



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

# WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Five Cents

## New Deal Rule Is Upset Again

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

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

According to the figures of the Dep't of Agriculture, the program of crop destruction resulted in an artificial rise of commodities at the point of production—but also a much greater rise at the point of consumption. The prices received by the farmers stood at 100 (1909-14 being the base years) on Dec. 15, 1935. However, the price for the things they had to buy, stood, on the same date and with the same base years, at 122! Nor is this all. With the inclusion of interest on debt and taxes, the index of farmers' costs had risen, under the same conditions, to 126! Thus, despite all administration ballyhoo, the agricultural crisis was absolutely worse.

This means that crop destruction and benefits played mostly into the hands of the cotton textile magnates who were able to jack up their selling prices while decreasing the wages of their workers, and the big farmers, who had good land, and being able to afford modern improvements, increased the yield per acre. The mass of the farmers suffered foreclosure, or were driven out of the process of production when their lands were declared sub-marginal. Why it was that the big farmers gained, can be seen from the following official figures: In 1929, 44,500,000 acres were planted, with a yield of 159 lbs. per acre, giving a total of 14,800,000 bales. But in 1933, the first

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## Why Is the Comintern Silent?

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

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

To All Sections of the International Communist Opposition:

Dear Comrades:

The communication of November 13, 1935\* addressed to the Executive Committee of the Communist International by the International Communist Opposition conference has not been answered within the time limit proposed in that letter. All of which means that the ECCI has again rejected negotiations for communist unity with the ICO and its affiliated sections.

At the same time, the leadership of both the German and American Communist Parties have made a number of attempts to win over individual comrades or local organizations from the Opposition for unconditional return to the Communist Parties. These maneuvers have failed miserably.

The fact that these maneuvers occurred simultaneously and were identical in the various countries, leads us to believe that these Parties acted in accordance with instructions handed down by the ECCI itself; namely, to refuse negotiations with the Communist Opposition and to attempt to disrupt and smash its organizations.

In Czechoslovakia the Central Committee asked our organization in Asch to enter the Party, but immediately withdrew this proposal when it learned that our comrades had conducted a critical discussion of the resolutions of the Seventh World Congress and their

### PEOPLE'S FRONT ON WENZEL SQUARE

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

"Demonstrations were held at the Wenzelplatz in the evening. . . .

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

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

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

In his summary, Comrade Dimitroff said the following:

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

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

Dimitroff said further:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## Omaha Car Men In Bomb Frame-Up

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

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

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

## GREEN PLACES JOBLESS AT 11,672,000

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

Mr. Green also called attention to the growth of child labor in the textile industry in New Jersey and North Carolina. Other states as New York and California show the same tendency.

The ratification of the child labor amendment would halt this condition, said Green.

## AMERICAN LEAGUE HEARS LIQUIDATION PLEA AT CLEVELAND CONGRESS

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

The 3rd Congress of the American League held in Cleveland on January 3, 4, and 5th was another convincing illustration of its fatal weaknesses. Both the organizational status and the ideological deliberations at the congress made its limitations more than ever painfully apparent. The Congress attempted to give the appearance of a broad, non-partisan character, the reality was unfortunately quite different. The Congress was obviously composed in the main of two categories, communists and communist sympathizers on the one hand, and middle class elements on the other: religious, liberals, pacifists, professionals etc., with the former undoubtedly dominating. The ovation given the outstanding C.P.ers, upon their appearances on the stage (Browder and Hathaway) would dispel any doubts in this direction. They literally brought the house down. As to its composition, on the basis of its own figures (placarded dramatically on the stage at the end of the last session) the congress had only 197 delegates representing the trade unions out of a total delegation of 2201. More than 91% of the delegation was thus admittedly non-trade union.

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

It was all but drowned in a veritable tidal wave of religious, pacifist, liberal, humanitarian phrasology; freedom democracy, brotherhood of man, Statue of Liberty, Washington, Jefferson constitution, evils of war, evils of fascism, etc.

Smedley Butler, who is making quite a substantial racket out of "War is a Racket", was the chief speaker, and was put on the air. His incredible ranting hodge-podge, in which the only intelligible positive statement was to send telegrams to the president, was a fitting end to an evening of such ideological fare. The whole travesty was an inevitable result of the character of a movement without anchor in a firm proletarian base, and swollen out of all proportion with middle class influence. A sharp symbol of the fatal dualism which grips the League, C.P. controlled on the one hand, and on the other a pacifist outfit of the most nauseating sort, with patriotism, a la Smedley Butler thrown in to boot.

The Congress got down to business

### SOCIALISTS GIVE THE LIE TO THE DAILY WORKER

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

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

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

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

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

"American League is not now nor

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

He indicated the necessity for the dissolution of the League and called for building up anew a broad movement initiated by and based in the main on the trade unions, inclusive of working class political organizations and drawing behind it all other elements. Porter preceding Zimmerman also spoke about the necessity of building a broad movement based chiefly on the trade unions. After Zimmerman finished the fun began. Ben Gold of the Furriers launched into a vicious attack against Zimmerman. "Yes, we found it difficult to win workers from the trade unions to the League. But why is that? Because of the reactionary weight of the social reformist leadership of the trade unions, because the colleagues of Zimmerman are fighting against the movement, because Zimmerman himself is fighting against the League. He is frightened by the attempts in his union to elect delegates from the shops so he is squashing discussion, and threatening to penalize and suspend these workers. There is no democracy in his union. He's only an

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## THE FIRST \$1,000 ARE ON HAND

By Jay Lovestone

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

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

However, this is only a good beginning. We are far, still very far, alto-

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

Unless we hear from these workers soon, unless they send on something quickly we'll be up against it. This time the "we" means you as well. After all, the time is short. Before you know the two months will be over. Why delay doing that which you want to and should

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

1. Drop in on us and do your bit—Pitch in, do your share. If you're too busy or don't live in New York mail in your cash or check.

2. Then sound out at least one friend of yours on this idea: Tell him or her, you have given, why you have given, how glad you are to have given, and why he or she should do likewise—should

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## Mehring's Life of Marx Is an Indispensable Work

By JIM CORK

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

### FORMATIVE YEARS OF MARX

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

### MATURITY AND ACTION

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

\* Karl Marx, *The Story of His Life*, by Franz Mehring. Appendix by Eduard Fuchs. Translated by Edward Fitzgerald. Cowick Friede, 608 pp., \$5.00.

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

### MARX ON HERO CULT

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

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

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

### A FIGHTER FOR PRINCIPLE

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

## LOSING THEIR CHAINS... by James Sand

### The Anarchists in America

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

would be inclined . . . to accept the crown as the natural instrument of a social dictatorship (!!) . . . if the crown on its part could make up its mind to take the . . . step of adopting a really revolutionary and national policy and turn itself from a monarchy of the privileged classes into a social and revolutionary people's monarchy."

How thoroughly does this letter vindicate Marx's fear in regard to Lassalle that class compromise in politics would inevitably revenge itself and lead to a disastrously false relation to the existing state.

Similarly in the case of Bakunin, Meh-

ring does not see sufficiently the deep importance of the issues involved. Marx's sharp handling of Bakunin was determined by the necessity of keeping the principles of revolutionary socialism clear of the debilitating effects of unrealistic and nihilistic anarchism. And in that Marx also was correct.

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

The publishers, the translator, and especially Eduard Fuchs who made the translation possible, deserve the thanks of American radicals.

### Quotation Marks

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

PHILADELPHIA  
BERNARD HERMAN  
speaks on  
"Fascism and Democracy"  
On  
Sunday Feb. 2, 8 p. m.  
at  
329 PINE STREET  
Phila., Pa.  
Auspices: Phila. Section C.P.O.

HAVE YOU CONTRIBUTED  
TO \$5,000 FUND?

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

AUGUST BEBEL: Speech delivered at the Magdeburg Congress of the German Social Democratic Party, 1910.

## Luncheon-Symposium

Celebrating the Fifteenth Anniversary of

BROOKWOOD — LABOR'S OWN SCHOOL

Saturday, January 18, at 1 p. m.

Frank's Hofbrau, 1680 Broadway, NYC

Speakers: Thomas Kennedy, Francis V. Gorman, Tucker P. Smith

Tickets (\$1.00) on sale at the New Workers' School, 51 West 14 St.