

MEETING, 1 p. m., Battery.

WORKERS AGE



A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

VOL. 2, No. 5.

NEW YORK, N. Y. DECEMBER 15, 1932.

PRICE 5 CENTS

For Labor Unity and Militancy!

Join the Communist Opposition!

STRENGTHEN THE FIGHT FOR COMMUNIST UNITY!

Build the Left Wing in the Unions!

TURN THE UNIONS INTO FIGHTING ORGANIZATIONS!

THE great tragedy in the labor movement today is the bankruptcy of leadership in the ranks of labor. There is at present no force in the labor movement able to unite, inspire, drive forward the spontaneous and localized actions of the workers, to help translate into action the rebellious mood of the masses. Throughout the whole crisis, the A. F. of L. leaders have played true to their role as labor lieutenants of the capitalists and have done their best to hamstring, even defeat whatever struggles have taken place. And the Cincinnati convention of the Federation, just completed, shows that, in spite of everything, the conservative trade union leadership in general is determined to go ahead serving the interests of the bosses rather than those of the workers, is determined to go ahead with its policies of surrender and sell-out. The Socialist party, corrupted at its heart by the fatal poison of reformism, is merely the faint echo of the reactionary trade union officialdom, as far as the big problems of the labor movement are concerned. From neither source is effective, militant leadership in the present crisis to be expected!

The Communist Party, from whom the workers had every right to expect leadership, has itself surrendered the opportuni-

ty and has completely failed to measure up to the historical tasks facing it. Owing to its utterly sectarian tactics, it has intensified confusion, multiplied division, discredited militancy, isolated the Communists from the masses of the workers.

At a time when conditions are most favorable for spreading Communist influence among the working masses, for strengthening the connections of the Communists with the labor organizations, for giving real vital leadership to the labor movement, the Communist Party, in spite of all fanfare and flourishes, has sunk into a condition of impotent sectarianism as compared with its strength and influence in the much more difficult years of "Coolidge prosperity." It has lost all sense of American reality; it lives in a world of romantic, revolutionary-sounding phrases. It has deserted the mass labor organizations, segregated its members and sympathizers into special "Red" unions and similar bodies, and undermined and destroyed their influence among even the advanced workers. It has obstinately rejected the traditional Communist tactics of the united front and has thus built up an almost insurmountable wall between itself and the non-Communist workers. It is unable to lift itself out of this desperate condition because of the suppression of all freedom within the party, because of the oppressive weight of the bureaucratic system that has grown up. Worst of all, the very ideas of Communism and militancy are being discredited among the workers by the suicidally irresponsible course of the official Communist Party.

It was in resistance to this suicidal sectarianism that the Communist Opposition

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THE one great lesson that comes out of the Cincinnati convention of the American Federation of Labor is the burning need for the building up of a broad, strong, ORGANIZED progressive movement in the American trade unions, a movement that can make its voice heard and its will enforced.

The Cincinnati convention of the A. F. of L. was a striking sign of the tremendous sentiment that is gathering in the ranks of the A. F. of L. against the traditional policies of surrender and sell-out of the conservative leadership. To the door of these reactionary leaders must be laid the largest share of responsibility for the disastrous condition of the labor movement today. In the whole crisis of trade unionism, they acted rather as agents of the bosses than as leaders of labor. They refused to initiate any nation-wide movement against wage-cuts and resisted, sabotaged and often helped to defeat the strike struggles that did take place. They allowed corruption and racketeering to get a death grip over the workers organizations. For years they resisted the demand for Federal unemployment insurance. Only a short time ago they were at work selling the "labor vote" to the bosses parties at so much per head! With such "leaders" it is really a wonder that there are still trade unions left in this country!

The Cincinnati convention took place under the sign of the growing militancy of the workers in the trade unions. The leaders of the A. F. of L. did not come to Cincinnati to consider ways and means of saving the trade unions and putting them on their feet again. On the contrary, their whole thought was directed to the problem: "What is the minimum we must concede

to the demands of militancy in order to retain leadership?" They were determined to ride the storm to prevent it from breaking down the defense of conservatism they had erected. But the concessions they were forced to make under pressure of the rank and file were in many cases serious. The right-about-face reversal on the question of government unemployment insurance is of great significance, in spite of the grave shortcomings of the actual plan of the executive council. Green's "militant" speech for the five-day week, six hour day, without cuts in wages, his "threat" to use "force" (that is, strikes) to gain this objective, struck a note that had not been heard in A. F. of L. conventions for years. Only those who are blind to facts and realities will insist that "everything was the same" at the A. F. of L. convention in Cincinnati.

On a number of matters, however, the A. F. of L. leaders could stand pat, or almost pat. They "settled" with the cancer of racketeering in the unions with a careless gesture. No plan for saving and spreading unionism, for resistance to the wage-cut offensive, was suggested. The question of a Labor party was hardly mentioned. Green and his friends were able

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RELIEF IN DANGER OF SUSPENSION IN N. Y.

Wall Street Bankers Hold Grip On City, Dictate Finances

New York City.

The entire city program of work and home relief is threatened with complete suspension on December 17 unless new funds were provided, according to the letter, dated December 1, of Lawson Purdy, chairman of the Emergency work and Relief Administration to the Board of Estimate. Mr. Purdy pointed out in his letter that the \$1,000,000 which the city has received from the state for home relief plus accruals would be spent by December 17. Additional funds are at present unavailable because the big bankers, who have a stranglehold on the city's economic life, refuse to buy up city bonds until its finances are "stabilized", that is, wages of municipal employees cut, relief and social service expenditures slashed, etc. Meanwhile, the bankers have decreed that the unemployed should starve!

The brutal ultimatum of the bankers should be a sharp challenge to the masses of the unemployed workers in this city. Only by organizing their forces into a broad, non-partisan jobless association and making their voices heard will they be able to safeguard their fundamental interests.

TO BE DEPORTED FOR COMMUNISM

Hal Bojer Arrested In Fort Wayne; Held In Detroit

Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Charged first with having a false visa and then later on with belonging to an "illegal organization," Halvard L. Bojer (Boyer), the organizer of the Fort Wayne local of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Opposition), is being held in the Detroit county jail by the United States Department of Labor for deportation!

Bojer, who is a Norwegian citizen and an engineer for the General Electric Company, was suddenly arrested on Monday, November 21, by Federal agents who raided his residence, confiscated all his books, papers and similar possessions, tore up the flooring and finally took him off to jail. The pretext for his arrest was that his visa was "false" since Bojer was using the name "Long" in his work. Soon, however, the absurdity of this charge was evident, and the Federal officials came out with the real charge—Bojer was a member of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Opposition), which like all Communist organizations, is "illegal" in the eyes of the government, and any alien, adhering to or sympathizing with the Communist movement, is liable to immediate deportation!

(Continued on Page 2)

JOIN!

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

Name

Address

City

SUBSCRIBE!

SUBSCRIBE to the "Workers Age", official paper of the Communist Opposition, and keep informed as to all developments of interest to labor at home and abroad.

Name

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City

Sub rates during drive: \$1.00 a year; \$0.50 for six months
Write to: 228 Second Avenue, New York City

Bert Wolfe

On Dec. 11, 228-2nd Ave. Marxian Theory of Crises

Some Questions of Comintern and C.P.S.U. Policy

The article below is part of the post-conference discussion on the general line and inner-party course of the C.P.S.U. being conducted by the Communist Party of the U.S.A. (Opposition). All comrades and readers of the "Age" are invited to participate. Articles are limited to 1,000 words.—Editor.

Every Communist organization should, from time to time, discuss in a critical manner some of the most important problems confronting it. Such a discussion, conducted in an objective manner, even if serious differences manifest themselves in the course of it, can only help clarify and explain the policies of the organization, with resulting improvement in its work. It is the absence of such discussions from the ranks of the Communist Party today which makes it so extremely difficult for even the most serious and outstanding errors to be corrected. Within the ranks of the Communist Opposition we can never tolerate such a system. Should serious differences arise, far from suppressing them, it is the duty of the leadership to bring them to the open, and, in the course of comradely discussion, endeavor to eliminate them. The present discussion on the "Russian Question," which the Communist Opposition is conducting, will no doubt help hundreds of Communist workers to a better understanding of this important question.

The Source of Many Difficulties
It seems that a good deal of the confusion on the "Russian question" is due to a mechanical quotation of this question with the problems confronting the Communists in the capitalist countries, a sort of inverted Stalinism. Comrades start from the generally accepted (in our group, of course) viewpoint, that the general line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on questions of Communist policy in capitalist countries, as expressed in the general line of the Communist International (which, we can agree, is largely determined by the C.P.S.U.), is incorrect. This line is ultra-left, that is, it tends to push forward Communist tactics at a pace so rapid as to isolate the Communists from the working masses. These tactics are, at present, advanced to an extent absolutely unjustified by the general conditions obtaining in most capitalist countries. And, on a number of specific matters, these tactics represent a departure from some of the accepted Leninist tactical principles. Starting from this generally correct criticism, comrades then ask: "How is it possible for this same party to be so wrong everywhere else, and right in Russia?" And the answer for themselves, that it must therefore be wrong also in Russia. The Stalinist method of argument is that, because the Russian party has been demonstrated to be generally correct in Russia, it must necessarily be correct also in other countries. We see that both these arguments are the same. It is one stick, but Stalin is holding it by the thick end and the comrades referred to are holding it by the thin end. The Communist Opposition has rejected and must reject the mechanical and rigid "logic" represented by this stick. We draw a sharp line of distinction between general Communist policy, as applied in the Soviet Union, where the building of socialism is proceeding, and in the capitalist countries, where we are still struggling for the overthrow of capitalism or, to be more exact, where (in most countries) our task is not yet even the overthrow of capitalism but the development of the Communist Parties into mass parties. To mechanically unite the tactics in the Soviet Union with those in the capitalist countries, is to determine in advance that such tactics will be wrong in one or the other place. At present they are wrong in the capitalist countries because the thick end of the stick is in Stalin's hands, but the comrades who propose to reverse the stick and subordinate Soviet tac-

tics to those in the capitalist countries, are not offering a solution; they are merely guaranteeing in advance incorrect tactics for the Soviet Union. The Communist Opposition stands for the elimination of the stick from the relations between the C.P.S.U. and the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries.

About "Turns and Twists"
We cannot be opposed to "turns and twists" in policy in principle. The class struggle does not develop in a straight line on a uniform pace and Communist policy, to be correct, must follow the development of the class struggle. This necessitates advances and retreats, zig-zags and straight lines, advancing at express speed or at a snail's pace. The same is true in the Soviet Union in the building of socialism, but there is no relation between the two. (Not is there any absolute relation among the capitalist countries.) At the same time that it is necessary to advance in the Soviet Union, it may be necessary to retreat in a capitalist country. At the present time, an advance is taking place all along the line, and at a rapid tempo, in the Soviet Union. Do the realities of the class struggle in the capitalist countries necessitate a similar advance? Obviously not! It is just

as ridiculous to demand an advance in the capitalist countries, because of conditions in the Soviet Union, as the leaders of the C. P. S. U. are doing, as to demand a slowing up or change in the socialist advance in the Soviet Union, because of the slow development of the revolution in the capitalist countries, as some of the comrades are doing in the present discussion. Of course, the comrades will indignantly deny this. But so will Stalin, Molotov, and the others deny that they are subordinating international Communist policy to Soviet Communist policy. This is not a conscious process. Stalin, Molotov and the other Soviet comrades are influenced largely by developments in the Soviet Union, and their ideas come to predominate in the Communist International, due to the narrowing of leadership and the incorrect mutual relations between the C. P. S. U. and the other parties. In a similar manner, the comrades here are influenced largely by the developments here and are unconsciously transferring their political conclusions to the discussion on the "Russian question". This represents a great danger from both directions which should be guarded against. The "gap theory", upon which the Com-

unist Opposition bases its political conclusions and whose logic I have tried to follow in the foregoing lines, represents the weapon which we must utilize.

Essentials And Non-Essentials

Another error which comrades are apt to make is neglect essentials and to argue over matters of secondary importance. They cannot "see the forest for the trees," they argue about this or that factory, or railway, or collective farm; they cannot see that it is just as absurd for the comrades here to try to draw conclusions from such incidents, or to give advice about them, as it is for Stalin, let us say, to try to determine what the tactics of the Communists should be in Local 22 of the I. L. G. W. U. In our estimates of Soviet developments, we must confine ourselves to the main lines of development represented by the Five-Year Plan, which is already successful beyond all expectations. The hardships and difficulties, inherent in the transition period, and expressing themselves in a sharp manner during the last period which marked a sharp break in the direction of building socialism, will be largely eliminated in the Second Five-Year Plan, on the basis of the achievements of the First. But the comrades who sigh about

the "tightening of the belt" should remember that, without it, the Five-Year Plan itself would have been impossible, which would have meant hardships and difficulties of an even greater and more intense character a little later, lasting for a longer period of time. The strain, the sacrifices, the hardships, which the first mighty effort at the building of socialism called forth, have already justified themselves.

The resolution of the National Committee on the "Russian question" is correct. It refuses to be led off the track of objective, Leninist analysis by motives of revenge or factional bitterness. It refuses to blind itself to the wrong regime in the C. P. S. U. even while endorsing the general line of that party. It refuses to make the fight of the International Communist Opposition a function of differences or struggle inside the C. P. S. U. Only firm adherence to this policy will make possible the victory of the ideas of our group.

THE A. F. L. "TURNS LEFT!"

(Continued from Page 3)
perhaps even turn into a boomérang, bringing disillusionment and demoralization in the wake of passivity.

The Significance Of The Convention

It would be a major error to estimate the Cincinnati convention in an abstract, static manner, to limit ourselves to what is perfectly correct, that Green and Company have not changed heart, that they are still in all essentials labor lieutenants of Big Business. True enough; but that is not what is new in the present situation, that is not what is *speciò* in the present relation of forces. Let us learn from our enemies. The "New York Times", in its issue of November 30, comments editorially in a very significant manner on what happened at Cincinnati:

"Such a militant attitude (as exhibited at the convention... W. E.) is fortunate. It cannot fail to be disturbing to all who have thought of the American Federation of Labor, under its present leadership, as inclining (to) carefully studied means and... conciliatory methods... At the moment when all should be trying to work together, when the order of the day ought always be... cooperation between labor and capital, President Green's extravagant, and menacing words sound like bells jangled out of tune."

For the militant workers the meaning of the Cincinnati convention is very great indeed. It is striking attention to the growth of unrest and militancy in the ranks of the conservative unions, still unformed and vague but tremendous in its potentialities. It marks a definite retreat on the part of the labor officialdom. But, most important of all, it points the way to a magnificent opportunity for the left wing and progressive forces in the A. F. of L. Upon the effectiveness of these forces will depend, in the long run, whether the concessions wrung from the reactionary bureaucrats in Cincinnati will be turned into anything of value for the American workers!

Building The Party
The efforts in the direction of creating more party groups continue and are pushed vigorously. Some of the remnants of the official line have nefariously disrupted some of our work and, on the other hand, the "law and order" crowd too is not slow in dealing a blow at us.

We shall soon come out as an All-India organization—that is, the All India Communist Party or the Revolutionary Party of the Indian Working Class (R.P.I.W.C.). The draft program has been circulated for acceptance and is now in print and will be available for the members and various groups in the country.

There is a big controversy about tactics, methods and program of the C. P. between ourselves and the remnants of the official line. Some come back a fellow came from England. I knew him when I was in Frankfurt at the Anti-Imperialist Conference in 1928. He is an Indian. I met and I had a talk with him. When he saw the reality of the situation here he became to certain extent disillusioned about the line of the official leaders. But he insisted that the slogan of the "Soviets" was fit-

ting the situation in India today and therefore we must give up the slogan of "Constituent Assembly", which, in his opinion, was confusing and attracting the petty middle classes. I told him that that slogan of "Soviets" must be linked up with the slogan of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and, when we are organizing the anti-imperialist movement on the slogan of national-democratic revolution, the slogan of "Soviets" would not fit in.

course of socialist construction for the specific period under consideration, is not saying much. It does not become more enlightened after he finds out from Comrade Herberg that "at one time the general line was War Communism; at another, the New Economic Policy; in 1927-28 the general line was changed again, this time towards a direct socialist offensive." Try to concretize the general line Comrade Herberg devotes a chapter to "the main features of the general line." It is to be regretted that this chapter about the general line is too general.

Then what is the general line? In brief it is as follows: (1) The development of heavy industry as a guarantee for the successful building of socialism; (2) The creation of a mechanical base under agriculture, to make collectivization possible and to (3) Increase the production of commodities (light industry); (4) the attitude towards the poor and middle peasant; (5) the elimination of class as a class; (6) the estimate of the Nep; (7) the standard of living of the proletariat, and (8) the theoretical basis for the struggle against the "right wing."

Nobody can claim to be original when saying that the fastest possible building up of the heavy industry will insure the wiping out of the capitalist elements in city and countryside and the establishment of socialism. This was the problem right after the October Revolution. It was stressed at every party plenum, conference and congress of the C. P. S. U. But to say "the speediest" does not explain anything. To this you must add: under the existing conditions. The question is: What are the existing conditions? If we should take as a criterion of the correctness of the "carrying over of the revolution in the village" then the Trotsky opposition should have presented in the years 1925-27 the most "correct" general line. The Trotsky position was rejected and correctly so. If adopted, it would have broken the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, have thrown the middle peasant into the kulak arms and endangered the dictatorship. The success of building socialism in the Soviet Union depends on the firmest alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, under the guidance of the proletariat.

"To shy about the 'sacrifices' while shouting loudly about socialism, is the veriest petty bourgeois philistinism," says Comrade Herberg in his article ("Age", December 1, 1932). To assure Comrade Herberg: Nobody is crying. But this must be remembered: the decisions of the party must be carried out not by and thru type, books, resolutions, but by real live people, who react towards everything that takes place. These reactions play a very important role. The best general cannot carry out the most ingenious plan if the army is not in a fighting mood.

The question here is not what was achieved during this period in this or that branch of the national economy (and no one can minimize the great achievements in electrification and heavy industry) but how was it consolidated? Not the achievements in one branch, but taken as a whole as a national economy. In this case it is not a question of hardships to be associated with the building of socialism only. Now the Soviet Union is faced with a commodity famine with the result that the proletariat, which has only so recently strained itself in order to, in the shortest period, complete the Five-Year Plan, showing discipline and self-sacrifice, today this same proletariat is going from factory to factory and no discipline can be ascertained. This is some what more than just ordinary hardships which is to be associated with the building of socialism.

Paraphrases 4, 5, 6 and 7 of the resolution (adopted in November 15, 1932 issue of the "Workers Age") would have been timely four years ago as an historical estimate of planned economy. Today this is not enough. Today when the Five-Year Plan is being completed, we must examine the policies and tactics applied and state our position, approaching the question critically, from the angle of drawing a lesson for ourselves, and, if mistakes in policies and tactics were made, criticize and help to correct them. This the resolution fails to do.

The outline for a new resolution, presented by Comrade Gitlow (which, I assume, is thru an unintended error entitled "Resolution") should become the basis for a new resolution, because it proposes to include in it whatever is timely in the adopted resolution and, in the second paragraph, proposes to deal with that which is left out from the resolution adopted by the conference—to examine the policies and tactics which were applied in carrying out of the Five-Year Plan.

Mistakes Must Be Examined
When we are examining the policies and tactics applied in the Five-Year Plan and, if we detect that as a result of the application of a wrong policy or tactics, the building of socialism has met with lesser success than it should, or that it strained the relations between the city and village, or it has created within the working class itself such a condition which is temporarily retarding the tempo of the building of socialism, we should examine it and find the cause. "Blaming the switchmen" will not help matters. To hide such mistakes that cause the hardships is doing no good to the Soviet proletariat. You cannot hide it from the enemy. He will find it out. The hiding will then be done from the proletariat and from its party.

In this case it will only do harm. A wrong policy applied, or a mistake made and not explained to the proletariat that holds the state power in its hands, will prevent the party and the working class to speedily correct the errors and will serve only to aggravate the situation.

The Two Resolutions
Taking the resolutions and comparing them we find that both resolutions are identical in "that we reaffirm our position in favor of the Five-Year Plan." Both resolutions point to the "factional abuse" suffered as a result of the "factional use of the Five-Year Plan", and point its finger at the party regime for its "factional attitude towards criticism and suggestions, aggravating differences instead of settling them."

One speaks of the gap between capitalist countries and that of the Soviet Union as being "the basic cause of the crisis in the Comintern" and continues to say, "in actual fact, the leadership of the Comintern today lies exclusively in the hands of the C.P.S.U. which exercises a monopoly of leadership" while the other wishes to "point out... our disagreement with the line of the leadership of the C. P. S. U. on the questions of the Comintern."

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In the Post-Conference Discussion

by L. Becker

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The resolution adopted at the last national conference of the C. P. U. S. A. (Opposition) on the general line of the C. P. of the Soviet Union is inadequate. Some sections of it are out of date. Chapter 3 is totally out of line with the resolution itself. It accuses the Central Committee, under the leadership of Stalin, of factionalism, to blind itself to the wrong regime in the C. P. S. U. even while endorsing the general line of that party. It refuses to make the fight of the International Communist Opposition a function of differences or struggle inside the C. P. S. U. Only firm adherence to this policy will make possible the victory of the ideas of our group.

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course of socialist construction for the specific period under consideration, is not saying much. It does not become more enlightened after he finds out from Comrade Herberg that "at one time the general line was War Communism; at another, the New Economic Policy; in 1927-28 the general line was changed again, this time towards a direct socialist offensive." Try to concretize the general line Comrade Herberg devotes a chapter to "the main features of the general line." It is to be regretted that this chapter about the general line is too general.

Then what is the general line? In brief it is as follows: (1) The development of heavy industry as a guarantee for the successful building of socialism; (2) The creation of a mechanical base under agriculture, to make collectivization possible and to (3) Increase the production of commodities (light industry); (4) the attitude towards the poor and middle peasant; (5) the elimination of class as a class; (6) the estimate of the Nep; (7) the standard of living of the proletariat, and (8) the theoretical basis for the struggle against the "right wing."

Nobody can claim to be original when saying that the fastest possible building up of the heavy industry will insure the wiping out of the capitalist elements in city and countryside and the establishment of socialism. This was the problem right after the October Revolution. It was stressed at every party plenum, conference and congress of the C. P. S. U. But to say "the speediest" does not explain anything. To this you must add: under the existing conditions. The question is: What are the existing conditions? If we should take as a criterion of the correctness of the "carrying over of the revolution in the village" then the Trotsky opposition should have presented in the years 1925-27 the most "correct" general line. The Trotsky position was rejected and correctly so. If adopted, it would have broken the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, have thrown the middle peasant into the kulak arms and endangered the dictatorship. The success of building socialism in the Soviet Union depends on the firmest alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, under the guidance of the proletariat.

ed with the building of socialism. Any estimation of the general line must give answers to the following: (1) To what extent did the general line strengthen the bond between the proletariat and the peasantry? (2) To what extent was the party able to mobilize the membership and the working class at large for the policies of the party? (3) To what extent did the standard of living of the proletariat rise? (4) To what extent did the productivity of labor and discipline of the workers increase? (5) Whether, during the period under consideration, the "scissors" between prices on manufactured and agricultural products narrowed or widened? (6) To what extent did the total output of commodities increase?

The answer to these questions will at the same time be an answer as to whether the general line was correct or not. The Soviet Union is confronted today with severe difficulties. Let us state here that, even if the most correct policies were applied, there would still, because of the backwardness of the country, its industry, exist hardships for the working class which would have to "pay" for its "apprenticeship."

The question: Are these difficulties only a result, "pains of socialist construction, of socialist growth and success" (Lovestone) or, that the degree of difficulties are to be associated with wrong policies and tactics? In my opinion a number of mistakes, not mistakes in application of correct policies, which happened at the best of times, but mistakes in policies were made.

Comrade Kaganovich, reporting to the Moscow district organization stated: "Productivity of labor does not increase, the cost of production does not decrease, and the result is—the plan is not carried out"—low discipline, a 100% turnover of workers in the factories, shortage of food, manufactured goods.

In my opinion the present difficulties are largely due to mistakes in policy. What are they?

1. The deviation from the fifteenth party congress in relation to building of heavy industry, in the direction of Trotskyism.
2. The underestimation of the importance of the light industry, as a means of exchange of manufactured goods, for agricultural products and raw material.
3. The uprooting of the capitalist elements—the almost total abolition of the private, non-government production of the handicraftsman and the abolition of the open market, without being ready to replace same by goods of the socialist factories thru government or cooperative apparatus.
4. The deviation from the Leninist line in regard to the middle peasant.

The revision of Leninism and also of the fifteenth party congress was made by the Stalin leadership in the direction of Trotskyism. Not only this. But in the struggle against the so-called "right wing", Trotsky's theory of Thermidor was paraphrased.

Comrade Stalin, before he had adopted Trotskyism as the best means of socialist construction, thus characterized Trotskyism:

"In what consists the danger of left (Trotsky) deviation in our party? In that that they overestimate the forces of our enemies, the forces of capitalism, they see only the possibility of capitalist restoration, but they fail to see the possibilities of building up socialism with the forces of our own country, as they become desperate and they find consolation in chattering about Thermidorism of our party. While we live in a petty peasant country, there is a much more solid base in Russia for capitalism than for Communism—from these words of Lenin in the leadership's hands are drawing the wrong conclusion, that it is generally impossible to build up socialism in the U. S. R., that nothing can be done with the peasantry, that the thought of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry is outlandish, that if

(Continued on Page 8)

The Advance Of Communism In India

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE REVOLUTION IN INDIA

We publish below extracts from a recent letter from India. Comrade K., the writer of the letter, is one of the leading figures in the growing Communist Opposition in India. The Indian Communist Opposition is slowly recovering from the disastrous blow of the arrest and imprisonment of M. N. Roy. It has already established itself as the dominant Communist organization in the political and trade union life of India.—Editor.

Bombay, India, September, 10, 1932.
You must, I believe, have heard about the arrest of several of our comrades in various parts of the country. In Bombay, where we are very prominent. Those of our comrades who are active workers in the trade union movement were charged under Section 124 a (sedition) and Section 153 (creating class hatred). Four of our comrades had been convicted for one year of rigorous imprisonment and a fine of 300 Rupees. All these comrades were at the head of the unions such as Girmi Kamgar Union ("Red Flag Union"—a textile union.—Editor), the Seamen's Union, the Dock Workers Union and the Municipal Workers Union. The arrest of these comrades took place at a time when the unity conference of the trade union movement was to meet. The reformists, afraid of our forces, did not dare hold the conference in Bombay and shifted the place to Madras. The arrest of all these comrades, who would have presented a united front at the conference against the reformists, removed them and only one representative from Bombay and a few from Madras could attend the revolutionary opposition inside the conference. Moreover, the Executive Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress, too, was to meet and possibly the government did not like the presence of these comrades on this committee which was to follow at the twelfth session of the A. I. T. U. C. at Madras. Those trade unionists who have some inclinations towards us were cast into prison at this critical moment. Most of them and our comrades were alleged by the government lawyers to be the followers of M.

by K. (Bombay)

N. Roy, adhering to his political and trade union point of view, and some of them do not go along with us fully.

Altho deprived of practically the whole of its executive and of most of its active workers, the trade union congress twelfth session had to meet under all circumstances. In Bombay the places of the arrested comrades were immediately filled by the second line of defense and thus today, when I am writing to you, the Trade Union Congress is meeting at twelfth session in Madras.

It is expected that the Trade Union Congress will adopt the Platform of Unity of the Girmi Kamgar Union and will call upon the various unions to unite under the banner of the A.-I. T. U. C. Moreover, this session will bring in more unions which were neutral all these months.

Our Campaign Of Unity

All along the campaign of unity in the ranks of the trade union movement in India, we have pressed

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+
December 8, 8:30 P. M.
THE PURITAN MYTH
+
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THE FRONTIER FORCE
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Building The Party
The efforts in the direction of creating more party groups continue and are pushed vigorously. Some of the remnants of the official line have nefariously disrupted some of our work and, on the other hand, the "law and order" crowd too is not slow in dealing a blow at us.

We shall soon come out as an All-India organization—that is, the All India Communist Party or the Revolutionary Party of the Indian Working Class (R.P.I.W.C.). The draft program has been circulated for acceptance and is now in print and will be available for the members and various groups in the country.

There is a big controversy about tactics, methods and program of the C. P. between ourselves and the remnants of the official line. Some come back a fellow came from England. I knew him when I was in Frankfurt at the Anti-Imperialist Conference in 1928. He is an Indian. I met and I had a talk with him. When he saw the reality of the situation here he became to certain extent disillusioned about the line of the official leaders. But he insisted that the slogan of the "Soviets" was fit-

The Group at Work

The Jobless Conference in Ohio

Detroit, Mich. The membership of the Detroit group is increasing. On December 11 the organizer, Comrade Miller, will deliver a lecture at the Libertarian Forum on: "What Does the C. P. Opposition Stand For?" Definite steps have been taken to tie up the work among the unemployed with similar activities in nearby territory. It is reported to us by Comrade Miller: "On November 5 Comrade Neil and myself journeyed to Niles, Ohio, to attend a conference that was called for the purpose of uniting the various existing unemployed councils. It was a well-attended affair. Practically every county as well as some of the large cities in Ohio were represented at this conference. Some 100 delegates were seated with voice and vote; besides there were five fraternal delegates seated with voice but no vote. These five were W. J. White, H. Conners and another comrade from Fort Wayne, Indiana, and myself from Detroit. I was given the floor for ten minutes and Harry Conners got it for five minutes. The official party had something like ten delegates. They tried their damndest to run the conference and proposed at least a half dozen amendments that wrecked everything that these workers were undertaking to build up. Failing in their efforts, they refused to become part of the state conference. . . . The Daily Worker for November 15, on page 2, had a typical lying statement about the role the 'Lovestonites' played at this conference. The only political argument raised in this unsigned article was that Wm. Miller of Detroit led the conference in the singing of 'My Country 'Tis of The!'"

FORT WAYNE, IND.

Fort Wayne, Ind. The reactionaries have written to destroy the C. P. opposition which has been gaining influence in the ranks of the unemployed thru its fight against the attacks of the K. K. and the Chamber of Commerce on the unemployed council. The recent progress in the movement for a labor party precipitated the arrest of our worker who is now being held by the Federal authorities. The arrest was instigated by W. F. Calverton, head of the General Electric plant here. Primarily, thru our activities over a period of months, the vote for the C. P. and Comrade Foster was raised from 7 in 1928 to 242 this year.

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

San Antonio, Texas The San Antonio unit is on the job. The secretary's latest activity report says: "About sixty American workers were present at our meeting, this is actually the first time that the American workers have responded to our call. Comrade Pauline Lifshultz was in the chair. Comrade Symons spoke on the economic achievements of the Russian Revolution. Comrade J. Murphy urged the American workers to follow in the footsteps of the Russian comrades. Comrade Rodriguez stated that the capitalists were building Muscle Shoals and Hoover Dams for imperialist war and oppression while the Soviet Union was building the Dniepropetrovsk for the betterment of the Russian workers. Comrade J. Shaffer's subject was: The fifteen years of the existence of the Soviet Union with its socialist structure of industry are an answer to all its enemies, including the Socialists of the Second International. He urged the workers to be ready to defend the Soviet Union. All the speakers were received with great enthusiasm. In contrast to our successful meeting the so-called 'party' arranged a celebration on the same evening with Barlow as the only speaker."

THE ANTHRACITE

Wilkes-Barre, Pa. On December 17, the C. P. Opposition is arranging an affair and banquet for the benefit of "Workers Age." At the opening of the sessions of the workers Educational Club in Wilkes-Barre, I. Zimmerman spoke on the "Regrets of the Elections and Their Meaning for Labor." H. Zam is to address the next session of the club on the A. F. of L. convention on December 18.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Chicago, Ill. The mass meeting to be addressed by Lovestone is to be held on Saturday evening December 24 at Mirror Hall, Western and Haddon Streets at 8 P. M. The subject is "The Rising Tide of Fascism—What Should the American Workers Do?"

Frederick Douglass Interracial Forum

SUNDAY, DEC. 18—4 P. M.

1660 Fulton St., Brooklyn

I R A D e A. REID National Urban League

NEGRO AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

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

WORKERS AGE 228 Second Ave. AT ONCE

The Arrest of Hal Bojer in Fort Wayne, Ind.

by Harry H. Conner

Fort Wayne, Ind. In this industrial city of 110,000 inhabitants, where there are 5,500 families dependent upon the crumbs of charity, where there are 14,000 unemployed, 30,000 people affected by the crisis of decaying capitalism, we have just seen the power of the state in the arrest and holding of Comrade Hal Bojer for deportation. Comrade Bojer, son of the noted author, Johann Bojer, engineer at the General Electric Company, champion of the dispossessed worker, has been a leader in the struggles of the workers against the power of the bosses. Thousands of unemployed workers, hundreds of Comrade Bojer's friends in all walks of life, are protesting against the deportation of foreign-born workers on political charges. At the meeting of the Unitarian Society, in which Comrade Bojer was active, there was an overflow crowd. At this meeting a noted artist's wife, a prominent physician, a musical instructor, the minister of the Unitarian Society, and the writer, all spoke of this brilliant young foreigner whose courageous stand on the political and economic questions of the day had won thousands of admirers. Comrade Bojer would be an asset to any community; but because he exposed capitalism in

In the Comintern

Entire Leadership Expelled in Spain

Madrid, Spain. Four members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, have been expelled from the party. This action was taken immediately after the twelfth plenum of the E. C. C. I. by a joint session of the E. C. C. I. and the International Control Commission. The four Spanish Communist leaders, Adame, Trilla, Bulejos and Vega, constituting the entire top leadership of the party, were charged with "sectarian and anarcho-syndicalist methods" and were

and Fukien, but the number of minor Soviets runs into hundreds.

"When a district has been occupied by a Red Army, efforts are made to sovietize it, if the occupation appears to be a more or less permanent nature. Any opposition to this is suppressed. . . . A Communist government is established. . . . The program of action consists in the cancellation of debts, the distribution among landless proletarians and small farmers of large private owners or from religious institutions, such as temples, monasteries and churches. Taxation is simplified; the peasants have to contribute a certain part of the produce of their lands. With a view to the improvement of agriculture, steps are taken to develop irrigation, rural credit system, and cooperatives. Public schools, hospitals and dispensaries may also be established.

"Thus the poorest farmers derive considerable benefit from Communism, whereas the rich and middle-class landowners, merchants and local gentry are completely ruined, either by immediate expropriation or by levies and fines; and in applying its agrarian program the Communist party expects to gain support of the masses."

"Communism in China . . . has become an actual rival of the National Government. It possesses its own law, army and governments and its own territorial sphere of action.

"Large parts of the provinces of Fukien and Kiangsi, and parts of Kwangtung, are reliably reported to be completely sovietized. Communist zones of influence are far more extensive. They cover a large part of China south of the Yangtze, and parts of the provinces of Hupei, Anhwei and Kiangsu north of that river. Shanghai has been the center of Communist propaganda. Individual sympathizers with Communism may probably be found in every town in China. So far two provincial governments only have been organized, in Kiangsi

Have You Read?

- THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, by Jay Lovestone 15c
- SOME STRAIN WORDS ON COMMUNIST UNITY, by Ben Gitlow 5c
- THE HERITAGE OF THE CIVIL WAR, by Will Herberg 5c
- FOR REVOLUTION, by V. F. Calverton 25c
- Reductions for bundle orders: WORKERS AGE PUB. ASS'N 228 Second Ave., N. Y. C.

accused of following "a policy of tail-endism which would make the working class an appendage of the republican bourgeoisie." As to the actual views and program of the expelled—not a word in the official reports! The political and organizational disintegration of the official Spanish Communist Party is proceeding with extraordinary rapidity and is occupying space under the impact of the suicidally sectarian course and bureaucratic regime forced upon the C. P. of Spain by the E. C. C. I. At the same time, the opposition Communist organization, the Iberian Communist Federation, is growing in strength and influence.

BRINGOLF IS NOW MAYOR!

Schaffhausen, Switzerland. A. Bringolf, leader of the Swiss Communist Opposition, has been elected mayor of Schaffhausen by a big majority. The election of Comrade Bringolf followed the smashing victory of the Communist Opposition in the municipal elections.

OPPOSITION FORMED IN HUNGARY

Budapest Hungary. A number of Hungarian Communists amounting to more than 10% of the membership of the Communist Party of Hungary, have formed a Communist Opposition group and established connections with the German Communist Opposition and with the International Communist Opposition center in Berlin. The Hungarian Communist movement is strictly illegal in view of the bloody North dictatorship and the Hungarian Communist Opposition is therefore doubly illegal.

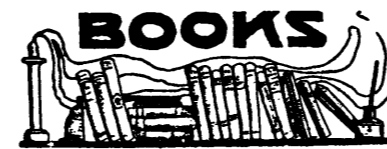
The differences in the C. P. H., out of which the Opposition movement emerged, arose in resistance to the dangerously sectarian policies and bureaucratic regime of the party; it did not take long, however, before the Hungarian comrades saw the international implications of their struggle and got in touch with the International Opposition center.

THE WILL TO UNITY IN GERMANY!

Berlin, Germany. The will towards unity on the part of the Communist Party membership and the growing opposition to the ruinous ultra-left trade union tactics of the party, were front established between the fractions of the Communist Party and the Stuttgart German Metal Workers Union (D.M.V.) elections. The elections were to the district conference of the party, consisting of two Oppositionists and one member of the official C. P. Because of this joining of forces the three were elected.

THE HERO-CULT AT ITS DEPTH!

How far the anti-Leninist herocult has gone in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union can be seen from the following words taken from the report of Manuilsky, Comrade of the Executive International, on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, and reported in the "Pravda": "If the proletariat of the world is marching resolutely towards stormy events, towards great class struggles, stepping into a second round of revolutions and wars, realizing its readiness for these conflicts—if all this is true, this is the historical merit of Comrade Stalin. In other words, Stalin invented the class struggle!"



FOR REVOLUTION by V. F. Calverton, No. 15 John Day Pamphlet. The John Day Company, New York, 1932.

The case for revolution receives an excellent treatment in the hands of V. F. Calverton. In his usual concise and logical manner, the author makes a plea for revolutionary social change that carries weight and a considerable amount of clarity. Within the limited bounds of this small pamphlet (24 pages), there is concentrated a Marxian defense that roots itself in the American language and traditions.

Calverton at first proceeds to show the iron necessity of revolutionary change. After analyzing the inevitable contradictions under capitalism economy and its present period of decline, the need for the complete scrapping of the system becomes ever more clearly a resultant urgency. Towards the problem of "how disestablish," the author states in unequivocal terms the Marxian thesis of a forcible smashing of the state. Such an approach is inevitable because in Calverton's own words: "As a class (the industrialists, bankers—I. B.) they are bound by the system of which they are a product, and will defend it by force as long as they have power."

On the basis of that need for revolution, a defense of revolution is presented in terms of its advantageous aspects rather than its incidental evils (which such men as Stuart Chase and Norman Thomas constantly emphasize). Instead of sentimentalizing about inevitabilities and weeping over the rigors of reality, the author strikes out in the clear-cut tones to say: "We over-emphasize the sudden deaths that a revolution occasions but entirely neglect the slow living death that large parts of the working class experience day by day." Furthermore, V. F. Calverton acquaints

us with the purging effects that a sudden change in social development carries with it—especially so when such an event is the prelude to the building of a classless society. Upon the above as a base, there follow three points in the case for revolution—an analysis of the historical determinants of the immaturity of the American working class, steeped in its present petty bourgeois, individualistic ideology; a well-written and sanely conceived presentation of the revolutionary conditions of the American people and American intellectuals; and a concise the somewhat vague formulation of the tactical problems involved in organizing for the revolutionary seizure of power.

The outstanding achievement of the pamphlet lies in the conscious desire of the author to root present revolutionary ideology in the past American traditions of a similar progressive and revolutionary character. In the constant allusion to American backgrounds, the author has definitely emphasized the need for expressing the substance of revolutionary Marxism

WHAT WE STAND FOR

On Discipline

by Bertram D. Wolfe

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

The conditions of the class struggle change from day to day, and even a correct line becomes wrong unless it is subject to frequent examination and criticism. If members are afraid to voice objection and criticism, if analysis, whether correct or incorrect, is met not with argument and clarification, but with abuse and expulsion, then the party stagnates and grows corrupt, bureaucracy flourishes as a rank growth that chokes the party's life, and a system of jesuitic hierarchy and rigidity takes the place of the democratic centralism and realistic flexibility which are the cornerstones of Communist party structure.

"Democratic centralism" is a term with two poles. Party democracy implies full and free discussion by every party member. It implies a free play of viewpoints on all questions of tactics and strategy and general line, so long as there is no departure on fundamentals, no abandonment of the basic principles of Communism. Party democracy implies selection of all officials by the membership (in an illegal party this is not always possible) and complete accountability of these officials to the membership which remains the supreme power in the party.

On the other hand, the Communist Party, as a party of action and not a perpetual debating society, must set terms to party discussions, limits at which a discussion should stop and decisions be made by the membership. Thereafter, there must be a subordination of the minority to the majority on the point in question, until the question is again subject to examination, as, for instance, during a convention discussion period.

Such in brief is the mechanics of democratic centralism. Ye there is not a point in the above outline that is not systematically violated in the present life of the party. The line of the party is not subject to examination. Critics and questioners do not have their views examined, accepted or patiently refuted, but are met with a flood of abuse, threats and expulsion. Comrades are expelled not for differences on fundamentals (proletarian dictatorship and Soviet power) but for questioning the correctness of tactical

Help Save Chen Diu - Hsiu!

The veteran Marxist and Chinese leader, Chen Diu-hsiu, has been arrested in Shanghai by the police of the murderous "National" government, the puppet of American imperialism. About two years ago Chen identified himself with the Trotskyist Opposition whose head he became.

Comrade Chen is facing death at the hands of the Kuomintang butchers. Only world-wide protest can snatch him from his doom. The workers and farmers and liberte-loving people of the whole world must be roused in defense of Chen Diu-hsiu. The criminal silence of the official Communist press and of the International Labor Defense must be broken. For the defense of M. N. Roy and Chen Dui-hsiu!

us with the purging effects that a sudden change in social development carries with it—especially so when such an event is the prelude to the building of a classless society.

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Women and Children in U.S.S.R.

This is the concluding installment in the article by E. R. Brand—Editor.

Again we see the scrupulous care for personality which is so conspicuous by its absence in our clinics. The home is visited before the woman sees the physician and says Mrs. Fields: "The visitor tried to find out something of the woman's problems and temperament. Is she unhappy at home? Why?"

"The doctor at the clinic in private consultation continues to enquire the woman's temperament and problems, how happy she is in her sex life, what she thinks would improve it etc. Only after this intensive and personal study does he select from among the many available contraceptives, one which he thinks would be most satisfactory in her case. Every ten days she returns to the clinic for further consultation, brief examination and cleansing. This steady check-up is of tremendous help in research upon the psychological as well as physical aspects of birth control. The general hygienic value in noting and checking disease, promoting cleanliness is stupendous."

The chapter on abortions seemed to me the most interesting portion of the book. Nothing points up the difference between our and their cultures more poignantly. What happens in this country if a woman becomes pregnant unwillingly? Perhaps she cannot afford contraceptive devices. Perhaps she has had hard luck in the use of them. Perhaps no one has introduced her to the use of them. All common forerunners to a preg-

in the American tradition and language. For such an attempt there cannot be enough praise for Calverton, especially when the official Communist movement speaks a foreign tongue, politically considered. —I. B.

nancy. Everyone knows that in this country anything but a "therapeutic abortion" is a crime equivalent to murder. Therefore no cautious doctor will perform one. Many quacks prey on unfortunate women who would rather take a chance at dying than at another child.

The abortionist, be he ever so skillful from having performed ever so many bootleg operations, is more than likely to treat his patient with the bullying contempt of one who wields absolute power. I know one man who treated a highly intelligent and sensitive woman like a hard-boiled moron. She loathed him and yet had to toady to him and to lay down \$125 before he would touch her. The operation was a complete success from the doctor's point of view, but she was emotionally so such a degree that she has not yet entirely recovered. Incidentally, this doctor told her that if a pregnancy is of short duration, he had a drug which can induce an abortion. This drug, he announced, cost him \$3 and he would sell it for \$100. If it did not work, he would credit \$97 to the cost of the abortion!

In Russia, abortions are definitely discouraged. Birth control is substituted to eliminate the need and the danger and advertise by whatever methods seem most compelling. All women are made cognizant of the findings of Russian doctors, that only one-tenth as many deaths result from natural births as from abortions, even un- substituted best hospital conditions. Some physicians go so far as to insist that women witness an actual abortion in the hospital which they are seeking to enter. But if, despite public and private education to the contrary, an abortion is still insisted upon, it is open, legal, deliberate and performed by a qualified surgeon in a state hospital free of charge. The woman is given three weeks vacation from work with

But then her experience has been limited to the social service efforts of this country where even the intelligent social workers sense the utter futility of their own jobs, no matter how conscientiously they are executed, because of the absence of any integrated plan or social vision. It is this plan and this vision which are implicit in the solid array of facts, records, observations and uninterpreted findings of Mrs. Field's important book.

YOUNG COMMUNIST

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

A unique service for the protection of women and children which again finds no parallel, not the slimmest shadow of one, in our society is the treatment of prostitutes. In Russia, there are no outcasts. Russia is responsible for its failures. In the Prophylactarium for Prostitutes sufferers from venereal disease are housed, educated, taught a trade and maintained until a job is available. There is a conscious plan through to lift them in their own esteem. Says Mrs. Field: "The freedom of their lives breeds self-respect as it could never do in an ordinary woman's prison where such women receive punishment and little else. Some of the women marry and bear healthy children and as they acquired a liking and sympathy for the Prophylactarium when they were inmates, they frequently return for visits even after they have been discharged as patients. Their visits aid greatly in keeping up the morale of the inmates as well as that of the doctors and nurses, for they give ample evidence of the success of this type of work."

A social worker friend of mine to whom I read aloud this last quotation from Mrs. Field's book commented: "Hmmm. . . Sounds very Utopian to me."

measures or the limitless wisdom of party officials. The membership, after a thorough discussion, voted by 90% for a given line and leadership at the Sixth National Convention of our party but the leadership was removed, the decisions of the membership reversed and over a third of the Central Committee expelled by cable decree "from above."

Expulsion and slander were substituted for discussion and conviction, and raised to the dignity of a system. To doubt the wisdom of abandoning the trade unions or the united front, was to earn the epithets "renegade", "counter-revolutionist", "agent of Hoover", "social-fascist", "enemy of the Soviet Union." The "Daily Worker" and the "Freiheit" even published weird stories of alleged burglary of the national office, stealing of funds, stool-pigeons, consorting with gangsters, and what-not lurid slanders in the best style of the "Jewish Daily Forward" or the tabloid press.

LENIN ON DISCIPLINE

The discipline of Communism is not discipline based upon threat, but upon conviction. We are a voluntary association for a common cause, a cause which enlists our enthusiasm and devotion. Therefore, the primary consideration, the foundation of all discipline, is a correctness of line and the convincing of all members of its correctness. Without these, discipline is a grotesque caricature.

Here is how Lenin put the question of discipline: "Upon what does the discipline of the revolutionary party of the proletariat rest? How is it tested, controlled, reinforced, strengthened?"

First: by the clarity of aim of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its steadiness, spirit of self-sacrifice and heroism.

Second: by its ability to lead the toiling masses, to form contact with them and to a certain extent to fuse itself with the proletarian masses primarily but also with the non-proletarian toilers.

Thirdly: the correctness of the political leadership carried out and by the correctness of its political strategy and tactics, based on the idea that the workers convince THEMSELVES of the soundness of this political leadership, strategy and tactics thru their own experience. Without all these conditions, discipline in a revolutionary party of the advanced class whose object is to overthrow the bourgeoisie and revolutionize all of society, is impossible of realization. Without these conditions, all attempts to create discipline result in empty phrases, in tomfoolery, in clownishness."

Thus Lenin makes the correctness of the line of the party THE VERY BASIS OF DISCIPLINE and not discipline a substitute for a correct line. To Gorki he also wrote:

"You must and certainly will understand that once a member of a party is convinced of the absolute incorrectness and harm of a certain doctrine, he is duty bound to take a stand against it. . . . AT ALL COSTS."

Next Issue: "WHAT SHOULD A COMMUNIST DO IN THE PRESENT SITUATION?"

Workers Age

Published Twice Monthly by the

Workers Age Publishing Assn., 228 Second Ave., New York, N. Y.

Phone: GRamercy 5-8903

Organ of the National Council of the

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

Subscription rates: Foreign \$2.50 a year. \$1.50 six months. 5 cents a copy. Domestic \$1.25 a year. \$0.75 six months.

VOL. 2. No. 5.

December 15, 1932.

THE A. F. OF L. CONVENTION AND THE HUNGER MARCH

THERE is a great deal of significance in the fact that, just about the time that the American Federation of Labor convention in Cincinnati was making its sensational right-about-face and endorsing compulsory government unemployment insurance, the Unemployed Councils, together with the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League, began the second nation-wide Hunger March to Washington.

The change of policy of the A. F. of L. on unemployment insurance constitutes an event of major importance in the history of the American labor movement. The threadbare appeals to the fraudulent "rugged individualism" of the Hoover variety no longer seem to work; the A. F. of L. has definitely gone in for social legislation, as the horror-stricken reactionary press has not been slow to point out.

The change of policy of the A. F. of L. on this vital social question came, it is clear enough, only as a piece of diplomatic strategy of the hardened bureaucrats running the Federation, as a form of accommodation to the rising tide of militancy in the unions. In saying this we by no means diminish the great significance of the change of front at the convention; on the contrary, we estimate it in its true meaning and are therefore better able to judge it in all its consequences.

It is no less clear that if the decision of the A. F. of L. convention is to mean anything in life itself, it must be followed by a vigorous mass campaign, involving the whole trade union movement and large sections of the unorganized as well, for only such a movement could exercise the requisite pressure upon the state legislatures and Congress in order to effect any concessions whatever. General expression of sentiment will not suffice, nor will lobbying do. Only the organized might of the workers, determined to make their demands heard and respected, can accomplish anything.

It is just here that the Hunger March comes in. A march upon the state and national capitals is the traditional way in which the jobless, and with them the labor movement as a whole, express their demands for relief and their determination to win them. A Hunger March organized and conceived on the proper basis could go a long way indeed in helping achieve government unemployment insurance in this country.

Unfortunately, however, the Hunger March under way today, in spite of all the ballyhoo and advertising, is doomed to complete futility. It will come and go and leave hardly a ripple in the actual movement of labor or in the actual struggle for jobless insurance. For this Hunger March suffers from the same fatal shortcomings that did the first about a year ago. Instead of being broad and non-partisan, it is openly and completely a Communist Party affair, organized, run and monopolized by Communist auxiliaries. Instead of being based on the trade unions and other bona-fide labor organizations, it is satisfied with a glittering parade of paper organizations, representing nobody at all except Communists and sympathizers. Instead of attempting to unite the employed and unemployed in one movement, it almost deliberately disregards the former and widens the chasm between the two. As a result, the present Hunger March, like the first, is nothing and can be nothing but a Communist Party demonstration, completely isolated, in organization and in sentiment, from the masses of the workers, including the unemployed.

Conditions are ripe and over-ripe for a real mass movement of the unemployed and in such a movement it is for the Communists to give leadership and inspiration. But the official Communist Party will never be able to rise to this great task until it unburdens itself of the suicidal sectarian course with which it has been cursed for most four years!

Dance and Theatrical

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1932—8:30 P. M.

IRVING PLAZA

15 Street and Irving Place

Improvisations by Group
Theatre Actors

Admission 50c.

Auspices: Workers Age

Diego Rivera Hits "Daily Worker" Slanders

Declaration To The "Workers Age"

"The 'Daily Worker' favors me with another calumny in the campaign of slander with which it has honored me since my expulsion from the Communist Party of Mexico, not 'desertion' as the lying bureaucrats phrase it.

"I request the 'Workers Age' to print the following statement on my own personal responsibility—so that the workers may judge my conduct in this case.

"A group of Mexican workers in Detroit, all of them belonging to the Mexican peasantry, asked me to help them return to Mexico. This group consists of 200 men, many of them with wives and children worn by months and years of unemployment and misery, and daily threatened with greater hunger and their children with disease.

"We prefer', they said to me, 'to return as peasants to Mexico where we can live from our own work than to die slowly in an agony prolonged by the alms of public charity.'

"I told them that in order to realize their aim, organization was indispensable and so they organized the Mexican Workers and Peasants League which to date numbers more than 3,000 men. Add to this the women folk and the children and you have close to 7,000 people who desire, under any circumstance, to return to Mexico.

"I have done all that is humanly possible to develop in them class-consciousness, which the clerical elements—the agents of the bourgeoisie—have constantly worked to suppress. Nor has the official Communist Party in the eight years of its existence here in Detroit, done anything to combat this reactionary clerical influence among these Mexican workers. This Communist local has never had even 100 Mexican members and today has less than 18.

"I am convinced that these Mexican workers returning to Mexico from the United States, will undoubtedly become a source of ferment and a builder of class consciousness among the poor peasants of Mexico. Even the terribly oppressed, these people returning with a knowledge of the machine and of the best methods of cultivation will push the peons to struggle for better living conditions and will imbue the small landed peasants with better methods of work and struggle.

"I am well aware, and I have told it to them many times, that the proletariat, in the best defense of its interests, must always strengthen the nearest battle-front in the class struggle—in this specific instance—the United States. But they have answered that, being a suppressed and despised minority here, they would be deported as soon as they should openly enter into the struggle, and they prefer returning to their native land, to deportation. And for that reason, I repeat here, the words which the servants of Stalin have twisted into a calumny against me: It was impossible in a few weeks to develop so rapid a growth of class consciousness as to make these Mexican workers prefer to enter the ranks of the party of the proletariat here rather than to return to the ranks of the peasantry in Mexico.

"Now, then, the facts are these: I am asked to help 3,000 men and more than 4,000 women and children, cold, hungry, tubercular, who in Mexico could have at least corn and sunshine. It is not I who am urging their return. It is they who ask my aid. It is they who wish to return. And naturally I have done what I could to help them a jackal is better than a Stalin call me a jackal—very well then, a jackal is better than a dog."

DIEGO RIVERA

Over the Top by Dec. 15th!

The drive for 1,000 new readers, which we started on October 15, is rapidly coming to a close. We have done some good work but the job is by far not finished. The drive for 400 subs is about 100 shy of completion. The total drive, including the proposed increases of 600 in bundle orders, has resulted in a net increase of over 700 in our circulation.

Comrades: we can not be fully satisfied with these results especially because of the poor response of a number of our organizations. The figures above merely indicate that we have a very broad field for the development and strengthening of our "Workers Age." We must push the drive forward with increased energy to complete it by December 15.

The standing of the units in the drive remains, in the main, unchanged. The exception is the Youth Unit, which is doing some forced marching. Its eleventh hour dash brought a 53% completion of the quota and raised it in standing from thirteenth to eighth place.

The Down-Town, New York, Unit, with a quota of 115 subs, has done some patient and consistent plugging. With 85% of the quota neatly tied up, it promises to come thru in time or even better the mark.

The banner units in the drive are the Anthracite, which tripled its quota, Chicago, now over the ton by 35%, Pittsburgh, with 120% of its quota filled, and Philadelphia, now has an even 100%.

Hartford, Troy, Detroit and Fort Wayne, have been disappointing. They made an excellent start but failed to keep up steam. In the case of Fort Wayne, the arrest of our Comrade Hal Long on the charge of membership in an organization which agitates for the overthrow of the government (meaning the Communist Opposition) has, of course, hurt the drive

temporarily. San Antonio, Texas, with an active group of Communists engaged in numerous mass activities, failed even to make a start. How come? Will the comrades please offer us an explanation. (A word to the wise—the best explanation will be subs and more subs).

The comrades who have done some hard work in the drive and have brought in five or more subs are listed below:

1. Rainey, Chicago18
2. Bert Wolfe, N. Y.16
3. Jay Lovestone, N. Y.14
4. Anna Thompson, N. Y.12
5. Eva Stone, N. Y.11
6. Gene Sorenson, N. Y.10
7. Peter Ross, N. Y.7
8. Lily Rubinstein, N. Y.6
9. Leon Ierner, Pittsburgh6
10. Maxwell Stewart, N. Y.5
11. Albert Bell, N. Y.5

"INEVITABLE AND CORRECT . . ."

(Continued from page 5)
aid will not come from a victorious revolution in the West, the dictatorship of the proletariat must fall or degenerate. That if a fantastic plan of super-industrialization will not be adopted which shall be carried out even at the price of a split between the working class and the peasantry, then socialism in the U.S.S.R. should be considered as perished. Out of this comes the adventurism in the policies of the left deviationists."

How correct! Comrade Stalin said it not in 1932. No! It was in 1928 when the C. P. S. U. was fighting against Trotskism. Today while still denouncing Trotsky some of the Trotsky policies were adopted.

(Continued in the next issue)



Grand Coffee Roast

With an annual coffee export of 14,000,000 bags, Brazil has burnt over 10,000,000 bags in the past year. Now the government has given orders that no new coffee trees are to be planted in the next three years. This should give food for thought to those who insist that the cause for the present crisis is not the system but the machine.

The machine produces plenty (and we don't mean the "coffee percolator") and the earth produces plenty, but the capitalist system is not run for the production of plenty—it is run for the production of profits. The only thing capitalism can do with plenty, is to plough it in, to burn it up, to prohibit it. Anything but give it to the producers. There's no profit in plenty.

There may be an overproduction of coffee but you can't tell it from the stuff they serve you in the "Coffee Pots". And as for the breadline slop—the less said the better!

Destroying the products of nature and man, and adulterating the stuff that's sold to the producers—that's capitalism!

Another Red Plot

And now, out of Russia, comes "yarovised wheat", a process of inducing artificial fermentation in seed by combinations of temperature, light and humidity, obtaining four to five generations of Spring wheat in one year. Similar successes are reported with cotton and other crops.

When the capitalist world is burning wheat to avert "overproduction" the Bolsheviks are plotting to multiply wheat production fourfold! No wonder the imperialist powers want to crush the Soviet Union!

Smile At The Hungry

Now that the election is over and the "forgotten man" has been forgotten again, the "new deal" is beginning—Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt has presented a "national smiles" award, delivered a radio address urging "optimism" upon the fellows whose digestive systems have been idle so long that their stomachs think their throats have been cut, called upon the nation to end the depression by singing "Pack Up Your Troubles in Your Old Kit Bag and Smile, Smile, Smile" and donned a chef's apron and dipped out some soup from a huge kettle and served it as the first meal given by the Union News Company to some needy breadliners. We don't know what the new deal soup was like but as for the rest—it's the same old applesauce.

With this heartless buffoonery does the new President's wife symbolize the "program" of the new Administration to meet the depression.

Thanksgiving and Christmas

Thanksgiving has come and gone. A swarm of scribes and charisees and sky-pilots have made hideous the day with their invention of reasons to be "thankful" Hoover's proclamation thanked God for the depression and the elections. Pulpit-pounders thanked God that the lack of hope for bread on earth was turning starving men and women to indulgence in the narcotics of the pie-in-the-sky dispensers. The Lord's prayer was amended: "Give us this day our daily dope" and the "New York Times" gave its first page to the headline: "200,000 needy get holiday feasts here—wide charity leaves no one hungry on Thanksgiving." That will have to do the jobless till Christmas. Then, if dysentery and pneumonia don't get them in the interim they're due for another "square meal"!

And as a text for a depression sermon we propose: "Prepare to meet the co-maker!"

—B. D. W.