

WORKERS AGE



A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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Join the Communist Opposition!

If you are a Communist, if you are a revolutionary worker anxious to do your bit towards ridding mankind of the murderous capitalistic system and replacing it by a new social order, then your place is in the ranks of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. (Opposition).

The startling contradiction today is that, while the economic and social breakdown of capitalism is slowly but surely preparing the conditions for the emergence of a mass Communist movement and for the winning of the workers to the cause of militancy and revolution, the official Communist Party, even taking into consideration all the inflated boasts of its leaders, is only a powerless sect, divorced from the masses, with far less effective influence among the workers than in the hard days of the Coolidge "prosperity." In spite of the years of crisis, in the face of a growing rebellious mood of the masses, no increase in membership but rather a continuous decline—the shrinkage of influence in the labor movement almost to nothing—so low a vote in the elections that it must have shocked even the most thoughtless! In a word, the Communist Party, from whom the workers had every right to expect leadership, has itself surrendered the opportunity and has completely failed to measure up to the historical tasks facing it.

Unite the Communist Movement!

The tragic failure of the official Communist Party to rise to its tasks is not peculiar to the United States alone. It is unfortunately true of the Communist movement in all countries of the world outside of the Soviet Union. And the basic causes are the same everywhere too: policies and tactics are being applied which are the very opposite of what the conditions demand and of what the teachings of Lenin and the experiences of the labor movement dictate. Owing to these utterly sectarian policies and tactics, the official Communist movement has almost everywhere converted itself into an impotent sect, has intensified confusion, multiplied division, discredited militancy and isolated the Communists from the masses of the workers.

In the United States the official Communist Party has lost all sense of American reality; it lives in a world of romantic, revolutionary-sounding phrases. It has deserted the mass labor organizations, segregated its members and sympathizers into special "Red" unions and similar bodies, and undermined and destroyed their influence among even the advanced workers. It has obstinately rejected the traditional Com-

munist tactics of the united front and has thus built up an almost insurmountable wall between itself and the non-Communist workers. It is unable to lift itself out of this desperate condition because of the suppression of all freedom within the party, because of the oppressive weight of the bureaucratic system that has grown up. Worst of all, the very ideas of Communism and militancy are being discredited among the workers by the suicidally irresponsible course of the official Communist Party.

It was in resistance to this suicidal sectarianism that the Communist Opposition arose in this country, as in the rest of the world, and it is to the restoration of the unity and fighting power of the Communist movement that it has dedicated its struggle from the very first. The Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Opposition), as part of the International Communist Opposition, strives to unite all Communist forces in this country in the fight for the rehabilitation of the Communist movement on the basis of effective Communist tactics, tactics formulated by Marx and Lenin and tested by years of class struggle. The Communist Opposition stands for a realistic examina-

tion of American conditions and the formulation of strategy and tactics on the basis of such an examination. We stand for Communist work in the conservative trade unions to turn them into organs of class struggle. We stand against all varieties of union splitting and dual-unionism; we stand for the united front as the road to labor unity and to labor militancy. We stand for real party democracy and for a fundamental change in the system of the leadership in the Communist International, providing it with a real international collective leadership and guaranteeing the individual parties the initiative and self-dependence absolutely essential to their functioning as the vanguard of the proletariat.

A strong and politically effective Communist Party is a life-and-death necessity for the struggle of the workers for emancipation. The fight of the Communist Opposition is a fight to transform the Communist Party into a leading and inspiring force in the American labor movement today.

Members of the Communist Party! Revolutionary workers! Are you not ready to strike a blow in the fight to make our Communist Party into such a party?

Support the struggle of the Communist Opposition! Join the Communist Opposition!

CONFIRM GAINS IN U. S. S. R.

To Consolidate Advances Of 5-Year Plan

Moscow, U.S.S.R.

With the completion of the Five-Year Plan in a little over four years, the Soviet government has decided that the year 1933 should be devoted to strengthening and consolidating the economic advances of the last four years and to preparing for the second Five-Year Plan, the main outlines of which were laid down in the Spring of this year. The plans for the year 1933 provide for a decided shift to light industry and to the production of articles of mass consumption in order to bring about a rapid improvement in the living conditions of the masses. In this way it is expected to compensate for the sacrifices the Soviet workers and farmers have had to make this year to overcome the effects of the world economic crisis, the Far Eastern war danger, the drought, and the other factors that have operated as obstacles in the completion of the Five-Year Plan.

The proposed concentration on light industry in 1933 is made possible by the fact that a basis of heavy industry has already been created thru the Five-Year Plan. In spite of the fact that grain collections from State farms are not yet complete, they are already 10% higher than last year. It is expected that the increase will be at least 25%.

The decision to devote the year 1933 to the consolidation and expansion of light industry has been utilized by enemies of the Soviet Union to spread the idea that the first Five-Year Plan was a "failure" and that the second Five-

(Continued on page 2)

Whose Depression Is It?

Whose depression is it? Who are the real sufferers from the consequences of the present crisis? The capitalist papers and the other paid apologists of capitalism tell us heart-rending stories of the awful plight of the "poor" rich men, "ruined" on Wall Street, and millions of thoughtless working people really believe the shameless fraud: "We have all suffered."

What are the facts? In a recent article in "The World Tomorrow", Professor Paul H. Douglas presents these facts in an astoundingly effective manner. Their lesson is unmistakable.

The total amount paid out in wages to American workers in manufacturing industries since 1926, taking 1926 as a standard (100), is represented in the following table:

1926	100.
1927	97.
1928	95.
1929	100.
1930	80.
1931	60.
1932	38.

Taking into consideration the fall in the cost of living since 1926, we see that *real wages* (wages in terms of what they can buy) of workers in manufacturing industries were a little less than half (49%) in 1932 of what they were in 1926.

And now what about the coupon-clippers, the class of rich capitalists who live on dividends, for whom we are asked to weep? Again taking 1926 as a standard (100), the following figures show the course of *total dividend and interest payments* in the years un-

der consideration:	100.
1926	129.
1927	137.
1928	173.
1929	196.
1930	187.
1931	160.
1932	160.

If we take into consideration the higher purchasing power of the dollar today, it is clear that *dividend and interest receivers got more real income in 1932, the year of deep crisis, than they got in 1929, the great boom year!* While, of course, the workers had their income cut to less than half!

These figures speak volumes. They throw a devastating light upon the workings of the capitalistic system which utilizes even crises to make the rich richer and the poor, poorer!

Whose depression is it?

FAKE 'FREEDOM' FOR FILIPINOS

Congress Passes Bill To Strangle Isles

Washington, D. C.

By a division vote of 171 to 16, the House of Representatives voted, on December 29, to approve the conference report on a bill for "independence" of the Philippines that had been ratified by the Senate without a record vote the week before.

The bill now awaits the signature of President Hoover. It is expected that Hoover will veto the measure.

* * *

The so-called "independence" bill, now finally adopted by both houses of Congress, is one of the most tortuously deceptive and fraudulent measures ever framed. It aims exclusively to destroy the Philippine competition with certain American agricultural interests, especially sugar, coconut oil, cordage and fibers. It provides for a long "probationary period", nominally ten years but actually much longer, during which United States sovereignty will be maintained. Even after all the complicated requirements are fulfilled and "independence" granted, the United States would still retain military posts and reservations upon the islands! But, as soon as the "probationary period" begins and long before even the alleged "independence" is in effect, the free entry of Philippine imports into the United States is to be stopped and regular tariff rates are to be imposed on the most important products of the islands. Filipino immigration to the United States is to be practically barred.

The Philippine "independence" bill, now approved by Congress, has aroused great resentment and

(Continued on page 2)

JOIN!

JOIN the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Opposition) and do your bit towards uniting the Communist movement on the basis of effective, realistic Leninist tactics!

Name

Address

City

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New York City

MID-WINTER TERM, 1933

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Four short series of three lectures each
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- MARXIAN ECONOMICS II**, by Bertram D. Wolfe.
Second term of two-term course
Tuesday 8:30 P. M., begin Feb. 9. \$2.50
- SCIENCE FOR WORKERS**, by Maxwell C. Stewart
Thursdays, 8:30 P. M., begin Feb. 9. \$2.00
- FUNDAMENTALS OF COMMUNISM**, by D. Benjamin
Fridays, 7:00 P. M., begin Feb. 10. \$2.50
- COMMUNIST MANIFESTO**, by B. Herman
Tuesdays, 8:30 P. M., begin Feb. 9. \$2.50
- COMMUNIST STRATEGY AND TACTICS**, by Alex Bail
Tuesdays, 7:00 P. M., begin Feb. 7. \$2.50
- MARXISM AND AMERICAN HISTORY**, by Jim Cork
Thursdays, 7:00 P. M., begin Feb. 9. \$2.50
- MARXISM AND LITERATURE**, by V. F. Calverton
Thursdays, 8:30 P. M., begin April 20. \$1.00. Single admission 35c
- HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONALS**, by H. Zam
Tuesdays, 7:00 P. M., begin Feb. 7. \$2.50
- THEORETICAL SYSTEM OF MARXISM**, by Will Herberg
Thursdays, 7:00 P. M., begin Feb. 9. \$2.50
- TRADE UNION PROBLEMS & TACTICS**, by Will Herberg
Fridays, 7:00 P. M., begin Feb. 10. \$2.50
For trade unionists \$1.00 — Single admission 25c

REGISTRATIONS BEGIN JAN. 1.

FOR FREEDOM OF M. N. ROY

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the mass meeting in Toronto, Canada, held under the auspices of the Canadian League for Prisoners Rights—Editor.

Whereas, this public meeting, held at Toronto, Ontario, Canada, on December 16, 1932, under the auspices of the League for Prisoners Rights, being informed of the incarceration in the penal colony at Mareilly, India, for a period of twelve years of Manabendra Nath Roy; and

WHEREAS, this body learns that M. N. Roy was convicted solely because of his activities on behalf of the exploited peasants and workers of India; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, that this meeting demands of the government of India that M. N. Roy be immediately released and that pending such immediate and unconditional release that Roy be placed in the category of Class A prisoners so that necessary supplementary food, medicine, etc., be provided, together with those privileges which permit newspapers, additional correspondence and visits from friends and relatives; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be sent to Lord Willingdon, Viceroy of India, the Home Office for India, London and the public press.

FAKE 'FREEDOM' FOR PHILIPPINES

(Continued from page 1)
opposition in the Philippines among all sections of the population. The Filipino legislators, sitting as the independence commission, have condemned this bill as a "grim joke". In the commission, Senator Quezon attacked the bill as being foisted on the Filipinos by the National City Bank and other big capitalist groups in the U. S. A. in the interests of their huge investments in Cuban sugar.

CONFIRM BIG GAINS IN SOVIET UNION

(Continued from page 1)
Year Plan is being "discarded."

Collectivization In the USSR

by Upton Sinclair

In the August issue of the "Living Age" I read with sorrow of an article by Nikolaus Baschech, reprinted from the "Neue Freie Presse" of Vienna, telling about the terrible failure which is coming in Soviet agriculture.

To put it briefly, Mr. Baschech says that the 10th of last May the Russians had succeeded in planting less than 30% of the 264 million acres called for under the Plan, "and a few weeks later the Plan was only 42.7% fulfilled." There is a good deal more about this, nearly three full pages, and it winds up with the statement: "After four years of the first Five-Year Plan, which is now supposed to be completed, the total output of grain, which has risen during recent years to 21,600,000 tons in 1930 and 22,400,000 tons in 1931, will amount at most to ten million tons."

This hurt me in spirit, because I am on record as having said that the socialization of agriculture in Russia is the most significant change in the history of mankind. I have predicted that it will bankrupt small-scale peasant agriculture throughout the world, and make inevitable an agricultural revolution. The peasants of every country have the backbone of superstition and reaction, I was hopeful of change, and sad over the Baschech article.

But I remembered how many other sets of statistics I had read, over a period of fifteen years, proving the collapse of the Soviet system. I decided to wait a few days before giving way completely to despair. And sure enough, here comes the "Economic Review of the Soviet Union," published by Amtorg in New York, dated August 15th. In it I find an article headed "Results of Spring Sowing and the Harvesting Campaign." To be sure these are Soviet figures; but then, so are Mr. Baschech's I presume. I do not believe the correspondent of the "Neue Freie Presse" was being over Russia in an airplane and counting the number of acres which have been planted. Neither do I suppose that the correspondents of any White newspapers in Riga or Warsaw have been performing such service.

According to the figures, I learn that the results of the spring sowing campaign up to July first show that "the plantings were 99.6% of the record area sown last year." I learn also that by August 1st the harvesting campaign "was well under way, and a total of 75.8 million acres have been harvested." Russia expects eight million extra tons of grain this year, instead of twelve million less. Also I learn that 80% of the sowings this year were done by the socialized sector of State and cooperative farms. That is the thing that really counts; so believers in social progress may cheer up.

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The World of Labor

Doings Among the Electricians

by Transformer

New York City. The New Year promises to be a lively one for the members of Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. About 60% of the members are out of work. Of the remaining 40%, about 15% work five days; the rest are getting three days work a week. There is no immediate outlook for increased work. There is nothing about these men today to show that at one time they were aristocrats of labor.

The two big things before the electrical workers are the new agreement, which includes the wage question, and the reduction of dues, which the members demand. At the last meeting the officials of the union brought in an amendment to the constitution for a reduction of dues. The dues of the Class A journeymen were to be reduced from \$27 to \$23 per quarter, a four dollar reduction. A proportional reduction for other classes was recommended.

The opposition in the union felt that the reduction should be twice as much, or \$8. The administration resorted to a trick to prevent the opposition making the necessary amendment. According to the constitution, revised by H. H. Broach, International president, when a proposition is before the house, only an amendment to the motion and an amendment to the amendment were allowed; no other motions are recognized after three propositions are before the house! In line with this piece of parliamentary trickery, Frank Wilson, president of Local 3, recognized two amendments, and the other was dropped. The first made an amendment to reduce the dues by \$4.25; the second amendment proposed a reduction of \$4.50. Thus the constitutional possibilities were exhausted; the opposition amendment for an \$8 reduction was ruled out of order.

Everybody in the meeting saw thru these cheap twenty-five cent amendments as an administration trick. John Sullivan, the opposition candidate for president in the last elections, pointed out the trickery of the administration, one called on the members to vote down all of the proposals, stating an amendment would be brought in for the desired \$8 reduction. All of the opposition speakers took up Sullivan's suggestion. The administration supporters pleaded that they could get now and look for more later on. There was not one decent spokesman for the administration who was not an officer of the union. When the vote was finally taken, all proposals were defeated by an overwhelming majority. Such is the temper of the membership of Local 3, I. B. E. W.: so enraged were the members against this piece of official trickery that they rejected a reduction of dues—an unheard of thing!

The New Agreement
The next matter of importance was the wage question and the new agreement. President Wilson announced that Business Manager Prees had taken sick and could not be present to report on the nego-

tiations for the new agreement. In a roundabout way Wilson told the members that things didn't look so good as that ten men might have to accept a \$9 wage scale for alteration work if we wanted to protect the \$13.20 scale and prevent an \$11.20 scale on new work.

In the past we had a straight \$13.20 scale of wages. Prees, who now has heart failure, said he would keep the \$13.20 scale if he were reelected business manager. All the lay members of the union feel that as soon as two scales of wages are created, the smaller scale will prevail in a short time, particularly so when today most of the work is alteration work. The members of the union are especially incensed against the officers for the fact that when the agreement expired (October 15), the employers working the large jobs, such as Radio City, locked the men down for three months.

Subsequently, Ruthenberg died. After having allowed the case to drop for ten years, the authorities are now trying to revive it in order to utilize it as a basis of attack upon radical labor.

ALBANY, N. Y.—Within the past few weeks M. Harris, International organizer of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, has suspended three active workers from Local No. 11 in a desperate effort to smash the progressive forces in the Capital District.

The suspended workers are John Chickering, removed from the Executive Board and suspended for one year; Arthur Oliver, suspended for six months; and R. Carmichael, suspended for three months. The progressive group in this local succeeded only a short time ago in removing the business agent who had been installed by the International office, and is at present leading the struggle against the increased dues rates and for the reestablishment of the three locals in Albany, Schenectady and Troy. The union bureaucrats merged these three locals into Local 11, decreasing the vitality of the union forces and robbing the membership of local control, with the result that in the past year 125 members have been lost.

As things stand today, the big fellows have had time to go to work and line up the smaller contractors with the result that the union has been left holding the bag, incidentally, all of the big jobs being completed.

To get back to the last meeting, Wilson, after some cautious ramblings, tried to introduce International Representative Bieretz. Bieretz stepped from his usual place behind the stage. A long storm of protest met his appearance. After some discussion a motion made by the union was carried by an overwhelming majority to the effect the International be kept out of the situation until such time as the local officers admit inability to handle the situation. Eleven o'clock drawing near, the time set by the constitution for closing meetings, a motion was passed that the meeting be recessed and the next meeting be a recessed meeting where we take up the agreement as left off at this meeting. Two months ago it would have been considered impossible to pass a motion to prevent the International representative from speaking. A second victory had been won for the opposition.

Everybody is looking forward to see if the members can safeguard their present wage scale and get the demanded reduction in dues. Besides the stupid tactics of the administration, the reason the opposition was successful is because they appeared united in purpose at this meeting. Special credit is due to John Sullivan, William Sorrenson, Moe Smith, Steve Krusey, Alfred Terry, Sam Rosenthal, Tommie Beaman, Eddie Hoffman and Simon Wolf. This meeting showed that, altho there may be differences of opinion among ourselves, if the opposition works together on the things they agree, they can put their ideas across.

There are doings in the electricians union.

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JANUARY 8— J. P. Cannon
Communist League of America

JANUARY 15— Jay Lovestone
Communist Party (Opposition)

WHAT LEFT OPPOSITION STANDS FOR

WHAT COMMUNIST OPPOSITION STANDS FOR

BRIDGMAN CASE IS REVIVED

To Try Red Leaders After Ten Years

LANSING, Mich.—The ten year old criminal syndicalism case against William Z. Foster, Jay Lovestone, Alex Bail, Max Becht and other Communist leaders is to be revived, according to the decision of the State Supreme Court on January 3 upholding the ruling of the Berrien County court which refused to dismiss the case.

The Communist leaders are held for participation in the 1922 Bridgman convention of the Communist Party, which was then an illegal organization. Foster and Ruthenberg were tried in 1923; Ruthenberg was convicted and Foster was released because the jury disagreed. Subsequently, Ruthenberg died.

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Slavery in Mississippi

The Truth About The "Land Of The Free"

The existence of conditions, compared with which, according to the A. F. of L. report ("American Federationist", March 1932), "slavery in its most trying days was mild", has been exposed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its investigation of the virtual peonage under which Negro laborers suffer on the Federal Mississippi flood-control projects. From the circular issued by the N. A. A. C. P., we quote:

"The slavery of 1932, like that before the Civil War, is rooted in the exploitation of black men's labor, the mistreatment of their bodies, and the denial to them of the primary decencies that civilization owe all human beings. It is practised on work undertaken, controlled and financed by the United States Government, the Mississippi Flood Control project, intended to curb the devastating floods of the Mississippi River over the adjacent land of the Delta states.

"Two investigations independently undertaken have reported and established the facts beyond any reasonable doubt. One of these investigations was by representatives of the American Federation of Labor. The other was made for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, during the summer of 1932, by Miss Helen Boardman, a college graduate, former Red Cross relief worker who had been in charge of relief work in former Mississippi flood disasters.

Incredible Conditions
"What are the conditions which these two independent investigations have established?"

What Price Philippines?

An Answer To The "Liberal" Apologists Of Imperialism — Charging Against The Filipino People The Expenses Of Enslaving And Oppressing Them — What The Islands Mean To U. S. Imperialism

by I. Zimmerman

It is unnecessary to tell any one who does any thinking that when it took hold of the Philippines, the United States was not moved by unselfish philanthropy or by a big-brotherly desire to "protect" the poor Filipinos. But it is, at this moment, necessary to call attention to the avalanche of hypocritical nonsense filling the columns of the capitalist press in connection with the bills before Congress supposedly granting "independence" to the Philippine Islands.

A Campaign Of Misinformation
An article in a recent issue of the "World-Telegram" by William Philip Simms, foreign editor of the "liberal" Scripps-Howard newspapers, is a good example of this

campaign of misrepresentation, misinformation and confusion. Under the heading: "The Philippines have cost the U. S. a billion in cash and 5,000 lives," Mr. Simms presents us with this gem in his opening paragraph: "If Congress makes the Filipinos a Christmas present of their independence, it will be the most expensive Christmas present in history." In the itemized expense account which he proceeds to make, Mr. Simms generously refrains from charging the Filipinos with the cost of sending Dewey's fleet to the Far East or the cost of the Battle of Manila Bay. But the list of what he deems chargeable to the Philip-

pines is interesting enough. Let us take up some of his points in order:
1. "General Aguinaldo," runs the article, "who had set up a Philippine Republic, started an insurrection . . . It took years and 120,000 American troops to put down this insurrection, at a cost of \$175,000,000 and 4,165 American officers and men. . . ."

Thus the claim; and now the facts. Aguinaldo led a rebellion of the Filipinos against the Spanish in 1896. The movement resulted in the Treaty of Brac-na-bat, under which the Filipino people were assured of certain reforms and the leaders of the rebellion were "induced" to leave the islands for the sum of \$1,000,000. I am (Continued on Page 7)

MORE WAGE-CUT FOR WORKERS

Railroad, Printing And Subway Workers Hit

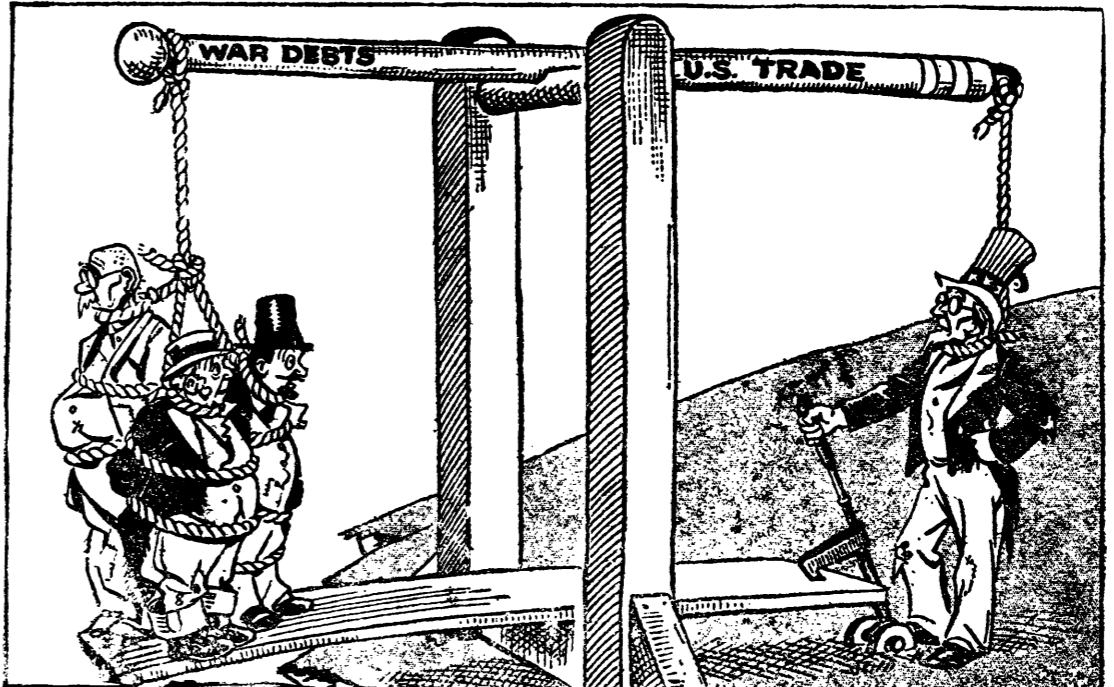
A wage-cut reducing from 10% to 30% for all employees except those receiving less than \$22 a week was announced on December 27 by the receivers for the Interborough Rapid Transit Company in New York City. The company union of the Interborough employees, the Brotherhood of Interborough Employees, had given its "consent" to the cut, of course without asking the workers themselves.

By a vote of 4,513 to 1,086, representing the returns of 282 out of 350 chapels, the union printers of New York City employed in book and job shops, organized in Typographical Union No. 6, accepted a cut of 8%, bringing down day-shift wages to \$50 and night-shift wages to \$56 for a five-day week. The 8% cut is a compromise with the employers who demanded a much higher wage slash.

The extension of the 10% "temporary" wage reduction for another nine months was accepted by the representatives of the standard railroad unions, in session in Chicago, as the basis for the new contract signed with the companies. At the same time, the railroad companies have announced that in June 1933 they will petition under the railway labor act to effect a permanent lowering of the basic wage rates of the railroad workers.

New York City.

A very effective parade and demonstration with over 1,000 participants, protesting against the anti-Jewish pogroms in Poland took place here before the Polish consulate on December 23. The movement was organized by a united front of student and youth organizations including the National Student League, the Young Poles Zion Alliance, Menorah groups, and Social Problems Clubs of various New York universities, etc.



"The entanglement of imperialist antagonisms is a veritable halter around the necks of the great imperial powers."—LENIN.

JUST OUT!

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camp horrors unless promised that their names would be withheld.
"4. Unsanitary Conditions: Crowded, floorless tents, filthy quarters, no garbage disposal, no screens in mosquito and malaria infested country.

"The War Department denied the charges made by the A. F. of L. and disputed the facts presented by the N. A. A. C. P. Upon the Association's insistence that the facts be heard the War Department appointed a hearing in Washington for the N. A. A. C. P. investigator from which the press was excluded. At this hearing questions were asked indicating that the War Department representative was willing to adopt for the Department's standard the slave working conditions prevalent in that section.

"A War Department whitewash of the charges was clearly indicated. A committee appointed just (Continued on Page 7)

Against the Sweatshop Evil!

Conference Is Formed In Connecticut

Hartford, Conn. The terrible sweatshop conditions in the state of Connecticut are only too notorious. Cases are not uncommon of girls working a full week for less than \$2.00 under the most unbearable conditions. In fact, things have become so bad that they have aroused the protest not only of the radical elements in the labor movement but also of such social and civic organizations as the Consumers League of Connecticut, the Y.W.C.A., the League of Women Voters, etc. Protest meetings against the sweatshop evil were called by various groups but no real effort made to unite the various organizations in a common struggle against the terrible conditions in the fly-by-night factories until recently.

On Wednesday evening, December 14, a provisional conference to frame plans for fighting sweatshop evil was held at the Hartford Y.W.C.A. Twenty delegates were present at this preliminary conference, representatives of the Socialist party, of the Communist Opposition, of the Y.P.S.L., of the Y.W.C.A., of the Hartford Association of the Unemployed, of the National Religion and Labor Foundation and other organizations. Kenneth Epstein and Jeanette Studley were elected chairman and secretary respectively.

All were agreed upon the necessity of eradicating the sweatshop pest. There was a lively discussion as to the best methods in this

struggle. Means discussed included unionization and legislative action. Plans were broached for enlarging the basis of the conference. The Manufacturers Association of Connecticut had the audacity to send a representative to be an observer at the conference. This gentleman, in his impertinence to assert that the association would be willing to "help" the anti-sweatshop drive! These manufacturers, who resist unionization and progressive labor legislation, posing as the enemies of the sweatshop! But nobody took them seriously!
At the end of the conference a motion was made and accepted that a continuation committee, consisting of representatives of various labor unions, social and civic organizations, be chosen, with the main purpose of preparing and arranging for a statewide conference.

In order to fight the sweatshop evil, we must ask ourselves: Why the rush of small fly-by-night shops from New York to Connecticut? Let us see what Mr. Bone, Connecticut Commissioner of Labor and Factory Inspection, has to say about it: "The condition in this state has resulted from the rush of such 'depression profiteers' here after being forced out of New York State and has also resulted from the fact that the Connecticut working class is not as well trained as that of New York to battle against such injustices for the victims of the sweatshops in Connecticut do not belong to organized labor bodies as the New York working men do." The lesson is clear: The unionization and the organization of the workers is the best way of fighting the sweatshop evil. —G. P.

J. P. Cannon On Jan. 8, 228 - 2nd Ave. Program of Left Opposition

Marxism and Democracy in America

On the Future of Marxism in the U. S. A.

by V. F. Calverton

"Proletarian democracy, of which the Soviet regime constitutes one of the forms, has given the world a hitherto unknown growth of democracy for the gigantic majority of the population, of the exploited and laboring masses. . . . Proletarian democracy is a million times more democratic than the most democratic regime in a bourgeois republic."

—LENIN

A little over two years ago humanism flared up like a skyrocket, blazed a brief trail across the sky, and vanished almost as rapidly as it had risen. Today there is another disturbance in the American literary firmament—Marxism. Will Marxism turn out to be another skyrocket, tending to flicker almost as soon as it has begun to flame, or will it prove to be a new constellation, as enduring as the sky into which it has sprung?

Marxism And The American Soil

The answer to that question does not lie in the lap of the fates, as many suggest, but in the bowels of the nation itself. The fate of Marxism will be very different from that of liberalistic Americanism, because it is opposed to the mid-twentieth century of the Americanization of Europe; in the future it will become the habit to speak of the Europeanization of America. The development of the machine, with the resultant advance of big business in the form of industry and finance, has brought to an end the day of the individual—whether he be individual farmer, individual artisan, individual shopkeeper, or individual worker. Nineteenth-century America was the individual-minded; twentieth century America, especially in this decade, is becoming class-minded.

It will be in the soil of that new America that Marxism will take root and grow. It will be an Americanized Marxism without doubt, but a Marxism that will expand and fructify in the fresh soil which has already begun to welcome its seed. The present interest in Marxism manifest in the leading magazines, combined with the rapid leftward swing of so many intellectuals, are signs of its maturing power. The very fact that within the last year few American writers of any significance have been unaffected by the influence of the Marxian outlook is sufficient evidence to show how profoundly it has shaken the minds of the American literati.

In the past, there have been a number of literary critics who have applied the Marxian method in part without ever having been aware of it. Take, for example, such an academic critic as William Henry Hudson, a man whom no one, I am sure, would ever have thought of in terms of Marxism—least of all himself. Yet if one turns to a small, obscure book of his entitled "A Quiet Corner in the Library" (who could imagine a more innocuous title), one will discover a more thorough discussion of the influence of the bourgeois class upon eighteenth century literature than one can find in many so-called Marxian studies of the period.

Hudson, of course, did not understand the dynamics of the Marxian approach, and was not interested in the larger fact that the influences which he traced in literature were bound up with the dialectic continuity with the whole structure of society. He was not concerned with the fact that the influences involved were part of an entire social process, a process as active today, in however different form, as in the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, as non-Marxian as Hudson was, the soundness of his scholarship, as confirmed by the theoretic accuracy of the Marxian approach.

Yet not only Hudson, but writers as scattered and diverse as

George Bernard Shaw, Ernest Crosby, Vida Scudder, Brunette and Kuno Francke are full of materials confirmatory of the Marxian thesis. Among radicals themselves, to be sure, Upton Sinclair and Floyd Dell, both avowed Marxists, originally contributed more than any others in this country to the Marxian approach to literature. But one does not need to turn merely to these writers for such materials; one can even turn to the academic journals and find ample confirmation of the soundness of the Marxian approach, and bear in mind, by scholars and critics who in most instances have scarcely more than heard the name of Marx.

But what does this all go to prove? Simply that Marxism, because it is scientific in its approach, would have the widest appeal here as in Europe if more Americans were acquainted with the ideas of Marx. At this very time that acquaintanceship has already begun; the next ten years must turn that acquaintanceship into intimacy if Marxism is to take its needed maturity in this country.

Marxism And Democracy

But Marxism cannot root itself in America, many intellectuals in this country have contended in the past, because it is opposed to the democratic traditions upon which this nation has been founded. Marxism believes in dictatorship and not democracy, and therefore, will never appeal to the American

masses who are democrats at heart. But such objections at root simply reveal an ignorance of what Marxism really is.

When all is said, it is not Mazzini and Garibaldi, not Jefferson and Mill, who were the great nineteenth century prophets of democracy, but Karl Marx who, as early as the middle of the century, pointed out that democracy was impossible so long as the institution of private property remained, and economic inequalities were allowed to persist.

It is only today that we are beginning to realize the significance of that truth. It is only today that teachers and students as well as workers and farmers are coming to see that "The Communist Manifesto" and "Capital," Marx's two most significant works, are great democratic documents, stressing the road that society must take if it is to attain the democratic goal. One of the best proofs of how popular that realization has already become is to be seen in the fact that Marx's works have just been introduced into the Modern Library series. At last America has recognized Marx as a modern, "It took a revolution in Russia, not democracy which is dead but democracy which is alive," writes Max Eastman in his introduction to this Modern Library volume. But why did it take the Russian Revolution to wake up the English-speaking

future which belongs to democracy, not the past.

What is becoming plainer and plainer every day is that democracy is a child of economics and not politics. Democracy can only grow up when it is given economic sustenance. The reason democracy at the present time is such a rickety, bowlegged, puking brat is that it has been fed upon nothing more substantial than the pap and pasty of political rhetoric. The mourners of democracy today, who know far more about perfumes and liquors than about health-giving food, have not realized yet that democracy has been the victim of a bad diet and not of a bad constitution. Given the necessary economic diet, would be able to grow up into a healthy child and ultimately achieve a sturdy maturity.

A realistic understanding of what democracy is, then, would save these sentimental Jeremiahs from much of their false wailing and gnashing of teeth. Democracy can only grow up when it is given economic substance. To give it economic substance, it is necessary to provide the people with economic as well as political freedom. So long as the economic power in the community resides in the hands of those who possess control over the economic instruments of production and finance, it is impossible to have democracy. All that you can have under such conditions, political suffrage to the contrary notwithstanding, is plutocracy, that is, rule by the few for the people but by those who own the industries and the banks which are the instruments of economic power in modern society. The tears that are being shed over the failure of democracy, therefore, in reality show the tears shed over the failure of plutocracy, that is the failure of plutocracy to work out in favor of democracy in practise. Democracy has never died nor even failed; it has never been tried because within the limitations of a plutocracy it was impossible for it to grow up and mature into anything more than a political concept.

Marxism Today

Marxism becomes particularly relevant, particularly modern today, when we remember that it gives meaning and challenge to the democratic concept which it lacked before. It makes democracy a thing of the past, something to be achieved rather than something already defeated.

For that reason alone, it is logical to assert, Marxism will have a direct appeal to the American people; it is the very thing which democracy which Marxism holds forth that is in harmony with the development of American institutions. Therein, I believe, lies one of the main reasons why Marxism has made such a successful appeal to American writers in recent days for it is now when everyone is saying that democracy is a failure that American writers, who still believe in democracy as a reality, are most anxious to turn to Marxism to ultimate democratic promise. Sherwood Anderson has turned to Marxism because Marxism promises a truly democratic world for all. Waldo Frank has become an advocate of Marxism because he believes that it is only thru the Marxian method that a really democratic society can be born.

Our Resolution

The resolution on the general line and inner-party course of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the outstanding analytical as well as critical approach to the problems that confront the Russian workers as well as the world Communist movement. It has stood the test during the last two years. In light of recent developments, world crisis, threatening war in the Far East, Indian situation, the forty millions of unemployed, it needs a reevaluation in view of the above facts.

Above all, what Marxism has already begun to teach the American writer is that he does not live in a social vacuum, nor write in one either. His ideas, his convictions, even the tenor of many of his emotions, the American writer is beginning to understand, are bound up with the society in which he lives, the class of which he is a part, and whether he wishes to or not he realizes he will be forced to take a literary as well as a political stand before the decade which now faces him is closed. It is that very fact which gives weight and to an extent is already giving—American literature a different and more challenging character in the future than it has had in the past.

What we understand by the general line.

The general line is a planned road leading in its objective towards the establishment of a communist society. The major tasks, according to the general line are: (a) the extension of planning to national economy; (b) the building of heavy industry; (c) electrification; (d) collectivization of agriculture; (e) extension of transportation; (f) the opening of coal, oil, and gas fields; (g) broad education of the masses; etc. To disagree with these points is, of course, to disagree with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism. Does the general line represent a narrow course towards the building of socialism? To take the position that it does would be looking at the matter in a mechanical sense. On this road towards the objective of the general line we find many sharp curves, turns and bends. It was Lenin who said that to accomplish the revolution in Russia was a comparatively easy task, whereas in the highly developed capitalist countries to achieve the revolution would be much more difficult, but comparatively easy toward the establishment of a socialist society. But we in Russia—he continued—will have much more difficulty in our task of socialist construction, because of the economic backwardness of Russia, plus the almost complete isolation brought about by the financial blockade of the capitalist world. As the result of these tremendous difficulties, but not insurmountable ones, it is not difficult to see the price the Russian workers have to pay.

Is There a "Crisis" in the U.S.S.R.? Is there "crisis" in the U.S.S.R.? Yes! In what respect does it differ from the crisis in the capitalist world? The crisis of capitalism is a crisis of decay and disintegration of a system that has outlived its usefulness. The "crisis" in the U.S.S.R. in the main is caused by: (a) The rapid tempo of industrialization, the lack of trained, skilled labor; (b) a sharp drop in the commodity prices of raw materials in the world market (ex-

ported from U.S.S.R. twelve million tons of raw materials in exchange for some one million and a half tons of imports—"Detroit News"); (c) the rapid development of heavy industry to a large degree at the expense of light industry, because of the sharpening danger of an attack from the outside. These are crises of growth, of expansion; in other words, growing pains.

Because of this situation it is very unfortunate that we find a regime that makes an only "too frequent application of tactical strategy in the execution of the economic policy." It is here that we can disagree sharply and criticize the present leadership of the Soviet Union, which our resolution on the general line and inner-party course of the C. P. S. U., condemns. At one time War Communism, next time the New Economic Policy, and at the present the Five-Year Plan. These plans were and are turns in the objective of the general line. To condemn the general line because of disagreement with the inner-party regime in its application of the different turns toward the building of socialism, is an incorrect attitude to take. If there was a healthy regime in the party it

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"Russian Question" Critically Considered

In the Post-Conference Discussion

by Ben Gitlow

1. What is the "Russian question?" It is the question of the policy adopted by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the carrying out in life of the Five-Year Plan. But, since the original plan is undergoing continual changes and modifications, it would be more accurate to state that the "Russian question" concerns the line of policy pursued by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the period of the construction of socialism initiated by the Five-Year Plan.

2. Is the "Russian question" therefore confined only to the policies adopted for carrying out the Five-Year Plan or, as some comrades put it, the Five-Year Plan is the "Russian question?" If the Five-Year Plan is the "Russian question", then how explain the differences between Rykov and Bukharin on a Stalin? They all voted, approved and fought for the Five-Year Plan at the fifteenth congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Rykov made the main report on the plan. The fact that differences developed on how to proceed to industrialize the Soviet Union, how to collectivize agriculture, what kind of tempo should be adopted, etc., indicates that Rykov, Tomsky, Bukharin had one line on how to proceed with the construction of socialism and Stalin and the majority of the party another line, even though they claimed the same objectives, namely the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan and the speediest construction of socialism thru the building up of heavy industry and the collectivization of agriculture.

However, since the consideration of the line involves the period of the construction of socialism initiated by the Five-Year Plan, it cannot be narrowed down just to a consideration of the Five-Year Plan itself. It necessarily involves the consideration of the party line in all its aspects. You cannot create, to suit yourself, pigeon-holes and then proceed to label them. One pigeon-hole contains the party line—it is the Five-Year Plan. But the other pigeon-holes, one labelled the regime, the other the Communist International, etc., have nothing to do with the party line. In other words, they are divorced, separated and have absolutely nothing to do with the line. This way of chopping up, dividing the line into separate entities, is a method of reasoning which leads one to the conclusion that the internal economic policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is independent, for example, of what goes on in the Communist International and in the working class outside of the Soviet Union.

3. Is the "Russian question" only a polemic on the necessity of building up socialism by proving the superiority of the heavy industry over small-scale industry and of collectivization over individual peasant agriculture? A number of comrades have actually written articles which imply that the only question at issue is to prove the necessity of building up heavy industry and collectivizing agriculture. I take it for granted that all comrades are convinced that the Soviet Union must, in order to achieve socialism, build up heavy industry and collectivize agriculture as speedily as possible. It is absolutely imperative and necessary that this be done. The question which concerns us in this discussion is how this is being done, what steps have been taken to realize the above objective. In other words, what is the general line of the party to achieve this? For us, there is a question only of the superiority of large-scale socialized industry over small-scale production or the advantages of collective and gigantic Soviet farms with modern technical means and methods over individual small peasant farms with antiquated methods and equipment. If, as Communists, we will keep in mind that we are discussing the question of party line, that we have not under consideration an agitation or propaganda thesis on heavy against small-scale industry, etc., then we will be able to examine the achievements, errors and mistakes in a constructive Communist manner, then we will be able to determine the correct-

ness or incorrectness of the general line.

It is also to be hoped that our discussion, including the criticisms made, will in a measure help in the correction of errors and the adoption of such policies as will insure the greatest success in the building of socialism and the advancement of the Communist movement in the Soviet Union and throughout the world. Such a discussion, if it is kept free from demagog and impracticability, if it does not degenerate into factionalism, is bound to be beneficial to the Communist movement.

Our Group And The "Russian Question"

The "Russian question" is of decisive importance to our group. Our position on the "Russian question" determines whether or not our group has a principled justification for its existence.

If the "Russian question" is not a fundamental question for our group, if the "Russian question" has nothing to do with the Communist International and in the Communist Party of the U. S. A., if there is no link between the line of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Russia with its line in the Communist International of which it is the ruling and decisive leadership, then it would be perfectly in order to entertain a motion to table the "Russian question" altogether, not to have a group position on it, to file away in the archives all mo-

Comrade Lovestone, our delegate to the international conference of the Communist Oppositions, returned and, in his report to the membership and to the National Bureau, came out in full support of the resolution of the German Opposition on the "Russian question."

This resolution was a full endorsement of the general line of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and went to extreme in declaring that the Stalin regime was correct, historically necessary and inevitable. The astounding position of Comrade Lovestone on the "Russian question" in favor of this resolution of the German Opposition was violently opposed by a majority of the National Bureau. As a result, in the Spring of 1931, the National Bureau adopted a resolution on the "Russian question." The resolution was a compromise resolution. It is inconsistent, contradictory and untenable today. The present National Bureau of our group has veered far away from this compromise resolution. It approaches more the position of Comrade Lovestone and the German Opposition. Comrade Lovestone stated very definitely at membership meetings that he still holds to the views contained in the German Opposition resolution.

Our group could not, as a Communist organization, directly effected by the line of the Russian Party leadership, by the attitude and policies of the Stalin regime, ignore the "Russian question" and remain silent. Our group had to take a position.

Since the inception of the group, its position on the "Russian question" has undergone certain changes. First, there was a cautious attitude, a hesitancy to discuss the question because of lack of sufficient information. But our group always maintained a critical attitude up till the retreat on collectivization, Stalin's letter on "Dizziness", March 1930, and the first international conference of the Communist Opposition held in Berlin in December 1930. Our group got its first big shock on the "Russian question" when

can be no adequate discussion of the present Bureau's position. The old resolution adopted in the Spring of 1931 does not reflect the position of the present National Bureau. In addition, there are many factors in the situation of the Soviet Union today that did not exist or were not apparent at the time the resolution was adopted. Furthermore we have added considerably to our store of information.

If the present National Bureau is to lead and guide the discussion, and the membership has every right to expect such leadership from the Bureau, then it is high time that the Bureau of 1932 stop hiding behind the old Bureau and come out openly and boldly for such positions. Our group at the beginning, whenever it had occasion to do so was not afraid to speak out vigorously on the "Russian question."

This is clearly evidenced from the pages of the "Revolutionary Age" and from declarations of the old Bureau that agreement with the general line of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was a later development. An examination of the pages of the "Revolutionary Age" proves definitely that our critical attitude to the line of the Stalin regime has been changed to one of wholehearted approval.

(Continued in the next issue)

In The Post Conference Discussion

"HISTORICALLY INEVITABLE AND NECESSARY..."

by L. Becker

(Continued from last issue)
During the years 1917-1920, the Russian proletariat could not center its attention on production. Confronted by counter-revolutionary armies on many fronts and by foreign interventionists, the Russian proletariat and peasantry had to struggle for the life of the revolution. During this period there emerged "War Communism" equality in consumption. The alliance with the peasantry was maintained on the basis of defending the land which the Soviets gave to the peasant. The victory of the White Guard would have meant the loss of the land by the peasants. That's why the peasantry fought side by side with the worker and supplied the city with food.

About The N. E. P.
When the enemy forces were defeated on all fronts, it was necessary to reestablish what was destroyed during the years of civil war. It was necessary to start normal functioning of the productive apparatus. It was necessary to produce to satisfy the needs of the population. Then, in 1921, the N. E. P. was introduced. The main features of the N. E. P. are: In view of the shortage of commodities to permit the handicraftsmen to produce and to establish the open market.

To also allow the peasant to bring his surplus to the market. The alliance of the working class and the poor and the middle peasant to continue on a new level—exchange of city products for agricultural.

Also then there was a strong opposition to the N. E. P. Many leading comrades were afraid that if this sort of capitalist forms would be permitted, the petty bourgeois waves would wash off the gains of the October Revolution. To which Lenin answered, in the discussion on this subject:
"Because of the general political and economic conditions which have now been established when the proletariat is holding in its hands all the sources of large-scale industry, when there can be no talk whatsoever about nationalization, we are not to be afraid of him (the small capitalist). And when we

are suffering from almost such a complete lack of products, from the whole pauperization of the population, . . . it is laughable to be afraid that capitalism on the basis of small-scale production is constituting a danger?"

Is the N. E. P. to be considered a permanent institution? NO! To the degree that socialist factories and the socialist sector of agriculture will be able to replace the production of the private sector, to that extent will the private sector be eliminated. Not before! Naturally, the market will be controlled by the government. The State shall do all in its power to direct the private producers in the cooperatives thru help, thru incentives. But it would be wrong to govern economic relations not based on realities but thru desires expressed in resolutions and decrees. While Lenin was still alive there were evident tendencies which sought to do away with the N.E.P. Comrade Lenin combated these tendencies. In 1923, he came out with an article dealing with this question. He stated:

"Then what kind of a policy could the socialist proletariat execute in the face of such economic realities? To give the petty peasant all the products he needs, from the production of the large-scale socialist factory in exchange for bread and raw material. This would be the most desirable and most 'correct' policy—we started this. But we cannot supply all products, not by far, and we will not be in a position to do it in the near future, at least not until we will complete the first part of the task of electrifying the country."

"Then what shall we do? Either to try to prohibit, completely close down the development of private, non-government exchange, i.e., bartering, capitalism, which is inevitable while there exist millions of small producers. Such a policy would be foolish and suicidal for the party which would try it. Foolish because it is impossible economically; suicidal, because parties that try such a policy inevitably suffer a blow. We have to admit that some of our Communists have sinned in thought, in word and in deed, following precisely this policy. We must try to do away with these mistakes. We must positively do away with them, otherwise it will be very bad."

The question then is: Can the socialist sector produce enough to satisfy the needs? Can it produce enough articles in exchange for agricultural products? Obviously not yet! If that is the case, the State should have encouraged the production of the handicraftsmen which would ease the goods famine. Today while there is a slight increase in the production of light industry, the decrease in production of the private sector is much larger. The result is: Tho in the socialist sector an increase in production is to be noted, the total output in the light industry nationally has decreased.

Again: In order to get agricultural products it is necessary: (1) to give in exchange manufactured goods; (2) in a large measure, under normal conditions (normal crop), the success of grain collections is determined by the amount of goods given in exchange—the same applies to raw materials;

the needs, from the production of the large-scale socialist factory in exchange for bread and raw material. This would be the most desirable and most 'correct' policy—we started this. But we cannot supply all products, not by far, and we will not be in a position to do it in the near future, at least not until we will complete the first part of the task of electrifying the country."

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The victory of the right deviation would mean a tremendous strengthening of the capitalist elements in our country. What does it mean the strengthening of the capitalist elements in our country? It means the weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the increase of the chances of restoration of capitalism. Therefore, the victory of the right deviation in our party would mean the accumulation of conditions, necessary for the restoration of capitalism in our country."

Substitute the name Trotsky for Stalin and you have the Thermidor theory in its full bloom. The National Committee fails to note these deviations. In that measure it fails to give the proletariat leadership which is expected of them. It fails to see the political reasons for the present Stalin regime. The disagreements are political and they deserve a political answer. The National Committee must come forth with a new resolution. Comrade Lovestone in the face of all these facts declares that the present leadership is "historically inevitable and correct." Is it, Comrade Lovestone?

The present difficult in the Soviet Union give a lot of joy to the bourgeois world. They begin to create sentiment against the Soviet

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How Pres. Lindeloff Sold Out the Painters

by H. Edwards

The article below is the concluding article in the series on the New York painters strike by H. Edwards—Editor.

On the fourth week of the painters strike the City Council of the Alteration Painters Union issued another leaflet in which it denounced the strike and the demand of an \$11.20 wage-scale as a 'fake'. As "militants" they made the discovery that "one of the main objects of the District Council was to break the Alteration Painters Union. Under the leadership of this union many strikes were conducted and in every case conditions of the workers were improved."

The party press dared not come out with the official splitting policy. But a few days after the appearance of this leaflet, when the strikers were met on many jobs of the Association employers by the Lepke-Garrahan gang, who were hired by the employers to break the strike, this leaflet, more elaborated, was published in the "Morning Freiheit" of September 4, 1932, as an article under the name of Joe Harris, organizer of the Alteration Painters Union.

The secretary of the Alteration Painters Union was very effectively utilized by the right wing and underworld elements to attack the Communists and the Communist "union" as official scab agencies, whose activities against the strike made it necessary to accept a two-scale agreement in order to be able to organize the alteration trade. Some sections of the Jewish members, who still remember the old Charlie Meyers scab union and its role in the painting trade, now resumed by the Alteration Painters Union, were misled to vote in favor of the two scales of wages. But, regardless of all schemes used to trick the membership into voting for the acceptance of a two-scale wage agreement, it was rejected overwhelmingly in the referendum vote.

Ed. Ackerley Tries To Put It Over Vice-President Ed. Ackerley did not disappoint those who "elected" him to such a high position in the Brotherhood of Painters. Without making the slightest pretense of representing the workers, he carried out the deals of his chief, President Lindeloff, with the employers.

As vice-president, Ed. Ackerley had full power to negotiate and conclude agreements with the employers, without having them approved by the District Council delegates and the general membership. Yet, after signing the agreement with the employers, in which, as pre-arranged by the Lindeloff-Norman deal, the interests of the workers were sold out by establishing, besides the two scales of wages, also a third scale for painting done in the mills on manufactured parts (doors, bases, castings, sash, closets, etc.) and also by abolishing the extra pay for overtime, he proceeded to reorganize the District Council so that it should not be able to offer any opposition to his and the employers' schemes.

Mr. Ackerley discovered that there was too much "democracy" in the District Council as originally constituted! Because there were some left wing and progressive delegates who bitterly opposed and exposed his treachery, he ordered the regular District Council elected by the membership, to meet once

City Elections In Germany

Berlin, Germany. The municipal elections in Thuringia that took place on December 4 are of very great significance to the German working class. The total vote fell about 20% as compared with the Reichstag elections on November 6. The Nazis lost 23.3%, thus registering a relative as well as absolute loss. The Social-democratic vote fell 13.3% and the Communist Party vote 10.5%, in both cases a relative gain. The Communist Opposition, on the other hand, which ran candidates in only a few places (because of inadequate organizational resources), registered a big increase, absolutely and relatively, frequently doubling its vote and sometimes increasing it on an even greater scale. In those places where it ran, the Communist Opposition won 21 mandates while the official C. P. obtained only 38 in the official C. P. obtained only 38 in (Oberloeda and Untermoltitz) members of the Communist Opposition headed a joint ticket with the official Communist Party and were elected.

The centrist Socialist Workers party, the leaders of which are always sneering at the organizational weakness of the Opposition, fell far behind the Opposition in the elections. In Arnstadt the C. W. P. received 343; in Weimar, the C. P. O. got 691 votes, the S. W. P. 199; and so on.

But Meets With Defeat However, the appointment of Zausner and the abolition of all rights of the membership aroused the membership in all localities. When the latest actions of Ackerley became known the membership refused to accept them, they demanded the immediate withdrawal of Ackerley and the withdrawal of all power from him, the withdrawal of Zausner, the reinstatement of the District Council to its full rights, and the rejection of the Ackerley sell-out agreement. The resentment of the workers was so high that Mr. Ackerley was forced to recall his friend Phil Zausner, and to reinstate the regular District Council to its functions. He also found it proper to declare his intention of leaving New York.

To cover his forced retreat, Ackerley issued a statement declaring that he would restore democracy in the union provided the District Council would honor the "agreement" which he signed with the employers, and threatened to return and act with full power, if this agreement would be infringed.

Conditions Today The conditions of the workers in the trade, since the betrayal of the strike, are growing worse every day. The District Council and its secretary, Dave Shapiro, have abandoned all efforts to organize their locals and to be financed by a special tax of fifty cents per week on all those who work more than two days a week, he fails to make clear what the present paid staff of secretary and business agents are needed for. The pres-

Some Reports of the Lovestone Tour

DETROIT

Detroit, Michigan. Well over 1,000 people gathered here on Sunday evening, December 18, to hear Jay Lovestone speak on the subject of "Hitler and Hitlerism" under the auspices of the People's Forum. Lovestone traced the rise of the Nazi movement back to its basic historical factors. He carefully analyzed the parts played by the various political forces in the country, emphasizing especially policies of the Social-democratic leaders which practically opened the way for Fascism. He sharply criticized the sectarian tactics of the German Communist Party which made the establishment of a united labor front extremely difficult. A good section of the audience was composed of adherents of the various working class organizations, of the I. W. W., the Socialist party, the Anarchist groups, and the Communist Party. The members of the official Communist Party present did not in the least challenge Lovestone's analysis. A number of Nazi sympathizers were also at the meeting.

FORT WAYNE, IND.

Fort Wayne, Indiana. On Wednesday evening, December 21, Jay Lovestone addressed a select group of workers here on the rise of the Communist move-

Harlem Unemployed Win Relief Demands

A Report

The account below was sent out by the Harlem Branch of the Association of the Unemployed to the press.—Editor.

New York City A delegation of seven unemployed workers was elected by the Harlem Branch of the Association of the Unemployed to go to the Home Relief Bureau of the Home Relief Buro.

One case was that of a man who was receiving a weekly food ticket from the Buro for himself, his wife and his child but who within four weeks, had to move four different times because the Home Relief Buro had failed to pay his rent. This unemployed family was told by the present landlord that they would have to move again if no rent was forthcoming.

Another case was that of a man with a wife and three small children, who had filed an application for relief almost three weeks before and had heard nothing about it since. The third case was that of a veteran who had filed an application for relief in September and who also had not received any relief. On arriving at the Buro at East 125th Street, we were told by the attendant at the door to take our place on a long line which had been formed by hungry and needy people waiting to gain entrance. This we refused to do. We told him we were a delegation of the Association of the Unemployed and demanded the right to see the supervisor of the Buro. He whispered something to the policeman stationed inside the door and, when the policeman saw the delegation, we were directed upstairs and ushered into a spacious room where hundreds of unemployed workers were gathered, some having applications for relief made out, others being interviewed, the majority of them, however, patiently waiting for their turn to have their cases considered. A "bouncer" directed us to some seats. We declined to accept his "hospitality" and insisted on seeing the supervisor. He finally reported our presence to a straw boss who came to us and asked us our mission. We told him. He disappeared and returned in a few minutes and invited two spokesmen from our delegation to go in to see the supervisor. He informed us that the delegation consisted of seven, not two, and demanded that the entire delegation be permitted to see the supervisor. After convincing him of our determination he yielded to this demand.

The Results Inside we presented our demands to the supervisor and the net results are as follows: 1. The supervisor called in the investigator handling the case of the client needing rent and instructed him to make out a rent ticket for the client. 2. In the case where the applicant had filed an application almost three weeks ago the supervisor ordered that his case be investigated of that day with a promise of food. 3. In the case of the veteran his application was dug up right then and there and the supervisor promised to see to it that he get immediate relief. A 100% victory for the delegation! As we left the building we noticed the same long line of hungry and cold unemployed workers still waiting, the only difference was—that the line had grown longer!

Voluntary Contribution

But what really made the stock brokers cheer their "patriotic" heads off, was when Harvey D. Gibson announced that 12,000 employees of R. H. Macy and Company had "made a spontaneous offer to contribute." Every worker knows how "spontaneous" the offer was. Macy's offers a slice of the meager pay of their employees as the patriots of the stock exchange did their sacrificing during the war. "I give my boy to my country," said they—but forgot to add: "office boy."

The Christmas Eve Dance In New York

New York City. Over 300 people, largely sympathizers of the Communist Opposition, were present at the dance given by the "Workers Age" on Saturday evening, December 24, 1932. The striking features of the affair were two very clever improvisations by some Group Theatre actors and a dance by Ida Sawyer.

WANTED: Copies of Revolutionary Age, Vol. II, No. 14, March 7, 1931, to complete sets for binding. Comrades having any copies of this number bring or send them to

On December 27, A. Rainey, secretary of the Chicago organization of the Communist Opposition spoke before the meeting of the Workers League. About fifty were present. The subject was "The Crisis and Unemployment."

What Price Philippines?

(Continued from page 3) taking no long chance in saying that Mr. Simms knows perfectly well that two years later, in 1898, Aguinaldo and his staff were brought back to Manila on the U. S. gunboat McCulloch, that American naval authorities engineered a "revolt" to oust the Spaniards and to make the Philippines safe for American imperialism.

From August 13 to September 8, 1898, American troops under General Merritt and Filipino troops under Aguinaldo jointly occupied Manila. On September 8, with the Spaniards definitely defeated, General Otis ordered 'Aguinaldo to withdraw under threat of "forcible action" Mr. Simms is not unaware of the orders of President McKinley sent to General Otis to extend his military rule to the entire archipelago, "to sedulously maintain the strong arm of authority, to repress disturbance and to overcome all obstacles to the bestowal of the blessings of good and stable government upon the people of the Philippine Islands under the free flag of the United States."

It was in order to cram the "blessings" of the "free flag of the United States" down the throats of the Filipinos that the U. S. A. first engineered a revolt and then used its might to suppress it. It took 122,000 soldiers and millions in money to make the Philippines safe for the American bankers.

Charging The Filipinos For Enslaving Them 2. The United States, says Mr. Simms, maintains in the Philippine Islands a garrison of 12,000, which 5,000 are U. S. Regulars and 7,000 Philippine Scouts. The United States pays all expenses of this military force besides a naval outlay of \$3,000,000 a year. From this he concludes that it is not being interviewed, the majority of them, however, patiently waiting for their turn to have their cases considered. A "bouncer" directed us to some seats. We declined to accept his "hospitality" and insisted on seeing the supervisor. He finally reported our presence to a straw boss who came to us and asked us our mission. We told him. He disappeared and returned in a few minutes and invited two spokesmen from our delegation to go in to see the supervisor. He informed us that the delegation consisted of seven, not two, and demanded that the entire delegation be permitted to see the supervisor. After convincing him of our determination he yielded to this demand.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

What to Do?

by Bertram D. Wolfe

We conclude below the series of articles by Bertram D. Wolfe, "What the Communist Opposition Stands For".

A WORD TO HESITATERS

The party officials did not limit themselves to the expulsion of conscious elements fighting to correct the line of the party. They expelled hundreds for merely questioning or doubting. They repulsed thousands by their stupid tactics. They demoralized countless loyal, old members who grew disgusted and dropped out. These forces stand now on the side-lines watching our struggles and the party's blunders, demoralized, without hope. They wish for correction of the party line as for a miracle but they do nothing about it. To them I say, quoting an old proverb: "Expect poison from standing water."

Look out lest you wait so long away from the stream of struggle that you indeed become a stagnant pool. "He who desires, but acts not breeds pestilence." The true Communist is one whose desire is harnessed to his will and directed by his understanding. The sooner you join us and the harder you work with us, the sooner will our fight be crowned with victory and the painful period of party blunder and isolation be over, the sooner will party unity be restored and the party begin to go forward.

ON COMMUNIST UNITY

The Communist Opposition stands unwaveringly for the reuniting of the Communist movement. There are two possible roads to unity. One is the road offered by the official leadership of the party and the International. First, we are asked to renounce ourselves as "renegades" and "counter-revolutionists" and thereby proclaim our "fitness" for membership and end our usefulness to the working class forever. Second, we are asked to drop our struggle for the correction of the line of the party and thereby connive at the injury that the present leadership is doing to the party and the cause of Communism. The other road to unity, our own road, is the road of restoration of party democracy, a full and free dis-

The Ozarks

THE OZARKS, by Vance Randolph. The Vanguard Press, New York, 1931.

An interesting but very superficial sketch of the manners and customs of the curious people of the isolated regions of the Ozarks. Mr. Randolph discusses such matters as the Ozarkers food, clothing, family relations, songs and amusements, religious ideas, superstitions, dialect, fishing and moon-shining, but he does not find it necessary to say anything at all about the character of their economic life or of their political institutions, which are, after all, the two most fundamental aspects of social existence. Nevertheless, the book is well worth reading for those who want to "See America First."

X. Y. Z. The return to a Leninist policy will guarantee the consolidation of the party membership, of the entire working class, will strengthen the alliance between the working class and the middle peasantry, which will protect the Soviet Union against all its enemies. In a large measure it will help in establishing unity on a world scale and to make all the Communist parties of the Communist International an effective weapon for performing its historical mission—the overthrow of capitalism and the institution of a Soviet system the world over.

YOUNG COMMUNIST

Issued monthly by the Communist Youth Opposition of the U.S.A. 5c a copy—50c a year 228 Second Avenue New York City

Slavery in the U. S. A.

(Continued from Page 3) before election by President Hoover to investigate the charges, was reported one month later as "without funds" or definite authorization to proceed."

A Program of Action These horrible conditions of peonage and slavery will not be ended unless the voice of thousands of men and women throughout the country is raised in determined protest. Such a movement to be effective, must be united, non-partisan and non-political in character, representing the sentiment of individuals and organizations in every part of the land; it must especially attempt to win the support of the labor organizations. Such a movement, established solely on the basis of the common desire of its participants to end the atrocious slavery on the Mississippi, could be launched with the following objectives:

1. The abolition of the contract system. All workers for such projects must be hired directly by the government.
2. An increase in wages in accordance with prevailing rates and with a decent standard of living.
3. The 8-hour day.
4. Sanitary living quarters for the workers.
5. The abolition of the commissary system, whereby the workers are compelled to buy all their supplies from company stores at high prices.
6. No discrimination because of race or color.
7. No infringement of the personal or civil liberties of the workers.

Union in the Far East. He talks of Manila as a "distributing center" and casts longing eyes towards the mineral and agricultural possibilities of Kamchatka and the Cordillera Mountains, "twelve miles the storehouse of coming years for American enterprises!"

The Philippines And War

Even greater is the importance

"Historically Inevitable"

(Continued from page 5) et Union. The Mensheviks are again beginning their speculations. How soon?

Once more will the enemies of the Soviet Union be disappointed. The proletariat of the Soviet Union, encircled from the outside by imperialism, aided from the inside by counter-revolutionaries, will immediately see the danger. We have the faith in the membership of the C. P. S. U., that understanding these dangers, they will, under the leadership of the true followers of Lenin, change the policies and the leadership.

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COMMUNIST PARTY (Opposition) 228 Second Avenue, New York City. I am in agreement with the principles of the Communist Party Opposition and wish to enlist in its struggle for a Leninist line of action, for the unification of the party and the Communist International, and for the unity of all workers in the class struggle. Name _____ Address _____ City _____ State _____

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VOL. 2, No. 7.

January 15, 1933.

THE EVENTS IN ALABAMA

CAMP HILL—July 1931! Tallapoosa County—December 1932!
The recent occurrences in Tallapoosa County, Alabama, culminating in a murderous attack of the local authorities, aided by a lynch gang, upon a group of Negro farmers who had the temerity to resist seizure of their farming implements and livestock and to organize a Share-Croppers Union in their own defense, are developments of deep significance. Taken together with the tragedy at Camp Hill a year and a half ago, they cast a revealing light on certain profound changes that are taking place in American social life, changes that are nowhere being appreciated as their deep import would seem to merit.

What is happening today in Alabama and in the deep South? For the first time in fifty years, for the first time since the few brief hours of freedom during Reconstruction days, the Negroes in the depths of the Black Belt are rousing themselves to independent action in open defiance of the white slave masters. They are daring to organize leagues to defend their economic interests. They are daring to take a stand in resistance to the merciless exploitation that has been their lot for generations. They are daring to speak out for themselves as Negroes and as toilers. And the astonished fury with which the white masters are meeting this unheard-of turn in events is convincing proof of how vitally it has hit them.

For the first time in fifty years the authentic voice of freedom is arising from the depths of the Black Belt. The first real outburst of slave revolt in half a century! To the Communists belongs the inestimable distinction of having served as the instrument of history in these momentous developments. For it was the Communist Party that led the Camp Hill share-croppers last July and it was the Communist Party that organized the share-croppers in Tallapoosa County in recent months. Yet such is the sterility and ideological paralysis induced by the false general tactics of the Communist Party today that precisely the official Communist press seems least able to appreciate the events in Alabama for what they really are.

The official American labor movement has hitherto maintained an attitude of the most callous unconcern for the miseries and struggles of the Southern share-croppers, black and white. What concern indeed have the self-complacent craft union leaders for the desperate plight of starving masses living under conditions of virtual peonage? What concern have the "lordly white" for the desperate plight of some millions of miserable "niggers"? To the shabby pride of craft is added the poisonous prejudice of race! And yet, among the rank and file of the American trade unionists today, hard pressed by the attacks of capital and increasingly ready to embark upon more militant action, it would not be so difficult to evoke sympathy and solidarity for the awakening Negro toilers of the South did not the official Communist Party, upon whom falls the great responsibility in this case, obstinately divorce itself from the real labor movement in this country thru its sectarian tactics and thus deliberately deprive itself of whatever progressive influence it might exercise in the present situation.

All signs point to the fact that the long inertia of the Negro toiling masses in the South is about breaking. A new era of slave revolts is on the order of the day. But history does not stand still. The struggle of the new emancipation is no longer taking place, as it did seventy years ago, under the flag of the bourgeoisie, which has today lost every vestige of progressive tendency and has made common cause with everything that is old, outlived and reactionary. It is proceeding under the inspiration of the revolutionary proletariat, the dauntless champion of all the exploited, of all oppressed, of all the unprivileged!

THE ILLINOIS MINE DISASTER

THE awful mine disaster in Moweaqua, Illinois, which has sent a shudder thru the country, should give the workers much cause for thought. On Christmas Eve, fifty-four miners were entombed by an explosion in an old mine engaged in some "self-help" unemployment "relief" scheme. As we write, hardly five have any hope of survival. Another "mine disaster," the press cold-bloodedly reports... coal mining is "hazardous..." "inevitable..."

Between two and three thousand lives have been lost every year in the coal mines in the last two decades, altho the total number of miners has been on the average only about 700,000. Competent estimates place the proportion of "avoidable" deaths close to 70%. Thirty-five thousand miners lives, therefore, might have been saved by the strict enforcement of existing safety regulations, by the full utilization of our present technical knowledge in this direction, meager as it may be. These lives were sacrificed on the altar of the murderous greed of the mine operators whose consistent policy it has been to reduce safety expenses to the minimum, to disregard legal regulations by getting the authorities to look the other way, to jeopardize human lives for the sake of profit!

How ghastly is the grim joke about the "risks" the capitalists take in industry! For allegedly "risking" their capital—the apologists of the system of wage slavery tell us—the exploiters are entitled to live in luxury off the toil of millions. What, then, is the reward of the miner who actually risks his very life every time he leaves the surface of the earth? A mere starvation pittance, continually cut down—because, you must know, it is really the mine owner on Wall Street or in Palm Beach who "takes the risks!"

Some Thoughts from the Senate Gallery

by Calvin R. Hoover

(Extracts from the Senate proceedings are quoted from the Congressional Record, Proceedings of the 72d Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 75, No. 33, Page 2801.)

... and there they are. The Seats of the Mighty. The Fathers of the Nation. Beneath this same roof rang the voices of Daniel Webster, Henry Clay and James C. Calhoun, Links with a mighty past.

Who's that one there? That gentleman with the cultured, refined features? The soft persuasive voice? Oh, yes, Senator Neely, of West Virginia. He's speaking. Listen a minute:

"Mr. President, from the North to the South, from the East to the West, in every place in which newspapers circulate and information and pleasure ride upon the wings of the printed page..."

There's eloquence and ability... a pleasing delivery... a mind to solve the problems of the Nation... listen further...

... in every place in which humanity lives and labors and loves, yesterday was a red letter day."

What's he talking about? Yesterday? Hm-m I don't remember. Must have been some unnoticed event whose historical significance failed to register on my limited mentality. Takes a smart man like a United States Senator to catch and winnow and interpret the chaffy grist that Time blows along these days. Well, wonder what it was HE saw that I failed to notice? He's going on:

"It revived no memories of camps and sieges and battles; it brought no reminders of wars or earthquakes or other calamities; it suggested no thoughts of the agonies of the wounded and dying."

Lord, how that man expresses himself. No doubt how he won his Senatorial toga! But what is he driving at? Go on:

"It was rich with memories as fragrant as the incense from censers carried by angels hands."

What a vocabulary! Wish I could express myself like that! But what does he mean? Must have been a turning point in some international crisis to inspire such language on the floor of the Senate of the United States. Well...? "Yesterday was the twentieth anniversary of..."

What now? Twentieth anniversary? World Court perhaps? No...

... the creation of Maggie and Jiggs, the world's most delightful comic strip, by..."

I knew I shouldn't have taken that second highball. Look what it's done to me now. Must be my hearing—or else—try again!

"Mr. George McManus, who, for a fifth of a century, has most industriously and successfully consecrated himself to the task of daily giving to hundreds of millions of men and women and children sunshine for their shadows, joy for their sorrows and smiles for their tears."

It's the highball. I guess! Or else I'm crazy as a bed-bug. Maybe somebody crossed the wires with a radio ad. No, that's Senator Neely all right. And he's going on.

"Since first the flight of years

began, countless thousands of monuments have been erected to commemorate the achievements of the world's good and great, wildernesses of 'storied urns and animated busts' have perpetuated their memories; on the banks of all historic rivers, such as the Euphrates, the Ganges, the Nile, the Seine and the Potomac, stately buildings, 'with spires and steeples crowned' have been dedicated to their glory..."

Yes, that must have been it. Some radio broadcast interfered and had me dizzy for a minute. What a colossal jest! And here's Senator Neely devoting his eloquence and fire to... what? Well, I'm not just sure yet. Go on:

"As a rule 'the temple of fame stands upon the grave,' and those who have accomplished great things return to the silent dust before they are appreciated by their fellows. Martyrs, benefactors and heroes seldom live to see themselves in bronze and marble..."

Sounds like a tribute to a great colleague—or perhaps some President. And Patrick Henry couldn't have done it better. But who is he talking about? Ah, that gesture. He's going to name him. Now:

"But GEORGE McMANUS, who is happily in the very prime of life... has erected his own memorial monuments, statues and temples..."

Oh, Lord, again. It MUST have been that highball. I'll bet there was a hasheesh in it. But no—there are smiles on the floor. God forbid, but I AM hearing straight!

... not in public places, not on mountain tops, not on river banks, but in the throbbing hearts of the unnumbered millions, who love him beyond the power of expression..."

Maybe it's a joke! Maybe he's being facetious. They're laughing in the press gallery. But then those damned newspapermen never take anything seriously. Perhaps I haven't a proper sense of values. After all, who am I to sit in judgement on a United States Senator? Well—

"Mr. McManus, with a soaring imagination, a clear head, a happy heart, a cunning hand and a facile pen for his obedient servants..."

Yes, I guess I was hasty. I've never thought seriously enough about these things. I never realized before how important a comic strip artist was in the scheme of things. I see my mistake now. It's all in the scale of values... Go on, Senator:

... and the preeminently great INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE as the world wide distributor of his joyous handiwork..."

International News Service? Oh, yes, that's the William Randolph Hearsts service. String of papers from coast to coast.

But I didn't know he had any in West Virginia. Oh, well!

... has made the lovable Mr. Jiggs and the irritating but indispensable Maggie part and parcel of the daily life of all the children of men.

"We hope that Mr. Jiggs and the



CARTAS INTIMAS (Intimate Letters), by V. I. Lenin. Translated by Andreas Nin. Cenit, Madrid, 1931.

This volume of Lenin's letters covers the quarter century from 1894 thru 1919. The letters are addressed to his mother, his sisters, to other members of the family and to N. K. Krupskaya, and were written from prison and from exile. They are grouped as follows: 1894-1897: from St. Petersburg, Paris and Berlin; 1897-1900: Siberia; 1900-1902: Austria and Germany; 1902-1903: England; 1904: Switzerland; 1907: Finland; 1908: Geneva; 1909-1912: Paris; 1912-1914: Cracow; 1915-1917: Switzerland; 1917 (Sept.): Helsingfors; 1919: Moscow.

The most extensive correspondence covers the years 1897-1900 while Lenin was in Siberia preparing his two most important works, "The Development of Capitalism in Russia" and his "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism." These letters deal principally with continuous requests for material which he needed in their preparation.

All the other letters of this volume reveal Lenin's great hunger for books and for all kinds of material on practical problems as well as theoretical ones. The strange absence of political and party discussions is explained by Krupskaya in the last letter in which she describes the rigid censorship of Czarist Russia and where she tells that all letters dealing with party and politics were written in invisible ink and destroyed upon reading.

We find in this series a Lenin, at home, brought close to us. We see his extraordinary stability in his personal relations, his family's complete sympathy with his revolutionary aims. We are deeply stirred by the firmness of his convictions and his great calm, whether in prison, in Siberia or in exile on the continent. We are moved by the superhuman tenacity with which, under the most adverse circumstances, he stayed with each task until completed. His periods of rest and relaxation were few with those he took in the outdoors. A sunset, a mountain, a tree—were his great delights. But even in those quiet moments this dynamo was dreaming of a better world and constantly generating forces for the building of it.

—e. w.

luscious corned beef and cabbage which he has rescued from oblivion..."

You missed a bet there, Senator. Might have made it eternal oblivion.

"... may be as eternal as the everlasting hills..."

My error! You were going to use eternal four words later. Well, it just shows how presumptuous it is for ME to criticize a United States Senator, whose mind is polished by wrestling with international problems. To continue:

"... and we fervently wish Mr. McManus, the greatest apostle of mirth of all the ages..."

Which disposes of Mark Twain, Charley Chaplin, Joe Cook and Aristophanes all at one sweep. But go on:

"... perfect health and immeasurable happiness to the end of his days and a life so very long that, in comparison to him, Methuselah, with all his years, will seem like a babe in arms."

Oh, hell!

But what's this? Another speaker? The Vice-President.

"The morning business is closed."

And who said the Vice-President doesn't earn HIS salary?

Which reminds me; Wonder what a Senator gets? Lets see. \$25,000 a year for a session that averages six months. Must be about \$2,000 a week.

Well, they earn it—wrestling with international problems that way and, Gosh yes, listening to other Senators talk.

JAY LOVESTONE

Communist Party, U. S. A. (Opposition)

will speak on

"WHITHER THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT"

THURSDAY, JANUARY 12th, 1933—7 P. M.

at Labor Temple

242 E. 14th Street, New York City