

WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

VOL. IV, No. 47

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1935.

Five Cents

At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

EVERY decaying bourgeois governing clique seeks to protract its rule by an infusion of so-called new blood. Hence, the ruling classes, whenever they find it necessary, graft new forces into their ranks by taking over or buying outright some individuals of influence and potential utility from the working class. Thus it was with Millerand, Briand, Scheidemann and Noske. Thus it became with MacDonald, Mussolini, Laval and many, many others.

But since Mussolini is so much in the foreground of the plunderbund kingpins these days, it will be entirely in place to throw into his ever-displayed teeth some of his strong words of yesterday when he pretended to serve the working people, when he still insisted he was a socialist in the truest sense of the word. We are turning our readers to a declamation by Mussolini during the Tripolitan war. Page the "Avanti", January 21, 1913 and you will find Mussolini then indulging in the following hot rhetoric against Italian imperialist ventures in Africa:

"We are in the presence of a nationalist, conservative, clerical Italy which proposes to make of the sword its law, of the army the nation's school. We foresaw this moral perversion and it does not surprise us. But those who think this preponderance of militarism is a sign of strength are wrong. Strong nations do not have to resort to the sort of inane carnival in which the Italians are indulging today. . . So it happens that a miserable war of conquest is celebrated as a Roman triumph."

About the profuse moral indignation of the above we will say nothing. There would be no point in indulging in futile exercises. Nevertheless, when one ponders this outbreak of 1913 and thinks of the Mussolini words and deeds of today, he is bound to offer the Italian Grand Fascist Butcher the Nobel Prize for hypocrisy and demagoguery in 1935. Dishing out the same sham, Il Duce, in his call to arms for the conquest of Abyssinia, had the impudence to use such noble words as "Revolutionary Proletarian People of Italy" for his salutation.

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COMPOUNDING A FORGERY

KAUTSKY AND THE COMING WAR

By Bertram D. Wolfe

Karl Kautsky is the leading theoretician of old-guard or anti-revolutionary socialism, the leading theoretician of the leading current of the Second International. He has long broken with Marxism. During the war he employed scraps of Marxist erudition, quotations and references to wars from the progressive period of capitalism, deliberately torn from their historical and textual context, to "prove" that the Second International had not collapsed ("War time is least of all propitious for peaceful discussion"; "to disobey martial laws would simply lead to a suppression of our press"; "To obey these laws does not in any way mean to refuse to defend party principles"); that its leaders had not betrayed their trust in supporting their governments; and that true internationalism did not consist in a revolutionary struggle against war but that whereas the nationalist justified only the "defense of his own government",

the internationalist was willing to concede the right of all socialists, including those of the "enemy" country, to support their respective governments ("Social-Democrats of all countries have an equal right and duty to participate in the defense of the fatherland; no nation ought to blame the other for doing it. . .")

Since the war his main "theoretical" activities have been two fat tomes on "Historical Materialism" revising the Marxist theory of society in the direction of a non-social biologism, a series of articles and pamphlets attempting to portray bourgeois democracy as classless democracy, and a number of venomous and slanderous works against the Soviet Union.

1 All the above quotations from Kautsky's attitude on the World War are from his article in the *Neue Zeit*, Oct. 2, 1914, entitled, "Social Democracy in War Time."

Now Kautsky is engaged in the preparation of a thick, "learned", verbose, four-volume work on "Democracy and War." The work cannot be dismissed as the work of a garrulous old man who has lost the ability to write clearly. Its size is intended to overwhelm the unlearned by its mere magnitude and display of erudition. Its fuzziness is not accidental but deliberate. It is intended to cover up an anti-Marxist position with many layers of allusion, quotation and fuzz. But the mounting war tension, the development of a new war position by the Adler-Bauer-Dan Zyromski current of the Second International, and a distinct position by revolutionary socialists to the left of the Adlers, Bauers and Zyromskis, as well as a modification by the Communist International of certain aspects of its traditional position, have all impelled Kautsky to rush his conclusions into print before his four-volume "monu-

ment" is completed. They may fairly be taken as representing the theoretical "justification" for the position of the right wing in the Second International as the Adler-Bauer-Dan-Dunois-Zyromski thesis does for the position of the "Center."

Kautsky is like a pitcher who takes so long in winding up that the spectator begins to feel a pain in his shoulder before the pitcher actually throws the ball. But in this case, the "wind-up" is not mere decoration. It makes the un-guarded reader dizzy and is intended to. Hence, a few preliminaries are needed to analyze the "wind-up".

"Marx and Engels," writes Kautsky, "had never considered the question how war was to be prevented. They regarded the question as superfluous."

That this is a falsehood is obvious. We need only remember the activities of Marx and Engels in urging and helping the British labor movement to prevent England's entrance into a war against the United States on behalf of the South during the course of the American Civil War.

"Lacking power to overthrow such a militarist government in time of peace," continues Kautsky, "the workers and the Socialist parties will, as a rule, find it even more difficult to do so at the outbreak of war. This was how Marx and Engels reasoned."

This was not how Marx and Engels reasoned, but was how Kautsky reasoned at the outbreak of the World War in 1914. It is obvious that Kautsky is trying, cuckoo-fashion, to lay his eggs in Marx's nest. Moreover, as in 1914, there is a dangerous evasion of the real issue. The question is not whether the Socialists are stronger or weaker after war begins, but whether "the party joins imperialist plunder and deception, or it preaches and prepares for revolutionary action." So wrote Lenin in 1915 when Kautsky tried the same subterfuge to justify the betrayal of August 4, 1914. It took Kautsky a whole year to draw that up in 1914 but as a new war thinks

2 The concluding chapter of the Fourth Volume has been reprinted in two instalments in the *New Leader* of Nov. 9 and 16, 1935 with endorsement by the editor as "of the utmost importance to Socialists everywhere in determining their point of view and shaping their policy."

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WHOEVER PAYS THE PIPER CALLS THE TUNE

The Republican Party, center of "conservative" reaction as opposed to Roosevelt's "progressive" reaction, has done its best to create a National Finance Committee worthy of the name. On the list of these bigshots, the Republican Party stakes its claim to being the party of the people and of the republic, opposing its "democracy" to the thriftless bureaucracy of the New Deal. Let's look at the boys who will grease the Republican wheels.

Ernest Weir: The vicious opponent of labor unionism, chief figure in the famous Weirton Steel case, which attempted to force a company union down the throats of the steel workers, and with the aid of the government, succeeded in doing so. Weir is, in addition, director of the Edgewater Steel Co. President of the Peoples Bank of Holliday Cove, pres. of the Weirton Coal Co., and pres. of the Bank of Weirton (which certainly ought to convince anybody that the "steel baron" is actually a feudal lord).

Silas Strawn: Reactionary lawyer, a director of the First National Bank and erstwhile president of the U. S. Cham-

ber of Commerce, that is, organizer and leader of the greatest center of open-shopism in the U. S.

Sewell Lee Avery, who will probably represent the small business man by being director of Montgomery Ward, Armour and Co., Chicago Daily News, the Great Western Railroad, State Bank of Evanston, U. S. Steel, and president of the Illinois Manufacturers Association.

Wallace M. Alexander: Sugar king, who apparently is the real owner of the Hawaiian Islands. He owns the Hawaiian Sugar Co., the Hawaiian Oil Co., and about three steamship companies. Then just to make sure that he wins at both ends, he has organized and directs a Marine Insurance Company.

Edward L. Ryerson: A philanthropist of sorts. He was the chairman of the Governor's Committee on Unemployment and Relief for Illinois in 1931. The relief was for the bankers, because his organization starved the unemployed into riots.

Alfred L. Shapleigh: President of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, but just to make sure that this organization

will be able to fight trade unionism, he's had himself made president of the St. Louis Light Artillery Association.

These are just a few of the choice members of the committee who in the words of Fletcher, chairman of the G.O.P. National Committee, "clearly reveal their convictions by their position".

These people, mighty powers of finance capital, can never be the channel thru which the mighty indignation of the working class against the Raw Deal can flow. These bosses against whom the workers strike against the economic field, just as well as they strike against Democratic bosses, have the same answer to the needs of the workers, economically and politically, as the Democratic Party.

The answer given to the G.O.P. in 1932 was to put the New Dealers into power. Today the answer of the workers cannot be the same. Not back to the old, proven useless, but forward to the new—to a Labor Party, the representation of the workers by their own class representatives.

REVIEW OF THE WEEK

ITALY THREATENS LEAGUE; CAIRO EMBARRASSES GT. BRITAIN; WHAT WILL FRENCH PARLIAMENT BRING? LEWIS LEAVES EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—FIGHT DEEPENS

ONCE again, as in the days of the world war, meatless days have come to Italy, for, November 18 has come and with it the application of economic sanctions against Italy's war in Africa. Under the pressure of Great Britain an attempt is now being made to plug up the holes and what is even more important to shut off the supply of oil and coal. This, if accomplished, will hit the war plans very seriously since Italy depends exclusively on imports for these articles. This accounts for Mussolini's threat that an embargo on oil and coal means war. More recently there is also talk of Italy's withdrawal from the League in such an event.

From a military point of view the position of Italy is hardly secure. Stopping to get a breathing spell and consolidate its positions as well as perfect means of communications and supplies, the Italians have been harassed by Ethiopian bands. In the southern sector the Ethiopians even boast of winning back territory. Also in the northern front Ethiopian troops have not given up hope of a successful flanking movement and a resultant cutting of Italian source of supplies and munitions. Success along these lines might well result in a speedy Italian retreat all along the line. At any rate what is important is that the Ethiopians are showing increasing signs of resistance and Italy has suffered in the course of the latest week its greatest casualties.

SANCTIONS CAUSING TROUBLE

In a number of countries applying sanctions difficulties have arisen. In the United States embargos on certain commodities are being resisted by the industrial interests involved—cotton, oil etc. In Belgium, restrictions on export of textiles and leather have resulted in demonstrations demanding the abrogation of sanctions. Also in France opposition to sanctions continues, partly due, of course, to the propaganda of the French fascists who utilize certain economic hardships resulting from sanctions to strengthen their position within the country.

Widespread unrest in Egypt and the killing of a number of Egyptian nationalists is causing Great Britain considerable difficulties as well as embarrassment. The supposed disinterested defender of Ethiopia exposes himself as a brutal oppressor of his own colonial vassals. There is considerable speculation as to the degree of Italy's responsibility in the widespread rioting in Egypt.

FRENCH PARLIAMENT TO OPEN THURSDAY

Many anxious eyes will be directed to Paris this Thursday for on that day parliament convenes and the period of grace given to Laval ends. The question arises—what will parliament do? Will it suppress the fascists or will it continue the policy of Laval which has favored the growth and development of the armed fascist leagues? Will the numerous emergency decrees which have wrought great hardships on the workers and middle class be approved or rejected? Will the Franco-Russian Pact be endorsed? If so what will Laval say regarding his consistent pro-German orientation during the last number of months?

For the working class internationally it will be important to watch whether the Communist and Socialist Parties take the lead in the struggle against the Laval government or continue to act as hostages of the Radical Socialist Party. While in the recent cabinet sessions the five Radicals in the cabinet spoke up, under pressure of the Communist and Socialist Parties, for the dissolution of the fascist terror bands Laval came out flatly against the proposal. Yet, despite this sharp difference, as well as those on many other matters, the Radicals shudder at the idea of defeating Laval.

What then is one to expect from this coming session? The Radicals will continue to back the Laval government. If under those circumstances the Communists and Socialists still continue to drag after the Radicals instead of openly breaking with them, declaring war against Laval, and taking their case to the workers and middle class, they will be handing themselves over to the fascists bound hand and foot.

Both Communists and Socialists have been marching at double time, in the wrong direction. Unless this session of parliament will mark the beginning of the struggle—parliamentary and what is even more important, extra-parliamentary—along new lines, it may be too late and we may well be on the eve of new disastrous defeats.

MEXICANS AND BRAZILIANS FIGHT FASCISM

The Labor Party of Brazil has gone on record for the suppression of the Integralistas—the Brazilian Fascists. The Brazilian Congress meeting about the same time passed a resolution declaring that the Integralistas are "sworn enemies of democracy" and should be dissolved.

Similar action took place in Mexico where the Gold Shirts have become a real menace. After a clash in Mexico City between a labor demonstration and armed Gold Shirts in which 9 were killed Mexican labor organizations threatened a general strike unless the fascists are suppressed. A resolution to this effect was passed by the Mexican Senate after a heated debate. President Cardenas was requested to dissolve the organization immediately.

THE sharp division which now exists in the ranks of organized labor has been again brought to the surface with the sudden resignation of John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers, from the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. The precise reason for the resignation at this time is not known. Nor is it known how this action will affect David Dubinsky, the only remaining member of the Executive Council who supports the demand for industrial unionism.

Responsible sources close to Lewis have stated very categorically that this in no way constitutes a break of the miners union with the A. F. of L. Lewis simply refuses to take responsibility for some of the action of the federation executive which he considers as harmful to the organized labor movement.

President Green has made no statement yet but it is expected that he will accept the resignation which goes into effect as of the date of its submission.

BRITISH COAL MINERS have completed a referendum authorizing the leaders of the Miners Federation to call a general strike if necessary to secure an increase of 50c over the minimum of \$2.30 per day which the miners now get.

Out of about 700,000 miners, 409,351 voted for the strike and 29,215 against. Efforts to secure the assistance of the Trade Union Congress are being made. The conservative government of Baldwin is expected to take a direct hand in this dispute.

50 TEXTILE STRIKERS are being placed on trial at Anderson S. C. in connection with the killing of strike breakers at the Pelzer cotton mills on September 2.

A GENERAL STRIKE IN AKRON was threatened by the Central Labor Union unless the authorities stop using tear gas against union pickets and sympathizers. The strike was called by the Pottery Workers Union in an attempt to win a 20% wage increase and the eight hour day.

BAG WORKERS employed by the Atlas Bag and Burlap Company of Brooklyn are giving evidence before John A. Lapp, sitting as trial examiner, that L. L. Balleison, Industrial Secretary of the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce threatened them with discharge unless they joined a company union and broke all relations with the United Textile Workers. The same Balleison then became organizer for a company union.

This trial, the first under the new Wagner Act, has already brought out the fact that the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce is guilty of organizing 300 of such company unions.

LONGSHOREMEN have again taken the spotlight. After ship operators at New Orleans refused to meet a delegation of the International Longshoremen's Association, A. H. Peterson, international organizer of the union announced that plans are being completed to paralyze all intercoastal trade. A general strike call will effect about 15,000 workers on the Pacific Coast, 8,000 in Gulf ports and over 20,000 on the Atlantic Coast.

WILLIAM GREEN, president of the A. F. of L. has announced his opposition to an investigation of labor trouble on the Pacific Coast by the Department of Justice. The proposal for the investigation had come from the West Coast shipping interests.

JAPANESE SEIZURE of China continues at a rapid pace with the announced establishment of an "autonomous" area in Eastern Hopei. The revulsion of the Chinese masses at the Nanking betrayal will hardly be smoothed over by the anti-Nanking betrayal.

BAZAAR

SATURDAY NOVEMBER 30, — Irving Plaza

(See page Two for details)

NO ADMISSION CHARGE FROM 3 TO 6 P. M.

THE ROAD TO A MASS LABOR YOUTH MOVEMENT

THE central problem with which the recent Sixth Congress of the Young Communist International was concerned, was the very future of the movement itself. The essence of the momentous decisions there arrived at, at least as they apply to America, are given in a statement by Gil Green, secretary of the Y.C.I., in the Daily Worker of November 13, 1935:

"In the first place, the congress established a new policy which proposes the reconstruction of the present Y.C.I. into a nonpartisan mass organization which, while clearly supporting a socialist goal, will not take a position on how socialism is to be concretely accomplished, thus opening the way for organic unity with the Y.P.S.L. in all countries. "Secondly, basing itself on the experiences of the Young Communist Leagues of France and the United States, the congress issued a world-wide call for a united front of the young generation for the defense of all democratic rights of youth, for peace and against Fascism."

Statement of the National Bureau Communist Party (Opposition)

role at all to play. The road outlined in the programs of the Y.C.I. is not the way to a mass organization of working class youth. In this connection, it is necessary to note that the orientation of the Y.P.S.L. does not differ markedly from the traditional outlook of the Y.C.I. Not only is the Y.P.S.L. firmly committed to the idea of a mass Socialist youth movement as an auxiliary of the S.P., but with its vanguardism, its mass work and more openly acknowledged, it precisely because in the Socialist movement today vanguardism again playing a progressive role. Of course, the stifling regime that has developed in the Y.C.I. in recent years is not to be found in the Socialist youth organization.

ROAD TO MASS WORKING CLASS YOUTH MOVEMENT

The problem of a mass working class youth movement cannot be approached mechanically with the object of discovering a single magic solution that will fit all cases. Obviously, the nature and forms of development of a youth movement are quite different in bourgeois democratic countries (United States, Great Britain, France) from what they are in Fascist countries (Germany, Italy) or from what they are in colonial and semi-colonial countries (China, India). For our present purpose, we shall concentrate on the United States the road to a real mass working class youth movement, that will serve as an instrument for the education of the youth in the spirit of the class struggle and, simultaneously, as a medium for drawing the youth into the labor movement in general, lies thru the creation of a Labor Youth League, thoroly proletarian in character but genuinely non-partisan in the sense of not being an auxiliary of any of the radical working class political parties or groups. Under actual conditions today, it is probable that such a youth movement would develop as the accompaniment of a Labor Party, of which it could very well be the youth auxiliary. For the degree of emancipation from bourgeois ideological control required for an independent working class youth movement even on so elementary a basis will very likely come with the crystallization of sentiment in favor of independent labor political action. A youth organization of such a character could receive the official support of decisive sections of organized labor and would really have a chance of becoming a mass movement of the working class youth of the United States.

It is impossible now to say anything concrete about the form of such a movement when it develops. Its program would at first probably be anti-capitalist, labor class-conscious and socialist in implication in the same sense in which a Labor party must necessarily be so. Its outlook would be one of class struggle in the same sense. Within the youth organization, the various political tendencies in the labor movement would carry on propaganda for their own views and, out of the clash of conflicting ideologies as well as out of the experiences of the class struggle itself, would come the political education and maturing of the youth. The doors of the organization would really be open to every working class boy or girl and, secondarily, to the pro-labor elements of the youth of other strata of the population. The activities of the movement would be flexible and many-sided, including education in the spirit of class consciousness, participation in labor struggles, and broadly cultural, social and sports activities generally, very much in the manner of the League of Nations. As to its form, flexibility would again be the chief consideration; it might well be established on a wholly or partly federative basis, although there can be no objection to a league based primarily on individual membership. So long as the prime purposes are fulfilled, all such questions become strictly secondary.

One of the most significant functions of such a Labor Youth League would be to frustrate the efforts of Fascism to win the allegiance of the petty bourgeois and labor youth. In fact, unless some such working class youth movement does arise, able to make an effective appeal to and embrace in its ranks the great masses of the proletarian, farmer and lower middle class youth, the way will be left open for an easy victory on the part of Fascist demagoguery.

How can such a mass labor youth movement be developed? It is clear that the mere fusion of the Y.C.I. and the Y.P.S.L. would not in itself create a Labor Youth League any more than if either of the two were simply to change its name. At the same time, just as is the case with the Labor Party, agitation for such a movement and its organizational stimulation are tasks that fall to the most conscious and advanced sections of the working class, united front or working agreement between the Y.C.I., the Y.P.S.L. and other class conscious youth groups (and between Socialists and Communists in general, to cooperate in promoting the idea of a Labor Youth League among the workers in their organizations. At the present time, with the progressive tendencies in the labor movement growing constantly stronger, the possibilities in this direction are unusually favorable. When such a Labor Youth League arises and to the degree that it develops, the parallel activities (whether actually in existence or merely in the program) of the Y.C.I. and of the Y.P.S.L. too will naturally have to be curtailed and finally eliminated altogether so that in the end it will become essentially a young Communist nucleus in the broader organization striving to stimulate the political development of the young workers in the direction of Communist and acting generally as a force for strengthening the movement and advancing it in militancy and class consciousness. Under such circumstances, the Y.C.I. could no longer remain an organizationally independent youth league, for the essential need of such a form would already have disappeared. It would turn into a youth section or department of the C.P., being guaranteed, at the same time, certain special conditions, such as easier accessibility, looser discipline, greater autonomy and self-direction, made necessary by the special nature of its field of activity.

POLITICAL MEANING OF NEW Y.C.I. COURSE

In the light of this general orientation, how shall we estimate the political character of the new policy of the Y.C.I. as outlined in Green's statement? In the first place, it must be pointed out that, even were the new course entirely in the direction of Communist and acting generally as a force for strengthening the movement and advancing it in militancy and class consciousness, it would not be a new course at all, for the Y.C.I. has always been a force for strengthening the movement and advancing it in militancy and class consciousness. Here is a fundamental change in program and in the very basis of the existence of the movement inaugurated at the congress of the Y.C.I. without a

word of previous discussion in the sections. And even now that Gil Green has come back with the ready-made decision, there is still no discussion among the membership. No meeting was held and the Y.C.I.ers are not asked for their opinion or opinions are held, in fact, they are not consulted at all. Instead, Green reports to a so-called "open membership meeting" in which, of course, there is no possibility of criticism or genuine discussion. A leadership that functions in such a way, that shows such utter contempt for the most elementary rights of the membership, is nothing but a bureaucratic clique and the organization it leads stands condemned to hopeless isolation.

The present change of policy on the part of the Y.C.I. comes essentially as a manifestation of the right-opportunist turn now under way in the Comintern. The essence of the new course is given in Green's reference to the "united front of the young generation", which is declared to be the aim of the Y.C.I. To all intents and purposes, this is simply a "youth" version of the all-class (or classless) "Peoples' Front" that is today the last word in the Comintern's strategy against Fascism. The very conception of the "young generation" as a single social unit is a gross repudiation of the most elementary ideas of Marxism and has been specifically condemned by the Y.C.I. more than once, while the slogan of the solidarity of the "young generation" is taken right out of the arsenal of Fascist demagoguery. The road of an all-class youth movement as outlined by the sixth congress of the Y.C.I. can only lead to political suicide in the swamps of opportunism and to the obvious suicide at the hands of Fascist reaction.

But even aside from this fundamental error, the entire approach of the Y.C.I. in the effort to get out of the blind-ally of sectarianism is false. It is absurd to believe that the mere fusion of the Y.C.I. and the Y.P.S.L. ("organic unity") will establish a "non-partisan mass organization" or even constitute a step in that direction. The road to a Labor Youth League lies thru the mutual dissolution (or fusion) of the two existing organizations but thru their active cooperation in the creation of a really broad movement in which both young Socialists and young Communists can find a field for constructive activity. The manner in which the whole question of the organic unity of the Y.C.I. and the Y.P.S.L. is treated shows how far the opportunism of the C.P. leadership has gone. No attempt is made to examine the special conditions in the political development of the youth which give the question of organic unity an entirely different aspect for the youth than for the adult workers. Instead, the basic issues between reformist and revolutionary Socialism (Communism) are treated with a flippancy and irresponsibility nothing short of criminal. It is more than implied that questions such as how socialism is to be concretely accomplished, the road to power, are of little consequence, as long as there is agreement on the "socialist goal"! Of course, this notion is thoroly false in itself but it is especially dangerous in view of the pronounced leftward movement in Socialist ranks. Precisely at the time when increasing numbers of Socialists, especially Yipps, are beginning to approach the Communist viewpoint in a bitter struggle against Social-Democratic reformism, primarily on the question of how "socialism is to be concretely accomplished", the Y.C.I. comes forward virtually disavowing this struggle as far as the Socialist youth are concerned and discouraging the process of inner political differentiation within the Y.P.S.L. Insofar as it has any effect at all, the new attitude of the Y.C.I. will tend to demoralize left sentiment among the Socialist youth and Socialist organizations generally, will serve to stem the development of Communist sentiment in Socialist ranks and to facilitate the efforts of the centrist opponents of Communism in stifling a thoroughgoing discussion of fundamental issues.

To what extent this new turn on the "youth question" may foreshadow a sharp swing towards the right on the question of "organic unity" generally, is hard to tell at the present time. It is necessary to warn, however, that the arguments in favor of the road to power, are such as to call into serious question the ideological clarity and firmness with which the present leadership of the C.I. is able to defend the political integrity of the Communist movement in its differentiation from Social Democracy.

SOME PRELIMINARY TASKS

The Y.C.I. today faces the problem of breaking thru its almost complete isolation of becoming an influential factor in the development of a broad working class youth movement in this country. This problem cannot be solved by means of any opportunist shortcuts to the "young generation" or by any futile attempts to gloss over the deep-going differences between revolutionary and reformist Socialism. If the Y.C.I. leadership really wants to make a serious effort to meet the situation, then it must take the following preliminary steps:

The readmission into the Y.C.I. of the Communist Youth Opposition forces. It is manifestly dishonest politically to speak of "broadening the league", of opening its doors to every working class boy or girl by not making adherence to the Communist program a condition of membership, and yet exclude from the league numbers of active young revolutionists whose loyalty to the principles of Communism is unchallenged but who happen to differ from the official Y.C.I. leadership on questions of policy and tactics. And this especially when precisely these comrades would be of the greatest assistance to the league in helping it break with its sectarianism, avoid opportunist excesses and embark on a really effective policy of mass work.

The reorganization of the system of leadership in the league so as to put an end to bureaucracy and the thoroly undemocratic regime dominating it today. A situation in which fundamental decisions affecting the very life of the organization are made without any preliminary or even subsequent discussion is intolerable; unless it is corrected, the Y.C.I. cannot hope to emerge from its present condition. In addition, it should be recognized that, because of its very nature as a youth organization, the Y.C.I. requires a less stringent discipline than the C.P. and depends far more upon patient discussion, permitting the widest divergence of opinion. All talk of broadening the league will be mere empty phrases until it is realized that the system of dictation from above is fatal to the very existence of a revolutionary youth organization.

The eradication of all the remaining remnants of the "third period" sectarianism thru free and conscious self-criticism.

The safeguarding of the class basis of the youth movement thru the elimination of the recent opportunist confusion about the "young generation", an all-class youth movement, etc.

The initiation of a widespread discussion in the Y.C.I. and in its press on the problems of the youth movement in America with a view to developing a line of policy that will be thoroly understood by the league membership and effectively carried out by it.

KAUTSKY, OLD GUARD, AND COMING WAR

(Continued from Page 1)
near, he shows that he has learned something and begins his "moral" preparations in good time.

WHICH RULING CLASS SHALL WE SUPPORT?—ASKS KAUTSKY

"The question that Marx and Engels put themselves at the outbreak of a war was, which side they would support," Kautsky's article continues. "To answer this question they sought to determine who actually began the war, who was the aggressor."

Kautsky undoubtedly knows better than to believe that Marx and Engels supported one side or the other in every war. True the bulk of the wars of the period from 1789 (the French Revolution) to 1870 (Franco-Prussian War, Paris Commune and beginnings of modern imperialism) were wars of the period of rising, progressive capitalism, wars which on one side were generally for national unification (Germany, Italy), national emancipation (Poland, Italy, etc.) and of bourgeoisie against feudalism, and on the other side were wars for the retention of feudalism, for national oppression and reaction (example: Russia's wars against Poland, against the revolution of 1848, Austria against Italy, etc.) In those wars there was no question of bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie, but of bourgeoisie supported by the immature proletariat on the one hand versus feudal reaction on the other. It is sheer historical forgery to transfer the criteria and tactics of the proletariat in a period when the bourgeoisie is progressive and struggling against feudalism, the proletariat not yet an independent force and socialism only a future dream, to the period when capitalism is in decay, the bourgeoisie reactionary and struggling against the proletariat, against the freedom of colonial peoples, and against socialism.

Since the rise of modern imperialist capitalism, the capitalist order has become reactionary (here in greater, there in less degree, but reactionary everywhere) and decaying, and parasitic. The proletariat has become a powerful independent force. Socialist and Communist parties and the mass trade unions have grown up, the objective conditions have ripened which make socialism possible, desirable, even a burning necessity, if decaying capitalism is not to strangle civilization itself in its dying grip.

Engels lived on into the beginning of the period when imperialism was ripening, and to his keen vision the general outlines of the coming world war were beginning to appear even as early as 1870. In his articles and letters written in the years 1888 to his death in 1895 he again and again indicated the magnitude, character, line-ups, and probable results of that impending war. Each time he emphasized that it was a race between war and social revolution, that if the former came first social revolution would have to come during it or as an aftermath. Does that sound like Kautsky's philistine query, "which side they would support?"

In his article entitled, "Socialism in Germany," written in 1891 shortly after the consummation of the Franco-Russian alliance and published in both French and German by Engels in 1892, he wrote: "No socialist, whatever his nationality, can desire the military victory of either the present German government, nor of the French bourgeois republic, nor least of all that of the Czar which would be equivalent to the subjection of Europe and therefore the socialism of all lands are for peace. But if war comes just the same, one thing is certain: this war, in which fifteen to twenty million armed

COMPOUNDING A FORGERY

Kautsky does not stop with the deliberate and conscious falsification of the views of Marx and Engels. He adds to "proof" derived from the already exposed forgeries of others, forgeries which in his Marxist days he helped to expose!

In the 1890's Friedrich Engels wrote an introduction to a new edition of Marx's "Class Struggles in France, 1840-1850." From this introduction all the most revolutionary passages were expurgated by the leaders of the German Social Democratic Party on the ground that the state of siege (exception

laws) in Germany required their omission if the document were to be published legally. Later this censored introduction was shamefully utilized to give the impression that Engels had revised his views on armed insurrection and become a legalistic on principle, a so-called democratic parliamentary socialist believing in the possibility of a peaceful and purely parliamentary conquest of power by the proletariat. All Engels' remarks about the greater difficulty of popular revolutions under modern conditions of warfare were printed. But all his remarks about the necessity of work within the armed forces because of that greater difficulty, were omitted.

To be sure, Engels had originally consented to the doctoring of the manuscript for legal reasons, but he was shocked and indignant when the printed version was deliberately used to falsify his views. He protested bitterly in a letter to Lafargue (April 3, 1895), and in a letter to Kautsky (April 1, 1895) in which letter Engels urged Kautsky to print the article unaltered. Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky, (Orbis Verlag, Prague, 1935, pp. 383-384.)

This letter was recently republished by Kautsky in "Aus der Freiheit des Marxismus: Engels Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky" (Orbis Verlag, Prague, 1935, pp. 383-384.)

By AUGUST THALHEIMER
The illegally distributed "Rote Fahne" and the "Rundschau" of October 31st carry the program of the German Communist Party for the formation of a Peoples' Front in Germany. The program is based on negotiations carried on outside of Germany by representatives of the CPG with representatives of Social Democracy, the former Catholic Center-Party, the former State Party, the German Democrats, as well as the Catholic and Protestant Church organizations.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
In addition to a number of very moderate and vague immediate demands, the program contains the following political aims:

"The broad masses of Germany are asking: After Hitler, what next? Without abandoning our fundamental conviction of the necessity of a Soviet Germany which alone can really emancipate the working class, we Communists are ready to support another government, a united front or Peoples Front government and, moreover, are ready to participate in it under certain conditions, i.e. if the working masses are not yet ready to wage a struggle for soviet power and if the center forces of the Peoples Front government. Such a government—as Comrade Dimitroff emphasized at the 7th World Congress of the C.I.—would primarily be a government for the struggle against fascism and reaction.

"The CPG wants the people to decide their future freely after Hitler is overthrown. A successful Peoples' Front will guarantee the peoples' freedom of decision. We, Communists, are therefore in favor of the election of a NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON THE BASIS OF FREE, EQUAL, AND DIRECT SUFFRAGE. We are convinced that the errors of Hitler fascism have furnished an important lesson to all liberty-loving persons in Germany, that, hence, they will not repeat the mistakes of the National Assembly in 1919 and not give up their hard-won democratic rights."

The central slogan issued by the CPG for the Peoples Front can be stated more concisely and more effectively by calling it: The slogan of Back to Weimar. That's what the demand for a national assembly based on free, equal and universal suffrage amounts to: A National Assembly is a bourgeois-democratic parliamentary body. The state which embodies this national assembly is the bourgeois-democratic parliamentary republic. And the United Front or Peoples Front government which is to direct the state is nothing more nor less than the reconstitution of the old Weimar coalition consisting of the Catholic Center, bourgeois democrats, and Social Democrats with the slight difference that now with the collapse of the bourgeois republic, with the bankruptcy of this type of coalition policy the CP has decided to support such a coalition government and even to participate in it under certain conditions.

ABANDONMENT OF COMMUNIST TASKS
The Communist Opposition categorically rejects such a flagrant abandonment of basic Communist tasks in the coming revolution.

We do not know whether the Communist Party after the overthrow of Hitler will have sufficient influence among the working class and the petty bourgeoisie so as to replace the fascist dictatorship with the dictatorship of the proletariat without some sort of inter-

Article 1. -- Compounding a Forgery

self protested against Bernstein's use of this falsification three years after Engels' death, in 1898, in an article in the Neue Zeit entitled "Bernstein and Dialectics", and again in 1908 in the same periodical in an article entitled, "Some Old Views" in which Engels' views, as well as in his pamphlet, "The Road to Power."

What then are we to think of Kautsky when we find him, in 1935, forty years after the forgery was committed and exposed, writing the heading, "Engels Revises Views" and when that heading we find Kautsky perpetrating such sentences as this:

"From his study of the technique of modern warfare Engels also drew the conclusion that the time of popular armed insurrection was over, that the people were helpless when pitted against modern armies firmly in control of a government determined to utilize all the instruments of its destruction at its disposal." From which Kautsky concludes that: "It is more than ever our duty to do our utmost to prevent war, external war AS WELL AS CIVIL WAR" (emphasis added).

What shall we think of Kautsky who compounds the forgery he himself has exposed? What shall we think of a "Marxist" dishonest enough to write the

formation of a National Assembly? How are the Social Democratic and non-partisan workers, who are aware of the influence of Communism is among the working class, and that in turn this depends upon the condition that the CP propagating the slogan of soviet power only and that it organize the struggle around this slogan.

There is no Party, no other force which can do this. If, however, the CP demands that we unite with Weimar, to a bourgeois-parliamentary republic as an intermediary stage, the direct replacement of the fascist dictatorship by the proletarian dictatorship becomes impossible and the victory of the bourgeois republic in replacing fascism is assured from the outset.

The reservation of the CPG that it adheres to the "belief" that the proletarian dictatorship alone can emancipate the working class has no practical meaning whatsoever since the CPG on the basis of the new line fails to advance the slogan for a soviet government as one for which the working masses are to struggle to replace the fascist government. The "belief" that this national assembly will not repeat the errors of the national assembly of 1919 is nothing but a pious wish since the CPG has given up the center force of a revolution, the Peoples Front government.

However, one will ask, can the slogan of a proletarian dictatorship be advanced in a coalition with bourgeois-democratic and bourgeois-democratic parties and groups? Of course, not. The upshot of such a coalition is in effect the slogan for the return to Weimar. (It is characteristic of the depth of the opportunistic deviation of the CPG that even for the sake of fighting the victory of the Hitler dictatorship did not directly advance the slogan, Back to the Weimar Republic, but rather demanded the establishment of a socialist dictatorship of the working class!)

A RALLYING CENTER FOR COUNTER REVOLUTION
We maintain then that such a coalition is incompatible with the preparation of the proletarian revolution and that the alliance of the working class with petty bourgeois elements cannot be realized thru a coalition with bourgeois parties and groups but only thru the formation of united front organs against bourgeois opposition groups—united front organs which in the course of struggle must develop into soviets (workers', peasants' and soldiers' councils).

A National Assembly, such as the CPG demands would be a rallying center of all counter-revolutionary forces against the forces of the proletarian revolution, split, unorganized and without leadership as a result of the non-existence of Soviets.

The pillar of such a National Assembly would be the Reichswehr as the strongest and permanently organized force of bourgeois classes after the collapse of the fascist Party and State. The groups and parties of bourgeois oppositions and the Social Democracy would turn out to be nothing but the shadows of the Reichswehr.

The efficacy of a coalition with the parties and groups of bourgeois opposition against fascism has been shown by the Italian Aventin-opposition and later the so-called "concentration" of workers parties with the republicans in Italy. The function of the Aventin-opposition consisted mainly in trying to check the revolutionary mass actions during the deep crisis of fascism when Matteotti was killed. It succeeded because of the weakness of the Communist Party. The so-called "concentration" had the effect of hindering the revolutionary organization of the working class thus causing Italian Social Democracy to break with the concentration.

For the above reasons the slogan for a National Assembly, for a return to the Weimar constitution, as well as the Peoples Front must be rejected as a serious opportunist deviation. We must demand its immediate liquidation.

November 6, 1935.

above, when he knows that Engel's discussion of the difficulties of insurrection under modern conditions was followed not by a conclusion that revolution should be abandoned but by the opposite conclusion that it should be more carefully prepared? Kautsky knows for example, as Engels' letter to him and his own articles of his honest and Marxist days show, that in one of the expurgated passages which followed immediately after his discussion of the increased difficulties of revolution, Engels said:

"Does this mean that street battles will play no part in the future? Not at all. It simply means that conditions have become far more unfavorable for the civilian fighters since 1848, and will have to be fought with greater resources of strength. Such battles will rather resort—as in the great French Revolution, and as on September 4th and October 31, 1870, in Paris—to open attack than to the defensive tactics of the barricades."

And what shall we think of James O'Neil and Algernon Lee, editors of the New Leader, both of whom personally know the circumstances of the forgery, Engels' protest, and Kautsky's and Riazanov's exposures, and who nevertheless print Kautsky's shameful article without a word, except a commendatory introduction? People who preach to the labor movement social-chauvinism, support of the ruling class in war, glorification of capitalist democracy, opposition to the proletarian revolution, such people must be tirelessly fought. But people who operate with conscious forgeries and falsifications, who ascribe to revolutionaries like Marx and Engels their own anti-revolutionary views, such people must be publicly exposed and scourged out of the labor movement.

At any rate, it is impossible to analyze the views on war which Kautsky offers to the international labor movement, and which received the blessings of Abe Cahane (in the Jewish Daily Forward) and James O'Neil (in the New Leader) without an introductory examination of the reliability of the author since Kautsky is offering the views not merely as his own, but ostensibly as the views of Marx and Engels on the question.

* For full account of the forgery and the omitted portions see *Unter dem Banner des Marxismus*, Vol. I, No. 1, March 1925.

NEXT WEEK: Comrade Wolfe will continue with article on Kautsky's attitude on democracy and fascism, the League of Nations, the Soviet Union, and national defense.

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51 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.
Phone: GRAMERCY 5-8903
Published every Saturday by the WORKERS AGE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
Subscription Rates: \$2.00 per year, in six months, — 5c a copy. Foreign rates: \$2.50 per year — \$1.50 for six months.

Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, as the Post Office on November 5, 1934, under the act of March 3, 1879.
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Vol. IV, No. 47. Sat. Nov. 30, 1935

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S. P. Militants Fight Back

According to the N. Y. Militants, the drive against expulsion from the Socialist Party by the Old Guard, is well under way. The Old Guard is meeting increased resistance, Militants say, pointing to the ever larger list of branches which have adopted resolutions against the so-called reorganization of the S.P.

The following are the branches resolving to resist expulsions: Bronx: Jewish Branch 2; 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 6th, 21st and 23rd A. D.; Kings: Downtown; East Flatbush; Boro Park; 5th, 17th, 18th, Branches 1 and 2, and 22nd A. D.; Queens: Astoria; Jamaica and Flushing; Manhattan: Morningside; Upper West Side; Washington Heights; 12th A. D. Resolutions were also carried in the Ridgewood and Rockaway branches and in the Yonkers Branch.

Study In Contrast

As if to emphasize the direction in which the Old Guard desires to have the Socialist Party move, the City Central Committee of New York suspended 3 members of the Young Peoples Socialist League for the alleged crime of believing in Dictatorship and armed insurrection. The same meeting of the C.C.C. white-washed the racketeer Hyman Nemser who had been charged by the members of his own union with racketeering methods. So smelly had his record become that the officers of his own international found it necessary to oust him.

With this decision exonerating Nemser the S.P. under Old Guard domination has aroused the hatred and disgust of even non-partisan, honest trade union elements

seeking to clean the unions of racketeering and gangster elements.

Another "Innocents" Club

The planned "Conference On High Cost Of Living" is precisely that. Under the chairmanship of Esther Friedman and a sponsoring committee of 35—of which about 95% are S.P. members and Old Guards at that—this conference is to get under way on December 14 and to last two days.

We are not quite sure who it is intended to reach with this conference. If however, the intention is to make it a labor protest against the high cost of living the Old Guard has chosen a peculiar way of accomplishing it.

Just examine the speakers list and see if it does not look like a conference arranged by Miss Ilma, or directly by a New Deal agency. On Saturday afternoon the following speakers will discuss the food problem: Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, William Fellows Morgan Jr. and Dorothy Kenyon. Oh yes, we forgot to mention Louis Waldman. On Sunday morning the speakers on housing include: Secretary of Interior Ickes, Langdon W. Post, Catherine Bauer and B. C. Vladeck. In the afternoon "The Consumer and the Utilities" will be discussed by Mayor LaGuardia, Rose Schneiderman, Frank P. Walsh and Charles Solomon.

At one time the Old Guard prided itself on its labor base. Judging by this conference its base seems to have shifted to the "pro-laborites" of the Democratic Party.

AT FIRST GLANCE

(Continued from Page 1)

WE have often tried and tried and tried to find out why so many people get enthused about government ownership or control of armament production and sale as a means of securing peace or even reducing the danger of war. The reason we are impelled to pounce on this angelic notion is that practically all socialists, and to our particular regrets, even some European communists, are now falling for this nonsensical solution. This panacea rests on two fallacies.

First of all, it assumes that governments are less capitalist or less imperialist than the armament makers, that governments are or would be devoted to peace, were it not for such evil influences as those wielded by armaments magnates. The adherents of this fallacious conclusion forget that, in the last instance, governments are nothing but the legal expression of the concentrated will of the ruling class as a whole, really the executive committees of the various ruling classes. It is the conflicts of interests among these various capitalist classes that are reflected in a defense of or attack on one or another domain. So what does it really matter whether the government makes the munitions itself or some corporations make them for it?

Furthermore, as a matter of fact in every country the government controls the production of munitions. In all countries the governments are the biggest buyers of armaments. As such, they control the market for munitions. And what more effective form of control could one ask or want to have than control of the market in a capitalist society, in capitalist relationships?

Truly, the consequences, in a decisive sense, of the differences between a capitalist government owning and controlling munitions-making or a capitalist corporation doing so are insignificant in so far as world peace goes.

OUR air is again being polluted by the effusions of the cheap but dangerous demagogue Father Coughlin. This seems to be news around the world.

Why has the raucous priest opened his gold-lined mouthpiece again? Has he had a real falling out with Roosevelt? Has the Chief Executive not been able to come to terms with him? Or perhaps Farley has slipped up on some buying

THE CASE OF THE HOWLING DOG

The above title is sufficiently accurate to characterize the evil smelling excrement which passes for an article in the current issue of New Militant on the alleged developments in the "Lovestone Group."

These die-hard "revolutionaries" who gnash their teeth because their offer to capitulate to the C.P. of Russia is not answered, are indignant because Lovestone and Wolfe are about to capitulate to the C.P.—so they say.

These would-be revolutionists who just went thru a split because a minority rejected their policy of merger with Social-Democracy in France and plans to do the same here, are indignant because Herberg and Zimmerman are about to join the Socialist Party—so they say.

The article is one tissue of distortion and lies, rare even in these days when political dishonesty and factionalism run rampant. It is clearly a case where Jim Cannon is indebted to the bottle for his inspiration and to an imbecile for his facts.

and selling trick with this devout salesman of the Gospel?

Nothing of the sort is the case. Coughlin is sold body and sweat to the Roosevelt administration, for the present, regardless of his new criticisms. This will hold true so long as there appears no one on the scene with more cold cash to deliver to this pontifical wind-jammer. What is of serious importance for the great mass of the workers in the country is not so much the what as the why of Coughlin's latest tirades. His campaign, allegedly for peace, is substantially for Italian fascism and in behalf of its onslaught on Ethiopia. In pursuing this course, the "Little Father" from Royal Oaks is doing precisely what the "Big Father" in the Vatican has been doing. The Pope is no silent but a voracious soldier for Mussolini's attempt to plunder Abyssinia.

Nor is it peculiar or difficult to comprehend why it is that in every country the Fascist bands are for Italian imperialism having a free hand in Ethiopia. It is not that they love Italian capitalism with any particular warmth. The reason for this is everywhere to be found in that the opponents of Fascism in all countries are heart and soul opposed to Mussolini's marauding. It is primarily due to the Fascist bands and potential Fascist forces in all countries being dead set against the peace efforts of the anti-fascist forces that they directly or indirectly hail Mussolini and demand, so to say in the interest of peace, that nothing be done to stop the Fascist hordes from over-running Abyssinia. Here is the secret of Father Coughlin's so-called peace drive.

A bright spot on the European horizon is the developing clique struggle in the ranks of the ruling class in Poland, following the death of Pilsudski.

The latter's cabinet of colonels has been dissolved. This was precipitated directly by the heavy defeat it met in the last elections which it put over on the country and in which less than fifty percent of the voters participated. Add to this, the ever-deepening economic crisis and the growing dissatisfaction with the pro-Hitler policies of the school of Colonel Beck. Of late, the Poles have become especially disturbed because of the big drive launched by Hitler to establish special military schools for the Ukrainians in Germany with a view of having a trained force of this type ready for an invasion of the Soviet Ukraine. No matter how much the Polish imperialists may hate the U.S.S.R., they still reserve the Ukraine as their own booty.

Due to this combination of circumstances, the German-Polish bloc for a war against the Soviet Union and for the partition of the Soviet Ukraine is being rudely shaken and may collapse much sooner than many anticipate.

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Books of the Age

by Bertram D. Wolfe

MR. ARISTOTLE, by Ignazio Silone. McBride. 221 pp. \$2.00.

Silone here reveals himself as a genuine folk writer, such a writer as only a peasant folk can produce to give conscious expression to its shrewdness, its simplicity, its joys and sorrows and aspirations, and its closeness to the realities of the soil. Because his peasant folk is suffering bitterly under Mussolini's rule, therefore his Fontamara is bitter, passionate, tragic with that suffering. Mr. Aristotle is a collection of short tales and sketches which continues the populist tradition of his greater novel in a more varied but less sustained mood.

The first sketch, which gives its title to the book is a rustic satire on an ancient professional letter writer who deplores the spread of literacy because it spoils his business. A second sketch does the same for another village functionary, the professional mourner. Of greater social significance and intensity are *Simplicio* in which the peasants give expression to their rebellious spirit by endorsing a harmless individual who has run afoul of the law with the attributes of a Robin Hood or Stenka Razin and thus taking an imagined, vicarious revenge upon their tyrants; and *The Trap* full of burning inextinguishable hatred for the spies of the fascist government, which is a tale of a peasant who symbolically identifies a fox he has trapped in his chicken yard with the spy he has permitted to escape. Its closing sentence will give some idea of the mood of the story:

"And snatching up an ax which lay beside the hen-house, as if he were hewing at an oak, he began raining terrible blows upon the animal's head,

its back, its belly, its legs—blow after blow, the blows of a madman, death-dealing blows continued to rain down, even after the little beast had been hacked to tiny bits and reduced to nothing more than a puddle of blood-soaked mush."

The tale is symbolical. The fox is not only the spy, but fascism itself, and the gentle peasant of the story, like the gentle and great artist who wrote it, has been forced to the bitter conclusion that only by the ruthless extermination of the predatory fox of fascism will life become tolerable again for the common folk of Fontamara and of Italy as a whole.

But the publisher has provided the book with an idiotic appendix by one Nettie Sutro who asserts that Silone's writings have no political and social implications and are free from what she regards as the inartistic handicap of earnestness about the social organization of man's life. Silone, she thinks, presents these lives as full of anguish and misery and seething with resentment and rebellion merely because "this gloomy life in his poverty-stricken native village . . . is life itself." In short, according to Miss Sutro he expresses their suffering because it is eternal and makes such "good literature", and as to their rebelliousness, it is merely owing to the fact they "they do not know that nature itself decrees that might makes right."

Note: The *Agricultural Crisis*, by Joseph M. Goldstein, reviewed in the preceding issue of the *Workers Age*, was published by John Day Co. The publisher's name was accidentally omitted from the review.

Free Admission to Bazaar from 3 to 6 P. M.

ONLY a few days are left to Nov. 30th when the New Workers School Dance and Bazaar will be held at Irving Plaza. Since this is practically the first Bazaar run by the School, there is a great deal of interest aroused among many of our friends.

The New Workers School is particularly grateful to its many comrades and friends who are giving of their time, labor and money towards stocking up the booths with dresses, dolls and toys, sweaters, knitted dresses, infants wear, fur jackets, collars cuffs and muffs, ladies hats, men's shirts, and many many more things, which space does not permit to mention.

All of the articles that will be sold at the Bazaar are being contributed, thus making it possible to sell them at ridiculously low prices. The Bazaar will open on Saturday at 3 P. M. We invite all our friends to come to Irving Plaza and do their shopping early, or drop in for afternoon tea and lunch at the Russian Samovar Booth where you can wash down Russian caviar, beluga or shtropi sandwiches with a glass of tea cooked and served out of the pot belly of a samovar. Admission to the Bazaar is 35c in advance and 45c at the door. From 3 to 6 P. M. admission is free.

Making a Bad Case Worse

A couple of months ago there appeared Jack Hardy's "The Clothing Worker" and since then the Daily Worker has carried two reviews with the end not yet in sight.

Strangely enough, the book, a stupid justification of union splitting and dual unionism and a slanderous personal attack on Charles Zimmerman, appearing when the Communist Party was trying to convince everyone that it had changed its trade union line, aroused and enraged many progressives, especially in Local 22 I.L.G.W.U. of which Zimmerman is manager. A first review printed in the Daily Worker only made matters worse in that it contained not one critical remark.

In reply to the objections against these methods, leading party comrades had said, wait, a new review is being prepared which will set everything right. This second review has now been published and without exaggerating it is safe to say that it is worse than the first one.

To begin with the article attacks those who resent this dual unionist position at this time. Instead of criticizing Hardy the article says: "The publication about a month ago of the 'Clothing Worker' by Jack Hardy is being utilized by some, in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, as a means to bloc and hamper developing unity. . ."

And again: "In this way these people are trying to obstruct the movement for unity in the organization."

This is a thoroughly dishonest manner of handling the question. Who are the "some people" and the "these people" who are obstructing unity. The very Zimmerman and the very progressives who have fought for years to defeat the policy of disunity pursued by the C.P. forces. The chief obstacles to unity and cooperation are such books as Hardy's and such dishonest methods as Sol Lipnick's.

"THEY MARCH PROUDLY (ZIMMERMAN AND HIS FOLLOWERS) BY THE SIDE OF DUBINSKY AND THE BOSSES." So says Jack Hardy's book. Does Lipnick repudiate that statement in the interests of that unity of which he talks so much? He does not. All he says is that these "and similar expressions were ill advised". That they are true he insists. As a matter of fact he calls the above quotation an historical fact. But it's not good, he says to write these things now when the C.P. people are talking unity. "The writer", he says, "apparently could not foresee the developments of six or eight months hence." That's all that is wrong with the book!

This new apology for Hardy's dual unionist trash is not going to help. It still states in so many words that Zimmerman and his supporters were allies of the bosses. It still refuses to disown dual unionism of the past. As long as that attitude lasts it is impossible for progressive workers to look upon the C.P.'s antics in any other way except with suspicion and distrust.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By GEORGE F. MILES

A very strange situation has developed in the Painters Union. The melodrama opens with the villain (Zausner) in a very tight spot. He who had ruled the Painters District Council with an iron hand is extremely nervous, his power is shaken and his rule very much in doubt. The arrest of a number of Zausner's men in Brooklyn for taking graft—caught red-handed with the goods—has made the supporters of Zausner uneasy and they look for the exit.

Yes, the impossible has happened. The group of socialists in the painters union have broken with Philip Zausner, by and for whom they swore these many years. I recall just a few months ago when a number of progressives appeared before the Socialist Labor Committee, dominated by the Jewish Daily Forward, and demanded action against Zausner. The committee listened, but was decidedly not sympathetic. You see, Zausner was one of the boys.

Now suddenly, with the years of corruption catching up with him, the socialists broke and the Jewish Daily Forward becomes very critical.

On November 12, the Forward came out with the astounding news that Zausner had made a united front with the Communists. On November 16 Philip Zausner had a statement printed in the same Forward in which he denied in the most categorical terms any united front with the Communists. He pointed to the many years of opposition to the Communists as evidence of the ridiculousness of such a charge. About the same time also the Jewish Daily Freiheit came forward with indignant denials that any bloc with Zausner is in operation.

However, all the indignant denials notwithstanding there are certain things which have remained unexplained and unanswered!

In the Forward of November 16, in answer to Zausner's statement, there appeared the following information with a request that Zausner answer it:

"Is it not a fact, which all painters know, that on Monday November 4, representatives of Zausner conferred with Communists in Hotel Delano? Is it not a fact that another conference with the Communists was held in the home of Laditsky, president of the District Council?"

"Is it not a fact, which all painters know, that there were present in the Hotel Delano the following: From the Communists—Weinstock of Local 848, Lotker of Local 261, Bograd of Local 905, Rady of Local 490 and Shurman of Local 892. From Zausner's representatives: Laditsky, president of the District Council, Pellacio, cashier and Ellstein trustee of the District Council?"

"Is Zausner ready to deny also this?"

Apparently Zausner was not ready to deny it for he has kept very silent in the face of such a direct challenge. What is more, also the Communist press has kept a complete silence after having a number of its leading people listed as having conferred with the most discredited racketeer in the trade union movement in the east.

To make matters still worse the Communist Party press suddenly reports a sharp about face on a number of issues. Where the C.P.-controlled groups fought bitterly against 9 business agents (Zausner's proposal) and proposed 4, they have now agreed to 9 business agents. Their opposition to an increase in dues (also a Zausner proposal) has been reversed to agitation for the proposal. These changes were made after the alleged conference.

What is one to think? Unless the C.P. can come forward to prove that the information carried in the Forward is false, then it stands condemned of strengthening a racketeering politician whose empire has begun to shake; stands guilty in the eyes of every progressive worker of participating in a common front with gangsters and racketeers!

CLASS STRUGGLE POLICIES

The Paterson strike still being on, this is no time to go into a discussion on the merits of the whole situation. But the results of the strike appear to be foreshadowed by the item in the Daily Worker of November 9, 1935, which says:

"The contract drafted by the Strike Committee is so reasonable and modest that it could hardly arouse opposition even from those who have shown the least sympathy for the deplorable conditions of Paterson mill employes."

The original strike demands, lower than the rates being paid in some Paterson mills, was unacceptable to the employers. The new demand must be "modest" indeed if they can "hardly arouse opposition" from the not so soft-hearted mill owners of Paterson!

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