

WORKERS' AGE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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For World Unity Against Fascism

The unity of labor against Fascism in Germany is now a life-and-death matter for the masses of that country and of the whole world... The Nazis are working with express-train speed to consolidate their grip on the country and to wipe out the labor movement without leaving a trace... If the Hitler murder regime is allowed to go on unchallenged, the working masses will soon be reduced to a condition of slavery and oppression unknown in Germany even in the darkest days of Bismarck. It is not yet too late! The labor organizations are not yet destroyed; in spite of repeated defeats and many illusions, the German working class still possesses enough fighting spirit and class courage to beat back the Nazi hordes, to strike a decisive blow against slavery and reaction!

UNITY THE GREAT NEED

But the first condition for effective resistance and counter-attack is the firm unity of labor on the platform of struggle against Fascism. It is clear: The labor organizations of both political tendencies, Communist and Social-democratic, and even those connected with the Catholic Center party, must form a joint fighting block against Fascism, on the basis of the disciplined execution of decisions but with the fullest guarantee of the complete freedom of political propaganda and criticism to all elements in the block. Such joint blocks must be made from top to bottom: beginning with an official agreement of the national leaderships of the various organizations, they must penetrate into the smallest town and factory. Joint non-partisan anti-Fascist blocks—this is the burning need of the hour!

But more than that! The menace of Fascism is international. It is necessary for the labor movement of all countries to unite to support the struggle against Fascism in Germany as well as to fight against reaction at home. That is why a really effective united front struggle against Fascism can be launched only on the basis of a joint agreement of the two great international organizations of labor, the Socialist (Second) and the Communist (Third) Internationals.

Unfortunately for the interests of the workers, the official leaderships of both the Socialist and Communist movements, nationally and internationally, have hitherto resisted the formation of a united fighting front against Fascism. The Social-democracy, whose compromise and surrender policies paved the way to power for the Nazis, has been diplomatically maneuvering with the fraudulent "non-aggression pact" slogan to head off real united front action. The official Communist movement, whose sectarian tactics hindered the workers in overcoming their confusion and paralysis, has kept on prating about the "united front from below," about the "united front around the Communists," and so on—which is no united front at all. Only the Communist Opposition, weak in resources tho it is, has held aloft the banner of united anti-Fascist struggle and has actually taken the initiative in organizing whatever united action there is today in Germany and elsewhere against Fascism.

THE "TURN" IN C.I. POLICY

Like a bolt from the blue, came the announcement by Walter Duranty, "New York Times" correspondent in Moscow, that the Executive Committee of the Communist International had answered a previous letter of the Socialist International and had agreed to a real united front between the leaderships of the two movements, on an international scale and in the various countries as well, including Germany. However, the same manifesto, according to Duranty, already "doubts" whether the united front can be established, already hints that the "united front" will be set up with the "rank

Are the C.I. Tactics Being Changed?

AN APPEAL TO ALL COMMUNISTS AND REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS

and file"—in other words, again the notorious "united front from below"!

It is a shameful scandal that, altho this manifesto is reported to have been issued on January 22 and to have been published in the "Pravda" of March 6, it has not yet been brought officially to the Communist Parties and to the workers of the whole world. The official leaders of the Communist movement still pretend that nothing has happened; they either keep silent altogether or else they sneer at "capitalist ru-

mors." The workers have a right to know: What is the position of the Communist International?

If the manifesto of the C.I. is correctly reported, we of the Communist Opposition hail in the warmest manner the newest "turn" of the Communist International. It is a turn in the right direction. It is a turn in the direction indicated by the great realities of the class struggle all over the world.

But a few words in a manifesto are not enough; to be really effective, to make up

for the disaster and havoc wreaked in recent years, the newest turn must be carried out to its logical conclusion:

FOR A REAL TURN!

1. The turn must be made in real life and not on paper. Issuing a manifesto is only a first step. In every corner of Germany, in every part of the world, the Communists must initiate a big campaign to set up united front organizations on local, regional and national scales. The Social-democratic leaders must not be allowed to sabotage and resist the movement and this can only be prevented thru vigor and political sincerity. The dangerous nonsense about the "united front from below" must be scrapped for good and all!

2. The sharp turn in tactics must be openly and honestly recognized and evaluated by the Communist International. You cannot one day savagely attack a certain policy as "counter-revolutionary" and then adopt it the next day as if nothing had ever happened—and yet expect the new policy to be carried out effectively! For the sake of the absolutely essential political clarification without which no Communist action is possible, for the sake of the very effective execution of the turn itself, a clear recognition of the fundamental error of the sectarian tactics in force for the last five years and of the radical character of the change must be brought to every party member and worker. Unless this is done, the confidence of the workers in the genuineness of the new turn (how many fraudulent "new turns" have we experienced already?) will never be won and the turn itself will be rendered merely a phrase.

3. The sharp turn in tactics, to be genuine and effective, cannot be restricted merely to the anti-Fascist struggle. The united front tactics all along the line must be fundamentally changed, in the struggle against reaction, in the unemployment movement and so on. Furthermore, all fields of strategy and tactics must be influenced by the turn. Nothing would show the fraudulent character and the emptiness of the turn more completely than if a proposal for united front action went together with a continuation, perhaps even aggravation, of the splitting and dual unionist policies in the trade union movement. There must be a rock-bottom change all along or else it will only add to the already bottomless confusion and chaos, will only intensify the already shocking impotence of the official Communist movement.

4. If it is really genuine, the turn in tactics must be accompanied by a movement for the unification of the Communist movement, now split up and divided. If the tactics proposed for so many years by the Communist Opposition are now to be adopted by the Communist International, how can the mass expulsions of the oppositional Communists be justified? If the Communist Oppositionists are "renegades" and "counter-revolutionists," how can the tactics which they have championed for years now be adopted? A real turn must go together with a restoration of party democracy and the readmission of the expelled Communists.

5. If it is to be really genuine and effective, the turn must be made immediately. No time can be lost in diplomatic maneuvering while the masses of the party members and workers remain in ignorance. If the united anti-Fascist front is not set up immediately, it may soon be too late. The grave historical responsibility now rests upon the Communist International!

A united labor front against Fascism and, consequently, a basic change in the strategy and tactics of the Communist International, are life-and-death matters today. The International Communist Opposition will do all in its power, in word and deed, thru criticism, agitation, education and independent action in the class struggle, to help achieve this great aim!

The 'New Deal' Begins

The Bank Holiday And The New Banking Laws

With the national banking moratorium and the "New Deal" financial relief program, the world-shaking economic crisis enters a new stage. The American bank holiday marks a decisive moment in the present economic collapse of capitalism, internationally as well as for the United States. It is a moment of the deepening and not the alleviation of the world crisis.

First of all, it must be emphasized that the shutting down of banking in the world's strongest financial center comes not as a climax or as a last step in the world crisis. It is an event, the disastrous consequences of which are yet to be faced. It is not the end of the storm but is a havoc-raising tornado which will wreak more damage in its path than the "experts" are ready to admit or can understand. Fully one-third of America's 18,000 banks will be closed down—and out—before the year is over. And with this legalized, government-supervised mass bank failure, there will sink into misery and even starvation many, many more thousands of small depositors.

THE NEW BANKING BILL

Then, an examination of the new banking bill, the first chapter of the "New Deal," reveals that the remedies aim to relieve not the hard-hit poor people but rather the hardest hitting biggest bankers. The strongest banks are to be strengthened in their tight grip on the capital resources of the country. Even the smaller bankers, let alone the smaller depositors, are to be squeezed out. That master demagogue himself, F. D. Roosevelt, is already forced to disclose on the radio that there will be heavy losses. And this is not a pretty pre-election promise! It must be taken seriously.

There will be currency expansion aplenty. This, of course, should not be confused with expansion of income for Henry Worker or John Farmer. The biggest bankers' 90-cents-pieces, or rather their equivalent, are merely being declared worth a full dollar. The government is to enter more extensively into the banking business so that the banking business will have a better entry into the government. The "soundest" banks are from now on going to be permitted to strengthen their capital structure by the issuance of preferred stock, which

of course, may (will) be subscribed for by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Thus, the R.F.C. is to become a purchaser and seller of these securities as well as a lender to these corporations in a tight fix.

To those banks tied up with the Federal Reserve System which are "in exceptional and exigent circumstances" (in plain English, down and out), the Federal Reserve Board is to make outright, instant advances. And any individuals or partnerships which have government obligations to put up as security will be helped handsomely. So lavish in its dole for the wealthy is the government going to be that the very securities which but yesterday were considered unfit for rediscounting are hereafter to be good enough to be exchanged for good new money.

FRUITS OF THE "NEW DEAL"

More concentration of finance capital, more merging of government with big business, more strengthening of the executive arm of the government, more subsidies to the wealthiest, more wholesale confiscation of small deposits, more actual disregard and contempt covered with high-sounding phrases, for the poorest—this is the fruit of the "New Deal"!

Finally, the very remedies, once they take their full course as "cures," will not only aggravate the old ills but will create new and worse maladies. The bigger the big banks will be made thru government subsidies, the bigger the bank failures will be! In true American fashion, we are to have bigger and better bank failures. This is the Roosevelt leadership! This is the "man of action" and "strong leadership" the liberals are now hailing! The whole capitalist system of production and exchange is decaying. The credit crisis is only a most painful symptom of its deepgoing decay. The rupture between production and exchange now gripping the capitalist world may be momentarily overcome—but only to be succeeded by another and worse crisis. Capitalism in its days of decay and collapse goes thru the agony of a series of ever-worsening crises.

Only the working class can pave and lead the way out of the every-recurring bankruptcy and chaos and into a socially planned and crisisless society!

Dance NEW WORKERS SCHOOL
Irving Plaza - April 1st

Left Wing in Workmen's Circle

The National Nominating Conference of W. C.

by B. Lifshitz

New York City. The national nominating conference of the Workmen's Circle was held on November 26 at Beethoven Hall in New York City. There were 287 branches represented by 505 delegates.

These national nominating conferences, which had been held annually up till this conference, have been reduced by the leadership of the organization to mere technical conferences where the delegates are called together to nominate a slate of 60 members for the National Executive Committee. From this slate, "chosen" by the conference, the membership is then allowed to select 30. All the efforts of the left wing and progressive forces in the W. C. at this conference, as well as at the previous conferences, to have a discussion on the policies to be pursued by the incoming N.E.C. were defeated by the bureaucracy of the conference.

Economic Crisis And W. C.

Weinberg, president of the W. C. in his address, spoke on the effects of the economic crisis on all labor organizations and especially on the W. C. He indicated that, while it was possible for the organization to maintain on the membership rolls many who could not pay their bills on account of the crisis, it would be hard in the future to follow this procedure so that the branches would have to find a way to make good the bills of these unemployed members. It is very significant to note that the present leadership of the W. C., thru its spokesman, Weinberg, came out frankly and stated that the W. C. worked hand in hand with the Socialist party on all questions affecting the labor movement—something the leadership had never dared to do when the left wing in the W. C. was very strong.

After the elections of chairman and various committees of the conference, Delegate Feldman (Branch 546) introduced the following motion: "That the national nominating conference instructs the N.E.C. to cooperate with those organizations which are working for the unification of all unemployed workers' organizations, fighting for employment, insurance and labor legislation." The chairman, Chanin, ruled this motion out of order. Delegate Lifshitz (Branch 34) appealed from the ruling of the chair and pointed out that the proposals made by Delegate Feldman were of such paramount importance to the entire labor movement and to the working class, that the conference should set aside all technical barriers and take a stand to help in the unification of the unemployed movement, at the present divided into various political groups, working separately. It was quite evident that the official machine at the conference did not feel at ease in discussing the question of unity since they, too, had been partners in splitting and driving out from the conference, called by the Labor Committee of the Socialist party, every delegate and organization that did not have the official S.P. stamp on it.

No Discussion

The machine was so anxious to proceed with the real "purpose" of the conference, to elect the slate of 60 candidates, that the chairman ruled out of order every motion and proposal for the conference to discuss the policies of the incoming N.E.C. It was, however, very hard for the chairman to rule out of order the proposal of Delegate Elmer Laebowitz, (Branch 1025, Young Circle League) that the conference set aside one and a half hours to discuss the policies that the N.E.C. is to apply in the W. C. The chairman did not allow any discussion on this motion; he just put it to a vote. Even this motion was defeated: 87 for the motion 283 against.

That the official leadership of the conference was determined to stifle any kind of discussion, was evident from the ruling of the chairman, that under the heading of objections (the only possible way of criticizing the administration), no more than one delegate could object to any candidate. The procedure at the previous conference had been for many delegates objecting to the policies of the N.E.C. to concentrate their objections mainly on the leaders of the organization, responsible for initiating and carrying thru the policies. Many delegates protested against the arbitrary ruling of the chairman but to no avail.

However, notwithstanding limitation on discussion placed by the bureaucracy of the conference, Elmer Laebowitz (Branch 1025), Liebowitz (Branch 417), Fried (Branch 523), Lifshitz (Branch 34), Becker (Branch 324) and Fricman (Branch 718), delivered sharp criticisms of the policies of the N.E.C. They especially attacked the attitude of the W. C. leadership on the question of scabbery in the order, its support of the policies of the reactionaries in the trade unions, its support of the splitting policies of the official Socialist party, its system of education carried thru by the educational committee and its antagonistic attitude to and campaigns of slander against the Soviet Union. Repeating to the objections of the delegates, Weinberg made a general attack on all the left wing and progressive forces in the labor movement and on the Soviet Union.

For Unity Of The Left Wing!

The left-wing-progressive forces in the W. C., who have worked continuously and systematically for two years to revive and rebuild the left wing had at this conference succeeded in rallying a number of delegates from other branches on the various proposals made at the conference. The plans and intentions of some of these delegates, choosing to call themselves the "Progressive Committee of the W. C.," were, of course, quite ambitious. They had "decided," prior to the conference, that they were the "legitimate bona-fide progressive movement in the W. C." and that any other delegates or groups wanting to carry on a fight in the W. C. must place themselves under the control and leadership of this "legitimate bona-fide progressive committee!" They came with the proposal for a "united front" which expressed itself in the following: that we should vote for their candidate for chairman! We pointed out to them that united fronts are not built on the question of chairmanship or other organizational arrangements, that this could come only as a result of an agreement on policies to be pursued in these organizations. We reminded them that we had made a proposal for united action at this conference on the basis of a resolution drawn up and sent to them, that, as far as chairman was concerned, we believed that Delegate Manna was much better known among the progressive forces in the W. C. than their candidate and that they should therefore vote for Manna. We gave them, however, a second proposal. In order not to show to the right wing that the left wing forces were split, we said that we would withdraw our candidate providing they withdrew theirs. This they rejected. Therefore, there were two candidates of left-wing-progressive forces running: Manna received 20 votes, and Liebowitz 11. The action on the part of the representative of the "Progressive Committee" showed quite clearly that their talk of a united front was only a cover behind which to continue their policy of keeping the left wing-progressive forces divided in the W. C.

The action of the "Progressive Committee" in sending out a ready-made slate for all committees of the N.E.C. showed their irresponsibility and lack of understanding of the real position of the left wing in the W. C. They placed names on the committees unknown to the average progressive elements in the W. C. and they did not take into consideration the organizational requirements in placing these candidates.

Unity Conference In Alsace

On February 18, 1933, there took place in Strassburg (Alsace) a conference of the elected representatives of the leading committee of the Alsace district of the official Communist Party of France and of the leading committee of the Communist Party of Alsace (Opposition). It will be recalled that the Alsatian Communist Opposition, affiliated to the International Communist Opposition, is actually the Communist Party in Alsace, while the official C. P. is a small isolated organization. The purpose of the conference, as given, was "to discuss the possibility of a united fighting front of the revolutionary organizations." The Communist Opposition declared itself ready but it made perfectly clear that Communist unity in Alsace could only come as part of a unity movement internationally, approved if not initiated by the C. I. As prerequisites for such unity, the C. O. laid down the following:

"The Comintern must make a radical and decisive turn in the sense of the reestablishment of inner-party democracy, the readmittance of those expelled from the International, the removal of the functionaries especially responsible for the ultra-left excesses, and the abolition of the bureaucratic regime. . . ."

A full report of the conference is not yet available.

The conference in Strassburg is of tremendous significance for the whole Communist movement. The representatives of the official C. P. are negotiating unity publicly and openly with those whom they only yesterday called "renegades" and "counter-revolutionists"—and whom they will probably again abuse in a similarly shameless manner tomorrow! It is quite clear that this sensational turn of the C. P. of France, not without the knowledge and consent of the C. I., may be sure, was dictated not only by the growing strength of the Opposition but by the rapidly rising demand for unity in the ranks of the official party membership.

ability and lack of understanding of the real position of the left wing in the W. C. They placed names on the committees unknown to the average progressive elements in the W. C. and they did not take into consideration the organizational requirements in placing these candidates.

There is now a great possibility of strengthening and consolidating the left wing-progressive forces in the W. C. With the merging of the Independent Workmen's Circle and the W. C., it should be possible to broaden the work. This can only be done if the left-wing-progressive forces continue their policy of working as a constructive opposition force within the organization, rallying the membership on a program of struggle against the reactionary policies of the W. C. officialdom and rejecting any policy, open or hidden, immediate or long-range, of further splits in the W. C.

WELL, WELL! CAN THIS BE TRUE?

"And it does not bode good for the German revolutionary movement when men like Brandler, Thalheimer, Froelich, Walcher and their colleagues, who are not only the last of the leaders of the old Spartakusbund of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht but highly qualified mass leaders and politicians, are summarily expelled from the party, despite the errors they may have made in 1923 and today. Such a procedure is all the more reckless and portentous when we see that they do not stand alone but that large sections, whole party districts, stand behind them and have suffered their fate by the hundreds."

Who penned these eloquent words in defense of Brandler and

The World of Labor

Protests Hit S. P. Labor Committee

FROM LOCAL 2090 OF CARPENTERS

We publish below an open letter issued by Local Union 2090 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.—Editor.

After listening to the report by our two delegates to your conference of February 23, 1933, this local union wishes to register a protest against the conduct of the conference called by your committee and especially against the treatment accorded to our delegates and those whose viewpoint on the unemployment problem is similar to our own.

FROM LOCAL 22 OF THE I. L. G. W. U.

We publish below the resolution adopted by Local 22, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, in protest against the conduct of the unemployment conference of the Labor Committee of the Socialist Party that took place on February 23, 1933.—Editor.

Having heard a report of its delegation to the Unemployed Conference called by the Labor Committee of the S.P., the executive committee of Local 22, I. L. G. W. U., decides:

1. To condemn the Labor Committee for the narrow manner in which the conference was arranged and for the deliberate attempts to make the conference into an appendage of the S.P. instead of a really united movement of labor against unemployment.

2. To protest against the high-handed action of a self-appointed "credential committee" in excluding from the conference regularly accredited delegates of labor organizations, just because they happened to disagree politically with the organizers of the conference.

3. To condemn the shameful conduct of the leaders of the conference, in tolerating, sanctioning and even inciting physical attacks upon delegates, including a delegate from Local 22, because these delegates were exercising their right to protest against actions they disagreed with.

4. To condemn forcible ousting of the delegate of Local 22 and of other delegates from the conference.

The executive committee of Local 22 is firmly of the opinion that slugging methods and strong-arm tactics can only hurt the interest of the workers. We are strongly convinced that a really effective movement against unemployment and for the relief of the unemployed can be built only by fighting any attempts to monopolize the movement on the part of any one tendency to the exclusion of the rest.

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cedure at this conference. In spite of what has happened, we intend to continue as before with the defense of our point of view that the genuine united front of all workers organizations can give a real forward push to the movement to relieve the workers from the effects of the crisis. Our representatives, wherever they are, will defend this point of view.

FROM LOCAL 22 OF THE I. L. G. W. U.

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SHOP COUNCIL VOTE IN BERLIN

Berlin, Germany. In the factory council elections held in this city in the middle of February the "free" (Social-democratic) trade unions scored big victories, while the Communist Party "unity lists" were badly beaten.

In the Berlin Municipal Gas and Electric Works, for example, the S. P. candidates were overwhelmingly elected. At the electrical works of 3,320 votes cast, the "free" trade union list received 3,034, the Communist list 156 and the Nazis 83. At the gas works, of 3,837 votes cast, the trade union list received 2,352, the Communist list 1,298 and the Nazis 161. In the clerical staffs the S. P. also received absolute majorities.

In all these cases the "free" trade union totals represented increases over last year and the C. P. totals represented decreases.

'ARPO' IS BANNED BY NAZI ORDER

Order Opposition Paper Closed For Appeal

The weekly "Arbeiterpolitik", central paper of the German Communist Opposition, has been suppressed by the Hitler murder regime. The police order calls for the suppression of all March 21 but it is well understood that other orders of a similar character will follow so that the paper will not be able to appear legally for a long time.

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"Above All He Was A Revolutionist"

Fifty Years After Karl Marx's Death

March 14, 1933, is the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, one of the greatest minds of the nineteenth century, the incomparable thinker, guide and leader of the revolutionary proletariat. Today, fifty years after his death, Karl Marx and the method and doctrines that bear his name are more significant, more alive, more world-moving, than the most contemporary of contemporary bourgeois philosophers and sociologists and their systems of a day! If a dying world he is the symbol of life! In the months to come the "Workers Age" will publish articles on Marx and Marxism and material illuminating the development and meaning of the man and his doctrines. In this issue, we present the famous speech of Friedrich Engels, Marx's closest friend and co-worker, delivered over the grave of the dead giant at Highgate Cemetery, London, March 17, 1883. The speech was published in the Zurich "Sozialdemokrat" of March 22, 1883.—Editor.

Two such discoveries would be enough for one life time. Happy the man to whom it is granted to make even one such discovery. But in every single field which Marx investigated, and he investigated very many fields, none of them superficially, in every field, even in that of mathematics, he made independent discoveries.

This was the man of science. But this was not even half the man. Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force. However, great the joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application, perhaps, it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he experienced a quite other kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in industry and in the general course of history. For example, he followed closely the discoveries made in the field of electricity and recently those of Marcel Deprez.

For Marx was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the forms of government which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the proletariat of today, which he welcomed as the conscious of its own position and its needs, of the conditions under which it could win its freedom. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival. His work on the first "Rheinische Zeitung" (1842), the Paris "Vorwaerts" (1844), the Brussels "Deutsche Zeitung" (1847), the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" (1848-9), the New York "Tribune" (1852-61) and in addition to these a host of militant pamphlets, his work in revolutionary clubs in Paris, Brussels and London, and finally, crowning all, the formation of the International Workingmen's Association—this was indeed an achievement of which Marx might well have been proud, even if he had done nothing else.

And consequently Marx was the best hated and most calumniated man of his times. Governments, both absolutist and republican, deported him from their territories. Their bourgeoisie, whether conservative or extremely democratic, vied with one another in heaping slander upon him. All this he brushed aside as he it were cobweb, ignoring them, answering only when necessity compelled him.

And now he has died—beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow workers—from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America. I make bold to say that, though he may have many opponents, he has hardly one personal enemy.

His name and his work will endure thru the ages!

ings held for the purpose of arranging the statewide conference, the Consumers League of Connecticut, the Y.W.C.A. and the League of Women Voters participated thru their unofficial representatives. But as soon as the question of the unionization of the workers was raised, they refused to have anything to do with the Joint Committee. These conservative organizations were ready to talk about fighting the sweatshop evil but to help in the organization of the workers means to antagonize the Manufacturers Association and this was too much for them.

Against Sweatshop System!

Broad Labor Conference In Connecticut

by G. P.

Hartford, Conn. More than sixty delegates representing thirty-six organizations attended a conference called here on Feb. 25 called by the Joint Committee Against Sweatshops in Connecticut. Among the organizations represented were the Cigar Makers Union of New Haven, the Machinists Union of New Haven, the Building Trades Alliance of Hartford, the Railway Trainmen's Union of Hartford, the Elevator Constructors Union of Hartford, the Iron Workers Union of Hartford, the Hod Carriers Union of New Britain, the Saint George Lodge of Hartford, the Catholic Central Verein of Connecticut, the National Foundation of Religion and Labor, the Workmen's Circle branches of Hartford and New Haven, the Putnam Club of Hartford, the Association of the Unemployed of Hartford, the Communist Opposition of Hartford.

Mr. John Eagan, the reactionary secretary of the Connecticut Federation of Labor, tried his best to cripple the movement by sending out a letter to the unions in Connecticut attacking it and declaring that the conference was a "Communist" body. A ridiculous charge! On the committee of sixteen, there were two ministers, four Socialists, one Communist and nine trade union men! From the very start, the purpose of the committee was to include everybody sincerely interested in fighting the sweatshops

The Enemies Mobilize In the first few preliminary meetings held for the purpose of arranging the statewide conference, the Consumers League of Connecticut, the Y.W.C.A. and the League of Women Voters participated thru their unofficial representatives. But as soon as the question of the unionization of the workers was raised, they refused to have anything to do with the Joint Committee. These conservative organizations were ready to talk about fighting the sweatshop evil but to help in the organization of the workers means to antagonize the Manufacturers Association and this was too much for them.

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(Continued on Page 7)

THE ELECTIONS IN GERMANY

12,000,000 Vote For Both Workers Parties

Berlin, Germany.

In spite of the most brutal terror against all labor organizations in Germany, in spite of the practical suppression of the Communist and Social-democratic parties and papers, in spite of the national hysterical hysteria worked up over the Reichstag fire frameup, in spite of the "supervision" of the polling by the Nazi Storm-Troops, the combined labor vote (Social-democratic and Communist) in the March 5 Reichstag elections totaled about 11,800,000 as against the 12,500,000 in the election of November 6, 1932. The Nazi party increased its vote very considerably (from 11,700,000 to well over 17,500,000) raising its total to 44% of the voting population. The Nationalist vote remained practically the same, a little over 3,000,000. The Catholic Centrist party lost slightly in votes, but it lost its key position in Bavaria and other places where the Nazis became dominant.

The Social-democratic vote fell by about a quarter of a million, reaching 7,000,000. The Communist Party polled 4,800,000 as against 5,900,000 in November 1932. It should be remembered that the total vote reached 39,000,000 (90% of the electorate), over 4,000,000 more than last year.

The loss of the Communist votes is to be explained in three directions: first, and probably most important, a swing of former C. P. supporters to the Nazis; secondly, a swing to the Social-democracy; and third, abstention from voting altogether, either because of demoralization and disgust or because of terror.

In the municipal elections held one week later, the Nazis continued their triumphal course, making huge gains everywhere. In Berlin, for the first time since 1918, the capitalist parties, and what is more, the parties of extreme reaction, the Nazis and the Nationalists, have an absolute majority; the S. P. and C. P. together are in the minority!

The Reichstag is to be called in the next few days. Goering, leading Nazi spokesman and Hitler's right hand man, has already announced that the Communist deputies would not be allowed to take their seats but would be arrested

(Continued on Page 7)



Big Shoe Workers Strike

Unity And Militancy Are Great Needs

by Sidney Jonas

Boston, Mass. The shoe industry in Massachusetts is supposed to be out of the crisis, according to the figures of the U. S. Department of Commerce, which show that the total production for 1932 was 73,998,000 pair in comparison with the 69,510,000 pair total production in 1930. Still we find hundreds of shoe workers walking the streets, in every shoe center, looking for jobs. The lucky shoe workers who have jobs are forced to work under "yellow dog contracts," long hours and wages so low that welfare and other charitable institutions are obliged to help the workers so that they will not starve while producing shoes.

Too Many Unions

Under these conditions the shoe workers are forced to look for organization. But there are four unions in the field. First is the Boot and Shoe Workers Union, known to the workers as the class collaborationist, wage-cutting and

(Continued on Page 7)

MARXISM TODAY

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Bertram D. Wolfe
MARX AND AMERICA

Sunday, April 2, 8:30 P. M.

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MARX AND SPINOZA

Sunday, April 9, 8:30 P. M.

Will Herberg
MARXISM AND MODERN THOUGHT

Sunday, April 16, 8:30 P. M.

V. F. Calverton
MARXISM AND CULTURE IN U. S. A.

Sunday, April 23, 8:30 P. M.

Jay Lovestone
MARXISM TODAY

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL
51 West 14 Street
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Against Sweatshop System!

Broad Labor Conference In Connecticut

by G. P.

Hartford, Conn. More than sixty delegates representing thirty-six organizations attended a conference called here on Feb. 25 called by the Joint Committee Against Sweatshops in Connecticut. Among the organizations represented were the Cigar Makers Union of New Haven, the Machinists Union of New Haven, the Building Trades Alliance of Hartford, the Railway Trainmen's Union of Hartford, the Elevator Constructors Union of Hartford, the Iron Workers Union of Hartford, the Hod Carriers Union of New Britain, the Saint George Lodge of Hartford, the Catholic Central Verein of Connecticut, the National Foundation of Religion and Labor, the Workmen's Circle branches of Hartford and New Haven, the Putnam Club of Hartford, the Association of the Unemployed of Hartford, the Communist Opposition of Hartford.

Mr. John Eagan, the reactionary secretary of the Connecticut Federation of Labor, tried his best to cripple the movement by sending out a letter to the unions in Connecticut attacking it and declaring that the conference was a "Communist" body. A ridiculous charge! On the committee of sixteen, there were two ministers, four Socialists, one Communist and nine trade union men! From the very start, the purpose of the committee was to include everybody sincerely interested in fighting the sweatshops

The Enemies Mobilize In the first few preliminary meetings held for the purpose of arranging the statewide conference, the Consumers League of Connecticut, the Y.W.C.A. and the League of Women Voters participated thru their unofficial representatives. But as soon as the question of the unionization of the workers was raised, they refused to have anything to do with the Joint Committee. These conservative organizations were ready to talk about fighting the sweatshop evil but to help in the organization of the workers means to antagonize the Manufacturers Association and this was too much for them.

Mr. John Eagan, the reactionary secretary of the Connecticut Federation of Labor, tried his best to cripple the movement by sending out a letter to the unions in Connecticut attacking it and declaring that the conference was a "Communist" body. A ridiculous charge! On the committee of sixteen, there were two ministers, four Socialists, one Communist and nine trade union men! From the very start, the purpose of the committee was to include everybody sincerely interested in fighting the sweatshops

(Continued on Page 7)

Away With Any New Illusions!

Berlin, Germany. The Hitler-Hugenberg government has been at the helm now for over a month. Before that fateful thirtieth day of January we repeatedly warned against the Social-Democratic Party of Germany as well as in the Social-Democratic party that the Nazi movement would come to nothing by itself, that it would, in fact, "disintegrate". Because of this carefully fostered illusion, the Hitler to power came as an astounding bolt from the blue to the vast majority of the organized workers in Germany and elsewhere.

Today we must warn against new illusions, against new self-deception; this warning is necessary to prevent demoralization, to help the workers face reality soberly and clearly. No more illusions! No more self-deception!

The Nature Of The New Illusions

The new illusions all center around the belief that the Fascist government, with the Nazis at the head, will soon "collapse of itself": (1) because of the inner contradictions in the Harzburg front, between the Nazis, the Nationalists and the Stahlheim, or (2) because of the inability of the Fascist regime to improve the conditions of the masses of the workers and the lower middle classes, or (3) because of the helplessness of the Fascist regime to deal with the sharp differences in the camp of the ruling classes, above all between the big industrialists and the big agrarians.

All of these antagonisms and contradictions do indeed exist and are quite obvious. The dangerous illusion does not lie in emphasizing them but rather in the belief that they will lead to the collapse of the Fascist government "from the inside" or "by itself."

The contradictions in the Harzburg front are openly voiced by the Nationalists. Hugenberg was against new elections, while the Stahlheim leaders have protested several times against the "methods" of the Nazis. The heavy industrialist "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" has sharply criticized the way the Prussian government was "cleaned up" for it very difficult to see that the Nazis are striving to push their dear allies further into the political background, in the cabinet and out.

But it is already obvious that in these controversies the National-Socialists have the advantages on their side. They alone control a firm Fascist mass organization. They have rushed ahead to "reorganize" the police to place it at their disposal. That the Reichswehr cannot be used against the Nazis already has been stated towards the end of the Schleicher regime. The Nazis have the lever of the executive power in their hands. And they are using the powerful advantages given them by their control of the state to combine systematic terror with demagogic mass propaganda in order to win the petty bourgeoisie to the last man, in order to split, intimidate and frighten the working class and even to win sections of it with promises and petty grants.

Goebbels has declared that the National-Socialists will "never leave the government alive." Such expressions are to be heard on every side. It is perfectly clear that neither the Nazis nor the Nationalists are depending upon a parliamentary manœuvre. Of the last three governments, Bruening, Papen and Schleicher, not one was overthrown because of a parliamentary defeat. They met their fate at the hands of the Reichs-President and the forces behind him. And in this respect too the situation has changed radically. Bruening fell because he had no sufficient mass force at his disposal outside of parliament. Nor were Papen and Schleicher in a better position. But with the National-Socialists the situation is quite different. In the cabinet, we are told, the Nazi relation is 3 to 8; outside the cabinet, however, the relation of forces is quite the reverse. The

Only Labor Action Can Smash Fascism

by A. P.

Presidential power is today no longer what it was, or rather what it seemed to be, on January 30. The Presidential power is, after all, only the expression of the relation of forces inside the ruling classes.

Fascism And The Masses

It is quite true that the Fascist government cannot improve the condition of the broad masses of the toilers. Its first acts on the economic field have driven up the cost of living of the lower middle classes in the cities, while they certainly have brought no good to the peasants. Disillusionment among ever broader strata of the proletariat and petty bourgeois masses is certain to grow but *disillusionment is no decisive force in itself.* The Nazis will succeed in chaining good sections of their followers to Fascism by holding out the prospect of participation in power and of getting a place in the government apparatus. Another part will be given jobs in the factories at the expense of Communist and Social-Democratic workers, who will be ousted. This alone will provide a considerable social base. *But the disillusionment of the masses now believing in Fascism will amount to nothing if these masses are not in a position*

to defend themselves, to fight! That is why it is now the all-absorbing task of reaction to destroy the organizations of the workers. Disillusioned but also disorganized and without leadership, the masses in town and country will be in a position to offer serious resistance to the Nazi regime.

Differences In The Camp Of The Exploiters

True, heavy industry is murmuring against the new agrarian duties. But Fascism is the last resort of heavy industry in its effort to maintain its economic and social hegemony. As in the days of the Hohenzollerns, the heavy industrialists, like the big agrarians, will strive to defend their special interests thru intrigues and manœuvres, at the same time aiming at an understanding among themselves at the expense of the workers and peasants.

Nor are the speculations on the possibility of aid from outside capitalist countries against Fascism any better founded. The capitalist world is using the new regime in Germany for its own purposes. It certainly will take steps which might call into ques-

tion the very existence of the capitalist system in Germany.

The Only Way Out!

The German workers, still in possession of powerful and tested organization, must realize the truth of Lenin's profound remark that *no situation is ever "hopeless" for the capitalists unless working class revolutionary action makes it so.* Neither capitalism in general, nor the Fascist regime in particular, will ever collapse of itself. United revolutionary action of the proletariat, supported by the masses of the non-proletarian toilers, is the only way to overthrow capitalism, to beat and smash the Nazi terror!

NOTICE!

Because this issue of the "Workers Age" is devoted almost entirely to the discussion of the German situation, the continuation of Paul Mattick's article on "Unemployment and Unemployment Relief in the U.S.A." and the conclusion of Herbert Zart's article on "Technocracy and the Workers" could not be included. They will appear in the next issue of the "Age."

The "Genius Of Error" In Swamps Of Opportunism

TROTSKY ON THE GERMAN SITUATION

by Will Herberg

The German crisis is a most valuable touchstone with which to test the general correctness of the fundamental conceptions of the main groups in the world Communist movement. In the course of his very energetic literary activity in recent years, L. D. Trotsky has made public his views on the German situation and these views have been swallowed, hook, line and sinker, by all of the Trotskyist groups and grouplets, orthodox and heretic alike. Altho the organized Trotskyist movement is of no political significance anywhere, the viewpoint of Trotsky himself is worth examination since, in the confused state of the revolutionary movement, it is making some impression here and there, primarily under the influence of the prestige of the man himself.

All For The Future!

Towards the end of September 1930 L. D. Trotsky wrote his pamphlet on "The Turn in the Communist International and the German Situation". We are not here concerned with the curiously superficial "explanation" of the "new turn" of that period. A sketchy analysis of the social roots of Fascism follows and then we come to the forecast and tactical conclusions. Four "variations of the further development of the present situation in Germany" are given; not a single one of them has been realized in fact! As a subordinate phase of point 3 of the section on "where is the way out", the question of a united labor front is raised in casual form but all for the future. "The events will inevitably produce deep cleavages within the Social-Democracy. The radicalization of the workers will affect the Social-Democrats. We will inevitably have to make agreements with the various Social-Democratic organizations and factions against Fascism. . . ."

And this in September 1930, just when the great Fascist victory in the elections, almost a year after the Young Plan, many months after the German Communist Opposition had raised the burning necessity of a united labor front!

"Towards the end of 1931 Trotsky wrote a series of articles on Germany now embodied in the

pamphlet "Germany—The Key to the International Situation." Again the political analysis of Fascism is sketchy and shallow—and worse. "The historical capitulation of the German Communist Party and the Comintern in 1923 served as the basis for the subsequent rise of Fascism," we are told. Curious indeed that this "historical capitulation" should have had no effect for years (1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, and 1928) and should have begun to show its influence only towards the end of 1929! This is supposed to be "objective analysis"; it is nothing but a pathetic Brandlerphobia!

It is in this pamphlet that Trotsky made his notorious characterization of the "great bulk of the Fascists" as "human rubbish." The millions of impoverished lower middle class people in town and country—precisely those whom the revolutionary proletariat must win as an ally if capitalism is to be overthrown. To speak of them in such contemptuous terms means to surrender them to big capital without a fight! The analogy that Trotsky draws between the Nazis and the Socialist-Revolutionists in the Russia of 1917 makes matters even worse. Imagine Lenin speaking of the great bulk of the S. R. as "human rubbish!"

In the second of the articles in this pamphlet Trotsky raises the even more unfortunate theory of

"I Accuse!"

by M. N. ROY

From the Suppressed Statement of N. N. Roy on Trial for Treason Before Sessions Court, Cawnpore, India. With an Introduction by ASWANI KUMAR SHARMA

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the "exhausted social reservoir." In December 1931 he was writing: "It is stupid to believe that the Nazis would grow uninterruptedly as they do now, for an unlimited period of time. Sooner or later they will drain their social reservoir. Fascism has introduced into its ranks such terrific contradictions that the moment must come in which the flow comes to replace the ebb." How unrealistic is the conception of the "drained social reservoir" the recent elections have shown. But Trotsky's error goes much deeper: he echoes the mechanical collapse theory of the official Communist Party—the "terrific contradictions" in Fascism will bring disaster to the Nazis quite apart from the revolutionary action of the working class! A more fatal error could not be made!

About Bonapartism

A few months later (January 1932) appeared Trotsky's book "What Next? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat." Unfortunately, however, there is very little about Germany in the pamphlet, but what there is, is damaging enough. Again Trotsky maintains his record: every forecast he made has turned out to be wrong!

In December 1931 we were informed that, in order to get into power "they (the Nazis) will be forced to resort to an overturn." Wrong! Now we are told: "Bruening's regime is a transitory, shortlived regime, preceding the catastrophe." Wrong again! After Bruening came Papen and after Papen, Schleicher!

To make the picture complete, Trotsky is even ready to embrace the thoroughly false and demoralizing speculations on the "moderation" of the Nationalist wing of the Hitler Cabinet. Quite in the spirit of Norman Thomas, who piously hoped ("New Leader", Feb. 4, 1933) that "maybe some of his colleagues . . . will tame the boastful Hitler", Trotsky assures us ("Hitler's" more substantial colleagues in the cabinet) that he would prefer to strangle the proletariat by "peaceful" means. They are therefore much less inclined to provoke a minor civil war for fear of a big one! The "substantial" Hugenberg's shying at the prospect of civil war, big or little! This is the depth and profundity of the Trotskyist analysis!

About The United Front

The crux of the whole question of the united front against Fascism is to be found in the attitude towards Social-Democracy. In the pamphlet "What Next?", Trotsky develops an estimate of the Social-Democratic trade unions as "servers most of all with promises and

petty grants." By designating it as Bonapartist, Trotsky is asking us to believe that the Papen regime, the undisguised representative of the Junkers, militarists and certain sections of big capital, ever tried to appear "non-partisan" as between labor and capital, ever tried to "fool the workers with promises and small grants." Nothing can be further from the truth! As a matter of fact, if any analogy to Bonapartism is to be sought for in present-day Germany it is to be found in the Nazi movement itself, as Thalheimer and the German Communist Opposition have for years maintained.

Hitler's Triumph An "Illusion" The fatal error in Trotsky's analysis of Fascism, partly uncovered in his theory of Bonapartism, becomes crassly obvious and completely self-refuting when this much-advertised "great Marxist" comes to give his views on Hitler's ascent to power. In an article written on February 5, 1933 and published in the "Militant" of February 24, 1933, Trotsky presents a picture that is positively fantastic in its confusion of error. If we are to believe him, Fascism has not actually triumphed; it is all an illusion. "Even under the most favorable conditions for Hitler he requires a long number of months . . . in order" to establish the hegemony of Fascism in Germany. Who has the honor today, writes Hitler as Chancellor? To this natural question we receive the astounding answer: Hugenberg! Echoing the vapid silliness of the liberals and the liberal "Socialists" (see H. N. Brailsford's article in March 1 issue of "The World Tomorrow"), Trotsky tells us that Hitler is only a cover for Hugenberg! "Hugenberg requires a screen. As yet today, he cannot hide behind the mantle of a Kaiser and he is forced to resort to the brown shirt of the Hitler-Junkers. In this period, from 1919 to 1930, the Social-Democratic party was indeed, and quite obviously, the main social prop of bourgeois rule."

"There are being developed precisely in these months the revolutionary class forces of the proletariat, ever stronger, ever more conscious, around the Communist Party. We are advancing. The masses are with us. . . ."

The Policy Of The "Lesser Evil"

With the onset of the new critical period in 1930 the Social-Democratic leadership, now almost fused with the bourgeois state apparatus, was faced with a double task: to maintain, above all, the stability of the capitalist system, but at the same time to prevent, or at least to hinder, the increasing swing of the decisive sections of the bourgeoisie to the right, to Hugenberg and Hitler. This difficult feat it hoped to accomplish thru the notorious policy of the "lesser evil." Thru this policy the Social-Democratic party gave up all pretense to independent existence as a workers party and became merely a reserve for the more "moderate" sections of the bourgeoisie. Under the sign of the "lesser evil" it eagerly swallowed constantly greater evils; it worked in coalition with the Catholic Center party to "avoid" a bourgeois block; it "tolerated" (really supported) Bruening; it called for the support of Hindenburg in order to "avoid" Hitler; it seemed ready even to embrace "legal" Fascism in order to "avoid" Fascism of an "illegal" variety. Slowly, step by step, the German Social-Democratic party led the millions of workers within it and around it right under the dark shadow of Fascism, never ceasing to mumble phrases about "socialism" and "democracy."

It was indeed the fetishism of democracy in the abstract, elevated into a veritable cult by the German Social-Democracy that served as the cover for the destruction of democracy in real fact. Any effective mass action against the rising wave of Fascism was staved off with the cry: "Wait until the Nazis violate the letter of the Constitution", any action at all outside the sacred walls of the Reichstag was banned because it "violated" democracy, while Breitscheid and his friends, foolishly secure in their parliamentary positions, flung thunderous words at the Nazis. Came the Papen government, came the coup d'etat in Prussia, came

the coup d'etat in Prussia, came

(Continued on Page 8)

The Social-Democracy and Fascism

The Trail-Blazer for Nazi Victory

by H. W.

Schleicher and his band, came Hitler himself and the only answer was—words, high-sounding, "democratic" words!

It must be emphasized that the Social-Democratic policy of the "lesser evil" was not merely a parliamentary policy in maneuvering with government combinations; it went deep down to the basic realities of class relations in the country. To "tolerate" Bruening, to vote for Hindenburg, meant to support the large-scale offensive against the living conditions of the workers which Bruening initiated, the attack on wages, on the unions, on the hard-won social insurance benefits of the German masses; to "tolerate" Bruening, to vote for Hindenburg, meant to support the Article 48-emergency decree regime which opened the way for Hitler; to "tolerate" Bruening, to vote for Hindenburg, meant to support the armed cruiser bill and to feed the newly whetted appetite of German imperialism. It meant, in short, to surrender the workers so completely to their class enemy that many bourgeois liberals even in Germany and abroad, sharply expressed their disgust with the ultra-conservatism of the Social-Democracy.

The policy of the "lesser evil", with all its implications, led the Social-Democracy to become a part-

ner, and not a sleeping partner either, in the systematic destruction of the organizational and ideological defenses of the working class against Fascism. The unions and other labor organizations weakened, the Communist organizations persecuted and destroyed (the Red Front Fighters, the free-thinkers societies, etc.), the demand for unity sabotaged and branded as criminal, the very organizational independence of Social-Democracy surrendered in favor of Hindenburg, the menace of Fascism continually minimized, what wonder is it that when the millions of German workers were finally faced with Hitler in power, they stood powerless, confused, demoralized.

Social-Democratic policy played an even more direct part in opening the way for Fascism. For the mechanism whereby Hitler was able to take over, consolidate and extend power without an armed overturn (in spite of Trotsky and Hitler!) was precisely the emergency decree system under Article 48, which the Social-Democratic leaders were so energetic in establishing as an integral element

of German "democracy." Social Democracy And United Front

The contention that the Social-Democracy opposed the tactics of the united front cannot be maintained: it favored a united front, even a coalition, with the bourgeois "moderate" parties, especially with the Catholic Center; it "merely" banned a united front of the labor movement (Social-Democrats and Communists) against the Nazis. Under the shameful slogan: "Against the Nazis and the Kozis!"—"The National-Socialists and the Communists are the same, they are both against democracy!"—the Social-Democratic bureaucrats attempted to form a pogrom hysteria against Communism and made it a grave party crime to advocate actively a united labor front. That the official Communist Party leaders, in their desperate sectarian blindness, sabotaged the united front from the other direction is neither vindication nor excuse for Breitscheid, Stampfer and their friends.

The Historical Crime Of Social-Democracy Today the Social-Democracy and its organizations face extinction at the hands of the Nazis who will not permit a single non-Fascist la-

bor organization to exist. Today the German working class is facing the prospect of virtual enslavement, economic, political and social. Today the Nazis are riding high and mightily over Germany, leaving a trail of destruction behind them. If the German workers are now feeling the knife of Hitler the Butcher, it should not be forgotten that it was the Social-Democracy that led the bewildered masses to slaughter!

established and sweep everything away . . . They will come to grief more speedily than any other government."

Nazis And Workers

The advance of Fascism continued unabated. In the run-off Presidential elections (April 10, 1932) there appeared for the first time unmistakable evidence of the inroads of the Nazis in the "Marxist" front, among the supporters of those who supported Thaelmann in March voted for Hitler in April. How did the leaders of the Communist Party in Germany react? Comforting words—self-deception! Declared the "Rote Fahne" on April 12, 1932:

"The attempt of the Hitler and Hindenburg parties to break into the front of Communism has been defeated. . . ."

Apparently even the momentous election in March and April could not bring the leaders of the C. P. G. to their senses. Under pressure of events, of the discontent of the party membership, of the criticism of the Opposition, the C. P. tried to make a half-turn in its sectarian tactics. Only July 20, 1932 it issued a public appeal for a united front to the Social-Democratic Party and the A.D.G. (the German A. F. of L.). But then came the election victories of July 31 and November 6 and the party swung back again to the old tactics of political suicide. Incapable of developing any mass resistance to the coup d'etat of Papen in Prussia of July 20, incapable of retaining even the slightest foothold in the unions and labor organizations, the leadership of the C. P. G. contented itself with the most opportunistic exaggeration of the significance of its parliamentary victories, precisely at a time when parliamentary institutions were fast losing whatever significance yet left to them in Germany. The height of this "parliamentary cretinism" was reached when the "Rote Fahne" wrote on the fall of the Papen government:

"The revolutionary upsurge, the offensive of Communism, the mass struggle of the German proletariat, has smashed the Papen dictatorship . . . Papen wanted to eradicate Bolshevism . . . Six millions have answered. . . . The six million front of Communism has forced the resignation of the Papen cabinet."

If the workers were able to overthrow Papen thru the ballot, then, of course, the defeat of the Nazi worker organizations would be mere child's play! Echoing the "Pravda", the "Rote Fahne" boasted in November 1932:

"Now that the Storm-Troops have suffered their first defeat, now that the forces of Communism have grown to the growth of the revolutionary crisis."

Three months later Hitler was in power!

An End To Self-Deception

"A party that hides the truth from the people, a party that shrinks from criticism and from the light of day, is no party but a clique of deceivers, condemned to destruction." Thus wrote Stalin in 1927. And these words sound a warning that can be dismissed only with the most fatal consequences. It is not yet too late! The Communist Party of Germany can still measure up to its tasks—but it must make a clean sweep of its policies and leadership that paved the way for Fascism with ultra-left self-deception!

Ultra-Left Boasting And Fascist Reality

BLINDLY ON THE ROAD TO DISASTER!

grouping within the bourgeois camp."

Only a "regrouping within the bourgeois camp"—but a regrouping with the object of enslaving the masses of the toilers thru the exercise of the starkest terror! Boasting and self-deception! The whole mission of the Thaelmanns and Remmeles seems to have been to soothe the well-justified uneasiness of the masses of the Communist and revolutionary workers, whose class instinct warned them of the oncoming menace of Fascism. Cautious for the "historically chosen" leadership of the German revolution!

"Fascism Is Checked!" The next occasion for self-deception on a large scale was the so-called "Red referendum", the Nazi referendum against the Socialist-Center Prussian government. The leading article of the "Kommunistische Internationale" (No. 27, July 23, 1931) tells us:

"The C. P. G. has succeeded in checking the further growth of Fascism, in squeezing out the Fascists from the industrial centers, and in shattering their influence on the petty bourgeois masses, especially the peasants."

A complete failure to grasp the significance of the Fascist organizations is reflected in the following contentions:

"The Social-Democratic organizations are far more capable of resistance than the Fascist . . . Without the isolation of Social-Democracy, without the destruction of its influence over the masses, the overthrow of capitalism is impossible. Of the two armies, the Social-Democracy is the stronger, the more dangerous and the more capable of resistance."

We now see which "army" has proved the stronger! It was about this time that the skilled strategists of defeat suddenly discovered that Fascism could not be stopped on its way to power, it would easily be annihilated once it was in control of the state. Declared Hermann Remmele ("Rote Fahne", Oct. 16, 1931):

"If they (the Nazis) once come into power, the united front of the proletariat will be

explain away what had happened and to placate the workers in the following way ("Rote Fahne", Sept. 15, 16, 1930):

"Yesterday was Herr Hitler's 'great day' but the so-called election victory was the beginning of the end . . . On September 14 the high-point of the National-Socialist movement was reached. What follows can only be decline and collapse."

The very smaller election gain of the C. P. was grandiosely hailed by Hermann Remmele on September 19:

"The change in the social structure of classism, giving it the appearance of a mass movement . . . can only be properly appreciated in connection with the loss of broad strata of the population by the parties of stabilization, with the decline in influence of the social-Fascists and with the increasingly stormier rise of the Communist Party."

When the German Communist Opposition called sharp attention to the menace of Fascism, the "Rote Fahne" (Feb. 13, 1930) sneered at the warning and called upon the workers to settle accounts first with the "social fascists" (Social-Democrats) and not to worry so much about the Nazis:

"Equally false is the theory that the Social-Democracy is about to be booted out of the government by finance capital to make place for open fascism."

The official mouthpiece of the Communist Party of Germany made this prophecy less than one month before the fall of the Mueller Socialist-Centrist Cabinet! Evidently the German bourgeoisie paid no attention to the "analyses" of the ultra-left muddle-heads in the Central Committee of the C. P. G.

Ever More Self-Deception

Then came the Reichstag elections of September 14, 1930. An incredible victory for the Nazis! But the official leaders of the C. P. G. could not yet see the hand-writing on the wall. They tried to

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Sectarianism Run Completely Mad

THE "STATEWIDE UNEMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE" IN ALBANY

by B. Herman

The "Workers Conference for Unemployment Insurance and Labor Legislation" was held in Albany on March 5-7, 1943, in the form of a strict Communist Party conference which representatives of the Communist opposition groups were allowed to attend. Of course, such a conference is better than a gathering of 100% loyalists but to call such a gathering a united front conference, or even a non-party conference, is ridiculous.

Appropriately enough, the main report was made by Clarence Hathaway, district organizer of the Communist Party. The "new turns" that had been visible at the New York Provisional Conference (which called the Albany gathering) were completely swept away without explanation. The Albany conference displayed a degree of sectarian stupidity on the part of the party leadership that is hard to match.

In this fiasco of the "united front from below," only seven local unions of the A. F. of L. in the entire state of New York were represented. Why, even the small and narrow Provisional Conference in New York City had had seventeen locals represented. In the face of all this, Hathaway's self-styled champion against "sectarianism," had the nerve to declare that "any one who calls this a narrow conference and not the real unity of the working class fighting for unemployment relief, is a traitor to the working class, and is here to demoralize the revolutionary ranks!"

About 350 delegates representing 250 organizations were present at the conference, 48 delegates represented 29 Unemployed Councils, 41 delegates from block and house committees, 22 from bread lines and flop houses, 78 from 54 workers clubs, 30 from the International Workers Order and Workmen's Circle branches, 24 from the T.U. U.L., 6 from the A.F. of L. opposition groups and 12 delegates represented the Communist Party. No branch of the Socialist Party, its auxiliary organizations or its unemployed organizations, was represented.

The first act of the conference was to elect a "Committee on Committees" of five which appointed all other committees! After the elections, it was announced that three members of the committee were delegates of the C.P., one a delegate of the Unemployed Councils and one from the Friends of the Soviet Union! All its appointments for committees were carried without change.

The Proposals Of The Opposition
The main discussion of the entire conference centered around the speech from the floor of the representative of the Communist Opposition, B. Herman. Comrade Herman proposed the establishment of a real united front of the labor movement, including all political tendencies, in order to successfully carry on the fight for labor legislation. He proposed to merge the Albany Conference with the Socialist Party Labor Committee's unemployment conference on a program of struggle acceptable to both. He proposed the amalgamation of the various unemployed organizations in the country into one non-partisan body, which would not be the appendage of any one political party, but would include all tendencies in the labor movement. He proposed that the Albany Conference should send a delegation to the national conference in Chicago of the Federation of Unemployed Leagues and raise there their proposals for unity.

"The Lovestone Menace"
For two days the official party, led by Hathaway, denounced the main danger of "Lovestonism" in the conference, "The Socialist Par-

An Appeal

Members and sympathizers of the Communist Party! On this page you will find the report of two recent conferences called and dominated by the Communist Party. They are paraded as "united front" conferences. Are they not a mad mockery of the very idea of the united front as Lenin formulated it and the Communist adopted it many years ago? Do you think these conferences will help the movement for unemployment relief or the movement to free Mooney? Do you think these conferences will help the party among the masses, even among its own sympathizers?

All evidence goes to show that the Communist International is preparing to make a sharp "turn" in united front tactics in Germany and elsewhere. Do you think these tragic spectacles of sectarianism run mad will help convince the workers that this turn is sincere and complete?

Comrades! Your duty to our party and our class demands that you should speak up. Attend to such conferences which hurt the workers interests and damage the prestige and influence of the party!

The C.I. Is Voted Down

Comrade Herman moved that the conference hail the united front of the Socialist and Communist Internationals as a tremendous step forward to the unity of the international working class against the attack of capitalist reaction. The conference on the recommendation of the resolutions committee voted down this motion. The Communist International, by its action, had summed up the discussion of the conference. The American "loyalist" supporters of the C.I. voted down the summary!

A General Strike Of The Generals
All the other proposals of the Communist Opposition for broadening out into a genuine united front were defeated. Hathaway considered the Albany conference so broad that he put a primary task before it—the agitation for a general strike! The conference adopted its important legislative proposal, a bill calling for full union wages for the unemployed, which Hathaway announced was the recommendation of the R.I. L.U.!

The demonstration before the State Capitol was a vainglorious action only. The delegation of twenty-six reached neither the Legislature nor the Governor, nor the Lieutenant-Governor. They were well guarded behind rows of policemen, well-armed and manning machine guns. The conference marched up the hill and back again. In his impotence, Carl Winters boasted that we would come back again with tens of thousands of more workers. In reality, unless the ruinous, ultra-left sectarian course

The C.I. Steps In

is done away with, we will return not with more, but with less workers.

THE "FREE MOONEY CONFERENCE" IN NEW YORK CITY

by R. Macklin

New York City. The New York Free Mooney Conference, held on Sunday, March 12, had bright prospects for a growing united front movement to save Tom Mooney. It ended as a tragic farce that only the sectarian hand of the Communist Party leaders can produce. Almost 600 delegates were declared to be present, representing, according to the credentials committee, a total of 379 organizations were represented, of which only 49 were trade unions and all but a handful of these 49 organizations were T.U.U.L. paper unions. Of the 195 fraternal organizations the great bulk were C.P.-controlled I.W.O. branches and Women's Councils. Fifty defense organizations were listed, all of them of the I. L. D. Twenty-two unemployed organizations had delegates, all but one from party-controlled unemployed councils.

The sabotage of the reactionary A. F. of L. leaders and of the Socialist party bureaucrats limited the possibilities of the conference from the start. There cannot be any criticism too sharp for such conduct but the official Communist Party played right into their hands by making impossible a real approach to the workers under the influence of the S. P. and the conservative unions.

The Stand Of The Communist Opposition
The representatives of the Communist Opposition and others pointed out with great force that, regardless of the fact that the A. F. of L. and S. P. officials had not permitted their organizations to participate in the conference, yet they had many thousands of workers under their influence and a demand must be made of them to join in and offer of places in the leading working bodies of the conference. The full pressure of the conscientious working class of New York could thus be brought to bear upon them. The resolution, formulating our stand in the spirit of Tom Mooney's letter to the conference, was howled down with abuse by the delegates which the party controlled thru many paper organizations. As it was, our resolution got 37 votes. B. D. Wolfe very forcefully exposed the wrong policies of the Communist Party. He pointed out that the conference would mean death to a genuine united front and that, in effect, the Communist International itself would very shortly order

Crazy Sectarianism
The most eloquent expression of how the real united front possibilities of the conference were killed by the false line of the Communist Party could be seen in the election of the various working committees. All of them were almost totally Communist, the various officers, the credentials committee, the resolutions committee, and the committee of 21 to carry on the future work of the conference. The Socialist Party "representation" was a complete fraud. The delegate, supposedly representing the Huntington, Long Island branch of the S. P., had been expelled from the S. P. and is now a Communist Party member. A member of the Trotsky group (which secured the support of 16 delegates) got in. Yet, despite the fact that our resolution got 37 votes, that Alex Bail got 44 for the credentials committee, and B. D. Wolfe 93 votes for the resolutions committee, the official Communist Party chose to use its great majority to howl down the nominations of Wolfe for the committee of 27.

A typical example of how the party attempted to draw in unions into responsible work of the conference was the case of the Amalgamated Food Workers. After completely forgetting about this organization, which has a membership of 6,000 in New York, they finally agreed to place one on the committee, this after a bitter fight by the delegates from the Amalgamated Food Workers. Chairman Palmer then asked the A. F. W. delegates for a nomination and they nominated Herman Gundt, secretary-editor for the A. F. W. Immediately the most slanderous attack were launched against him. The cry was that he was a "misdemeanor" and a "faker". Despite the fact that no one else was nominated a yes-and-no vote was taken and, on orders from the party steering committee, he was defeated! What impression will that make upon the workers of the A. F. W.?

How will these workers react to the dictatorial manner in which the party majority told them whom to elect as their representatives? It was against their policies that the delegates of Communist Opposition and their supporters at the conference fought so bitterly because these tactics destroyed the very basis of united front action.

What were the results of this conference? Not only was there no real mobilization of the workers for the freedom of Tom Mooney but, in effect, it really became a serious obstacle in the way of such a mobilization. If a strong workers movement is ever to be organized in behalf of American labor's own ruling class, defeat their offensive against labor and prevent Fascism from getting a foothold on American soil.

The Chief Resolutions
At the afternoon session, the resolutions committee, which also included representatives of the C.P. and the C.P.-O., brought before the delegated body the following resolutions passed unanimously by

The Main Weakness Of The Conference
The weakness of the conference

the committee and later by the conference:

1. The Conference Against Sweatshops in Connecticut goes on record in support of the unionization of all the needle trades workers in Connecticut. 2. The Conference goes on record urging the immediate amending city ordinances prohibiting the distribution of printed matter which are interpreted to forbid also the handing out of non-commercial literature, especially educational and labor literature. 3. The Conference goes on record during the more rigid enforcement of existing labor laws, especially those dealing with the rights of the workers to organize without intimidation or loss of jobs. 4. We oppose the proposal of the state unemployment commission for the registration and fingerprinting of all. 5. We endorse the bills pending before the Legislature providing for (a) a minimum wage, (b) maximum hours, (c) the abolition of child labor, (d) the registration of manufacturers, and (e) heavy penalties for withholding wages. 6. The Conference goes on record urging all delegates to have their organizations elect representatives to be present at hearings on matters referred to in the aforementioned resolutions.

After the passing of these resolutions, the following committee was elected to continue the work of the conference: William Brown and Francis Henson of New Haven, Martin Plunkett of Wallingford, Mrs. E. F. Campbell of New Haven, and John A. Loneragan and Kenneth Epstein of Hartford.

All thru the conference the representatives of the official Communist Party acted very foolishly. Although the resolutions were adopted unanimously in the resolutions committee, which included a C.P. member, the Communist Party representatives abstained from voting on all questions. Later on they withdrew their representative on the permanent committee, John Webber. Yet they confessed that the conference was a good one and well representative.

was that there were no representatives from the workers in the sweatshops themselves. No cooperation at all was received from the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the union most directly involved. Mr. J. Halperin, an organizer for the union, has spent plenty of money but no real effort has ever been made by this official in organizing the workers. In Hartford he approaches the boss on the basis of having "his" union in place of the Communist union. But the sweatshop owner doesn't want any union at all!

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In Peabody a general strike of the leather workers is being called by the National Shoe Workers Association on the thirteenth day of March. In Boston a general strike of shoe workers is to be called on March 15. These strikes are getting full support from all groups and labor movements with the exceptions of the Boot and Shoe and official Communist Party!

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N. Y. Youth Conference Against Fascism

New York City.

by Eva Stone

The Provisional Committee of the United Youth Conference Against Fascism held several sessions, as a result of which plans were made for the calling of a broad united front conference involving not only the student youth organizations, as intended originally, but all organization of young workers ready to join in a struggle against Fascism. This conference will take place on Friday, March 24, where plans for a picket demonstration before the German Consulate on April 1 will be considered.

The signers to the call issued include the Rand School student body, the National Student League,

the New Workers School, the Brookwood Fellowship, the International Workers School, the Young Communist League, the Communist Youth Opposition, the Vanguard Youth City Committee of the Young Peoples Socialist League had not acted on the question and forced its two branches originally represented to withdraw pending consideration by the City Committee.

However, the prospects for this conference are most promising. It represents a sincere attempt at united action in the struggle against Fascism. It must further bring pressure to bear upon the

various working class political parties and the trade union movement in order that they take steps in the direction of building a general united front, representative of all labor organizations, of which the youth must be an integral part.

This conference must not only center its struggle against the reign of Fascism in Germany; it must not only remain an expression of solidarity with our brothers in Germany, but must organize and mobilize the workers of this country, in a struggle against our own ruling class, defeat their offensive against labor and prevent Fascism from getting a foothold on American soil.

Conference Against Sweat-Shops in Connecticut

(Continued from Page 3)

without any discrimination against any labor organization.

A letter was sent to Mr. Dubinsky, the president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, asking him to send a delegate to the conference, which would seriously take up the question of the organization of the needle workers. But Mr. Dubinsky is so desirous of establishing a strong union that he didn't even bother to answer the letter. What will Mr. Dubinsky, the Socialist say to the members of his union about it?

The Conference A Big Success!

In spite of all obstacles the conference was a success. John A. Loneragan, president of the Hartford Building Trades Alliance, was chairman and Kenneth Epstein was secretary of the conference. Francis A. Henson, economic advisor of the National Religion and Labor Foundation of New Haven, was the principal speaker. He discussed the industrial conditions in the state, especially the sweatshop situation. He pointed out that legislation alone would not settle the problem but that the unionization of the workers in these shops would be necessary. Moreover, he asserted that the workers must express themselves politically to abolish sweatshops entirely.

In the discussion period, the delegate from the Communist Party (Opposition) stated emphatically that no laws would be enforced unless the workers organized themselves into a strong union. At the same time, he declared definitely that his organization was opposed to dual unionism as well as to corruption in the unions for the simple reason that such a state of affairs demoralizes, discourages and weakens the labor movement. Then he urged the delegates to establish a Labor party which would represent the workers and would carry out the decisions of labor.

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The policy of the official Communist Party has led to the same result from the other direction. Deluded by its parliamentary victories and completely ignoring its pitiful weakness in the trade unions and shop committees, it boasted that Fascism was "being smashed," was "disintegrating," could never come to power in Germany. At the same time, it added to the confusion and chaos by calling every government, from Bruening to Schleicher, a "Fascist dictatorship". How can you fight against the danger of a Fascist triumph, if Fascism is already here and has been here for years and is, furthermore, "collapsing"? Having surrendered the initiative to the Nazis in the anti-Young Plan referendum of 1929, the C. P. leaders rushed to make up for lost time by dangerous concessions to nationalistic hysteria (the notorious "programmatic declaration of national and social emancipation"). And all the while, the official Communist leaders resisted every suggestion and appeal of the German Communist Opposition for the forging of a united anti-Fascist front composed of the labor organizations of the various political tendencies. The narrow, sectarian course of the official C. P. only facilitated the surrender policy of the Social-democrats and paved the way for Hitler's triumph.

The condition of the labor movement which made possible the victory of the Nazis was dramatically revealed on January 30 when Hitler took power. Dismay and consternation spread among the working class. Spontaneous struggles burst out in various parts of Germany and heroic resistance met the murderous onslaughts of the Nazi Storm-Troops and police. But of organized, centralized, nationwide resistance there was not a sign. The S.P. leaders counseled "cautious" and urged the workers to "wait" until Hitler should "violate the Constitution" and then—to appeal to the Supreme Court! But of course, the Constitution had been turned into a scrap of paper, with the help of the Social-democrats, as far back as the Bruening regime. To tell the workers to rely upon the Constitution and the Supreme Court against Hitler is to tell them to await passively their own enslavement and the ruthless

suppression of all their organizations, the thoroughgoing destruction of all economic, social and political rights. The Social-democratic leaders try to hide their own surrender to Fascism by speculations on the "antagonisms" between Hitler, on the one hand, and Hugenberg-Papen-Hindenburg, on the other. Some even have the criminal audacity to maintain that Hitler is not "really" in power, that he is a "hostage" of the "more moderate" Nationalists, who will "tame" him and "prevent him from going to excesses!" The blood of the hundreds of German workers, slaughtered in the last few weeks by the murder-bands of Hitler, cries out against this shameful cynicism!

Trust in the "loyalty to the Constitution" of the Supreme Court and in the "moderation" of Hindenburg! Before March 5 the Social-democratic leaders tried to assuage the unrest and the mounting militancy of the workers by urging reliance upon the election. But was it not already clear then that these elections would be only a framed-up "referendum" for the Fascist dictatorship? If reliance upon the power of elections has always been dangerously stupid, it was positively a crime on March 5!

NO CAPITULATION!
The official Communist Party, too, continues its very harmful policies. It still refuses to recognize the real character of Fascism or to appreciate its real menace. Cries the "Rote Fahne":

"We will expose and attack the National-Socialists (as) allies of the wage-cutters, Papen and Hugenberg. . . . We will take the ground on which to expose the Nazis and the capitulating Social-democratic leaders and to defend the interests of the toilers; the ground of the struggle of the workers for more wages, of the struggle of the jobless for more relief. . . ."

At the present time to raise no other slogans than higher wages and more relief means to capitulate to Fascism, means to refuse to take up the struggle against Fascism! Not so long the Finnish Communist Party fell under the blows of the Fascists without a struggle. This must not happen in Germany!

(Continued in the next issue)

The Elections In Germany

(Continued from page 3)

and confined in a concentration camp! The Reichstag business will probably be confined to granting dictatorial powers to the Nazi regime, followed by adjournment.

The March 5 elections brought out in bold emphasis the strength and the weakness of the labor movement in Germany today. That, in spite of everything, 12,000,000 workers voted for the workers parties, is a striking testimony to the organizational firmness of the labor movement and to the political courage of the workers. Both parties, however, approached the elections full of illusions. The Social-democrats operated under the slogan: "Wahltag ist Zahltag!" ("Election day is the day of accounting!") The Communist Party went fully as far in grossly overestimating the significance of parliamentary elections in present-day Germany. Declared the C. P. paper "Welt am Abend" of February 14: "On March 5, election day, must be given the answer to the limitation of rights . . . and to the whole course of the Hitler-Papen-Hugenberg government."

With such ideas no real struggle against Fascism is possible. Furthermore, the workers went into the elections, confused and disunited. No nationwide united front of labor for the mass struggle against Fascism was established because of the resistance of the leaderships of both the C. P. and the S. P. Even from the point of view of election results a united front of labor would have had a tremendous effect in inspiring and mobilizing the working masses against Fascism.

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(Continued in the next issue)

The Shoe Workers Strikes In Massachusetts

(Continued from page 3)

own organization drive.

Organization And Strike

The National Shoe Workers Association sent out a call to the shoe workers of Lynn: "If you have red blood in your veins, come to a meeting, Saturday, February 25, to organize ourselves to get better wages and conditions." The response of the shoe workers was better than any one expected and full of enthusiasm. At this meeting the shoe workers decided to declare a general strike in this industry in Lynn on Monday, February 27. On Monday morning, 1,500 shoe workers of Lynn left their shops and paraded thru the streets of Lynn. At noon, another parade was held and 1,800 more joined the strike. Within three days, 8,000 shoe workers were out on strike fighting for 20% increase in wages, recognition of the union, against all forms of "yellow dog contracts," against security as payments for jobs and for "American conditions in the shops." The strikers were very militant on the picket lines and mobilized public opinion in support of the strike to force the shoe manufacturers to pay their workers a living wage. The only ones who came out against the strike were the shoe manufacturers, the courts, which issued injunctions against the strikers, and the Communist Party and its "revolutionary" Shoe and Leather Workers Industrial Union which said: "It is a fake strike organized by the bosses and their agents for the purpose of misleading the workers." This is the reason that on the first day of the general strike the Industrial Union signed an agreement with the Scott Shoe Company of Lynn which granted a 10% increase in wages to some of the workers. The strikers considered this action as open scabbery against them and started driving them (the Communist Party and Industrial Union members) out of their meeting halls as strike-breakers.

The Communist Opposition In The Strike

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the point of swallowing every greater evils—such as been the main line of policy of the Social-democratic leaders.

The policy of the official Communist Party has led to the same result from the other direction. Deluded by its parliamentary victories and completely ignoring its pitiful weakness in the trade unions and shop committees, it boasted that Fascism was "being smashed," was "disintegrating," could never come to power in Germany. At the same time, it added to the confusion and chaos by calling every government, from Bruening to Schleicher, a "Fascist dictatorship". How can you fight against the danger of a Fascist triumph, if Fascism is already here and has been here for years and is, furthermore, "collapsing"? Having surrendered the initiative to the Nazis in the anti-Young Plan referendum of 1929, the C. P. leaders rushed to make up for lost time by dangerous concessions to nationalistic hysteria (the notorious "programmatic declaration of national and social emancipation"). And all the while, the official Communist leaders resisted every suggestion and appeal of the German Communist Opposition for the forging of a united anti-Fascist front composed of the labor organizations of the various political tendencies. The narrow, sectarian course of the official C. P. only facilitated the surrender policy of the Social-democrats and paved the way for Hitler's triumph.

The condition of the labor movement which made possible the victory of the Nazis was dramatically revealed on January 30 when Hitler took power. Dismay and consternation spread among the working class. Spontaneous struggles burst out in various parts of Germany and heroic resistance met the murderous onslaughts of the Nazi Storm-Troops and police. But of organized, centralized, nationwide resistance there was not a sign. The S.P. leaders counseled "cautious" and urged the workers to "wait" until Hitler should "violate the Constitution" and then—to appeal to the Supreme Court! But of course, the Constitution had been turned into a scrap of paper, with the help of the Social-democrats, as far back as the Bruening regime. To tell the workers to rely upon the Constitution and the Supreme Court against Hitler is to tell them to await passively their own enslavement and the ruthless

suppression of all their organizations, the thoroughgoing destruction of all economic, social and political rights. The Social-democratic leaders try to hide their own surrender to Fascism by speculations on the "antagonisms" between Hitler, on the one hand, and Hugenberg-Papen-Hindenburg, on the other. Some even have the criminal audacity to maintain that Hitler is not "

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UNITED FRONT AND NON-AGGRESSION PACT

(We publish in our editorial columns some paragraphs from a recent political letter of the German Communist Opposition. It expresses in a clear Marxist way our attitude to the demagogic "non-aggression pact" slogan of the Social-democracy and to the united front in general. We call especial attention to the brief but very significant remarks on the question of power.—Editor)

* * *

A united front thru a "non-aggression pact" is no united front at all. We cannot forego criticizing either the false policy of the Social-democratic Party or the false course of the Communist Party. Neither on the basis of the Social-democracy nor on the basis of the ultra-left sectarianism of the C.P.G. is an effective struggle against Fascism and the offensive of capital possible. In criticizing these false political conceptions, we are really not harping on the past for it is a question not of the past but of the living present. We cannot agree with the idea that the struggle against Fascism should be based on the reestablishment of the Weimer Republic for it was precisely this republic which provided the soil for Fascism to grow. Nor can we agree with the idea of the C. P. G. that the united front against Fascism must be conducted as a struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. Of course, we stand with all our might for the realization of the proletarian dictatorship but the essential prerequisite for it today is the initiation of the struggle against Fascism and the capitalist offensive on a NON-PARTISAN basis, involving the inadequacies inevitable in the early stages of the united front. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM IS POSSIBLE THRU THE BROADEST NON-PARTISAN UNITED FRONT. The immediate aim to be achieved is THE POLITICAL MASS STRIKE. This can be begun and organized as a measure of defense against the Fascist terror and the intensified capitalist offensive.

The political mass strike and every effective measure against the Fascist terror are possible only thru the unity of all labor organizations on a non-partisan basis. The decisions made by these non-partisan blocks must be carried out at all costs in the strictest discipline of action but, in order to arrive at effective decisions, there must be permitted, in their preparation, full freedom of constructive criticism of the standpoints of the S. P. G. and the C. P. G. In this alone resides the guarantee that the working class will be able to overcome its terrible ideological confusion and practical disorganization and achieve the necessary clarity and firmness of action. After the action and, under certain circumstances, during the action, there must be permitted, side by side with the disciplined execution of decisions a certain freedom of criticism of the inadequacies and weaknesses of the struggle itself. This is our standpoint; this is the old Communist standpoint which we must not surrender under any circumstances.

In this connection, the question of power (government) must be considered and treated propagandistically even now. Only political criticism of the other elements in the united front can provide us with the possibility of carrying on our propaganda for the revolutionary transition slogans, the establishment of councils (Soviets), the struggle for workers control of production and the creation of work at the expense of the bourgeoisie. Without freedom of criticism, there would be created a spiritless and impotent hodge-podge, by which the extremely strong enemy we face today could never be defeated. On this question of power we differ from the Social-democracy, which wants to reestablish the Weimer coalition system, as well as from the C. P. G., which wants to jump over all intermediate stages and can speak only of the proletarian dictatorship. If we succeed in pushing forward the united front struggle right up to the establishment of political councils (Soviets) and if we succeed, thru such a united front, in smashing Fascism and the capitalist offensive, then the government question comes to the foreground practically. In the councils (Soviets) there will probably not be a Communist majority in the beginning and, without a Communist majority in the councils, the proletarian dictatorship cannot be realized. If the councils are forced, thru events, to take a position on the question of setting up their own government, in this case too we must and will maintain discipline of action. We will tolerate such a Social-democratic transition government (which is not the proletarian dictatorship), if it allows us freedom of criticism and if it adopts a minimum program of real struggle against Fascism and the offensive of capital. In this we are learning from the experiences of the Russian revolution of 1917.

German Opposition Leads Fight Against Fascism

Reports From Germany

We publish below some extracts from the political letters of the National Committee of the German Communist Opposition and from reports in the German Opposition press.—Editor.

* * *

The object lesson given by the Fascists is creating the most favorable conditions for our work. What we could not accomplish thru years of difficult propaganda, to convince the exhausted masses of the correctness of our political conceptions, we are now in a position to do wherever we have the power to go to the masses. We are succeeding best where our group is already strong and has points of support in the trade unions and other proletarian mass organizations. But even more than that, we are succeeding in creating such new points of support today wherever our comrades act with proper skill and energy and that is practically everywhere in our organization.

* * *

In Thuringia

Wherever we have a group we have won the political leadership of the workers. We have the most influence over the Socialist workers, among whom there is to be noticed a considerable process of radicalization. They respond very favorably to our slogans. Publicly and openly, S. P. G. workers defend and champion our slogans. In a meeting of the trade union city central body of Jena, at which there were over twenty speakers, including Socialists, non-party workers and Reichsbanner people, our slogans were repeatedly hailed and endorsed. It was declared by S. P. G. officials that, if it "becomes clear that the C.P.G.-O. has a correct policy, the Communist Opposition must be followed."

* * *

In Saxony

In the Leipzig factories the conduct of the Hitler government is being vigorously discussed and in the suburbs as well. The Leipzig street-car workers have adopted a resolution of the C.P.G.-O. in favor of a fighting block of workers parties and trade unions. A well attended general meeting of the Leipzig printers unanimously approved our resolution. The officials did not dare to protest. The lithographers union did the same but here the officials resisted; the vote was unanimous.

* * *

In Wuertemberg

The Open Letter of the C.P.G.-O. has met with the most favorable response among the C. P. and S.P. members.

The big Hauelsen shoe factory was first here to go out on a protest strike and it went out upon resolution of the C.P.G.-O. and under its leadership. At the protest meeting that took place our resolution was adopted unanimously.

In the great Bosch factory in Stuttgart there was a conference of our comrades and representatives of the other three tendencies, the C. P., the S. P. and the A.D.G.B. (the German A. F. of L.—Editor) and our resolution was acceptable. We organized a tremendous joint demonstration of Bosch workers. Hausen of the C.P.G.-O. and Buchmann of the C.P. addressed the meeting, among others.

In Feuerbach the workers in the Bosch plant followed the slogans of the Opposition and arranged a demonstration at which 2,000 were present. The demonstration was under joint auspices of all four organizations.

The shop meeting of the street-car shops in Stuttgart unanimously approved our Open Letter.

The Daimler works in Untertuecken and Sindelfingen adopted, in shop meetings, our resolution.

In the steel mills at Wangen the same took place.

At the Stuttgart D. M. V. (German Metal Workers) functionaries meeting, our Comrade Kraus reported and our resolution was adopted unanimously.

The general meeting of the clothing workers union in Stuttgart adopted our resolution. The C. P. comrades supported us very strongly.

In Lower Rhine

The factory council of the Phoenix works in Duesseldorf discussed the political situation and adopted a resolution along our lines. In Opladen the annual meeting of the D. M. V. adopted our resolution.

* * *

These are only some examples of the political initiative and energy of the German Communist Opposition. In spite of its meager resources and limited strength, it has shown itself far more politically active and capable of leadership than the big official Communist Party with its boasted millions of votes. The Trotskyites are nowhere to be heard from at all. They probably have no more than a hundred followers or so throughout the country and are so completely isolated and discredited that no one even considers them as of any significance.

TROTSKY AND THE GERMAN CRISIS

(Continued from page 4)

ing the capitalists" so that "the fault of the Communist Party does not lie in that it 'splits' the ranks of the proletariat and 'weakens' the Social-democratic unions." Simon-pure sectarianism of the official party type! In his February 5 article he takes the last step and substantially endorses the official ultra-leftist estimate of Social-democracy. "When the official Communist Party states that the Social-democracy is the most important prop of bourgeois domination, it repeats only that idea which served as the point of departure of the organization of the Third International." All the time, under all circumstances? Has the Social-democracy ever been the "most important prop of bourgeois domination" in the United States? Is the Social-democracy the "most important prop of bourgeois domination" in Germany today? Such a crude, utterly narrow, utterly unrealistic estimation of the Social-democracy makes completely impossible any serious application of the united front tactics. It is no wonder then that, while Trotsky and the Trotskyites have been lavish in their phrases, in their actions they have resisted every step in the direction of a real united front: from the very beginning they attacked the German Communist Opposition for its united anti-Fascist front campaign; they refused to participate in any united front bodies actually established (the anti-Fascist cartels); in fact, they have refused to do anything at all except give some good advice to the party and scatter abuse!

* * *

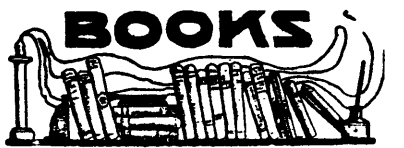
Trotsky And The "Fourth International"

With Fascism in power in Germany, what now for the Communist International? On December 8, 1931, in his pamphlet on "Germany, the Key to the International Situation", Trotsky thundered: "The seizure of power by the Fascists would therefore most probably signify the necessity of creating a new revolutionary party and in all likelihood also a new International."

Well, the Fascists have already seized power in Germany. Is Trotsky ready to issue the appeal for the formation of a new Communist Party of Germany, for the formation of a Fourth International?

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FASCISM, by Scott Nearing. Published by the author. New York, 1933.

This is a very curious pamphlet. Were it not for external evidence, we might well believe that it is a carefully conceived piece of travesty, pillorying with murderous ridicule the wild extravagancies that pass for "theory" when liberal, Socialist and even some official Communist circles discuss Fascism. Unfortunately, however, it seems to be intended to be taken seriously...

The "Daily Worker", when it saw Fascism in every policeman's club, never went to the extremes of Nearing. "Fascist forces are active in Asia, the Americas and Europe. They help to shape the policies of Australia, of South Africa, of the Irish Free State and of the Indian National Congress... Fascist elements have been prominent in recent Latin American wars and revolutions; they have directed the official government of China since 1927...; The National Government of Great Britain has many of the characteristics of a Fascist regime." Anyone capable of perpetrating such a hodge-podge, anyone incapable of distinguishing the regimes of Hitler and Mussolini from the national-reformism of Mahatma Gandhi and DeValera, from the bourgeois-militarist counter-revolution in China, from the coalition Tory government of Great Britain, from the puppet dictatorships in Latin America, is certainly ill-advised in attempting to discuss serious political questions!

Every conceivable error and a few hitherto inconceivable ones are to be found in Nearing's analysis of Fascism. The proletarian revolutionary movement, we are told, is "fundamentally and fatally antagonistic to the middle class" (p. 12)—and in the middle class the author would surely include the peasants. The Fascist program is "directed in part against the more aggressive phases of trust economy, imperialism and rationalization" (p. 13)—witness Italy and Germany! "The Fascists are following lines of economic and social policy that will result in the abandonment of automatic machinery, that will wipe out specialized production, that will restore the hand economy of the village, that will raze industrial and trading cities... The Fascists cannot employ modern technique. They do not propose to do so..." (p. 57). "Fascist policy thus seeks to return to the stage of small-scale, competitive, private economy that preceded the trust movement" (p. 26). "The institutional expressions are those of a self-sufficient pre-machine age agrarian economy" (p. 37). It never seems to occur to Nearing that one of the most obvious things about Fascism is that its program of action is an expression of the essential aims and interests of trust capital, of monopoly capital, in the hour of acute crisis.

After this it would seem that nothing should be able to surprise us—but wait! On page 42 we learn: "It (Fascism) therefore has the essential characteristic of a social revolutionary movement...!" And why! Because "its success means a shift of center of power from one social class to another". Evidently Nearing believes that with the triumph of Fascism the capitalist class (or is it the finance capitalist oligarchy?) is thereby deprived of social and economic power in society! Why, a child, or even a "Daily Worker" editorial writer, knows better! To be unable to distinguish between social revolutionary and nationalist reactionary movements is certainly curious testimony to the insight of the political thinker capable of such an achievement!

Scott Nearing's works were never distinguished by their insight, profundity, clarity or precision of analysis. The shallowness and vulgarity of his "Marxism" are proverbial. But there never was, on the face of the earth, a pamphlet such as this....

Will Herberg.