

WORKERS WAVE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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Hitler in Power - Only United Front

THE Fascist reaction has vaulted into power in Germany.

With the monarchist Junker-militarist clique as their junior partner, the Nazis hold the German people by the throat with the clutch of bloody terror.

The program of Fascism in power is the program of trust capital, the program of the most concentrated capitalist reaction against the workers and the lower middle classes. Fascism in power means:

the suppression of all genuine organizations of labor,

the outlawing of the Communist and Social-democratic parties and the trade unions,

the banning of strikes and all independent labor action,

the enslavement of the workers thru labor conscription,

the establishment of an iron dictatorship of reaction and the destruction of all the civil liberties and political rights of the people,

the degradation of the living and working standards of the masses,

the rearming and revitalization of German imperialism,

the powerful strengthening of the capitalist front against the Soviet Union,

the menacing accentuation of the danger of a new world war.

Already, acting with lightning speed, Hitler has unleashed a bloody murder cam-

Can Save Labor! Nazi Terror Sweeps Germany!

paign all over the country, has practically banned the Communist Party and raided and seized its institutions, has prohibited both Communist and Social-democratic meetings, has suspended scores of labor newspapers, including the Communist "Rote Fahne" and the Social-democratic "Vorwaerts", has announced a "four-year plan" of labor conscription, involving the destruction of the trade unions, has already ruled off thirty of the smaller parties from the ballot. And the WAVE OF FASCIST REACTION HAS ONLY JUST BEGUN!

The triumph of Fascism uncovers the tragic situation in the German labor movement today. Disunited, demoralized, confused, misled, the powerful battalions of German labor stand helpless before their deadly foe. To the German Social-democracy, with its treacherous policy of coalition and "toleration", with its constant acceptance of the "lesser evil" to the point of

swallowing ever greater evils, falls the grave political responsibility of having disarmed the German workers and paved the way for Fascism. To the official Communist Party, with its refusal to recognize the menace of Fascism until the Nazis were at the gates of power, with its tactics of isolation, disunity and confusion, with its constant boastings of its parliamentary strength to the complete disregard of its pitiable weakness among the organized workers, falls the grave political responsibility of having failed to measure up to its role as the leading and uniting force in the the German working class. Only the German Communist Opposition raised the alarm in time, calling upon all forces of labor to join in a united anti-Fascist front that would have checked the Nazi bid for power and scotch-

ed the Fascist menace before it had time to grow dangerous.

If Fascism is now permitted to consolidate its power without effective opposition, all the gains won thru years of hard struggle of the German workers will be destroyed and the masses reduced to a serf-like existence. If Fascism is permitted to consolidate its power without effective opposition, the wave of reaction sweeping the capitalist world will be tremendously strengthened and the workers discouraged and demoralized in their resistance. In a very real way, the fate of the workers of the world is bound up with the fate of the German masses under the dark shadow of triumphant Fascism.

The only effective challenge to the Fascist domination of Germany can come from a united fighting front of the German labor movement, sufficiently vigorous and inspiring to draw large sections of the lower middle classes into the anti-Fascist front. All obstacles in the way of such a united fighting front must be swept aside and its realization speeded before it is too late. The only way of hope open to the German masses today is: the unity of all labor forces for a great nation-wide political general strike, which alone can stop the triumphal onward march of Fascism. The Social-democratic workers, in their own self-defense, must smash the opposition of their reactionary leaders to a united labor front and a gen-

(Continued on page 2)

BRIGGS, HUDSON MEN STRIKE

Thousands Strike In Auto Body Plants

Detroit, Mich.

Three thousand automobile workers came out on strike on February 7 at the Hudson Motor Car Company's plant here. The demands of the strikers include an increase in all day-rate, hour-rate and piece-rate wages, extra overtime and holiday work payments, the 8-hour day and the 5-day week, etc.

About 10,000 workers in the four plants of the Briggs Manufacturing Corporation, makers of automobile bodies, here took part in a vigorous strike in protest against "dead time" (lost time for piece workers) and a recent series of vicious wage-cuts.

The strike proceeded very vigorously under a militant leadership in which some Communists were included. At a very early stage it tied up a large section of the auto industry, involving 150,000 workers. In spite of ruthless terror, on the one hand, and hollow "concessions" on the other, the strike is still proceeding in full swing, with the workers determined to win their demands.

The Briggs and Hudson strikes are of great significance, quite apart from their own size and ramifications, because they represent typical examples of those sporadic outbursts of militancy that might be united and raised to a higher level of organized resistance did the American labor movement have an effective and fighting leadership.

For the Freedom of Tom Mooney!

We reproduce on this page the stirring call of Tom Mooney for a great nation-wide FREE TOM MOONEY CONGRESS, under the auspices of the Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee.

In the broad spirit of labor unity the call is addressed to every A. F. of L. union, local, district, state or national, to the railroad brotherhoods and all other labor unions, to all working class organizations, political, economic, defense, social, athletic, fraternal or cultural, and to all liberal organizations sympathetic to the workers. Only such a movement, with a scope extending far beyond any single party or tendency in the labor movement, is in a position to put up an effective fight for the release of Tom Mooney from a living grave!

The Communist Opposition enthusiastically endorses the call of Tom Mooney, addressed to it and other labor organizations, and pledges the most unstinted utilization of its resources and its energies to make the Free Tom Mooney Congress and the movement it represents a great success. It greets with especial satisfaction the genuinely broad united front character of the appeal.

ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATIONS AND MAKE ALL FUNDS PAYABLE TO

Tom Mooney
Molders' Defense Committee

P. O. BOX 119 B
SAN FRANCISCO
PHONE HE 1-2067

FORMED BY MEMBERS OF INTERNATIONAL MOLDERS' UNION 18A
TOM MOONEY - DIRECTOR

1918
"MOLDS" - "FRANK"

1932
"MOLDS" - "FRANK"

Communist Party, Majority Group
128 Second Ave.
New York, City.

Dear Comrades:

I hereby issue today, January 21, 1933, this call for a FREE TOM MOONEY CONGRESS, to be held at Chicago, April 30 to May 2, 1933, under the auspices of the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, to plan the final fight for my freedom. I appeal to every A. F. of L. union - local, district, state or national in its jurisdiction; to the railroad brotherhoods, and all other labor unions; to all working-class organizations - political, economic, defense, social, athletic, fraternal or cultural; and to all liberal organizations sympathetic to the workers - to elect two delegates from every local, lodge or section to attend this Congress.

Labor in the United States is being shoved headlong into a state of peonage which even the coolies and chattel slaves never knew, while a few international bankers are bedecorating the uncrowned kings of the world. Because I fought such conditions with every fiber of my being and was framed by the scoundrels of the working-class for so doing, because I have become the symbol of labor struggling for its rights, the fight for my freedom can become the center around which the workers will rally in their desperate struggle against unemployment, wage-cuts and starvation.

The FREE TOM MOONEY CONGRESS will link my fight with every struggle of the workers. Now is the time when there is desperate need to intensify the fight for the freedom of all class war prisoners, and against the ruthless intimidation and terrorization of workers regardless of race, creed, color or nationality. Every worker with a spark of military or revolutionary purpose or the smallest spark of self-respect, who is not a slave, who has a drop of red blood flowing in his veins, must now fight for his very life and that of his women and children. It is YOUR duty and responsibility to take part in this struggle.

Governor Ralph, the tool of the labor-hating bankers and industrialists, has decreed that I die in prison. This decision is a deliberate and insolent challenge to the entire labor movement. This challenge must be met. IT CAN and WILL be met by the FREE TOM MOONEY CONGRESS. The time has come when all organizations fighting for my freedom must be welded into the widest possible united front, whose might and aggressiveness will serve notice on my framers and jailers that my continued imprisonment will no longer be tolerated.

SELECT YOUR DELEGATES TO THE FREE TOM MOONEY CONGRESS!
ON TO CHICAGO, APRIL 30 TO MAY 2, 1933!

FORWARD TO: VICTORY!
Tom Mooney
FOR FREEDOM

THIS COMMITTEE IS THE ONLY ORGANIZATION AUTHORIZED TO COLLECT FUNDS FOR THE DEFENSE OF TOM MOONEY

BIG LABOR MEET IN LONDON

100,000 Protest "Means Test" For Jobless

London, England.

The biggest labor demonstration London has ever seen was held on February 5 in Hyde Park here. Nearly one-hundred thousand workers took part in a huge demonstration called by the Labor party, the trade unions, and the cooperative movement, to protest against the ultra-reactionary policies of the MacDonald Tory government.

The demonstration was primarily against the hated "means test" for the unemployed. The resolution protested against wage-cuts, condemned changes in jobless insurance schedules, called for a 40-hour week, and urged a new trade agreement with the Soviet Union.

Communist Party speakers set up platforms in Hyde Park and addressed the workers with the toleration of the Labor party leaders.

A decisive victory for the Fianna Fail party, President de Valera's organization, a victory that would have been a landslide but for the system of proportional representation, was the chief result of the Dail elections held on January 24. The pro-British Cosgrave Party, Cumann nan Gaedheal, lost considerably, while the Labor party won one seat. The recently organized Centre party, which set out to attract the peasants, could only muster ten seats.

The results of the Free State elections reflect the widespread unrest of the Irish workers, city lower middle classes and peasant masses and their demand for national liberation from the heel of British imperialism. The effect of the elections will certainly be to advance the struggle considerably.

On to Chicago, April 30 to May 2, 1933!

Join the Communist Opposition!

We publish below the statement of adherence to the Communist Opposition of Harry Fox, former member of the District Committee of the New York District of the Communist Party of the United States. Comrade Fox's experience, as recounted in his statement, should show the way to the hundreds and thousands of old party members who have dropped away in disgust at the sectarian policies and intolerable regime dominating the movement today—Editor.

STATEMENT OF HARRY FOX

February 1, 1933. Enclosed you will find my application for membership in the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Opposition).

Almost three years ago, together with hundreds of other comrades, I was expelled from the Communist Party of the U. S. A. for resisting the sectarian line which the Communist International was putting into effect in the Communist parties throughout the world.

The resistance offered by these comrades to this new line is fully justified by events today. The party today stands more isolated from the American worker than ever in its history. The party is weaker numerically and organizationally today than it was before adopting the new line. It has less members than it had before it expelled the founders and most experienced leaders of the party.

Despite the most favorable conditions, despite the attacks of the capitalist class upon the organizations and standards of living of the workers, the official Communist Party stands condemned today for the divisions which exist within the ranks of the Communist movement and also, thru its false sectarian line, it hinders the united front of the working class against the attacks of the bourgeoisie. Its policy of organizing dual unions and abandoning work in the conservative unions, has completely segregated it into a sect without influence upon the course of events in this country.

How does the present leadership of the party explain the fact that, after four years of work in favorable conditions for the growth of the party, it has today less members than it had prior to the new line? How does it explain the fact that today the party controls and leads no mass organizations of workers?

The dual unions that the party claims to control today (National Miners Union, Needle Workers Industrial Union, etc.) are nothing but paper organizations. They include only Communists and very few even close sympathizers. Their main function seems to be to make mass unions, to call opposition strikes when the A. F. of L. union call strikes, to divide the unity of the workers and to withdraw every worker from the existing unions as soon as he becomes sympathetic to the Communist movement.

Within the party itself there is absolute stagnation. No discussion on fundamental questions is permitted by the clique leadership which hands down all orders from above without consideration of issues by the membership. The leadership of the party has narrowed down to a small group of comrades who brook no honest discussions on the part of the party members. For anyone to raise any question which is not in full agreement with the present line is to be branded as a "renegade" and expelled from the party. To merely question or doubt is to invite

expulsion. Since the expulsion of the leading comrades (Lovestonites) from the party, they have, thru the Communist Party (Opposition), carried on a consistent struggle for maintaining the correct Leninist line as against the false line of the present official Communist movement.

Comrades, Ever since I was expelled from the party I have not been connected with our movement. I offer no excuse or justification for my staying away. I am one of the many old party members who grew disgusted and demoralized with the tactics of the party and simply stayed away.

I appeal to these countless party members and sympathizers who long for the correction of the party line, to join the ranks of the Communist Party (Opposition) which today stand unwaveringly for the unity of the Communist movement and for the return of the party to the Leninist line.

HARRY FOX

800 PROFESSORS FOR SOVIET RECOGNITION

Washington, D. C.

Over eight hundred college professors of this country have signed their names to a petition addressed to President-elect Roosevelt urging the immediate diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States government. These eight hundred professors come from 268 colleges in forty-five states. The petition movement was initiated by the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

It is characteristic of the utter reactionary character of the American Federation of Labor that, on the same day that these liberal scholars and educators issued their appeal for Soviet recognition, Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, reiterated the bitter anti-Soviet position of the A. F. of L. officials, opposing recognition at all costs. But it will not be long before the awakening membership of the A. F. of L. will make these reactionary officials eat their words on Soviet recognition just as they have already done on compulsory government jobless insurance.

New Workers School

228 Second Avenue
New York City

MID-WINTER TERM, 1933

WORLD LABOR PERSPECTIVES, by Jay Lovestone

Friday 8:45 P. M. begin Feb. 10. Single Admission: 25c

MARXIAN ECONOMICS II, by Bertram D. Wolfe.

Tuesday 8:45 P. M. begin Feb. 13. \$2.50

SCIENCE FOR WORKERS, by Maxwell C. Stewart

Tuesday 8:45 P. M. begin Feb. 13. \$2.50

FUNDAMENTALS OF COMMUNISM, by D. Benjamin

Friday 7:30 P. M. begin Feb. 17. \$2.50

COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, by B. Herman

Thursday 8:45 P. M. begin Feb. 16. \$2.50

COMMUNIST STRATEGY AND TACTICS, by Alex Bail

Tuesday 7:15 P. M. begin Feb. 13. \$2.50

MARXISM AND AMERICAN HISTORY, by Jim Cork

Thursday 7:15 P. M. begin Feb. 16. \$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

Tuesday 7:15 P. M. begin Feb. 13. \$2.50

THEORETICAL SYSTEM OF MARXISM, by Will Herberg

Thursday 7:15 P. M. begin Feb. 16. \$2.50

TRADE UNION PROBLEMS & TACTICS, by Will Herberg

Friday 7:15 P. M. begin Feb. 17. \$2.50

REGISTRATIONS BEGIN JAN. 1.

The World of Labor

Split Looming in Socialist Party

New York City. The struggle of tendencies within the Socialist party has grown noticeably sharper in the last few weeks and signs are not absent of an approaching split. The conflict at the present stage centers around the trade union question. The ultra-opportunistic Hillquit-Oneal wing, officially leading the party today, has been conducting an extremely conservative course in the trade unions, bowing down abjectly before the reactionary anti-Socialist A. F. of L. bureaucracy, opposing all signs of progressive and left wing opposition in the unions, even siding with the racketeer elements in some cases (Moving Picture Union and Local 306, etc.), and all under the cloak of the threadbare theory of "neutrality"! The Thomas wing, which, in alliance with Western Populist-Socialism and the Milwaukee brand of municipal reformism, is in substantial control of the party, has taken a position essentially corresponding to its petty bourgeois radical character: against racketeering, for clean, honest, "progressive" unionism but also more or less explicitly in favor of dual unionism and union splitting in some cases. The "Militants," here as everywhere deluded by the radical phraseology of Thomas, are captives in the train of the Thomas faction.

At the recent session of the N.E.C. of the S.P. in Baltimore, Hillquit's deciding vote as National Chairman defeated Thomas's proposal for the endorsement of the dualist Progressive Miners of America. Certain trade unionists (such as Jasper McLevy of Connecticut and Charles H. Williams of Massachusetts) voted against his proposals because of their dual unionist character. Only a few weeks after the action of the N.E.C., Thomas publicly announced his determination to flout the decision of the party committee and proceeded to Illinois for a series of meetings. The "Thomas case" is now before the party committee for action at its next meeting.

Meanwhile the battle between the S.P. Labor Committee, headed by Thomas, and the Socialist Workers' Party, headed by Hillquit, is in progress. The Thomas forces operate mainly thru the League for Industrial Democracy and the various relief bodies. It is taking on acute form. Beardsley has accused Thomas of "interfering" in union matters and of "helping the Communists." On the other hand, McAister Coleman, Thomas spokesman, has sharply criticized the Labor Committee and its destructive activities, characterizing the Hillquit faction as a "small clique of petty jobbers who have taken over the technique of the reactionary labor leaders."

At the New York City convention of the Young People Socialist League during the week-ends of January 28-29 and February 4-5, the trade union question played a big role. Here the Thomas faction was triumphant. (A full report

of the Y.P.S.L. convention will appear in the "Age" in the next issue.—Editor.)

Of course, neither side has adopted a really revolutionary Socialist, i.e., Marxian, position which is to fight with all energies against the reactionary officialdom but at the same time to resist all tendencies to dualism and union splitting.

More Resignations From The C. P. L. A.

The disintegration of the Conference of Progressive Labor Action, as a consequence of its suicidal decision to transform itself into a centrist semi-revolutionary party (sect), is proceeding apace. David Saposs, Katherine Pollack and J. C. Kennedy, important figures in the C.P.L.A., have resigned from that organization.

RESULTS OF THE 1932 ELECTIONS

The votes cast for the Socialist, Communist and Communist Labor parties in the recent presidential elections, as officially tabulated, are:

Socialist	906,900
Communist	102,785
S. L. P.	34,034

The Communist vote came primarily from six states: New York with 27,956; Illinois with 15,528; Michigan with 9,318; Minnesota with 6,101; Ohio with 7,231 and Pennsylvania with 5,658, contributing 71,792 of the total. The remaining 30,993 were scattered over the other states. The Socialist vote was much more widely distributed.

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of what is happening in Germany: let it take effective steps for the restoration of a Leninist course and for the unification of the world Communist movement. This is the least that the interests of the world revolution demand of it. The fate of the German Communist Party, the only mass party in the Communist International outside of the Soviet Union, is at stake and with it the fate of the Communist International itself!

HITLER IS IN POWER—WHAT NOW?

(Continued from page 1)

eral strike. The Communist workers must force their leaders to drop their suicidal sectarianism and take the initiative in cementing a united front of labor.

The triumph of Fascism in Germany and the impending disintegration of the official Communist Party in Germany and the whole official world Communist movement have met this disaster, constitute the great historical refutation of the false sectarian policies which have dominated the official Communist movement for years and against which the International Communist Opposition has been fighting with all its might. It is not yet too late to learn. In the spirit of real Communist self-criticism, let the Communist International now reexamine its policies and tactics in the

The Nazis Take Power - What Now?

Significance of the Hitler Victory

by Jay Lovestone

Hitler's rise to the chancellorship of Germany is not an ordinary change of cabinets or shift of cabinet portfolios. It marks the beginning of a change of political systems. With Hitler's assumption of chancellorship the world witnessed the first decisive and open step of German trust capital to replace the broken down parliamentary democratic system with an uncamouflaged brutal bourgeois dictatorship—a Fascist dictatorship.

The Breakup Of A System

When the Catholic Bruening succeeded Social-democratic Muller, it meant a change of cabinets, a very important development in the decay of parliamentary democracy. When Papen displaced Bruening and Schleicher succeeded Papen it marked extraordinary cabinet changes and a headlong move towards the breakup of the bourgeois republican system.

It is true, history is not made in a day. But there are days on which history is made. July 20, 1932 is one of those days. It was on this day that the Socialist-Catholic Cabinet of Prussia was yanked out by a corporal and two men of the Reichswehr. The failure of the working class to take any steps to resist and paralyze this Junker-militarist coup d'etat meant a mortal blow against the republic and made almost inevitable all the events which followed subsequently.

Today Germany lives under a Fascist dictatorship. Seen from the viewpoint of even the most elementary prerequisites of capitalist democracy, the March 5 elections will be a grim farce. After this election, the parade of parties is over in Germany. From what I have seen of German Fascism, I am convinced, unless the working class really closes its ranks and presents a united front against Fascism, the Nazi dictatorship will, in a few months, do as much damage to the German labor movement as it took Mussolini a couple of years. And this is so, despite the fact that the German

proletariat is much better trained and organized than the Italian was when Mussolini's Black Shirts swooped down on Rome. To us, the International Communist Opposition, Hitler's rise to power comes as no surprise. Already in 1928, the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) warned of the Fascist menace and proposed a practical program of revolutionary activity to make impossible a Fascist dictatorship in Germany. For this, our German comrades were roundly denounced by Communist leadership (Thaelmann-Neumann). The latter ridiculed the menace of Fascism and estimated every successful Fascist victory as a "high watermark" of Hitlerism. The official C. P. hailed every one of its own parliamentary advances as "iron rings around Fascism." The Social-democrats swung from Hindenburg and the Supreme Court to General von Schleicher as saviors of German "democracy and Socialism" from the Fascist sweep

False Prophecies

The liberals and bourgeois democrats thruout the world simply sneered at Hitler and said that such an "emotionally unstable" person could never become the leader of that great cultured country, Germany. All together they hailed every momentary recession of the Fascist wave, every difficulty within the Fascist movement as the "collapse" and the "total disintegration" of the Nazi party. These people, basing their analysis on temporary and superficial phenomena, concluded that the republic was invincible, that the waves of Hitlerism were broken on that rock of "pure German democracy"—Field Marshal von Hindenburg.

How wrong such conclusions were is now obvious. The fact of the matter is that the parliamentary results have for some time played a secondary role in German class

relations. For some time it is the extra-parliamentary moves which have become decisive. Why should Hitler was called in to become Chancellor after a series of set-

Appeal for United Front!

New York City.

An appeal for the establishment of a united front anti-Fascist movement in this country "for the purpose of bringing home to the American workers the real meaning of the Nazi victory for them and the danger of the spread of Fascist influence in the United States and for the purpose of rallying to the relief and support of the victims of the bloody Nazi terror in Germany" was issued on February 7 by the National Committee of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Opposition) to the leading committees of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., the Socialist Party of America, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and the Communist League. ("Trotskyism," "We make this appeal to you," the statement runs, "in spite of the well-known fact that we differ from some of the organizations addressed in this call in fundamental principles and from others in basic strategy and tactics. We believe, however, that, in spite of these differences, we can all join on the basis of the program and tasks outlined above, which is surely to the interests of all of us and to the interests of American labor. We are confident that, if you place the interests of labor above any secondary considerations, you will not hesitate to respond to this call.")

Fascism To The Rescue

The sentiment for Communism was rising. The economic situation was worsening. The conditions in the ruling sectors of the German governing class assumed ugly proportions. Clearly there was only one thing left for the German top bourgeoisie to do, and that was to apply its very last remedy to stave off disaster and social revolution—the introduction of Fascism. This meant that both the wealthy landowners and the heavy industrialists would be satisfied at the expense of further attacks on the masses. But these attacks could not be made only with German military onslaughts, but rather in the growing probability of Fascist Germany becoming the spearhead of a

N. Y. WORKERS HIT NAZI RULE

New York City

About six hundred workers filled the large hall in Irving Plaza on Friday evening, February 3, to hear Jay Lovestone present the viewpoint of the International Communist Opposition on the political crisis in Germany which set in with the ascendancy of Hitler to power. The spirit of the meeting was very high and reflected a keen appreciation of the menace of the situation and a vigorous determination to help the German workers fight back before it is too late.

Comrade Lovestone, who recently returned from a trip to Germany, analyzed the relation of class forces that had made possible the triumph of Fascism, severely scolding the treacherous policies of the Social-democrats and the false sectarian tactics of the official Communist Party, both of which must bear the responsibility for the inability of German labor to head off and scotch Fascism. The speaker concluded by outlining the program of the German Communist Opposition calling for a united labor front and a political general strike.

There were a good many party members and Trotskyites present who participated in the questions and discussions. A collection was taken for the relief of the victims of the Nazi terror in Germany.

poor, interest was low. The reasons are to be found in the sectarian approach to the whole plan. There were no attempts made to organize systematically, the Hunger Marchers being apparently determined to preserve the aristocratic front which is the "right" of only those who follow the "true line." All others, including the unemployed, being considered outside the pale.

The Hunger March in Canada

A Letter From Toronto

Toronto, Canada.

Chapter one in the Hunger March drama opened in Toronto one week before the scheduled date. The Red squad raided the Ukrainian Labor Temple and arrested about forty-five unemployed, participants in an unemployed meeting. George Baker and Howard Johnson (James Beatty) are charged under Section 98 of the Canadian criminal code. The rest are held as vagrants. All are on bail. The police, whose ears are keener than their wits, claim that they overheard the men being advised to smash the police and start a riot.

The second chapter was unfolded when the provincial delegation waited on the Acting Prime Minister at the Parliament building in Toronto. The dozen delegates were all quizzed as to their nationality, citizenship, address, and so on. Scores of police were on deck. In answer to the standard demands, the Acting Prime Minister promised the usual "careful consideration." The city delegation which waited on the mayor and the city council produced a few more fireworks. Perhaps I should say squibs.

Described as the "stormiest scene in the city hall in some time" there was a good deal of verbal fighting between the mayor and Bill Kisby, the unemployed spokesman. Howard Johnson refused to admit he had been in "trouble" in Windsor, Detroit and Winnipeg. Declaring that his name was none of the mayor's business, Johnson left the chamber. Consideration of the taxpayers would not permit the payment of rents, declared the mayor. He also upheld the present pogie system of relief, which compels the recipients to go and collect the trash handed out to them. The deputation was finally ordered from the City Hall.

Jobless Federation Formed

For One National Jobless Organization

Chicago, Ill.

On the weekend of November 19-20, 1932, a conference of Midwestern unemployed organizations took place in Chicago and set up a new Federal of Unemployed Leagues of America. Forty-four delegates, representing over thirty unemployed organizations in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Missouri, Michigan, Iowa and Texas, were present. Organizations in nine other states, Minnesota, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Kentucky, Tennessee, Washington, and Massachusetts, indicated a willingness to cooperate but could not send delegates.

The conference was sponsored by the Chicago Workers Committee on Unemployment, under the leadership of Karl Borders, and by the Unemployed Citizens League of St. Louis.

The conference adopted resolutions against the "stagger system," against child labor and the sales tax. The main planks in the platform of minimum demands adopted are: (1) A system of social insurance to include unemployment compensation, old age pensions and sick benefits based on contributions by the government and employers. (2) In the administration of present unemployment relief, immediate cash payment in such sums as will ensure an adequate American standard of living necessarily to include provision for water, fuel and light. (3) The maintenance of health and hygiene conditions among the unemployed... to include medical, dental and hospital care provided by governmental agencies. (4) No evictions. (5) No farmer to be deprived, because of natural or economic con-

ditions, of the use of the home which he occupies of the land and equipment essential to the earning of his living. (6) Adequate representation of the unemployed on all relief-dispensing agencies. (7) The union scale of wages for all unemployed workers put to work on public or private projects. (8) This federation takes a non-partisan political stand.

The conference decided to initiate a drive to broaden the federation into a national organization and plans were laid for a nation-wide convention of the unemployed organization to be held in May 1933.

The movement for the national unification of all unemployed organizations on a strictly non-partisan basis is greatly to be welcomed. The Federation of Unemployed Leagues of America, formed in Chicago, marks a big step in this direction and the national conference in May will probably mark further progress. But so far, this movement suffers from a grave shortcoming for as yet it includes only those unemployed organizations that are under Socialist influence (Karl Borders is a leading figure in the League for Industrial Democracy) or at least with which some Socialists have contact. That section of the unemployed movement standing under the influence of the official Communist Party is still working in isolation, refusing to cooperate on a real non-partisan basis with the other sections of the movement. But for the struggle of the jobless to be really effective, the unification of all unemployed organizations, of all political tendencies or none at all, must be accomplished on the basis of a minimum program of action. All militant elements in the labor movement and among the unemployed should turn their energies in this direction.

Lucile Kohn On Feb. 12, 228 - 2nd Ave. "Education and Women"

OPEN FORUM

CONDUCTED BY NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

228 Second Avenue (Cor. 14th Street)

EVERY SUNDAY EVENING AT 8:30

FEBRUARY 12

Lucile Kohn

Well-Known Educator

EDUCATION AND WORKING WOMEN

FEBRUARY 19

A. G. Becker

Association of the Unemployed

BARTER—A WAY OUT FOR THE JOBLESS?

Technocracy and the Workers

Technocracy is a fad. Like all fads it is a product of its times. Altogether it was born in the boom period, it did not receive any serious attention until the economic crisis had lasted several years, when it suddenly caught hold and began to spread like wildfire. And precisely here lies the key to its success. Technocracy "reveals" the "secret" of the crisis. In the period of the boom, another kind of revelation was needed—the "secret" of prosperity and high wages. Just as several years ago, delegations came from all the worlds to study this mystery, so today the secret of the crisis is being sought in the United States. The technocrats desire to save these searchers their trouble, just as their predecessors did in the days of prosperity. In the last analysis, the explanations are the same. Prosperity was due to rationalization, mass production, class collaboration. The depression is due to the high development of technology! The very factors which yesterday were being pained off as the creators of permanent prosperity are today discovered to be the source of all evil. And peculiarly, it is largely the same people who made both discoveries. This is no accident. Technocracy and the championship of rationalization, mass production, class collaboration, are present two sides of the same coin. During prosperity, the head is on top; during a crisis, the tail shows itself. If the cure-all of rationalization, mass production, class collaboration, represented the jazz of prosperity, then the cure-all of technocracy represents the blues of the depression!

The Newest "Substitute" for Communism

by Herbert Zam

Marxian doctrines. The adherence of engineers and scientists to such views lends them added authority. It becomes more difficult to dismiss them as "Red" agitation. Communists, Socialists, radicals generally, should not hesitate to use the support of these ideas by the technocrats for the purpose of making their propaganda more widespread and convincing.

Why, then, do the technocrats fail to draw the same conclusions as the Marxists from these two general propositions? Why do they present us with a mechanical and reactionary utopia as the solution to our problems? Technocracy, the Marxists have demonstrated. "The capitalist class of engineers, endeavors to fit society into the strait-jacket of engineering (physical) laws. Society operates not on the basis of physical laws, as the technocrats maintain, but on the basis of social-historical laws, as the Marxists have demonstrated. "The captains of industry are, as it were, defying the laws of physics!" Stuart Chase declares the second of the three principles of the "industrial philosophy of technocracy" to be "the conception of energy mag-

nitudes as the conditions governing social and political institutions." This concept leaves out of the picture the really essential elements—class (social) relations. Marxists do not and never have denied the influence of technological development on society. But they have studied, not the abstract, isolated, independent development of the purely physical means of production, but the interaction between this development and the society in which it takes place. Technological development has influenced history because it has influenced class relations and social organization. Not to understand this is only to understand nothing of society. The technocrats, who disdain to examine any laws except physical laws, the laws of engineering, forget the class struggle, abolish the working class and overlook the only way they can produce their utopia, technocracy.

Technocracy And The Workers

Between the technocrats and their mechanistic, sit-in-a-soft-chair-and-push-a-button utopia, there stands the working class, real, alive, with its demands, its organizations, its struggles, its enemies and its friends. What to do with

technocrat, describes this process at length:

"The tendency in manufacturing and power production, and to a lesser degree in transportation, agriculture and clerical work, is in the direction of the full automatic process, where the machine does everything, the human muscle nothing. Such labor as is required increasingly takes the form of dial watching, control cabin work, switch inspection and set up. Even in this domain the photo-electric cell has been found to be a more dependable switch thrower than any human hand or eye."

So the steel worker, the automobile worker, the printer, the workers in the meat packing industry, only have the illusion that they are doing hard physical labor. Actually they are either not working at all or, at worst, watching the dial. The fate of the working class is sealed. "The curve," says Chase, "heads remorselessly for zero." And with the curve, the technocrats have tried to head the living working class also for zero.

It requires no higher mathematics to destroy this foundation of technocracy. A glance at the census reports will show that there are in the United States eighteen to twenty million industrial wage earners, to say nothing of other wage earners (agricultural laborers, white collar workers, etc.), that the working class has been steadily increasing, absolutely, and relatively, in proportion to the size of the population. Even

(Continued on Page 7)

The New And The Old

A great deal of "criticism" of technocracy has been based on the proposition that there is nothing new in it. If this were the sole cause for criticism it would be little enough. It is true that there is quite a good deal of technocracy which is old, but unquestionably it contains many new ideas. And the relation seems to be that the good ideas are the old ones, while the new ideas are the bad ones. In the system of technocracy as a whole, it is unfortunately what is new and bad, which gives it its determining character, making the entire system unacceptable in spite of some positive features.

Also they have nothing but scorn for Marx and Marxism, the technocrats have not hesitated to "borrow" two outstanding ideas from it which they now endeavor to parade as brilliant discoveries. One of the cardinal points of Marxism is the doctrine that the social relations in capitalist society have become incompatible with the forces of production, that, consequently, capitalism, which at one time served the historical purpose of developing the forces of production and advancing the progress of society, has now become a hindrance to the further expansion of the productive forces and stands in the way of the further progress of humanity. The destruction of the capitalist system and its replacement by a socialist order is the conclusion of Marxism, since social relations in a socialist system would be in harmony with productive forces, and would make their continued progress possible. The technocrats have now accepted the analysis of Marx, without, however, drawing his conclusions. Like the radicals, the technocrats have now discovered that if our means of production were operated rationally, everything could be produced in such abundance that it would be possible to provide everybody with all life's needs and plenty over. They have even reached the figure that with a rationally operated system, every family could receive the equivalent of a \$20,000 a year income from eight hours work each week! Regardless of whether some of the figures of the technocrats are exaggerated or not (and there are many errors, contradictions, exaggerations and false conclusions in their figures), there can be no challenging the general direction in which these figures point. As such, they can only serve to strengthen the

Against Sectarianism and Isolation

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE "NEW TURN"

A Statement

We publish below the political statement issued by the National Committee of the Communist Party (Opposition) on the recent "new turn" maneuvers of the official C. P.—Editor. * * *

The recent conference of unemployed organizations and other labor bodies in Chicago against the threatened cut in relief and the movement now under way in New York for a state-wide conference for government unemployment insurance, both initiated under the direction of the Communist Party, call striking attention to the definite "turn" that has taken place in the last few months in the official party tactics in regard to the unemployed. Here too an important tactical, defended by the Communist Opposition, has been silently embodied in official party practice.

In the New York conference, no attempt was made by the party to pack the gathering with swollen delegations of party-controlled skeleton or paper organizations. In Chicago, however, the old bluff tactics held sway.

1. In each case there was a united front of organizations of different political tendencies. In other words, they were real united fronts, even though the New York preliminary conference was a very narrow one. The tactics applied in both cases are in the most crying contradiction to the notorious "united front from below," according to which a joint bloc of Communist and non-Communist, and especially reformist or conservative, organizations is the very height of opportunism, according to which a united front of the leaders of Communist organizations with the leaders of non-Communist organizations (as occurred in Chicago) is to be rejected as the worst deviation. For advocating the tactics that were partially applied by the official C. P. in Chicago and New York, the Communist Opposition has been viciously attacked and abused for years.

sent. This was not the case, however, in Chicago.

"The Real Meaning Of The "New Turn"

Nevertheless, this "turn" represents no real or basic change in the tactics of the official Communist Party nor does it hold out any promise of the effective return of party tactics to the course of Leninism.

1. The "turn" is performed in an underhand and isolated manner, while at the same time the whole system of ultra-leftist tactics is maintained sacred and inviolable by the party and all deviations attacked and persecuted. In Chicago, for example, a united front conference of unemployed organizations was held. But what does such a united front really mean, if it is not undertaken as a prelude to and in the light of a merging of organizations (organizations attacked and persecuted, all united for the same end and without difference of principle) into one non-partisan body? But this is still rejected as gross opportunism by the official party. (In this connection, see the article mentioned above.)

2. The new "turn" is being performed on a system of the crudest double-bookkeeping. In the general work of the party, the old sectarian tactics are being pursued without the least change—this is notoriously true of some of the most important party campaigns, as, for example, the recent Hunger March. In one or two specially selected fields, experiments in new "turns" are carried on at the very same time. It is very obvious that the net result of this curious combination is to make even more difficult the absolutely necessary basic change in tactics.

3. Even where a "turn" is performed, it is done in an incomplete

and self-contradictory manner, which sometimes destroys even its limited effectiveness. In Chicago, for example, the Socialist unemployed organization was invited but deliberate attempts were made at the conference itself, by Williamson and others, to provoke its leaders to break away (see the article on "Why A United Jobless Movement"?) by B. Herman, "Workers Age," February 1, 1933).

In Chicago, too, attempts were made by the Communist Party-controlled Unemployed Councils to convert the united front demonstration arranged by the conference into a Communist election rally. At the New York conference, the resolutions committee was composed entirely of party members.

4. Even where a "turn" is performed, it is done in such an inadequate and limited manner as to render it almost meaningless. In Chicago, for example, a united front conference of unemployed organizations was held. But what does such a united front really mean, if it is not undertaken as a prelude to and in the light of a merging of organizations (organizations attacked and persecuted, all united for the same end and without difference of principle) into one non-partisan body? But this is still rejected as gross opportunism by the official party. (In this connection, see the article mentioned above.)

5. While these "turns" are being performed, the Communist Opposition, from whose ranks these new tactics were borrowed and under the stimulus of whose criticism they were initiated, is being attacked even more vigorously by the official party press—precisely for proposing, consistently, thoroly and unhesitatingly, just those tactics that the official Communist party is applying, partially, uncertainly, and in a contradictory manner, in its new "turns."

The only real and effective turn in party tactics must be a return to the tactical principles of Leninism, today defended only by the Communist Opposition. And this return to Leninist tactics can take place, not thru the piling up of dishonestly performed "turns," but by a complete and deliberate and thoro scrapping of the whole of the sectarian course, root and branch, and an equally conscious, deliberate and thoro re-adoption of the tactical principles of Leninism, everywhere and in all fields. Any other way can only lead further into the abyss!

Chewing on Straw - Party Theory

The "theoretical" organ of the Communist Party of the United States is the "Communist." The masses of Communists and sympathetic workers are hungry for theory and explanation, but it is poor fare indeed the party press provides.

The Party In Wonderland

The writers of the articles in the "Communist" live in an unreal world that never was on land and number. It speaks of "left sectarianism" which leads to passivity, to refusal to participate in revolutionary struggle, to a capitulation before Social-democracy.

"Marxian" Analysis

In the May 1932 number, Earl Browder, "leading theoretician of the Communist International" (as a recent party leader proclaimed), indulges in some personal "self-criticism." But the reader will seek in vain to find out what he is criticizing. According to Browder, the attempt to get the United States government to break off diplomatic relations with Japan (a step which a bourgeois government normally takes toward another as a prelude to a declaration of war) was not a serious error of the party but "a real Bolshevik

like a sect, to isolate the party from the masses by proposing a program far to the left of the masses, far removed from their immediate needs and interests. But what shall we think of this gem? "The real nature of this sectarianism (in America) consists in a right opportunist lagging behind the masses." (Article by Gussey, "The End of Capitalist Stabilization and the Basic Tasks of the British and American Sections of the C. I." January 1933).

Are we to conclude that sectarianism is opportunism? Then why two terms? Are the masses so revolutionary in America, that the party's tactics and program lag behind them? And is this sectarianism? "Oh Bottom, thou art translated!"

deed which echoed through the world." (!)

Browder confesses seven errors committed in a previous article of his, but none of the confessions seemed to make much sense, so we dug up the original article. It has merit when Laval and Hoover are abusing each other and "explaining" the "agreements" arrived at in Laval's visit to America. Browder has applied the keen weapon of Marxism and revealed in an article later published in pamphlet form ("The Secret Hoover-Laval War Facts"): "The last weeks (after the Laval visit and the Japanese invasion of Shanghai and Manchuria) have clearly disclosed the emergence of a new constellation of imperialist powers, in which the United States is moving toward hegemony of a block for the re-division of the world. In this constellation more clearly appears the leading role of France, Japan and the United States, with Germany and Italy in a subordinate role."

On The Hoover "Social Trends" Report

WHAT'S HAPPENING TO THE UNITED STATES?

by Will Herberg

The committee report calls attention to the already known but very significant structure of unemployment in the body of the gainfully employed in this country in the last several decades. Between 1870 and 1930, the proportion of the gainfully employed in the total population over 16 years of age rose from 50% to 57%, largely due to the introduction of women into industry. But in the same period, the proportion of the gainfully employed occupied in "the work of transforming raw materials into usable, consumable goods," in productive labor, in other words, fell from 47% to 52%.

The strike of the steel workers in the Trumbull mill of the Republic Steel in Warren is of outstanding significance, altho it lasted but a little over a day and involved comparatively a small number of workers.

"A little over a day"—but that doesn't prevent Stachel from writing thirteen pages, well over 5,000 words about it! Perhaps Stachel is going to show that it is "significant" for the errors involved. Vain hope! First, this strike shows unmistakably the great depth of the radicalization of the masses! Secondly, it proves that the native-born workers are ready to accept the leadership of the party and the revolutionary trade union movement!

The Secret Of Sectarianism

The "Communist" is presumably addressed to the American workers. True, it is addressed to the advanced workers and treats at times problems of a complicated character requiring special technical terms. But there are limits—or should be, if one wishes to talk to any one but himself. Take, for instance, "sectarianism." It is a technical term and an important one. It means the tendency to act

Mountains Out Of Mole Hills

We pick up the October issue—Jack Stachel writing. "The strike of the steel workers in the Trumbull mill of the Republic Steel in Warren is of outstanding significance, altho it lasted but a little over a day and involved comparatively a small number of workers."

Labor In Dying Capitalism

The many paragraphs in the report dealing with labor, however, merit careful study. Of course, the committee makes its bow to much advertised "prosperity" of 1925-1929. But, if we examine the matter closely, some very interesting conclusions emerge. In the pre-war period of 1900-1913, the output per individual wage-earner rose 1.7% per year but average real wages fell 0.1% a year, in contrast to the rise of receipts of stockholders of 1.2% annually. Indeed, the best estimates maintain that in the thirty years preceding 1920 real wages actually fell, while labor productivity and returns to the capitalists mounted sky-high.

The "Communist" for One Year

by Bertram D. Wolfe

France and the United States, between Japan and the United States. But the "Marxian method," as employed by Browder, enables him to see "below the surface," to miss seeing what is on the surface altogether.

"Self-Criticism"

Plenums come and plenums go and the party abases and abuses itself with confessions of "bureaucracy," "sterile inner life," "lack of party democracy," "failure to work in the reactionary unions," bureaucratic strangling of the party-controlled unions, "resolutions remaining only on paper," "lagging behind the masses," "failure to hold new members," "failure to carry on united front work," etc., etc. This is known as the practise of "Bolshevik self-criticism." Let us compare the "practices" with the theory from which it is derived.

"We need not be afraid," said Lenin, "to expose our errors to the enemy. He who fears that is not a revolutionist. On the contrary if we say openly to the workers: Yes, we have made mistakes! That means that we will not repeat those mistakes next time..."

But what shall we say of a party that openly acknowledges its mistakes at the Tenth Plenum, acknowledges the same mistakes at the Eleventh Plenum, keeps on repeating them at the Twelfth, Thirteenth and Fourteenth Plenums,

and so on forever? As a matter of fact, the party has not made the slightest attempt in over three years to analyze and correct its real mistakes. It dares not analyze its false estimate of the American situation, for that false estimate comes from the International. S. Gussey speaking:

"Altho the development of the revolutionary movement in the Anglo-American countries still lags considerably behind the high tension of the whole international situation, even in these countries, the C. I. sections are faced with the same task; preparing the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. In the Anglo-American countries the winning majority of the proletariat is for the C. I. sections a practical task for the present day!" ("Imprecor", November 3, 1932, p. 1059).

Second, it dare not analyze its false tactical line in the trade unions (building of separate unions for the Communists and their sympathizers), nor its false tactical line in rejecting the united front (a "united front" in the "Communist" today means only an invitation to non-party workers to support the party) because both these basic causes of all errors in trade union and mass work, are part of the unassailable "line of the Tenth Plenum of the E. C. I."

"There is no one here to speak against this line," continued Browder, "there is no one in the party who retains any doubt about the correctness of our line."

Which brings us back to Wonderland where the oysters, once eaten by the Walrus and the Carpenter, kept silent, because:

But answer there came none—
And this was scarcely odd because
They'd eaten every one.

Thus does wholesale expulsion establish the correctness of a "general line," develop "Bolshevik self-criticism," promote "Marxian analysis" and enrich the theoretical line of the Communist Party of the United States!

* "In the first quarter of 1932 there were 30,000 registered in the unemployed organizations and in the second quarter there were 13,000" (in the same article).

of an idea, remains sterile; the intellectual blinders which the "eminent scientists" wear because of their class position prevent them from seeing what fairly cries for recognition. For it is not just "vested interests" here and there that "resist change," but it is the gigantic "vested interests" of capitalism, controlling the government and the dominant social forces, that resists all social change which even by implication threatens to undermine the very "foundations of society"—the right of private property in the means of production and the profit motive as the driving force in our economic life. And yet, it is precisely these two fundamental principles that are at bottom responsible for the "astonishing contrasts in organization and disorganization," for the "lack of synchronization" of the various parts of our social mechanism, and for all the other ills which the report deplores. To urge, therefore, the "application of intelligent planning in social direction," and even to recommend an elaborate mechanism of advisory councils and sub-councils, while at the same time preserving the "rights of private property, individual enterprise and self-help," argues such a colossal failure to understand the realities of the situation that one may well question the capacity of the committee to grasp the simplest social truth!

The fact is, our "eminent scientists" (Continued on Page 7)

Have You Read?

THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, by Jay Lovestone 10c
SOME PLAIN WORDS ON COMMUNIST UNIONS, by Ben Gitlow 5c
THE HERITAGE OF THE CIVIL WAR, by Will Herberg 5c
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The Group at Work Splendid Meeting in Bronx

New York City. At least seven hundred workers turned out to hear Jay Lovestone speak on "What Is the Communist Opposition?" on Friday, January 27, at Ambassador Hall in the Bronx. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Bronx section of the Communist Opposition. The meeting was larger than any similar gathering that the official party has held in the same section for a long time.

Several hundred party members were present in the audience. The party bureaucrats had planned a "concentration" for the purpose of disruption but this "concentration" turned into its exact opposite. The party members and sympathizers listened calmly to Comrade Lovestone's brilliant indictment of the sectarian policies of the C. P. and his forceful exposition of the line of the Communist Opposition. The meeting lasted far into the night. Members of the Socialist party were also present and participated in the discussion.

Something is brewing in the party—the Bronx meeting shows it.

LOVESTONE SPEAKS IN BROOKLYN

The Brooklyn Unit of the Communist Opposition held its first open meeting of the membership campaign with Jay Lovestone speaking on "What Next in Germany?" at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum on Thursday, January 26, 1933. Almost one hundred workers were present, practically all German-Americans.

There were present at the meeting organized groups of Hitlerites, who were not in the least bashful about appealing against a "united German working class" and for a "united Germany under Hitler." Comrade Lovestone answered very effectively pointing out the crude demagoguery and the murderous anti-working class policy of Hitler. He showed how the Nazi program could never solve the capitalist contradictions and could only bring in the blackest reaction. His conclusion was received with boisterous approval by most of the workers present. A substantial collection was taken, quite a bit of literature sold, and about twenty workers gave the names and addresses for future contacts.

M.

BOSTON, MASS.

Boston, Mass. The Communist Opposition in Boston has been reorganized and six new members have joined. For the first time in many months a public meeting was held under the auspices of the group. The meeting was held on Sunday, January 27, at the Elizabeth Peabody House. About one hundred were present at the meeting. Comrade Lovestone spoke on the present situation in the Soviet Union. Quite a number of workers indicated their interest in further meetings and arranged to help make them a success.

FORT WAYNE, IND.

Fort Wayne, Ind. The Fort Wayne organization continues to grow. Special progress is to be noted amongst the Negro workers, of whom eight have joined the Communist Opposition within the last two weeks. Sentiment for a Labor party is growing amongst the workers. The unemployed are also improving their organization and militancy is increasing amongst them. One of the most encouraging factors in the situation there is the growing cooperation between the workers and the impoverished farmers.

DETROIT, MICH.

Detroit, Michigan. There has been a real improvement in the activities of the Communist Party (Opposition) in the unemployed field. Particularly amongst the Mexican workers has

MONTREAL, CANADA

Montreal, Canada. The Montreal unit has improved considerably in its functioning. It is now especially active in the Worker Educational Society which is conducting two classes; one by Comrade Mike Buhay on Marxism-Leninism and the other by Comrade Breslow on Fundamentals of Communism.

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

San Antonio, Texas. The progressive forces among the unemployed have, in cooperation with the members of our organization, won an impressive victory against the reactionaries who tried to have the unemployed movement turned into a church affair and an anti-Negro organization. The victory of the progressive and radical forces has given entirely new life to the organization of the unemployed which has attracted very many Negroes who are amongst its best fighters.

PROUD ACQUISITION FOR THE PARTY

The "Daily Worker" of January 21 parades very prominently the admission into the party of A. Guss, a former "Lovestoneite". In order to appreciate exactly the value of this new acquisition to the party, who, by the way, is now an important functionary in the Chicago district, we publish the following:

SHOLOM ALEICHEM
BRANCH 118
Workmen's Circle
Philadelphia, Pa.
March 28, 1932.

Dear Sirs:
If you are the same as your representative, A Gussakoff or

TROTSKY SPLIT IN GERMANY

Berlin, Germany.

On the very eve of the Fascist seizure of power, which exposed fully the falsity of the tactical line of the Communist Party of Germany and of the Communist International, the orthodox Trotskyist group of this country, the group "Die permanente Revolution", has capitulated and gone back to the official C. P. G. The last issue of its organ contained a full page appeal for unconditional return to the party!

This leaves the "International Left Opposition" without a group in Germany which, as Trotsky rightly points out, is the "key to the international situation." True enough, the group "Die permanente Revolution" never was of any importance politically or organizationally. But to lose any base at all in Germany at this time is a very serious matter for the Trotskyites.

There are in Germany two other Trotskyist groups; the Leninbund of Urahns, which broke with Trotsky in 1930 over very serious questions, and the heretic Trotsky group "Der Kommunist", against which Trotsky has recently launched even more violent attacks than against the official C. P. Both groups are very small and of no consequence.

A. Davis or any other fiction name or names, then we have nothing to do with your kind. He is a bum and wherever he is he is a menace to the good of the cause you are preaching and to the working class.

Max Levine, Secretary.

COMMUNIST PARTY (Majority Group) New York City April 5, 1932.

Dear Friend:
I have your letter of March 28 in which you complain about the character and activities of A. Gussakoff. I wish to inform you that our organization took the question of Gussakoff some time ago and that he was expelled from our organization and is no longer a member of the same.

Ben Gitlow, Secretary

In the Comintern

The "New Turn" in French C. P.

In the second election district of Semis (Oise) by-elections for the Chamber took place recently. In these elections the Communist candidate received 2,903 votes, 622 more than last year. The Socialist candidate, Uhr, received 9,038 votes, about 100 less than last year. Next to Uhr came a notorious reactionary by the name of Chauvel, gaining himself an "Independent Socialist," who received 3,025 votes. In the face of this situation, the district committee of the Communist Party of France made a public appeal for a united front to the Socialists for the municipal elections: that Uhr, who had recently compromised himself very badly, should be withdrawn and replaced by an uncompromised Socialist candidate and that a joint minimum program of struggle be accepted—in which case, the Communist Party would withdraw its candidate and urge the election of the Socialist!

GERMAN OPPOSITION IN CONFERENCE

Berlin, Germany.

The fifth national conference of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition), held on December 31, 1932 and January 1, 1933, was a striking reflection of the real strength of our group. In spite of the greatest difficulties, the conference had a broader and more extensive representation than any previous gathering of that character.

The two days of the national conference were filled with intensive work. Comrade Brandler reported on the activity of the group and of the Reichsleitung (national leadership). Both the report and the discussion laid great emphasis upon the fact that one of the main tasks of the group, upon the absolute necessity of bridging the gap between the rapidly growing political influence of the Opposition and its relatively backward organizational strength. Thalheimer's report on the political situation and the tasks of the C.P.G.-O., a masterly piece of work, gave rise to an interesting discussion on the relation of the bourgeoisie to Fascism. Following this came the report of Comrade Bolze on the C. P. G.-O., and the trade unions, in which bankruptcy of the tactics of the R. G. O. (the German T. U. U. L.—Editor) was fully exposed and the correctness of the Opposition viewpoint examined in the light of actual developments.

A special feature of the conference was the informative report on the Soviet Union, explaining the essential features of the general line of the C. P. S. U., the splendid achievements of socialist construction as well as the great difficulties in its way.

The conference was dominated by a spirit of political determination and firm unity of outlook and action. It argued well for the future of our group.

And even more! The "Humanite" (central organ of the Communist Party of France) reports in its issue of January 17: "Yesterday Comrades Maurice Thorez and Jacques Doriot, in the name of our party, met with Paul Faure and J. B. Severac, representatives of the Socialist party (affiliated to the Second International) and Paul Louis and M. Juncker, representatives of the Party of Proletarian Unity. The purpose of this conference was to discuss the question of the unity of action of the proletariat and to define its terms."

What's this? The "united front from above" with vengeance—a united front of the very top leaders!

We would like to know: Why is the Communist Opposition attacking

ANOTHER "C. P." IN FRANCE

Paris, France.

In November 1932 a new "Communist Party," the Independent Communist Federation of the East (Federation communiste independante de l'Est), was formed. This organization, whose influence extends over the Belfort region, Doubs, Haute-Saone and the Jura territory, is out to constitute itself into a new nation-wide party, distinct from any of the existing class political organizations. It arose as a result of the split that took place in April 1932 between the central leadership of the C.P. of France and the leaders of the Belfort district. Since that time, they made considerable gains in various directions, enrolling a considerable number of revolutionary workers.

Into this new party has entered Boris Souvarine, once a leader of the C.P. of France, and more recently the head of the Democratic Communist Circle (Circle communiste democratique). Souvarine's ideas dominated the constituent convention of the new party. It issued a manifesto to the workers declaring itself "inspired by the first four congresses of the Communist International" and urging the formation of "a new Communist Party of France, section of the Fourth International." This new party has a paper called the "Communist, Trade Unionist and Cooperative Worker" ("Travailleur communiste, syndicaliste et cooperativeur").

It is necessary to point out that this road of a "new party" is categorically rejected by the Communist Opposition, since it can only lead to a new anti-Communist party.

Comradely yours,
ALLEN

Hartford Unemployed Ass'n Makes Good Progress

A Letter From Hartford

Hartford, Conn.

On Friday, January 22, the Hartford Association of Unemployed held a membership meeting at its headquarters. The members of the organization packed the hall to capacity. Milton Singer, president of the Association, explained the aims of that organization. The activities of that organization were reported on by Kenneth Epstein, the secretary.

Addressing this meeting the Rev. Charles C. Noble urged every member to help build up a strong, genuine and sincere unemployment movement. He also explained the futility of the mayor's outfit and the wasted effort made by a group of single women to start a war of married women.

During the discussion period several workers raised the question of the city dispensary. It was stated that in the city of Hartford, where more than 60,000 people are effected by the depression to such an extent that they have to apply for aid, we find only one dispensary! Moreover, even this one is not centrally located. Workers have to walk for miles to get tokens at the welfare department so they can go to the dispensary where they are humiliated.

One of the best mass meetings ever arranged by the Association took place on Friday, January 27 at the Center Church House. John A. Lonergan, president of the Hartford Building Trades Alliance, and Rev. Fletcher Parker, liberal minister, were the guest speakers of the gathering. They spoke in praise of the Association's aims and purpose. Mr. Lonergan, as a union man, urged the cooperation of organized labor with those who are out of work thru no fault of their own.

During the discussion period representatives of the official Communist Party, scattered throughout the hall, attacked in their usual manner, the American Federation of Labor unions and the Communist Opposition in an attempt to disrupt this well-attended meeting. But they failed in their childish action. Kenneth Epstein condemned the welfare department for treating the unemployed workers like dogs, especially the aliens. The officials are making every effort to cut down the relief given the unemployed. But at the same time these

gentlemen have decided to spend \$150 to buy gold badges for the commissioners. They have also voted to pay out \$27,000 to an accountant who whitewashed the welfare department in regards the city store.

In answering the accusation of the official Communist Party that the Association is "against the interest of the workers," Albert Epstein, former president of this organization, showed that the Communist-led Unemployment Council, who sincere in its intentions, has not been able to build up a strong movement due to the fact that it is always bringing party politics into the organization. He pointed out that a movement like that of the unemployed must be on the widest basis possible.

At the meeting the secretary reported that the Association is planning a series of educational and entertainment lectures in order to keep up the morale of the unemployed. The lectures will be held three times a week. This will also make members more tied together and more active in the work. He also stated that branches are being organized in every section of the city with the purpose of increasing the membership and, moreover, to make the organization more effective in organizing the thousands of unemployed.

All indications show that the Hartford Association of the Unemployed is becoming a powerful movement of the jobless as well as of the working class as a whole. The cooperation of the trade unions and other organizations of the workers was promised. In spite of the disruptive efforts of the official Communist Party on the left and the mayor on the right, the movement is growing.

G. P.

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Canada Briefs

I. L. G. W. U. PROTESTS SWEAT-SHOPS

Toronto, Canada.

Charles Kreindler, vice-president of the I. L. G. W. U., pleaded with the local Board of Control (municipal government), that it appoint a commission to enquire into the conditions of slave labor which hold in the industry today. Conditions are deplorable, he said, many of the workers being forced to toil for 11 and 12 hours a day.

Kreindler reported to a mass meeting of about 1,200 in the Labor Lyceum on his interview with the city moguls. Strong-arm men were at the door to prevent Industrial Union members from entering the hall. In the event that the union demands for the 40-hour week, price-setting committees and unemployment insurance are not met, a general strike will be resorted to—at least so it is threatened.

THE ELECTIONS IN ALBERTA

Calgary, Alberta.

In the by-election for a seat in the Provincial Legislature, January 19, the conservatives recorded a majority on the first count. Running second with a poll of 10,200 votes, a couple of thousand behind the leader, was Miss Amelia Turbott, nominee of the Canadian Communist Federation. This is the first parliamentary contest since organization about half a year ago. The C. C. F. may be likened to a Labor party, excepting that it is not based upon

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Economic Plan of the Soviet Union for 1933

The First Year Of The Second Five-Year Plan

The economic plan of the Soviet Union for the year 1933, the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan, involves a slowing up of the tempo of industrial production and places very great emphasis primarily upon the thoro organization of the newly built factories and their establishment upon a profitable basis. Industrial production is to be raised 16.5% in 1933. In the individual branches of industry the following are the most significant figures: 9 million tons of pig iron, 84 million tons of coal, 24.4 million tons of oil, etc. Of course, the expansion of industry is not to cease. Capital investments for industry in 1933 are to reach the figures of 10.11 billion rubles as compared with 9.16 billion in

1932. Especially is light industry, which serves the consumption needs of the masses, to be expanded. Capital investments here are to be increased 48% over the preceding year.

The productivity of labor is to be raised 14% while the unit costs of production are to be cut 3.9% in industry and 15% in building construction. The real wages of the industrial workers are to be increased by 9%.

The number of workers and employees is to be increased by only 2%. The 16% increase in production is to be attained primarily thru the elevation of labor productivity, thru the better utilization of machines, thru the raising of the skill of the workers, etc.

The cultivated area in agriculture is not to be extended but the crop per acre is to be raised. The number of machine and tractor stations is to be increased slightly to reach 2,760. In the machine and tractor stations and on the state farms, political sections are to be organized on the model of the political sections of the Red Army. The task of the political sections is to stimulate the execution of the economic plans thru the political clarification of the masses and to break the influence of the kulaks and other anti-soviet elements. The heads of the political sections of the machine and tractor stations are to be increased slightly to reach 2,760. In the machine and tractor stations and on the state farms, political sections are to be organized on the model of the political sections of the Red Army. 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February 15, 1933.

MR. GREEN WAXES "REVOLUTIONARY"!

THE unmistakable effects of the widespread revolt of the rank and file of the American Federation of Labor against the traditional conservatism of the union officialdom, are to be seen in the new tone characterizing the statement made on January 25 by President Green of the A. F. of L. in an interview published in "Nation's Business", organ of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. "The American trade union movement has been patient," declared Mr. Green. "We agreed to refrain from drastic action if employers would refrain from drastic action. . . . If any one doubts that employers long since have forgotten their promise and that they have reduced wages in almost every industry, let him consult a dozen authoritative sources of statistics. Finally, after three years of suffering we, the organized workers, declare to the world 'Enough! We shall use our might to compel the plain remedies withheld by those whose misfeasance caused our woe!'"

But getting down to brass tacks, Mr. Green had nothing to propose as a program for labor except such lower middle class measures as the licensing of corporations, a protective governmental service for investors (this to protect working men!), "constructive governmental control of credit to finance production," and so on. A few vague phrases as to "higher wages" and the "organization of workers into more and stronger unions", are included. Mr. Green furthermore refused to "reveal" exactly what the A. F. of L. intends to do except talk, on the ground of the necessity of secrecy from the bosses!

The plain truth is that Mr. Green and his fellow officials of the A. F. of L. are going to try to limit their new "militancy" to words and talk, in this way hoping to quiet down the revolt of the rank and file and yet continue to do nothing. Does Mr. Green think the labor movement can function as a deep and dark conspiracy, refusing to outline a realistic program or to make its plans known to its own membership? Is not all this "secrecy" really a smokescreen of mystification behind which to hide a continuation of the old do-nothing policy?

Only a solidly organized and clear-headed progressive movement in the unions can compel Mr. Green and his friends to pass from words to deeds—or if they cannot be compelled, they can be replaced by officials who are ready to carry out the will of the membership!

DEEPER INTO THE SWAMPS OF DUALISM

IN its statement on the recent elections in Local 1, I.L.G.W.U., the National Committee of the Communist Party (Opposition) warned: "The victory of the 'Left' group will certainly have the consequence of intensifying the dual-unionist and splitting policies, thus bringing more demoralization and chaos into the ranks of the cloakmakers." That this warning was strikingly in place is shown by subsequent developments. A few days ago the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union issued a leaflet signed by the "Cloak Department of the N. T. W. I. U.", in other words, announcing the formation of a Cloak Department.

What does this step mean? It means a new drive for dual unionism in the cloak trade, a new bid for union splitting. The leaflet declares that this "Cloak Department of the N. T. W. I. U." is going to concentrate on the organization of the open shops. To organize the open shops into the dual union instead of the I. L. G. W. U. means, of course, to strengthen dual unionism with all its disastrous consequences. But everybody knows that the phrase about the open shops is mere camouflage; it is inevitable that the "Cloak Department of the N.T.W.I.U." will immediately start "grabbing" organized shops away from the I. L. G. W. U. and make the existing confusion worse confounded.

There is only one way out of this maze and that is: An end to dual unionism! One union in the industry! What remains of the T. U. U. L. union must be immediately merged into the I. L. G. W. U. and the unity of the needle trades workers really achieved.

On the Case of Comrade Benjamin Gitlow

Statement Of The National Committee

We publish below the statement issued by the National Committee of the Communist Party (Opposition) on the resignation of Comrade Gitlow from the group.—Editor.

* * *

At the very outset of our existence as an organized group, the National Council of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. (Opposition) declared officially ("Revolutionary Age", December 15, 1929):

"Our struggle has never been nor can it ever be an appendix to any individual or group in the C. P. S. U., victorious or defeated. While we have always condemned the anti-bolshevik methods used by the Stalin leadership in the struggle against Comrade Bukharin on the Russian questions, yet our struggle has never been based upon or associated with the line of Comrade Bukharin on these questions. Indeed the Russian questions never became issues in our struggle. . . . Our struggle is based exclusively upon the tasks of overcoming the present crisis in the Comintern and of restoring it and our party to a Leninist line."

This fundamental viewpoint, which, in fact, laid down the political basis of the existence of our group, was adopted unanimously and was reiterated unanimously on several occasions until a few months ago.

Toward the beginning of 1931, the National Council of our group unanimously adopted a resolution on the "Russian question" in which we fully endorsed the general line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in socialist construction but sharply condemned the factional inner-party course of the Stalin leadership of the C.P.S.U. This resolution was also repeatedly endorsed unanimously as late as June 1932. Comrade Gitlow, as an outstanding leader of our group, fully participated in all these deliberations and entirely approved the unanimous position of our organization.

At about the time of our Second National Conference (September 1932), Comrade Gitlow and a few other comrades began to develop a different position, to the effect that not only was the general line of the C. P. S. U. in economic construction basically wrong, but that the "Russian question is the paramount question" so that "our position on the Russian question determines whether or not our group has a principled justification for existence." Comrade Gitlow's views were presented to the Second National Conference of the Communist Opposition and were decisively rejected by a large majority. For further clarification of the issue, the National Committee organized a most thorough post-conference discussion, in the units and in the press, under conditions of the most extreme freedom of discussion for Comrade Gitlow and those agreeing with him. Finally, when the membership rejected his viewpoint in no uncertain terms, Comrade Gitlow declared that the question was to him a "decisive question of fundamental principle" and that he therefore resigned from the American Communist Opposition. In this connection, it should be noted that, at the very beginning of the discussion, at the first New York membership meeting, Comrade Gitlow had already resigned from the group and only withdrew his resignation under pressure of the expressed will of the membership. So far, Comrade Gitlow remains alone in his action; not a single one of his very few followers has taken the step of breaking with our group.

In the course of the discussion the grave errors of Comrade Gitlow on the "Russian question" were brought out and made clear to everyone. But even more fundamental was Comrade Gitlow's attempt to revise the very political basis of existence of our group, by making the "Russian question" the

"paramount question" and thereby trying to replace our efforts to root our Opposition movement in the conditions of the class struggle and the labor movement of this country by demoralizing speculations upon factional fights and "new turns" in the C. P. S. U. Indeed, the mechanical and artificial transference of issues and factional alignments from the C. P. S. U. to the Communist Parties of the capitalist world, of which Comrade Gitlow has now suddenly become the champion, is regarded by the International Communist Opposition as precisely a root cause of the present crisis in the world Communist movement. For our group to adopt the viewpoint of Comrade Gitlow on this question, would mean to take the steep road to liquidation or else to our conversion into a phrase-mongering sect on the model of the Trotskyites, without roots in our own conditions, with eyes always fixed in unhealthy speculation upon factional developments in the C. P. S. U.

The absurdity of the charge made by Comrade Gitlow that we are "adopting a backstairs policy of getting back into the official Communist Party" is evident from every word and deed of the Communist Opposition. The sharpness and effectiveness of our struggle against the sectarian policies of the official C. P. have been constantly increasing and our organized strength consequently mounting. At the same time, our struggle for Communist unity has been growing more intense, Communist unity on the basis of full party democracy, on the basis of the conditions laid down by Comrade Gitlow himself in his recent pamphlet "Some Plain Words About Communist Unity." We need no "backstairs policy" because our fight for unity is conducted fully in the open before the party membership and the labor movement!

In spite of his sharp differences on important questions, we declare that place is still open for Comrade Gitlow in our group. Within the limits of democratic centralism, Comrade Gitlow is guaranteed his right to maintain his views, to defend and agitate for them when these questions are under discussion, provided only that he undertakes the elementary responsibility of standing on the official platform of the Communist Opposition outside of the group.

Whether Comrade Gitlow will see fit to take his place again in our ranks, remains with him. In any case, we can only reiterate: The struggle for rehabilitation of the Communist movement is a struggle above all individuals, whoever they may be. It is a struggle of principle, which we, as part of the International Communist Opposition, shall carry on until the bolshevik unity of the world Communist movement is restored!

What's Happening in the Communist Movement?

Bertram D. Wolfe

Speaks on

What Does Communist Opposition Stand For?

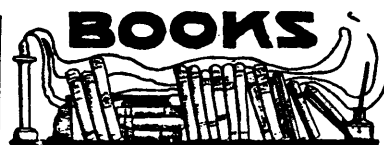
Thurs. Feb. 16, 8 p. m.

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BOOKS
WHAT NEXT? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat, by Leon Trotsky. Pioneer Publishers, New York, 1932.

In a certain sense this pamphlet represents the weakest side of Trotsky, just as the "History of the Russian Revolution" represents his best side. Its analysis is shoddy and careless, its conclusions hasty and often self-contradictory; in less than two hundred pages it succeeds in packing in crudest form the very worst of errors in principle and tactics that have become known under the name of "Trotskyism."

It is hard to tell exactly what Trotsky conceived the situation to be in Germany at the time he was writing. "Bruening's dictatorship is a caricature of Bonapartism," declares Trotsky (p. 38), without the least regard for the Marxist definition of Bonapartism. But only a few months later the von Papen and then the von Schleicher regimes become Bonapartist! Are they, after all, the same? Could anything be more hasty and careless, better refuted by events, than Trotsky's whole analysis of German political development?

Sectarianism exudes from every pore of this pamphlet. Trotsky's analysis of Social-democracy, which leads him to the conclusion that the rhythm of Social-democratic influence follows the course of the strength of capitalism, is so "simple" that it is utterly false; it cannot explain how the radicalization of the workers can ever be expressed in the form of the growth of Social-democracy. Fully in line with the worst traditions of ultra-leftism are Trotsky's remarks on trade union tactics (p. 102). "The fault of the Communist Party," we are told, "does not lie in that it 'splits' the ranks of the proletariat and 'weakens' the Social-democratic unions." Why not? Because these unions are—"Leipart's organizations"! Only too well do we know the logic of calling the A. F. of L. unions "Green's organizations"! After this, it is surely not surprising that Trotsky rejects the idea of "nominating a candidate for president on the part of the united workers front."

The notorious but ill-fated flirtation of Trotsky with the German centrists receives interesting comment in Chapters IX and XII.

In the chapters on the Soviet Union (Chapters X and XI) the positively anti-Soviet standpoint of the writer is brought out without equivocation. The Stalin regime is branded as a form of "plebscitarian Bonapartism" (p. 129) and as "the regime of personal dictatorship" holding the working class "by the throat" (p. 129). We are told of "the complete subjection of the proletariat within the party, the Soviets and the trade unions" (p. 134). The Soviet government is in the hands, according to Trotsky, of a "ruling caste" that "is raised above the masses and lays down the law to them", that has "its own interests, methods and regulations" (p. 121). And yet Trotsky has the audacity to complain when the notorious "theory of Thermidor" is attributed to him!

A revealing sign of the incredible carelessness with which formulations on the most important questions are presented in a pompously pontifical manner is found in Trotsky's remarks on the role of Soviets (p. 92); "Could the Communist Party succeed, during the preparatory epoch, in pushing all other parties out of the ranks of the workers, by uniting under its banner the overwhelming majority of the workers, then there would be no need of Soviets." Absolutely astounding! What then would be the state form of the proletarian dictatorship? Does not Trotsky remember the classical declaration of the Second World Congress: "The authentic Soviets of the masses are the historically revealed form of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Y. Y. Z.