

# WORKERS' AGE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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## J. P. Morgan and His Kept Politicians

### Jobless Bodies Join in Big Relief Demonstration

#### THE JOBLESS DEMONSTRATE

**I**N the name of three city-wide unemployed organizations, the Association of the Unemployed, the Workers Committee on Unemployment and the Workers Unemployed League, a mass demonstration has been called for Tuesday, June 6, to protest against refusal of the Home Relief Bureau to pay rents, against the non-payment of relief to single men, against police brutality and court repression of the jobless, calling for a moratorium on evictions, relief for single men, an increase in relief in cash to include rent, food, clothing, medical and dental care, the opening of new relief stations, with an increase in staff and the elimination of delay and red tape, and the granting of representation to unemployed organizations in the relief administrations. The Communist Party-controlled Unemployed Councils refused to participate.

The unemployed are to gather at 10 A. M. on Tuesday, June 6, at Second Avenue and Houston Street. The march will proceed to City Hall and then on to Battery Park where a demonstration with speakers will take place. A committee of the unemployed will appear before the Board of Estimate to present the case of the jobless and this committee will subsequently report to the mass meeting at Battery Park.

A campaign to abolish direct relief for the unemployed in the United States was indicated in the statement issued by Harry L. Hopkins, the new Federal Emergency Administrator, on assuming his duties. "We will begin with the premise that direct relief is a bad thing. An unconscionable number of people are obtaining such relief. It will not be my business to perpetuate in the United States a policy which will keep any such number on the relief lists."

Under cover of the ballyhoo about the "return of prosperity", the public agencies all over the country are slashing jobless relief without regard to consequences. Rent payments have been suddenly stopped in New York City and tens of thousands of people are being overwhelmed with evictions. When a delegation of the New York Association of the Unemployed appeared before Commissioner Taylor to demand that rent payments be restored, that official's secretary declared that the city "could do nothing about it." In addition the relief given in food tickets is being reduced.

In New York City also, thousands of white-collar and other workers paid by the Emergency Work Bureau have been summarily discharged and left without any means of support.

Similar reports are coming in from all over the country. The fact of the matter is that the country is facing a ruthless slash in the miserably meager unemploy-

ment relief in existence today. No consideration of humanity or public welfare will move the local and state officials under the control of the bankers. Only irresistible pressure of the masses can bring any relief. Now is the time for all of the various organizations of the unemployed to unite and mobilize their forces for common action. All differences in race, creed, color or political opinion must be put aside to achieve this common action!

### IN MEMORY OF J. O. BENTALL

#### C.P.-O. Leader Dies After Life Of Militancy

New York City. J. O. Bentall, one of the founders of the Communist Party of the United States and one of the organizers of the Communist Party (Opposition), died on Thursday, March 18, 1933 at the age of sixty-two, after an unsuccessful operation for bladder trouble at the Fordham Hospital in New York.

Comrade Bentall was one of the outstanding revolutionary figures in the American revolutionary movement. As secretary of the Socialist Party of Illinois, he was its candidate for Governor of Illinois. In the course of the Communist Party's drive for the Labor party, Comrade Bentall ran as candidate for Congress on the Farmer-Labor Party ticket. Comrade Bentall drew nation-wide attention to his sterling abilities and loyalty as a revolutionary fighter thru his resistance to the government's imperialist war preparations in 1917. He was found guilty on the charge of organizing draft resistance and his conviction was sustained by the U. S. Supreme Court. Comrade Bentall served a three year sentence in the Federal penitentiary.

(Continued on Page 2)

### Heads of Both Boss Parties On "Favored" Lists

#### J. P. MORGAN'S 'FAVORED CUSTOMERS'

##### Democratic Party

William H. Woodin, Secretary of the Treasury.  
John J. Raskob, former chairman of the Democratic National Committee.  
Norman Davis, Ambassador-at-Large.  
John Davis, former candidate for President.  
William G. McAdoo, Senator from California, former Secretary of the Treasury.

##### Republican Party

Calvin Coolidge, former President.  
Charles G. Dawes, former Vice-President, former Ambassador, head of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.  
Charles D. Hilles, Republican National Committeeman.  
Charles Francis Adams, former Secretary of the Navy.  
Machold, former chairman of the Republican State Committee of New York.

Washington, D. C.

Hardly two months after the much-advertised inauguration of the "New Deal", a Cabinet member, the Secretary of the Treasury at that, and an Ambassador-at-Large of the Roosevelt administration, face a growing demand for their resignation because of the revelation in the course of investigation by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee to the effect that these political worthies and many more were virtually bribed by J. P. Morgan and Company, leading financial house in the

country, with an eye to a return of favors in the future.

On May 24 it was disclosed that William H. Woodin was given shares in the Allegheny Corporation, a big holding company, at \$20 a share when the stock was selling at \$21 to \$35. Today Mr. Woodin is Secretary of the Treasury and under the recent banking bill, virtual dictator of the country's financial life. A very valuable friend for Mr. Morgan to have on his payroll, so to speak!

Along with Mr. Woodin, Norman H. Davis, American Ambassador-at-Large in Europe, who is conducting negotiations on disarmament and economic agreements, was also on the list of "favored customers", as it is delicately put. Charles Francis Adams, Hoover's Secretary of the Navy, William G. McAdoo, General John J. Pershing, Owen D. Young, Newton D. Baker, Mrs. S. Parker Gilbert, wife of the former Agent-General for the Reparations, John J. Raskob, former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Charles D. Hilles, Republican National Committeeman, Ch. G. Dawes, former Vice-President and Ambassador, and Calvin Coolidge, were included on the same list of "prominent people" who benefitted by the curious "generosity" of the House of Morgan. Shares in the Allegheny and the Standard Brands were involved.

Exactly what this "generosity" meant politically is shown in the letter sent by John J. Raskob, then chairman of the Democratic National Committee, to George Whitney, Morgan partner, on February 7, 1929. "Many thanks . . . for so kindly remembering me," wrote Mr. Raskob. "I sincerely hope the future holds opportunities for me to reciprocate." The House of Morgan certainly provided plenty of opportunities for the gentlemen on its political staff, some of the leading politicians of this country, to "reciprocate"!

Incidentally it was revealed in the course of the questioning that neither J. P. Morgan nor any of the Morgan partners had paid any

(Continued on page 5)

## Chicago Unemployed Conference

### FEDERATION OF UNEMPLOYED WORKERS LEAGUES ESTABLISHED BUT ONLY LEFT WING BODIES REMAIN—WHAT MUST BE DONE IF THE NEW FEDERATION IS TO LIVE

Chicago, Ill.

by Unemployed

The main task confronting the unemployed workers today is the formation of a national unit, a non-partisan organization to fight for their interests, broad enough to include the jobless and not dominated or controlled by any political organization or group. The unification of all existing organizations of the unemployed would constitute a big step towards building a broad national mass movement; this step has already become a current problem and an immediate possibility.

In the light of these considerations, the conference of unemployed organizations held in Chicago on May 13, 14 and 15 and resulting in the formation of a Federation of Unemployed Workers Leagues of America, is of extreme importance.

#### The Character Of The Conference

The conference was rather small, owing to poor arrangements, financial difficulties and the conflicting effect of the Continental Congress in Washington. Never-

theless, it included representatives of almost all types of organizations and of almost all tendencies in the unemployed movement. Among the organizations represented were also the largest mass organizations in the country, such as the unemployed movement in the Northwest, the California organizations, the Chicago Workers Committee on Unemployment ("Borders movement"), the Allen County (Fort Wayne, Ind.) Unemployed Association and the Communist Party-controlled Unemployed Council.

The conference itself was not controlled or dominated by any political group or tendency. In fact there were three distinct alignments or loose blocks at the conference: a conservative tendency, of perhaps slightly more than one-third of the gathering, headed by the more conservative elements of the Chicago Workers Committee and some Socialist representatives of other organizations; a left-progressive block, slightly more than one-third of the votes, including representatives of the Chicago

Workers League, of the New York, Hartford and Allen County Unemployed Associations, of the Industrial Workers Unemployed Unions (I.W.W.) and some of the smaller organizations; and a smaller left-progressive block around the Unemployed Councils and the Muste group. Members of the Communist Opposition who were delegates worked with the first mentioned of the left-progressive blocks. These groupings were not solid bodies; there were differences within them on many questions but, by and large, this general division can be said to have characterized the conference.

In marked contrast to the Free Mooney Congress of two weeks previously this conference was conducted in the most democratic manner. There was no effort to suppress any opinion or to steamroller thru any decision. All issues were discussed with great thoroughness, resulting in an all-around clarification.

#### The Big Issues At The Conference

The program statement drawn

(Continued on page 6)

**NOTICE!**  
**MEMBERSHIP MEETING**  
of the  
New York Organization  
of the  
Communist Opposition  
Saturday, June 10, 1:30 p. m.  
at  
51 West 14th Street  
Reporter: Jay Lovestone

# The Silk Strike in Paterson, N. J.

### The Decline Of Unionism—The Question Of Dual Unionism—The Situation In The Associated

by Minnie Lurye

Paterson, N. J. The conditions of the textile workers in Paterson are going from bad to worse. Wages are being slashed continuously and the eight-hour day is a dream of the past. Ten hours, twelve hours, work as long as the boss insists on, that's the working day in Paterson today for the "lucky" few that can get the jobs.

The workers have been fed on the myth of what the "New Deal" would bring them and they are patiently awaiting the actions of President Roosevelt. So far it has only brought them increased misery and vague promises for the future.

### The Decline Of Unionism

Despite these intolerable conditions and the dissatisfaction rampant amongst the workers, unionism of the workers has declined. Neither the Associated Silk Workers (A. F. of L. union) nor the National Textile Workers Union (affiliated to T.U.U.L.) has been able to strengthen itself or bring any real improvements in the conditions of the workers. The National Textile Workers Union actually maintains its existence not because it has any support amongst the textile workers but simply because of the mechanical respiration treatment administered to it every now and then by the Communist Party, in the form of an arbitrary removal of the old leadership and an injection of something "new" and, most recently, by discarding the old line of shouting "bosses agents" and "fakers" at the Associated Silk Workers and coming forward with a proposal of "unity." "Let's have a joint strike committee," proposes the National. When the question is very correctly raised: "With whom will the bosses fight? Which union will be recognized?" the typical answer is: "The bosses will settle with the 'shop committee.'" As is A.B.C. to anyone who knows anything about building a union that settlement with shop committees brings no lasting improvement in the conditions of the workers and most of all does not build the union but actually makes the workers feel that the union as such is unnecessary—they can get along without it.

For years now the National has carried on the detrimental splitting tactics of maintaining its dual organization, settling with shops the Associated had called on strike, setting up dual strike bodies and in a thousand and one ways creating friction and disunity amongst the workers. There can be only one unit course in Paterson. This course was outlined by the executive board of the Associated Silk Workers Union in a statement which it issued recently, declaring in part: "If your organization as sincere in its proposal of unity then we suggest that unity of the silk workers can only be achieved thru one big textile union, and at this time we urge you to prove your sincerity by requesting all those who follow you to join our organization, which is a branch of the American Federation of Silk Workers, and we feel sure that, with some of the militant workers who are in your ranks, coupled with the large membership in our own ranks, we will be able to make one united effort against our employers. In unity there is strength. For one big union in the textile industry."

The adventurist conduct of the leadership of the union must be severely criticized and steps must be taken by the textile workers to develop a long-range program of organization to build the union and to replace the present administration by a militant and responsible executive committee.

ership of the Associated are far from helpful at this time. On May 22 the Associated called a strike in Paterson. The National also supported the calling of the strike with a promise to "work together." It was evident from the very beginning that there was little or no response on the part of the workers to this call. The vague promises of the bosses that the Roosevelt regime would do something for them "soon" were accepted by most of the workers. The call for strike was a sort of desperate attempt on the part of the leadership of the Associated to "show" the workers that the union was doing something. But to call a strike without preparation, without first laying the basis for such a strike and arousing the support of the workers, is nothing but adventurism which must be severely criticized. The National always resisted the destructive sectarian line of the Communist International and the calling of the strike. And Muste, who built up and nurtured his group in Paterson on anti-Communist propaganda, was a little hard pressed to explain his sudden unholy alliance with the leadership of the Communist Party. His attempt to play the role of "arbitrator" at the strike meeting held in Paterson recently, resulted in his being totally discredited, not only in the eyes of his own group, but in the eyes of the workers of both unions. The strike, of course, was a miserable failure. Some four hundred workers, maximum, answered the call. Most of the shops didn't even bother to register with either union. Some forms of settlements were reached by the workers and back they went to work. The workers generally are very demoralized and dissatisfied with the situation as it is.

Schweitzer, the organizer of the Associated Silk Workers Union, informed me that over a year ago the Associated had adopted a policy against the picket lines. This is a very dangerous decision. It is only by showing the bosses the strength of the union, by throwing mass picket lines around the mills, by giving courage to the weak and striking fear in the hearts of the scabs and bosses, that the union can successfully carry on strike action. The handful of workers who answered the call were left entirely on their own in picketing and carrying on the fight. Many of the Jewish workers asked the union to throw picket lines around certain shops to get them out on strike but this the union would not do because it was opposed to such a policy. The result was that the shops remained working and no attempt was made to get them to answer the strike call.

The adventurist conduct of the leadership of the union must be severely criticized and steps must be taken by the textile workers to develop a long-range program of organization to build the union and to replace the present administration by a militant and responsible executive committee.

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## JOIN!

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

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_

## IN MEMORY OF J. O. BENTALL

(Continued from Page 1)

In the Communist Party, Comrade Bentall held many positions of high responsibility. He was at one time district organizer of Philadelphia. His years of experience as editor of the "Duluth Truth" proved of great value to the party in its effort to extend its influence amongst the farming masses and in tying up their struggles with the struggles of those of the city workers. At the time of his death, Comrade Bentall was working on a book on the agrarian question.

When the split came in the party, Comrade Bentall was loyal to his convictions and militantly resisted the destructive sectarian line of the Communist International and the calling of the strike. And Muste, who built up and nurtured his group in Paterson on anti-Communist propaganda, was a little hard pressed to explain his sudden unholy alliance with the leadership of the Communist Party. His attempt to play the role of "arbitrator" at the strike meeting held in Paterson recently, resulted in his being totally discredited, not only in the eyes of his own group, but in the eyes of the workers of both unions. The strike, of course, was a miserable failure. Some four hundred workers, maximum, answered the call. Most of the shops didn't even bother to register with either union. Some forms of settlements were reached by the workers and back they went to work. The workers generally are very demoralized and dissatisfied with the situation as it is.

al and fought the unprincipled party bureaucracy. He was elected a member of the national committee of the Communist Party (Opposition). At the funeral services held at the home of Comrade Bentall, Comrade Lovestone representing the national committee of the Communist Opposition evaluated the inestimable services of Comrade Bentall to the revolutionary movement, expressed heartfelt condolences of the organization to Mrs. Bentall and emphasized that the national committee of the Communist Opposition would continue the struggle in which Comrade Bentall was so valiant a fighter and that in this struggle the efforts and activities of Comrade Bentall had proved and would continue to serve as a source of great inspiration and strength.

To the last, Comrade Bentall remained firm in his support of the Communist Opposition and in his belief in the vital necessity of our struggle. The crude attempts of the "Daily Worker" to extract a sort of "death-bed conversion" of Comrade Bentall are nothing but a shameful insult to the dead. Those who worked with Comrade Bentall and fought side by side with him know the direction of his convictions!



## With the Working Youth

### An Expelled Y.C.L. Member Speaks

New York City.

On Wednesday, May 31, the Communist Youth Opposition held a meeting with Joe Davis, recently expelled from the Young Communist League for the terrible crime of speaking in a discussion period and criticizing the line of the Communist International, as speaker.

The meeting was well attended by members and sympathizers of the Young Communist League and a number of Y.P.S.L. and Socialist Party members. The desperate attempt on the part of the Y.C.L. to break up the meeting by throwing two stink-bombs into the meeting, failed completely and only made those present more determined to hear Comrade Davis and discuss the question. Four young comrades sympathetic to the Y.C.L. spoke in the discussion, a member of the Socialist Party and a number of others. It is particularly important to note that one sympathizer of the Y.C.L., recently active in the United Front National Youth Day Committee, criticized the dishonest tactics of the Y.C.L. in its united front activities.

Davis pointed out that he had been expelled simply because he had refused to accept the non-Communist procedure which the district committee insisted on, that is, not to express his opinion during a discussion period in the Young Communist League. He was informed that a discussion period does not mean that one can express views differing with that of the views of the leadership! A discussion period is merely for "clarification." When Comrade Davis insisted on exercising his Communist right to criticize the line of the Communist International in Germany and the dual union policy of the American party leadership, he was instantly expelled, being given no right whatsoever to defend himself before his unit or any other committee. Comrade Davis stressed the fact that he pleaded at all times to carry out all decisions and to speak only for the line of the Y.C.L. leadership, as soon as the discussion period was officially closed. It is evident that the party line cannot stand the test of discussion and criticism.

Comrade Davis has recently

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joined the Communist Youth Opposition. A series of meetings to discuss questions facing the Young Communist League will be arranged by the Communist Youth Opposition in the near future.

### H. ZAM IN DEBATE IN DETROIT

Detroit, Mich.

A debate was held here on May 16 between Stanley Novack of the Proletarian Party and Herbert Zam of the Communist Party (Opposition). In spite of Comrade Novack's attempts to muddle the discussion of the history of the Communist movement in this country, Comrade Zam insisted on discussing the programs and policies of the Communist Party (Opposition) and the Proletarian Party. While Novack was raising the issue that "we will have to show our sincerity by at least ten years of good work in order to balance our ten years in the party," Zam raised the issue of Communist unity as the burning problem for today. Zam, of course, also pointed out that the question was not who had made mistakes, but rather who was making the same mistakes now that he made yesterday, for as long as Communists do Communist work they will make mistakes.

Refusing to be diverted by Novack's attempts to debate the St. Paul convention of 1922 or the Chicago convention of 1924, Zam pointed out that 1929 opened a completely new stage in the development of the American Communist movement. He emphasized very sharply that both the Communist Opposition and the Proletarian Party, due to their understanding of the question of united front and trade union work, had to be the ones to raise the issue of Communist unity today. He also pointed out that the prolonged economic crisis would force those groups whose differences are not basic to unite or be destroyed in the struggle. The members of the Proletarian Party were overwhelmingly more sympathetic to Zam than to Novack because Zam touched the wants of a few isolated individuals and would be leaders who would remember only the past and forget the present.

—E. S.

### A JIG-SAW PUZZLE!

"The 13th Plenum of our Party clearly established that the resolution of the 12th Plenum of the Party remains the basic guide for examining the work of the Party in carrying out the line of the 12th Plenum of the E. C. C. I. The 16th Plenum of the Party established that since the 15th Plenum, the Party has begun to understand the line of the 14th Plenum resolution, and established that earnest beginnings have been made to carry it out in life" ("Daily Worker", February 13, 1933).

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# The Bankruptcy of the "New Deal"

## The "New Deal" and the Workers. II

by Jay Lovestone

## TROTSKY AND GERMANY

This is the second article in the series.—Editor.

For the sake of the ideological clarity so necessary in the Communist movement today, for the sake of exposing the fundamental falseness of the Trotskyist outlook as expressed in its colossal errors in Germany, for the sake of bursting the self-inflated bubble of the infallibility of Trotsky himself, we recall to the reader the following quotations:

1. From: "The Militant", July 25, 1931, "Stalinism and the German Crisis", by J. P. C.

"They say the imperialists will welcome a Fascist dictatorship in Germany. But nevertheless the imperialists do not have to have such a policy. . . . Only when the majority of the workers turn away from Social-democracy to the Communists will the capitalists turn to the last resort (Fascism) . . . It has never yet been demonstrated that Fascism can have a stable endurance in such a highly industrialized country as Germany. . . ."

2. From: "The Militant", February 24, 1933, article by L. D. Trotsky, dated February 5, 1933. "Even under the most favorable conditions for Hitler he requires a long number of months . . . in order to establish the hegemony of Fascism. . . . Hugenberg requires a screen. As yet today, he cannot hide behind credit. In some cases those

who wanted the credit were big enough to get it without any effort or government help. In other cases, those who were offered credit, either, didn't need it or couldn't use it. . . . The President is also given the right to issue three billion dollars worth of new paper money on the basis of the Greenback Law of 1862. This new money will not be backed by gold or bonds but only by good faith of the "New Deal". It will be used to meet Federal obligations. Thus, it is hoped to develop a controlled inflation. If this injection should fail, then the "New Dealer" is authorized to give another injection, another "shot in the arm" to the United States business organism thru his authority to cut the gold content of the dollar up to 50%. . . . We are not going into the other provisions of the Currency Bill just now. Suffice it to stress that the provisions will not solve the difficulties of American capitalism either at home or abroad. Of this, life affords crushing proof. After solemn assurance by Macdonald and Roosevelt that relations between the United States and England were just swell, Great Britain announced a new trade treaty with the Argentine which literally slams the door in the face of Wall Street. After Herriot ar' the "New Dealer" embraced each other warmly and boasted of their good understanding between them, the French Government announced that it had decided to plaster a 15% tax on all American goods in order to make up for the drop in

the value of the dollar and to prevent the franc from being at a disadvantage in the world market against Wall Street currency. It is clear that the "New Deal" has brought a sort of control of exchange which only spells repudiation of debts and a debasement or even an abandonment of the much-vaunted stability of American currency. . . . Much noise has been made by the Roosevelt administration about economy in government. Thus the veterans compensation has been slashed. Federal employees salaries have already been cut 15%. Another cut is in store for Christmas. But this does not mean that the government has stopped spending money or is economizing on other fields. The money taken from the veterans and government employees plus much more, has already been appropriated for their "needs". The Roosevelt administration about economy in government. Thus the veterans compensation has been slashed. Federal employees salaries have already been cut 15%. Another cut is in store for Christmas. But this does not mean that the government has stopped spending money or is economizing on other fields. The money taken from the veterans and government employees plus much more, has already been appropriated for their "needs". The Roosevelt administration about economy in government. Thus the veterans compensation has been slashed. Federal employees salaries have already been cut 15%. Another cut is in store for Christmas. But this does not mean that the government has stopped spending money or is economizing on other fields. The money taken from the veterans and government employees plus much more, has already been appropriated for their "needs".

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### Economy In Government And Speculation

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## FOR UNITY OF FURRIERS

New York City.

Openly backed by the police and the fur manufacturers, the bankrupt and discredited officials of the International Fur Workers Union have opened a campaign of intimidation and violence to destroy the Fur Workers Union of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union and to drive the fur workers into their organization. On Wednesday, May 24, over 225 members of the Associated Fur Coat and Trimming Manufacturers Association met here and after a speech of Dudley Field Malone, promised to support the reactionary union officials. The notorious labor-hating Industrial Squad of the New York police also promised its support.

The Fur Department of the N. T. W. I. U. recently gained some hold in the smaller shops of the trade, while the I. F. W. U. has practically collapsed. Because the N. T. W. I. U. is affiliated to the Communist Trade Union Unity League, the issue of being used in the drive against it. The attitude of all fur workers, whatever their political leanings, can be one and one only. The campaign to "rebuild" the I. F. W. U. is one of the most shameful examples of class collaboration ever witnessed in the American labor movement. Union officials, alleged representatives of labor and Socialists to boot, have the brazen

## Save the German Unions!

### A. F. Of L. Unions Call For United Aid

New York City.

The movement of protest of American labor against the Nazi drive to exterminate the German labor movement in all its phases, be the ones to raise the issue of Communist unity today. He also pointed out that the prolonged economic crisis would force those groups whose differences are not basic to unite or be destroyed in the struggle. The members of the Proletarian Party were overwhelmingly more sympathetic to Zam than to Novack because Zam touched the wants of a few isolated individuals and would be leaders who would remember only the past and forget the present.

A similar resolution, stressing the need of defending the German trade union movement, has been adopted by Paperhangers Local Union 306, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America. Local 306 is in Philadelphia.

A resolution along the same lines has also been adopted by the City Central Committee of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund in Luzerne County, Pa. (Branches 34, 55, 100, 140, 148).

The resolution of Dressmakers Local 22 follows:

WHEREAS, the Fascist government of Germany is ruthlessly destroying the entire labor movement, workers political parties of all tendencies, workers cultural organizations, fraternal organizations, the labor press and the trade unions in that country, and

WHEREAS, thru official action of the Fascist government and thru the riotous actions of the Nazi mobs, the headquarters of all labor organizations are being destroyed, their leaders arrested and tortured, trade unions are being placed under the arbitrary control and supervision of the police and irresponsible Fascist commissioners, and

WHEREAS, thru all these methods, the trade unions are prevented from exercising their normal functions of defending the econom-

ic interests of the working class, and WHEREAS, the fate of the German labor movement is the concern not only of the German workers, but of the workers of the whole world, since the destruction of the German organized labor movement would strengthen the hands of the open shop and enemies of the labor movement the world over, including the United States, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the members of the Dressmakers Union Local No. 22, I. L. G. W. U., assembled at a regular meeting on Thursday, May 18, 1933, at Bryant Hall, go on record in indignant protest and condemnation against the attempts of the Fascist government of Germany to destroy the organized labor movement, and be it further

RESOLVED that we recommend to the General Executive Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union to take the initiative in calling a conference of all wings and tendencies of the labor movement in New York City in support of the labor movement of Germany" and urging the A. F. of L. Executive Council to do the same on a national and international scale.

RESOLVED that we recommend to the General Executive Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union to take the initiative in calling a conference of all wings and tendencies of the labor movement in this city, to organize a united front movement in the support of the labor movement of Germany, in their

### "What Is the Communist Opposition?"

by B. D. WOLFE

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struggle against fascism, and be it further

RESOLVED, that we recommend to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, to bring about the convening of a world conference of trade unions and labor organizations, to mobilize the world labor movement in a fight against the Fascist terror against labor in Germany, and to work out ways and means of helping the German labor movement to meet this atrocious attack upon its organizations, and be it further

RESOLVED, that we call upon all local unions to take similar action.

## AN APPEAL

I am sure you will be interested about this new subscriber whose subscription I am enclosing. He is a German worker who came to this country with the experience gained by serving in the Kaiser's navy during the World War and by participating in the series of revolutionary struggles after the downfall of the Hohenzollern monarchy. Even as a lad of nineteen at the end of the war, he took part in the revolution in Bavaria under Kurt Eisner. He has been a Communist ever since. It goes without saying that during my discussions with him the German question and the danger of Fascism occupied first

place. His was a position of UNQUESTIONING support of the official Communist Party policy. Until the final crisis came, he would not yield any ground at all in our discussions, always quoting the party catechism as the final solution. Above all would be argued that "Germany is not Italy," pointing to the glorious revolutionary traditions of the German proletariat. Fascism simply could not triumph; at the proper moment, he said, the working class would yet deal the death-blow to Fascism. This death-blow was dealt—but by the Fascists against the working class. This morning he came to me and said: "I have

just read in the "Workers Age" the article "Germany Is Not Italy." Everything is so clear and exact now," he cried out. "The "Workers Age" is a great paper. It's a wonderful paper!" A thrill went thru me when he said this. I wonder if every comrade of the Opposition, if every reader of the "Age" feels the same as this new supporter. I say it because we missed an issue of the "Age", which is a serious matter indeed. I know only too well the difficulties in the way. But I maintain that, just because of these difficulties, we must exhaust to the full every possibility and have the "Age" come out regularly. A READER

## The Hyde Co. Shoe Strike

### National Shoe Association Leads Struggle & A Typical American Labor Demonstration

Boston, Mass.

The strike of the shoe workers in Cambridge, under the leadership of the National Shoe Workers Association, is assuming a more militant character. For the first time in the history of Cambridge a trade union has organized a demonstration in protest against sweat shop conditions and yellow-dog contracts in the Hyde shoe factory.

On Thursday, May 11, six hundred strikers, men, women and children, were marching thru the streets of Cambridge under the best of banners with demands such as: "We want union recognition!" "Give us back our tools!" "We demand a decent living wage!" "Lincoln freed the slaves—Mr. Hyde has made slaves of the shoe workers!" "No take relief!" etc. Officers of the union headed the parade. The procession halted at the Cambridge Common where speeches by the leaders of the union were delivered. Then the strikers returned to the union hall where a mass meeting was held. The demonstration was organized and directed by William Seligman who is leading the strike in Cambridge.

The Communist Party members, who are very busy in attacking the union, that it is not revolutionary enough, very conveniently absent themselves from this demonstration. The two party members present at this demonstration round it necessary to criticize the organizers of the parade for their failure to have banners denouncing the city administration and such as "Down with capitalism!", "For the Defense of the Soviet Union!" Such "criticism" can only come from people who cannot or will not recognize the difference between a trade union and a political organization. Only conceited sectarians who think only about themselves but cannot see the backward American working class would express such ignorance. Small wonder that the "trade unions" of the T.U.U.L. are miserable failures. These workers have taken their first steps in the direction of class consciousness. It is the job of the Communists to be with them, to participate in their struggles, to gain their confidence and to point out to them that their suffering and misery are an outgrowth of the capitalist system.

Determined To Win

The strike has entered its eighth week. In spite of untold hardship and misery, the strikers are determined to keep up the struggle until they win. The efforts of Mr. Hyde to starve the shoe workers back to work will end in failure. M. Yablou.



# Reaction in the Teachers' Union

## For Trade Union Unity and Militancy!

by F.

New York City.  
At a meeting held on April 29 the members of the teachers union, Local No. 5, American Federation of Teachers, witnessed the climax of what had been a six months drive by the administration of the union to stifle opposition in the union by expulsions and the complete abolition of inner-union democracy. Growing out of charges by the administration, expulsion proceedings were instituted at a meeting of the union held on October 26, 1932 against six members of the opposition groups, one of whom was Bertram D. Wolfe of the Communist Opposition. The original motion at the executive board of the union had been for the complete expulsion of the Rank and File Group, (the ultra-sectarian group) following upon the motion for the expulsion of the whole Progressive Group, the year previously. It seems, however, that this was too much of a job to be undertaken by the administration.

**The Expulsion Drive**  
The original charges were those of Communism. But this open form of red-baiting was modified during the hearings of the grievance committee to "obstructionist and disruptive tactics" and "dual unionist tendencies" the latter especially as regard the Rank and File Group. Since neither of these charges could be satisfactorily proven, however, the final report of the grievance committee confined itself to general charges of "ulterior motives" and "having it on all sorts of misinterpretations and misquotations. This was an unshamed form of red-baiting to confuse and bewilder the union membership.

An "impartial" grievance committee was chosen at a meeting packed by the administration with members who had never come down to union meetings and were entirely unacquainted with the inner-union situation. Four of the five who were chosen as members of the committee to consider "officially" the charges against the members up for expulsion had either signed the expulsion charges or voted for them at the executive committee. Max Kline, an administration leader, headed the grievance committee, got up at the meeting and said: "All those who are in favor of expulsion, vote for this slate!"—meaning the administration slate, including Professor John Dewey, who was appointed to head the committee with respectability to the committee.

No opportunity was given to the Joint Defense Committee, formed by the two opposition groups, to answer the report of the grievance committee sent out in advance of the meeting. The committee even refused to give the Joint Defense Committee the use of the union mailing list. The administration propagandized the union membership thru school meetings, tea parties and the like, and gave the Joint Defense Committee no chance to answer. Dr. Dewey refused to attend a single union membership meeting to see for himself what the union situation really was, whether the charges against the opposition were true. Yet he signed the grievance committee report! This report, besides making the vague and general charges quoted above, further contained recommendations for a series of amendments to the union constitution. Among these were provisions for the abolition of membership meetings, with the right of the membership to decide union policies and action, the substitution for these of a delegate assembly to be elected from schools and the placing of the power of expulsion in the hands of the executive board instead of in the hands of the membership where it had hitherto rested.

The grievance committee was chosen and the special meeting was called to consider and act upon the charges against the accused members but the suggestion to consider amendments. The constitution of the union specifically provides that a special meeting must confine itself to the purpose for which it is called. Yet both

the administration and the grievance committee, which included Dr. Dewey, found it convenient to ignore these facts. The administration immediately gave notice of its intentions in conducting the meeting by choosing only its adherents as tellers and appointing a strong-arm squad of sergeant-at-arms to "keep order." Some motions were introduced by the opposition at the outset, to extend the time for the discussion of the charges against the defendants so that the membership might voice its opinion on the matter and to consider the proposed amendments at a future meeting so that these important decisions should not be made under the aroused passions and fatigue following a fight on expulsions.

On the first vote the membership gasped for it seemed to all present that the vote was in favor of the opposition. Yet the count registered by the administration tellers in the interests of fair play was completely ignored. Of what was Dr. Linville, president of the union, afraid? All propositions were defeated by very close votes, even at the count of the administration tellers.

Realizing that it could never muster the two-thirds vote necessary to amend the constitution, the grievance committee, whose report was presented by Dr. Dewey, recommended

various lengths of suspensions for the defendants. The administration probably counted upon the passage of the amendment placing power to expel in the hands of the executive committee to do the job later on. The case of Mr. Isidore Begum of the Rank and File Group came up first. Mr. Begum being the leader of this group, the administration placed its hopes on his case and attacked him first. But they lost. Dr. Dewey probably never dreamed that the opposition could muster as much strength as was shown at this meeting.

**The Administration Is Defeated**  
Foreseeing even worse defeat in the other cases, Abraham Lefkowitz, legislative representative of the local, moved for the dismissal of all other charges, thus depriving the other defendants of the chance to clear themselves of the charges and attacked them before the union membership.

The grievance committee report on the proposed amendments to the Constitution was also made by Dr. Dewey. Dr. Dewey, in fact, led the whole fight of the administration. In arguing for the delegates to be made without complete consideration by the mem-

bership meetings *alio* he had never accepted the request of the Joint Defense Committee to attend one of these meetings! Apparently the opinions of the administration on these meetings were sufficient ground for him to judge upon the amendments and that of the "New York World-Telegram", Dr. Lefkowitz ran out to telephone for them. A riot squad of four police patrol cars appeared outside. Did Dr. Dewey say a word about this particular form of democracy? He did not! And even the Tammany police refused to interfere. Dr. Linville had to recall the strong-arm squad, one of whom, when challenged to produce his union card, failed to do so. Amid constant provocation thruout the meeting, the opposition had conducted itself with admirable restraint and discipline.

Changing the order in which the proposed amendments had been presented, the administration asked for a vote on Amendments II and X first. The seven-hour session was drawing to a close, the time for adjournment drawing near. Amendment II provided for the institution of the delegate assembly; Amendment X gave the power of passing further amendments to this assembly. If these two amendments were carried, the membership could not pass on the eight other proposed amendments; minority opinion could be squelched with no chance of influencing the membership at an open meeting. Ten minutes discussion was allowed on Amendment II. A vote was taken on a motion to close debate. The opposition was not going to allow a decision so momentous in the life of the union to be made without complete consideration by the mem-

bership. A recount was called for. It was ignored, against all rules of parliamentary procedure. The railroad was on the run. The opposition voiced its protest against such procedure vociferously. The sergeant-at-arms came to action, attempting to convince the teachers by physical force. Police appeared. According to the "New York World-Telegram", Dr. Lefkowitz ran out to telephone for them. A riot squad of four police patrol cars appeared outside. Did Dr. Dewey say a word about this particular form of democracy? He did not! And even the Tammany police refused to interfere. Dr. Linville had to recall the strong-arm squad, one of whom, when challenged to produce his union card, failed to do so. Amid constant provocation thruout the meeting, the opposition had conducted itself with admirable restraint and discipline.

**The Fight Has Just Begun**  
In the midst of this unparliamentary procedure Amendment II was passed by a fatigued and wearied membership. Amendment X was not voted on. The fight has just begun. The railroad against red-baiting methods assumed by the administration and the fear of the growing strength of the opposition. Its intense propaganda and packed meeting attest to it. Its fight to kill union democracy attest to it. Despite its fight, despite the fact that its fight was applicable just as much in respect to fascist states and military dictatorships as to bourgeois democracies. The Soviet Union can do nothing else but maintain peace with fascist Italy and Hitler Germany. But, on the other hand, Germany is being quite openly for an aggravation of relations with the Soviet Union. Hitler is making a shameless bid to world imperialism as hired bully against the Soviet Union.

Historically, the Soviet Union is found in a defensive position; the imperialists, in an offensive position. A socialist state has no interest in the appropriation of foreign territory. The peace policy of the Soviet Union is no hypocritical phrase, as are the "pacifist" avowals of the capitalist countries; it corresponds to its interests. This peace policy is applicable just as much in respect to fascist states and military dictatorships as to bourgeois democracies. The Soviet Union can do nothing else but maintain peace with fascist Italy and Hitler Germany. But, on the other hand, Germany is being quite openly for an aggravation of relations with the Soviet Union. Hitler is making a shameless bid to world imperialism as hired bully against the Soviet Union.

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**The Fascist "Unions"**  
These Fascist unions are no unions at all. Unlike genuine labor organizations controlled by reformist leaders, the Fascist unions cannot be won and transformed into class struggle organizations; the class conscious workers must strive to destroy and disrupt these bodies in every possible way. According to the explanation of the Nazi "labor" leader, Dr. Ley, the Fascist unions are to be of the following nature: (1) All trade unions are to be combined into two Fascist organizations: one for the employees, the other for the employers. (2) The Fascist unions are to be united "professionally" with the employers unions in a "professional parliament." (3) The leaderships of all unions are to be named by special Nazi boards. (4) All unions are to operate on the principle that "the employer and the employee are not opponents but contractual partners in a community of interests subordinated to the Fascist state." (5) The N.S.F. O. (The National-Socialist Factory Organization.—Editor) is to be dissolved into the Fascist unions. The destruction of the trade unions in Germany did not take place without warning. Everybody who knew anything at all knew it was coming. And yet the Social-democratic leaders hoped to save their jobs and their pensions by leaving the workers in the lurch and abasing themselves even more

### TROTSKY AND THE GERMAN EVENTS

(Continued from Page 3)  
hind the mantle of a Kaiser and he is forced to resort to the brown shirt of the Nazi. There is no way of getting around without the Nazis. But it is likewise impossible to give over to them the actual power. . . The new governmental combination (puts) the military and economic posts in the hands of the masters, while the plebeians are assigned the decorative or second-rate posts. . . The chief instruments of power are not in Hitler's hands."

# German Fascism and Soviet Union

## Fascism, the C. I. and the U. S. S. R.

by A. P.

We publish below the second of the series of articles on "Fascism and the Soviet Union". The third and final article will appear in the next issue.—Editor.

Berlin, Germany.  
The dominant consideration in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union has been, for many years, the maintenance of peace with the capitalist powers as protection to the socialist construction going on in the country. For this purpose the Soviet Union has built up a whole system of diplomatic guarantees of peace in relation to a number of capitalist countries (Rappallo Treaty, non-aggression pacts with Poland, France, etc.). Of course these guarantees have no absolute value at all; they are merely of temporary and relative significance. They really register the relation of world-political forces at the time and, at most, make more difficult an imperialist war; they certainly can not make such an offensive impossible.

### The U.S.S.R. And The Imperialist Powers

Historically, the Soviet Union is found in a defensive position; the imperialists, in an offensive position. A socialist state has no interest in the appropriation of foreign territory. The peace policy of the Soviet Union is no hypocritical phrase, as are the "pacifist" avowals of the capitalist countries; it corresponds to its interests. This peace policy is applicable just as much in respect to fascist states and military dictatorships as to bourgeois democracies. The Soviet Union can do nothing else but maintain peace with fascist Italy and Hitler Germany. But, on the other hand, Germany is being quite openly for an aggravation of relations with the Soviet Union. Hitler is making a shameless bid to world imperialism as hired bully against the Soviet Union.

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of the entire union of Soviet lands.  
Fascism And War Against The U.S.S.R.

But obviously this is not the problem today. The question of consequence today arises from the possibility of an imperialist war against the Soviet Union, in which Hitler Germany would be the spearhead of the anti-Soviet block. The Soviet Union must do everything possible to prevent the formation of such a coalition. Every bit of time won is a big gain for the Soviet Union and therefore for the working class of all countries.

In the case of a war of Hitler Germany against the Soviet Union, the German workers would face a new situation. Revolutionary Marxism and the great traditions of the proletarian struggle both emphasize as proper for that occasion the slogan of "defeatism," that is, the duty of the German workers to do everything possible to bring about the defeat of "their own" government and the victory of the Soviet Union. The Fascist dictatorship is creating in Germany the conditions in which the slogan of the defeat of "their own" government and the victory of the Soviet Union is a just response among the broad masses of the people. It should be remembered that, in 1905-1906, at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, all ele-

ments in Russia that were not sold body and soul to reaction, even the liberal bourgeoisie, came out openly for the defeat of Czarism. How much more force is there to the slogan of "defeatism" if the other side is not imperialist Japan but the socialist Soviet Union?

This is the positive side of the hopes and wishes for foreign intervention against Hitler Germany. But is must not be forgotten that what comes out of a military defeat of Hitler will depend essentially upon the revolutionary power, consciousness and organization of the German proletariat at the given moment.

There is no situation in which the revolutionary action of the German working class against the Fascist dictatorship is not decisive for the overthrow of the Fascist dictatorship.

**The Consequences Of "Defeat"**  
In this connection, it must be recognized that the situation emerging from a defeat of Germany would be quite different depending upon whether it came at the hands of imperialist France (or any other imperialist power) or of the Soviet Union. Circumstances can easily be conceived in which France would be greatly interested

in the overthrow of Fascism in Germany but never in the replacement of the Fascist regime by a proletarian dictatorship. After Sedan, Bismarck conspired with the French bourgeoisie against the Paris Commune. The morning after its victory over Fascism French imperialism would conspire with the German bourgeoisie against the proletarian revolution. Of course, the success of such conspires would again depend largely upon the readiness of the masses for action. A victory of the Soviet Union, on the other hand, would open the way for the establishment of a revolutionary dictatorship in Germany.

To summarize: Nothing in the world, not even the Soviet Union, can replace or render secondary the revolutionary action of the German working class for the overthrow of Fascism. The Soviet Union cannot pass over to a "revolutionary offensive" against Hitler Germany; it must do everything possible to avoid an attack upon itself but at all times be prepared against it. Should an imperialist attack on the Soviet Union take place, involving Germany, it will then be to the interest of the German workers to strive for the defeat of Fascism and the victory of the U.S.S.R., in any case, the achievement of the proletarian dictatorship in Germany can only be

the work of the German proletariat, organically united with the working class of the whole world.

The various phases of the international class struggle against capitalism, including the struggle of the Soviet government against imperialist intervention and of the German workers against Fascism, are all parts of one whole. But their connection is not such as to allow the subordination of the whole movement or struggle to one sector of it; rather must all aspects of it be subordinated to the interests of the struggle as a whole. Communism is either international or it is not. This applies to Communism in Germany at least as much as to Communism in the Soviet Union.

### J. P. MORGAN AND HIS KEPT POLITICIANS

(Continued from Page 1)  
income tax at all in the United States for the years 1931 and 1932, altho income taxes were paid in England. Perhaps this was one of the ways in which Mr. Morgan's political friends "reciprocated!"

The most significant feature of the investigation is the disclosure of the tremendous concentration of control over the life and fate of the people that our present economic system places in the hands of a small oligarchy of big bankers and capitalists who are connected by invisible threads with every important industry or enterprise in this country. These huge financial machines, with their systems of holding companies, interlocking directorates and so on, with their staffs of obedient politicians, preachers and college professors, rule and ruin this land, hold the millions of workers and farmers by the throat, coining their sweat and blood into gold, sending them out to die on the field of battle for the sake of profits. The Senate committee investigation has again laid bare the true meaning of our capitalist system and of our capitalist "democracy."

### Lessons For The Workers

For the workers every word of the Senate investigation reports should be full of lessons. We can see clearly that our economic system is nothing but a huge racket in which the masses toil and a small parasitical clique profits, a racket so full of contradictions that it is continually breaking down, throwing millions out of work, starting into the streets, a racket leading to bloody wars every few years. We can see clearly that our so-called "democracy" is a system whereby the oligarchy of big bankers and parasites defend with the most ruthless force their "right" to exploit and oppress the people, a system in which the big business has bought and paid for the people who run the government, a system in which the government is a government of, by and for the capitalist class. We can see clearly that the two big parties, the Republican and Democratic organizations, are the twin parties of capital: Woodrow Wilson, Davis, Raskob, Young, Baker, McAdoo are Democrats; Coolidge, Dawes, Hillier, Adams, Dawes are Republicans. Both parties are the servants of big business; leading lights of both are on the "favored lists" of the House of Morgan and other big banks and financial houses.

Every working man or farmer who votes for one or the other of these Wall Street parties is simply voting to elevate the servants of capital into power, is voting directly against his own interests. On a Labor party, a party of the workers and farmers, based on the trade unions, workers organization and farmers leagues, only a party standing solid for the toilers against the exploiters, only a party free of entangling alliances with big bankers, can hold out any hope for the many millions of producers in this country.

### The "New Deal" And The Workers — II

## THE BANKRUPTCY OF THE "NEW DEAL"

by Jay Lovestone

(Continued from Page 3)

promise safety of investments for the middle and little man. While the chief Executive raves against speculation and speculators in his drive to purge, to purify and to invigorate the increasingly anemic capitalist organism, his measures only make for a return to speculation and for the extension of speculation to unheard-of scales. The new Security Bill does not mean to end speculation. Rather, it does mean to remove certain "wrongs" that are bad enough to be obvious. In this fashion, confidence will be restored to the old speculative institutions and new vigor will be lent to speculation as such. It is clear that the new Securities Bill, which is a twin of the Inflation Bill, does not strike any blows at the stock market. In fact, the currency program and the securities legislation put on a speculative basis not only stocks but all industry.

**The Railroad Program**  
In trying to appease a hard hit middle class, the administration has worked out a program aiming at lowered railway rates, particularly freight rates. The little help that is to be afforded to the impoverished farmers will have to be paid for by the reduction of wages, that is, at the expense of the railway workers. Even the officialdom of the railway unions, reactionary as it is, could not keep silent about this crude attempt to shift additional burdens on to the railway hands. For the officials to have kept silent about the wage-cutting provisions of the new railway legislation would have meant to invite to open rebellion the membership of the unions.

But this is not all. The Roosevelt railway program means the handing out of gigantic bonuses to the wealthiest railway magnates of the country. The "Magazine of Wall Street" hastens to assure the biggest rail-stock owners that this will probably involve more direct cash help for the railways—perhaps something sensational. The objective, it should be remembered, is friendly. It is to regenerate the railways, to solve their problems, to save them for their patrons and the millions of investors who own them." (April 15, 1933, page 664). This is what some of the liberal papers are calling and hailing as the "Socialistic"

legislation of our liberal president.

### Reforestation And Relief

The "Brain Trust" has devised no more silly solution for the crisis than the Reforestation Bill. By leading a few hundred thousand men into the woods, they hope to blaze the trail out of the wilderness of the crisis! The hundred million dollars appropriated for tree-planting is a small drop in a good-sized bucket. In fact, the whole reforestation scheme and the afforestation camps have the following effect: They relieve the rich of some relief burdens. Instead of these jobless men—and, if the Lady President will have her way, these jobless women—being given relief and the local communities paying for such relief, they are sent to the woods to work under military regulations for a \$1 a day. This is henceforth to be the new American wage scale—"a fair day's wage for a fair day's work," as Roosevelt sees it and the workers get it.

### Aiding The Farmers

In a subsequent article we will examine the economic fallacies of Roosevelt's agrarian program. For the moment it is sufficient to underscore that in his Farm Relief Bill the "New Dealer" falls far away from his goal. The ostensible aim of the Farm Bill is to enhance the total purchasing power of the country, to increase the pur-

### "I Accuse!"

by M. N. ROY  
From the Suppressed Statement of N. N. Roy on Trial for Treason Before Sessions Court, Cawnpore, India.  
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chasing power of the rural population. Actually, the Farm Bill at best does not improve conditions. In effect, it aggravates them. The artificial imposition of higher prices on farm commodities, assuming for the sake of argument that it can be done, of course, that millions of consumers in the cities would have to pay more. The "New Dealer" insists that it will increase the purchasing power of the farming masses by a billion dollars. Abstractly speaking, it is possible that a billion dollars of purchasing power may be transferred from the cities to the country. But this does not increase the total purchasing power of the country. The whole line of reasoning is fallacious. At a time when the great mass of the population in the cities do not have enough money with which to buy farm products at lower prices, how will they get enough money with which to buy them at higher prices?

The much-vaunted mortgage legislation which is supposed to be a gift of the gods handed down thru Roosevelt to the harrassed home-owners, is in its essence only a *payment of interest to the mortgage holders*. In the last resort, such relief is as impotent and as useless even as a palliative, as the contemplated deposit guarantee. When times aren't bad, no deposit guarantee is necessary. When times are very bad, all the legislation in the world providing for deposit guarantees and the guarantee of interest payment on mortgages do not add one bit to the stability, to the equilibrium of the economic machine. When times are supposedly good, the government income is substantial, but then it does not have to invest any portion of it in guaranteeing mortgages or deposits. In "prosperity" days mortgage and deposits are safe. In the throes of a crisis, government insolvency collapses and it has no funds with which to guarantee deposits or mortgages. It could then resort to extensive inflation as a means of raising the necessary currency with which to meet such guarantees. However, such extensive inflation means the *striking of the dollar* or a confiscation of a substantial proportion of the few dollars still remaining in the hands of that very section of the middle class which such legislation is supposed to help. The circle is vicious and its diameter is great!

### New Tactics In The Trade Union Struggle

## THE FASCIST UNIONS AND THE WORKING CLASS

by G. S.

The action of May 2 means the destruction of the "free" trade unions (one mass trade union formerly under Social-democratic leadership.—Editor). May 2 has released more decisively the ultra-realist conception of the general Communist Party that the reformist trade unions have always been "fascist" bodies or could easily become the bearers of fascism. Nothing could surpass the readiness of the reformist leaders to capitulate before the Nazis. But for a capitulation two parties are needed. The Nazis would not and could not accept the capitulation. The very nature of the movement demanded that fascism destroy completely the genuine trade unions, the real workers organizations, and replace them by fascist "unions" as component parts of the fascist "professional" organizations, themselves agencies of the fascist state.

**A New Situation And New Tasks**  
Now the situation has changed radically. What are the immediate tasks of the German working class in the trade union field?

1. In the first place, all workers must be made perfectly clear as to the real character of the Fascist unions. They are no labor organizations at all and cannot be turned into labor organizations; they must be disrupted and smashed. Mass actions of refusal to pay dues and of breaking with the fascist bodies must be organized wherever they can be effective. We must resist all tendencies to accept the Fascist unions as genuine unions ("but with bad leaders and policies") to be won and transformed into class struggle bodies.

2. The very greatest emphasis must be placed upon the formation of illegal trade unions as genuine labor organizations. At the present time, these illegal unions cannot be mass organizations but will be primarily skeleton organizations. But under no circumstances must they be Communist organizations, that is, party organizations. They must be genuinely non-partisan bodies, embracing all those Communists, Social-democrats, Catholic unionists, and workers without political orientation, who are willing to continue the economic struggle against capitalism even under the fascist regime, who are willing to cooperate in the rebuilding of the genuine trade union movement and are ready to work for these ends illegally. Only if these illegal trade unions are really non-partisan bodies will they be in a position to fulfill their role and establish connections with the masses in the shops and factories.

Illegality is, of course, not the aim of trade unions. They will have to use all means to win the least bit of legal existence, to drive forward in public sight.

Thru correct tactics and persistent work, the illegal Communist Party organizations will have to try to win leadership in the illegal unions, in the inevitable economic struggles. But they must not try to replace them. The trade unions, illegal tho they may be, must be broader than the party organizations. The suicidal errors of the R.G.O. must not be repeated.

A new chapter has opened in the history of the German labor movement.

### Have You Read?

- THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, by Jay Lovestone ..... 10c
- SOME PLAIN WORDS FOR COMMUNIST UNIONS, by Ben Gitlow ..... 5c
- THE HERITAGE OF THE CIVIL WAR, by Will Herberg ..... 5c
- FOR REVOLUTION, by V. F. Calverton ..... 25c
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## THE ANTI-GERMAN BOYCOTT

**T**HE grave political crisis in Germany has evoked even among the more advanced workers sentiments and tendencies of an extremely dangerous character, which must be laid bare and wiped out if the developing anti-Fascist movement in this country is to make any real headway.

Is it still necessary to insist that no graver error could have been committed by the Jewish labor organizations, including the "Red" unions and the Communist Party-controlled International Workers Order, than to participate in the American Jewish Congress parade in New York on May 10? Is it still necessary to insist that support of this movement, inspired, organized and completely dominated by the big Jewish capitalists, bankers, financiers and merchants, was one of the grossest acts of class collaboration? It turned the Jewish workers, who must naturally stand in the fore of any real and effective movement against anti-Semitism, into a mere tail-end of the bourgeois ballyhoo. All the high-sounding phrases in the world about the "masses" (how strange these words sound in the mouths of inveterate sectarians!) cannot absolve the official Communist Party, whose "clever" maneuvers gave moral sanction to the traditional policy of the "Socialist" leaders of the Jewish labor organizations of always subjecting the Jewish workers to their bitterest class enemy, the Jewish big bourgeoisie.

No effective movement in the United States against anti-Semitism in Germany is possible until the stranglehold of the reactionary clique of Jewish big business men is definitely broken and the movement itself comes under the leadership of the only thoroly progressive force in modern society, the working class.

The baneful influence of the bourgeoisie on the American movement against the Hitler terror is shown in the prominence that the anti-German boycott plays in the agitation. The slightest political knowledge is enough to show that, as a weapon against Hitlerism, the boycott of German goods is both futile and dangerous. If it is to mean anything, it must be carried out primarily by the capitalist elements, or at least under their direction. But it is precisely the capitalist elements who cannot, in the economic nature of the case, put thru a thoroughgoing boycott. How are German debts, public and private, to be paid if German foreign trade is cut down?

The boycott, moreover, is superficially a "classless" weapon, that is, it appears as an act of the American people (or the Jewish people) "as a whole," without regard to classes, against the German people "as a whole," without regard to classes. It therefore again turns the workers into mere following for the bourgeoisie, undermining their rudimentary class consciousness and destroying what little class independence they may have succeeded in developing. Nor should it be overlooked that, in so far as it has any direct results, the boycott hits directly precisely those sections of the German people who are most vigorously opposed to Fascism, the industrial workers.

But, most important of all, the boycott has its own political logic. It is an act of economic warfare, not differing in principle at all from actual military warfare. Indeed, all experience has shown that, where it can be effective at all, the boycott is significant primarily as a prelude to higher and more intensive modes of struggle. The boycott movement of the American colonists against Great Britain in pre-revolutionary days was historically effective because it was the prelude to a revolutionary war, while the Gandhist boycott in India is facing dismal failure precisely because of the unwillingness of the Indian National Congress to carry the struggle beyond the boycott.

But what is the political logic of an American boycott of German goods? A war of the United States against Germany! And what would be the political meaning of such a war? Could it be anything but a straight-out imperialist war on both sides? The Hitler terror can no more rob an American war against Germany of its imperialist character than could the Hohenzollern despotism change the imperialist character of the late world war. Those who shout so enthusiastically for a boycott of German goods cannot dodge the inevitable implications of their position—support of the anti-German side in an imperialist war in the making.

The reformist Socialists, who have a positive instinct for abject service to the bourgeoisie, are now again at work drumming up a chauvinist anti-German sentiment and justifying in advance the next imperialist war. The "New Leader" of May 20 carries a very significant defense of the recent conduct of the French Socialists in voting for the outrageous war budget of French imperialism. Says the author of the article, in agreement with the editors of the "Socialist" paper: "The essential difference (between the last war and the coming war) is this—the World War was a struggle for export markets between capitalistic nations of all political complexions. The war now threatening will be more purely political in its nature and will in fact be a struggle in which the block of middle-European dictatorships seek to extend dictatorship as a political system by force into the democratic countries of the West." At a nod and a hint from the French capitalists, the Socialist chauvinists are already working out the slogans under which the masses are to be sent to slaughter in the coming war!

The boycott propaganda is, in fact, playing right into the hands of those who are very deliberately laying down a smoke-screen of chauvinism with an eye to the next war. Already German is being banned in some high schools in small towns and registrations are sharply declining even in the big city schools. The whole jingoistic hysteria of the dark war days is again being revived. That ought to be warning enough.

A great danger menaces the movement of protest against German Fascism in the United States, the danger of its becoming an instrument in the diplomatic maneuvers of imperialist politics. As long as it remains under bourgeois influence, it cannot be anything else. The great slogan of the moment must be: The anti-Fascist movement must break all connections with the big bourgeoisie, American, Jewish-American, French or British; it must become established as an independent movement, resting primarily on the working masses and under the leadership of their organizations!

# The Nat'l Recovery Bill

## A Gigantic Step Towards State Capitalism Under Presidential Dictatorship—Who Profits?

The passage of the Roosevelt "National Industrial Recovery Bill" in practically its original form was made probable when, on May 28, the House of Representatives approved it by a vote of 265 to 137. In the Senate a bigger fight is expected. Important capitalist interests, bitterly opposed to the far-reaching government control provided for in the bill, especially the licensing power, have already organized a powerful opposition to it.

\* \* \*

### The Provisions Of The Bill

This bill, which represents one of the most striking features of the "New Deal," makes the President the supervisor of all industry in the United States as well as dictator of all government public works activities for the next two years, the period of operation of the law. The President is to have far-reaching authority to "encourage, promote and require organization within private industry for better control of production . . . and otherwise to rehabilitate industry and to conserve natural resources." To make effective his policy, the President is empowered to set up whatever agencies may be necessary, to prescribe such procedure as he deems proper, to set up and superintend "fair competition" codes, to set rules for the regulation or production and prices, to determine maximum hours of work and minimum wages and any other factor in which "the public interest and welfare" are involved. His decisions the President can enforce by the use of fines and, if necessary, by a system of governmental licenses of private industry.

The second phase of the bill deals with public works. A lump sum appropriation of \$3,300,000,000 is authorized for Federal public works with the President directing the process thru an Emergency Administrator. The public works administration also has power, subject to the approval of the President, to make certain limited grants to states, municipalities and other public bodies. In connection with this, further public works activities of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation are to be abandoned and its loan powers decreased accordingly.

To pay for this public works program, an increase of normal income tax rates from 4% on the first \$4,000 of net income to 6% and from 8% of the remainder to 10%, the application of these increased rates to corporate dividends and an increase in the Federal refiners gasoline tax from 1c a gallon to 1½c, are planned. A proposal by Representative McCormack of Massachusetts for a general sales tax was defeated.

\* \* \*

### The Meaning Of The Bill

The "National Industrial Recovery Bill" is probably the most far-reaching measure ever taken by the Federal government with regard to industry. It sets up the most complete Federal control of economic life, empowers the President to undertake a "forced trustification" of industry and establishes a wide state capitalist system. Insofar as they are put into operation the provisions of the bill will effect a considerable advance in the centralization and unification of American economic life under all-powerful Federal authority.

But, because it takes place on the basis of the capitalist system and because it is carried thru by a government which is no more than a tool of the bankers and employers, this big advance in economic organization will redound to the benefit of the capitalists. While the extensive public works program will contribute something to the relief of the unemployed, provided union wages and similar standards are maintained, the Federal organization of industry will, under the circumstances, have its effect primarily in strengthening the hand of trust capital in shifting the burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the masses. In championing the "National Industrial Recovery Bill," Senator Wag-

ner explained that "the principal and immediate object of this bill is . . . to secure cooperative action within industry with a view to eliminating unfair competitive practices and thereby reduce unemployment, improve standards of labor and otherwise rehabilitate industry." But how these effects are to be brought about is a complete mystery. The steel industry is almost completely trustified; "cooperative action" within it has been secured; "unfair competitive practices" have been eliminated because competition as a whole has been pretty well-nigh eliminated. And yet the steel industry is as hard hit by the crisis as any other; steel production has fallen to incredible lows; unemployment has hit the steel workers as hard as the workers of any other industry; the standards of labor of the steel workers have been as bad as those of other workers and perhaps worse!

Only when the trusts are torn from the hands of the big bankers and become the property of the people, will the benefits of the organization of industry fall to the masses of the people. Only then will it be possible to take serious steps in abolishing unemployment. Until then the only real way effective method of meeting the emergency of unemployment, of obtaining some sort of security for the masses of the workers, is Federal unemployment insurance. But with this the Roosevelt "New Deal" will have nothing to do!

*The significance of the National Industrial Recovery Bill for the labor movement and the attitude of labor to it will be treated in the next issue of the "Age".—Editor.*

## ED. WELSH SPEAKS IN FORT WAYNE

Fort Wayne, Ind. Edward Welsh spoke here on May 8th on the Scottsboro case. About one hundred and fifty workers, Negro and white, listened attentively as he pointed out the necessity of a united struggle for the Scottsboro boys. Also that this case was right in Fort Wayne, that the Negro was segregated, Jim-Crowism was practised here as in the South. He also gave the history of the case, the part of the I. L. D. and the Communist Party in the struggle for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys. A. G. Becker also spoke on the necessity of unemployed organizations getting into the fight for the Scottsboro boys and all class war prisoners.

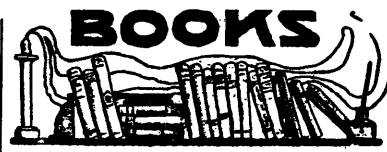
On Friday, May 19, Welsh spoke before 500 workers at the Chamber of Labor. He pointed out to them that it was necessary to have a program based on unemployed insurance and a militant struggle for their own interest. On the 20th he had a private group in a house meeting, about 25 workers being present. He gave a history of the capitalist system and an interesting discussion took place.

## TWO LETTERS

(Continued from page 7)  
Communists set up rival platform only a few yards from the labor speakers.

If all this needs explaining then how much more vital is it to explain the real tragedy of the situation so evident that the news writers sensed it. The report reads: "While the numbers in the park were impressive their behavior was almost anathema." And more important still: "The whole meeting illustrated the lack of leadership or organization." Here is a meeting of over 200,000 workers, massed to formulate a program of immediate action, based on immediate needs and the vanguard of the working class is not among its sponsor nor among its leaders. A mass protest of 200,000 workers, lacking organization and leadership and the only capable, sincere, revolutionary labor leaders, apart and segregated, shouting into the wind to drown out rival speakers. What does all this mean? How explain such a situation to inquiring and confused workers?

HARRY MINDLIN



**THE NEGRO'S CHURCH**, by Benjamin Elijah Mays and Joseph William Nicholson. The Institute of Social and Religious Research. New York, 1933.

In spite of certain almost inevitable shortcomings, this is really a model work of sociological analysis. Its objectivity, its factual sobriety, its more than occasional flashes of social insight distinguish it very favorably indeed from the obscurantist slush generally passing under the name of the "study of religion."

The authors make it quite clear that an understanding of the Negro's church is to be found not in some mystical "religious instinct," nor in some equally mystical alleged "racial character" of the Negro, but primarily in the specific features of the socio-economic status of the Negro people in the United States. And, altho the analysis of this status is not very profound, it suffices to make intelligible the more detailed discussions that follow.

Messrs. Mays and Nicholson carry their objectivity far enough to realize that the Negro church and the Negro preacher are almost always agencies to transmit to the masses of the Negro people the ideas that the white ruling class would like them to have. Preachers teaching the "right" doctrine, harping upon the other-world and keeping the aching social questions of the day at arm's length, can rely upon the support of the white people; others stand in danger of losing their places and even their lives. (Compare pages 6 and 7.)

The work is based upon a close study of 609 urban churches and 185 rural churches. Curiously enough, New York City is omitted, which seems to me to be a serious deficiency. However, from the extensive and truly representative material at hand, conclusions are carefully drawn as to the Negro ministry, the membership in urban and rural churches, church buildings, church programs, church activities and church finances, the problem of "overchurching" and so on. Most of these questions are perhaps of direct importance only to the specialist but the book is so intelligently written that any one who has any interest in American social problems will find it greatly worth-while. Especially attractive is the chapter on "The Message of the Minister," in which samples of various types of sermons are presented and analyzed.

The church plays a role among the Negro people of this country very different from what it does among the American people at large. Because of the whole caste system upon which contemporary American civilization is based, the Negro church is today about the only large-scale institution where the colored man can stand up as his own master, can find avenues for self-expression and enterprise. He is in his own domain, free from the white man's direct intrusion and domination. This must be realized particularly by those who, appreciating the disastrously reactionary influence of the Negro church, face the great problem of combating it. Indignant phrases, charged with emotion but with no understanding, get you nowhere. You must know your enemy in order to fight him effectively. For this reason I recommend "The Negro's Church" to all radicals, Negro and white.

Will Herberg

## GERMAN FASCISM AND THE WORKERS

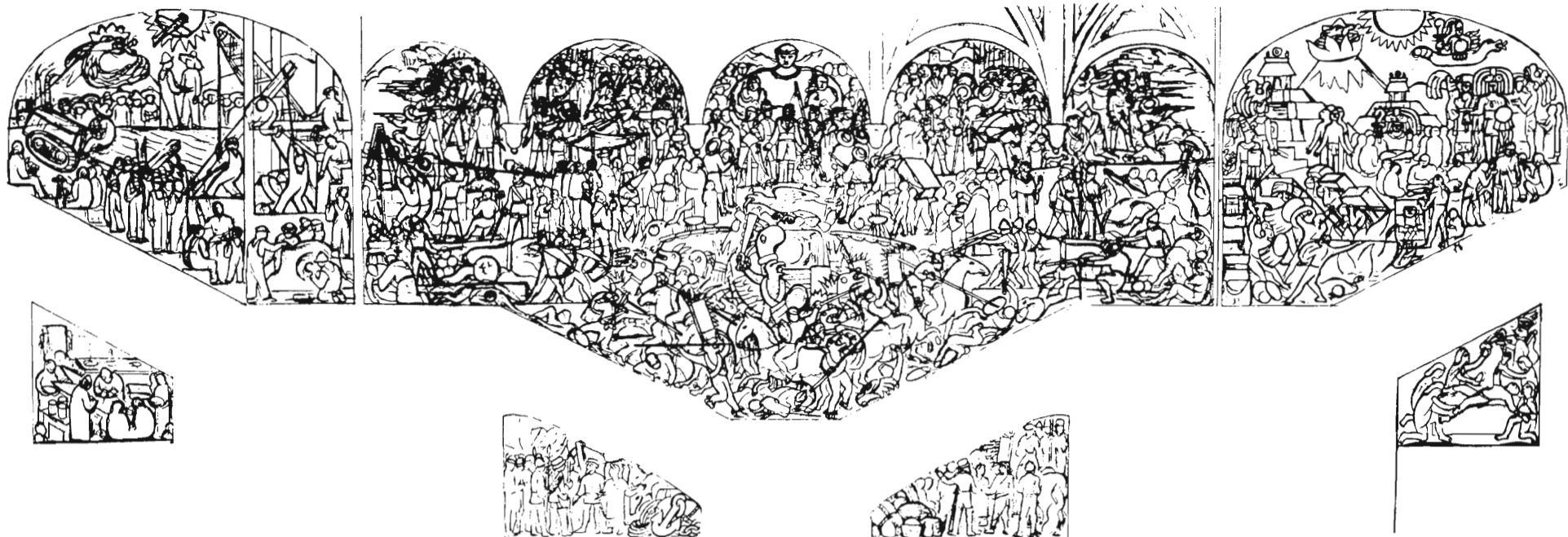
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WORKERS AGE

51 West 14th Street  
New York City



## I Paint What I See

(from the "New Yorker" May 20, 1933).

What do you paint, when you paint on a wall?

Said John D's grandson, Nelson. Do you paint just anything at all? Will there be any doves, or a tree in fall?

Or a hunting scene, like an English ball?

"I paint what I see," said Rivera

What are the colors you use when you paint?

Said John D's grandson, Nelson. Do you use any red in the heart of a saint?

If you do, is it terribly red, or faint?

Do you use any blue? Is it Prussian?

"I paint what I paint," said Rivera

Whose is that head that I see on my wall?

Said John D's grandson, Nelson. Is it anyone's head whom we know, at all?

If you do, is it terribly red, or faint?

A Rensselaer, or a Saltonstall? Is it Franklin D.? Is it Mordaunt Hall?

Or is it the head of a Russian?

"I paint what I think," said Rivera.

I paint what I paint, I paint what I see,

I paint what I think, said Rivera

And the thing that is dearest in life to me

In a bourgeois hall is Integrity;

However. . .

I'll take out a couple of people drinkin'

And put in a picture of Abraham Lincoln;

I could even give you McCormick's reaper

And still not make my art much cheaper

But the head of Lenin has got to stay!

It's no good taste in a man like me,

Said John D's grandson, Nelson. To question an artist's integrity

Or mention a practical thing like a fee,

But I know what I like to a large degree,

The art I hate to hamper.

For twenty-one thousand conservative bucks

You painted a radical. I say, shucks,

I never could rent the offices—The capitalistic offices.

For this, as you know, is a public hall

And people want doves, or a tree in fall,

And tho your art I dislike to hamper,

I owe a little to God and Gramper,

And after all,

It's my wall . . . We'll see if it is, said Rivera.

—E. B. W.



## A Shameless Fraud

Above we present the preliminary sketch of Rivera's mural in the Mexican National Palace and the central panel of the same as finally executed.

It was of this painting that Robert Evans (Joseph Freeman) wrote in the "New Masses" of February, 1932:

"The original design for the mural in the National Palace showing Mexico as a gigantic woman holding a worker and peasant in her arms was altered; for the worker-peasant, no doubt a painful sight to the government officials who pass the mural every day, were substituted harmless natural objects such as grapes and mangoes."

But the final painting reveals: (1) no woman, holding grapes or mangoes, (2) a worker (alleged unbearable sight), standing next to martyrs of the Mexican revolution (the peasant leader Zapata, Felipe Carrillo, martyred leader of the Socialist Party of Yucatan, Jose Guadalupe Rodriguez, and Primo Tapia, Communist peasant leaders assassinated by the government. The worker is pointing out to them

the road which the Mexican revolution must now follow. He points over the heads of Obregon and Calles to a panel at the extreme left (see sketch) in which is portrayed industrial Communism (Mexican workers at dynamos, cranes, Mexican peasants on tractors, people's schools and, surmounting all, a worker and peasant clasping hands).

The fact that Freeman lied about grapes and mangoes and the elimination of worker and peasant in order to slander Rivera may seem

## Rockefeller, Lenin And Lincoln

Rockefeller didn't like the painting! Its colors were "too bright"—red flags. It was "not imaginative enough"—actual revolutionists were used as models. It was "not appropriate to a commercial building"—war, unemployment, May Day in Moscow. It was "artistically and thematically incongruous"—Lenin joining the hands of white and black worker and soldier!

Rivera cunningly offered a "compromise". America was not all war, unemployment and night club life. America had revolution-

(Continued on last page)

in itself a petty matter. As to Freeman's remarks on "the awkwardness of the painter's draughtsmanship," "crude form," "technical skill (that) rouses the contempt even of young art students," we leave that to art critics. But the fact is that Freeman's brazen falsehood, based on the belief that "New Masses" readers would never get to see the painting in Mexico, is of a piece with the general slander methods of "political discussion" used by the official Communist Party today to justify and defend its false course whether in regard to artists and intellectuals or to trade unions, united front or party line.

For the party writers, the mere fact that Rivera is "expelled" justifies any falsehood, any slander. The result of this was the dilemma created for the party and the leaders of the John Reed Club when Rivera gave flaming expression to the impact of unemployment, war and class struggle in America upon him, in his murals in Radio City. When we called up the party for a united front, a spokesman on the other end of the wire expressed more interest in attacking Rivera than in fighting Rockefeller. The "Daily Worker" carried a shameful article by Robert Minor of the same tenor. According to Freeman's old article, Rivera could not have done anything worth defending, for:

"Cut off from the Communist Party, Rivera was automatically cut off from the masses whose life and aspirations furnished him with the themes of his murals. . . .

"Rivera himself must be conscious of this. How else can he explain the fact that the American bourgeoisie which neglected him at the height of his power, when he was a revolutionary artist, now coddles and lionizes him when his themes are banal and his technical skill rouses the contempt even of young art students."

We do not wish to discuss here Rivera as a political figure. With his political line we are not in agreement. We have differences with him on many important questions. But we recognize him as one of the world's greatest artists, producing revolutionary art which speaks directly to the masses and furthers the cause of Communism, art which, when our cause has triumphed, will live on as a precious heritage of classless humanity.





## LENIN'S HEAD The Storm Center

The head of Lenin according to Nelson Rockefeller (grandson of John D.) was the real cause of the trouble. Rivera, say the Rockefeller-controlled newspapers, "tried to put over a fast one and slip over the head of Lenin which was not in the original sketch." Even one of the spokesmen of the John Reed Club declared: "Rivera put one over on us. If we had known that he was going to put in the head of Lenin we would never have criticized his picture." Yet the sketch on the right shows that the head of Lenin was on the wall from the beginning—for over a month. The sketch was dusted on the wall before the painting began. Lenin is shown in the sketch with a cap on and with the soldier on one side, the Negro on the other. Comparison of the sketch with the final painting (left) shows how the painter's conception grew in strength in the course of its execution.



# NATIONALISM AND ART

One of the lines most easily exploitable for the arrivistes of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie at this moment is nationalism and professional patriotism. Besides, it is a great comfort for the academicians of today and for the bourgeois who are ashamed of not being able to enjoy and buy what they like—bad art—because it is no longer in style. But now, if they turn patriots, all will be well. As always, we are dealing with a clear projection of the social and political movement. The highest section of the big bourgeoisie is trying to organize itself and render its economic organization playful in character; it is headed towards Fascism and needs an art and the strengthening of the apparatus which serves to control education and scientific production.

Such is the basis of the Autos de Fe\* and the persecution of the Jews by Hitler in Germany. And here, the first symptoms of the same phenomenon are shown by the reactionary associations of artists and the abolition of the liberal attitude of the patrons who are taking off the mask of liberalism and sympathy towards art and are demanding of it that, if it do not turn adulator, at least it do not express anything which might injure their capitalist interests.

The case of Rockefeller Center is clear evidence of this. At the moment when the work was given to me about a year or so ago, the bourgeoisie was in fear of revolutionary possibilities and therefore felt more "liberal" than ever; but now that it finds itself supported for the moment by Hitlerism and the growth of general Fascization, it has changed its eclectic attitude and does not any more admit, even under the guise of a work of art, that very thing which it desired to acquire a year ago.

All this is only natural as a product of historical development. As far as national art is concerned, the attitude of the neo-Fascist painters is completely ridiculous, precisely in the realm of art—for what they want to protect with their opportunist nationalism, are only the degenerated remains of the artistic tradition of the English mother country, in itself a very

weak, surely the weakest of European esthetic traditions, and derived from the crumbs of the esthetic trash on the banquet table of the French and German bourgeoisie.

In other words, these nationalist gentlemen struggle to maintain American esthetic culture in a colonial and provincial state. They are working to make it continue to be a weak reflection of the artistic production of Europe which cannot even be esteemed by the bourgeoisie of good taste of that continent, an obvious fact, which is the true cause of the fact that rich Americans until now have preferred to buy foreign art.

The only national bases which the art of America can have are: first, continental and peasant sources; and second, universal and industrial sources. It is indisputable that all art must have profound roots in the soil in which it is produced and the only artistic production which it has on this continent is the Indo-American peasant art which has as magnificent and brilliant a tradition as that of Egyptian or Greco-Latin art. This

by Diego Rivera

tradition has not been interrupted. It has continued alive, especially in Mexico. And no American art, that is, no art nourished by the soil of the American continent, can be produced without being based on this.

On the other hand, the interna-



tional and universal genius of the human conglomerate formed by contributions of all the races of the world, functioning in the United States, naturally has a collective genius; and the expressions of this are the works of the engineers of the United States—marvelous works of plastic art but not yet concretized in painting or in sculpture for the specific quality of a machine is that of being transitory. Every machine modifies itself continuously, as does the industrial building whereas painting, sculpture and architecture are expressions of this same plastic art of the engineers, but possess, as their especial characteristic, that of expressing permanent values. Therefore, it is not enough, on the one hand, to produce machines nor, on the other, to make peasant art; for our life is more and more an industrial life and it is entirely necessary to connect the two contributions—worker and peasant—and create with them an expression of art which will be, whether we will it or no, American and worker and peasant.

## Rockefeller, Lenin And Lincoln

(Continued from previous page) ary traditions as well. He would sacrifice the night club and society folk playing bridge—his picture could get along without them. And in their place he would put, as a balance to the Lenin group, Abraham Lincoln, symbol of the unification of the country and abolition of chattel slavery, surrounded by John Brown, who sought to arouse slave revolt, Nat Turner, leader of Negro slave rebellion, Wendell Phillips Abolitionist-Socialist. . . .

Rockefeller was not pleased by the kind offer. Reminder of American revolutionary traditions was piling insult on injury. But the official party spokesmen seem to understand less about American revolution than its most conscious opponent. Sid Bloomfield, representative of the Workers School in the Rivera united front committee, declared: "The stand of Rivera has been cowardly. His offer to compromise with Rockefeller sticks in my throat!"

Bloomfield is answered by the head of Lenin. The representative of the New Workers School quotes from Lenin's Letter to the American Working Class, written in 1918:

"The best representatives of the American proletariat are the expression of this revolutionary tradition in the life of the American people. This tradition originated in the War of Independence against the English in the eighteenth and the Civil War in the nineteenth century. . . . Where can you find an American so pedantic, so absolutely idiotic, as to deny the revolutionary and progressive significance of the American Civil War of 1860-1865?"

Where? Apparently in the official Communist Party and in the direction of the Workers School!

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**THE  
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AGE**

## ART AND THE WORKING CLASS

(Continued from Second Page) my roof what I see is a slate roof, but when I look at your painting I see not only a slate roof but I think I see the sky as it looks at night.

"When I look at the window, I don't know why it is, but it seems to me as if at any moment someone is going to look out of that window—someone who does not live in my house at all.

"Down below, I see a pile of manure, and it looks like a pile of manure, but, what the devil! somehow it also looks to me like a mountain.

"I see a rake in your painting. It is a rake and it looks like a rake, but when I look at the teeth of your rake I have a feeling that if I used the teeth of that rake. I would do great damage to the ground. Now I see that the earth did not need to give me roots. I tear them from the earth.

"You have painted hens. They look like my hens, and you have painted them with great care,—but at the same time they suggest

to me some strange kind of animal that lives between that thing which does damage to the earth and that pile of manure that looks like a mountain. I no longer know what size the hens are.

"And in the middle of the picture you have painted a pile of wheat. It looks like wheat, and it has the color of wheat, and yet—I don't know why it is—but at the same time it seems to be flowers. It looks like something which I have always been wanting to see and yet have never seen before.

"And all that, because I see now the things which I have seen every day but in different form. All that seems to give rest to me. And so your painting is really useful. The trouble is that those paintings are for the rich who least of all need rest. But after all it is quite natural because you and all the rest of the world need cabbages and carrots, but the world can live without paintings. So you need to sell your paintings at a high price in order to be able to buy cabbage and carrots at a time when you

can't sell your paintings. Nevertheless there should be some way in which people such as I could have such paintings in our houses."

And so I made a proposition to the peasant,—I could not do less than that in view of the discussion,—that I should give him this painting and that whenever I should pass by again he should feed me cabbages and carrots.

So in the three months that I was there I frequently received cabbages and carrots. Finally, the peasant said that he wanted to do something else for me. He said he wanted to show me some pictures I could paint, and he took me walking along the fields. Without looking around him, looking only at the ground which he seemed to know very well, he arrived at a certain spot. There he pointed out the landscape and said, "Paint that." And so he took me to five different spots and at each one, pointed out the landscapes. And those are the only good landscapes I ever painted. The workers and the peasants are always right.

\* Rivera refers to the book-burnings, etc., reminiscent of the autos de fe of the Spanish Inquisition.