Workers of all Countries,

"inite!

For Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle!

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AND FARMERS

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BEGINNING WITH NEXT ISSUE

PRICE 5 CENTS

U.T.W. for Labor Party; N.J. State A.F. of L. Cheers Labor Action

Green "Warns" Labor Party Will Come If Conditions Do Not Improve; Head Of A. F. L. Hits Wage-Cuts But Continues To Cripple Workers Struggles

lishment of a Labor Party based capitalists. Neither jobless insurance, upon the trade unions was passed nor a stop to wage-cuts nor the La-unanimously on September 17 by the bor party will be achieved with the convention of the United Textile Workers meeting in this city. The resolution, introduced by Emil Rieve of Milwaukee, sharply condemns the sition and resistance. They will be so-called "non-partisan" policy of the A. F. of L. and urges the launching of an independent political movement of labor.

The convention also went on record scoring the Federal government's attack on the bonus marchers in Wash ington.

NEWARK, N. J.—A "threat" that the workers of this country would insist on the formation of an indepen-dent party of labor, if conditions continue to grow worse, was issued by William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor in his speech before the New Jersey State Federation of Labor Convention here on September 8. Mr. Green's re-marks to that effect were greeted with great enthusiasm by the delegates whose endorsement of the Labor party idea was evident. At the same time, the leaders of the Federation succeeded in forcing thru a resolution of "approval" of Franklin D. Roosevelt's "labor record," in spite of the shouts of "no' that greeted the question. The chairman, State Senator Arthur A. Quinn, refused to take

a division of the house. Mr. Green repeated the "denunciahis Labor Day address.

PITTSBURGH — A strong verbal attack on wage-cuts was made by William Green, President of the A. F. of L., in a Labor Day address on September 5 at West View Park. The unions, he declared, would "refuse to accept wage reductions as final . . but, if forced to yield to superior strength, we will bide our time and, when opportunity comes, will strike

Mr. Green also criticized the government "relief" measures as "extended to business, banks and corporahelp to the more than 11,000,000 jobless. The Federation, he said, would draft an unemployment insurance program which would be placed before the coming A. F. of L. convention. The 5-day week, the 6-hour day, and heavy income and inheritance taxes were also recommended "We know with a fatalistic certainty," declared the A. F. of L. head, "that this nation is facing its worst Winter of unemployment." At the same time Mr. Green praised "labor's course in the crisis," that is, the general passivity and lack of militant action in the workers ranks

action in the workers ranks.

The sharp change of tone in the recent speeches of the leaders of the A. F. of L. is a striking evidence of the gathering discontent in the ranks of the labor movement. The pressure of the membership is forcing the leaders to spout left-sounding phrases in order to maintain their connections with and control over the rank and file. Mr. Green today "deplores' wage-cuts but it was Mr. Green himself who, in the Fall of 1929, signed the infamous "no-strike" pact with hands of labor and rendered it powerless before the attacks of capital. wait for better times before doing anything at all. Today Mr. Green still has the audacity to praise the "recovery conferences" of the Hoover Administration which have as their main objective to shift the burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the poor people.

The discontent in the A. F. of L. ranks is growing so pronounced and the sentiment for independent political action so strong that Mr. Green is beginning to talk, in a warning tone of course, about "when and if" the time comes for a Labor party. Only a short time ago, the A. F. of L. executive council was forced to declare its approval of compulsory Federal unemployment insurance after having attacked the "dole" with the greatest bitterness for years.

These new left-sounding phrases do not change the general policy of

the A. F. of L. leaders, which is col-A resolution in favor of the estab- laboration with and surrender to the bor party will be achieved with the help of Green, Woll and their kind, in spite of all their promises. They will be achieved against their oppoachieved only thru a united and organized struggle of the rank and file

and thru the consolidation of all left

wing and progressive forces in the

trade union movement.

"THE WORKERS AGE

Will appear twice a month. This step backward has been made inevitable by the pressure of the ecomonic crisis and unemployment upon the workers to whom the "Age" looks for support and aid. The "Workers Age" will appear in the form of an 8-page tabloid. It will be more agitational in character and will reflect much more effectively the life and struggle of the American workers. The price will be 5 cents a copy. Subs will be \$1.25 a year, 75 cents for six months. Present subscriptions will be properly extended.

But This Step Backward Must Be Followed by Two Steps Forward! We must consolidate our paper as a semi-monthly, extend its circulation and influence and lay the basis for the basis for returning to a weekly as soon as possible. With this aim a

> Big 3-Month Circulation and Subscription Drive -Will be begun with the next issue of the "Age"

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TELECTIONS on Nov. 6 as Reichstag Is Ousted for No-Confidence Stand

Reichstag Passes Communist Motion by 513-32 And Papen Disperses Body; Junker Cabinet Decrees State Camps For Militarizing Youth; Nazis Face Difficulties

New elections for the Reichstag will take place on November 6, according to the proposal of the von Papen Cabinet which will certainly be approved by President von Hindenburg.

The new elections come as a consequence of the sensational dissolution of the "five-day" Reichstag on September 12. On that day, just as the Reichstag reconvened for business, the motion of the Communist deputy, Torgler, to express non-con-

CONGRESS

CONGRES

OF COORSE NOT.

WHY THAT'S

Berlin, Germany. | fidence in the von Papen Cabinet and to revoke the recently passed presidential decree on "economic reconstruction," was carried by the over-whelming vote of 513 to 32 against the frantic protests of von Papen who immediately put into operation the decree of dissolution he had had in his pocket all along.

Immediately afterwards, President von Hindenburg, who appears openly as the head of the Junker-militarist clique, declared that he would not recognize the vote of the Reichstag, which he regarded as dissolved. Elections will be held within sixty days, altho the definite date has not been announced. At the same time, it is semi-officially rumored that the government is planning to change the Constitution by presidential decree if need be, aiming to eliminate the word 'republic" from it (as a preparation for a monarchist restoration) and to impose serious limitations of the electoral rights, such as the abolition of proportional representation, raising of the voting age, etc. The von Papen government has also determined to create some sort of mass base for itself, to challenge the Nazis and to deal a blow at the Socialistrepublican Reichsbanner by estabishing State training and athletic

camps for the youth. The whole course of the von Papen regime is to convince the decisive sections of German trust capital that they do not have to resort to the Nazis to save capitalism in Germany but that the Junker-militarist clique s much more efficient and reliable. This was the immediate political purpose of the economic decree and this is the explanation of the boldness and audacity of von Papen's course at a time when he is so weak inside and outside of the Reichstag. At the same time, the Nazis have been compelled to make a "left" turn to counteract the growing dissatisfaction with Hitler's recent manouvers, "playing politics" as it is called. Thus the Nazis have, temporarily and superficially, become the "champions" of democratic rights! The brief period of semi-toleration of the von Papen regime cost the Nazis very

The Communist Party, rejecting the united front tactics, is able to show no initiative in the working class struggle against Fascism. In the short-lived Reichstag session, the Communists appeared in a very favorable role but the inability of the C.P.G. to organize a fight outside of parliament is of decisive importance.

The economic program of the von Papen regime was transformed into law on September 5 by issuance in the form of an edict by President von Hindenburg. The anti-labor character of this program emerges even more unmistakably than from von Papen's speech at Muenster on August 27. The edict provides for a maximum wage reduction of 121/250 of all workers coming under the plan. An inducement is given for increasing hours by freeing plants doing so rom wage and arbitration agreement obligations. Hourly wages are to be sharply reduced. The emergency decree, moreover, gives the governmen a free hand to change social welfar legislation in any direction whatsc

All labor organizations, Comm (Continued on Page 2)

duced"; he immediately cut his own salary from \$40,000 to \$25,000 and those of all department heads to \$12,000, thus reversing the Walker salary grab of 1929. A gesture was made in the direction of breaking the "printing monopoly" by awarding a printing contract to a new firm at. \$50,000 less. The new Mayor also declared that he was ordering a check-up of the \$3,000,000 spent every month for relief. Finally, he caused a sensation by making an appointment to meet the representatives of the Unemployed Councils of New York to discuss the city's program of "relief." The chief purposes of all of the Walker debacle and, on the other, to strengthen and improve Mc-Kee's own place in the Tammany machine. It will not take long before it will become clear that no substantial results are to be expected from the "reform" fever of the new

Conference of Communist Opposition Big Success

Discussion Of International Matters And Situation Of Opposition In U. S. A. Main Points Of Meet

Delegates from various parts of the country, as far West as San Antonio, gathered in this city for a three-day A po conference of the Communist Party and significance of the conference (Majority Group) on September 3, 4, will follow in a future issue of the 5, 1932. The conference turned out to Workers Age. It is now only necesbe one of the most politically success- sary to say that the whole spirit of ful gatherings ever held by the Com- the conference, the seriousness and

tion" of wage-cutting he had made in spoke on: "'Order' in Germany—Hit- our work and the extension of our poler's Rise to Power." About 600 work- litical and organizational influence in ers, a good many Communist Party the future. members among them, jammed the Labor Temple hall to listen to the support. Questions and a free discussion, in which several Party members

N. Y. DOLL MAKERS participated, concluded the meeting.

Saturday evening, September

was devoted to an extensive repor by Jay Lovestone on the work and decisions of the recent International Communist Opposition Conference in Berlin, at which he was present; to this he added a supplementary report this he added a supplementary report Of Union And Shorter

Workers Win Recognition Sentiment by all sorts of trickery. President Hoover's appeal against the president of Communist Opposition Conference in and its significance for the American working class. The next day was entirely devoted to a thoro discussion of the reports in which a large number of comrades took part and which was conducted on high political level. In the evening of Sunday, September 1, Ben Gitlow made an extensive report on the situation in the labor movement and on the condition and ciation including the big shops and activities of the C.P.-Majority Group; embracing more than 50% of the Workers Age by Will Herberg.

The discussion of these two reports took the whole of the next day. the association, are: union recogni-This discussion, in which over thirty tion, closed shop and the check-off comrades participated, exhibited very emphatically qualities of realistic nite pay-day; a 46-hour week until analysis and sober self-criticism. Until early Tuesday morning the conference busied itself with acting on the numerous political resolutions, motions, amendments, etc., and with the election of a new national lead-

WAGE-CUTS HIT RAIL AND AUTO WORKERS

CHICAGO.—A demand for a 20% cut in the basic wage scale of all employees to become effective on Feb-President Hoover and thus tied the ruary 1, 1933, was voiced by the conference of nine executives, representing the chief railroad systems of this Even today Green still urges the country, on September 9. The 1,200,workers to remain passive and to 000 organized railroad workers are now operating under a 10% "temporary" wage-cut which is supposed to become void in February. Not only, therefore, do the railroad companies want to retain this wage-cut but they want to double it!

The railway brotherhoods and other railroad unions have already announced their opposition to this proposal and a sharp struggle to maintain

DETROIT .-- A drastic wage-cut is peing planned by the executives of the Ford Motor Company here to affect

(Continued on page 2)

A political examination of the work munist movement in this country.

The conference was opened on Fried its problems, its political firmness

STRIKE ENDS

Hours In Agreement

New York City. The two-week strike of the doll workers of this city ended on Saturday, September 10, 1932, with an agreement signed by the union and a newly organized manufacturers assothis was followed by a report on the trade. The terms of the agreement, as signed by the representatives of the Doll and Toy Workers Union and system; the establishment of a defi-January 1932 and thereafter a 44hour week; the payment of 11/4-time for overtime until January and thereafter 11/2-time; the initiation of negotiations, after January 1932; for wage increases and the abolition of piece-work and sub-contracting.

While the recognition of the union, the closed shop and the other terms represent substantial gains for the workers and provide a good basis for the building up of a strong union, the failure to secure any wage increases must be considered a great hortcoming. Jack Rosen, secretary f the strike committee and chairman of the organization committee, pointed this out very emphatically and criticized the settlement on that account. The settlement, however, was approved by the union.

The Doll and Toy Workers Union as rganized on the eve of the strike. oday, as a result of the settlement, t already has about 1,800 members. It has made application for affilia-tion to the A. F. of L. What the union needs now most of all is to consolidate its organization, to conduct a vigorous organization campaign, to establish and assure democracy and rank and file control inside the union, and to prepare for a struggle to win those demands that were not obtained in the course of the

NOTICE!

The recent national conference of the Communist Party (Majority Group) has decided to to change the name of the organization to

COMMUNIST PARTY of the U. S. A. (OPPOSITION)

day, September 2 with a splendid and clarity, constitute an elective meeting at which Jay Lovestone guarantee for the improvement of By 1167 To 109 Against Leaders Trickery

> PORTLAND, Ore.—By the over-whelming vote of 1,167 to 109, the American Legion convention meeting here voted, in its last session on September 15, in favor of the immediate payment of the bonus in full. This action constituted a striking victory of the rank and file of the Legion over the leaders who had been doing the bonus went completely disregarded by the veterans. By a similar vote the convention also went on record in favor of the immediate repeal of the Volstead Act and of the Eighteenth Amendment.

In a special resolution enthusiast ically adopted by the convention the War Department was sharply cen sured in connection with the bonus march affair. It proved possible for the leaders to exclude a direct condemnation of President Hoover from the resolution.

The whole convention was characterized by the insurgency of the rank and file Legionnaires all along the line. Things even went so far that an enthusiastic ovation was given to David Beck, of Seattle, speaking for the A. F. of L., who made a sharp attack on present conditions, demanding a great public works program, shorter working hours, Feder al unemployment insurance. lustiest cheers of the day greeted him.

WASHINGTON-In a statement that is very obviously intended to have its effect on the American Legion convention opening at Portland, Oregon, President Hoover made public on September 11 a "report" of the Department of Justice on the bonus army, launching a shameless attack on the veterans as criminals and "exposing" the well known fact that there were many Communists and radicals among the bonus marchers, as if such a fact in any way constituted a condemnation of the movement. From all indications, however, this bombshell is very likely to turn into a boomerang.

Basing himself upon the alleged records of the 4,723 veterans who applied for loans to return home. Attorney General Mitchel declared that 1,069, or 22.6% had "police records"

WALKER TO BE SHELVED BY TAMMANY; MCKEE OPENS DEMAGOGY DRIVE

THE AMERICAN DOLE SYSTEM

Tammany To "Urge" Ex-Mayor To Withdraw; McKee Improves Relations With Roosevelt Machine; C. P. And S. P. Nominate Candidates For City Vote

candidate.

known Negro lawyer.

Following the abrupt departure of ex-Mayor James J. Walker to Italy on September 10, it became known

was accompanied by a sharp attack Tammany attitude was doubtful but head-on collision with Governor Roosevelt and the national Demo-

cratic organization. Meanwhile Joseph V. McKee, president of the Board of Alderman, bethat leading Tammany circles had de came Mayor and immediately launchcided to drop Walker altogether, by trying to "persuade" him, after his pudiating all of Walker's policies and and that 829, or 17%, had been convicted. These "police records" include such "crimes" as vagrancy and (Continued on page 2)

If the persuade limit, after instance in the elections attempting to establish a record of economy, efficiency, tolerance, and the budget would be "drastically redief." The chief purposes of all this feverish activity are, obviously, on the one hand, to counter the effects of the Walker debacle and, on the

NEW YORK CITY.—If municipal has as yet indicated his attitude elections do take place in the Fall, Walker had resigned shortly before, and the question is before the courts in the midst of a gruelling hearing for settlement, it is now regarded as before Governor Franklin D. Roosepretty much of a certainty that ex- velt on charges submitted by Samuel Mayor Walker will not figure in the Seabury and others, urging his repicture as the Tammany candidate. moval. The resignation of Walker On the other hand, Mayor McKee's was accompanied by a sharp attack relations with the Roosevelt wing of the Democratic machine have been ise" to seek "vindication at the hands greatly strengthened of late and this of the people" by running for refact may operate either to avoid an election in the special elections in election or to put McKee forward as November. From the beginning, the The Socialist party, meeting on as time went on it became clearer that September 15, has nominated Morris the Tiger was not very anxious to Hillquit as the party's candidate for tie its political fortunes to those of Mayor. The Communist Party has the ex-Mayor or to embark in an adnominated William Patterson, a well venture that would involve a direct

FALL SCHOOL TERM OPENS IN OCTOBER Send for Catalogue Against Sectarianism And Burocracy!

MINK MISLEADERSHIP IS EXPOSED

Statement Of J. Johannessen

We *publish below a statement of tensibly for immediate relief of the J. Johannessen, member of the lead-unemployed. Nationalistic unemployed councils were launched claimrine Workers Industrial Union. This ing prepare the lead-time telephone of the lead-unemployed. statement exposes once again the ality had different demands. They suicidal tactics and the destructive did not organize as yet a Jim-Crow birrocracy that have reduced the M. local in New York as was done when W.I.U. into a mere caricature.

of the present crisis on to the shoul- act the resentment of the class conders of the marine workers. Wages scious rank and file—a raid was of the seamen have been cut down staged on the Seamens Institute. The gradually to as low as thirty dollars man that was supposed to have bagper month for A.B.'s. The two-watch gage there actually had none. One system has been re-established on man was shot, others wounded and many ships. Crews have been cut what did it get the seamen? Nothing. about thirty percent. Workaways To force the Institute to come across are the order of the day. Longshoremen and all other categories of marine workers have received similar treatment. Complete lay-offs and line. part time work is wide spread in the industry. In New York harbor alone workers present in New York were there are twenty thousand seamen "on the beach."

fore we must examine the history of to find the reason why the union threatened this fellow worker. failed to carry out its self-appointed

struggle. The union was launched in April 1930 at a time when shipping was already on a great decline. Great enthusiasm prevailed among the seamen and especially among the delegates attending the convention. The convention, attended by bona fide rank and file delegates from ships and employed, killed the union at its birth. burocratic regime of Mink and Company, who, after various grandstand plays, constantly covered up their political bankruptcy. No real program of work was laid down, but the union launched out on an adventurous policy led by adventurers.

In 1930 the union had a membership of 5000; today there are less than 400 nationally. Practically all those that were ever active were driven out or are expelled, for the simple reason that they opposed the tactics of Mink and Company. Philadelphia, Houston, New Orleans and Boston speak for themselves. Several boston speak for themselves. Several and fight for the four-watch system, times the union came dangerously hear the point of playing the role of near the point of playing the role of men's strike, Grace line) due to the nue-bearing departments of the In utter misunderstanding of the united stitute for the demand that all relief front tactics and the inexperience of the leadership plus their irresponsibility. No attempt whatever was made to fight the wage-cuts of the leadership plus their irresponsicial of the Institute.

But, before we can wage any successful struggles we must rid ourseamen. Instead of organizing on board the ships, propaganda was carried on only on South Street, on shore. There are not ten functioning ship delegates today. The struggle of the unemployed seamen has been waged solely for the purpose of making political capital in the form of headlines for the Party but no organizational nor beneficial results have been gained for the marine workers. Prior to the Hunger March, the seamen were rallied around demands peculiar to the industry. They were not allowed to present them in Wash ington. They were solely used for defense corps and for nothing else

the same as at other demonstrations. International struggles were not utilized to get the American seaman into motion. The German seamen's strike was sabotaged by Mink and Company due to factional strife within the I.S.H. The struggle against imperialist war was taken up by staging burlesque demonstrations instead of organizing on the job.

The inner life of the union is at cussion and constructive criticism is abolished, secretaries are removed

a Jim-Crow local was organized in The ship-owners shifted the burden the wholesale expulsions—to counter-Institute in ts pocket-book. A boycott with thousands on the picket

In the excitement, all the militant expelled from the union without a on the beach." hearing. Especially outrageous was What has our union, the M.W.I.U. done to fight these attacks of the est, able, active, class-conscious workbosses on our standard of living? Has er, who carried out all tasks assigned the union ever made any serious ef- to him. Coster's temper got the best forts to give honest, efficient leader- of him when Mink threatened to stool ship to the marine workers? The ans- on another worker because he would wer must be no! It has not. There not obey Mink. Coster pulled a gun. This was doubly wrong but Coster the American marine industry of the should have been criticized and Mink last three years and also the history should have been immediately exof the union. Thus we will be able pelled. Mink admitted that he had

I myself, was removed by a handtask of leading the marine workers in picked national buro from the national committee and instructed to proceed to the West Coast-for the simple reason that I dared to write an article for the Daily Worker (which was not printed) criticizing the shortcomings of the union. was not even given a hearing. I came to New York and the national T.U. U.L. appointed a committee consist docks, thru the steam-roller methods ing of Johnstone, Stachel and Hudson. I was ordered to return imme The steam-roller method was used to diately to Buffalo, furthermore to foist upon the marine workers the have nothing to do with the expelled members or those who were still members of the union but not considered "kosher" by the clique. The idea of that committee investigating the union is the same as Tammany Hall investigating itself. Furthermore I refused to go to Buffalo because the purpose of sending me there is to isolate me from the membership. I believe that by remaining on the New York water front I will be better able to prevent Mink from carrying out policies detrimental to the seamen in order to cover up the political bank

ruptcy of Mink and Company. Fellow seamen! We must organize must immediately boycott the revemittee of three seamen and one offi-

cessful struggles we must rid selves of the burocrats who will not even shrink from stooling in order to enforce their arbitrary will. On the waterfront there is no room for these

Hoover's method of giving unemployment relief is to give money to the bankers, the railroads, the mortcompanies, the speculators That'll relieve the unemployed of worrying about their former employ-

THE CRISIS IN THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Its Causes and Consequences -- How the International Communist Opposition Proposes to Overcome It

by Bertram D. Wolfe

(SECOND ARTICLE)

Over one-sixth of the earth the workers rule. Their tasks are primarily those of building up a new social order.

In the other five-sixths capitalism still controls. The tasks of the workers are primarily those of overthrowing the old social order.

As the proletarian revolution is delayed in the West, the gap between the development of the two sections of the earth temporarily widens. This widening gap and the problems and difficulties it creates, are the basis of the present crisis in our International.

In the words of the International Communist Opposition (Resolution of the International Conference, July 1932):

"The real basic source of the ultra-left course is the false transference of the methods and forms of struggle, corresponding to a country in which the working class has already triumphed and in which socialism is being built, to the Communist Parties of those countries in which the majority of the working class has still to be won and the prerequisites for taking up the struggle for power have still to be created.'

Since the death of Lenin the leadership of the Russian Communist Party has become much narrower. At the first congresses of the International the Russian delegation consisted of Lenin, Bukharin, Zinoviev, Stalin, Trotsky, Chicherin, Ossinsky and Vorovsky. Of this brilliant and experienced old guard leadership, only Stalin remains. Yet the monopoly of leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the Communist International has grown steadily more complete. Until Lenin's death this monopoly was a favorable thing, chiefly because Lenin opposed its becoming permanent and conceived it to be the duty of the more experienced Russian delegation to aid in the development of the other parties and lay the basis for a real collective leadership of all parties in the International.

"Many comrades have talked themselves into the idea," said Lenin at the eighth convention of the Russian Party, "of the submission of all national Parties to the International Committee of the Russian Communist Party. I must answer that if any one proposes such a thing we would have to condemn him."

Monopoly of the leadership of the Russian Communist Party was a helpful thing in the early days when the other parties were inexperienced and while it was carried on with the aim of making itself unnecessary. Now, however, the Russian leadership has become narrower, its tasks and experiences radically different from those of the parties in capitalist countries, and yet its monopoly of leadership in the International has become more absolute and complete than ever.

The acute factional struggles in the Russian Party have been systematically carried into the International. An effort has been made by both Trotsky and Stalin and to a lesser extent by Bukharin to develop fractions in every party, on the basis not of the problems of each country, but on the basis of the Russian party factions. Hence the unreal and unhealthy nature of so many disputes and changes of leadership in the various parties.

When Trotsky was attacking Stalin "from the left" and making pseudo-leftist and ultra-leftist criticisms of the policies of the Russian Party leadership, every party in the International was expected to find an "ultra-left danger" and fight it as "the main danger!" This was put thru even in parties like the Czechoslovak Party where leftism was a rarity and the party was rotten with opportunism.

When Stalin finished his fight with Trotsky and broke with Bukharin, Rykoff and Tomsky, he denounced them as "right-wingers" and all the fifty-odd parties in the International were suddenly expected,

they were for this type of factional activity.

On the other hand, the necessary controversies about the issues and problems actually facing the party and working class of each country, were held back and prevented.

It was in such an atmosphere that the present disreputable puppet leaderships, having no roots in the masses of their respective countries and parties and no comprehension of the real problems facing them, became the "leaderships" of the various parties. At the same time, the tried and experienced leaderships that had founded and built the parties and were interested in building them rather than holding their "places" were driven out.

Still worse, however, was the gradual and the more and more rapid revision of the whole foundations of Leninist strategy. Political slogans appropriate to a given stage or situation in a given country were mechanically adopted in all countries at once. Unrealistic methods were applied, that had no relation to the realities of the situation in each country. In place of real analysis of the peculiarities of each country and situation, was substituted the game of finding "right dangers" and "left dangers". Those who protested, even feebly, or sought to maintain the old methods of Marx and Lenin and the general line that had built the party and the International, were expelled. No attempt was made to convince them or the membership generally of the correctness of the fantastic decisions and mechanical slogans. Those who sought to discuss were branded as "renegades", "counter-revolutionists," 'enemies of the Soviet Union," and were expelled even if they were willing to accept and carry out the false line to avoid expulsion! The reason is obvious: the new line cannot bear examination and discussion! If the new puppet leaderships had consented or been permitted to consent to discussion, they would have been lost! Therefore, instead of conviction, abuse and namecalling!

The new "leaderships" assumed that if they threw enough mud, some would stick. Indeed, the expulsions, the reign of terror in the parties, the flood of abuse, had some effect. Thousands all over the world were expelled. Tens of thousands were driven out or left in disgust. Old members were terrorized. New members were taught to close their minds to anything the 'renegades might say about the needs of the party.

But as the bayonets and injunctions won't dig coal

nay ordered, to find a "right danger" and fight it as the "main danger!" The reader can imagine what that did to the already demoralized Czechoslovak Party!

In every party these unreal groupings and factional quarrels introduced confusion and chaos, encouraged the creation of puppet leaderships who would face now right", now "left", as the factional exigencies of the leadership of the C. P. S. U. required. The more unprincipled these puppets were, the less interested they were in the problems facing the working class of their own country, the less they depended upon the support of the rank and file of their own party and the more they depended for their "places" upon the support of the leadership of the Russian Party, the more suitable

when the coal miners are on strike, neither will terror and abuse build a party when the line of the party

is wrong. Now we are in the fourth year of the new line and the progress of the parties is like that of the famous comic opera army which took "two steps forward, three back steps backward." Three years of capitalist crisis! Three years of mass misery! Three wasted years for the Communist movement! Three perilous years of Communist decline! So in spite of terror and abuse, the better members, the more conscious Communists, those who want not only to "belong" but to build the party and help it grow, are beginning to ask: What is wrong with the line of our

Next Issue: "SOME OF OUR DIFFERENCES"

The Struggle Of The Anthracite Miners

THE C.P. AND THE MINERS STRUGGLE

by Fred

a leading Communist anthracite min-er well known to the Party leader-lectures and discussions for the comship of whom he asks a number of ing months. The next lecture will pertinent question. Maloney is a mild be held in Agora Hall September 16. progressive, the leader of the anti-Lewis forces in the anthracite. Cap-Civil War Emancipate, the Negro?" pellini is a former corrupt, reactionary official, with whom Maloney is was recently organized in Hartford now flirting.—Editor.

Wilkes Barre, Pa. September 8, 1932.

we found there Duhar, the so-called Committee" in the last strike. With tical Economy." him there was another Party member. There was also a man that leans to Cappellini and another towards Maloney. All four were from Scranton. The first to talk was Duhar who asked Maloney what he thought of the situation, about reductions in ne was in favor of unemployment infor the unemployed but that he was a crying need. against the "dole"!

Finally they agreed to another meeting on September 9. Duhar pelled members of the official Party but with joining of new recruits. One and that it will depend upon the ma- ourselves was getting new subs for nouvers with Maloney whether Ma- the Workers Age. Comrade Evans ing to "repeat things in the las strike," that is, to attack Maloney.

policy. They knuckled down in argument but in reality they will not carry it out.

would be present and to this Duhar agreed.

T.U.U.L.: 1. Is it true that the C.P., thru Duhar, is negotiating with Maloney

and Cappellini for a united front? 2. Is this what the Party leaders call the "united front from below"?
3. What will the Party leaders now do with the denunciations in their eaflets before, during and after the

last strike? 4. Do the Party members know anything about these manouvers and how will the Party leaders explain the matter to the membership? Fred.

SPLENDID MEETING IN **HARTFORD**

Hartford, Conn. Educational Society of Hartford in Agora Hall on September 8. Abraham Hackman lectured on "A Marxian Analysis of the Origin and Development of Religion." Encouraged by this fine support of the first lecture

The following letter is written by on such a subject in Hartford, the so-

The Marxian Educational Society for the purpose of spreading the teachings of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and their followers. Membership is open to all interested in Today we went to Maloney's office Marxism. At the last public lecture to get some information of him what he intends to do and, to our surprise, creasing the membership to thirty-

leader of the Communist Party and the leader of the "Rank-and-File ing a class in the "Elements of Poli-

ACTIVITIES GROW IN **CHICAGO**

Chicago, Ill. Carrying out the Communist Opwages and unemployment, and what was his policy. Maloney said that position program of membership and was nis policy. Maloney said that reduction in wages would certainly take place and, thru the use of the strike against wage reductions, he would organize another union. Duhar necessary to make arrangements for further asked him what was his a central located headquaters in orpolicy on unemployment and whether he was in favor of unemployment insurance. Of course Maloney said will be able to carry on more educathat there must be some sort of fight tional work for which we find there is

Our results of the past two months have been fruitful not only with exment leaflets waiting at the printers of the important tasks that we set for oney will be attacked in them or not. in charge of this work reports of sell-Duhar made a little apology to Ma- ing thirty-five copies in one afternoon loney by saying that he was not will-ing to "repeat things in the last Side in addition to getting several rike," that is, to attack Maloney.

When Maloney said that he would that we must give the Workers Age organize a new union I spoke up and its widest possible circulation here in came out against it and explained our Chicago in order to carry on effective educational and propaganda work We also distributed and mailed out Ben Gitlow's pamphlet on Unity and By the way, at the next meeting its message and position contributed its share of our results. In fact, we had to reorder additional quantities. Comrade Held conducted discussions The following questions should be in our units on party policies and tacanswered by the official leadership of tics along with theoretical problems. the Communist Party and by the We find these discussions have a kind We find these discussions have a high value for new members and expect to increase its possibilities. We have already arranged to send a delegate to our national conference that will be held in New York in September.

All comrades feel that our influence will be more readily felt when we get more rooted in; and it will be only a question of time when we will be able to play our part in mass movements.

A 'SOCIALIST' MEETING IN TEXAS

San Antonio, Texas. Jingo attacks on foreign-born workers, sneers at Karl Marx and his importance to the Socialist movement About seventy-five people attended the first open lecture of the Marxian for the class interests of the Amerand a flat refusal to debate on wheican workers, were the principal high-lights of a political rally of the S.P. staged here a short time ago.

The meeting was opened with a long talk by Mrs. Haizlip, a paid organized from New York. Her remarks were about evenly divided between stock Socialist phrases and a description of the personal satisfaction to be derived from a contempla-tion of the beauties of the Socialist philosophy. The next speaker was a Dr. Shelton, who insisted that music, important than educational propaganda in "capturing" the votes of the working class. Both he and Mrs. Haizlip were very critical of the intelligence of the workers. Shelton called the average worker a "moron" while the lady called him an "im-

An open forum was then announced and five minutes alloted to anyone who wanted to say anything pertainng to Socialism. Comrade Shaffer took the floor and challenged the statements of the preceeding speakers that the S.P. represented the class interests of the workers and he offer ed to debate the subject with anyone disorderly conduct and what these present. Immediately the meeting mean in cases of destitute jobless was thrown into turmoil. Both Mrs. Haizlip and Shelton opposed the idea of a debate, while a Mrs. Brewington wanted to accept the challenge. Mrs. Haizlip denounced Shaffer as a "foreign-born agitator" whose counviet Union) were "slaves and serfs. Shelton, who had declared that he was "certain" that the Communists were being "supported by Wall Street," was especially incensed over Shaffer's mentioning Marxism. Shelton declared that he was tired of hearing about Marx and the importance of Marx and Marxism to the Socialist movement were "greatly overestimated."

The rest of the meeting was entirely devoted to petty bickering and only a summary adjournment ended the confusion. Nothing constructive was effected and the few workers who attended the meeting were plainly disgusted.

NEW YORK CITY.—Conferences between representatives of anthracite operators and leaders of the United Mine Workers of America to take up the question of a drastic wagecut for the approximately 140,000 anthracite miners, began here on September 6 at the Anthracite Institute.

HOOLIGANISM RUNS RIOT

although it is a year and a half over- minded and to create unity among the marine workers. Of course, this is, The present national buro elected not what Mr. Fink (Mink, I mean) When the flames of revolt wants. Unsuspected by the seamen, rew I was removed to Duluth and a a Finkite chairman was elected. When ampaign was launched against all the heckling commenced and when ose who tried to lead the union to-ard a course in accordance with the ndamental principles of the class be put as master-at-arms, the workuggle. The national committee of ers at once sensed trouble, looked T.U.U.L. and the party press was around and found that the Fink had pombarded by us with articles and protests. Mink and Company grew desperate and established an adventurous and opportunist campaign os- Everett, the waterfront section or-

At the last regular business meeting of the American Seamen and Har- Philadelphia. This rat never went to bor Workers Club, seamen were forc- sea, so what was he doing on the ed to witness one of the most disgusting displays of hooliganism. Mink been going on for about one hour, the and Company, who parade under the seamen could not stand it any longer name of Marine Workers Industrial and started to settle the argument in the lowest level possible. No trade Union but today actually play the sailor fashion. When the writer exunion democracy, the right of dis-role of waterfront gangsters, had paid posed the rats from Philadelphia, the the initiation to the club for about chairman and the brave leader of the twenty-four men for the purpose of masses, Kid Everett went down the against the wishes of the member-ship, no convention has been called to make the marine workers union- cream of the working class the beating of their lives, one of the brave Finkites called the cops. By the time rank and file seamen on the waterfront mobilized to give a hand to clean up on the hooligans, it was all settled. That these hoodlums looked for trouble was proven by the weapons discarded by them when the cops

> The seamen on the New York waterfront are getting sick and tired of this hooliganism and very likely the next time Mr. Fink starts something tude to the cast system and so have the same will happen as happened in driven the Untouchables, the lowest Baltimore. They will be chased off

the waterfront. I wish to remark that I am not affiliated to any political group.

NEW REICHSTAG ELECTIONS ON NOVEMBER 6 (Continued from Page 1) nist and Social-democratic, and even

the Catholic unions have announced

J. Johannessen.

the opposition to this decree. The immediate political objective of the von Papen "reconstruction plan" is obviously to convince the decisive sections of German trust capital that the Junker-militarist regime can be relied upon to understand and further its interests and that it firmed. would not be necessary to resort to the "desperate remedy" of Fascism. In this connection is to be understood the published statement of Dr. Ludwig Kastl, chairman of the executive committee of the Federation of Ger-

GANDHI TO FAST FOR **ELECTORAL DEMAND** BOMBAY .- Unless the decision of

he second Round-Table Conference n regard to separate constituencies for the so-called Depressed Classes is rescinded Mahatma Gandhi will go on a hunger strike to end only with nis death, according to the public statement issued by the National Congress leader from his prison at Yeroda jail. The fast is to begin at noon on September 20 and the British **government has decided to release** Gandhi just before this time so as not to take responsibility for whatever happens to him.

The Untouchables question is a phase of the whole rotten caste system that the reactionary elements in India, aided by the British, have maintained in the face of the modernization of the country. The leadng elements of the Indian National Congress, also affected by the dark spirit of reaction and superstition, have adopted a very equivocal attilayer of the Hindus, into the arms of British imperialism. The British on their part, have been posing as the friends of the Untouchables, of whom there are 40,000,000 in the country, in order to divide the Indian people and weaken the national strug gle. There can be no serious socia progress in India until the whole caste system is radically rejected and its destruction initiated.

MORE WAGE-CUTS COMING (Continued from Page 1) all workers except those employed a the very minimum scale. Ford offi cials have refused to comment but the rumor has been semi-officially con-

Last October a slash was made the wages of Ford workers, the \$7 basic wage being reduced to \$6. Now another wage-cut is contemplated just as the Rouge and the Lincoln plants are beginning to open again man Industries, praising the von Pa- after a three-week complete shutpen regime and its economic program. down.

TO RESUME NEGRO FILM IN SPRING

and White," for which twenty-two this summer, will begin definitely in the spring of next year, according to a cable received from Moscow by the gro news agency of this city.

temporary postponement.

American Negroes went to Moscow Crusader News Agency, a radical Ne-The cable, which was sent by ouise Thompson, secretary of the

Meanwhile, the cable states, the group will tour the Soviet Union and will be paid their full wages of 600 roubles a month (\$300) until the expiration of their contract in October. Those who wish to remain to take part in the film in the spring, have been invited to do so, and will be given employment until that time. Those who do not desire to wait after the

group, states that technical difficulties involved in making a picture of American life against a background of Russian scenes, have forced the

expiration of the contract in October, city at any one time.

NEW YORK CITY.—Work on the will then be supplied with fare for uniforms and brass buttons were more filming of the moving picture, "Black the return journey.

LEGION PASSES BONUS BY BIG VOTE

This explanation of the postponement of the film gives the lie to the many rumors in the capitalist press to the effect that the Soviet Union

has forbidden the making of the film. Langston Hughes, Loren Miller and other leading members of the film group have issued statements repudiating and condemning the malicious rumors that have been circulated by the American capitalist press.

Continued from page 1)

workers is well known. On the basis of such figures, Mr. Mitchell has the audacity to speak of the more than 25,000 veterans who came to Washington as the "largest aggregation of criminals that ever assembled in the trymen (the free workers of the So

CAMP SOLIDARITY A REST PLACE FOR WORKERS

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I SAW IN EUROPE FRIDAY, OCT. 14— IS PROSPERITY COMING BACK

IN AMERICA?

FRIDAY, OCT 7-

FRIDAY, OCT. 21-HITLER AND HITLERISM FRIDAY, OCT. 28— **OUR NEXT** PRESIDENT

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Unemployment and the Workers

The Jobless "Self-Help" Fraud

by Will Herberg

a country like the United States, "consume" his printing), and finally where the working class is so back- the makeshift character of the whole ward theoretically, where the labor arrangement. movement, even in its best days, could not rise above the level of empirical rule of the thumb, where the decades of experiences of the European working class are unknown and unassimilated, where the crudest bourgeois and petty bourgeois absurdities can pass off as almost self-evident truths, in such a country it seems well-nigh inevitable that plans of unemployment "relief" should arise and gain changed without money), the economcurrency which are no more than new and improved editions of outworn, discredited schemes which not only run counter to every intelligible principle of economics but which have been repeatedly tried with disastrous results.

Of these fly-by-night schemes, few are more shallow and unworkable (as relief plans!) and yet at the same time more dangerous than the various "cooperative self-help" arrange-ments spreading thruout the country The so-called Tacoma and today. The so-called Tacoma and Seattle plans (the "State of Washington plans") are typical examples; atare being made elsewhere, frequently with government or philanthropic In Detroit an off-shoot of the I.W.W., called the General Labor Union, is trying to put over something of the same variety. In New York, groups of technicians, engineers and other professionals have bestowed a few plans upon the grateful unemployed (the Lyons plan etc.). The very obvious points of similarity of all these schemes are far more numerous and more fundamental than their points of difference and so a general analysis is possible.

The "Self-Help" Plans

The Preamble of the Constitution of the Detroit Unemployed Citizens League of Michigan reads:

"The necessities and comforts of life are, almost without exception, produced by the application of energy to the land and raw materials. Today, altho land, raw materials and machi nery lie idle in abundance, millions are, by no fault of their own, denied even so far as is necessary to provide the things needed to maintain life . . The condition of the unemployed daily becomes more desperate. To relieve the hunger and suffering of ourselves and our children, we propose to apply our energy to such idle machinery and land as may be made available to us for the purpose of producing the things

"Neither do we intend to compete with trade or employed labor by placing goods on an already glutted market, the products of our energy being intended only for the use of ourselves and our dependents."

In the same vein runs the basic paragraph of the New York Lyons

produce things for themselves, barter these goods for such goods as they cannot themselves produce and thereby supply themselves with the necessities less essential but desirable goods and services."

the unemployment emergency without become part of a general anti-capitalbothering the capitalist about it proposes, in other words, that the unemployed be organized into producing groups, that they be put to work in idle factories and plants, and on the land and in mines too, and that they and their dependents consume the products of their own labor

How is the use of the idle factories to be obtained? In general the idea. seems to be for smaller industrialists and factory owners be approached and asked for the use of their idle plants on the usual understanding that the wear and tear and maintenance be paid for, very frequently, even, that the owners themselves come into the venture as foremen or directors. There is also the proposal that the government supply funds, or that money be raised from private philanthropic sources, for the purpose of renting or leasing of factories; sometimes the demand is even made that "present relief organizations . . . divert . . . money to the workers cooperatives . . . (Lyons

Is it not clear that so far the only substantial relief extended is to the small industrialists whose idle plants the fall in prices, has produced a sitare to be put into operation and who uation in which a farmer's entire in are even to get some sort of job for come is swallowed up in taxes. Farms their "kindness"?

It is important to understand at the outset that the plants likely to be obtained for such a venture are almost always certain to be the smallest, the least profitable, the least efficient, the least up-to-date and the least tolerable in the field, for such, of course, are the most available. Working conditions are likely to be bad and productivity at a low level. Another factor making for a low productivity is the inevitably bad organization of labor in such shops, considering the poorness of the superintendence and the heterogeneity of the workers (a

It seems well-nigh inevitable that in making shoes, for he certainly cannot help" schemes protest with vigor that a country like the United States, "consume" his printing), and finally help" schemes protest with vigor that

The problem of raw material arises next. They certainly cannot all be obtained from other producers groups of the unemployed. Whence will come the hide for the shoes, the grain for the bread, the cotton or wool for the cloth? It will evidently have to be bought—with money. Note that if products are bartered in the outside world for raw materials (that is, exic relation remains exactly the same as if a sale had taken place. The consequences of both of these courses will be examined below.

Or consider the organization of production. What will be produced will evidently depend upon what plants can be obtained for use. Suppose shoe plants and bakeries to be obtained and the members of the "self-help" groups distributed among them, what will they do for clothes? The New York Lyons plan permits the "barter of . . . goods (produced by the groups) for such goods as tempts along essentially similar lines they cannot themselves produce." The Detroit plan, more "strict", forbids even barter and declares that "the products of our energy (are) intended for the use of ourselves and our dependents." Here again the alternative as: either private, semipublic or public donations or else the sale of things produced by the "self-

help" groups!

We could push this economic analysis much further but the main point is now clear: either the "self-help" shops constitute a system of ineffi-cient, poorly paying "corporation shops" producing partly or wholly, dior indirectly, for the market or else they lose every vestige of their pretended economic character and rapidly degenerate into a parasitic growth, of no consequence or account unless supported at every point thru ordinary relief channels!

What can the workers employed in these little "corporation shops" or re-lief adjunct get? It is clear from every viewpoint (the small size and inefficiency of plant, the poor organization of labor, the poor superintendence, etc., etc.) that these concerns the right of applying their energy cannot be very profitable, if at all. In other words, the "self-help" workers must work under bad conditions. for hardly more than a subsistence wage—because that is all these inefficient factories can give!

The champions of all of the "self-

they do not want to compete with employed labor, that they do not want to replace already employed workers. But intentions are nothing; facts are decisive. It is obvious that if the "self-help" groups produce partly or wholly for the market (either thru sale or thru barter), such must be the consequence in a contractng or, at best, stagnant market. Already employed labor is at least partly replaced; but note—it is replaced by labor at a much lower wage level, by labor working for subsistence, in

Even where the "self-help" groups proceed on the basis of a closed sysem (i.e., no production for the market), substantially the same situation arises. Who will believe that these groups can establish their own little 'non-profit, non-market" (socialist?) forces of "law and order" were moeconomies in a capitalist world with-bilized, gas and tear-bomb attacks orout innumerable points of contact with the economic system as a whole? The food and clothing that (in the best of cases) they produce for themregularly employed workers. The "self-help" producers do replace regularly employed workers even in this case and, note again—replace them by labor at a much lower wage level, by labor working for subsistence. In addition to all this it must be remembered that these "non-market" schemes admittedly cannot maintain their existence for even a short period of time without external assistance, which means diversion of funds from direct relief.

The effect that the "self-help" plans have in replacing regularly employed labor by labor at a subsistence level is very serious for the whole working class. To the degree that these plans are successful, to that degree do they operate to permanently depress the general wage level-one of the great objectives of capitalist class strategy in periods of crisis!

The Political Meaning of "Self-Help" But if these "cooperative producion" schemes stand under such serious indictment economically, they market at once, depressing prices for the time being more than ever. For ly from a general social-political products with national or internationstandpoint.

Broadly speaking, such methods of (Continued on Page 4)

What Is The Way Out For The Farmers?

THE MID-WEST FARMERS "STRIKE"

by Agricola

"It is estimated that something like which has thrown the Middle West downward of the industrial equipment in corn country into unprecedented turbeen paid yet, but who is "glad to in a position to shift this burden on to 40% of the industrial equipment in New York City today is idle, or all most idle, while hundreds of thousands most idle, while hundreds of thousands to the miserable plight of the farmers lies squeezing the life out of him collapsing under the weight of the most rule, while nundreds of thousands of workers are suffering because they cannot use this plant for purposes. It is the purposes. It is the purpose of this effort to enable the unemployed men and of the unemployed party, or the one hand, and, on the other, to the essential ineffectiveness and full the unemployed party, or the unemployed party, o purposes. It is the purpose of this effort to enable the unemployed men and women to return to the idle plants and produce things for themselves, barter burnings for themselves, barter burning taxes, la "farmers holiday" is not only futile tempts have been made to link this pound to action the long run but is bound to action the long run bu whole burden of the story, especially after the Civil War, is to emphaof life, and, in addition, many of the size the one great lesson; such revolts are futile, they lead only to defeat, disappointment and demoralization unless the farmers join in al-This hopeful scheme of meeting liance with the workers, unless they

The Plight Of The Farmers ers of the United States find themcrisis since 1920. Take the corn-belt farmers involved in the "holiday" movement, for example. In 1919, land in Iowa sold for an average of \$500 an acre; today there is plenty to be had for \$100. Farm buying power is down 50% of the pre-war average. The average 1926-1930 price of corn was \$0.69 a bushel—the average price today quoted at seven leading Iowa markets is \$0.25; of oats, \$0.37—\$0.13; of wheat, \$1.02—\$0.24; of hogs (100) lbs.), \$8.46—\$3.72; of chickens (lb.), \$0.18—\$0.12; of eggs (doz.), \$0.282— \$0.17. Indeed, the prices are so low that most of these commodities are sold far below the cost of production, not to speak of any "profit." The steep rise in taxes, coupled with are being taken over by mortgage holders at an increasing rate and farmers are being dispossessed in tens of thousands. Renters are finding that this year's crops will not pay cash rent. Wages for farm-laborers, who are increasing in number because of the expropriations have sunk from \$60 to \$25 monthly, and even these wages cannot be paid because there simply is no cash. Consider the case of the farmer who is paying \$3 an acre tax. He averages thirty bushels of oats to an acre. At 10c a bushel, that just covers his taxes. His labor, food, seed and overhead are just

particular.

The "Selling Strike" Movement

ment was initiated by the Iowa Farmers Union, headed by the well known Milo Reno. This is an organization ist movement led by the working of middle and poor farmers, with pronounced Farmer-Labor sympathies and with a considerable following among the impoverished and increas ngly desperate elements of the pop It is unnecessary to pile facts on figures to emphasize the positively ruinous situation in which the farmulation. Early this Spring, the Iowa no farmer would sell any of his and misdirected steps as a starting workers were rank and file members; come was that the council agreed to ers of the United States find them, selves today, with the world crisis selves today, with the world crisis spread to the members of Hiners party a coming upon the chronic agricultural and was continued through the Sum road leads not to "selling strikes". It is no with their narty. In fact, most and was continued thruout the Summer. Organizers toured the whole corn-belt, holding meetings and distributing pledge cards. Finally, on zation in farmers leagues and farm-August 8, the Iowa strike was called. Originally it seems to have been planned that the "farmers holiday" should last one month, but in the to a struggle for immediate objectit. And the attitude they took was manifesto adopted by farmers from tives which would serve greatly to rethat of the professional politician chance to organize the State and bemanifesto adopted by farmers from tives which would serve greatly to re-Iowa, North and South Dakota, Il- lieve the condition of the farmer: the linois and Nebraska, at a meeting in removal of the protective tariff on Des Moines on August 15, the pledge what the farmer buys from the city, ing it as their duty to work in any

> when farm products shall bring a tim. market price equal to the cost of production. We pledge ourselves movement offers some perspective. In to protect one another in the action manifesto quoted above it will be tual possession of our necessary homes, livestock and machinery as against all claimants."

The "cost of production", for which all, farm products are to be held out according to this pledge, is computed as follows: Allow the farmer 5% on his investment in real estate, 7% on his investments in personal property and equipment and valuable, as the experience of the \$100 a month for his own labor. To \$100 a month for his own labor. To btain such a return on the average 160-acre farm, prices would have to in the course of which the embattled rise by nearly 400% for corn, the same farmers begin to lose their hereditary proportion for oats, 300% for wheat, nections with the industrial workers

The farmers "selling strike" move-

300% for hogs, and so on. It was in the cities, begin to tread the path printer, for example, may be set to "thrown in." Or take the case of the clear that the farmers had quite a of effective revolt.

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job ahead of them in putting over

their "strike". It is unnecessary here to recount the development of the movement as it arose and spread thruout Iowa and neighboring States. The roads leading to the important market cities were filled with pickets to try to persuade recalcitrant farmers to give up the idea of getting their truckloads of produce into town. In many cases

shipments by truck stopped altogether, altho shipment by rail was naturally not very seriously interfered with. In spite of the generally peaceful character of the farmers activities, it did not take long before the

The Perspectives Of The Movement "strike" could not succeed; ments by rail was pretty much out of the question but unless this was done the whole good to see. done the whole gesture was futile. As a matter of fact thruout the whole period of the strike, farm shipments into important centers did not materially decrease, nor did the prices rise. Actually they kept falling continually. Even if the "strike" could have been made nearly complete, it could not have permanently influenced prices. In the case of eggs and pershable vegetables, which of course, the farmers lose during the strike (they have given away milk and other

such supplies to hospitals and to the jobless), prices increases would be extremely temporary; the price fall would begin as soon as the "holiday" vas over. With non-perishable vegetables the results would be even worse, for at the end of the strike they would all be dumped on the local al prices, any "holiday" action is bound to be completly futile. It is in-

deed a counsel of desperation.

But what happens where "holiday strikers" win? Who bears the expense of even of the partial rise in prices? In the Sioux City milk fight the farmers did effect a small gain. Whereas they have been receiving only 2c a quart for milk which retailed at 3.6% and will force consumers, who are largely workers and poor people to pay 9c a quart, if not more! In other words, what slight gains the farmers do achieve by "selling strike" action, are made at the expense of the working people of the cities, for the the shoulders of those who are already utilize the unemployment situation for agreed to confine themselves to the wonder then that one of the ritual viding the forces of the exploited to tween this same Liberty party and the business of Indianapolis, requested a pation in day to day elementary acunknown in American history but the and of the Mid-Western farmer in against the starving workers, thus dithe obvious advantage of the exploiters. It is only because the American farmers are so politically backward, so narrow in their outlook, so isolated from the other social forces in American life, that their protest against capital and the government take on unemployed and those of the L. P. It er from our council to tour the State forms so utterly blind and futile!

The Only Road is, it represents struggle of some sort active in the building of the Unemliance with the industrial workers in an independent party of the toilers, to a struggle for immediate objectives which would serve greatly to re
tiance with the industrial workers in real force in the city that the leadWayne. This the council leaders agreed to, not because they wanted to boost the L. P. but in order to get a city of the professional politician boost the L. P. but in order to get a city of the professional politician when the significance of the council leaders agreed to the council leaders an independent party of the toilers. a moratorium on all debts and mortgages, tax exemption of all poor work-. . We agree to keep all our ing farmers, and the nationalization products which can possibly be of the big agricultural machinery and kept on the farms and hold same marketing trusts in whose claws the until the time shall have arrived farmer is today such a helpless vic-

At least one aspect of the "holiday" the manifesto quoted above it will be noticed that there is a clause in which the farmers pledge to protect each other against foreclosures of any sort. It is not unlikely that this part of the pledge may, in the long run, turn out to be more important than the whole "strike" movement. Organization to resist foreclosure is economically practicable and very has shown. It is the type of struggle

The Great Struggle for the Youth

World Youth Council Meets

by Edward Marshall

Since the Olympic games, held in Southern California, were supposedly guided by a spirit of international "friendship" and "cooperation", it was desirable for the purposes of the powers that be to round out the various international physical contests of Conference; third, to secure contacts skill and strength with an outlet for to be utilized in the follow-up work mental gymnastics in the form of a that would have to be done after the ternational "understanding" and "out-leadership of the Council itself, which, look". And with this aim in mind, at the outset, seemed impossible despite the lofty phrases of most and the sincere beliefs of a few, this World Council of Youth was called in Pasadena, California, immediately at the outset, seemed impossible. Strange to say, believe it or not, every single objective was successfully accomplished—and this because of the correct application of our correct the close of the Olymic games in or- Communist tactics. der to complete the above picture What was the content of the conference? It was entirely a youth affair with real youth delegate representation from organizations from Japan, China, Germany, the Philip-pines and the United States. A host of other nationalities were represented by individuals, who nevertheless ed. But it was not these attacks that portrayed the outlook and approach spelled the doom of the "strike"; it of their various countries: Koreans. best of cases) they produce for themselves certainly replaces, at least in
part, the food and clothing otherwise
obtained thru public and private relief
channels and produced, therefore, by students. However, it was interesting In the very nature of the case, to note how superior the foreign dele gations were as compared to the indeed, in many ways, it essentially American students in respect to po-defeated its own aims. To stop ship-litical consciousness and understand-

> From the very beginning the leader ship of the Council, the Y.M.C.A. type, sought to extend their influence findings—a Leninist analysis adopted and dominate the Conference. So the at a conference called by a Y.M.C.A. pleas for "understanding" on the basis leadership! Every problem that was of spiritual education, love, and brotherhood, and the rest of that tripe. dia, the Philippines, armaments and So the calls for "unprecedented broadmindedness and an absolute absence of propaganda" accompanied with a propaganda, unemployment, tariffs, ership and take it over ourselves, with ondemnation of "class thinking" as etc., we succeeded in tracing back its source: the economic structure of 'fallacious".

Getting In On The Ground Floor Having spoken at an Inter-Racial Public meeting one of the heads of the Religion and Philosophy Commissed there by several individuals, who sion openly declared: "It seems that were instrumental in organizing the the only solution to our problems is council, to assume the chairmanship to change our economic system." of one of the Commissions, of which there were four altogether: Economics, Education, Religion and Philosophy, and International Politics. I accepted and asked for the last commission, knowing that most work could be done in that particular field in germinating a few "new" ideas.

Los Angeles, Calif. | Four objectives were to be accom- | delay the heads of the Conference beplished at the Council, if possible: first, to counteract the Y.M.C.A. lead-

The smashing of the Y.M.C.A. influence and the introduction of the Communist viewpoint had to be done simultaneously. In the Politics Commission I, as chairman, presented a harmless to prevent me from doing Leninist analysis of imperialism con- any damage. I jumped at the chance any damage. Station K.H.J. centrating on three immediate prob-lems: (1) the developing revolution-the second largest station on the ary colonial movements for independence and the necessity for our sup- that citadel of reaction, the Los Angeport, which at once won the backing les Times, devoting one minute to the of the Philippine, Indian, and Chinese World Council of Youth and the other delegates; (2) the existence of Sov- nine minutes in a call for support of iet Russia and the necessity of rec- the colonial anti-imperialist moveognition of and cooperation with a ments, recognition of Soviet Russia, workers government; (3) the war danger and the corresponding tasks capitalist war. And I wasn't cut off of the youth of each country to fight the air, since we had persons listenthe capitalist class of their own couning in view of precisely such a situaingly greater effect. The report was

adopted as the basis of the commission missionary movement, education and

society; and the emphasis was so repeated and so unanswerable that at a

Swinging The Conference

In the meantime we gained contact

The Economic Crisis In Indiana

LIBERTY PARTY AND UNEMPLOYED

by Harry H. Conner

unemployed organization in Fort conference with some of the unem-Wayne, the biggest one of its kind in the Union. This will also be of benefit for our readers in that town, inasmuch as there have been plenty of rumors supplied to the unemployed leaders. So A. Holman, then should be of the unemployed leaders. So A. Holman, then should be of the capital. Secretary, now President, and the writer, Vice-President, went down to the capital. Hiner made us some of rumors supplied to the capital. of rumors running around about se- promises, among other things to furcret deals between the leaders of the nish a radio car for a State organizwill be well worth while to state the and set up councils in all the notefacts about these matters.

As has been already mentioned, Nevertheless, blind and futile as it there were some members of the L.P. grabbing for votes; it was not that cause of the prevailing sentiment participation in this World Council? of representatives of the toilers, seeorganization that may advance the cause of the workers.

Today, as has been mentioned before, this party is split in two groups. One is dominated by the Ku-Kluxers; the other one wants none of them. This is the real reason for the split. There are, of course, also personal differences between ambitious leadrse but that is the case in any party (sad but true, also in the Communist Party!) and it does not necessarily lead to splits. There are also some other political differences between the two factions, but they are of minor significance. The anti-Klan wing is by far the stronger one and it has the advantage of being chartered, having the legal right to the name "Liberty party". Its main stronghold is the Southern part of the state, in and around Fort Wayne, the Klan has the upper hand. But then again, the Klan wing has no right to the party name and may be hit thru the court by its the cour

The Klan wing pretends to be the

worthy cities. In return, he asked for the council to send a large delegation to the mass convention of his party on August 1. This the council could not agree to. It could not take steps that were equivalent to the endorsement of Hiner's party. So the out-

Learning this, the leaders of the Klan wing started abusing their been more clearly revealed, for only privilege of speaking at the council by such means were the achievements meetings. Craig, their candidate for pointed out made possible. Second Governor, ex-member of the I.W.W., concrete results can be secured not ex-organizer of the Non-Partisan by verbal fireworks or by revolution-Farmer-Labor League, gave a talk at ary phrases but by constant and peran outdoor meeting, attended by some sistent work. Third, the field and thousand members of the council. As soon as he was thru, some of his fol- student youth are tremendous and lowers started a demonstration of the are continually increasing. For it is kind that occurs at the conventions of no longer necessary to provoke a the two old parties. Some of them condition of discontent, since the even pushed the President away from sources of dissatisfaction, particularthe platform, trying to get control of ly in the developing student awakenthe meeting. They were easily dis-posed of by their own methods where-All that is required is an intelligent ipon they started whispering to the utilization of all the resources at our effect that the writer had been paid disposal in accord with a correct Coma thouse I dollars by Ward Hiner to munist policy. And this can be done keep the from campaigning.

among the members.

tely following this, the above-n place. vent down. They arrived usiness session, and were after the

(Continued on Page 4)

gan their expected attack against the adopted findings of my commission, played right into our hands, because we were thus able to reach practically every member of the Council with a copy of the Communist resolution. When they tried to stifle expression by refusing to allow to participate freely in the discussion, the issue of free speech supposedly guaranteed at this Council, was raised and delegate after delegate was aligned with us against the leadership

Things went to the point that they demanded that I speak at the public mass meeting at the close of the Conference. To avoid this the leadership appointed me to speak over the radio on the World Council of Youth, thinking that the subject was sufficiently Pacific Coast, on the Forum hour of and a call upon youth to fight against tion, and they heard every word.

Finally, after swinging the Conference away from the reactionary influence of its leadership, after presenting the Communist position thru every possible medium, after securing numerous important contacts, we were able, by uniting with the more radical and more intelligent elements war, Soviet Russia, religion and the of the Council, who were not frightenthe conservative elements from leadmy being placed in the key position of Program Chairman.

> And The Y. C. L.? And what was the Young Commu-

nist League doing about this Conference? Not a damned thing! They knew about the Conference. They knew that foreign countries were to be represented. They knew that the delegates were all membrs of the youth. Why their inactivity? Why their total failure to raise a finger toward working in a field fertile for Communist activity? Perhaps it was their aversion for working in an organization in which a "renegade" was ganization in which a renegate was to be found. Perhaps it was their "proletarian" contempt for a student "intellectual" conference. Perhaps it was their absolute stupidity altogether. But certainly it showed their lack of understanding of the elementary principles of Communism in Ialling to perceive obvious opportunities for activity, let alone a conception of correct tactics when once engaged in actual work. This was illustrated by the fact that the League finally broke Fort Wayne, Ind. | most radical one. It was willing to its heart and condescended to send Numerous are the attempts that middle-class politicians have made to middle-class politicians have made to the council and these leaders have last day of the Conference! Is it any terest to go into the relations be- ernor, and big shot in the trucking monk-like penance instead of partici-

> Perspectives Of The World Youth Council

What is the perspective as to the utility of the World Council of Youth after its ten-day conference? It has a basis for growth and that basis is the development of a student movement. As to whether it will grow or not, time alone can tell, altho the outlook is favorable. If sufficient forces could be sent in and a correct policy pursued, it might be destroyed as a bourgeois organization a militant student organization could be built up road of effective revoit. And this road leads not to "selling strikes", which act as a boomerang in more senses than one, but to firm organization in farmers leagues and farmstation in farmers leagues and farmstations, to a close political allowers unions, to a close political allowers were to be a laborers unions, to a close political allowers in the city that the leads are read force in the council and counci What has been the significance of

Three lessons can be profitably learned. First, the value of fighting on a minimum program, could never have not by an attitude of sectarian isolation, not by an approach of political tely following this, the ioned convention took me thousand members of vent down. They arrived ing, and clear-seeing common sense line of tactics based upon a sound understanding of Leninist strategy.

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Saturday, September 24, 1932.

FOR A UNITED LABOR TICKET IN NEW YORK!

THE sensational resignation of Mayor Walker, while under fire at the Governor's investigation in Albany, has driven to the fore a number of grave political questions that win added significance because they occur in a Presidential year of unusual importance. It is not necessary for us to delve into the mire of dirty clique politics, into the swamps of Tammany corruption, to fish out the devious factors that led to the resignation of the Mayor or that will determine the Tiger's attitude to the coming emergency elections and to Walker' expressed ambition to seek "vindication" in them. Certainly, it is no more than ridiculous self-deception which deceives nobody to insist, as does the "Daily Worker", that it was the "pressure of the masses" that forced the resignation. Whatever else may have been the case, it is unfortunately quite obvious that the whole scandalous story of corruption and misuse of office did not arouse any very great or very active resentment among the large masses of the New York working men. It is certainly a sign of their political backwardness, of their lack of reaction to vital social questions, but it is a fact and it does no good to shut one's eyes to it; rather is it necessary for the classconscious sections of the working class to find the most suitable way of arousing the workers and of leading them to take the first independent steps in political action.

Whatever may be the final decision of the machine, to support Walker or to cast him aside, it is clear that the municipal ballots this November will be headed by a Tammany candidate, whose job it will be to defend the system and regime of which Big Boss Curry, Ex-Mayor Walker and Ex-Sheriff Farley are the fine flowers and the "little tin box', the "thirtythree McQuades", and the "beneficent friends", the chosen symbols. The Republicans will probably not run a straight ticket but will make some attempt to go in for fusion with the "reform crowd" among the Democrats. But the differences between the two candidates, the fusion and the straight Tammany, will be far more apparent than real. Both will stand forward as the champions of that economic and social system of which all civic corruption is the inevitable outgrowth. Both will strongly defend those intimate relations between big business and city politics, from which flow all rackets, big and small, from the Mayor with his unexplained millions down to the vice-squad cops framing girls for a few dollars. New York has seen these "reform sweeps" come and go, one after the other, cause some flurry for a while, but finally leave things as they were before, or even worse. Unless the giant racket, capitalism, is smashed, the other rackets, in the city government and out, cannot be touched.

The job of the labor movement in this situation is clear: to unite all its forces and all its organizations in support of a UNITED LABOR TICKET standing foursquare for the interests of labor and determined and able to make a clean sweep of the whole dirty mess. Only labor can measure up to this job for basically only labor has no finger in the pie of capitalism, only labor is not tied to it in a fundamental sense.

A UNITED LABOR TICKET is the slogan of the hour for labor. For this reason, the rumored attempts of the Socialist party, especially of the Thomas wing, to strike some sort of bargain with the bourgeois reformers and altogether submerge the independent role of labor, must be sharply condemned as not only a surrender of the interests of the workers but even as a bad blow to the very struggle against municipal corruption. On the other hand, the action of the official Communist Party, in refusing to take the initiative to form or even participate in a united labor front in the elections merely facilitates the pro-capitalist policies of the Socialist leaders and intensifies the disunity, demoralization and passivity in the ranks of labor.

The opportunity presented in the municipal elections this year is great indeed. Will the Communist forces prove equal to it?

THE NEW MINERS UNION IN ILLINOIS

THE mine workers of America, unemployed and starving, terribly exploited by the operators, betrayed by their leaders, their ranks divided, are being offered a way out in the form of another new union in Illinois, the recently organized Progressive Miners of America. This new union was born directly out of the revolt of thousands of Illinois miners against the sell-out of the Lewis-Walker clique, which accepted a big wage slash even tho two referendums of the miners voted it down by overwhelming majorities.

The militant mood of the Illinois miners and their readiness to struggle are of huge significance. Properly utilized this militancy can become the starting point for a real drive against the misleaders, not only in the U. M. W. A. but in the entire labor movement. But does the formation of a new union serve this purpose? We think not! The miners have had their experiences with new unions in Illinois, in the Anthracite, in Canada, with the National Miners Union, with the Walker split. What has been the result? Only greater demoralization and chaos. The formation of dual unions has dissipated the energy of the miners, separated the more advanced from the backward elements, and has, in general, played into the hands of the Lewis

force inside the U. M. W. A. to drive Lewis out and to unify the forces of the miners into a new order. the miners into a powerful union capable of defeating the offensive of the operators. Any idea that by uniting the anti-Lewis group OUTSIDE the M. W. A. (National Miners Union, Progressive Miners, West Virginia Mine Workers, etc.), without the workers inside the U. M. W. A., Lewis or the operators can be defeated, is an illusion. Should such a new union be formed even on a national scale, it would only share the fate of the Nation-

al Miners Union. Not more unions, not dual unions, not struggle from without, but a united union and a militant persistent struggle inside the U.M.W.A. for the interests of the miners—this is the road the rank and file must travel.

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its 🗌 parties, particularly to those that are no good.

The Communist Opposition and the Communist International

Resolution of the International Conference

(Concluded from the last issue)

3. The I. C. O. rejects the attempt to look upon the theory of "socialism in one country" (concretely, the affirmation of the possibility of building up socialism in the Soviet Union before the victory of the proletarian revolution in other countries) as the source of the ultra-left course in the C. I. It rejects, likewise, the attempt to find this source in a necessary contradiction between the interests of the Soviet Union and those of the international proletariat; on the contrary, it is of the opinion that the interests of the first country in which the working class rules and in which socialism is being built, coincide fundamentally and are in complete harmony with the interests of the struggle for the emancipation of the working class and the other sections of the toiling people in the rest of the world. It is the duty of every Communist to defend against all attacks of the counter-revolution the Soviet Union as a workers state upon a socialist foundation, as the bulwark of the proletarian revolution.

Altho the interests of the Soviet Union and those of the world revolution coincide fundamentally, it is nevertheless quite possible that methods and forms of struggle in countries in which the working class has not yet achieved power should not coincide with those in which this has already been accomplished. The application of the fundamentals and aims of Communism as well as of tactical and organizational fundamentals must be adapted to the concrete relations of the class struggle in the various countries.

The real basic source of the ultra-left course is seen by the I. C. O. in the false transference of the methods and forms of struggle, corresponding to a country in which the working class has already triumphed and in which socialism is being built, to the Communist Parties of those countries in which the majority of the working class has still to be won and the prerequisites for taking up the struggle for power have still to be created. This false transference is accompanied by the destruction of the possibility of properly evaluating and turning to account the experiences of the Communist Parties outside the Soviet Union. A further cause is the mechanical transfer ence of the factional struggles within the C.P.S.U. to the Comintern and its sections.

The basis of all this is the monopoly of leadership of the C.P.S.U. in the Comintern. Until Lenin's death, this was still a positive factor; it has now, however, become outlived because the gap between the tasks of the C. P. S. U. (tasks of socialist construction) and the tasks of the other sections of the Comintern (the tasks of the preparation and the carrying thru of the struggle for power), has been continually growing, especially in recent years in view of much greater tempo of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. as compared with the advance of the revolution in the capitalist countries. For these reasons the monopoly of leadership must be abolished and there must be created a collective leadership for the Communist International which will direct the forces of the revolution of the whole world (the victorious workers of the Soviet Union and the still oppressed workers of the rest of the world) according to uniform fundamentals but with consideration for the special conditions of their ac-

The I. C. O. therefore, sees in the ultra-left tactics of the Comintern, not the inevitable and permanent eflect of an alleged contradiction between the interests of the Soviet Union and of the proletarian revolution in other countries, but rather the effect of a temporary but serious failure, on the part of the leadership of the C. P. S. U., to understand the tactical necessities of the Communist movement outside of the Soviet

Union. 4. The I. C. O. and its sections did not separate voluntarily from the C. I. and its sections but were expelled in violation of democratic centralism and inner-Party democracy because they refused to surrender their Communist right of criticizing the ultra-left

The I: C. O. fights for the rehabilitation of the C. I. and of its sections. The basic condition for this is the reestablishment of inner-Party democracy and of democratic centralism in the individual sections of the C. I. and in the Comintern as a whole.

The I. C. O. recognizes that the reestablishment of inner-Party democracy and of democratic centralism (as they are given in the demands of the March 1930 Open Letter of the C.P.G.-O.) is only a part of the liquidation of the ultra-left course. It, however, regards the reestablishment of normal Party life as sufficient to allow it to work, within the C. P. and in the limits

UNEMPLOYED

(Continued from Page 3)

ed saved him from violence.

Hiner as a tricky misleader and be-

trayer, and finally forced him to re-

consider the feeding proposition. Un-

felt in no mood to hear the platform

of his party and we returned to Fort

Thruout all these happenings, the

council leaders acted upon the basis

is nation-wide and must be tackled not

this is a wrong attitude in the opin-

of Communist discipline, for the complete and open liquidation of the ultra-left course-which would make this liquidation possible at minimum cost and damage to the Party and would stimulate the quickest and most extensive reestablishment of the confidence of the working class in the Party, today so badly damaged by the ultra-left course and the leadership responsible

The rehabilitation of the Communist International demands, from a positive viewpoint, that the leadership of the Comintern develop its activities within the fol-

lowing limits: (a) To assure the maintenance of Communist fundamentals in the Comintern and in all its sections.

(b) To organize international actions and campaigns. (c) To coordinate the activities of the various sec-In the working out of specific questions in the in-

dividual countries the important and most decisive role must fall to the parties of those countries themselves. However, the highest and final decision in these questions belongs to the leadership of the Communist International. It must take care that, in the settlement of these questions, the Communist fundamentals and the tactical principles are maintained. But. on the other hand. the leadership of the Comintern must not replace the leaderships of the individual sections.

6. The I. C. O. and its affiliated organizations reject the manouvers of the leading bodies of the C. I and of its sections, having for their object to play off individual national organizations of the I. C. O., local groups and single members against each other by calling upon them to rejoin the Party. With such manouvers the Party leaders show that they do not themselves take seriously their accusations against the Communist Opposition and recognize that the latter has not left the basis of Communist principles.

On the other hand, however, the I. C. O. greets the increasingly frequent honest desires of the members of the sections of the C. I. for the readmission of the Opposition; it emphasizes the necessity for the members who honestly desire this to take a stand for it in the C. I. and the C. P. The Communist Opposition, which has carried on a four year struggle for the liquidation of the ultra-left course, is conscious of the fact that it has rendered the Communist movement an indispensible service. It declares that its criticism and action, carried out in bitter struggle and under greatest difficulties, have already had and are now having deep-going and wholesome effects in the C. P. and the C. I., as well as in the labor movement generally. It declares that its estimation of the effects of the ultraleft course has been fully justified by the facts and, in a number of cases, has even been recognized by the leading committees, even if these latter have hitherto been either unwilling or unable to recognize the ultraleft course as the cause of the trouble and to remove this cause. On the basis of these facts the Communist Opposition is confident that it will finally overcome all difficulties and emerge victorious. But this victory can only be achieved thru the active intervention of the Party members who will draw the necessary lessons from the negative experiences. It is for this cooperation that the Communist Opposition appeals above all.

7. The Communist Opposition declares to the leadership of the C. I. that, in face of the extremely acute danger of a Fascist seizure of power in Germany as well as of an intervention war against the Soviet Union, no time must be lost in giving up completely and openly the ultra-left course, thereby creating the decisive and indispensable prerequisite for the C. I. and the C. P. winning leadership of the working class for the overthrow of Fascism, for the achievement of the revolutionary way out of the crisis, and for the defense of the Soviet Union and thereby also bringing about a revival of the declining labor movement outside of the Soviet Union, a consequence of the ultraleft course.

In order to achieve the aim of Communism, the consolidation of the working class of the whole world for the overthrow of the bourgeois State, for the destruction of the capitalist system, and for the construction of a socialist order of society, the organizations of the I. C. O. have always been and are now ready to stretch out a hand to reestablish the unity of the Communist movement under the above mentioned indispensable conditions, which alone assure the elaboration of correct Communist tactics on the basis of the collective experience and the collaboration of all sections of the C. I. and which alone provides for the rapid correction of the tactical mistakes thru the participation of the membership.

LIBERTY PARTY AND claim to stand 100% with the working THE JOBLESS "SELF-

(Continued from Page 3)

parties. As far as local politics are concerned, the council is no doubt supposed to be fed, and then hear the strong enough to go into politics on program of the party. However, some-how Hiner did not remember the have to seek the support of sympathefirst part of the program. On the tic elements, of other organizations with political promises only. Hin- ganizations are the trade unions, but er did not exactly become popular there are also some veterans organithru this; in fact only swift interference by the leaders of the unemploy-The bor party should be formed by these writer then took the floor, exposing organizations and, of course, if one or both factions of the Liberty party want to line up, they could do so. The new party should work out a program fortunately for him, the unemployed having for its sole purpose the welfare of the workers, those who are unemployed and must list on the coun ty, and those who are still at work and are experiencing wage slashes, the stagger system, and what not.

This pertains to State and national

It is still time for such a party to that the problem of unemployment get on the ballot in the county eleconly thru charity but also politically. Therefore, the council should be givtions and in the city elections next Spring it may also be of immense en a chance to hear political leaders service to the workers. It is due time and their solutions to the problem. for the workers to understand, that at the ballot box they should vote for In other words, "self-help" schemes But the council, or no occasion, en-P. or any other political organization. daily participation in the struggles their champions, schemes for system-Such endorsement can only be given of the workers and the building of atically diminishing the semi-public when the members have been given a thoro education as to the parties that their organizations, have shown that and public relief to the unemployed.

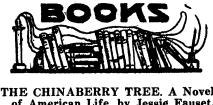
HELP" FRAUD

'meeting" the unemployment emergency win the full approval of the capitalist class, for they are essentially attempts to solve this emergency not at the expense of the capitalist class but at the expense of the working class. They are the answer of the capitalist class to the demand again. of the unemployed worker for jobless relief and insurance: "Help yourself! Why bother us!" For the workers to "help themselves" in this manner means to absolve the employers of all responsibility for and excuse them from all participation in the direct relief of the unemployed.

It is obvious that wherever "selfhelp" plans are inaugurated, they immediately tend to replace all existing agencies of unemployment relief and this tendency is irresistible since the former are far preferable from the viewpoint of the capitalists. Available funds are diverted to them and then begin to grow continually less, much to the satisfaction of the wealthy elements of the community. dorsed any of the factions of the L. their own trusted men, those who, by are, quite apart from the wishes of getting he won't be forgotten.

are in the field. While the tendency they have the interests of the toilnow is to disregard politics entirely, ing masses at heart. The workers from another direction. Attracted by months each year the White House, should have learned by now that the should have learned by now that the tasies!) of "self-help", the unemploy-be isolated on a lonely island." ion of the writer. Being rather well acquainted with the L. P. by now, the council should give a hearing to other narties narticularly to those that are no good.

| Casies: OI "self-neip", the unemploy-ed workers involved allow the struggle for unemployment insurance and for the increase and improvement of ler to preach to him perpetually.



of American Life, by Jessie Fauset. Frederick A. Stokes Company, New

York, 1931. This novel by one of the more prominent of the younger Negro novelists offers a full length portrait of an upper middle class Negro comounity in a small New Joseph town munity in a small New Jersey town. Indian head, nor our quarter, which As such it throws a revealing light bears the face of Washington. She upon one of the least known (by many doubtless thought non-existent) many doubtless thought non-existent) sections of Negro society. It will be no more on America's money. Of course, even when she was on the widen the horizons of those of us for whom Harlem and the South exhaust whom Harlem and the South exhaust the specific types of Negro community we lament her passing just the same.

The "bull" on the back of the nickthe specific types of Negro community in the United States. and what Franklin called "the thiev-

The broad general theme of the book, with minor offshoots of plot and ish rapacious and lousy bird of prey characterization, is concerned with on the quarter, are the symbolic the social ostracism visited by the adornments of the new era. Negro community upon a family where the father, now dead, was The spiritual sufferings this entails for the sensitive daughter of he union is the pivot around which the story revolves and forms itself.

Racial purity is evidently an article of faith among the members of this Negro community. The swift week! There are millions of families and merciless punishment dealt out in the United States that get less for to one breaking the rules of the game an entire year. reminds one of nothing so much as the reaction of "respectable" white according to the famous "American opinion in similar matters. As a matter of fact, to all intents and pur- England factory towns on what "Jimposes, it might be a similar portion of white society that has been painted, paid like that naturally knows he's so thoroly has this Negro community taken on the protective coloration of white bourgeois values, their respectability, their puritanic moral

Dealing as it does with material which has rarely come in for treatment at such length, this book has aroused wide discussion in the Negro press. The reaction of a certain section of Negro intellectual opinion has been quite characteristic. "See," they say in effect, "we also have our upper crust, our aristocrats. We also can be 'respectable'. We are not only race of pagan vagrants and nonescript workers.

These intellectuals applaud their complete subordination to bourgeois values. The subtle compromise with racial restriction and even the inverted capitulation to them is here quite explicit. It is no wonder that the oppression of the Negro masses finds not even the faintest protest in the breast of this Negro community. It is a case where class interests cu lear across racial ties.

Technically the book is excellent Miss Fauset has a mastery over words. Her characters acquire flesh and blood reality. One would like to see such excellent craftsmanship applied to a greater theme.

Jim Cork.

direct relief to fall into the back ground, if not to be lost entirely. Here again, nothing could be more satisfactory, from the capitalist viewpoint. Finally, from a political viewpoint, it is clear that activity along the channels of "self-help" certainly does not tend to mobilize the jobless workers. side by side with the employed, in a class front against the capitalists and their government, as does the struggle for unemployment insurance and for direct relief; on the contrary, it tends to turn the attention of the workers away from their class enemy altogether—the capitalists stand to one side utterly uninvolved, with nothing to do except to smile benevolently and extend a helping hand once n a while! No wonder the New York self to the master class in the follow- Duesterberg from Stahlhelm leaderfor themselves than throwing Hofstadter "is to have a place on the stones thru windows . . . " Certainly, Republican ticket as an appeal to the for the capitalists, it is far better that Jewish voters" and prominent Jews the workers should concentrate their demand the nomination of Lehman energy upon futile attempts to lift on the democratic ticket. themselves up by their bootstraps The logic of Jewish nationalist and than that they should organize in National-Socialist is identical. Both militant action demanding govern- hold circumcision the essential test ment insurance and relief.

The Only Way Out

All "self-help" schemes suffer from one radical and fatal fault: They try to overcome the loss of control of the producer over his means of production, so characteristic of the capitalist system, within the framework of the capitalist economy—an attempt which is futile, utopian, and thoroly reactionary in tendency. Petty bourgeois Socialists of all stripes and varieties, in all parts of the world, have toiled vainly in this direction for decades, and there is no reason why the American working class must be made the subject of these discred- political force. ited and dangerous experiments once

For compulsory Federal unemployment insurance—for adequate direct unemployment relief! these are the slogans of the wide-awake militant workers. And to them must be added: Away with the vicious and insane capitalist system which makes uner ployment and misery not only poss. lole but inevitable!

Gets You Coming And Going "Nothing for business to fear." Barney Baruch on Candidate Roose-

"Safe and sound."—Calvin Coolidge on Candidate Hoover. It's a case of "Heads I win-tails you lose" for Big Business.

Hoover needs is solitude. "Would it



Our Disappearing Liberty Have you noticed the disappearance of Liberty from the face of our coins? left the penny long ago; soon Liberty el, the Fascist emblem on the dime,

Jimmie Wants Vindication

Poor Jimmie Walker just had to get a little help on the side. His salary as Mayor was only \$111 a day. (No, reader, that's not three but one-hun-

One family could live fifty years mie" earned in one. Anyone who gets worth more-and he took it. No wonder Jimmie wants to vindicate himhimself! . . .

When Is A Crisis?

The papers tell us there's a crisis in the Soviet Union. In a way there is. They're growing so darn fast that they can't keep up with themselves. Now they run out of one thing and now of another. But nobody ever heard of their having too much wheat to keep the blast furnaces going, or too many farmers and workers so that it's necessary to starve them out of existence!

Crisis? It's growing pains! But what Old Man Capitalism is suffering from is rheumatism coupled with creeping paralysis.

Economic Science

"The depression began," says Professor Fritch, "when the State of New York granted the character to the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism."

Thistles Grow On Fig Trees

Kellogg Pact, Hoover Pact, Mac-Donald Plan, Washington, Locarno, London, Geneva, Lausanne and again Geneva-how disarming the states-

1925 \$3,497,000,000 \$3,557,000,000 1927 \$3,873,000,000 1928 1929 1930 . \$4,128,000,000

The annual rise in expenditures for war preparations. Such are the achievements of the conferences and pacts. Bigger and bigger grows the bubble! 1933 Hold your ears!

Make Him Prove He's Qualified

In Germany the Nazis demand the Lyons plan modestly recommends it- withdrawal of Presidential Candidate ing words: "It is better next winter to ship because his grandfather was a have the unemployed busily working Jew. In New York State Senator

The logic of Jewish nationalist and of qualification for office.

Fruits Of The New Line!

From July 14, 1932 issue of International Press Correspondence, official organ of the Communist International, we take the following illuminating paragraphs, dealing with the Communist Party of South Africa, word for word:
"By taking the path of organizing

and leading the mass struggle against imperialist slave oppression, and in the main having overcome the inflaence of the renegade groups of Bunting, our Party has grown into a big "This is the tremendous significance

of the change which has taken place in the Party in the last two or three years. But on this path, a number of mistakes have been discovered, arising from the limited experience of our Party and the newness of the

"The situation in our Party is extremely serious. To a greater extent we begin to feel the danger of the Party being isolated from the masses of workers and toilers. The Party understands that if this isolation is not rapidly overcome, the Party will be converted into a small sectarian organization estranged from the broad masses.

"The isolation of the Party from the masses is expressed in the decrease in the membership of the Party from 1 or 5,000 to not more than 300 at When the forgotten man stops for- the present time, and a reduction in the number of organized supporters * * * * | of the Party. The trade unions in Rev. Dr. Samuel Trexler says what the African Federation of Trade Unions have greatly declined and have not yet emerged from the zone of decline. In the Red Aid and the Friends of Soviet Russia, almost only Party members rem**a**in."

The operation was successful but the patient died!

B. D. W.