oppression.

During recent years the city has grown in wealth and affluence, and on meeting Geneva again we had the impression of seeing a woman who once evoked admiration by her youth and fragrance, but now, after an interval of a quarter of a century, she stands before us, a strange woman, with flabby face and sunken breasts. One would like to give her a welcome smile, but the smile becomes a melancholy one and we have nothing to say to each other.

Having come here from the U.S.S.R. where one sees so many people busy at work, the city strikes us by its deathlike stillness. There are gorgeous displays in the shop-windows, and automobiles glide over the smooth asphalt. One does not see the crisis here, neither does one see anyone hurrying to work. Naturally, there are industries and crafts in and around Geneva, but one is not aware here of the tempo and throb of industrial activity.

The other evening having nothing else to do, we went to the railway station to drop a letter into the mailbox. In the vicinity of the station we came across a gloomy wooden barrack over which was a sign "Workers Quarters." Amazed at this sight, I could not help observing how poorly the railway workers were housed in rich and affluent Geneva. Michael Koltsov, my esteemed fellow Soviet journalist, said: "We have no right to interfere." So we do not. Pondering we went back on our way.

Although "we have no right to interfere," nevertheless we know that the "common" people in Geneva are realizing what a game is being played under the name of the "conference of armaments." A kind of circus guarded by pompous policemen, each of whom might become an admiral in the navy or a general in the army that M. Tardieu wants to create for the League of Nations.

One day at the hotel we had a lively debate with the French women journalists who represent the pacifist wing of French imperialism. Incidentally, one of those ladies does useful work by publishing in her journal all official documents on important questions of current politics. It

was interesting to hear how she tried to back up Tardieu's imperialistic proposal with pacifist arguments. In her anxiety to refute our arguments, she unburdened her soul before us. "The unemployed really do not suffer such hardships as you imagine. . . . Furthermore we don't want a revolution. . . ." and so on. Looking over the shoulder of my interlocutor, I saw a pair of friendly eyes which winked to me behind the back of the pacifist lady.

It was a waiter, one of those who wait on the exalted foreign guests. They are not among the red hot revolutionaries, those poor people who wear frockcoats and are grateful for a bourgeois tip to supplement their meager wages. Nevertheless this frock-coated proletarian seemed to be concerned about what was going on in the Conference and his sympathies were clearly on our side. His interest and curiosity did not reflect the skepticism or quest of sensation of the blasé globe-trotters and the sharks in the Conference who stared at us.

The frock-coated waiter gave us the nod of a comrade, and I feel sure that if we were given the opportunity to visit the hovels of the poor on the outskirts of the city, we should meet many friends there. The "common people" are aware that we are struggling for peace while the others are preparing for war.

The conference hall resembles a barrack by its construction. The delegates are seated on two long rows of benches in the middle. On either side are the seats for the military experts. In front is the rostrum for the presiding body. Behind sit crowds of well-visited visitors consisting mostly of elderly ladies. The pressroom is in the gallery, with the workrooms close by, and here is the mart of the conference.

Seated on the benches are the diplomats, young and old, the wise and  
(Continued on Page 3)

## BIG WAGE RISE IN SOVIET UNION

11-18% Increase In Wages In Socialist Land As Production Rises

MOSCOW.—Corresponding to the scheduled increase of 36% in industrial production, a sharp increase of wages in all light and heavy industry from 11.5% to 18% has been ordered throughout the Soviet Union to begin on April 1. This rapid increase in wages in the Socialist industries of the U.S.S.R. comes after a period of continuous wage increases on a smaller scale within the last two years, at a time when wages in the capitalist world have been slashed to the bone. At the same time the maximum wages for Communist Party members are also to be raised.

## DE VALERA SWAYS TOWARDS RIGHT

Ottawa Ban Threat Is Used, Republicans Call For Irish Freedom

DUBLIN.—Under what appears to be a serious threat of exclusion from the Ottawa imperial economic conference, a decided swing towards the right, towards conservatism, has taken place in the Fianna Fail cabinet. The reply of the Irish Free State executive council to the British government on the question of the repeal of the oath of allegiance and the suspension of land annuity payments, was not yet made public on March 31 but already it was semi-officially rumored that it would be much more "moderate" and "friendly" than at first expected. The rumors also declare that the reply was considerably modified in such a direction in the executive council. At the same time it was admitted that semi-official messages had come from Canada (of course, ultimately from Britain) to the effect that if the Irish government pressed the oath and annuities questions, the Free State would be regarded as a "foreign country" and would not be admitted to the imperial economic conference, from which the Irish capitalists expect to get considerable advantages. A similar warning has also come from the Australian government.

At the time that reformist nationalists of the DeValera party are retreating from their election program under pressure of the Irish capitalists, the radical republican movement is swinging rapidly to the left, in response to a distinct leftward swing of the masses of the workers and the peasants. Brian O'Higgins, president of the Sinn Fein, made an important speech in which he warned that the Irish Republican Army would accept nothing less than an independent Irish Republic. The Irish Republican Army paper, An Phoblacht (The Republic), declared in a recent issue: "To put Fianna Fail in was the only way to put the Cosgrave gang out. The struggle for freedom in Ireland is the struggle of the masses of working farmers and wage-earners to break thru the system which exploits them and to realize a free, united Irish Republic outside the British Empire."

DUBLIN.—On recommendation of  
(Continued on page 2)

## BIG SYMPOSIUM ON LABOR EDUCATION

Counts, Miller, Muste And Wolfe To Discuss Problems Of Workers Education

What promises to be one of the most significant labor educational events of the season will take place on April 15, 1932 at the Labor Temple, 14 Street and Second Avenue, New York City. Here four outstanding representatives of various viewpoints on Workers Education will discuss this important question in an all-around manner in a special symposium arranged by the New Workers School of 228 Second Avenue.

Dr. George S. Counts, of Teachers College, Columbia University, one of America's leading educators and an authority on educational forms and methods in the Soviet Union, will discuss Soviet education and the significance it may have for workers education in this country. Spencer Miller, Jr., of the Workers Education Bureau, will present the official American Federation of Labor viewpoint on the question of the education of workers. A. J. Muste, dean of Brookwood Labor College will recount the experience of this institution and present the point of view upon which this institution is based. Finally, Bertram D. Wolfe, director of the New Workers School, will explain the attitude of the Communists on workers education, chiefly on the basis of the many years of activity of the Workers School and the New Workers School.

The very names of the participants in this remarkable symposium are enough to show how interesting and valuable a discussion is certain to take place. Every worker who is awake to the problems of his class will want to hear this symposium on Workers Education.  
Admission is 50 cents.

## CALLS FOR 2¢ TAX ON 5¢ FARE

40% Tax On Poor To Ease "Burden" Of Rich; Banks Confer With Walker

NEW YORK CITY.—A flat raise of 2c on every 5c rapid transit fare, in the form of a "sales-tax" to go to the city government, has been proposed by Professor Lindsay Rogers of Columbia University in a memorandum to Mayor Walker as a "feasible method of relieving the drain on the city budget and easing the tax burden upon real estate."

Samuel Mermeyer has come out in favor of this proposal. The insolent proposal for a flat tax of 40% upon the poorest people of the city in order to "ease the tax burden" of the rich, falls in line with the  
(Continued on page 2)

## House Passes Vicious Tax Bill, As La Guardia "Revolt" Collapses

Sales-Tax "Defeat" Is Followed By Series Of Excise Taxes; House Reverses Itself On Wartime Surtax; LaGuardia Helps Standpaters Put Over Bill

Washington, D. C. April 1, 1932. Marking the ignominious capitulation of the LaGuardia "progressive revolt" which had lasted for ten days, the House of Representatives adopted today by a vote of 327 to 64, a new tax bill which not only includes most of the vicious measures of the original Crisp-Mills bill but actually reverses, on a number of important points, the action of the House while

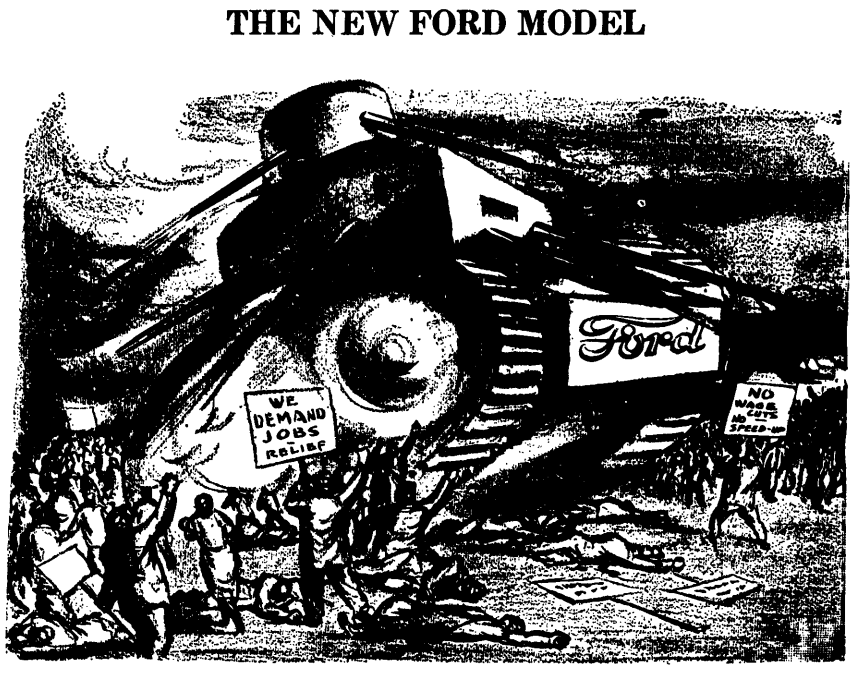
under the influence of the "outburst of demagoguery."  
The surrender of the LaGuardia "progressives" was signaled on March 28 by a melodramatic "appeal" by Speaker Garner for "unity and harmony" in balancing the budget, which was, of course, merely stage-play to hide the horse-trading that had taken place behind the scenes between the "progressives" and the standpat leaders. Immediately after Garner's "heart-rending appeal," a number of measures were adopted with the help of the ex-"insurgents", placing excise taxes on a whole series of manufactured articles including cosmetics, chewing gum, matches, cameras, phonographs, radios, etc. In other words as Will Rogers aptly puts it, the House having rejected the sales-tax immediately proceeded to tax everything that sells! The House likewise reversed its previous action and voted to restore the "foreign credits" provision whereby firms doing business abroad can deduct taxes paid abroad as well as the war-time surtax rates on high incomes. In both cases the recommendations of the Crisp committee were confirmed.

A 3c postage rate for first class mail, a toll on telephone, telegraph and radio messages, a heavy excise duty on soft drinks, an additional sales-tax on refrigerators and a number of other measures were adopted on March 30, again with the full support of LaGuardia and his erstwhile "rebels."

Finally on April 1, the new tax bill was voted on as a whole and adopted by a huge majority. Thus ended ingloriously the "insurrection" of the "progressives" which had been fraudulent from the very beginning.

As finally adopted the bill is expected by the Ways and Means committee to provide a revenue of \$1,032,400,000, which, supplemented by at least \$230,500,000 reduction in governmental expenses, will balance the budget with a surplus of about \$22,000,000.

WASHINGTON.— Sentiment for the passage of some sort of veterans bonus bill is strong in the House, in spite of Hoover's declaration in advance against it. Administration leaders admit that if the two billion dollar bill for full payment of adjusted service compensation certificates were voted upon in the House at the present time, it would probably pass.



THE NEW FORD MODEL

## Militants Blacklisted in Anthracite As Strike Ends; New Strikes in Illinois and Ohio

Maloney, Vratovic And Others Discharged For Union Activity; Strike Committee Decides Return To Work; Agreement Ends In Illinois

Wilkesbarre, Pa. April 2, 1932. Thomas Maloney, president of the Stanton local and leader of the recent "insurgent" Anthracite strike, was discharged on April 2 when he returned to work after the strike had been called off. Four others actively engaged in the strike movement were also discharged by the coal company.

These are John Maloney, John Eitck, Theodore Gill, and Frank Vratovic. All of these miners are members of Local 466 of the U.M.W.A. Further victimizations are expected as already seventy workers have been discharged from the Thuesdale colliery.

A move has been initiated to rouse the rank and file of Local 466 and other miners organizations against the attempt of the coal company to blacklist the most active and the most militant miners leaders. A special meeting of the local has been called as well as a meeting of the general mine committee for April 6. The underground activities of the conservative union leaders in helping the coal company blacklist the militants, are notorious in this situation as in others.

WILKESBARRE, Pa. — The big "insurgent" Anthracite strike, called in District 1 by a number of local unions and then spread to District 9, was called off on March 31, when the general strike committee adopted a resolution ordering the miners back to work the following Saturday. The strike had been on the decline for about a week and its end was inevitable.

The coal companies are now taking advantage of the lost strike to close down a number of collieries and throw many miners out of work.

The strike had been called over the head of the district and International officials of the United Mine Workers of America and had as its chief

demand the equalization of work.

## Strike Spreads In Ohio Fields

COLUMBUS, Ohio.— A strike of all miners in District 6 was called by the district and International officers of the U.M.W.A. on March 31, effective at midnight. About 25,000 miners are expected to respond.

The strike movement in Ohio had its inception in the Hocking valley where about 7,000 miners walked out some weeks before in protest against a wage-cut. Strikes in various parts of the State followed.

## Shutdown In Illinois

CHICAGO.—About 150 mines of the Illinois Coal Operators Association, employing about 50,000 miners, were shut down at midnight of March 31 at the expiration of the contract between District 12 of the U.M.W.A. and the operators. A similar situation exists in the Indiana field, District 11.

The miners are demanding, in accordance with the Springfield resolution, an increase in the scale, while the operators are set upon slashing wages to the bone. Whether the U.M.W.A. officials will permit a strike is not yet clear.

MINEOLA, L. I.—A wage-cut of 33 1-3% and a return to an open shop basis is threatened for 2,000 building trades workers by the Building Trades Employers Association of Long Island. Construction is under way on a number of large public and private projects and the employers decided to take advantage of the opportunity and lower standards all around. The wage-cuts affect carpenters, bricklayers and plasterers.

Police have already been brought upon the scene to suppress any resistance of the workers.

## REBEL ADVANCE IN MANCHURIA

Insurgents Near Capital; Japanese Mobilize To Protect Puppet

TOKYO.—The Japanese War Office has announced that a new military expedition will be sent to Manchuria to suppress the widespread rebellion against the puppet "independent" government there established by Japanese arms.

CHANGCHUN, Manchuria.— The insurgent Chinese forces under General Li Li Hai-ting, who have raised the standard of revolt against the Japanese puppet government of Manchuria, made great advances in the last few days and were, towards the end of March, threatening this city, the new Manchurian capital. Sharp fighting has taken place around Nungang, thirty-five miles from the capital, with the advantage on the side of the insurgents.

The Japanese forces in Manchuria, under command of General Honjjo, have been thrown into the struggle to suppress the insurgents.

As this issue of the "Workers Age" goes to press, a full report is being prepared of the trial of the three marine workers, Soderberg, Trajer and Bunker, who were arrested some months ago on a framed-up bomb charge. The report will be published in the next issue.

# Morris R. Cohen Lectures Sunday, April 10th, 8 P.M. 'Determinism', 228 Second Avenue



# A Letter From The Anthracite GOV. PINCHOT AND THE COAL STRIKE

by J. F., Anthracite Miner

March 21, 1932.  
I sincerely hope that the **Workers Age** will print what I am writing of my information and conclusions regarding the general strike called by the "insurgents", as they are called.

We are now at the beginning of the second week of the strike. I do not know much of what is happening outside of Pittston except what I read in the newspapers. The general report is that the strike is progressing despite the machine, standing with the coal companies, and the opposition of Boylan as well as the "Rank-and-File Committee" of District 1. Of this committee I had expected a better attitude. I have a leaflet issued by the committee calling a conference for Wednesday, March 30 at 7:30 P. M., at Italian Hall, 206 Oliver Street, Luzerne, Pa. The conference was called to discuss general strike, but at the same time, here in Pittston, the strikers are distributing the "Rank-and-File Committee" leaflets had to be stopped by the pickets from scabbing. On Sunday, March 20, at their own mass meeting which I attended, I heard the same charge made—first instead of declaring a strike they were scabbing.

The entire press is against the strike, as are all the others, the operators, the business and professional men, not to forget, of course, the authorities of city, county and state. I have here before me the statement of Governor Pinchot sent on March 16, 1932 to Washington.

Pinchot says: "There is starvation in Pennsylvania." But to relieve starvation he sends 120 state troopers to help out the things who are already here in clubbing the strikers. And what do the strikers do? A division of work so that they may share with each other! Is not this a good Governor?

Did he know the condition of these workers. I hardly believe so. Instead of sending State troopers, he should have told the sheriff as well as the mayor of Pittston to protest to the coal companies against their breaking their own agreement. And that in time of crisis such as this, they should divide the work so that the miners should have at least a piece of dry bread, so that the miners would not have to strike over how to divide their own meager crust of bread. And for this they are clubbed by the various law propped up against them. Is this not a shame Governor Pinchot?

And what about your friend, Mayor Langan. On Friday, March 18, the workers of Pittston, after five days of bitter struggle, after seeing their fellow workers clubbed by the police, marched 5,000 strong to the City Hall in protest against the police brutality and violence. What does Langan do? Sends for the state troopers! They arrive and, without a single word, start their clubbing down of every one in front of them. This is the second time in the last two years that Langan has treated the workers in this way. A good job done for the coal company and against the very workers who voted for him and who pay him. That's a good mayor. And Mayor Langan knows well enough the misery in this town, the starving condition in which a great part of the

## PROPOSE 2c TAX ON 5c FARE IN NEW YORK

(Continued from Page 1)  
demands of the big bankers, who control the city, for an increase in fare and for a big wage-cut in the salaries of city employees in order to "put the city on sound financial basis." Mayor Walker is preparing to go in to conference with the bankers and it is certain that out of these conferences will emerge further plans for shifting the great burdens of the crisis upon the poor people of the city, the workers and the lower middle class.

## DE VALERA SWINGS TO RIGHT UNDER EMPIRE PRESSURE

(Continued from Page 1)  
Sean Lemass, Minister of Industry and Commerce, there will be established a 33 1-3% tariff on all goods that could be manufactured in the Free State. There will be an imperial preference of 8 1-3% so that goods manufactured in any part of the British Empire will be taxed only 25%.

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people of this town have to live—trying to get along on the two or three dollars a month that the Poor Board gives them. This may be all right, Mayor Langan, but how much more do you think the workers will stand? Of course the worker should not expect better treatment after giving the power to the servants of the big bosses.

# GOVERNOR CLOAKS CITY CROOKS

## Sends Insolent Reply To Demand To Remove McQuade And Theofel

NEW YORK CITY.—In a provocative, insolent letter to Dr. John Haynes Holmes and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise of the City Affairs Committee, Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt announced his positive refusal to take any step to remove Sheriff James A. McQuade, of Kings County, and John Theofel, chief clerk of the Queens Surrogate's court and Democratic leader in Queens county. The charges against both Tammany officials as made by the City Affairs Committee were outgrowths of the disclosures arising in the course of investigation by the Hofstadter-Seabury committee. They included the fact that McQuade, while Register of Kings county, had made deposits totalling to nearly a half million dollars and had refused to account for this money. The charges against Theofel were of a similar character.

Governor Roosevelt, who had only recently removed Sheriff Farley of New York county on similar charges, not only refused to make any removals in this case but violently abused the City Affairs Committee for asking him to do so. His excuse in the case of McQuade, whose corrupt practices have been far more flagrant than those of Farley, was that, after the exposure of McQuade's corruption as Register had been made public, he had been elected Sheriff of Queens and "with this overwhelming verdict of the electorate" (that is, with this triumph of Tammany), he, Roosevelt, must refuse "to interfere."

Governor Roosevelt's action in the McQuade and Theofel cases is unquestionably intended as a demonstration of his reconciliation with Tammany Hall in view of the coming struggle for the Democratic Presidential nomination. The ever-credulous liberals, who were in spasms of ecstasy over Roosevelt's removal of Farley (which they heralded as a "break with Tammany") will now have to look around for a new hero!

## RAIDS ON UNIONS IN SPAIN GROW

BARCELONA.—Nearly 60 syndicalist leaders were seized by Spanish government agents and police in a raid upon the Sindicato Unico here on March 30. The revolutionary working class forces in the city were preparing a big demonstration for April 14, the anniversary of the overthrow of the monarchy, and the new Spanish government, inheriting everything reactionary from the Bourbon monarchy, made haste to prevent the demonstration.

## Civil Guard in Murderous Attack

MADRID.—Two persons were seriously wounded and many others hurt when the Civil Guard, the semi-monarchist police force, fired on a demonstration of workers in the city of Ceclabon on March 30.

WASHINGTON.—To his infamous record of strikebreaking, deportations and other anti-labor activities, William N. Doak, Secretary of Labor (!), has now added another achievement—direct assistance to the reactionary bureaucrats of the American Federation of Labor unions in suppressing protest movements on the part of the members of these unions.

Thirty-five members of local 26 of the Sheet Metal Workers International Association recently applied for an injunction to remove their officers who held on to their positions by main force after they had been ousted by a vote of the membership. As soon as he heard of this, Doak sent a special agent to "investigate" these thirty-five workers to find if any of them were "Communists or otherwise subject to deportation!" The American Civil Liberties Union has protested against Deportation Doak's conduct.

# PUPPET CONGRESS FOR PALESTINE

## New Legislature To Be Set Up Under British Hold; Conflict Among Jews

LONDON.—A puppet legislature for Palestine, under full British control, will be set up in May, it was semi-officially announced here on March 31. The details of the plan are not yet known but some sort of mock "self-government" will be provided for. Both the Palestino-Arab Executive and the Jewish Agency Executive will be asked to nominate candidates, after which a general election will be held.

The present orientation of British imperialism in Palestine is towards a working agreement with the dominant Arab elements. It is therefore likely, that in the promised legislature, the Arabs will have a decisive majority, to correspond to the overwhelming majority of Arab population. It is semi-officially declared that the assembly will be based on some sort of proportional representation for the various sections of the population: the Moslems to get 10, the Jews 3 or 4, the Christians 2, in addition to 10 or 11 British officials.

The Arab Executive will probably approve the legislature plan with a formal reservation about the Balfour declaration. Among the Jews there is a sharp difference of opinion. The extreme Zionists, the Zionist Revisionists above all, are against participation altogether unless a Jewish majority is guaranteed; the moderate Zionists would be satisfied with an equal representation, in spite of the fact that the Jewish population is only a small minority in Palestine.

# LABORITE HEADS ST. PAUL VOTE

## Mahoney First In Primary For Mayor; Labor Wins Four In Council

ST. PAUL, Minn.—William F. Mahoney, editor of the **Minnesota Union Advocate**, headed the list of five candidates in the mayoralty primary in this city, indicating the strong probability that he will be elected.

His vote was 21,337 against Mayor Gerhard H. Bundles' 21,221. Other candidates were: Courtney, 17,819; King 1,350 and Anderson (Communist) 1,229. Courtney is a liberal Democrat who supported Gov. Olson, Farmer-Labor, in 1930, and it is expected the majority of his votes will switch to Mahoney in the final election.

Four of the six labor-endorsed councilmen won and William F. Scott, labor incumbent, won for comptroller by 27,339 to 15,596.

William Mahoney has been active in Farmer-Labor politics since he led St. Paul labor in support of Charles A. Lindbergh, radical candidate for governor, and in the winning of legal standing for the Farmer-Labor party that fall.

## THE CRISIS IN THE "VOLKSZEITUNG"

We called attention some time ago to the change in policy and administration of the *Volkszeitung* consequent upon the removal (a so-called "resignation") of Ludwig Lore as editor and the change in the editorial committee and in the press committee. Dr. Lipshitz, who replaced Lore, immediately steered the paper away from the left Socialist course that had been pursued by Lore, and embarked in an unequivocal reformist, and even extreme reformist direction. Considerable dissatisfaction can be felt among the *Volkszeitung* readers and also in the small Administration Council of the paper. In this council, it appears, the Verband Internationaler Arbeiter ("Via" as it is called, Lore's left Socialist organization) has considerable strength. An outbreak seemed inevitable.

It finally came on the issue of the German elections. The *Volkszeitung*, under Lipshitz's editorial direction, took a position in complete support of the Hindenburg policy of the German Social-democrats. This was too much! On March 23, 1932, the Administration Council had a meeting and adopted, by a vote of 5 to 3, a sharp statement of condemnation of the editorial policy of the paper. This statement (published under protest in the March 27 issue of the *Volkszeitung*) is a very vigorous exposure of the rotten reformism (on the German elections and on other matters) of the paper under the new administration and a restatement of some well-known Socialist fundamentals. It was signed by: Friedrich Meyer, Peter Ehlen, Hugo Raabs, Wm. Neumer, and Walter R. Boelke. In the same issue of the *Volkszeitung* appears a statement of the editorial board and the press committee and another of the minority of the Administration Council, signed by Schueller and Schatz. Both statements are characterized by the political cowardice, since they refuse to take issue on the question itself but confine themselves to technicalities and abusive attacks on the "Via."

The fight will now be taken to the General Meeting of the *Volkszeitung* Association and to the affiliated organizations. What the outcome will be cannot yet be told.

# In The Communist International TROTSKY AND THE GERMAN S. W. P.

## Politics Makes Strange Bedfellows!

Berlin, Germany.  
In spite of their repeated protestations to the contrary, the leaders of the former minority of the German Communist Opposition, headed by Jacob Wachler and Paul Froelich, have decided to join the Socialist Workers Party. This action, the logical culmination of the whole course of the C.P.G.O. minority, only emphasizes the fact that the real issue in the recent controversy within the German Opposition was the question whether the regeneration of the German Communist movement would come thru changing the tactical course of the official Communist Party or thru the transformation of the centrist Socialist Workers Party, as a party, into a Communist Party. The minority position, based on loss of faith in the possibility of again winning the C.P.G. and the Communist International to a Leninist tactical course, has led inevitably to organizational fusion with the centrist party.

Especially significant is the attitude of Trotsky towards the Socialist Workers party and the small group of comrades who broke away from the Communist Opposition to join this centrist party. For some time a Trotsky-cult has been assiduously worked up within the S. W. P., while within the 100%-loyal Trotskyist organization, the group "Die Permanente Revolution," a distinct flirtation with the S.W.P. has been equally noticeable. (This equivocal attitude of the "official" Trotsky group to the S.W.P. is one of the main issues of the heretic Trotsky group "Der Kommunist" against it.) Now comes Trotsky, the high-priest of "left" Communism and declares in his most recent pamphlet:

"With what elevated contempt do Brandler and Thalheimer speak of the centrist swamp of the S.W.P. But if you really compare the two organizations—S.W.P. and C.P.G.O.—all advantages are on the side of the former! The S.W.P. is no swamp but a living stream. Its development is from right to left—towards Communism."

And of the minority group of Wachler-Froelich, which left a Communist organization for a centrist party, Trotsky declares:

"This step is a step forward."

Thus speaks one who, in his complacent self-righteousness, brands the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as "non-existent," the Communist International as "centrist," and the Communist Opposition as "opportunist," altogether out of the bounds of Communism; Are we to expect a similar "change of mind" on the part of the American Trotskyites towards the S. P. "Militants" and the Mustekites?

## French Communist Party Holds Congress

Paris, France.  
The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of France was held here on March 11.

The whole congress was conducted under the sign of extreme ultra-leftism. Thorez, the new leader (for how long?) of the Party, launched into a bitter attack upon the "theory of French exceptionalism," thus providing a basis for the sectarian tactics to follow. The coming national election stood in the forefront of the report on tactics and here Thorez declared with the greatest emphasis that "the Communist Party would on no account support any Socialist candidate in the forthcoming elections." This was the last vestige of the united front tactics in the parliamentary struggle repudiated by the responsible (!) leader of the C.P.F.

The Congress also took up the "problem" of Alsace-Lorraine, in this, how to "liquidate" the Communist

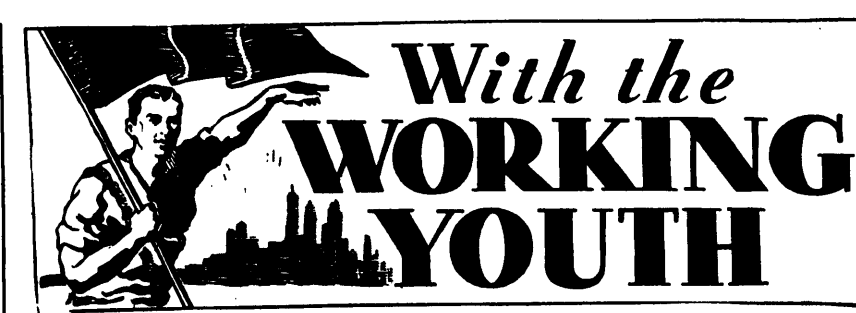
## YOUTH DISCUSSION MEETING

WEDNESDAY—APRIL 13 — 7:30 P. M.  
Stuyvesant Casino, 142 Second Avenue, Room 31

SPEAKER:  
**HERBERT ZAM**  
Former Secretary of the Young Communist League of the U. S. A.

Why Is The World Communist Movement Split?  
Why Are The Communist Party And The Young Communist League Of America Split?  
What Do The Communist Opposition And The Communist Youth Opposition Stand For?  
What Can Be Done To Re-establish Communist Unity In This Country And In The World?  
These questions are of very great importance to every young Communist to every young Socialist, to every militant young worker in this city!  
Questions And Discussion Will Follow The Talk

Youth Section  
Communist Party (Majority Group)  
Admission Free



# With the WORKING YOUTH

## STUDENT EDITOR IS EXPELLED FROM COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY!

New York City, April 2, 1932.  
Reed Harris, Columbia University senior editor of the **Columbia Spectator**, daily student paper, who created a sensation with his charge that college football was a "semi-professional racket", has been expelled from the university by the action of Dean Herbert E. Hawkes and members of the Committee on Instructions.

Altho no definite reason for the expulsion has as yet been given, it is understood that the authorities of the university have been disturbed by his attitude on the football racket, his criticism of the university dining service and his criticism of the R.O.T.C. Subsequently, Harris referred editorially to the forty deaths from football last season as "murder" in an article headed "Death Stalks the Grid-iron."

The members of the editorial board of the **Spectator** have announced their solidarity with Harris. The National Student League, the Social Problems Club of Columbia University, the group of college students that recently visited Kentucky, and the student body of Columbia generally, have come out in support of the expelled editor.

In the past we have been accustomed to expulsions of Communist students for their activities on the campus. Si Gerson and Max Weiss were expelled from the College of the City of New York within the last few years. But here we have the case of a student editor being expelled for

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# New Workers School Forum

228 SECOND AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY  
SUNDAY, APRIL 10, 1932 — 8 P. M.  
**MORRIS R. COHEN**  
Professor of Philosophy, C.C.N.Y.—Author: "Reason and Nature"  
"DETERMINISM IN NATURE AND SOCIETY"  
An estimate of the recent attempts of Eddington, Jeans, Compton, and Millikan to challenge the reign of law in science and to re-introduce indeterminism. Also an estimate of causality and determinism in the social field.

APRIL 17—BERT WOLFE: "The Jewish Question"  
APRIL 24—JAY LOVESTONE: "The Future of Communism"

Admission 25¢ Series of Eight \$1.00

# MAY DAY CELEBRATION AND DANCE

Auspices: WORKERS AGE  
SATURDAY EVE. APRIL 30TH  
SPEAKERS:  
**BENJ. GITLOW**—National Secretary  
**EDWARD WELSH**—Negro Organizer  
**MINNIE LURYE**—Youth Secretary  
MUSICAL PROGRAM  
**GERTRUDE DAVIDSON**—Pianist, and Others  
DANCING MUSIC BY KID TAYLOR'S ORCHESTRA  
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# The 100th Anniversary of Abolitionism Communists and Abolitionists

by Will Herberg

"The revolutionary Social-democrat is the proletarian Jacobin of today," declares Lenin in the familiar passage—and thereby bares, in a most penetrating manner, the deep inner bond uniting the great traditions of the past with the still greater promises of the future.

The American Communist—we can say with Lenin—is the proletarian Abolitionist of today! How completely indeed has the glorious heritage of Abolitionism fallen to us! In an age in which every cheap two-penny anniversary is commemorated in the most lavish, if utterly meaningless manner, everyone seems to have entirely forgotten the century of organized Abolitionism, the noblest, most progressive, most revolutionary movement in recent times before the rise of modern Socialism! Does official Boston, the cradle of Abolitionism, remember, with pride and reverence, the foundation of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in 1832 and the establishment of the *Liberator* for the year before? Does official New York remember, with shame and repentance, the desperate struggles of the New York Anti-Slavery Society to establish itself in the face of the brutal attacks of the Tammany mob inspired by the pious cotton merchants and protected by the city government? Does official America, in short, remember the organization of the national American Anti-Slavery Society a century ago? No indeed! Official America is too busy falling into affected spasms of pretended ecstasy before the plaster bust of George Washington, it is too busy lynching Negroes, imprisoning Communists and suppressing all signs of progress to remember Garrison and Phillips and John Brown and Charles Sumner! It has been left to us, the still tiny handful of revolutionary Marxists, of Communists, in this country, to raise our voice in honor and commemoration of one of the most precious heritages of the American people.

It is not so? "The best representatives of the American proletariat," again it is Lenin who has recalled this to us, "are the expression of the revolutionary tradition in the life of the American people. This tradition originated in the war of liberation against the English in the 18th century and in the Civil War in the 19th century. . . . We are indeed the true guardians, for we alone can claim the heritage!"

The Character of Abolitionism  
American Abolitionism was in a fundamental way the vanguard organization of the Northern bourgeoisie in the great historical movement that, in spite of all hesitation, half-heartedness, narrow vision and petty compromise, had a great emancipatory mission that came to fruition in the Civil War and in Radical Reconstruction. The eradication of the reactionary semi-feudal system of slavery, the emancipation of the Southern slave, the abolition of "two classes equally unfit for self-emancipation," (1) the opening of the way for the rapid and untrammelled development of capitalism, these were the great historical tasks of the Northern bourgeoisie at this critical juncture of the history of our country. They were great tasks, progressive tasks, tasks absolutely necessary in the onward march of American people toward final emancipation from class oppression of every sort; that they did not themselves constitute this emancipation, that indeed they have remained partly unfulfilled until the present, only the narrow-minded, pseudo-revolutionary philistine can hold out in disparagement. It is to the eternal glory of the Abolitionists that they identified themselves with the revolutionary tasks of the day with a single-mindedness, devotion and invincible moral heroism but rarely matched in the annals of mankind.

As against the decadent slave oligarchy, that was choking the country in its fatal embrace, the Abolitionists, the advance guard of the progressive bourgeoisie, took their stand as the representatives of the people as a whole, of mankind. As indeed they were! "The revolutionary class . . . appears not as a class but as the representative of the whole society." It can do this because, by beginning its interests really coincide largely with the common interests of all other non-dominant classes; under the weight of the old relations it has not yet been able to develop as a distinct class with its distinct interests." (2)

The peculiar course of American development made it inevitable that Abolitionism as a conscious movement should develop far in advance of the class and the people as a whole. It therefore had to develop as a sectarian movement. Marx long ago pointed out (3) that the development of the sect and the class movement always stand in inverse relation to each other. As long as the class is still immature for its own historical movement, sects are justified historically. In its political and ideological maturity, Abolitionism ran far ahead of the general movement of the bourgeoisie and of the popular masses; it therefore came into frequent clashes with them. But history justified the Abolitionists; the Civil War, a real revolution, which every year was worth a decade of peaceful development, completed the fusion—for only a brief period of time, it is true—between the vanguard and the class, that is, raised the class itself to the level of the vanguard. What was considered the wildest fanaticism in the 1850's became historical fact in the 1860's. Revolution is the locomotive

of history! But this movement of fusion was brief. Once in power, the emancipatory aims of the bourgeoisie rapidly gave way to its exploitative interests. It ceased to be any longer the real representative of the people as a whole and of mankind and became exclusively the champion of its own narrow and anti-social class interests. The day of Abolitionism was over: the movement naturally withered away, its leading representatives disappeared from public life. But not all! While most of the Abolitionists proved to be "men of one idea" (and, of course, this can in no way be held against them!), it did prove possible for such men as Wendell Phillips (to a lesser degree Ben Butler, Ben Wade and others) to raise themselves to the next stage of historical struggle and espouse, to indeed in a confused and unclear manner, the cause of labor. Let us not forget that it was Phillips who hailed the heroes of the Paris Commune and who passionately defended the revolutionary terrorists of the Czarist Russia of the 1870's!

Abolitionists and Communism  
Is it necessary now to explain the organic bond uniting us, American Communists, with the Abolitionists. In a general way, we are fulfilling their role on a higher level of historical development and, in a most fundamental way, we will fulfill the tasks which they inspired so single-mindedly to accomplish but could not because of the triumph of the reactionary forces in the Northern bourgeoisie in the Reconstruction struggle—the race (caste) emancipation of the Negro, the real destruction of everything that is servile and feudal in this country. But we operate under immensely different conditions, condi-

tions that offer immeasurable advantages to us. The independent class movement of the proletariat is mature, even in this country, and we are therefore not condemned to an inevitable sectarian existence, as were the Abolitionists. The fusion of the vanguard with the class is objectively possible for us even today.

But above all must we remember that the proletariat is the lowest possible stratum of existing society; in emancipating itself, it emancipates the whole of humanity, it sweeps away the entire system of class exploitation and class oppression. Its class interests are really the interests of the whole of mankind, not only temporarily, at a certain historical juncture, but fundamentally and permanently! The fate of the Abolitionists who were, in cruel truth, discarded by their class when it turned reactionary, cannot fall upon the Communists.

No, official America today finds nothing to celebrate in the centenary of Abolitionism. And justly so! How can the decadent, the obsolete, the reactionary hail the virile, the forward-looking, the progressive even in its own past? The true day of commemoration of Abolitionism will be the day of triumph of the American proletariat; then will the names and aspirations of Garrison, of Phillips, of John Brown, of Sumner, of Stevens again be brought before the American people for inspiration and honor!

(1) Friedrich Engels, *The Labor Movement in America*.  
(2) Marx and Engels, in the *Deutsche Ideologie* (Ueber Feuerbach), Marx-Engels, Archiv, vol. I, p. 266.  
(3) Briefe an Sorge, etc., I, p. 38 (an Volke, 1871).

## A Letter From Geneva THE BROKEN SWORD AT GENEVA

by Karl Radek

(Continued from page 1)  
those wanting to be wise . . . Many have qualified themselves by more than half a century in diplomatic activities. The younger ones, especially the half-baked representatives of the new European states and of the South American republics which have for the first time been received into the "high society" of Geneva, eagerly study the manners of their diplomatic seniors, how they puff, how they spit. The seniors look around them with a cold and bored air, with an all-knowing look, and talk in nasal tones.

What have the new diplomats in common with the older breed? Not one of them believes one word of what is said from the tribune by the heads of the delegations from the bourgeois states. In the ranks of this old and new diplomacy all the strata of the possessing classes are represented. Those of them who have been in the war consider it an unpleasant event in the course of which one may be wounded or even lose his life, but accidents may happen in any kind of sport, and this should not cause people to shun sport. Everyone of them has either made his career or wants to make it, by hook or crook. The bourgeoisie in their respective countries are also anxious to "make a career," to get rich and to expand. Of course, it would be better if things could be managed without a war. Superfluous wars should be avoided. But what can you do, if there be no other way?

Their attitude in regard to the events in the Far East is very characteristic. Airplanes are flying over Shanghai. They drop bombs on a city inhabited by millions. What a noise was made in the allied press during the war when bombs were dropped by zeppelins over London. Yet, the air bombardment of Shanghai is spoken of here as an interesting sensation.

These gentlemen loudly applauded Matsudaira, the Japanese envoy, as he mounted the tribune to speak of disarmament. Even the Americans, among whom there is no love lost for the Japanese, defend the latter in conversation as a matter of principle. The events in the Far East are very unpleasant for the United States. American prestige has greatly suffered, and they are now at a loss how to check the Japanese advance. Still they say, "One must understand . . . The Japanese have no coal, no iron, a war must be waged. . . ."

The most notable thing here is that these people who have come to Geneva to establish peace are in principle prepared to wage any war that may serve the interests of their ruling classes. I do not refer to the pirates of financial capital who are walking about here, with fat cigars in their mouths, and with a slyly smile on their well-fed faces. Neither do I refer to the stage-managers of imperialism or professional war-makers who would stop at nothing to further their career. I am referring to the hundreds of the "small fry" of diplomatic officials who are representing the bourgeois states.

These people do not want a war for today, and possibly for tomorrow. They would be very glad if an arrangement could be reached to cheapen armaments and put off the war into the distant future. They are not bloodthirsty, nor do they hunt for glory. They prefer peaceful conferences in comfortable beer palaces. Nevertheless, in their heart of hearts, they are convinced that war is inevitable. They are convinced that the world cannot exist without war; for, their masters will not shrink from the

shedding of an ocean of blood if their interests should dictate such a course. These people are closely following the conference. It is their business to see that the different proposals for the limitation of armaments that are made by the various delegations contain no points that might hinder the war preparations of their respective state. They applaud every representative from the bourgeois states, shaking him by the hand and congratulating him upon having made an "interesting," "splendid" speech, and afterwards they retire to study the stenographic record to see whether the speech does not conceal any nasty trick.

The slogan of "security first, and limitation of armaments after" is an eloquent expression of this war sentiment. The same sentiment is expressed in the slogan of "equal security," but the latter is favored only by those who are not sufficiently armed. "Security against war," which was urged by Litvinoff, is considered by all of them as a propagandist phrase.

On the side benches are seated the military experts. The majority of them are young fellows of sturdy build. They do not utter a word, but they attentively listen, the radio receiver clamped down on their heads. Their presence here intensifies the atmosphere of war. In war their career was started, and it has brought them into this hall. The majority of them are majors and colonels, and sundry other army ranks. Shortly before the outbreak of the world war when the chief of the Austria-Hungarian general staff, Konrad von Herzendorff, was forced to resign owing to a quarrel with the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, a certain Austrian-Hungarian writer depicted in an article the appalling tragedy of this general. For fifty years he had been preparing for war, and now he was to resign when a war was in sight. Tears of sympathy trickled down from the lines of that article. As is known, Konrad von Herzendorff did not return to the general staff and it was his "fortune" to lead the Austria-Hungarian troops in the war. Nevertheless his preparation during many years did not prevent him from losing the war.

(Concluded in the next issue)

MAKE EVERY READER A SUBSCRIBER TO WORKERS AGE

## Karl Marx on Ireland

In connection with the present critical situation in Ireland, the following excerpt from a letter of Karl Marx to Friedrich Engels of November 30, 1867 is especially significant:

"What the Irish need is: (1) Self-government and independence from England. (2) Agrarian revolution. . . (3) Protective tariff duties against England. From 1783 to 1801 all branches of Irish industry flourished. The union, and the overthrow of the protective duties which the Irish parliament had put up, destroyed all industrial life in Ireland. The small linen industry in no sense made up for it. . . . As soon as the Irish become independent, necessity will make them protectionists. . . ."

## DOLL MAKERS UNION IS ORGANIZED

New York City.  
The bosses in the doll industry are taking advantage of the bad times and unemployment existing in the country to exploit the workers by lowering their conditions in order to make more profits for themselves. In the last two years the doll workers have received two or three wage cuts, with the result that their wages are now 50% lower than in previous years. The workers, the doll shops are therefore, speed up to the highest extent, terrorized and demoralized by the bosses. The doll workers felt that it was impossible for them to continue any longer under these conditions under which they are forced to work.

They therefore decided that the best way out is to organize themselves into a union in order to call a halt to the exploitation as practiced by the bosses. A group of doll workers therefore got together in the month of weeks ago and talked over how the conditions of the doll workers could be improved. After many consultations with workers of different shops, a campaign for the launching of a doll workers union was started. After a number of weeks of strenuous effort on the part of the workers, the Doll Workers Industrial Union was organized, with an office at 226 Lafayette Street and is carrying on a drive to organize the unorganized in the industry.

Although the union is as yet not strong enough to force conditions from the bosses for the doll workers, nevertheless the bosses realize that the union is a danger to their profits. A campaign in the factories is already on foot to divide the workers and terrorize them so that a union should not be organized. But the workers are showing the bosses that they mean business and that no bosses or racketeers will be able to stand in their way to achieve their end. At the last membership meeting where Ben Gitlow was the main speaker and the workers showed their willingness to join and organize the doll workers union. We can expect in the near future that the doll workers, under the leadership of the Doll Workers Industrial Union, will come to the bosses as an organized force and force them to grant better conditions to the doll workers so that these workers can live as human beings.

J. R.

## SYMPOSIUM

CAPITALISM:—  
DR. WILFORD I. KING  
New York University  
SOCIALISM:—  
ALGERNON LEE  
Director, Rand School  
COMMUNISM:—  
BENJAMIN GITLOW  
Communist Party (Majority Group)  
SUNDAY APRIL 17, 2:30 P. M.  
RAND SCHOOL  
7 East 15th Street  
Auspices: Forum,  
Young Circle Club, Br. 1025 W. C.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.  
will speak on  
"THE LESSONS OF THE GERMAN ELECTIONS"  
SUNDAY, APRIL 10, 1932  
at 8:30 P. M.  
911 GIRARD AVENUE  
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# The Lessons of the Dress Strike Right-Wing in the Dress Strike

by Chas. S. Zimmerman

Now let us see how the reactionary leadership of the International approached this situation.

In order to improve the conditions of the workers in the industry it was necessary to realize that the situation was that it was not merely a question of renewing an agreement or getting a good agreement. It was necessary to understand that unless the Union succeeded to spread the strike to involve thousands of workers of the open shops, to gain union control over hundreds of additional non-union shops, the agreements that would be signed would again remain scraps of paper.

What Was Needed and What Was Done

The dress industry is largely an open shop industry. Between 75% and 80% of the shops are open shops. A leadership of a Union that would really mean to fight for the improvement of the conditions of the workers in the industry, would realize that under such circumstances a mere renewal of the agreement would not alter the conditions of the dressmakers.

It was necessary to develop a campaign months before the expiration of the agreement. It was necessary to develop a broad agitation and propaganda campaign among the unorganized dressmakers. It was necessary to draw into this work all the active members of the Union of all the locals and to activate the membership of the Union generally behind this campaign.

But what was the attitude of the leadership of the joint board and the International in this situation? Instead of developing such a campaign they refused to do anything to prepare for the strike. Instead of activating the membership they carried on

a fight against those who attempted to develop such a movement among the dressmakers.

Local 22, the only local of the joint board where the active members began a campaign to mobilize for the strike, was constantly under attack. No proposal that came from Local 22 for strike mobilization was given serious consideration. The Committee of 25 that was elected by the membership and worked together with the executive board of the local in the strike preparation activities, was declared non-bonafide and illegal. At all the open forums called by the Committee of 25 of the Local, the supporters of the joint board and International officialdom, known as the Mutual Aid Club, came and diverted the discussion from strike preparations to their favorite song of \$3.75 International tax.

The International and joint board officials tried to justify their inactivity in the strike preparations and their attitude toward the Local by the fact that Local 22 had rejected the \$3.75 International tax. That this excuse is bunk I have already pointed out in a previous article. But here I want to repeat the same question: Why, then, did not Locals 10, 35 and 89 carry on any strike preparation activities? They approved the \$3.75 tax. Why didn't they do anything to prepare for the strike?

The Reason For The Right-Wing Sabotage

The reason for this inactivity lies in the fact that the officialdom of the International and joint board were opposed to a strike. They did not and do not believe in the power of the mass of the workers to fight for better conditions. True to their policy of class-collaboration, they depended merely on the Associations.

## For Workers Unity Against Reaction!

## AFTER THE GERMAN ELECTIONS

### Appeal Of The German Opposition

The following appeal was issued by the National Council of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) to the Communist Party membership. It was published in the *Arbeiterpolitik* of March 19, 1932.

The Reichs-Presidential elections have not brought the success hoped for by all of you. You engaged in the most untiring propaganda work and exposed yourselves to the terror of the Nazi gangs. Nevertheless, the party experienced a serious loss of votes in important proletarian centers, such as Greater-Berlin, Halle-Merseburg, Hamburg, and Upper-Silesia—and this, too, at a time when the objective conditions for the extension of Communist influence were extraordinarily favorable.

The stagnation, the decline in votes, in the Presidential elections is only a consequence of the weakening of the extra-parliamentary fighting power of the Party coming as a result of the false, ultra-left policies of the C.P.G. leadership.

The R.G.O. (German T.U.U.—Editor) course has made the C.P.G. incapable of leading the masses against wage-cuts, cuts in unemployment relief and the general intensification of misery.

The ultra-left phrases of "social-fascism" have only fallen to the advantage of reformism. The rejection of the tactics of the united front, i.e., of appeals not only to the Social-democratic workers but to the reformist organizations themselves, the Social-democratic party, the trade unions, the sports organizations, etc., for the realization of concrete demands against the offensive of capital, against the emergency decrees and Fascism, for the formation of anti-Fascist cartels and non-party proletarian class defense bodies—the rejection of such tactics has only made it easier for the S.P.D. and trade union bureaucracy to make a "united front" maneuver against the Communist Party and to hold up the so-called "iron front" as a non-party united front against Fascism and thus win millions of workers votes to Hindenburg and his generals.

The bureaucratic regime in the C. P. G. has destroyed initiative of the Party membership and has thereby greatly hindered the correction of the false policies of the leadership by the membership.

But there exists no reason to fall into panic as a result of the bad election defeat and to lose faith in the cause of Communism, in the future of the Communist movement!

Communism is not defeated; the ultra-left course of the C.P.G. leadership has suffered a crushing defeat.

If you, members of the Communist Party of Germany, interfere now and brush aside the ultra-left course and the incapable leadership, then everything can still be saved! You must be conscious of the fact that it is you, the membership and not the incapable leadership, that constitute the most important part of the Party.

The National Council of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposi-

tion) appealed, on the occasion of the Reichs-Presidential election, to the Central Committee of the C.P.G. and proposed to counter the maneuver of the S.P.G. thru an appeal to the S.P.G. and the A.D.G.B. (German A.F.O.L.—Editor) for the setting up of a proletarian unity candidate on the basis of an anti-Fascist program of action. At the same time we proposed to utilize the election struggle for the mobilization of the masses to extra-parliamentary struggle thru the formation of non-party proletarian class defenses and non-party cartels against the capital offensive and Fascism. Had the C.C. accepted this policy, then the S.P.D. would not have succeeded so easily in getting millions of workers for the Hindenburg front. But the C.P.G. leadership rejected these proposals.

In the run-off elections it would be useless to try to set up a joint unit candidate. But it is still possible to mobilize the masses for a united extra-parliamentary struggle. For this the run-off elections must be utilized. In the run-off elections, it is not so much a matter of votes for the revolutionary workers as the organization of the masses for extra-parliamentary struggle, the preparation of the workers for the decisive settlement of accounts with Fascism, which will not be done with the ballot! Only if the C.P.G. reestablishes its extra-parliamentary fighting power can it even begin to make good for the defeat of March 13!

New wage-cuts, new cuts in social benefits, new Fascist terror attacks face us!

The working class will be able to put up a successful resistance to all of these things only if the Communist Party is cleansed of its ultra-left course.

We repeat our offer to the members of the committees of the C.P.G. for joint election activity on the basis of an anti-Fascist program of action! Comrades! The fate not only of the C.P.G. but of the German working class is at stake. Fight side by side with the C.P.G.-O. for the restoration of the C.P.G. to health and fighting power!

Don't let yourselves be turned aside from your determination to cleanse the Party by any "new turn" maneuvers and "scapegoat" strategy! Fight side by side with us to free the Communist Party of everything that weakens it and to make it again capable of becoming the leader of the working masses! Fight with us for the reunification of the Communist movement on the basis of a correct Leninist policy!

Berlin, March 17, 1932.

Mine Strike In Czechoslovakia  
PRAGUE. Over 30,000 of the almost 83,000 coal miners in this country are out on general strike following a decision of the coal operators to throw 12,000 out of work. The conditions of the miners have deteriorated incredibly in the last three years, so that today the average wage of the coal miners has sunk to about \$2.00 a week.

They expected to renew the agreements with the Associations, they probably have a short stoppage and the thing would be over. But when they came into conference with the Associations, they found a different picture. The Associations, knowing that the leadership of the International did not want a strike, seeing their inactivity and also using the crisis as an excuse, had the audacity to put forward a number of drastic demands to the Union. The demands they put forward would not only have worsened the present miserable conditions of the workers but would actually have enslaved them.

It was only after the conferences failed and after the agreement had already expired, that the first meeting of shop chairmen and active members was called by the joint board. It was only during the last few weeks before the strike that they began issuing leaflets and calling meetings of the active members.

That the membership of the Union was vitally interested in the calling of the strike can be seen from the splendid response they made to the Mecca Temple meeting. The officials were actually astonished to see such a splendid turnout and such a spirit among the workers.

When the strike call was issued, the workers showed the same splendid spirit. The enthusiasm among the workers was high. The mass meetings in the halls were packed with spirits. When the demonstration was called for Friday morning, February 19, 15,000 strikers came out and participated in the parade and made one of the most impressive demonstrations in the garment center. Every one admired the fighting spirit of the strikers. But instead of utilizing this spirit of the strikers to spread the strike to take down more workers from the open shops, the leadership of the Union had other plans. They wanted to get rid of the strike. The strategy and tactics pursued by them were such that led to the demoralization of the ranks of the strikers.

Demoralizing Manoeuvres  
Let me examine some of the causes that led to the demoralization of the ranks of the strikers.  
1. Right after the big demonstration on Friday, when the enthusiasm was at the highest pitch, talk of settlement began. On Saturday, the news was that the bosses were asking for a conference; on Sunday, that the Union had accepted the invitation; on Monday, that the first conference was being held; on Tuesday, that the conferences had not reached any accord; on Wednesday, that the conferences were being continued; on Thursday, that the manufacturers would give the final answer on Friday; on Friday, there was confusion—no one knew definitely whether the strike was settled or not. And finally, that it was announced, on Saturday, that a settlement had been reached. With this kind of publicity the morale of the strikers was broken. Instead of going on the picket line, the workers would wait to hear the news from the conference room. Expecting to hear of a settlement almost any minute, they did not risk so much to go after the open shops. In this way, the militancy of the strikers was destroyed.

The question is not whether it was right to go into conference or not. The point is that a responsible leadership would have recognized that the strike was only in its fourth day and would not have dragged out the conferences for over a whole week, thereby demoralizing the strikers. If it was not possible to reach any agreement with the associations after the first conferences, independent settlements would have been started and the fight carried on against the association and open shops. But here is where the trouble comes in! The leadership stood steadfastly opposed to independent settlements. To them it meant more to save the Affiliated Association than to keep up the morale of the workers. They had more confidence in the Association than in the fighting capacity of the workers. It is their old policy of class-collaboration that has to be fought.

Paralyzing Inactivity  
2. That the Joint Board and the International leadership, i.e., the leadership of the strike, did not even attempt to spread the strike, can be seen from their activities or rather inactivities in the outlying districts and out-of-town. There are hundreds of shops in Brooklyn, Brownsville, Harlem, Bronx and in towns close to New York, employing thousands of workers and working for jobbers and manufacturers of New York. No serious attempt was even made to stop these shops. It is true halls were engaged in the outlying districts, and when the strike committees were organized, an out-of-town committee was also appointed. But no provisions were made to stop off shops in those places. No committees were sent there and no attempts made to get committees for these places. The workers in these localities are the most exploited. They are forced to work for \$8.00, \$10.00 or \$12.00 a week. \$20.00 is considered a good wage there. Naturally these shops can easily compete with those of New York.

(Concluded in the next issue)

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## ANOTHER CORNER TURNED!

EVERYWHERE one finds a growing realization of the fact that the present crisis is far, very far, from being an ordinary "typical" crisis of capitalist production. It may be said that even Hoover's prosperity boosters recently muffled their drums.

The question which has been irritating the bourgeois thinkers is when will it end—and how? In many ways the quarter of a year which has just passed was the most decisive and critical three-months period of the crisis. Without exception, the capitalist economists expected some recovery during this time. The only differences among them were over how much recovery would be attained. They all argued the shelves were pretty clear, the bottom had been reached, the worst was over. So well over-advertised an economist as Leonard P. Ayres was especially emphatic in his conclusion that the country had "turned the corner"—at last! Had these prophecies come true, the job ahead for international finance capital undoubtedly would have been much lightened. Now the clouds hovering over the coming Lausanne conference are darker than ever.

We had no such illusions. Last December we said the October lows on the stock market were far from the bottom. This week the stock exchange registered the lowest prices in ten years. And the worst is not yet at hand. The dividend reports for the first quarter will sink the price levels still lower. Months ago, we wrote off the faintest possibility of a Spring revival even in the seasonal sense. That's just what happened. Steel has been operating around twenty percent. General commodity prices are still seeking a stopping point in what appears to be a bottomless pit. Carloadings are in the dumps. The March insolvencies record is the worst ever for March. The end of the first quarter saw the lowest point of the crisis yet reached. Unemployment is establishing all-time records daily.

In the United States especially, even the slightest economic spurt would have great political consequences, particularly on the eve of a national election campaign. Even the credit situation which has received so much attention continues on the verge of disaster. Yes, a corner has been turned again in the economic crisis, but it is a corner leading to a stretch of darker economic outlook and reality. The failure of the United States and other leading capitalist countries to show the slightest improvement in the first quarter will lend untold difficulties to the already impossible situation confronting the world bourgeoisie.

This, in part, explains the rush of Stimson for Europe for the dead "disarmament" conference at Geneva. It is a practical certainty that, with Mellon and Stimson in Europe, "big things" will be in the offing. New desperate efforts will be made to tamper with the reparations and debts crises with the hope of stumbling upon some "solution." Moratoria and standstill agreements will be prolonged to strengthen such hopes, if nothing else. Already, "standstill" is the mot d'ordre in Europe. The Tardieu-MacDonald conversations now going on are only the preliminary and preparatory steps to bigger and more inclusive conferences which will reflect more accurately and completely the unbridgeable antagonisms among the giant imperialist powers, antagonisms only constantly sharpened by the worsening economic crisis. No doubt Hoover and Company will soon come forward with startling (to themselves, perhaps) grand schemes for world conferences, world cooperation and such other balderdash to hide the ever-more acute conflicts of interests among the capitalist plunderbands.

Truly, the good fortune of the international capitalist class lies in the weakness of the international revolutionary proletariat. The working class, betrayed by the Social-Democracy, and denied the effective revolutionary policies and Communist leadership because of the sectarian and adventurist course of the Communist International, is today in no position to capitalize fully the critical conditions of the capitalist system. The disastrous election results in Germany, from the working class viewpoint, illustrates all too painfully the correctness of our estimate.

As the summer approaches, we suggest that the bourgeoisie are now confronted by the following question: Can any of their economists and experts from Babson to Keynes, from Fisher to May, from Pertinax to Stolper, be SUFFICIENTLY pessimistic for the rest of the year? World capitalism is not in a transition period from one business cycle to another. The present crisis is decisively different from the crises of 1837, 1857, 1873, 1893. We are now in the throes of a new epoch of civilization, in the epoch of capitalist decay. The constant shrinkage in prices and incomes is bound to have profound political reactions far more serious than those to-date, as the steeper levels are reached. All equilibria of international trade and credit are breaking down. Austria-Hungary, Greece and Bulgaria now openly admit their total bankruptcy. And there is already open talk, still stoutly denied of course, that Germany is next.

At every turn of the corner we run into the debris of capitalist crisis. Additional millions can now see that Wilson's "War to end war" was in reality a war to prepare the next one even bigger. The war to save democracy has brought a torrential sweep of Fascism. Hoover's blah-blah about "the day when poverty will be banished from this nation" is at hand full realized in mass poverty, amidst plenty, unknown in the annals of human kind.

There is neither mystery nor paradox in the crisis. No faith-cure can heal the deep wounds inflicted on the masses everytime the United States or any other capitalist country turns another corner. Marx, Engels, Lenin have long ago explained the why and wherefore and way out of the crisis of capitalism. That the bourgeois order is historically reactionary and no longer, in the least, constructive is becoming more evident even to many bourgeois thinkers. For instance, the other day, at the American Chemical Society, in New Orleans, Dr. E. B. Weidlein, director of the Mellon Institute for Industrial Research, was compelled to admit that: "The scientists are effectively prevented from maintaining or advancing our standards of living, due to the inadequacy of our economic organization. . . . The colossal failure of the twentieth century is in economic organization. We are attempting to operate a twentieth century economic machine on the basis of an eighteenth century economic philosophy."

We can only add that the coming months will teach many, very many workers the full meaning of this truth. With every corner turned, they will become more experienced—making the objective situation all the more favorable for the conscious, the revolutionary proletariat, the Communist forces to strike at the decaying system and move towards a new day.

# Friedrich Engels on America Labor Movement in America

by Friedrich Engels

We begin below the publication of the complete text of a pamphlet by Friedrich Engels published in the United States in 1887. The pamphlet is a reprint of the introduction to the American edition of Engels's book, "The Condition of the Working Class in England," as translated into English by Florence Kelley Wischnewsky, who died only a few weeks ago in Philadelphia. The book was published in the U. S. A. in 1886. The complete title of the pamphlet reads: "The Labor Movement in America (The Labor Movement—The Knights of Labor—the Socialists) By Friedrich Engels. (Price: 1 cent) New York. Printed and sold by Louis Weiss, 64 and 66 Ann Street, 1887."

The American labor movement did not take the course outlined here by Engels primarily because of the rapid rise of American imperialism which ushered in a new phase of capitalist development. However, today with this period of historical evolution reaching its conclusion, Engels's analysis is of great contemporary interest.

Ten months have elapsed since, at the translator's wish, I wrote the Appendix to this book; and during these ten months, a revolution has been accomplished in American society such as, in any other country, would have taken at least ten years. In February, 1885, American public opinion was almost unanimous on this one point: that there was no working class in the American Republic; that consequently no class-struggle between workers and capitalists, such as tore European society to pieces, was possible in the American Republic; and that, therefore, Socialism was a thing of foreign importation which could never take root in America. And yet, at that moment, the coming class-struggle was casting its gigantic shadow before it in the strikes of the Pennsylvania coal miners and of many other trades, and especially in the preparations all over the country, for the great eight hours movement which was to come off in the May following. Then I then duly anticipated these symptoms, that I anticipated a working-class movement on a national scale, my "Appendix" shows; but no one could then foresee that in such a short time the movement would burst out with such irresistible force, would spread with the rapidity of a prairie-fire, would shake the American society to its very foundations.

The fact is there, stubborn and indisputable. To what extent it had struck terror to the American ruling classes was revealed to me in an amusing way, by American journalists who did me the honor of calling on me last summer; the "new departure" had put them into a state of helpless fright and perplexity. By which was to come off in the May following. Then I then duly anticipated these symptoms, that I anticipated a working-class movement on a national scale, my "Appendix" shows; but no one could then foresee that in such a short time the movement would burst out with such irresistible force, would spread with the rapidity of a prairie-fire, would shake the American society to its very foundations.

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the people into rich and poor. Now this is not correct historically. In Asiatic and classical antiquity, the predominant form of class-oppression was slavery; that is to say, not so much the expropriation of the masses from the land as the appropriation of their persons. When, in the decline of the Roman Republic, the free Italian peasants were expropriated from their farms, they formed a class of "poor whites" similar to that of the Southern slave states before 1861; and between slaves and poor whites, two classes equally unfit for self-emancipation, the old world went to pieces. In the middle ages, it was not the expropriation of the people from but on the contrary, their appropriation to the land which became the source of feudal oppression. The peasant retained his land but was attached to it as a serf or villein, and made liable to tribute to the lord in labor and in produce. It was only at the dawn of modern times, towards the end of the fifteenth century, that the expropriation of the peasantry on a large scale laid the foundation for the modern class of wage-workers who possess nothing but their labor-power and can live only by the selling of that labor-power to others. But if the expropriation from the land brought this class into existence, it was the development of capitalist production, of modern industry and agriculture on a larger scale which perpetuated it, increased it, and shaped it into a distinct class with distinct interests and a distinct historical mission. All this has been fully expounded by Marx. ("Capital," Part VIII: "The So-Called Primitive Accumulation.") According to Marx, the cause of the present antagonism of the classes and of the social degradation of the working class is their expropriation from all means of production, in which the land is of course included.

If Henry George declares land-monopolization to be the sole cause of poverty and misery, he naturally finds the remedy in the resumption of the land by society at large. Now, the Socialists of the school of Marx, too, demand the resumption, by society, of the land, and not only of the land, but of all other means of production likewise. But even if we leave these out of the question, there is another difference. What is to be done with the land? Modern Socialists, as represented by Marx, demand that it should be held and worked in common and for common account, and the same with all other means of social production—mines, railways, factories, etc. Henry George would confine himself to letting it out to individuals as at present, merely regulating its distribution and applying the rents for public, instead of, as at present, for private purposes. What the Socialists demand implies a total revolution of the whole system of social production; what Henry demands leaves the present mode of social production untouched, and has, in fact, been anticipated by the extreme section of Ricardian bourgeois economists who, too, demanded the confiscation of the rent of land by the State.

It would of course be unfair to suppose that Henry George has said his last word once for all. But I am bound to take his theory as I find it. (Concluded in the next issue)

BOMBAY.—One worker was killed and 32 wounded as the police fired upon a crowd of striking dock workers who were trying to prevent imported Lathian (Afghan) strikebreakers from taking their jobs. The dock workers and stevedores went on strike in the early part of March against a simultaneous cut in wages and increase in hours.

Geneva, Switzerland. According to the figures of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations—and these figures are admittedly a considerable under-estimation—the total unemployed throughout the world at the beginning of February 1932, about 21,000,000. In the various countries the increase of unemployment as against February 1931, was: Germany, 24%; Belgium, 98%; Denmark, 49%; England, 7%; Holland, 94%; Italy 53%; Czechoslovakia, 57%; New Zealand, 508%; Hungary, 30%; Sweden, 35%; Finland, 73%; France 523%; United States, 15%; Roumania, 36%; Canada, 25%; Latvia, 116%.

The only country in the world in which there was not only no increase in unemployment, but no unemployment at all, was the Soviet Union!

A LETTER FROM THE HARD-COAL DISTRICT  
Pittston, Pa. I believe by now you know of the strike in Pittston. This situation is very critical, but the miners are in a very virile fighting mood. It is rather thrilling to walk around our town. Police walking around armed very "bravely." Quite a lot of women with clubs are picketing. It is heart-breaking to see the shabby miners with hungry wan faces. With proper leadership they would surely win something. In to-night's Pittston Gazette, I read where a little child of six years of a family of nine died from diphtheria. The rest are ill too and they have no doctor nor a scrap of food in the house. That is only one case out of a thousand in our city. Still our Pittston Gazette has nothing to say about the strike, only beauty contests, and the Lindy baby have all the headlines. M. M. G.

LIBERALS have been boosting Columbia as an abode of academic freedom because President Butler (since he gave up the hope of being President of the United States) has been parading as a liberal, and because, so far, Columbia has not moved to expel men like Lamont and Counts for "conduct unbecoming a Counts" etc., using their brains. Liberals with notoriously weak memories may have forgotten the war days and the expulsion of Brad Cattell, etc. They will be shocked to note that it was not the philosopher or pedagogue on whom the sword has fallen but the student-journalist, Harris. Perhaps they will find the key to the mystery in the famous remark of Marx: "The English Established Church will not readily pardon an attack on 38 of its 39 articles than on one-thirty-ninth of its income." —B. D. W.

# BOOKS

ON GOETHE

by Karl Marx  
On the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the death of the great poet, Johann Wolfgang Goethe, we publish below an estimate of the poet by Karl Marx. These paragraphs first appeared in the Deutscher-Brüsseler Zeitung, in October-November, 1847, in a polemic against Karl Grün, who had just published a worthless book on Goethe.

Today the world bourgeoisie celebrates the memory of Goethe, but what it celebrates is the reactionary, the weak, the philistine side of this many-sided and self-contradictory thinker and poet. It has long lost the ability to celebrate anything progressive!

It is the proletariat, the class to whom belong the future, that is alone capable of recognizing and honoring what is progressive in Goethe's art and thought.

Goethe stands in a two-fold relation to the German society of his time. He is hostile to it; he seeks to escape what is offensive in it, as in the "Iphigenia" and during his Italian trip, for example. As Prometheus and Faust, he rebels against it; as Mephistopheles, he overwhelms it with his bitterest scorn. But then he appears akin to it, he becomes a part of it, as in most of his prose writing; he celebrates it as in his masque-processions; he even defends it against the oncoming historical movement, as in all of his work in which he has occasion to speak of the French Revolution.

But it is not merely that he accepts certain phases of German life and rebels against others. It is an unending struggle within him between the poet of genius, who is disgusted at the degradation of his environment and the cautious son of a Party leader, the Weimar minister, who feels the necessity of concluding an armistice with it and accommodating himself to it.

That is why Goethe is now scornful, now petty, now the defiant, scornful world-contemptuous genius, now the circumspect, complacent, narrow philistine. Even Goethe was not in the position to conquer the German degradation; on the contrary, it conquered him and this triumph of degradation over the greatest of Germans is the best evidence that it could not in general be overcome "from within out."

Goethe was too universal, too active, too sensual, a nature to find it possible to seek refuge from the degradation in a Schiller-like flight into the land of Kant. He was too sharp-sighted not to see that a flight of this sort would ultimately reduce itself into an exchange of vulgar degradation for transcendental degradation. His temperament, his powers, his entire spiritual tendency demanded a practical life and the practical life he found was miserable, degraded. In this dilemma—being compelled to exist in a sphere of life which he despised and yet having to remain chained to this sphere as the only one in which he could be active—in this dilemma Goethe continued to be imprisoned through his life. The older he got the more did the poet of gigantic stature retire behind the insignificant Weimar minister. We do not rebuke Goethe, as do Boerne and Menzel, that he was not a liberal, but that he could not be a philistine; not that he was incapable of any enthusiasm for German freedom, but that while Napoleon was cleaning out the huge German Augean stables, he could concern himself with passionate earnestness with the petty cares and considerations of one of the pettiest of German courts!

Herbert Hooley Says: Good news for the jobless! If they will follow the President's advice they will solve their unemployment problem by ordering their new cars now.

Free Press In Butleria  
The expulsion of Reed Harris, editor of the Spectator, from Columbia throws a flood of light upon the "liberalism" of Columbia University and the effects of commercialization upon "sport."

The modern university is a group of mummy sarcophagi centered around an athletic stadium. The coaches get fat salaries while the instructors live on "kudos," the "honors" attached to their profession. Football stars are lured to go to college and stay in it for life. The game is fought not for exercise or fun but to win, to advertise the college, to shake up the contributions of the wealthy alumni. The football stars work hard for their "scholarships" but not in the class-room or laboratory. The work is difficult and, contrary to general belief, distasteful. Coach's instructions are to tackle the star of the opposing team hard and fast, but he is put out of the game. Forty deaths last year are a living testimonial to "clean sport" and "fair play."

Capitalism stamps the dollar sign over everything; preachers tongues, editors pens, artists brushes, congressmen's votes, women's bodies—everything for sale in the great money-market. Even the play spirit is stamped with the dollar sign. Instead of playing, the watching of hired players. Instead of watching games, reading about them or watching score-boards. In place of fun in playing, desperate schemes to win, framed results, foul play, crafty tricks, big gate receipts, a joyless, playless excitement worked up by endless columns of newspaper hooley.

Liberals have been boosting Columbia as an abode of academic freedom because President Butler (since he gave up the hope of being President of the United States) has been parading as a liberal, and because, so far, Columbia has not moved to expel men like Lamont and Counts for "conduct unbecoming a Counts" etc., using their brains. Liberals with notoriously weak memories may have forgotten the war days and the expulsion of Brad Cattell, etc. They will be shocked to note that it was not the philosopher or pedagogue on whom the sword has fallen but the student-journalist, Harris. Perhaps they will find the key to the mystery in the famous remark of Marx: "The English Established Church will not readily pardon an attack on 38 of its 39 articles than on one-thirty-ninth of its income." —B. D. W.

# BETWEEN HAMMER AND ANVIL

When Heroes Are Made

How Lenin is alive he permitted no talk of "Leninism". His fiftieth birthday was no signal for personal tribute or adulation. No town was named "Leninograd" during his lifetime. No resolution pledged loyalty to "the Central Committee under the leadership of Comrade Lenin." When the heroic veteran fighter Clara Zetkin reached her sixty-seventh birthday, the Fifth Congress of the Communist International tried to make a festive occasion out of it. Her speech was far from "appropriate" to the attempt at adulation. . . . such official honors go against my deepest feelings. That I am old is my personal misfortune but no merit. If I have fought my whole life for the party, for the thoughts of the revolution . . . that was the happiness of my life . . .

To my thinking, every man or every woman, whether they are sixty-seven years old or more or less, who call themselves Communists, if they have really fought, deserve the same honor. . . .

The Pot Calls The Kettle Black  
The Trotskyist "International" has issued a manifesto denouncing the disgusting synchopant practice of adopting resolutions of loyalty "to the Central Committee under the leadership of Comrade Stalin" and the "District Committee under the leadership of Kaganowitch". Well and good! But the same manifesto concludes . . . Today, just as on the 22nd, 1917, Trotsky remains, together with Lenin, the founder of the Soviet Republic and the leader of the October revolution . . .

Once In Tragedy and Once In Farce  
Since Moscow has its Stalin, Prinkipo its Trotsky, and Berlin its Thaelmann, it is necessary for America to follow their example. . . . The Party Central Committee issues a manifesto on Anter's fiftieth birthday. The Daily Worker begins publishing a series of adulations and tributes. Camp Nitgedaget is being rechristened Antergrad and an American hero is being manufactured with the aid of the calendar by a Party adulation that "forgets" to commemorate the memory of Ruthenberg and the line he stood for.

"Long live Comrade Anter!" ends the manifesto of the Central Committee. He is 50! May he live to be a hundred! "We have no objections. . . . Long live Comrade Anter!" Not as a matter of principle. Not as a thesis, not in a Central Committee manifesto. "Long live Comrade Anter!" is hardly a slogan to rally or enlighten the American working class.

Old S.—How old is Bedacht? How old is Minor? How old is Bill Foster? and Bill Dunne? The American working class is dying to know!

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Capitalism stamps the dollar sign over everything; preachers tongues, editors pens, artists brushes, congressmen's votes, women's bodies—everything for sale in the great money-market. Even the play spirit is stamped with the dollar sign. Instead of playing, the watching of hired players. Instead of watching games, reading about them or watching score-boards. In place of fun in playing, desperate schemes to win, framed results, foul play, crafty tricks, big gate receipts, a joyless, playless excitement worked up by endless columns of newspaper hooley.

Liberals have been boosting Columbia as an abode of academic freedom because President Butler (since he gave up the hope of being President of the United States) has been parading as a liberal, and because, so far, Columbia has not moved to expel men like Lamont and Counts for "conduct unbecoming a Counts" etc., using their brains. Liberals with notoriously weak memories may have forgotten the war days and the expulsion of Brad Cattell, etc. They will be shocked to note that it was not the philosopher or pedagogue on whom the sword has fallen but the student-journalist, Harris. Perhaps they will find the key to the mystery in the famous remark of Marx: "The English Established Church will not readily pardon an attack on 38 of its 39 articles than on one-thirty-ninth of its income." —B. D. W.

# Hitler! Hindenburg! Communism! What's Next in Germany?

Discussion Meeting  
FRIDAY EVENING, APRIL 22 at 8 P. M.  
LABOR TEMPLE  
14th Street and Second Avenue  
Speaker: BEN GITLOW Chairman: H. ZAM  
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to send speakers to present the viewpoints of their respective organizations!  
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