

Workers
of all
Countries,
Unite!

WORKERS' WAGE

For
Communist Unity
in the
Revolutionary
Class Struggle!

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AND FARMERS

VOL. I. No. 3.

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For Communist Unity!

Resolution Adopted At The Unity Mass Meet, January 19, 1932

The resolution below was adopted by the big overflow unity mass meeting held under the auspices of the Communist Party (Majority Group) in Labor Temple on January 19, 1932. The resolution was adopted by an enthusiastic vote of the whole meeting (about 600) against about six negative votes and as many abstentions.

We the Communists and sympathizers, in mass meeting assembled at Labor Temple, on January 19, 1932, approve the steps taken by the Communist Party, U. S. A. (Majority Group) to bring together the Communist Party of the U. S. A. and the expelled Communist groups of the country for the purpose of discussing the basis for the achievement of Communist unity.

We recognize that if the parties invited to participate in the discussion would have availed themselves of the opportunity a step forward would have been made in getting more adequate consideration of the important question of Communist unity.

It is the imperative duty of all Communists and Communist sympathizers to do everything in their power to bring about the unity of the Communist ranks for the following reasons:

1. Because the present situation throughout the capitalist world, and in the United States in particular, makes absolutely necessary the achievement of Communist unity.
2. Because Communist unity today is a prerequisite for working class unity.
3. Because in spite of the most favorable objective conditions, the Communist International and its section have, due to the splits in the Communist movement, failed to organize the masses and to lead them in effective militant struggles against their capitalist oppressors.
4. Because, to a large extent, due to the lack of unity in the Communist movement at a time when we should expect all over the capitalist world the masses to move decidedly to the left—due to the lack of militant revolutionary leadership which only a united Communist movement can give, we witness a marked growth of reaction and Fascism winning increasing support in the ranks of the workers.
5. Because in the United States the capitalists are taking advantage of the economic crisis with its 10,000,000 of unemployed for an unprecedented offensive against the working class and their organizations. Capitalist reaction is sweeping the country, marked by the ruthless suppression of strikes, lynching of Negroes, anti-labor laws especially against the foreign-born, the suppression of the labor press and measures for the illegalizing of the Communist movement.
6. Because capitalist reaction as evidenced by the

anti-Communist conference held in New York City on January 17th, is taking advantage of the Communist division which exists today to attack the Communist Party as was done in Canada.

7. Because the war danger is becoming more and more imminent, imperialist war against the Soviet Union being an immediate danger.

We, therefore, call upon the officials of the Communist Party and of the various Communist groups, to realize the great need for unity, so that they agree to get together for the purpose of working out a basis upon which unity can be achieved.

We call upon all Communists and especially the members of the Communist Party that they raise the question of unity and insist their organizations take definite steps for the achievement of unity.

We endorse the concrete steps for unity laid down by the Communist Party (Majority Group) and consider that their acceptance by the Communist Party and the Communist League of America (Opposition), the Trotsky Group, makes possible the achievement of Communist unity within the Communist Party.

These proposals are:

1. The unconditional readmission with full rights of all comrades expelled for disagreeing with the present course of the Party leadership, readmission on the basis of the fundamental acceptance of principles of Communism (proletarian dictatorship, Soviet power, unconditional support of the U.S.S.R. as a proletarian state and center of the world revolution, etc.)
2. The initiation of a free and thoro discussion in the Party with a guarantee of freedom of expression for all viewpoints.
3. On the basis of this discussion, the calling of a special Party convention at which there shall be the fullest and freest representation of all viewpoints and which shall reexamine the recent course of the Party and shall decide its future policies and whose decision shall be binding upon the entire Party membership.

In view of the fact that the official Communist Party can do so much more to bring about unity, we request the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. to take the leadership in the question of Communist unity by extending an invitation to the expelled Communist groups to elect committees to appear before the Central Committee, or the Political Committee, or any sub-committee chosen by the Central Committee to consider the best possible means for achieving genuine Communist unity.

FOR COMMUNIST UNITY!
MASS MEETING HELD AT THE LABOR TEMPLE, New York City, on January 19th, 1932.

BUILDERS TO CUT WAGES 25%

N. Y. Slash Will Hit Wages In Country; What Will The Unions Do?

NEW YORK CITY.—A huge wage slash of 25%, affecting 115,000 workers in the building trades of this city, will be put thru beginning May 1 by the Building Trades Employers Association in New York City, it was announced on January 27 at the opening sessions of the annual convention of the New York State Association of Builders.

This decision is regarded as of national importance since New York scales are used as a base in fixing the wage rates in other parts of the country.

Members of thirty building trades employers groups will meet on February 3 to work out concrete plans for carrying thru this vicious wage-cutting offensive. The agreements of the bosses with the building trades unions expire April 30.

The building trade unions have not yet announced their attitude towards this insolent attack of the employers. It is clear, however, that the only way these unions will be able to defend the interests of their members, and of all workers, is by making an end to the conservative policies and conservative leadership which have rendered them helpless before the attacks of the employers.

RAILROAD UNION LEADERS SURRENDER TO BIG WAGE-CUT CHICAGO.—The complete capitulation of the railroad union leaders to the offensive of the railroad companies (Continued on page 2)

The Paterson Strike and the Communists A. F. of L. and Paterson

by Ben Gitlow

The Paterson strike of the A. F. of L. amalgamated unions was one of the first strikes of importance against wage-cuts. It could have been developed into one of the mightiest labor struggles against the wage-cut campaign of the bosses. It was confined, however, strictly to Paterson. Why? Because the reactionary officialdom of William Green and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., who were then issuing statements against wage-cuts, did not look favorably upon any extension of the Paterson tactics, a fight against the wage-cutting campaign of the bosses. In my opinion for three main reasons:

1. It would involve a united front movement of all elements in the labor movement, giving the militant revolutionary forces contact with and leadership over the large numbers of trade union masses, thus threatening the security and power of the reactionary leadership in the A. F. of L.
2. The A. F. of L. reactionary leadership, especially Wm. Green, its president, and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., in spite of all their protestations against wage-cuts, were agreed that wage-cuts had to take place, that a fight against wage-cuts was out of the question, the only thing left for the labor unions being to negotiate the percentage of the cuts. We see today with what readiness the officialdom of the railroad unions and the other large unions are accepting wage-cuts.
3. A fight against wage-cuts would involve militant strike action in opposition to the policy of Green and

Company, the policy of no strikes, peace in industry and collaboration with the bosses.

The writer of this article proposed that a committee of the General Strike Committee appear before the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. at its meeting on August 17, 1931, at Atlantic City.

All that the committee got was a luke-warm endorsement of the strike, an interrogation as to the strike leadership, followed up by a statement that the strike had nothing to do with "Communist elements."

No definite appeal to the labor movement was made to back up the strike and support it in every way possible.

Mr. Green promised the committee to send a letter endorsing the strike which could be used in the trade unions of the A. F. of L. for enlisting support but no such letter was ever forthcoming. The Mr. Green was written to, reminded of his promise and asked to forward the letter. Mr. Green, president of the A. F. of L., saw fit not even to acknowledge the receipt of the letter.

The Paterson Strikers Relief Committee of the A. F. of L. amalgamated unions sent a letter to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. asking the Executive Council to endorse the relief and to call upon the trade unions to help the Paterson strikers. So concerned were these reactionary officials with the bitter struggle the textile workers were conducting, that, when these latter sent a letter to the

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War Looms in East as Japanese Attack Shanghai, Nanking, Move To Harbin; U. S. Forces Are Ordered to Rush to China

VICEROY TO PICK ROY EXILE PLACE

Nationalist Girls Sent To Life Imprisonment; Big Arrests Over India

The penal colony to which Manabendra Nath Roy, famous Indian revolutionary and leader of the International Communist Opposition, will be sent to spend the term of twelve years deportation to which he was recently sentenced by a British imperialist court in Calcutta, is to be Magistrate Stevens last month have been sentenced to life imprisonment. The heroic girls heard their sentence without show of emotion and proceeded calmly to prison. The two girls are 16 years old.

CALCUTTA.—Santi Ghose and Suniti Chowdhri, two young Nationalist schoolgirls of Bengal, who shot Magistrate Stevens last month have been sentenced to life imprisonment. The heroic girls heard their sentence without show of emotion and proceeded calmly to prison. The two girls are 16 years old.

BIG DRESS RALLY ON FEB. 4

Strike Vote To Be Taken At Meeting of Dress Makers In N. Y.

New York City A tremendous demonstration of the determination of the dressmakers to fight and fight hard in the coming general strike will take place on February 4 at Mecca Temple at which a strike referendum will be held. The decision to strike has already been made by the executives of the four locals affiliated to the Joint Board of the Dress and Waist Makers Union, of the I.L.G.W.U. and has been greeted with great enthusiasm by the workers. Over 3,000 shops with about 35,000 workers in New York City are involved.

The determination to launch a militant effective strike to improve the absolutely intolerable conditions of the dressmakers was from the first pushed forward by the dress operators Local 22 under a progressive leadership. With the vigorous support of the membership the Local 22 leadership fought against the paralyzing passivity of the Joint Board officials who practically refused to do anything in the way of strike preparations and who were counting upon a pre-arranged "strike" in the well-known class-collaborationist style. So far Local 22 has succeeded in defeating these schemes. The Mecca Temple meeting will be an important demonstration of the dressmakers in favor of a real strike against the employers.

FIGHT AT MEET OF MINERS UNION

INDIANAPOLIS.—Over 1,000 delegates were present at the convention of the United Mine Workers of America that began here on January 28. The control of the convention lay with Lewis by an almost 3 to 1 majority, of course largely fictitious. The center of the opposition was in the Illinois delegation, the largest in the convention.

The main struggle took place as a result of the criticism voiced by Hindmarsh of Illinois of the Lewis policies in the 1927 Pennsylvania and Ohio strike. Lewis met this criticism by getting his strong-arm squad to

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MINERS RALLY TO MOONEY CAUSE

Big Meeting In Anthracite Pledges Support To Free Mooney

Wilkesbarre, Pa. The second conference, called by the Anthracite Free Mooney Committee, took place on Sunday, January 10, at Wilkesbarre, Pa., attended by 120 delegates from 60 unions and workers organizations, representing 30,000 workers in the Anthracite district of Pennsylvania who unanimously called upon the Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee of San Francisco to arrange for a national conference in the near future. This conference, ad-

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Sharp Fighting Before Shanghai; U. S. Sends Asia Fleet And 2,000 Soldiers To China; World War Danger Great; Workers Must Prepare Now

The Japanese have proceeded to Nanking! After a two hour bombardment of Chinese forts, the Japanese landed sailors on the waterfront before Nanking and proceeded to engage the Chinese troops there stationed.

That the U. S. forces in the Far East will be used to put down any rising of the Chinese masses was indicated by Admiral W. V. Pratt. When asked what would be the function of the Asiatic Fleet in Chinese waters, he answered "If a crisis develops and mob rule should break out, we've got to go in and protect our people!"

While the "disarmament conference" is preparing to meet in Geneva to re-enact its time-worn and threadbare farce, a new war has broken out in the Far East which has in it all the possibilities of a new world war! Determined to occupy the position of imperialist hegemony in the Far East, recently vacated by Great Britain, Japan has advanced its offen-

sive in China in the most aggressive manner along two fronts, widely distant from each other: (1) Japanese forces have been pressing on to Harbin and have seized hold of a considerable stretch of the Chinese-Eastern railway, under joint control of China and the Soviet Union. The movement in this direction is an undisguised attack upon the Soviet Union. (2) Suddenly, and without even the hypocrisy of a pretext, Japanese marines were landed outside of Shanghai and Japanese men-of-war began bombarding the native city. Scores of non-combatant Chinese have been killed as a result of this bombardment.

A number of sharp battles have taken place in the course of the Japanese attempt to seize the city in which the casualties were extraordinarily high. The Shanghai attack is indirectly aimed at the United States which is today the most serious imperialist competitor of Japan in the partition of China. Wall Street has immediately responded. A number of sharp diplomatic notes have been sent and the threat of an economic boycott of Japan has been unofficially raised. Under the excuse of "protecting American lives and property", Washington has already ordered more than 2,000 men, including the Thirty-First Regiment of Infantry, and the whole Asiatic Fleet, stationed off Manila, to proceed to Shanghai. A most intense anti-Japanese sentiment is being worked up by the American press and, in general, all of the usual preparations are under way, moral and material, for a war with Japan.

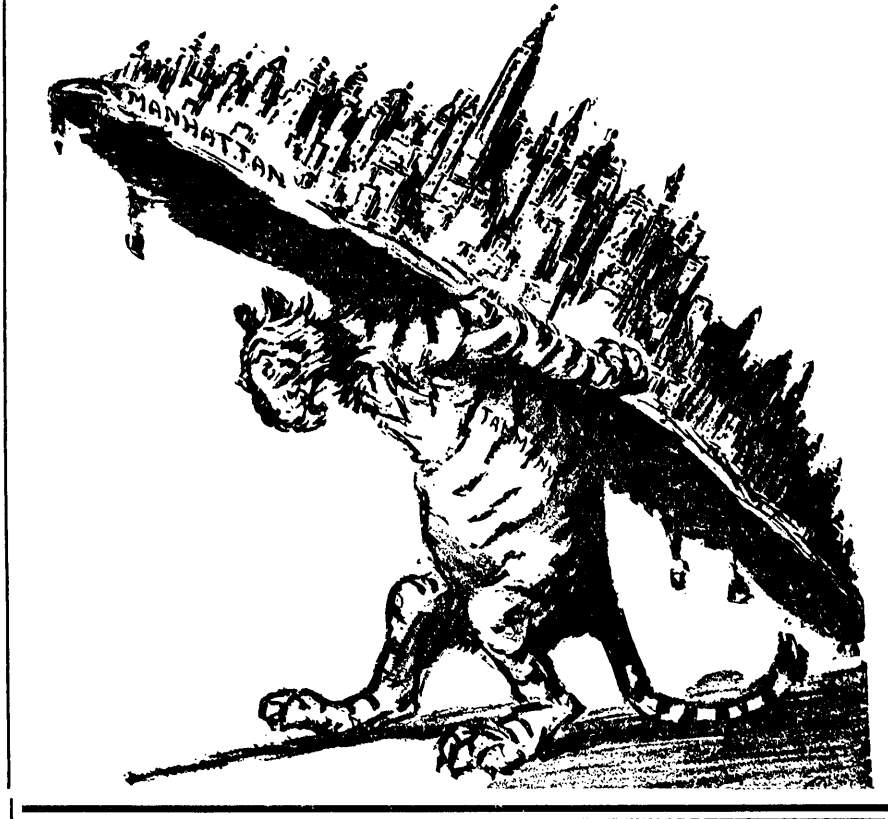
Both Great Britain and Japan have adopted a pretty clear pro-Japanese, anti-American attitude. In spite of this both the British and the French have gone thru the forms of joining in the American protest and have dispatched forces to Shanghai. This move is very obviously for the purpose of getting to the center of events in the Far East and being ready at hand in the partition of China among the imperialist powers.

The center of international relations and contradictions has now shifted to the Far East. A Chinese-Japanese war cannot remain such; it cannot be anything but a world war of all big powers along the axis of the Japanese-American struggle and it may quite well be converted into, or involve, an imperialist offensive against the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile the Nanking government has been reorganized so that American influence is dominantly aggressive again. Chiang Kai-shek is back again in leadership and Sun Fo and Eugene Chen, the two members of the former government who had resigned because the "government" was too passive in the face of Japanese aggression, have also returned

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TREASURE ISLAND—1932



BRUTAL ASSAULT BARES FAKERY OF N.T.W.I.U. "UNITED FRONT" TRICKS

223 Delegates Leave Conference In Protest At Steam-Roller Tactics And Are Attacked; Issue Appeal For Unity Of Workers In One Union

The following statement was issued by the committee of five representing 223 delegates at the shop delegates conference called by the Dressmakers United Front Committee, the cover-organization of the Industrial Union, on Saturday, January 30, 1932. These delegates represented the overwhelming majority of all genuine delegates at the conference.

Recently the Dressmakers United Front Committee called upon all shops in the dress industry, regardless of their union affiliation, to send delegates to a conference for the purpose of discussing how to secure a united, effective strike of dressmakers.

We, as representatives of shops, answered this call and came to the conference thinking that we would get a chance to propose and consider ways and means of organizing one united, militant strike and thus help the dressmakers in their coming struggle against the bosses.

However, at the conference, much to our regret, we found that there prevailed an atmosphere, making a genuine discussion impossible.

The very attempt at serious examination of the situation confronting the dressmakers was strangled. First, three spokesmen had presented the

viewpoint of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union and the United Front Committee. And, when Chas. S. Zimmerman began to state the position of those delegates holding different opinions, organized interruption, participated in by the chairman of the conference and inspired and directed by the officialdom of the N.T.W.I.U. made it impossible for Zimmerman to explain the resolution he introduced.

Finally, the chairman, under Gold's instructions, ordered him to stop talking altogether.

Seeing that no real discussion was ever intended or was to be permitted by those who called the conference, the delegates who agreed with the resolution presented by Zimmerman began to walk out in protest. No sooner than the delegates started to leave than the signal was given from the platform for an organized brutal assault on us with fists, chairs, black-jacks, and pipes. That the slugging was planned and prepared in advance in order to make impossible any honest discussion at the conference, is now obvious from the fact that many of those participating in the hooliganism were not even dressmakers.

We, 223 shop delegates, who afterwards assembled in Stuyvesant Casino, hereby vehemently protest against

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SPANISH STRIKE IS SMASHED

MADRID.—As a result of the sabotage of the Socialist trade union organizations and the direct repression of the monarchist Civil Guard, the general strike that was launched by a united front of the Catalonian Communist Federation, the anarchists and the syndicalist unions, and that gained considerable momentum during the first week, has finally been crushed. With the help of Macia administration in Catalonia, the reactionary republican authorities have practically driven the militant labor movement into illegality. They have not succeeded, however, in smashing the workers organizations which are now recuperating their forces.

IGHT WINGERS PLAN TO SMASH CLOAK JOINT BOARD TO HIT MILITANTS

cheme To Set Up New "Joint Board" Without Locals 1 And 9 To Break Resistance To Class-Collaboration

New York City A serious situation exists today among the cloakmakers as a result of the desperate "rule-or-ruin" tactics of the reactionary Joint Board and international officialdom.

As a result of the big election victory of the progressives in Locals 1 and 9, Nagler, the general manager of the Joint Board, sent in his resignation, that is, his refusal to serve any longer. He based this step on two points: the "lack of harmony" between the locals and the Joint Board and the very bad financial support of the Joint Board by some of the locals.

The Joint Board appointed a sub-committee to consider the non-acceptance and the situation as a whole. This committee came back with a report, the two most important items of which were: the proposal to establish a sort of "truce" during the period of strike preparations and strike, and the proposal to put the Joint Board on a budget system to assure its financial condition. On this basis it was proposed to reelect Nagler as general manager.

With the liquidation of these locals, they calculate, the progressive forces would be paralyzed and the field left open. They also figure that the drive against Locals 1 and 9 would make it easier for them to carry thru their class collaboration policy in the coming general strike of the cloakmakers. That is why the reactionary officials are certain to have the support of the bosses in their new plot against the progressive locals.

The leadership and membership of Locals 1 and 9 are preparing now for a bitter struggle to defeat any scheme to exclude the locals from the Joint Board and to liquidate them. They are determined to build up and strengthen the locals both as defenses of the workers and as powers for progressivism in the union.

The plot to maintain the clique rule of the reactionaries endangers the union as a whole and therefore must meet with the resistance of all the workers.

WHAT SECTARIANISM LEADS TO!

"Loyalites" Bar Marine Defense Aid In Local 2090

But Nagler positively refused. He made complete subjugation to his dictation as a condition for his reacceptance and he demanded that all of the old right-wing officers of the Joint Board be maintained in their positions. His basis for "harmony" is: "Do as I say! Then we'll have harmony!" Because of this situation the first installation meeting had to be broken off. A second meeting was called on January 25. The election of a number of Joint Board officials took place but Nagler again refused to accept as general manager unless the progressive forces agreed to subordinate themselves to his dictatorship. At this meeting it became clear what was at the bottom of the whole business when Nagler a plea was made to elect a committee to consider the question of the "further functioning of the Joint Board." After Langer made the motion, Breslau and Ninfo "explained it" saying: "If we cannot live together, then we will have to be divorced."

The idea of the whole scheme is to destroy the progressive Locals 1 and 9 as forces in the union without having put thru a reorganization. The plan of the reactionaries is to break up the present Joint Board and then set up another Joint Board from which Locals 1 and 9 will be excluded. Thru the direct pressure of the union officials, and indirectly thru the bosses, it is intended to force the members of Local 1 into Local 17, a reactionary local, dual to Local 1, and operating on a non-work basis. The members of Local 9 are to be forced into Local 48, the Italian local which includes finishers. With this very neat plot is connected another. The attempt of the reactionary officials to allow the introduction of piece-work and to make other concessions to the bosses has hitherto been hindered by the progressive locals.

MINERS RALLY TO MOONEY CAUSE

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dressed by Tom Howells, president of the Pottsville Central Labor Union and the Pottsville local of the U.M.W.A., and D. Benjamin, instructor in the New Workers School of New York City, marked a great step forward in the development of the campaign in the Anthracite to free Tom Mooney as compared with the first conference held on June 8, in that the number of delegates and workers organizations represented increased 250% while the numbers of workers involved in the movement increased 600%.

As a result of the splendid work carried on by the executive committee of the Anthracite Free Mooney movement, mass meetings had been held in three important towns of the Anthracite while approximately 25 local unions of the U. M. W. of A. had been visited, resulting in the sending of delegates by over 20 of these locals, including some from sub-districts 7 and 9 of the U.M.W.A., as well as from sub-district 1. This was done in spite of the fact that the executive board of the anthracite district of the U.M.W.A. did not send delegates and in spite of the fact that the I.L.D. refused to join in the united front movement and went so far in its splitting tactics that it called upon all organizations participating in the broad united front Anthracite Free Mooney Conference to withdraw delegates from the same and to send delegates to a separate and small conference called by itself!

Greetings were sent by the conference to Tom Mooney at San Quentin. A resolution was adopted which called attention to the report of the sub-committee of the Wickersham Commission on the Tom Mooney matter and demanded the immediate freedom of Mooney and Billings. Resolutions were also adopted on the frame-up of Jones, Hightower and the other Harlan miners, on the case of the young Negro boys being railroaded to death in Scottsboro, Alabama, and one on the general question of the frame-up and class war prisoners.

A detailed organizational resolution, presented by Frank Trataric for the resolutions committee, was adopted. It calls for a national con-

Expulsions In Lithuanian Organizations In U. S.

The Central Bureau of the Lithuanian Fraction of the Communist Party, after expelling several hundred members from the Party, has extended its drive to a new front.

Enraged by the growing influence and organizational strength of the Lithuanian Communist Opposition, the Central Bureau, working under instructions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, has just initiated an expulsion campaign in the Lithuanian Literary Societies. In a desperate attempt to check the growth of the Lithuanian Communist Opposition, the Central Bureau has expelled six out of thirteen Lithuanian Literary Societies in New York and vicinity. The expelled branches are: Paterson, Maspeth, Cliffside, Huntington, Ridgewood and East New York.

ference, for the holding of more mass meetings and the visiting of more local unions for the distribution of Tom Mooney's pamphlets. Eleven more workers were added to the executive committee of 24, including such well-known leaders and fighters in the Anthracite as Tom Howells and James Daly, among others. The same officers were continued, including Fred Gandrell, chairman, Nick Borich, secretary, and Peter Gallia, treasurer.

YOU MUST COME! YOU MUST HELP!

Attend the ENTERTAINMENT & DANCE for the benefit of the imprisoned Marine Workers. FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 12th at Stuyvesant Casino 2nd Avenue and 9th Street Arranged by Marine Workers Defense Committee (Women's Group)

In the Comintern MINORITY LEADERS OUT OF C.P.G.-O.

Berlin. The inner-group situation in the German Communist Opposition has reached a climax.

At the recent national conference, at which the standpoint of the majority of the Reichsleitung (national leadership) was overwhelmingly endorsed on all questions, the Reichsleitung-minority made a statement which was somewhat equivocal indeed but which obviously meant that the decisions of the conference would not be regarded as binding and that the struggle against the fundamental policies of the group would continue. It should be remembered that the decisions of the national conference were arrived at after six months of the most thorough and free discussion ever seen in the Comintern in recent years.

Immediately after the conference the disorganizational activities of the former minority continued both at the center and in some of the districts. Furthermore, it was discovered and

admitted by the minority that the minority leaders had been holding secret conferences with leaders of the centrist Socialist Workers party both of the right (Seydewitz) wing and of the left wing. These secret conferences, had begun many months ago, long before the National Conference, and had considered, among other things, the question of the passage of the minority to the S. A. P.!

When these facts were discovered, the Reichsleitung invited the comrades involved to appear before it to consider the matters. These comrades came and only reiterated their intention of refusing to recognize the conference decisions and of continuing their private negotiations with the centrist party leaders. Thereupon the Reichsleitung had no other alternative than to declare that these comrades had thereby placed themselves outside of the German Communist Opposition. The comrades involved are: Walcher, Froelich, Enderle, Frank, Thomas, J. Lang, Koehler and Bar.

Already sufficient evidences are clear that the vast majority of the membership of the German Communist Opposition in all districts stand solidly behind the Reichsleitung.

Big Anti-Fascist Rally Is Held In Berlin

Berlin. On Tuesday, December 8, 1931, there took place in Berlin a tremendous public meeting under the auspices of the Berlin organization of the German Communist Opposition. The subject of the meeting was the menace of Fascism and the mobilization of the working class against it. Paul Boettcher was the chief speaker. The Socialist Workers party was represented by Fritz Rueck and the Leninbund (an independent Communist group, formerly Trotskyist in character) by Urbahns. A vigorous resolution calling for united proletarian action against Fascism was carried by the assembly.

A bloc of the Berlin organizations of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition), the Socialist Workers party and the Leninbund has been formed for the struggle against Fascism. Such blocs are now being set up throughout the country in spite of the sabotage and resistance of the S.W.

The Meaning Of The Fight Against "Luxemburgism"

The Workers News is a periodical published in Moscow in the English language. Its pronouncements on Soviet and foreign affairs are merely echoes of the official voice of Pravda and Ivestiya. What it has to say on "The Crisis in Germany" in its issue of December 14, 1931, is therefore of significance to those who want to know the point of view of the leadership of the C.P.S.U. and of the C.I.

For the last few months a vicious campaign has been conducted, the signal for which was given by Stalin himself in the famous "historical letter" against Rosa Luxemburg and the great traditions of the Left Radical wing of the old Social-democracy and of the Spartakusbund. Characteristically this drive is no more than a revival of the campaign against Rosa Luxemburg and "Luxemburgism" conducted under the auspices of the unrepentable Fischer-Maslov leadership not so many years ago. The full sense of this campaign we get from the following words from the Workers News:

... the steadily growing Communist Party of Germany which is reorganizing its forces along Bolshevik lines...

BUILDERS TO CUT 25% OF WORKERS WAGES

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ies was signaled in the agreement signed on January 31 by the joint conference of railroad capital and labor that has been meeting here for several weeks.

Twenty railroad unions, representing 1,500,000 workers, participated. The agreement finally arrived at provides for a 10% wage-cut presumably for one year. The railroad executives had come to the conference absolutely insistent upon a wage-cut; the union leaders, on the other hand, came to the conference ready to compromise and give in. The union members were assured at first that their leaders would consent to a slight wage-cut (3%-5%) only in exchange for a "practical plan of stabilizing employment." It turned out, however, that the 10% cut was granted and all the railroad executives promised is that they would "try to maintain and increase railroad employment."

The agreement is everywhere regarded as an ignominious surrender on the part of the union leaders. It will have its disastrous repercussions not only upon the railroad workers but upon the labor movement as a whole.

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TRY WHITEWASH HAWAII KILLERS

Second Degree Murder Is Charged After Attempt To Quash Case

HONOLULU.—An indictment for murder in the second-degree was made on January 26, against Mrs. Granville Fortescue, Lieut. Massie, two naval enlisted men, the self-confessed lynch-murderers of Joseph Kaha-hawai. From the public statements of Judge A. M. Cristy it is clear that the grand jury, made up of white Americans, were anxious to drop the case against the murderers of the Hawaiian. The effect of such a step upon the population of Hawaii, the judge pointed out, would be extremely serious and so some sort of action was necessary. An indictment for murder in the second degree, when as a matter of fact the murder was perpetrated in cold blood and with deliberation, followed. It is expected that the trial of these imperialist murderers will be no more than a hollow farce.

By a unanimous vote the Kentucky State legislature calling for the immediate release of Massie and his fellow-murderers and the declaration of martial law in Hawaii! It is fitting and proper that the State of "chivalry" and lynching should demand freedom for lynchers. Kentucky, which has just sentenced two labor leaders to life imprisonment, demands freedom for lynchers.

BIG STRUGGLE AT MINERS CONVENTION

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oust Hindmarsh from the convention by main force.

The convention marked another stage in the catastrophic disintegration of the U. M. W. A., once the strongest labor union in the world, under the impact of Lewis's sell-out policies and autocratic regime. But it also marked the bankruptcy of the once-great left wing and progressive movement in the U.M.W.A. as a result of the splitting and dual-unionist policies of the official Communist Party. The development of a strong progressive movement in the U.M.W.A. to strengthen and rebuild the union and turn it into a militant weapon in the hands of the miners, is the great task of the day.

WORLD WAR LOOMS IN FAR EAST

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to power.

But the Nanking government, itself the agency of the corrupt Chinese bourgeoisie and of American imperialism, is in no position to lead the nation in a struggle against the Japanese invasion. Only the revolutionary action of the masses of the people under the leadership of the Chinese working class will be able to put up an effective resistance to Japanese imperialism and to win and guarantee the independence and integrity of China.

New Workers School Forum

228 SECOND AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 8 P. M.
HORACE B. DAVIS
of Pittsburg
Director, Federated Press

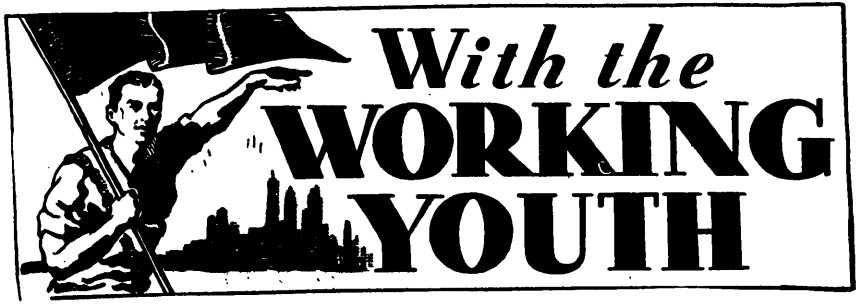
"The Mellon Empire—Its Masters and Slaves."

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 8 P. M.
WILL HERBERG
Managing Editor, "Workers Age"

"The Heritage of the Civil War"

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 8 P. M.
BEN GITLOW
Secretary, Communist Party (Majority Group)

"The Communists and the Crisis"



With the WORKING YOUTH

EDUCATION IN THE SOVIET UNION

Among the many notable achievements of the Five-Year Plan in the Soviet Union, the work done in the field of education has aroused the attention of many American educators. Such leading authorities as Professor Dewey and George Counts, among others, have expressed deep admiration for the rapid progress made in child education in the Soviet Union. The education of the children in the Soviet Union begins much before they are ready for school, for training begins in the day nurseries. There are more day nurseries in the Soviet Union than in all the rest of the world combined. But this is only a small beginning because the rest of the world is so backward in this respect that even the only 7% of the Soviet children under three are in day nurseries. Their number is greater than in all other countries together. The Institute for the Protection of Motherhood and Infancy (Matmalad) will not be satisfied until it takes in 100% of the children of that age.

traditional belief that the mother is the best guardian of her children is still strong amongst the peasantry. But the working class mothers, who make up 60% of the working women, have accepted the nursery as the best means of caring for their children during the day.

The final aim of the Soviet government is to transfer the children from the care of their mothers to the care of experts in child training. Such a state of affairs would permit the mothers to participate fully not only in the industrial but also in the social and cultural development of the new society. The children would be cared for along scientific lines instead of the mistaken and often harmful care given by the untrained mothers. Such a transformation will, of course, require a whole epoch.

The Soviet government sees in its infants the citizens of tomorrow and its object is to train them for a socialist society. In capitalist countries children are trained to be slaves of the capitalist industrial machines. They are only useful if they can be exploited by their capitalist masters. They are only useful if they can be exploited by their capitalist masters. In the Soviet Union, the children are considered as human beings whose life and happiness stands above everything else.

During Czarist days, there were only fourteen nurseries and 240 kindergartens in the whole country and these were not for the use of the workers; one of the first acts of the Soviet government in the chaos and poverty which followed the civil war and famine in Russia, was to organize 914 nurseries and 8,000 kindergartens to shelter the impoverished and orphaned children.

It was that act which laid the cornerstone for the present day nursery, for the feeling of distrust which parents conceived when they learned that one of the tenets of Communism was state homes for children, turned to respect for an institution which undertook the task of feeding children when their parents could not. These war children have grown up and have been absorbed back into their homes, into the schools and economic life of the nation.

(Concluded in the next issue)

STILL TIME TO REGISTER!

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

ANNOUNCEMENT OF NEW COURSES

- All Courses Begin in the Third Week of January
- Three-Month Course \$2.50
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- Fundamentals of Communism
D. BENJAMIN
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- Communist Strategy and Tactics
HERBERT ZAM
Mondays—8:30 to 10 P. M.
-
- Historical Materialism
BERT WOLFE
Mondays—8:30 to 10 P. M.
-
- Problems and Perspectives of Socialist Construction
WILL HERBERG
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The Home of Pure and Wholesome Food

The United Front

WHAT IT IS AND WHAT IT STANDS FOR

Ben Gitlow
will speak on this subject
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1 P. M.
Astoria Hall, 62 East 4th Street

Admission Free Auspices: Progressive Leagues of Locals 1 and 22, I.L.G.W.U.

The Party Policy in Negro Work

The Self-Determination Slogan

by Herbert Zam

There can be no doubt that the Negro workers and farmers, are suffering more from the economic crisis than any other section of the population.

ing the white and Negro workers... If other groups are formed, the same applies to them. Groups formed to support the Liberator should "aid the Party in rallying the workers, white and colored."

the masses, and bring these masses to the Party by the correct application of united front tactics, by proper work in these organizations, by doing everything possible to win the best elements, if not the organizations as a whole to Communism.

Science And Religion Under Capitalism

GOD IN THE TEST-TUBE

by Bertram D. Wolfe

(Continued from the last issue)

The Case of Albert Einstein A word should be said here about the special case of Albert Einstein. He alone of the many contributors is virtually devoid of theological refuse.

created personalities (why not parasitic because they created parasites), divine measuring rods, quantum-Gods and relativity-Gods, Gods of cosmic power and cosmic law and order, Gods who are "more dependable" because they obey the law, Gods that reward and punish, Gods that work if you try them out and Gods in whom it pays to believe, electronic Gods, Gods at the hind end of telescopes, Gods at the bottom of test tubes, cosmic energy-Gods, theorem-Gods, fugue-Gods, poem-Gods, sunset-Gods, and the whole Walpurgis-night rout of surviving personalities, table-rappers, furniture-movers, magic makers, bell-ringers, hobgoblins and ghosts.

The Rift in the Socialist Party

There is developing a serious rift in the Socialist party between the Hillquit forces and Thomas forces. There are no great issues of principle involved in the conflict.

There is developing a serious rift in the Socialist party between the Hillquit forces and Thomas forces. There are no great issues of principle involved in the conflict.

Culture In The Soviet Union

THE LIQUIDATION OF ILLITERACY

by N. K. Krupskaya

Nadezhda Constantinovna Krupskaya addressed a large audience of American and English workers and specialists at the Dzerzhinsky Club on December 5. The lecture was devoted to the question of education in the U. S. S. R. and dealt particularly with the liquidation of illiteracy.

At the present time—stated Krupskaya—fifteen years after the victory of the October revolution, we have liquidated illiteracy in the Russian Socialist Republic.

The work was exceedingly difficult. However, in the year of 1924-25 one million were taught to read and write, and since that time, in 1928, '29, and '30, almost every year five million adults liquidated their illiteracy.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS INTERRACIAL FORUM

HOWLAND STUDIO 1660 Fulton St., Brooklyn, N. Y. SUNDAY, FEB. 7, 1932, 4 P. M. Jay Lovestone The Negro and the Labor Movement

The Paterson Strike and the Communists

A. F. of L. and Paterson Strike

by Ben Gitlow

(Continued from Page 1) Executive Council to help them line up the trade unions to fight off starvation so that they could fight the bosses, these smug officials of the Executive Council did not even have the common decency to write a letter and affix a two cent postage stamp.

How about the officials of the United Textile Workers of America? It was a strike of their organization. They adopted a policy of standing by, at the same time fixing their fences to get a secure grip on the Paterson organization after the strike.

strike fell a prey to the disruptive activities of the National Textile Workers Union and the incompetence and defeatist policies of the U.T.W. officials in charge. The course taken to end the Allentown strike, sending the workers back defeated, with no union organization and the acceptance of the most flagrant discrimination against active union men and strikers was made at the height of the Paterson strike and was a very bad blow to it.

The calling of the Paterson strike was the result of an amalgamation of the U. T. W. silk workers locals in Paterson and the independent union of silk workers, the Associated Silk Workers of America. The amalgamation was carried thru upon the express understanding and written agreement that the amalgamation was not to be confined locally to Paterson but should be considered a step in the constitution of a national silk workers federation of the U. T. W. with autonomy over the silk industry, making possible united action on a national scale on behalf of the silk industry. It was provided that there should also take place a national or-

ganization campaign for the national silk workers federation. It was understood that this would take place immediately, that during the course of the strike the organization would be constituted and the organization campaign started.

However, this was not done. McMahon, president of the U. T. W., formed an amalgamation committee of the old officials of the Associated and the U. T. W. locals, outside of the General Strike Committee and independent of it, protracted the organization of the national federation so that up until today the national federation has not yet been constituted and the organization campaign of the silk workers has not been started.

The reason for this delay is that McMahon wants a situation where he can organize a silk workers federation of the existing officials of the few unions in existence, that will not develop militant strike policies and give rise to a militant progressive leadership.

The Communist Party (Majority Group) proposed early in the strike that the amalgamation should be on a national scale and take place during the strike, that it should be tied up with an aggressive organization campaign, that it should be used to tie up the Allentown strike with the Paterson strike, that the amalgamation conference should be held in Paterson and should be a rank and file mass conference from as many shop representatives as possible.

This was not done. The actions of the A. F. of L. officialdom were very costly to unionism in Paterson and the silk industry as a whole. The actions of Green and Company prevented a mighty campaign against wage-cuts developing out of the Paterson strike.

What is the answer? Build new dual unions? It is the path to isolation and death. The thing to do is to build up a progressive, militant rank and file force in the A. F. of L. Had we such a force in the unions during the Paterson strike, then the Paterson strike would have been of tremendous national importance and significance. One thing is certain, the reactionary officialdom would not have been able to ignore and to pursue their treacherous policies of stabilizing labor in the back without stubborn and effective resistance on the part of the trade unionists.

mands for the future agreement.

- 1. 40-hour 5-day week; 2. Equal division of work thruout the year, 3. 6 hours a day and 5 days a week during slow period; 4. 25% increase on the minimum wage scale; 5. Unemployment insurance to be paid by the manufacturers and distributed by a committee of four workers elected by their respective locals; 6. Regulation of overtime in season; 7. Overtime to be paid at the rate of time-and-a-half; 8. Complete abolition of finishing contracting; 10. No contracting; 11. Manufacturers be permitted to give out of work to contractors only if their own shops are working full capacity. Contracting work may be given out to such contractors who perform all operations on the garment, such as cutting, operating, nailing and finishing. All such contractors should be registered with the union; 12. Full pay for legal holidays; 13. No worker be discharged for union activity.

We maintain that an agreement is no more than a scrap of paper if the union does not expect to enforce it. In order to make possible the enforcement of the agreement the workers must have confidence in their union. In order to restore the confidence of the workers in the union, the following steps are necessary:

- 1. An aggressive campaign against all manufacturers violating the agreement; 2. An immediate campaign to raise the wages of the fur workers; 3. No overtime and no special privileges be permitted during the slow period; 4. No expulsion for political opinions or affiliations. The union must recognize that the expulsion of 1927 was a costly mistake that has ruined the union; 5. Local and membership meetings to be called as often as possible. Local meetings to be held at least once a month; 6. Free speech to be guaranteed to the members regardless of their political convictions or affiliations; 7. The organization work to be conducted by a rank-and-file committee; 8. Against clique control and for a genuine rank-and-file leadership; 9. Wages of an officer of a union shall not exceed the average wage worker earns in the shop.

To achieve the maximum results in bringing back conditions to the fur workers, the ranks of the fur workers must again be united. Another attempt shall therefore be made to call a conference of all tendencies and groups amongst the fur workers where a general program for unity should be worked out. The question of the final affiliation of the fur workers, united to one union should be determined by vote of the fur workers themselves.

The first act of the Senate in this "anno depressionis 1931 A. D." is to pass a bill for the conservation of wild life—plants, animal and fish. The protection measure does not apply to men who roam the jungles and gospel slop houses in search of food. The Senate would think of degrading men to the level of plants, animals or fish. That would be a dole!

The Source of the Failure

At the root of the failure lies the ultra-left outlook and ultra-left program, at the head of which stands the ridiculous slogan of "self-determination". In spite of all the energy which has gone into the attempt to popularize this slogan, it has failed utterly to take root, not only among broad masses of Negroes but even among the Negro Communists. Not a single important Negro organization has adopted it, not a single important Negro has championed it outside of the ranks of the Communists. If the situation among the Negroes were such as to require such a slogan, surely we would expect the petty bourgeois Negro organizations and leaders to be rather quick in making it their own, as is the case with all national minority movements. But just as the Party and its Comintern refused to take into account the failure of the seventy years of Negro development since the Civil War to produce either the slogan or a movement for self-determination when adopting this slogan, so they refuse to acknowledge the failure of the slogan to take root and therefore the necessity for its abandonment. On the contrary, the Party leadership already sees indications of Negro revolts for "national liberation". In the resolution of the Central Committee we find that the "increase in the national oppression of the Negroes and the steady worsening of their conditions, is already raising as an early perspective the development of mass liberation struggles of the Negro toilers, especially in the South." Of course, the contradiction here can be overlooked. The self determination slogan is supposed to apply to the South only and here we find the national liberation struggles "developing" also in other parts of the country.

How To Forget The Slogan?

It is true that the Central Committee would probably like to forget this slogan, but how to do it gracefully? In the same resolution, when the concrete tasks are listed, we find first a correct list of demands and issues ending with the demand for equal rights, and then, in parenthesis, obviously as an afterthought and to be "koshed", self-determination in the South is added. (The actual demand reads: "State unity of the Black Belt and the right of self-determination." Is this "state unity" to be introduced before the achievement of "self-determination"? If so, it is obviously a contradiction. If it is synonymous with self-determination, it is not only unnecessary but confusing.)

The Party Negro Organization

The same narrow outlook characterizes the decisions regarding the forms and functions of the Negro organizations (L.S.N.R. Liberator, etc.) What is the resolution interested in? The development of these organizations on the broadest possible basis? Nothing of the sort! The resolutions occupies itself mainly with working out limitations for these organizations. The worn-out, sectarian bogey of "competing with the Party" is revived and belabored. To see this as a danger at a time when the organizations are barely born is, of course, nothing but the worst sort of sectarianism. Consequently, these organizations are limited to the role of "assisting the Party" in one form or another. Is the L.S.N.R. to be developed into a broad mass organization leading the Negroes in the struggle for their rights, as the name implies, making a broader appeal than that of the Party directly? Nothing of the kind, says the resolution. "In the struggle for Negro rights the L.S.N.R. must become an auxiliary mass organization . . . having the task of aiding the Party in rally-

A Ghost That Knows His Einstein

Einstein has thus prepared a nest for religious cuckoos to lay their eggs in. And they lay eggs aplenty, before the nest is even hatched. On fathers on Einstein a relativistic God, J. Malcolm Bird, "psychic research expert", tells a learned laboratory tale about a medium who was addressed by a spirit, mistook it for her father when it was her father-in-law, learned that in life the ghost had had a little goatee, learned that she had been seen by the spirit the night before washing lingerie in her bathroom (how could the spirit possibly find that out?)! And finally J. Malcolm Bird discovers that "the communicator (i.e. the ghost) was alive at the time"!!! Does that phase J. Malcolm? Not a bit! Has he not studied Einstein? "The relativistic philosophy presents time in a new light and pictures the future as having a real existence in some part co-extensive with the present." So, of course a man's ghost can be in the spirit world before the man is dead. And in place of the medium being exposed as a cheap fakir, she is revealed as a modern scientific marvel, communicating with relativistic ghosts who know that they can be the ghosts of dead men long before the men die, for has not Einstein made the future present? No doubt, in the spirit world there are only twelve ghosts that really know their Einstein. But twelve really active ghosts are enough!

A Shameful Capitulation

The most alarming thing about this symposium is not the gibberish about near-sighted Gods to whom man was an afterthought, mathematician-Gods, Gods that are personal since they

The Reconstruction Corporation

Act's failure to stimulate sentiment, the unexpected protracted railway wage-cut negotiations, the resumption of the trend towards heavy gold losses, and the unfavorable dividend actions by the U. S. Steel Corporation and the Bethlehem Company have given a sour ending to the first month of the new year and have lent further blackness and dismay to the outlook for Spring. The U. S. Steel Corporation reported the smallest monthly, quarterly and annual earnings in its history. The decline of auto production by 8% at a time when constant rise is common has proved a hard blow especially to the steel industry. Commodity price trends con-

The Economic Week

THE stock market declines this week have wiped out most of the January gains. Stocks trading is now lowest in six months. Steel production continues to stay at a very low ebb despite the slight increase in operations this month. The Reconstruction Corporation Act's failure to stimulate sentiment, the unexpected protracted railway wage-cut negotiations, the resumption of the trend towards heavy gold losses, and the unfavorable dividend actions by the U. S. Steel

The Furriers Program of Struggle

The resolution below was introduced by M. Baraz, for the Furriers Progressive League, at the recent New York membership meeting of the International Fur Workers Union (see report in Workers Age, January 23, 1932). It clearly formulates the program of action of the left wing in the I. F. W. U.

The Economic Week

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Saturday, February 6, 1932.

THE NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

ON February 1, the new term of the New Workers School began at the school headquarters, 228 Second Avenue. This is the first time since the school was established that it has been able to hold two terms in the same season and it indicates that the New Workers School has established itself in this city as an important instrument in the task of training workers for the class struggle. Of course, the New Workers School is still a small institution. But the 350 students of last term represent permanent gains for the revolutionary movement and a nucleus for continuous growth.

Both in the study classes, in the popular lectures and in the forum, the New Workers School has aimed to present fundamentals as well as current problems. Such courses as "Fundamentals of Communism," "Communist Strategy and Tactics," "Marxism-Leninism" and "Marxian Philosophy" give serious workers a complete view of the Communist movement, its tasks, its problems and its strategy. It enables the workers to understand events in the world today, the problems of the workers and of the labor movement. More important, it fits the worker for more conscious, more efficient and more energetic activity on behalf of his class.

Thru the popular lectures by Jay Lovestone, the New Workers School has been able to present Marxian interpretations of current problems; they have enabled workers really to look beneath the surface and SEE the rottenness and basic contradictions of the capitalist system of which the present crisis, unemployment, starvation and war are the expressions. They have exposed the fallacies of endeavoring to extricate humanity from the crisis by capitalist methods and the necessity for advancing to revolutionary action.

That the New Workers School is alive to current needs and interests is evidenced by the course in "Problems and Perspectives of Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union," the first such course to be given in any revolutionary institution. This course will take up in detail the analysis of the first and second Five-Year plans, the basis for socialization and collectivization, the question of the building of socialism in one country, the relations between socialist and capitalist economy, and other questions in which every intelligent worker is today interested.

The New Workers School Forum has served as a means of presenting points of view from various sections in the labor movement and from different organizations. By this means, and thru the free energetic discussions from the audience, the forum has served to clarify views and to win workers to the revolutionary movement thru discussion and conviction and not thru confusion and intimidation.

The above bare sketch will indicate to the reader the general character of the New Workers School. The motto of the school, "Training for the Class Struggle," is being fulfilled in its daily work thru the training of its students as well as thru the work and activity of the school itself. It needs and deserves the support of every intelligent worker in New York.

While most of the courses will have begun when this paper reaches the readers, it is not yet too late to register for a course. For those who wish to make a systematic and fundamental study of Communism, we recommend that they immediately enroll in the course in "Fundamentals of Communism". For those who have already made such a study, there are more advanced courses. On Sunday evenings there will be Open Forums and on Tuesday evenings Jay Lovestone's popular lectures. Get in touch with the School Office at once, at 228 Second Avenue and enroll in the courses you need.

THE DRESSMAKERS STRIKE IN NEW YORK

PRESENT indications point to the increasing likelihood of a big strike of dressmakers in New York City very soon. It is likely that at least 35,000 workers will be involved in this struggle.

A strike of the dressmakers today assumes extraordinary significance. The sweat-shop has returned to the garment industry in its vilest forms. The conditions which the workers have won thru years of bitter struggle have been stolen from them. The bosses are determined to make even worse the present unbearable conditions in which the dressmakers find themselves.

There are a number of reasons for this situation. The organized ranks of the workers have been paralyzed in so far as militant struggle is concerned by the reactionary policies of the bureaucracy dominating the I.L.G.W.U. Besides this, the dissension, division and disruption now fostered in the ranks of the dressmakers under cover of ultra-left, high-sounding revolutionary phrases by the N.T.W.I.U. officialdom and its sundry and miscellaneous auxiliaries, have done incalculable harm. This damage has been especially costly because of the increasingly favorable opportunities for militant resistance by the workers. Typical of the reckless and destructive activities of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union is the unparalleled campaign of abuse leveled especially against Chas. Z. Zimmerman and the comrades associated with him, who have been the driving force in the unification of the ranks of the needle trades workers in the restoration of the influence of the genuine left wing forces as against the conservative bureaucracy of the International and the fraudulent adventurist maneuvers parading under cover of the very "left" phrases. However, there is also a positive and constructive development more recent in character which shows real signs of hope for the workers and a sound way out.

The United Progressive League, the genuine constructive left movement in the I. L. G. W. U., working closely in a united front with the progressive forces, has been able to arouse new confidence, new spirit, vigorous militancy among the workers. There is new life in the union and some of the biggest locals of the I. L. G. W. U. in New York are now pulsating with vigor comparable only to the vitality shown by these organizations at the height of the left wing movement, five, six years ago.

The reactionary as well as the adventurist sectarian forces have been decisively repudiated by the membership. The ranks of the workers have thus become more united than in years and there is every likelihood that there will be presented against the bosses and anyone who may stand in the way of a militant struggle against the employers a firm solid unbreakable front of dressmakers fighting for decent working and living conditions.

A real militant strike in the dress industry, a united strike, can come only thru all the workers being in one union. Great progress has been made in this direction in recent months so that today the I. L. G. W. U. has the overwhelming majority of the organized workers. Such a united strike waged militantly will not only serve to beat back the encroachments of the bosses, to wipe out the sweat-shop system and to win back decent conditions for the workers, but will also have incalculable significance for the whole labor movement.

Capitalist "Planning" and Socialist Planned Economy

Planned Economy in the USSR

by Jay Lovestone

Our examination of the sundry schemes for capitalist "equilibrium" and "prosperity" has disclosed that the problem of socialist construction is today the decisive historical question before the world. That this is an international problem, a British, Chinese, French, German and American question, besides being a Russian problem, is obvious. For instance, even the well-known anti-Soviet American journalist, Eve Garrett Grady, recently wrote: (*American Magazine*, November 1931):

"When I came home from Russia last Spring, after a year's residence there, I found that overnight America had become Russia-conscious. Talk of the Five-Year Plan, Soviet export policies and the human experiment of Communism was on every tongue. The discussion of Russia had come to rival prohibition as the most controversial topic of the day."

The liberals and "Socialists," overawed by the unparalleled crisis of capitalism and the simultaneous giant strides of socialist construction are feverishly at work concocting schemes to bring back capitalism to a bigger and better capitalism, as it were. Only to the extent that they vainly try to graft on to the capitalist mechanism some feature of planned socialist economy now being developed in the Soviet Union, are these would-be life-savers of the decaying capitalist system being taken seriously at all by the best minds of the bourgeoisie. For instance, Professor H. Parker Willis, formerly secretary of the Federal Reserve Board, and probably the greatest capitalist authority in the United States on banking, emphasized the other day:

"Now there is no special reason to love the capitalist system any more than there was to adhere to the feudal system by which it was, at some intervals, replaced. The question of leaving it or modifying it or giving it up is a question of the future, but that is the present generation of 'social' reformers to suggest in place of it? Usually nothing except some vague generalizations about what is being done in Russia." (Our emphasis).

What Is Genuine, Planned Economy?

There has been a lot of loose talk and writing about planned economy. In discussing this question, theoretically as well as practically, we must brush aside the historically insignificant matters and details, regardless of how important these might be in themselves, and must look scientifically into the background of the problem and arrive at some concrete definitions. Otherwise, we will be unable to avoid the capitalist morass into which Stuart Chase, Herbert Swope, Norman Thomas, and others of their type have already engineered themselves.

Let no one think that the concept of planned economy is something new to socialism—something recently discovered or invented by Stalin, Bukharin, Rykov, Molotov, or any other member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Planned economy always has been and remains an inherent feature of the socialist system, of socialist construction as distinguished from capitalism. Friedrich Engels, in his *Principles of Communism*, long ago thus succinctly put the problem before the workers of the world:

"Either large-scale industry must be abolished, which is quite out of the question, or it needs a totally different social order, wherein the means of production would no longer tolerate individual factory owners competing one against the other, wherein the means of production as an affair run by the whole of society according to the needs of all the members of society. This is the only industry will be run according to a concerted plan and that every member of society will take a share in industrial life."

The Five-Year Plan is the most systematic, highest and most concentrated form of planned economy hitherto applied in the Soviet Union, it is not the first step but only the next logical move after the various measures in planned economy taken by the U. S. S. R. before this plan was inaugurated. Typical of the beginnings of planned economy and substantial progress in economic construction in the Soviet Union even before the Five-Year Plan are Lenin's Plan for Electrification, the establishment of the Gosplan in 1921, the first draft of a Five-Year Plan in 1923, and the establishment of the system of "control figures" in 1925-26. In all of these steps the course and achievements of socialist economy have been along the following lines of scientific socialism laid down by Engels:

"Once liberated from the yoke of private ownership, large-scale industry will develop on a new scale that will dwarf the present machine industry as conspicuously as that has dwarfed the manufacturing system of earlier days. This huge growth of industry will provide a quantity of products sufficient to gratify all the needs of society. Similarly with agricultural production, hitherto cramped and hindered by the weight of private ownership and the excessive subdivision of farming land. Scientific methods and improvements of all sorts will soon create a flourishing agricultural industry, and society's needs will be amply provided for. It follows from this that the contrast between town and country-side will likewise disappear. The fact that agriculture and industrial production will be carried on by the same individuals, instead of by two different classes of society, lies at the very foundation of communist association and is an essential feature of such association." (*Principles of Communism*).

When we will examine the specific achievements of socialist construction already recorded by the Five-Year Plan, we will see the correctness of Engels analysis of the basic

features of planned economy. The continuity and oneness of socialist theory and practice, in regard to the problem of planned economy, from the days of Marx and Engels to the present, is evident from the following resolution adopted by the First Congress of the Presidium of the U. S. S. R. Gosplan and the Gosplans of the Federal Republics about ten years ago.

In our struggle for planned economy we aim, first, at such a structure of the national economy as, owing to inner harmony among its parts, to scientifically established methods of production and distribution, and to a correct coordination with objective material resources and the existing labor power, will result in a maximum production at a minimum cost and in a minimum working time; second, at the creation of the complete state system such as will assure regular working of the whole mechanism without crises and interruptions; and, third, at the establishment of a conscious plan for the entire community which will be a conscious participant in socialized production and will clearly understand the methods by which and the extent to which it is possible to subordinate nature to its needs."

How does the system of planning, work in the Soviet Union? What are the mechanics of socialist planned economy? The State Planning Commission is not a congregation of a number of economists, of Communist specialists sitting in their chairs in Moscow and sucking out of their thumbs plans for factories, power houses, mines and general economic development. The planning machinery of the Soviet Union is a gigantic all-inclusive system centering at Moscow and reaching the most remote sections of the country and involving and directing the most retarded as

well as the most advanced cultures in the U. S. S. R.

The All-Union Planning Commission operates from Moscow. Working under its direction are planning commissions in each of the seven constituent republics comprising the U. S. S. R. There is likewise, and in the same relation, to the Central Planning Commission, a planning commission in each of the important thirty autonomous Soviet republics and areas of the Federation. Then, there is a planning commission in each of the great oblasts (sort of provinces or states) into which a republic is divided. There is to be found a planning commission in the smaller politico-economic divisions. Planning bodies are also associated with the more important divisions or departments of the government cultural organizations and various industries.

It is true the system of planned economy is still in its initial stages of formulation and application. Yet, the U.S.S.R., tho it inherited only a backward Czarist industrial machine ravaged by imperialist and civil war, has already shown its capacity to carry thru a policy of planned, of social economy in coordinating the current work of state enterprises in all their branches in achieving great tempo of rationalization and heavy industrialization, in realizing rapid collectivization of agriculture, in the undertaking of pioneer work in backward regions." And all of this under unfavorable and complicated international conditions!

(Concluded in the next issue)

FOR A REAL DISCUSSION OF POLICY!

Zimmerman Answers "United Front Committee"

We publish below the letter of Chas. S. Zimmerman to the "Dressmakers United Front Committee" in reply to the so-called "challenge" to a debate.

January 25, 1932.

J. MIGDOL,
Chairman, Dressmakers
United Front Committee,
Dear Brother Migdol:
On Saturday, January 23rd, I received a letter from you in the name of the Dressmakers United Front Committee, making ridiculous accusations and pretending to challenge me to a debate.

At the same time that I received this letter, I noticed in the *Freiheit* appearing the same Saturday afternoon, January 23rd, an alleged answer from me to your communication. I could not understand how it is that the *Freiheit* could carry an answer from me to your letter when I had just received your letter. Under these circumstances it is clear that the same people who wrote your letter to me also wrote my alleged answer to you.

Judging by the contents of your letter and the great haste with which the *Freiheit* answered it for me, it is clear that the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union officialdom and its latest so-called united front committee, the Dressmakers United Front Committee, are still afraid of an honest discussion of the real issues before the dressmakers—especially, on how to bring about unity of the dressmakers. Thru this letter you are merely making another petty maneuver to confuse the dressmakers and thus avoid a genuine discussion of the actual issues.

This letter of yours pretends to propose a debate between Ben Gold and myself on the question of the united front. We have always been ready and are prepared today to engage in a genuine discussion of the urgent problem of unity of the dressmakers. But, what do you propose in your letter? Under cover of so-called impartiality you proceed to repeat parrot-like the lies and slanders of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union officialdom and the *Freiheit* which neither you nor any honest worker does or can believe. By making such ridiculous charges that I am an agent of the bosses, the bankers, the capitalist politicians, Dudley Field Malone, etc., you are simply trying to cover up your bankruptcy and to blur the real issues before the dressmakers.

You speak of the divisions in the ranks of the dressmakers. Have you forgotten that over a year ago you raised this question of unity of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union? Then your only answer to our plea for unity was boing and mere vification. Apparently, thru our continuous propaganda and activity for one union in the industry, we have finally forced you to recognize that the dressmakers want unity and mean to get it. But instead of meeting this issue squarely, instead of discussing it honestly and attempting to find the best possible way to bring about unity you are continually engaging in clumsy unity maneuvers. Thus you are only prolonging the divisions and standing in the way of unity. In fact, it is because we are systematically unmasking these maneuvers of yours and are actually doing our utmost to unite the dressmak-

ers for a militant struggle that you are so vicious and have lost your head in your attacks against us.

Everyone recognizes the deplorable conditions of the dressmakers. All workers recognize the need for a militant struggle against the bosses. All dressmakers know the need of having one union in the field as the best means to facilitate a victorious struggle against the bosses. We are working energetically to bring about such a situation.

We say to you: Stop your cheap maneuvers. Stop your splitting activities. Stop your mud-slinging. The situation is serious. You must stop playing with the welfare and lives of the dressmakers. An honest discussion will help to clarify the issue of unity and hasten the realization of one union in the industry. Contrary to what the *Freiheit* has stated, I am ready to accept and am prepared to discuss this issue with Ben Gold.

I propose to defend our position that the best and only way to unite the ranks of the dressmakers and really achieve one union in the industry is by the members and sympathizers of the Needle Trade Workers Industrial Union joining the International Ladies Garment Workers Union which today has the majority of the organized workers and in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union uniting with us and all progressive and left forces on a constructive program, win the workers, and build up a powerful union which will be able to fight militantly in behalf of the interests of the workers.

I propose that if you are prepared to go into a frank unity discussion, not merely to continue your game of throwing sand into the eyes of the workers, that then we arrange such a debate between Ben Gold and myself under the joint auspices of the Dressmakers Progressive League and either the Dressmakers United Front Committee or any other sub-division of the Needle Trade Workers Industrial Union, no matter what its present name may be.

Fraternally yours,
Chas. S. Zimmerman.

ATTACK BARES TRICKS OF N.T.W.I.U.

(Continued from Page 1)
such damnable methods of settling differences in the ranks of the workers. We condemn this bloody attack made on the dressmakers delegates and declare that this attack exposes beyond a shadow of doubt the whole fraud of all the petty and dishonest "unity" maneuvers of the Industrial Union and its United Front Committee. To all honest workers, this outrageous attack lends the final and decisive proof of exposing the United Front Committee and its parent organization, the Industrial Union, as absolutely uninterested in and even hostile to real unity of the dressmakers on the eve of the dress strike. The Dressmakers United Front Committee, now stands clearly exposed as only an auxiliary of the N.T.W.I.U., which itself has been reduced to a mere shadow.

We, the 223 shop delegates, hereby declare to all the workers that slugging tactics and brutal assaults to which desperate bureaucrats have always resorted, will never and can never bring about unity. We firmly reiterate our position that the only



THE MODERN QUARTERLY, Vol. VI, No. 1, Winter 1932. Edited by V. F. Calverton and S. D. Schmalhausen. New York City.

After a long delay the new issue of the *Modern Quarterly* has finally made its appearance—and it is well worth waiting for. On the whole, in orientation, content and format, it is one of the best numbers (perhaps the best!) of this periodical in the several years of its existence.

The two most interesting features of the Winter number are surely the "controversy" between Henry Hazlitt and V. F. Calverton on the subject of "Art and Social Change" and the article by Professor Sidney Hook on "From Hegel to Marx". The literary controversy, which seems to have grown out of Hazlitt's objections to Mike Gold's critical remarks on Thornton Wilder, suffers from one serious defect—it is no controversy at all. Hazlitt's case is had enough but his presentation of it is so weak, so confused, and so unconvincing that Calverton practically has to restate his case for him and strengthen it so as to make it worthwhile battering down! Calverton's essay, on the other hand, is really a first class piece of work. It is a transparently clear and forceful presentation of the "logical" approach in literary criticism of the Marxist method as elaborated by Plekhanoff and Mehring. It traces Hazlitt's critical outlook to its social roots as "an expression of the leisure class philosophy of this upper middle class" (the coupon-clipping parasitical strata of the bourgeoisie). It then proceeds to a positive, even though necessarily sketchy examination of some of the basic theses of the Marxist viewpoint. We naturally cannot examine these in detail here; but we must call attention to Calverton's analysis of the relations between the "execution" and what might be called the "social-ideological content" of a piece of literature and to his remarks hidden in a footnote, on the problem of form in its historical aspects.

Hook's article on the relations between Hegel and Marx follows in the line of development of the specific Hookian revision of Marxism—a sort of "synthesis" of Marxism and latter-day instrumentalism. Whatever Hook writes on philosophy is well worth reading and the representatives of orthodox Marxism in America will have to settle philosophical accounts with the "Marxism" of Sidney Hook before long. The present article is interesting and would be useful were it not for a fundamentally false formulation of the relation between philosophy and "positive" science—a false formulation based upon grossly misinterpreted quotation from Engel's "Anti Duetring".

Lewis Corey examines "National Economic Planning and the Liberals" and comes to the absolutely correct conclusion that: "The 'progressive' proposals of the new middle class such as national economic planning (under capitalism)—X. Y. Z., are potentially Fascist; under the impact of favoring events this class provides the battalions of the Fascist dictatorship."

A very significant article by Briffault, the noted anthropologist, on "A Civilization of Lies," an analysis of the political development of Kautsky ("The Judas of the Second International") by S. E. Garner, a sketch of George Sorel by Gorham Munson, a study of Russian music by C. E. Gehring ("The Arrival of the Slaves"), complete the most important parts of this number. The "Literary Caravan," the book review section, is unfortunately inferior; it is certainly not animated with the spirit of sociological criticism as outlined by Calverton earlier in the magazine.

X. Y. Z.

way to have a united strike is to have one union in the trade.

We call upon all workers in the trade to beware of all cheap tricks and petty maneuvers and attempts to create all sorts of new organizations which only bring new divisions and new splits in the ranks of the workers. What we need is one powerful union, instead of numerous organizations.

We, therefore call upon all workers in the trade to join the I.L.G.W.U. already containing the decisive majority of the organized dressmakers, and there close the ranks and actively work for a fight against the bosses as well as against anyone standing in the way of a militant struggle for the improvement of the conditions of the dressmakers.

The Committee of 5, Elected by the 223 delegates at the meeting in the Stuyvesant Casino.
Nathan Margolies
Abraham Albert
Louis Rosenthal
Chas. Barber
Meyer Terry

PROGRESSIVE WIN IN LOCAL 4, A.C.W.

New York City.
The biggest vote ever recorded by a candidate for the executive board of local 4 (Cutters) of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, was received by John A. Petrone of the progressive group, the Activity Group. Of the six candidates put forward on this slate, four were elected. Since he received the largest vote, John Petrone will be the chairman of the local. Petrone was defeated as delegate to the convention by three votes.

Mickey Is Foreign And Jewish
Mickey Mouse is very popular in Germany, and it is a fad among the youth to wear Mickey Mouse buttons. A Fascist newspaper in Pomerania gives vent to the following against poor Mickey:

"Blond, free-minded youths of Germany on the leading strings of Jewish finance! Youth, where is thy pride? Mickey Mouse is the most miserable ideal ever revealed. Mickey Mouse is a Young Plan medicine to promote weakness. Healthy emotions tell every honorable youth that the dirty and filth-covered vermin, the greatest bacteria carrier in the animal kingdom, cannot be the ideal type of animal. Have we nothing better to do than foul our clothes with filth because American business Jews want to make money? Away with Jewish brutalization of the people! Down with Mickey Mouse! Wear the swastika cross!"

And while we are communicating gems of Fascist wisdom to our unenlightened men that "who didn't know that Mickey Mouse was circumscribed, we must not omit to quote Herr William Kube, Nazi leader in the Prussian Diet: 'One patriotically inspired village schoolmaster is worth more to us than a thousand Einsteins with their metaphysical ideas.' Which shows that Einstein belongs to the same tribe as Mickey Mouse!"

Guess They'll Have To Take It
Gold has been struck in the Philippines! Gold assaying \$3,000 a ton. Alas. Poor Philippines! Before they were too poor, now they're too rich to get their independence!

Ghostly Comfort
Here's the Rev. Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin who tells a congregation of poor rich men that "who didn't know that Mickey Mouse was circumscribed, we must not omit to quote Herr William Kube, Nazi leader in the Prussian Diet: 'One patriotically inspired village schoolmaster is worth more to us than a thousand Einsteins with their metaphysical ideas.' Which shows that Einstein belongs to the same tribe as Mickey Mouse!"

And here's the Rev. Dr. Percy E. Wightman, telling the University Heights Presbyterians that the depression was caused by "the 'but' men. . . Mildly, they are Socialists but when they become too much imbued with this tendency they are Communists—and annoyances. It is to these people, the cowards, the irreconcilable and 'but' men, that the stigma of fault in the depression may be laid."

And here's the Rev. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick telling his swell Riverside Skyscraper Church that "happiness is a duty. The unhappy man is a betrayer of his fellows. He fills their skies with his smoke." Say, Doc, try telling that to a line of unemployed waiting for a slop handout. They'd like to know about the duty of happiness during the depression.

And by the way, Doc, speaking of filling the skies with smoke, is there any penalty against filling the air with gas?

No Doles in Heaven
Here's a new remedy for unemployment! Winslow Township, N. J. has 5,000 inhabitants. One thousand are unemployed adults. The township committee has adopted the following resolution:

"In accordance with the emergency relief program as generally approved, and realizing the need of God's help for the needy and unemployed of Winslow Township: . . .

"Be it resolved, that the various organizations of the township be asked to cooperate in setting aside the week of Jan. 10 to Jan. 17 in petitioning God's help in respect to the needy and unemployment situation in the township;

"Be it further resolved, that the clergymen be also asked to arrange subject matter dealing with the vital importance of prayer and to discuss the same before their congregations;

"Be it also further resolved, that a copy of this resolution be spread on the minutes of this meeting and a copy be sent to the press."

Now some other starving town can get on the map by deciding that all their jobless should start praying now and keep it up until their hunger is over!

Twenty-Third Psalm—1932 Edition
1. Hoover is my shepherd. I am in want.
2. He maketh me to lie down on park benches.
3. He leadeth me beside still factories.
4. He restoreth my doubt in the capitalist system.
5. He leadeth me in the path of destruction, for his profit's sake.
6. Yea, I walk thru the valley of the shadow of depression and I feel naught but evil.
7. For thou art with the politicians and profiteers who frighten me.
8. Thou preparest a reduction in my salary before me in the presence of my creditors.
9. Thou annexest my income with taxes, my honest runneth over.
10. Surely unemployment and poverty will follow me all the days of the administration.
11. And I shall dwell in a mortgaged house forever.
—B. D. W.