

WORKERS' AGE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

VOL 2. No. 12.

NEW YORK, N. Y., APRIL 15, 1933.

PRICE 5 CENTS

For Labor Unity Against Fascism

The unity of labor against Fascism and the offensive of capital is the great need of the hour. With the way opened before them by the criminal policy of compromise and surrender of the Social-democracy, by years of practise of the policy of the "lesser evil," the Nazi murder regime is in the saddle in Germany and capitalist reaction has received a tremendous impetus all over the world. Upon the international Communist movement has fallen the grave responsibility in this crisis of raising and championing the tactics of labor unity against the class enemy.

In its Manifesto, published in the "Daily Worker" of March 18, the Executive Committee of the Communist International urges all Communist Parties to propose to the Social-democratic Parties and to the labor organizations of the various countries, a united front against Fascism and the offensive of capital. The Communist Opposition, which has for years championed the Leninist tactics of the united front and emphasized the life-and-death necessity of the unity of labor against capitalist reaction and the menace of Fascism, enthusiastically greets this sharp and very welcome turn in official Communist tactics and pledges itself to throw all its energies into a genuine and thoroughgoing execution of a policy of unity. Never were Communist unity and the united action of labor more needed than today and no obstacle must be permitted

Manifesto of the C. P. - Opposition!

to stand in the way of their realization.

* * *

TWO DANGERS!

It is in this spirit, in the constructive spirit of contributing to the development of a really effective turn in the tactics of the Communist International and of our party, that we raise the following grave political questions for your consideration and for the consideration of all party members:

1. In its enlarged session of February-March 1926, the Executive Committee of the Communist International indicated two fundamental mistakes that a Communist Party must avoid in applying the tactics of the united front: "(a) In the cases in which our parties have appealed to the Social-democrats, they have put up as a condition for common action demands which are not immediately acceptable to the reformistically inclined workers . . . (b) In attempting to reach an agreement with the Social-democracy, our organizations have sometimes undertaken the obligation of carrying out no agitation against the Social-democratic party."

As laid down in the Manifesto of the E.C.C.I. and as reiterated in the statement of the Secretariat of the C.C. of the C.P. U.S.A., published in the "Daily Worker"

on March 18, the united front policy contains both of these grave errors. At the present time to insist that a united labor front, in the U. S. A. as in other countries, be set up not on one or two fundamental, burning issues but on an extensive, all-inclusive program, embracing everything from Roosevelt's economy program and the shipment of munitions to Japan up to German Fascism, is very clearly to "put up as a condition for common action demands which are not immediately acceptable" to the masses of the workers in the A. F. of L. unions and the S.P. It would be far more realistic and would serve much more effectively the cause of labor unity, if the attempt were made to initiate each united front action on a closely related group of immediate issues, above all today on the basis of a protest against the Nazi murder regime and of a movement for the relief and defense of the victims of the Fascist terror in Germany.

To undertake to "refrain from making attacks on the Social-democratic organizations . . . during the time of common fight against capital and Fascism", as the E.C.C.I. recommends, is a most serious violation of Communist principle. It represents a capitulation to the "non-aggression pact" manoeuvres of the Social-democratic leaders; it results in virtual liquidation of the Commu-

nist Party. In the original theses on the united front issued by the Communist International in 1922, the Executive Committee warned:

"The Executive of the Communist International considers the absolute and complete independence of each Communist Party entering into any contact with the parties of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals as the main condition, equally and unreservedly ultimate for the Communist Parties of all countries; and particularly their complete freedom in expounding their views and in their criticism of the adversaries of Communism. Whilst the Communists submit to the principles of a common action, they must preserve the right and possibility of expressing their opinion on the policy of all the organizations of the working class without exception, not only before or after the action but, if necessary, even during the action. Any desistance from this condition is not to be allowed under any circumstances whatever."

We feel it necessary to warn that, unless these two grave errors are immediately corrected, the turn of the E.C.C.I. will be futile; it will remain merely a gesture on paper, sterile, without meaning except to add to the confusion; or, what is even worse, it will lead to the disarming of the Communist Party before the trade union

(Continued on Page 7)

ZIMMERMAN IN LOCAL 22

Is Elected Manager; Big Majority in Executive

New York City
Charles S. Zimmerman, candidate of the joint Dressmakers Progressive League - Dressmakers Trade Union Circle, was elected manager of Local 22, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, in the elections held on April 6. Out of a total of 325 votes cast he received 396. Stempler, the candidate of the so-called "Left Group",

(Continued on page 2)

MORRIS LANGER IS MURDERED!

Newark, N. J.
Morris Langer, Communist leader of the New Jersey fur workers, died recently as a result of injuries received when a planted bomb exploded in his automobile. Thousands of workers crowded the needle trade district in New York to attend his funeral.

Langer, the victim of a brutal assassination, was a trade union leader of long standing among the fur dressers and dyers and was conducting a strike against the A. Hollander Company.

This is the murder committed by hired assassins of this viciously anti-union firm in the present strike. Armed with immunity by its local political influence, the Hollander Company has always used the most ruthless terror against attempts to organize its plants. Langer is the fourth to fall victim to the fur dye bosses murder drive since organization attempts were made.

The "New Deal" Is A Double Deal

'Economy' Measures, Farm 'Aid' And Jobless 'Relief'

WHAT the "New Deal" of President Roosevelt is really turning out to be, is becoming only too clear to the people of this country—a brazen DOUBLE-DEAL, a crude confidence trick played upon the masses of the workers and farmers of the United States!

* * *

"ECONOMY" AND FARM "RELIEF"

Tens of thousands of veterans voted for Franklin D. Roosevelt, as a protest against the bloody treatment the Bonus Army received at the hands of Herbert Hoover. And among the first acts of the new President was to force thru a law giving him dictatorial power to cut veterans pensions as much as he liked. This, and a 15% cut in salaries of government employees, constitute the "New Deal" program of "economy"! In what does Roosevelt differ from Hoover by so much as a hair's-breadth?

Then comes farm "relief." There are huge surpluses of grain and farm products generally and yet the farmers are destitute and millions of jobless in this country are starving. What does our "New Deal" President propose? Not to have the government get the "over-produced" grain to the starving! Oh, no! That would be Socialism, Communism, and other "horrible" things that used to bring nightmares to Hoover. What Roosevelt's farm "relief" plan aims at is to use government pressure to cut down acreage and production and to raise prices of farm products, in other words, to raise the cost of living even more for the hard-pressed masses of town and country! A "New Deal" indeed!

* * *

UNEMPLOYMENT "RELIEF" THRU FORCED

And unemployment "relief"? The special feature of the Roosevelt plan to "help" the unemployed is to take away millions of dollars of funds set aside for regular public works and to use these funds to set up labor camps at which men will work under military discipline (under control of the War Department) for the munificent sum of one dollar

a day! From all parts of the country, especially from innumerable labor organizations, headed by the A. F. of L., have come vigorous protests against this scheme not only as a plan of forced labor, depriving the jobless of their ordinary personal and civil rights, but also as a lever for lowering wages throughout the country, intensifying distress, cutting down buying power and thus really increasing unemployment. And so, in answer to the protest, Congress has cut out the dollar-a-day provision and has given President Roosevelt dictatorial power to set the wage for these militarized laborers! Now they are to be slaves indeed! This is the "New Deal"!

* * *

FOR A REAL NEW DEAL!

Is it any wonder then that, in the "New York World-Telegram" of March 27, Dr. H. Parker Willis, former secretary of the Federal Reserve Board, declared:

"Indeed, those are not lacking who incline to the view that fundamentally after all, there is no great difference between the philosophy of the old and the new administrations as to 'relief', however much contrast there may be in the forms the underlying ideas may take."

"No great difference between the philosophies" of Hoover and Roosevelt! Right! Both stand for the same robber system of capitalism, which breeds poverty, misery, unemployment and war. Both stand for Big Business, for Wall Street, for the bankers and manufacturers; both completely ignore the "Forgotten Man", the worker and farmer.

If the workers, employed and unemployed, and the working farmers are to accomplish anything politically in their own interests, they must begin by breaking loose from the big boss parties and by forming a broad and powerful Labor Party, based on the trade unions and other workers organizations as well as upon farmers leagues. Such a party would be a big first step to a real "New Deal" for labor in this country.

S. W. P. THRU IN GERMANY

Left Socialists Return To Reformist Party

Berlin, Germany,
By majority decision of its national committee, the Socialist Workers Party of Germany (S.W.P.) has decided to dissolve and to urge its members to rejoin the Social-democratic Party. This decision was made upon the recommendation of the leaders of the party, Seydewitz, Rosenfeld, A. Siemsen, etc. What the left wing of the party, headed by former members of the German Communist Opposition (Walcher, Froehlich, etc.), will do, is not yet clear.

Thus ends the illusion of the resurgence of revolutionary Socialism thru a movement "in between" Social-democracy and Communism!

Only a short time ago Trotsky wrote in "What Next" (p. 149): "In reality, if one juxtaposes these two organizations—the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party Opposition—the advantages are on the side of the former. The S. W. P. is not a morass but a live trend. Its direction is from the Right to the Left, to the side of Communism. . . The denomination morass is much more applicable to the organization of Brandler-Thalheimer, which is characterized by a complete ideological stagnation."

And today, the "morass" of Trotsky is the only Communist force actively fighting in Hitler Germany, while his "live trend" has returned to the bosom of Social-democracy. History has the peculiar trick of puncturing the factional speculations of the "genius of error" at Prinkipo!

V.F. Calverton MARXISM and CULTURE
April 16 at 51 W. 14 St.

"But Then Germany Is Not Italy!"

Berlin, Germany
"Germany is not Italy!" Both the Social-democratic and official Communist Party leaders never tire of repeating this phrase in the attempt to justify their theory that, after all, the Nazi regime in Germany is "not quite" the classic Fascism of Italy, that, after all, it will "collapse of itself," even if the working class does not succeed in uniting and collecting its strength for a counter-offensive. Never was a phrase more thoroughly false and more dangerous!

Fascism And The Bourgeoisie
What are the facts upon which this thesis "Germany is not Italy!" is supposed to rest? Two facts are brought forward to show that in Germany Fascism in the Italian style is "impossible": on the one hand, the strength of the bourgeoisie; on the other hand, the strength of the labor movement. In this article we will consider the first phase of this question.

The Fascist dictatorship signifies the handing over of direct political power by the bourgeoisie to the Fascists in order to save its social and economic existence. The Fascist dictatorship rests upon the position of monopoly of the Fascist party, clutching the state apparatus in its own hands and depriving all other parties, the bourgeois parties included, of any control over the executive power and even of their very existence. This has happened in Italy but, we are told, this can never happen in Germany. The German bourgeoisie is alleged to be altogether too strong for the Nazis to deprive it of direct control of power altogether. The significant difference between the two countries, the difference in their economic structure, one being primarily an agrarian country and other a highly developed industrial land, is supposed to have shown itself even in the way the two Fascist regimes were formed and came into power.

According to this interpretation, Mussolini was able to carry thru his coup d'etat, his march on Rome, because the Fascist movement was very strong and the bourgeoisie powerless. In Germany, on the other hand, Hitler did not dare march on Berlin because of the resistance of the ruling bourgeois circles and so German Fascism has been forced to forego all claims to monopoly and to satisfy itself with a compromise.

But what is the truth? If any comparison in the organizational strength of the Italian Fascists and the Nazis is to be made, the advantage must be recognized as residing with the latter. Both the membership of the two organizations when they took power and their parliamentary strength show this. When Mussolini triumphed in 1922 he had only 22 deputies in a chamber of 535 (on the basis of the elections of 1921); on the march on Rome he had only 50,000 Black-Shirts took part. Possessed of much greater parliamentary tradition than the German bourgeoisie, having held power for a much longer time, the Italian bourgeoisie had to be faced with a show of force before it would hand over power to the Fascists. The Italian bourgeoisie was quite anxious, of course, to have the Fascists participate in power, to send a few representatives into the government, but it was certainly not enthusiastic to hand over the whole apparatus to them. When, in the Fall of 1922, the Italian bourgeoisie stood in the same position as the German capitalists reached ten years later, when the bankruptcy of the parliamentary system became perfectly clear, the solution of the crisis without the intervention of the Fascists was altogether out of the question, it was proposed to form a new cabinet under the conservative, Salandra, the Italian Papen, to which some Fascists were to be invited. But since Fascism positively refused to have anything to do with the government unless it completely controlled the executive power, it issued the call for the march on Rome. Only under the impact of thousands of marching Black-Shirts did the government give up its resistance and Mussolini was named Premier.

Away With Any New Illusions!

by A. P.

Fascism And The Government
In Germany, on the contrary, neither violence nor even the serious threat of it, no marching Storm-Troops, were needed to bring Hitler to power. Here the bourgeoisie itself, seeing no other way out, called him in to hand the power over. On the contrary, too, it was the preceding government of Schleicher that tried to resort to a coup d'etat to save itself from Fascism; as we now know, it was really planned by a Fascist.

Fascism signifies the handing over of direct political power by the bourgeoisie to the Fascist movement. The truth of this conception is shown by the example of Italy. The Mussolini government consists only of Fascists; in it there are no representatives of the traditional bourgeois parties. Indeed, these parties have long been abolished. But in the Hitler government there are representatives of the Nationalists; can we therefore call it a Fascist dictatorship? Perhaps, as the Social-democrats and liberals say and Trotsky echoes, the Fascist dictatorship is still in the future? Perhaps, it will never come about because of the strength of the Nationalists and the other bourgeois parties.

This whole line of argument misses the fact that, in Italy too, the traditional bourgeois parties took a long time, after the march on Rome, in disappearing from the political stage. When Mussolini was named Premier by the King on October 29, 1922—by the way, he came to power in the "legal" way, according to the prescriptions of the constitution—he did not form a purely Fascist cabinet immediately; on the contrary, he took the representatives of the most important bourgeois parties into the cabinet. Along with six Fascists, there were in the Cabinet representatives of the "Social Democrats" (a left bourgeois party), one conservative, one democrat and two representatives of the Popolari, the Catholic popular party, which stood more to the left than the German Center. It was only at the end of 1924, after two years of Fascist government, that Mussolini was able to get rid of his allies and set up a purely Fascist cabinet. A short time after that, following the murder of Matteotti, the non-Fascist parties even succeeded in putting up a fight weak tho it was, against the Fascist regime and in achieving a temporary amelioration of its practice. The miserable and ill-considered " Aventine" opposition stimulated the final end of parliamentarism. Only at the end of 1926 did the opposition parties lose their parliamentary existence. Only in 1928 was parliamentarism completely abolished; what it took Mussolini ten years to accomplish, Hitler is bringing about in months.

Fascism And Bourgeois Democracy
The attitude of Fascism to bourgeois democracy and to the parliamentary system is closely connected with its struggle against the traditional bourgeois parties. Here also the German workers can get no "consolation" out of any comparison between Germany and Italy. In its early stages, Italian Fascism put great value upon its "legal," "constitutional" character. As prescribed by the constitution, Mussolini appeared before parliament and received (forced thru) a vote of confidence in his ministry. In order to create a parliamentary majority for the Fascists a new election law was forced thru in 1923 and it was only in 1924 that this majority was finally obtained. A short time after that, following the murder of Matteotti, the non-Fascist parties even succeeded in putting up a fight weak tho it was, against the Fascist regime and in achieving a temporary amelioration of its practice. The miserable and ill-considered " Aventine" opposition stimulated the final end of parliamentarism. Only at the end of 1926 did the opposition parties lose their parliamentary existence. Only in 1928 was parliamentarism completely abolished; what it took Mussolini ten years to accomplish, Hitler is bringing about in months.

What are the facts upon which this thesis "Germany is not Italy!" is supposed to rest? Two facts are brought forward to show that in Germany Fascism in the Italian style is "impossible": on the one hand, the strength of the bourgeoisie; on the other hand, the strength of the labor movement. In this article we will consider the first phase of this question. The Fascist dictatorship signifies the handing over of direct political power by the bourgeoisie to the Fascists in order to save its social and economic existence. The Fascist dictatorship rests upon the position of monopoly of the Fascist party, clutching the state apparatus in its own hands and depriving all other parties, the bourgeois parties included, of any control over the executive power and even of their very existence. This has happened in Italy but, we are told, this can never happen in Germany. The German bourgeoisie is alleged to be altogether too strong for the Nazis to deprive it of direct control of power altogether. The significant difference between the two countries, the difference in their economic structure, one being primarily an agrarian country and other a highly developed industrial land, is supposed to have shown itself even in the way the two Fascist regimes were formed and came into power. According to this interpretation, Mussolini was able to carry thru his coup d'etat, his march on Rome, because the Fascist movement was very strong and the bourgeoisie powerless. In Germany, on the other hand, Hitler did not dare march on Berlin because of the resistance of the ruling bourgeois circles and so German Fascism has been forced to forego all claims to monopoly and to satisfy itself with a compromise. But what is the truth? If any comparison in the organizational strength of the Italian Fascists and the Nazis is to be made, the advantage must be recognized as residing with the latter. Both the membership of the two organizations when they took power and their parliamentary strength show this. When Mussolini triumphed in 1922 he had only 22 deputies in a chamber of 535 (on the basis of the elections of 1921); on the march on Rome he had only 50,000 Black-Shirts took part. Possessed of much greater parliamentary tradition than the German bourgeoisie, having held power for a much longer time, the Italian bourgeoisie had to be faced with a show of force before it would hand over power to the Fascists. The Italian bourgeoisie was quite anxious, of course, to have the Fascists participate in power, to send a few representatives into the government, but it was certainly not enthusiastic to hand over the whole apparatus to them. When, in the Fall of 1922, the Italian bourgeoisie stood in the same position as the German capitalists reached ten years later, when the bankruptcy of the parliamentary system became perfectly clear, the solution of the crisis without the intervention of the Fascists was altogether out of the question, it was proposed to form a new cabinet under the conservative, Salandra, the Italian Papen, to which some Fascists were to be invited. But since Fascism positively refused to have anything to do with the government unless it completely controlled the executive power, it issued the call for the march on Rome. Only under the impact of thousands of marching Black-Shirts did the government give up its resistance and Mussolini was named Premier.

Against The Sabotage Of The Union Burecrats!

WHY THE ORGANIZATION DRIVE WAS CALLED OFF

A Statement
We publish below a statement on the recent organization drive of Local 22 issued jointly by the Dressmakers Progressive League and the Dressmakers Trade Union Circle.—Editor

The much-advertised organization drive is now over. The hope of the dressmakers that something would be done during this season to improve somewhat their miserable conditions has vanished.

Why The Failure?
But what is the truth? If any comparison in the organizational strength of the Italian Fascists and the Nazis is to be made, the advantage must be recognized as residing with the latter. Both the membership of the two organizations when they took power and their parliamentary strength show this. When Mussolini triumphed in 1922 he had only 22 deputies in a chamber of 535 (on the basis of the elections of 1921); on the march on Rome he had only 50,000 Black-Shirts took part. Possessed of much greater parliamentary tradition than the German bourgeoisie, having held power for a much longer time, the Italian bourgeoisie had to be faced with a show of force before it would hand over power to the Fascists. The Italian bourgeoisie was quite anxious, of course, to have the Fascists participate in power, to send a few representatives into the government, but it was certainly not enthusiastic to hand over the whole apparatus to them. When, in the Fall of 1922, the Italian bourgeoisie stood in the same position as the German capitalists reached ten years later, when the bankruptcy of the parliamentary system became perfectly clear, the solution of the crisis without the intervention of the Fascists was altogether out of the question, it was proposed to form a new cabinet under the conservative, Salandra, the Italian Papen, to which some Fascists were to be invited. But since Fascism positively refused to have anything to do with the government unless it completely controlled the executive power, it issued the call for the march on Rome. Only under the impact of thousands of marching Black-Shirts did the government give up its resistance and Mussolini was named Premier.

On the eve of this season, after much discussion, the Joint Board decided on a big organization drive against the open shops in New York and the outlying districts (Brooklyn, Bronx, etc.) The object of this drive was to organize as many open shops as possible; simultaneously with this drive, the Joint Board was to take an aggressive stand against the Association and begin a fight to improve conditions in the union shops. Another objective was to establish an independent department and to do away with the old methods of organization work thru "professional" committees by establishing a rank and file organization department. The shop chairmen, at a special meeting, heartily endorsed this plan.

In view of the fact that Local 22 firmly opposed the old methods of organization work, Brother Bluestein, manager of Local 22, was appointed to take charge of the drive. But as soon as he accepted the nomination, the sabotage of the Joint Board began.

In spite of all pledges of cooperation on the part of the International and the other locals of the Joint Board (Locals 10, 35 and 39), no funds were provided to begin the campaign or to make it possible to carry it on on an extensive scale. In spite of the refusal to give Brother Bluestein full charge of the drive, Antonini was assigned to Brooklyn to conduct the drive there along the old lines, with the "professional" committees. Thus the Joint Board nullified its decision to rid the union of these "professionals," who are pests in the union, but merely transferred them from one corner of the union to another. Such sabotage of the decisions and of the work of the organization committee went on in every direction.

Instead of carrying out the decision for a more aggressive stand against the Association and begin a fight to enforce union conditions in the union shops, a conference with the Association was called where a new partnership scheme was worked out. As a result of the conference with the Association, the Joint Board, upon the recommendation of Hochman, who claimed also to have sanction of President Dubinsky, made a decision which virtually prohibited the organization department from making independent settlements, thus clearly reversing the decision to establish an independent department. Naturally Local 22 flatly refused to carry out this decision.

At this conference, too, the leadership of the International and the Joint Board made a new partnership deal with the Association to carry on a joint campaign against the jobbers. On the basis of this deal, the union leadership placed all reliance that the Association would deliver shops to them and therefore saw no more use in maintaining an organization department.

The sabotage of the organization drive also had another objective, to undermine the idea of the possibility of rank and file organization work and to discredit the progressive administration of Local 22.

The Drive Is Killed
In the face of the hardships that confronted with this season, particularly the lack of work in the shops, this sabotage on the part of the Joint Board made it impossible to continue with the drive. The criminal conduct of the Joint Board in this situation must meet with the severest condemnation off all members of the union.

The policy of relying upon the employers to build the union and to deliver shops has been proved a failure time and again, with disastrous consequences for the union and the conditions of the workers. The experiences of the organization drive must bring home even more strongly to the workers the big lesson that any improvement in their conditions can only come thru an uncompromising struggle against the officialdom and its class collaboration policies and methods. We firmly believe that it is only thru the mobilization of the dressmakers, thru the building up of a rank and file organization department, thru an aggressive stand against the employers associations and thru an uncompromising struggle against the union bureaucracy, can the workers find a way out of the present chaos in the industry.

At this conference, too, the leadership of the International and the Joint Board made a new partnership deal with the Association to carry on a joint campaign against the jobbers. On the basis of this deal, the union leadership placed all reliance that the Association would deliver shops to them and therefore saw no more use in maintaining an organization department. The sabotage of the organization drive also had another objective, to undermine the idea of the possibility of rank and file organization work and to discredit the progressive administration of Local 22. In the face of the hardships that confronted with this season, particularly the lack of work in the shops, this sabotage on the part of the Joint Board made it impossible to continue with the drive. The criminal conduct of the Joint Board in this situation must meet with the severest condemnation off all members of the union. The policy of relying upon the employers to build the union and to deliver shops has been proved a failure time and again, with disastrous consequences for the union and the conditions of the workers. The experiences of the organization drive must bring home even more strongly to the workers the big lesson that any improvement in their conditions can only come thru an uncompromising struggle against the officialdom and its class collaboration policies and methods. We firmly believe that it is only thru the mobilization of the dressmakers, thru the building up of a rank and file organization department, thru an aggressive stand against the employers associations and thru an uncompromising struggle against the union bureaucracy, can the workers find a way out of the present chaos in the industry.

"I Accuse!"
by M. N. ROY
From the Suppressed Statement of N. N. Roy on Trial for Treason Before Sessions Court, Cawnpore, India.
With an Introduction by ASWAN KUMAR SHARMA — 10c a copy — reductions for bundle orders

TOM MOONEY'S LETTER
(Continued from Page 3)
This great working class undertaking is as humanly possible. Don't for one minute think that I have not held a deep heartfelt appreciation for the international solidarity expressed in the many messages you have allowed to me from our comrades in Germany. I want you to extend to them my best fraternal comradely greetings and proletarian fellowship and thank them for what they are doing in the fight for my freedom.
Tom Mooney.

weeks, parliamentarism is completely and thoroughly done away with! Here again, years in Italy have become months in Germany.

Substantially the same is the case with the abolition of democratic rights. The destruction of the freedom of the press, which Hitler has accomplished thru the "decree for the protection of the German people," Mussolini was not able to achieve before June and December 1924. The "exception laws" issued by Mussolini in 1926, four years after the seizure of power, are already matters of bloody fact in Germany today.

To go around prating: "Germany is not Italy!" is to confuse and disarm the German working class in the hour of its gravest crisis. The Nazi regime of murder and enslavement can be beaten back and smashed only if the German workers realize fully the gravity of the situation, free themselves of all illusions and are prepared to unite all their forces against the common enemy!

THE N. Y. MAY DAY CONFERENCE

New York City
The New York May Day Conference held on Sunday, March 26, once more revealed that the party is far from having made a complete turn in the united front. Of the 530 delegates and 116 organizations, there were only nine delegates from five A. F. of L. locals! There were two delegates from the Paoli-Zion organizations. All the other delegates were from the Communist Party, Young Communist League and their auxiliaries.

As customary at recent conferences, Carl Winters of the Unemployed Council opened this one too. Clarence Hathaway, district organizer of the Communist Party, was the reporter. To the usual confusion already existing in the party, Hathaway contributed his bit by concealing the facts of the real situation in Germany. He insisted that the working class of Germany had not been defeated. He dwelt upon the differences existing in the Fascist camp. He placed great hope upon the continuation of the crisis to cause the collapse of Fascism. He stressed the supposed advantages of Italian Fascism over German Fascism. So blind had all illusions become that the Representative Morrill put his protective tariff thru Congress in 1916 only after the rebellion had broken out.

Secession, then, did not take place because the Morrill Tariff had been passed in Congress. But, at best, the Morrill Tariff was passed in Congress because secession had taken place. When, in 1831, South Carolina had its first fit of secession, the protective tariff of 1828, to be sure, served it as a pretext but only as a pretext, as is known from a statement made by General Jackson. This time, however, the old pretext was, in fact, not repeated. At the Secession Congress at Montgomery, they avoided every reference to the tariff question because the sugar cultivation of Louisiana, one of the most influential of Southern states, rests entirely upon protection.

Slavery The Key To The Situation
Above all it must be remembered that the war did not emanate from the North but from the South. The North is on the defensive. The question of the principle of the American Civil War is answered by the battle-cries with which the South broke the peace. Stephens, the Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy, declared in the Secession Congress that what essentially distinguished the newly-hatched constitution at Montgomery from the Constitution of the Washingtons and Jeffersons was that now, for the first time, slavery was recognized as an institution good in itself and as the foundation of the entire state structure, while the Revolutionary Fathers, men possessed with the prejudices of the eighteenth century, had treated slavery as an evil imported from England and to be removed in the course of time. Another matadore of the South, Mr. Spratt, called out: "For us it is a question of founding a great republic. . . If then, the North drew its sword for the defense of the Union, had not the South already declared that the

contingency of a future war would be faced with a show of force before it would hand over power to the Fascists. The Italian bourgeoisie was quite anxious, of course, to have the Fascists participate in power, to send a few representatives into the government, but it was certainly not enthusiastic to hand over the whole apparatus to them. When, in the Fall of 1922, the Italian bourgeoisie stood in the same position as the German capitalists reached ten years later, when the bankruptcy of the parliamentary system became perfectly clear, the solution of the crisis without the intervention of the Fascists was altogether out of the question, it was proposed to form a new cabinet under the conservative, Salandra, the Italian Papen, to which some Fascists were to be invited. But since Fascism positively refused to have anything to do with the government unless it completely controlled the executive power, it issued the call for the march on Rome. Only under the impact of thousands of marching Black-Shirts did the government give up its resistance and Mussolini was named Premier.

The Civil War in North America

Karl Marx on American History

by Karl Marx

We publish below some paragraphs of an article by Karl Marx entitled "The Civil War in North America." The article was published in the *Vienna "Presse"* of October 25, 1861. This article, as well as a number of others written by Marx on the Civil War and the correspondence between Marx and Engels, emphasizes not only the close attention with which the great thinker followed American events but also his realistic insight into their historical significance.—Editor.

London, Oct. 20, 1861.
For months, the tone-setting London press, weekly and daily, has been busy repeating the same litany on the American Civil War. While it insults the free states of the North, it anxiously defends itself against the suspicion of sympathizing with the slave states of the South. In fact, it continually writes two articles: one article in which it attacks the North, and another in which it excuses its attacks upon the North. . . . The palliative reasons are essentially as follows: The war between North and South is a tariff war. Moreover, the war has no principles, does not touch the slavery question and arms, which it desires of the North for sovereignty. . . . The war between the North and South . . . is a mere tariff war, a war between a system of protection and the system of free trade, England standing naturally on the side of free trade. Shall the slaveowner enjoy all the fruits of slave labor, or shall he be cheated out of a part of it by the protectionists of the North? That is the question involved in this war.

continuation of slavery was no longer compatible with the continuation of the Union? . . . Under the presidency of Buchanan, the domination which the South had, thru its alliance with the Northern Democracy, repeatedly usurped over the Union, reached its height. . . . In internal policy as well as in foreign policy the guiding star of the government was the interest of the slaveholders. . . . Armed extension of slavery outwards was the avowed policy of the national policy. In fact, the Union became the slave of the 300,000 slaveholders who rule the South. . . . All attempts at resistance to the ever-growing aggressions of the slave states of the Union, frequently since 1817, had hitherto been shattered by the alliance of the slaveocracy with the Northern Democracy. . . . The struggle for Kansas caused the first split within the Democratic party and called the Republican party into life. . . .

The Republican Party And The South
At their second national convention for the presidential election, May 17, 1860, the Republicans repeated their program of 1856, only enriched by a few additions. Its chief content was this: not a foot of new territory is henceforth to be ceded to slavery! The bucanerising foreign policy must cease. The reopening of the slave-trade is

stigmatized. Finally, free-soil laws for the furthering of free colonization are to be passed. . . . The decisively important point in this program was that not a foot of new territory was to be accorded to slavery, that it should rather remain confined once and for all within the limits of the states in which it already existed legally. Slavery should thus evidently be removed to the interior. But continual expansion of territory and continual spread of slavery over and beyond its old boundaries is a life-principle for the slave states of the Union. . . . One of the leaders of the South, Senator Toombs, speaking at the Secession Congress of Montgomery, strikingly formulated the economic law imposed by the continual extension of slavery. "If," he said, "no great increase in slave territory takes place, the slaves will run the whites out within fifteen years or else the whites will run the slaves out. . . ."

Secondly, in order to assert influence in the Senate and, thru the Senate, over the entire United States, the South needed the consent of the formation of new slave states. . . . Finally, the number of actual slaveholders in the South does not amount to more than 300,000, a

narrow oligarchy pitted against many millions of so-called poor whites, the mass of whom have been constantly growing as a result of the concentration of landed property and whose condition can only be compared with that of the Roman plebians at the time of the extreme decadence of Rome. Only thru the acquisition and the prospect of the acquisition of new territory, as well as thru pirate expeditions, is it possible to reconcile the interests of these poor whites with those of the slaveholders, to give their restless urge for activity a direction free from danger, to decoy them with the prospect of perhaps becoming slaveholders themselves.

A confinement of slavery within its old terrain would thus of necessity lead to its gradual extinction in accordance with economic law, would politically destroy the hegemony which the slave states have exercised thru the Senate, and would finally expose the slaveholders to the danger of their own states, to threatening danger from the poor whites. With the principle that all further expansion of slave territory is to be legally forbidden, the Republicans therefore attacked the domination of the slaveholders at its very root. The Republican election victory naturally had to drive to an open struggle between North and South. This electoral victory itself, as already

mentioned, was conditioned by the split in the Democratic camp. . . . The entire movement rested and rests, as we see, upon the slave question. Not in the sense whether the slaves should or should not be directly emancipated within the existing slave states but whether the North should continue to subordinate themselves to an oligarchy of 300,000 slave holders, whether the vast territories of the Republic should become plantations of free states or of slavery whether the national policy of the Union should make as it stogans the armed extension of slavery over Mexico, Central and South America. . . .

and its replacement by feudalism. (The Romans performed feats of engineering which were not duplicated for a thousand or more years after the fall of Rome.) Even a slight knowledge of history will reveal the answer. These civilizations were not destroyed from within, they were shattered from within, by the sharpening of the class struggle. Rome was "conquered" by the barbarians only when it had lost its internal cohesion.

According to technocracy, historical development is in a straight line—"unidirectional and irreversible." That is not true. Human society has developed in a zig-zag fashion, in cycles, in spirals thru contradictions. The development of human society can be understood only thru the application of the yardstick of Marxian dialectics (according to Scott, an "interesting intellectual pastime.") "The technocratic method cannot reveal the historic process, cannot indicate the direction of development, cannot even trace the development of engineering itself.

The Newest "Substitute" For Communism

TECHNOCRACY AND THE WORKING CLASS

by Herbert Zam

(Continued in this issue)
Under a system of technocracy, every family will receive the equivalent of a \$20,000 a year income for a working week of eight hours. That sounds very nice, but what must we do to attain such a society? Nothing! It seems that the chief content was this: not a foot of new territory is henceforth to be ceded to slavery! The bucanerising foreign policy must cease. The reopening of the slave-trade is

geois—a deceitful illusion for a militant worker. The emancipation of the working class can be the work of the working class alone. It can have no truck with anything which counsels passivity, inaction and submission—the trade marks of technocracy.

Technocracy As A System
Technocracy is a self-sufficient system of ideas. It contains a critique of the present social order, a proposal for another one and an interpretation of history, all based on a unified conception of "energy level" as the motivating force in human society. Technocracy has produced what we can call the technological interpretation of history, a competitor of the materialist conception of history. According to technocracy, all history is the history of the change from one energy-level to a higher one. (The original energy-level of man (the human machine) was 2,000 kilocalories per day. With the domestication of animals and the discovery of a few simple tools, man's energy rose to 4,000 kilocalories per day. Then a period of "seven thousand static years" intervened. One hundred and fifty years ago (the beginning of the industrial revolution) began the great transformation in humanity's energy-level, resulting in the present high level of 150,000 kilocalories per day.

History is the product of class changes, even within the same energy-level. Different property relations have existed in the "static" years preceding the "energy revolution." Within the same fall, world centers shifted from one country to another, from one continent to another. Changes in class relations were the primary movers here, not changes in energy production or consumption. The complete omission of class relations from the canvas leaves us a frame without the picture and the technocrat presumably explain the conquest of one nation by another on the basis of a higher energy-level. (Chase thus explains the conquest of the Incas and Aztecs by Spaniards.) But in that case, what is the explanation of the conquest of a nation (or civilization) at a higher energy-level by one at a lower one? How explain the conquest of Rome by the barbarians? How explain the destruction of slave civilization

calories per man per day. These are the three great changes in human society, the three stages in history. There is no room for social changes, only for mechanical changes, and that, only mechanical changes accompanied by changes in the means of the production or utilization of mechanical energy (not human energy).

This conception is utterly false. Man has progressed not merely thru improved mechanics, thru greater production of energy, but also thru better social organization, as exemplified by cooperation and division of labor. But even if we grant the point about energy changes, the picture is still inaccurate. The period preceding the industrial revolution was not a static one. In those seven thousand static years we saw the rise of slave civilization and its decline, the rise and destruction of feudalism, the birth and rise of capitalism. The capitalist system was born before the industrial revolution, before we reached the 150,000 energy-level of the technocrats. The industrial revolution is the child of capitalism, and not the other way around. As we pointed out before, the development of the means of production is the great historic contribution of capitalism to human history.

Have You Read?
THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, by Jay Lovestone 10c
SOME PLAIN WORDS ON COMMUNIST UNITY, by Ben Gitlow 5c
THE HERITAGE OF THE CIVIL WAR, by Will Herberg 5c
FOR REVOLUTION, by V. F. Calverton 25c

Reductions for bundle orders
+ WORKERS AGE PUB. ASS'N
51 West 14th Street

From Fad To Cult
Technocracy started out as a fad and rapidly is being transformed into a cult. Among the requirements of a cult must be mystery and exclusiveness. Technocracy has made every effort at mystery and secrecy, expressed in its language, ideas and methods. How we come to the exclusiveness. The scientific utopia which we were promised and which we were led to believe depended upon a certain energy-level (150,000 kilocalories per man per day) should certainly hold for any country meeting the energy requirement. But no! Technocracy as a future utopia is reserved for the chosen people—the inhabitants of the "American continental area," which "from the standpoint of its geologic set-up, equipment, personnel, and the state of its technology, is competent and ready to inaugurate a new era in the life of man." Not having this geologic set-up, etc., the people of the rest of the world are doomed to either extinction or a return to medieval conditions. This is a sort of technocratic Monroe Doctrine. The "American continental area"! With Mexico? With Central America? Perhaps even with South America? Canada is, of course, included. A nice little imperialist dream covered with engineering terms and utopian promises!

The working class in Germany, in England, in Italy, in France, in the Soviet Union, the millions of toilers in China, India, Africa—technocracy has no future for them. They do not fit into its engineering strait-jacket. The international character of capitalism, of the class struggle of imperialism, having converted the world into an international system of economy and established the basis of international working class solidarity, have also made possible the overthrow of the system of capitalism on a world scale and the erection of a world socialist society. As in all other questions, technocracy would destroy the international solidarity of the working class, eliminate the struggle against imperialism and

(Continued on Page 8)

The C. P. Opposition on the United Front

We publish below the theses on the united front recently adopted by the bureau of the International Communist Opposition (I.V.K.O.).

Declaration of the International Bureau

1. The purpose of the proletarian united front must be the common struggle of the masses of the Social democratic and Communist workers in defense of their rights and interests against capital, against the bourgeois state and the capitalist employers.

From the standpoint of Communism we regard it as impermissible for the Executive of the Communist International to declare itself ready to accept, under certain circumstances, the "non-aggression pact" of Social-democrats and Communists proposed by the Socialist International.

mand of the Communists that they everywhere and at all times, strive to convince the working masses of the necessity of struggle against the bourgeois state and for the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship.

workers as to the character of these maneuvers and not to let themselves be misled by these very same maneuvers.

organizations, in view further of the growing danger of imperialist war, the I.V.K.O. considers as urgently necessary the immediate convocation of a conference of the decisive international and national organizations of the workers parties for the establishment of the proletarian united front on an international and national scale.

FORCED LABOR IN NEW YORK

(Continued from Page 3) They are sent back destitute, tired and broken, but they have been "rehabilitated."

The Menace For Labor Camp Bluefield is a picture that will be magnified a thousand-fold when 200,000 starving men will be separated from their families and received by the army.

The recent victory of Fascism in Germany, the reign of terror against the Communists, the labor movement generally and the Jews, the threatening war danger resulting from the new situation, have focused the attention of the entire world upon Germany.

The new "employment" measure will employ the men not only for reforestation, but also in flood-control, prevention of soil erosion and other public projects which had formerly employed laborers at \$4 or \$5 a day.

The workers must exert all strength and power to combat this form of "relief"—really forced labor. The 13,000,000 unemployed must demand immediate jobs.

Students of Marxism, workers wishing to improve their Marxian knowledge, as well as those wishing to become acquainted with the Marxian system of ideas, are urged to enroll in the class in THE THEORETICAL SYSTEM OF MARXISM which will begin in Chicago on April 12, 1933.

THE UNITED YOUTH CONFERENCE AGAINST WAR by Eva Stone

WHAT IS REAL AMERICANISM? by Harry H. Conner

"What Is the Communist Opposition?"

By B. D. WOLFE 10 cents In bundles of ten or more 7 cents WORKERS AGE 51 West 14th Street New York City

New England Shoe Workers Are Fighting!

(Continued from page 3) Beck, one of the chain store systems in the shoe trade.

The Tasks Of The Union The shoe workers of Boston have established their organization and the results to be attained are up to them.

Immediately after the settlement in the shoes began to try out the union by discharging workers.

The shoe workers of Boston have organized and now they must see to it that they elect the best possible people to represent them.

About the 'Nature Friends'

New York City.

The Nature Friends is the American section of an international organization with a membership of 170,000 workers in twenty-one countries.

The Nature Friends began as a hiking organization. It sprang from the most populated and poorest sections of the cities and made hiking in the nearby country, mountains and forest a welcome relaxation.

For the encouragement of hiking in regions more distant, shelters and houses had to be built, which in most cases have grown to be large camp resorts with sleeping accommodations for hundreds of workers.

The American section possesses at the present time eleven such strongholds for hiking sports and other outdoor activities.

In order to make full use of the camps and to satisfy the modern trend for sports, especially among the younger generation, more and more athletic activities were adopted by the organization.

Gangsterism in the Jugo-Slav Workers Club

New York City.

For more than a decade the Jugo-Slav Workers Club has been in existence and never before has the club been in such great difficulties.

Some time ago, the leaders of the Jugo-Slav Workers Club issued a call for a general free discussion for ex-members and sympathizers.

The organization has set itself the task of educating members and other workers in the light of Marxist philosophy.

And Mr. Hathaway should understand that, in spite of all terror methods, the struggle for an effective and united Communist movement for revolutionary organization of the workers, will go on!

The Communist Opposition at Work

LOVESTONE SPEAKS IN PHILA.

Philadelphia, Pa. More than 250 jammed the hall at the Brith Sholem building to listen to an address by Jay Lovestone on the crisis in Germany.

The entire Trotsky group of five members and practically five more members and practically five more members and practically five more members and practically five more members.

SAN ANTONIO MOVES FORWARD!

San Antonio, Texas. The San Antonio unit is continuing to make real headway.

"We have already begun our work in the different sections. We called a meeting last Sunday February 26 for which we distributed leaflets. In spite of the rainy weather and intimidation of the police, we had seventy-five American workers present at this open-air meeting.

"A delegation representing the Economic Scientific Society came

THE OPPOSITION IN MONTREAL

Montreal, Canada. The unit in Montreal is going ahead more substantially after a slow start.

"Our great disadvantage is in the fact that we haven't enough people to organize the different groups. The burden of the work falls on a few. We are making plans for a hall and hope to make a success."

MARXISM CLASS IN CHICAGO

Chicago, Ill. Students of Marxism, workers wishing to improve their Marxian knowledge, as well as those wishing to become acquainted with the Marxian system of ideas, are urged to enroll in the class in THE THEORETICAL SYSTEM OF MARXISM which will begin in Chicago on April 12, 1933.

Students of Marxism, workers wishing to improve their Marxian knowledge, as well as those wishing to become acquainted with the Marxian system of ideas, are urged to enroll in the class in THE THEORETICAL SYSTEM OF MARXISM which will begin in Chicago on April 12, 1933.

For One Union in the Needle Trades

(Continued from page 3) ried thru so that the one union should be a part of the main stream of the American labor movement.

I believe that if both sides would sincerely desire to do away with the present chaos and bring about one union in the industry, this could be a basis for accomplishing this aim.

ZAM TO SPEAK IN CHICAGO

Chicago, Ill. The recent victory of Fascism in Germany, the reign of terror against the Communists, the labor movement generally and the Jews, the threatening war danger resulting from the new situation, have focused the attention of the entire world upon Germany.

The meeting will take place on Sunday afternoon, April 16 at 2:30 P. M. at Mirror Hall, Western and Division Sts.

THE TURN MUST BE EVALUATED

(Continued from Page 1) officials and the Socialist leaders.

Today that its recent Manifesto represents no change of course! For the sake of the absolutely necessary political clarification without which no Communist action is possible, for the sake of the very effective execution of the turn, for the sake of gaining the confidence of the workers in the genuineness of the new turn, the radical character of the change of policy must be openly stated and brought home to all party members and workers.

NO "UNITED FRONT FROM BELOW!"

3. If the new turn is to be effective, it must be made whole-heartedly and without any reservations. The Manifesto of the E.C.C.I. while marking a generally welcome change in tactical line, unfortunately leaves the door open to the thoroughly discredited tactics of the "united front from below."

4. If the new turn is to be effective, it cannot be restricted to one field or branch of tactics; it must be made general. Is it possible to make a genuine united front appeal to the A.F. of L. and yet continue the sectarian trade union course of splitting and dual unionism? Is it possible to advocate real united front policy and stage such spectacles as the recent Albany "unemployment conference" and the New York "Free Mooney conference," examples of sectarianism run mad? There must be a rock-bottom change all along the line or else the new turn will only add to the confusion and chaos, will only intensify the impotence of the Communist movement.

— In The Next Issue — "MARXISM — LENINISM — STALINISM" (The Birth of New "Isms") by Bertram D. Wolfe

THE UNITED YOUTH CONFERENCE AGAINST WAR by Eva Stone

WHAT IS REAL AMERICANISM? by Harry H. Conner

"What Is the Communist Opposition?"

By B. D. WOLFE 10 cents In bundles of ten or more 7 cents WORKERS AGE 51 West 14th Street New York City

FOR LABOR UNITY AGAINST FASCISM!

(Continued from Page 1) officials and the Socialist leaders.

Today that its recent Manifesto represents no change of course! For the sake of the absolutely necessary political clarification without which no Communist action is possible, for the sake of the very effective execution of the turn, for the sake of gaining the confidence of the workers in the genuineness of the new turn, the radical character of the change of policy must be openly stated and brought home to all party members and workers.

NO "UNITED FRONT FROM BELOW!"

3. If the new turn is to be effective, it must be made whole-heartedly and without any reservations. The Manifesto of the E.C.C.I. while marking a generally welcome change in tactical line, unfortunately leaves the door open to the thoroughly discredited tactics of the "united front from below."

4. If the new turn is to be effective, it cannot be restricted to one field or branch of tactics; it must be made general. Is it possible to make a genuine united front appeal to the A.F. of L. and yet continue the sectarian trade union course of splitting and dual unionism? Is it possible to advocate real united front policy and stage such spectacles as the recent Albany "unemployment conference" and the New York "Free Mooney conference," examples of sectarianism run mad? There must be a rock-bottom change all along the line or else the new turn will only add to the confusion and chaos, will only intensify the impotence of the Communist movement.

FOR COMMUNIST UNITY!

(Continued from Page 1) officials and the Socialist leaders.

Today that its recent Manifesto represents no change of course! For the sake of the absolutely necessary political clarification without which no Communist action is possible, for the sake of the very effective execution of the turn, for the sake of gaining the confidence of the workers in the genuineness of the new turn, the radical character of the change of policy must be openly stated and brought home to all party members and workers.

NO "UNITED FRONT FROM BELOW!"

3. If the new turn is to be effective, it must be made whole-heartedly and without any reservations. The Manifesto of the E.C.C.I. while marking a generally welcome change in tactical line, unfortunately leaves the door open to the thoroughly discredited tactics of the "united front from below."

TWO ROADS

(Continued from Page 1) officials and the Socialist leaders.

Today that its recent Manifesto represents no change of course! For the sake of the absolutely necessary political clarification without which no Communist action is possible, for the sake of the very effective execution of the turn, for the sake of gaining the confidence of the workers in the genuineness of the new turn, the radical character of the change of policy must be openly stated and brought home to all party members and workers.

NO "UNITED FRONT FROM BELOW!"

3. If the new turn is to be effective, it must be made whole-heartedly and without any reservations. The Manifesto of the E.C.C.I. while marking a generally welcome change in tactical line, unfortunately leaves the door open to the thoroughly discredited tactics of the "united front from below."

NATIONAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S.A. (Opposition)

(Continued from Page 1) officials and the Socialist leaders.

Today that its recent Manifesto represents no change of course! For the sake of the absolutely necessary political clarification without which no Communist action is possible, for the sake of the very effective execution of the turn, for the sake of gaining the confidence of the workers in the genuineness of the new turn, the radical character of the change of policy must be openly stated and brought home to all party members and workers.

NO "UNITED FRONT FROM BELOW!"

3. If the new turn is to be effective, it must be made whole-heartedly and without any reservations. The Manifesto of the E.C.C.I. while marking a generally welcome change in tactical line, unfortunately leaves the door open to the thoroughly discredited tactics of the "united front from below."

Workers Age

Published Twice Monthly by the
Workers Age Pub. Assn., 51 West 14 Street, New York, N. Y.
Phone: GRamercy 5-8903

Organ of the National Council of the
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A. (OPPOSITION)
Subscription rates: Foreign \$2.50 a year. \$1.50 six months. 5 cents
a copy. Domestic \$1.25 a year. \$0.75 six months

VOL 2. No. 12.

April 15, 1933.

NAZI POGROMS AND JEWISH BANKERS

THE murderous outrages perpetrated upon thousands of Jews in Germany by the power-drunk Nazis must meet with the severest condemnation of all freedom-loving people the world over. The Communists, and the labor organizations generally, should be in the front ranks of any genuine protest movement against the brutal anti-Semitic persecutions of the Hitlerites.

All the more vital is it, therefore, that the militant labor organizations keep clear of any movement which, under the cloak of sympathy for the suffering Jews in Germany, really constitutes an obstacle in any effective action of protest and defense. Of such a character is the movement recently initiated by the American Jewish Congress. Pretending to be a "broad people's movement", it is really inspired, organized and completely dominated by the reactionary clique of big Jewish capitalists, bankers, financiers and merchants. These very same personages, whose hearts are publicly bleeding for their fellow-Jews in Germany, are privately, in the way of business, negotiating loans for the Hitler murder government and are cementing more firmly their relations with the big Jewish capitalists of Germany, who are today shamelessly defending Hitler and condoning the murder of their own people. No movement under their control and leadership can hope to release that independent mass force and free popular energy that alone can generate an effective protest against the pogroms in Germany, that alone can guarantee the integrity of the movement in the face of the shameless maneuvers of Hitler and his friends in the American State Department. How can the Jewish bankers lead a fight against Hitlerism when they condone, if not welcome, the murderous repressions against the labor movement? How can the Jewish bankers lead a fight against racial persecution when they are as silent as death about the lynching, jim-crowing and other atrocities committed against the Negroes in this country of ours? No truck with the reactionary Jewish bankers, who are the enemies of labor and of the Jewish people! This must be the slogan of the Jewish workers in this country.

It was certainly a big mistake for the Workmen's Circle and other Jewish labor organizations to participate in the conference called by these financial friends of Hitler, disguised as "friends of the Jewish people." It was an even greater opportunistic mistake of the official Communist Party to have its auxiliary, the International Workers Order, send delegates to this conference with the avowed objective of setting a movement in the grip of the bankers "on the right track!" The very same people, who shudder in their purity at a united front with the Socialists or with conservative unions, rush headlong into the arms of Wall Street.

A broad, popular movement against anti-Semitism in Germany must indeed be organized, a movement embracing the masses of the Jewish workers, of the lower middle classes, of the intellectuals. But such a movement will mean anything effective only if it is established under the hegemony of the Jewish working class, only if the Jewish labor organizations are in the vanguard of the movement, only if the Jewish bankers as a group are taken for what they are, at bottom the enemies of the Jewish people.

FOR A UNITED MAY DAY!

THE heroic tradition of the proletarian struggle has raised May Day into a universal manifestation of international working class solidarity. May Day retains its ever-vital significance precisely because at every stage of the class war, it reflects the great issues of the proletarian struggle and arises as its indomitable symbol.

May Day 1933 is approaching under the sign of two great issues for the American workers: the struggle for the release of Tom Mooney and the movement of protest against German Fascism and for the relief and defense of the ever-growing number of victims of the Nazi terror. Under these slogans, the workers of the United States must be welded together in a solid fighting front, without regard to race, color, religion or present political opinion. May Day—the day of labor solidarity for Tom Mooney and the German working class!

Nothing would dramatize more effectively the power and inspiration of a united labor front than a great UNITED MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION, organized and supported jointly by Communist and Socialist parties, by trade unions, by all labor organizations ready to defend their interests thru unity and action. An end must be made to the spectacle of separate and mutually antagonistic May Day meetings, under Socialist and Communist auspices, which make it impossible for the mass of the workers, who are affiliated with neither side, to participate in what should be a demonstration of labor solidarity. The very meaning of May Day is completely stultified if the labor organizations are ready to parade their inability to put up a common front against the enemy, at least on this day of international solidarity.

If the sharp turn indicated in the March 5 Manifesto of the Communist International is to mean anything more than a phrase, it is now up to the Communist Party of the United States to take the initiative in calling upon the Socialist Party and the trade unions for a joint May Day demonstration on the issues indicated. Only the continued retention of the suicidal sectarianism of the last four years in the face of an alleged change of policy, can account for any refusal on the part of the C.P. leadership to take this most obvious and necessary step.

On the other hand, if the Socialist Party wants its repeated assurances that it has the cause of labor unity at heart to be taken seriously, it must itself place no obstacle in the way of realizing a united May Day demonstration; it must, on the contrary, welcome the idea and show thru action that its deeds correspond to its words!

C. P. - Opposition Accepts United Front Offer

Declaration Of National Committee

March 30, 1933.

To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. Dear Comrades:

In reply to the appeal for united action made by the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A. to the national committees of the various labor organizations of this country, as published in the "Daily Workers" of March 30, the National Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. (Opposition) wishes to declare its wholehearted acceptance of the proposal.

We are very glad indeed to note that the Central Committee has at last come to see the vital necessity of united labor action against capital. We feel that the only way in which the last four years of lost time can be made up for is by a vigorous and clear prosecution of the policy of the united front on all fields of working class struggle. As you are aware, the Communist Opposition stands committed by its very program to this task and we pledge ourselves to throw all our energies to its achievement.

For an effective policy of the united front, it is above all necessary convince the masses of the workers in the non-Communist labor organizations of the sincerity of the offer. To maintain, as does the C.C., that this present appeal for a united front is merely a repetition of previous offers of a similar character, that, in other words, there has been no change of line, serves merely to confirm the suspicions of many Socialists and trade unionists that the present united front call is simply another of those discredited maneuvers of the past that have so seriously undermined the influence of the party within the last few years.

From this point of view we would like to point out that the character of your appeal is not best calculated to achieve the end which you yourselves regard as "an imperative necessity"—"that all workers organizations, the A. F. of L., the S. P., and the C. P. particularly, should join in a united effort to weld together a solid fighting front of all the toilers." It would surely be far more effective in the interests of labor unity if, instead of trying to set up one united front on all of the issues enumerated in your statement, the attempt were made to establish each united front upon a closely related group of demands directly acceptable to the workers in question. It is surely clear that there are hundreds of labor organizations that might be drawn into a genuine united front movement for the release of Tom Mooney but which are far from ready to fight against the proposed unemployment "reserves" bill. To place the second issue as a condition for united action for the first, as your statement seems to do, is surely to narrow down the possibilities of an effective united front. Many unions may be against forced labor and wage-cuts and quite ready to fight on these issues but may, on the other hand, be totally passive on such questions as the war in the Far East. Do you insist that they join in on the latter issue before you will unite with them on the former? We feel that the Central Committee should make itself quite clear on this point in the interests of the broadest unity of labor possible under the circumstances.

* * *

No "Non-Aggression Pact"!

As Communists, as adherents of the tactical principles of Leninism, we must declare that we find it impossible to agree, as does the C. C. in its statement, "to withhold all attacks upon the Socialist, A. F. of L. and other working class bodies" entering into the united front. It has always been the practise of the Communist Opposition to refrain from all forms of abuse, slander or groundless and malicious attacks upon any working class organization, whether in a united front with us or not. But to undertake to refrain from mak-

ing attacks on political adversaries in general under any circumstances is to give up your right to existence as an independent organization. The very idea has been condemned repeatedly by the Communist International. It is not enough, as does the C. C., to reserve "the right of any organization . . . to freely make and discuss proposed demands and actions in the course of efforts to reach agreements." What about after agreements have been reached? What about the absolutely essential political criticism of the Socialist Party and A. F. of L. on policies not involved in the united front? Basing ourselves on the best traditions of the Communist International, we must declare: We are quite ready to undertake all the obligations of the discipline of action involved in a united front but we must reserve for ourselves the unconditional right of the free expression of our opinions at all times and of free criticism on all questions, the same rights being, of course, guaranteed to all other elements of the united front. We hope that you will see you way clear to breaking with your present attitude on this question, which constitutes an unfortunate concession to the "non-aggression pact" maneuvers of the Socialists, and to readopting the oft-repeated directives of the Communist International.

In spite of these disagreements, we want to reiterate our wholehearted endorsement and support of any movement for the genuine united action of the labor movement in this country and on a world scale against the offensive of capital.

Fraternally yours

National Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE
U. S. A.
(Opposition)

TECHNOCRACY AND THE WORKERS

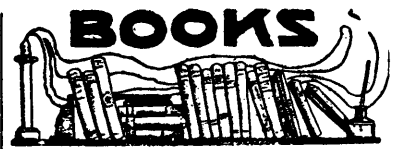
(Continued from Page 5)

substitute the illusion of the "chosen people" for the American workers. Technocracy is no promise to the workers; it is a menace, a menace which would tie the workers hand and foot and make them helpless, a menace to be fought and destroyed.

Technocracy as a phenomenon of the crisis is an expression of the exceptional development of American capitalism, a development which, so far, has not been understood by American Communists, and for lack of understanding of which Communism in this country has failed to make any appreciable progress. It is also an expression of the political backwardness of the American working class—and not only of the working class. Instead of the general, widespread, nationwide radicalization, the crisis in the United States has produced technocracy, the barter system, and the farm holiday movement. Not Communism has swept the ranks of the workers, of the unemployed, but these various fads and cults. All this only indicates once more that the American workers will not be won to Communism on the basis of the blueprints drawn in Moscow, Berlin or Prinkipo. If Communists are to make headway, they must learn to understand, grasp and utilize those features which are peculiar to America and which offer the key, the entering wedge to an approach to the masses of the population. And not until this is done will the Communist movement in this country become a factor in the life of the tailing masses.

Read!
Spread!
Subscribe!
"WORKERS AGE"

51 WEST 14 STREET
\$1.25 a year—75c six mos.



HOMICIDE IN THE UNITED STATES. by H. C. Brearley, University of North Carolina Press, 1932.

In collecting and sifting the statistics concerning the extent of homicide ("the non-accidental slaying of one person by another") in the United States, the author has performed a valuable service. The presentation of the carefully arrayed facts enables one to visualize the extent to which homicide has reached in the United States. Twelve thousand per year is the estimate put forth. Comparing the figures with the other leading countries (France, England, Germany, etc.) this figure assumes even greater proportions and becomes peculiarly an American phenomenon as the following statement of the author shows: "In 141 American cities the rate (per 100,000) for 1928 was 10.4 and for 1929 it was 10.5, while for Canadian cities the corresponding figure was 1.7 for 1928 and for England and Wales it was 0.5." And in contrast to the common conception of homicide as greater in the cities an industrial sections, such as New York, and Chicago, the actual figures show that the South, with the bordering states on the West, have the highest number of homicides. The presence of the Negro element, maladjusted, discriminated against, viciously segregated and so on, has been a factor in the greater proportion of homicides in the South; but even after discounting this factor the South still remains at the head. In this connection, the author has quite clearly pointed out the greater severity of punishment meted out to the Negro who commits homicide than to the white. And with all these homicides in the United States and the inability to meet the problem effectively, the added fact that the greater number of homicides have occurred in sections with capital punishment, makes the problem all the more complex and mystifying to the conservative student.

These facts, among many others, presented in the book demonstrate without doubt the seriousness of the problem. And thus it becomes really essential to delve into the causal connections and the conditions peculiar to the American scene that form the background and furnish the key to the solution of this social problem. The author, however, seems to be overawed by the many "possible" causes of the evil and has failed completely to present any really worth-while serious analysis. Proceeding in a muddled manner, he draws forth the most curious determinants that might possibly affect the situation—such as seasonal variations, impulses, weather, race, psychology, etc. Finally, he concludes that there really aren't any valid conclusions to be formulated! (Beware, Mr. Brearley! Even such a conclusion may involve you in difficulties.) Such indifference and intellectual hopelessness precisely indicate the state of our conventional scholars with their "seven reasons for and seven reason against." To formulate definite and concrete conclusions seems to be a heinous sin to be avoided at all costs in order to keep within the confines of the chaste and fragile "pure truth." Any attempt to unify contradictions or to weave the many sides of the problem into a single picture overwhelms Brearley and his type of superficial statistician. Such an approach would have meant a correlation of cold figures with living reality, i.e., the socio-economic complex that nourishes such social evils as homicide and gangsterism, resulting from social conflict, economic insecurity and class divisions. Then, to account for the American peculiarity of the problem, the author should have presented the specific historical roots making for violence in this country. But this the author has failed to do and so the book remains shallow and useful only as a reliable source of reference.

I. B.