

FOR COMMUNIST  
UNITY IN THE  
REVOLUTIONARY  
CLASS STRUGGLE!

# THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE

WORKERS OF ALL  
COUNTRIES  
UNITE!

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING  
THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS

ISSUED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
(Majority Group)

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## Japs Triumph As Canton Clique Ousts Chiang Kai-shek

Chang Hsueh-liang Gives Way To Pro-Japanese Chang  
Tso-hsiang; Japs Aim Aggressions At Soviet Union;  
New Fighting Breaks Out In Manchuria

WASHINGTON.—In reaction to the two major victories scored by Japan in China last week: the replacement of Chang Hsueh-liang by the Kirin clique leader, Chang Tso-hsiang and the ousting of Chiang Kai-shek in Nanking, the American government has sent a sharp "warning" to Japan declaring that the United States would be "forced to protest" against any "further invasion" of Manchuria. The "protest" was delivered by Ambassador Forbes to the Japanese Foreign Office on December 18.

December 18, 1931  
Two pronounced victories for Japan were the chief results of last week's developments in the Far Eastern situation.

Chiang Kai-shek "Resigns"  
In the first place Chiang Kai-shek of the Nanking clique, which has operated as the "national government" of China under Wall Street patronage since 1927, resigned on December 15 to make way for the Canton group under the leadership of Eugene Chen, Wang Chin-wei, and others. Chiang announced his resignation in the name of "national unity and peace." The fact is, however, that two opposing forces cooperated in bringing about the actual ousting of the Chiang clique: the spontaneous but vague and politically confused resentment of the students and large masses of petty bourgeois nationalists against Chiang's lack of desire and ability to put up a real resistance against the imperialist invasion of Manchuria; and the intrigues of Japan which aimed at elevating the Canton group, with which it had established close connections, into power as the "national government." The complete bankruptcy of the Chiang regime, in domestic and foreign affairs, led to its collapse under pressure. It is not certain however that Chiang Kai-shek is entirely out; reports indicate that he will be placed at the head of the "National Defense" department or be given some other high post and his return to power, with the help of U. S. imperialism, is not altogether out of the question. In the meantime, however, Japan has scored and scored heavily against the United States.

As far as the Chinese masses are concerned the new regime will be no less oppressive, no less merciless, no less an agent of foreign imperialism than was the Chiang government. The thin veneer of "leftism" lent to the Canton clique by Wang Chin-wei has been worn off in its open negotiations with Japanese imperialism.

Chiang Hsueh-liang Out  
On the next day, Chang Hsueh-liang, war-lord of Manchuria and ally of Chiang Kai-shek in the Nanking government, resigned his positions in favor of Chang Tso-hsiang, his uncle, former Governor of Kirin Province, the head of the so-called Kirin clique, which has operated for many years in Manchuria under the direction of Japanese imperialism. The ousting of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, who was won some years ago to an alliance with Nanking and therefore to a pro-American

orientation, has been one of the avowed objects of Japan in its invasion of Manchuria. Now it has been accomplished. Chang Tso-hsiang is understood to be in favor of an "autonomous" Manchuria, which is also one of Japan's chief objectives. An "autonomous" Manchuria, under a pro-Japanese puppet government, would convert Manchuria into practically a direct colony of Japan.

Japan's firm entrenchment in Manchuria represents not only a further stage in the colonial partition of China and the enslavement of the Chinese masses but also a very serious menace to the Soviet Union. The next object of Japanese imperialist aggression is certain to be the Soviet Union.

Battles Continue in Manchuria  
Meanwhile the military invasion of Manchuria by Japanese troops with the objective of complete seizure continues. On December 16 two battles were fought between the Japanese invading armies and Chinese irregulars. The Chinese were repulsed and many killed.

Japan Loses Export Trade to China  
TOKYO—Japan has lost 60% of her trade to China since September owing to the anti-Japanese boycott and disturbed conditions.

## Mass Roy Defense in India

from The "Independent India" Of Bombay

The article below is taken from INDEPENDENT INDIA, a Nationalist Weekly, published in Bombay. It gives some idea of the tremendous mass movement that is being developed in India in defense of Manabendra Nath Roy, the Indian Communist and national-revolutionary leader. Comrade Manabendra Nath Roy is an outstanding figure in the International Communist Opposition. Roy was arrested some months ago in India on charges of "waging war against the King."

Since the arrest of Comrade Manabendra Nath Roy, the well-known figure in the field of international politics and the movement for emancipation of the colonial peoples, prominent public men, national workers, trade unionists and representatives of the labor organizations all over the country, are preparing for the defence of this fighter for national freedom of the Indian people.

Bombay Demonstrates Against Roy's Arrest

As regards agitation against the arrest of Comrade Roy, Bombay took the initiative. All-India Trade Union Congress, along with the Bombay Gini Union (Red Flag), the G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union, the B.B. & C.I. Railway Employees Union and other labor organizations and the Nawjuwan Bharat Sabha demonstrated against this fresh attack of the government of India on the movement for national freedom.

The Bombay police, having been aware of the demonstration arranged by these organizations in the city, removed Comrade Roy from the Esplanade Lock-up to the Cawnpore District Jail.

Cawnpore Takes Initiative For Defense

Immediately after his being brought to the Cawnpore District Jail, the citizens, Youth Leaguers, Congressmen and trade unionists of Cawnpore took immediate steps to set up a strong M. N. Roy Defense Committee, consisting of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Pandit Haribarnath Shastri (President, Provincial T.U.C.), Brajesh of Kalakankar (Secretary, Provincial T.U.C.), as secretaries. Pandit Narayan Prasad, Arora Moulana, Hazrat Mohani, Ajit Kumar Ghosh, Dr. Jawahar Lal, Gopinath Singh and others as members. The committee has engaged the legal services of Messrs. I. B. Sen of Calcutta, Mr. Assafally of Delhi, Mr. Iqbal Krishna Kapoor and other local advocates. Besides this, the Defense Committee has wired to Herr Rosenfeld, a famous German lawyer, and a member of the German Parliament to come down to India for the defense of Comrade Roy. It is reported that Herr Rosenfeld has set out for India with his staff for the defense.

Another Defense Committee

Lucknow also did not remain idle and immediately Comrade Banerjee, the General Secretary of the E. I. Railway Employees Union, set up a small but strong Defense Committee. So was it done by the members of the Nawjuwan Bharat Sabha at Benares where the Rajah of Pruthiganj was arrested by the police mistaking him for Roy.

Delhi Preparing For Defense

Tayab Shaik, Secretary A.I. T.U.C., who went to Delhi last week, interviewed prominent public men and national workers. With the help of Shrimati Satyawati Devi and Com-

rade Chamanlal a strong Defense Committee is being set up at Delhi.

Bengal Defense Committee

Bengal was not found wanting in this connection. Comrade S. Kulkundal, General Secretary A.I.T.U.C., with the help of the provincial Trade Union Congress, has set up a strong Defense Committee and in course of a few days an All-India Defense Committee will be set up, with Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Subash Chandra Bose, R. S. Ruiker, S. Mukundi Lal, Shrimati Satyawati Devi, Mrs. Assafally, Brajesh Singh of Kalakankar, Sambra Murthi, Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya and others.

At Bombay

M. N. Roy Defense Committee will include the following persons, including the representatives of the labor organizations: Dr. G. Y. Chitnis (President N. J. Bharat Sabha), Mrs. Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya, Mr. Gadkari (advocate), Miss Maniben Kara, V. B. Karnik, G. L. Kandalkar (President T. U. C.) Mrs. Ushabei Dange (Member Executive Committee G. K. U.), Laljee Pendse (Member Executive Committee G. K. U.), Zulmi Ram Choudhry (G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union), L. D. Phatak (General Secretary G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union), Purshotam Das Tricamdas (Vice-President B. B. & C. O. Railway Employees Union), Jaishanker Bhat (B. B. & C. I. Railway Employees Union), Miss Lotvala and others. Mr. D. T. Tarkat, (Secretary, T. U. Congress), Dr. M. R. Shetty, Mohamed Ebrahim and others. Miss Maniben Kara and V. B. Karnik will act as secretaries of the Defense Committee.

## Hoover Moratorium Passes House As Wall St. Rule Is Revealed

Resolution Carries By 317 To 100; McFadden, Ranking  
Republican In Banking Committee, Charges Hoover  
"Obeyed Bankers" And "Sold Out Country"

WASHINGTON.—The joint resolution approving the Hoover moratorium which postpones payments on foreign debts to this country for one year beginning last July and which involves a corresponding postponement of reparations payments on the part of Germany to the Allied powers, was passed by the House of Representatives on the evening of December 18 by a vote of 317 to 100. The opposition against the endorsement was led by two Democrats, Sanders of Texas and Vinsen of Kentucky. Of the 201 Republicans present, 196 voted for the joint resolution, while 120 Democrats voted affirmatively and 95 opposed, mostly Southerners.

In the discussion, Representative McFadden again launched into an attack upon President Hoover and the Administration, exposing their connections with Wall Street. McFadden it should be recalled, is the ranking Republican on the Banking Committee.

Washington, D. C.  
December 18, 1931.

By a vote of 21 to 4 the House Committee on Ways and Means adopted a resolution ratifying the Hoover moratorium. This vote was preceded by another on an amendment declaring against any cancellation or reduction of Europe's wartime and post-war debts to the United States. This amendment was carried by a vote of 16 to 9. The vote on the amendment was practically a strict party vote, the affirmative being all Democrats with the exception of Crowther (Rep., N. Y.). The four who voted against the report as a whole were all Democrats.

Considerable opposition to the ratification of the moratorium is expected in the House.

In a sensationally demagogic speech, which nevertheless uncovered the invisible threads connecting the White House and Wall Street, Representative McFadden (Rep., Penn.) launched into a bitter attack upon President Hoover and the administration, charging that in putting thru the moratorium the President had "sold out his country to the international bankers." Hoover's conduct, McFadden declared, "savoured of the ways of an Oriental potentate drunk with power." He declared that Mr. Hoover had been elected "thru the aid of the German international bankers" and that he "had to repay them." McFadden called attention to the repeated conferences between the President and the leading figures of his Administration and the representatives of the biggest banking groups of Wall Street. He repeated again and again that the policies of the Administration were not being decided or even considered by the "representatives of the people" but rather by high financial circles of the country. McFadden's speech created considerable disturbance in the House. Democrats and Republican arose and condemned him in threatening words. Senator Reed (Rep., Penn.) notified Postmaster General Brown that McFadden should be completely disregarded in the apportionment of Federal patronage for Pennsylvania.

With the help of Senator Borah, head of the Senate Committee of Foreign Affairs, the Johnson resolution asking Secretary of State Stimson to furnish correspondence on the Manchurian situation was adopted by the Senate on December 17.

The Senate is still deadlocked over the election of president pro tem.

## Left-Progressive Bloc Sweeps Local 1 Vote In Biggest Election Ever Held

Elect Manager And All Paid Officials Of Cloakmakers  
Union In New York; Over 3,000 Votes Cast; Bloc  
Also Wins In Local 9 Elections

New York City  
A smashing victory for the left-progressive bloc was the result of the elections just held in Local 1 (cloakmakers) of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Over 3,000 votes were cast, the largest participation in any local elections in the history of the I.L.G.W.U. The candidate for local manager on the left-progressive bloc (the joint slate of the United Progressive League and the Trade Union Center group), Louis Levy, received the extraordinarily high vote of 1,489. The candidate of the self-styled "Left group" (the T.U.U.L. organization, a cover organization for the Industrial Union), J. Levy, received 776 votes. The third candidate, on the slate of the right-wing Schlesinger clique in the local (the Mutual Aid Club), Mozer, received 757 votes.

At the same time all paid officials of the local, business agents, were won by the left-progressive bloc, whose entire slate was elected. The "Left group" ran no candidates for business agents, and its supporters actually voted for the right-wing Schlesinger candidates as against the nominees of the left-progressive bloc!

The balloting for the executive board of the local is not yet completed but it is certain that the left-progressive bloc will get a substantial majority.

The tremendous turn-out of union members in the elections and the striking victory of the left-progressive bloc point not only to the vigorous fermentation in the ranks of the membership but also to its determination to give a decisive and unequivocal answer to the class-collaborationist, demoralizing work of the right-wingers as well as to the dual-unionist splitting tactics of the self-styled "lefts" of the T.U.U.L.

According to latest information, further results in the Local 1 elections are as follows: On chairman of the local: Zuckerman (left-progressive bloc)—1196; Gazman ("Left" group)—652; Miller (right-wing)—647.

Of the 28 members of the executive board, 26 are of the left-progressive bloc, 2 of the "Left" group, and none of the right-wing.

New York City  
The elections in Local 9 of the I.L.G.W.U. gave the victory to the progressive group making up the present administration. The voting was as follows: Kirtzman (progressive) 732, Sorkin (right wing group) 549, and Cooper ("Left" T.U.U.L. group) 390; Local chairman: Kaufman (progressives) 762, Bender (right wing group) 577. Of the business agents the progressive elected four and the right wing group two. Those elected were: Eekin, Wallach, Bercovici, Firestein—all progressives and Breitschneider and Miller—right wingers.

## BRITISH WORKERS TO FIGHT BACK

Textile Workers Reject Boss  
Demand for 55½ Hour  
Week, Wage-Cut

LONDON.—Representatives of the trade unions in the Lancashire cotton industry, meeting on December 15, took only ten minutes to reject the demand of the Master Spinners Federation for a new agreement that would work drastic reductions in wages and drastic increase in hours.

The employers insisted on a return to the 55½-hour week and to cuts in wages in addition. It was made clear that the MacDonald National government was behind the employers' offensive.

The rejection of the employers demands by the trade union conference is considered as opening the possibility of a general strike.

## MARINE DEFENSE MOVE GROWS

L. I. D. Students Council  
Issues Statement; Big  
Meeting Planned

The campaign for the release of the three members of the Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union, Jack Soderberg, Wm. Trajer and Thomas Bunker, is progressing rapidly. The Marine Workers Defense Committee, which is conducting the campaign has received communications from various organizations condemning this frame-up and pledging to support the Defense Committee in its fight for these workers.

Typical of these communications is the following from the Students Council of the League for Industrial Democracy:  
"From newspaper accounts, and on the basis of information which has come to us from other sources, we feel convinced that the arrest of John Soderberg, secretary of the Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union, of Thomas Bunker and William Trajer, members of that union is a palpable frame-up.

"The charge of dynamiting, we know, is one of the old standbys of the authorities when they wish to punish class conscious workers for attempting to organize. In this case all the marks of police framing are present. The wrecking by police of the union headquarters, the brutal third degree inflicted by them on Soderberg, Bunker and especially Trajer, a boy of 20, all point to one conclusion.  
"We assure you of our sympathy and support in your efforts to expose and defeat the attempt of the authorities to railroad these workers to prison and destroy the union which they have been trying to build."

A mass meeting to bring the case before workers and expose the latest police frame-up was arranged by the Committee for Thursday, January 7, at Webster Manor, 125 East 11th St. Among the speakers will be Carlo Tresca, Editor of Il Martello, Ben Gitlow of the Communist Party (Majority Group), James P. Cannon of the Communist League of America (Opposition), A. J. Muste of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and others.

Carter Hudson of the Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union will be the chairman of the meeting.

Read the  
REVOLUTIONARY AGE

## THE NATIVE-BORN NEXT!



## REVOLT OF INDIAN MASSES GROWS AS REPRESSION SHARPENS

Peasants, Middle Classes And Workers In Big Upsurge;  
Revolutionary Terror Spreads; Round-Table  
Fiasco Stirs Left Movement

December 18, 1931

The deep-going rebellion of the Indian masses against British imperial oppression, unleashed by the miserable failure of the Round-Table Conference and intensified by the vicious regime of terror instituted by the Viceroy, Lord Willingdon, is fast reaching heights where it again constitutes a formidable menace to the British Raj.

The "no-rent" and "no-tax" campaigns among the peasantry have taken a decided hold in the United Provinces and are spreading to all parts of British India and even into the native states. Demands for the total expropriation of the landlords are being heard on all sides. In the cities the labor movement, which has grown considerably stronger in the last year and more, primarily thru the efforts of the Communist groups organized by Manabendra Nath Roy, Communist Opposition leader, is keeping pace with the rapidly developing peasant movement. The trade union movement is being unified after the recent disastrous splits; a number of

successful strikes have recently been conducted; and the workers are beginning to play a more prominent role in the national struggle for liberation. A new leftward swing is also noticeable among the middle class elements in the towns, the chief supporters of the Indian National Congress. The fermentation within the radical petty bourgeoisie is especially to be seen in the emergence of a new wave of individual revolutionary terrorism. On December 14 two girl students of Bengal University assassinated the British district magistrate especially notorious for his repressive measures. The swing to the left is to be seen too in the new militant tone of the provincial and local Congress committees, many of which are passing under the influence of the Communist Opposition forces.

The British authorities are falling back upon their old stand-by in meeting the upsurge of the Indian national-revolutionary movement—brutal repression. A new ordinance issued on the evening of December 14 by the Viceroy extends the previous Bengal repressive measures and gives United (Continued on page 2)

## S.-D. PARTY AGAIN BACKS BRUENING

German Socialists Again  
Support Anti-Labor  
Government

BERLIN.—A renewed pledge to support the Bruening reactionary dictatorship, in spite of its vicious attacks on the labor movement and on the conditions and rights of the workers, was made on December 16 at a special conference of the representatives of the Social-Democratic party, of the General Federation of Trade Unions and of the Reichsbanner. The meeting included addresses by Theodore Leipart, head of the trade union federation, Dr. Rudolf Breitscheid, leader of the Social-democratic Reichstag fraction, and Otto Wels, chairman of the Social-democratic party.

The resolution adopted pledges the Social-democratic party and the labor organizations under its influence to support the recent emergency decrees of the Bruening regime which not only cut wages all around and forbid the political mobilization of labor but also cancel the trade union agreements and destroy the effectiveness of unions as a defense of the workers.

The pretext upon which the Social-democratic leaders based their support on the bitterly anti-labor Bruening government and its decrees, was that the maintenance of Bruening was necessary to prevent the triumph of Fascism. As a matter of fact, however, the Bruening government is actually opening the way for Fascism by disarming and demoralizing the workers and by paralyzing every effort at effective defense against Fascism.

Conway on "Freedom in the Free State" Dec. 27, 228 2nd Avenue



# A "NEW TURN" GONE WRONG AGAIN!

A Letter From Philadelphia

By M. KRAMER

I always thought that in the labor movement it is the actual task of the Communists to come before workers and present their views in order to win them over to the movement. This task is a part of their daily work, their daily fight for the majority of the working class, the biggest problem confronting the Communists today. However, definite understanding of the importance of this problem is the Communist Party today still maintains its disastrous line—however, under certain maneuvers which are supposed to "prove the fact that the line is being changed. Certain "liberties" are allowed to the heads of various departments and certain concessions in the carrying out of the united front work, etc., for the purpose of substantiating the fable of a change in line.

As a step in this direction the International Workers Order recently sent out a communication to our Branch No. 118 of the Workmen's Circle challenging us to a debate on the question: "Was it correct to remain in the Workmen's Circle?" When our branch received this challenge it was the unanimous opinion of our executive committee to accept the challenge. We were clear that it might lead to sad consequences as to the stand that our district organization would take. We elected a committee of three which was supposed to meet with a committee of three from the I. W. O. When these committees met the following was agreed upon: That the two organizations proceed with the preparations for the debate which was to take place on November 29; to issue publicity to the press to send letters to the memberships of the two organizations mentioned above; and to meet again on the night of the debate. There were also some technical arrangements made which are of minor importance, such as time of presentation and rebuttal, etc. One more point was agreed upon unanimously and that was that only members of the two branches should have the right to discuss and that the debaters must be members of the respective branches. It was also pointed out that the official debaters would not be as important (so to speak) as the discussion from the floor. Branch No. 118 announced that Gussakoff had been selected to present the views of that branch. We asked the committee of Branch No. 118 of the I. W. O. if they had any objections. They stated that it did not matter who the representative was as long as he was a member of the branch. Although certain remarks were made at that meeting that Gussakoff was a member of the Communist Party (Majority Group), no objections were made about his being the speaker for Branch 118 of the W. C. As far as the speaker for the I. W. O. branch 18, they declared they had not as yet selected one. They assured us that they certainly would have a speaker ready for the debate. This ended the work of the two committees.

Our branch followed at once the recommendations of the committees. We sent publicity to the press. We mailed out special letters to the membership. We made all necessary preparations for the debate. All these preparations for the debate alarmed the leadership of the Philadelphia district of the W. C., since they realized quite well that a debate of such a character would necessarily bring to the forefront the task of the left wing within the W. C. and present the militant platform of struggle in the W. C. We succeeded in creating some interest among the members of the W. C. and among many members of the I.

## REVOLT GROWS IN INDIA

(Continued from Page 1)  
Provinces government power to deal summarily with the "no-rent" campaign of the Congress. A new feature of the Willingdon ordinance provides for the arbitrary suppression of all newspapers and journals of an anti-government tendency.

On December 16 police made raids upon the residences of prominent Congress leaders and upon Congress headquarters all over the country. No arrests were made but the leaders, including Jawarhalal Nehru, were ordered to stay indoors and not to issue any statements under severe penalties.

Meanwhile Gandhi is on his way back to India. His statements, guarded as they are, indicate that he will try to exert his influence once more to allay the rebellion of the masses and to throw them into passivity. How far he will now succeed remains to be seen.

**Ingersoll Forum**  
Pythian Temple, 135 W. 70th St.  
Sundays, 8 P. M. Admission 25¢

December 27th  
**Morris Goldberg, M. A.**  
"DID JESUS CHRIST EVER LIVE?"

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W. O. who had left the W. C. not because of their conviction to do so. Our branch was very much interested being aware of the line of the Party, in this work and the preparation proceeded splendidly. At the same time, we were awaiting the catastrophe. We were not disappointed. Five days before the debate a committee of Branch No. 18 of the I. W. O. appeared at the meeting of the executive of Branch No. 118 of the W. C. They came with new proposals:

1. That only members of Branch No. 118 who were members of that branch before the split should have a right to lead the discussion or participate in the debate; 2. that they do not want to undertake a debate as to the correctness of the split from the W. C., but generally they wanted to discuss if it was correct for branch No. 118 to remain in the W. C.

Immediately, Gussakoff, who took the floor, exposed all the cheap maneuvering on the part of the I. W. O. He pointed out that it was ridiculous for us to discuss the split in one branch knowing very well that the question of the split was not a branch policy but a national policy on the part of the leaders of the Party forces within the W. C. What nonsense is this that only members of our branch who were there before the split should have the right to discuss. It is nothing but cheap maneuvering to reject Gussakoff as the official debater for Branch No. 118. All the members of the executive committee, without any exception, understood the move and refused to withdraw Gussakoff as the spokesman.

When the committee of the I. W. O. saw the action of our executive committee standing pat that Gussakoff should be the spokesman, they let the cat out of the bag and stated: "We are a disciplined organization. Our leader, the Communist Party, prohibits us from debating with 'Lovestonites'." Bravo! This ended one of the numerous attempts to correct the so-called new line of the Party. We proceeded with the debate. Some members of the I. W. O. were there and participated in the discussion. But no official spokesman was there and once more the Party which had a chance to speak to hundreds of workers and win them to the movement, failed to show its face!

# THE DEPTH OF FACTIONAL DEGENERATION The "Young Workers League of India" and Roy

"Loyalities" In The Service Of Imperialism

Much that is impermissible has characterized the tactics of the official Communist leadership in its factional struggle against the comrades defending the Leninist tactical line and organized in the International Communist Opposition. But a particularly "anti-working class crime" has just been committed by the "Young Workers League of India" in the form of a scurrilous attack on M. N. Roy now on trial for "high treason." Any worker who reads this outbreak of the Y. W. L. of India can readily see that it is a plain piece of desperate strikebreaking. It says:

"From 1919 till the year 1928 Mr. Roy was in charge of the Communist movement in India, and he was to instruct and advise young Communist elements in India on behalf of the Communist International. Mr. Roy, instead of giving proper advice and instruction, misled the workers representatives by wrong instructions, such as, working within the Congress, forming of provincial workers and peasants parties also a National Revolutionary party of which he had very vague notions."

Comrade Roy worked very closely with Lenin during the beginning of this period. Together with Lenin, he wrote the basic theses of the Communist International on the national question, adopted at the Second World Congress (1920). Through these years he worked in leading roles for the C. I. expressing and executing C. I. policies.

In 1926, during the Seventh Plenum, Comrade Roy was one of the most important figures in the Chinese Commission. Stalin and Molotov were among the other members of this commission which arrived unanimously at its decisions. But now, everything that was done by the C. I. before 1928-29, before the 10th Plenum, is false and all those who then worked for the C. I. line and now continue to work for this correct Leninist tactical course are condemned as traitors. No wonder serious debates are now going on in certain "loyal" ranks whether Lenin was a Bolshevik before the war!

"His activities in China in 1927 while he was a member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern were such as to betray the revolutionary movement in China and to strengthen the hands of world imperialism and Chinese counter-revolution. Owing to these

betrayals he was removed from the Executive Committee in 1928."

No doubt mistakes were made by the C. I. in China. No doubt Comrade Roy, faithfully executing the C. I. line in China in 1927, shared in the making of these mistakes. However, it is necessary to remind these Stalinites that Stalin himself was the most vigorous champion of the C. I. line carried out by Roy in China. At that time it was Bukharin who was the most persistent critic and opponent of this line which swung from Stalin's eulogies of Chiang Kai-shek to the Canton incident.

"Later on he allied himself with Brandler's group which had been expelled from the German Communist Party for its anti-proletarian activities. He also maintained contact with Lovestone's group in America which had been kicked out of the American Party. Thus Roy was in alliance with the other two renegade groups of Germany and America, pursued a policy which helped the activities of the Socialist (Second) International which is leading the counter-revolutionary movement against the International revolutionary movement led by the Communist International."

The attack on the German Communist Opposition and on our group is typical of the balderdash handed out daily in the Freiheit, Jorge's column and the Daily Worker and isn't even worthy of any reply.

"Besides these above mentioned facts which go to prove the services to world counter-revolution, one can easily see the part he is playing in the revolutionary movement in India from his bail application. For example, he tried to Mac Donald to intervene in his case, to Mr. Mac Donald, who was the head of the Labor imperialist government whose regime was responsible for the most brutal white terror which India had ever experienced."

To whom else could Comrade Roy apply for bail except his jailers, headed by Mr. MacDonald. Should Comrade Roy have applied to the non-existent "loyal" official "Communist Party"?

"The statement of the learned Judge of Cawnpore that Mr. Roy was prima facie the organizer of the Communist Party, comes as a surprise to us. As far as we know, he was, and is, in fact, a disorganizer. A man like Mr. Roy, an opportunist and a self-seeking adventurer, never can organize a Communist Party. When the Party came to know the real stuff of which he was composed he was turned

out of the Communist ranks as early as 1928."

Again, the advocates of the present non-Leninist line of the E.C.C.I. and its puppets show their despair. Lenin and the entire Comintern leadership until the present crisis, always considered Comrade Roy one of the best Marxists in the C. I., the outstanding Marxist in the Orient, the organizer of the Communist forces in the Far East.

"Mr. Roy said that he stressed the right of free expression because this was the crux of the whole case. This again proves how much he clings to liberal bourgeois conceptions such as, rights of free expression, etc. No revolutionary can have any illusion of such rights under the present system in India. But Mr. Roy, along with his compatriots, the Indian bourgeois leaders, who have been allying themselves with British imperialism to bleed the Indian masses, have a right to such a freedom for they serve in fact the existing regime."

"It is a pity that in spite of such a long role of service to the cause of world imperialism and to British imperialism in India the prosecution should have brought a charge of sedition (D) against Mr. Roy, a charge of which, objectively, as we have shown, he is innocent. Therefore, it is still more a pity that the learned Judge of Cawnpore should have rejected his bail application. We hope that the imperialist government will come to a better recognition of its allies and reward Mr. Roy's services to the measure of his service to counter-revolution."

Here the sectarianism and cynicism of the new line show themselves at their ugliest. They are frantic at the great stir and response among the Indian masses to the prosecution of Comrade Roy. They particularly resent the broad basis on which the Roy defense has been waged. The entire labor and peasant movements, as well as the revolutionary forces in the nationalist movement, have rallied to the defense of Comrade Roy—except, of course, the pitifully isolated and hopelessly sterile sect, calling itself the "loyal," "official" Communist Party of India.

The cynical sneers of the self-styled Y. W. L. of India, about their "surprise" at Comrade Roy being prosecuted, can't hide the fact that they and the British imperialist government are working simultaneously to destroy Comrade Roy, his associates and all they stand for in their revolutionary struggle against imperialist exploitation and oppression in India and elsewhere.

# DETROIT JOBLESS DEMONSTRATION

A Letter From Detroit

Detroit, Mich.

A Communist demonstration in Grand Circus Park, the second in a week, was broken up by the police Saturday, November 28, and eight persons were arrested.

Monday, November 23, a committee from the Unemployed Councils went to the Police Commissioner's office and asked for permits to hold a Hunger March demonstration in Grand Circus Park at 1 P. M. Wednesday, November 25, a demonstration of women and children on Saturday, November 28 and on December 13, in connection with the Hunger March to Washington, but for which no time or place had at that time been decided. The Commissioner refused these permits for the meetings called for the 25 and 28 in the park, giving as the reason that at that time of day it would "interfere with business conditions and traffic in the district." He gave them permits for Cass Park which is a few blocks away.

They refused to hold the meetings in Cass Park and immediately issued advertising stating that the demonstration would be held in Grand Circus Park in spite of the police. The result was that when they walked into the park they found the police waiting for them. There was no meeting held and thirty arrests were made.

Immediately after the release of those arrested a deft against the police was issued calling on the workers to demonstrate in the Park Saturday November 28, and assert their right to the park. This was issued by John Schmieles; Communist candidate for mayor in the last election.

At 10:50 A. M. a large number of workers entered the park from all directions. There were approximately 100 police waiting for them and they immediately started to clear the area. A severe struggle followed.

After the park was cleared the demonstration made an attempt to reassemble at Witherell Street and Adams Avenue, but mounted police broke them up again.

Late on Saturday, a group headed by George Kristalsky arranged bonds for Lawrence Reed and Mrs. Anna Kusha, two of those arrested Wednesday. Kristalsky said that he was secretary of the International Defense League and that organization had no connection in any way with the Communist Party!

Schmieles' trial started Tuesday. He was charged with disturbing the peace. He demanded a trial by jury. The case lasted three days and on Thursday he was found guilty by the jury on which there were eight unemployed workers. He was sentenced to sixty days. The case was appealed.

Since the demonstration (which demonstrated that the ruling class still has the power; that the workers are not yet class-conscious and that there is no revolutionary upsurge as yet), the workers have kept away from the park. The greatest number that has at any time congregated there in the last five days was sixteen persons. Jack Wilson.

## RAIL WAGE-CUT TALK OPENS

A committee empowered to "negotiate to a conclusion" with the Railway Labor Executives Association (the heads of the railway unions) was appointed, on December 18, by the conference of railroad executives held in New York City. At the same time the railroad companies announced that they would "serve notice on the unions of a desire to revise the existing contracts so as to effect a 15% reduction in wages." In line with the surrender decision made at the recent conference of railroad shop chairmen in Chicago, it is expected that the unions will "accept" a 10% wage-cut "voluntarily."

## NEW CLASHES IN HONOLULU

HONOLULU.—The growing active resentment of the Hawaiian population against the arbitrary oppressive behavior of the American armed forces was manifested again in a clash between a large crowd of Honolulu and a party of seamen. Such clashes have been growing more and more common in this city within the last few weeks. The city is seething with hatred of the American oppressors and further outbreaks are to be expected.

MENA, Ark.—One hundred class-conscious young men and women who wish to pursue their studies in the militant atmosphere of a labor school and at the same time live more cheaply than at home, can be accepted by Commonwealth College, at Mena, Arkansas, beginning with the winter quarter, December 28 or the spring quarter, March 28.

No one is unemployed at Commonwealth, for teachers and students work for their room, board and laundry while carrying on academic work. The college performs its own communal tasks and raises most of its own food on its 320-acre farm-campus in the Quachita mountains.

Among those in attendance are a number of jobless workers who are using their enforced leisure to study the cause of their unemployment and to prepare themselves to be more effective in the struggle for a better social order.

Courses are offered in economics, sociology, history, psychology, labor journalism, effective writing, advanced writing, argumentation, labor law, social philosophies, imperialism, foreign affairs, English, French and German. The faculty of twelve is headed by Lucien Koch, 24 year old carpenter and farm boy and former instructor at the experimental college of the University of Wisconsin. He is the youngest college president in the United States.

Students earn room, board and laundry in exchange for 20 hours work a week and pay \$40 tuition per quarter of three months. Ability and interest in labor, rather than formal education, are the chief requirements for admission.

Senators Davis and Watson (Republican floor leader) got sugar stock in 1928 and 1929 for advocating a boost in the tariff on sugar. A higher price for the consumer meant more "sugar" for the Senators. "They're heavy sugar daddies" says Dumb Dora.

# HOOVER EXPOSE IS BANNED BY COURT

Book Banned As "Unsportmanlike" Altho True!

The book, "Strange Career of Mr. Hoover—Under Two Flags", by John Hamill, and published by William Faro, has been banned by Supreme Court Justice Cotillo in a decision handed down on December 15, in connection with a suit for "pirating."

Mr. Hamill's book is a sensational exposure of the little known career of Mr. Hoover in Australia, China, England, etc. before he became prominent in politics. It exposes the American President as a slave-trader, exploiter and oppressor of the worst type, in addition to showing his close connections with extremely shady swindling schemes of all sorts. It was obviously gotten out as an unofficial Democratic campaign document.

In barring the book Justice Cotillo didn't brand the book as untruthful; on the contrary, he took the truth of the book for granted. He, however, insisted that the "publication is designed with no other aim than to discredit a public official" and was therefore "unsportmanlike" and "detrimental to the public interest."

This is the "free press" supposed to be guaranteed by the Constitution! If anybody publishes anything which may be quite true and significant (and certainly a searchlight on the career of the "great humanitarian" is significant today), it may be suppressed by a judge if he thinks that it is "unsportmanlike" and "detrimental to the public interest!"

# DEBATE IN DETROIT ON DICTATORSHIP

DETROIT, Mich.—A very interesting debate was held here Sunday December 6 at the Detroit Educational Forum which is conducted under the auspices of the anarchist group here in Detroit. The subject under discussion was: Is the dictatorship of the proletariat necessary for social progress? The affirmative was taken by Comrade William Miller, of the Communist Party (Majority Group) and the negative by Bartol Provo, a member of the anarchist groups.

About two hundred persons attended, taxing the hall to capacity. Comrade Miller made a very able presentation of the Communist position and by his very convincing reasoning demonstrated the necessity of the proletariat establishing their dictatorship over the bourgeoisie to last until such time as the bourgeoisie class has been wiped out and a generation has grown up under the new conditions established, when, to use Frederick Engels's words, "the state would wither away."

On the other hand his opponent, basing his whole case on pure idealism, tried to convince his hearers that because the state is a weapon used for repressive purposes the Soviet state is and will be used to again enslave the workers.

From conversations had with many of the anarchists it seems that many of them were not satisfied with their own speaker.

Another member of the C. P. (Majority Group) has been invited to speak at this same forum on Jan. 10, 1932. The subject will be: What the C. P. (Majority Group) stands for.

# DANCE DANCE ENTERTAINMENT

Tango Exhibition Vocal Quartette under the auspices of  
**DOWNTOWN NEEDLE TRADES UNITS**  
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# NEW CABINET IS FORMED IN SPAIN

Three Socialist Members In New Cabinet

MADRID.—The selection of the first "constitutional" cabinet of the Spanish Republic was announced by Premier Azana on the evening of December 15, after a conference with President Zamora.

There are ten members of the cabinet, which is of a somewhat conservative complexion. There are three Socialists on it, holding the portfolios of Public Instruction, of Labor and of Public Works.

The 466 deputies in the Cortes are divided as follows: Government parties: Socialists, 117; Radical Socialists, 56; Republican Action, 26; Gallegans, 15; Catholics, 43; giving the government 260, or a working majority of 26 votes; Opposition and unrepresented parties, Group for Service of the Republic 14; Conservatives, 34; Progressives, 18; Federalists, 17; Agrarians; 16; Basque-Navarre (Catholic), 14; Independents (None of this group, Senor Carner is in the Cabinet), 10; unclassified, 28.

A notable absence from the cabinet is that of former Foreign Minister Alejandro Lerroux, the leader of the

bourgeois liberal reaction. His omission from the cabinet is regarded as a victory for the Socialists.

# FILIPINO REBELS ARRESTED

MANILA.—Charges of "sedition" and "incitement to insurrection" were filed on December 17 against 154 members of the Tanguan Society in the Manila Court of First Instance. The Tanguan Society is a national-revolutionary organization with considerable influence among the peasants and the lower middle classes in the cities.

Recently the Philippine Constabulary (American) succeeded in suppressing plans for an armed rising of the Filipino people against American imperialist control. The discontent of and active rebellion of the masses of the people, especially the peasants, and their demand for independence from the Yankee yoke on the one hand and for the end to the oppression of the landlords on the other, are growing stronger every day.

American women spend \$750,000,000 yearly on cosmetics to get red cheeks without health and air and sun without sunshine. Under savagery is chiefly the men that paint their faces, under civilization, the women. And, as any civilized woman will tell you, she wouldn't think of piercing her nose to put in a nose-ring. She puts ear-rings in her ears. As for the dress of civilized man—words fail me!

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A Defense of Slavery Shattered!

'Intelligence Tests' and Negro

by Will Herberg

When the Negro was held in open slavery in this country, profound philosophers proved that slavery was in accordance with the "nature of man"...

erable value but a more direct approach to the question was possible: "Tests were given to children born in the South and now living in New York, but differing in the length of time during which they have lived there..."

There is no such thing as "intelligence" that is inborn and that differs only quantitatively in different individuals, groups or people.

"Intelligent Testing" to the Rescue!

In 1854 an American anthropologist by the name of Cravath wrote an elaborate treatise to prove the non-human and semi-simian character of the Negro.

The results of Professor Klineberg's investigations are striking indeed. "It is true that in general white children do better on the tests than Negroes," concludes Professor Klineberg.

A Critique of "Intelligence Testing"

As a matter of fact, the basic assumptions, the methods of reasoning and the most favorite conclusions of the pseudo-science of "intelligence testing" are equally wrong at bottom.

Another "argument" for caste slavery goes wrong!

(1) Compare "A Study of Racial Differences," by Nathaniel D. M. Hirsch. But of course, the "intelligence tests" do not confine themselves to "proving" the "superiority" of the whites over the Negroes.

Lovestone Speaks in Philadelphia

Philadelphia, Pa. Jay Lovestone, editor of the Revolutionary Age, spoke on "The Outlook for the 1932 Elections" at the Labor Institute here on Sunday, December 13.

Lovestone analyzed the situation of the two capitalist parties, their programs and their probable candidates. He dwelt on the role of the Republican "insurgents," showing that they would have no direct influence thru their own initiative but that they might be utilized by the "regular" republicans as a liberal dressing for vote-getting.

Especially significant were the remarks made by Lovestone as regards the Communist Party which, he said, in spite of the wrong approach it has towards all its branches of activity is bound to pull a relatively large vote.

And what about the Revolutionary Age? From the first to the last the Revolutionary Age maintained a consistent and clear Leninist position on the Manchurian situation, a line completely exempt from all the criticisms leveled by the Imprecor writer against the official press.

How do the different tendencies in the furriers' union... We are now on the eve of important events in the dress trade. The agreements with the manufacturers are expiring at the end of this month.

Class-Collaboration - "United Front" Who Is in Way of Dress Strike?

by Chas. S. Zimmerman

We are now on the eve of important events in the dress trade. The agreements with the manufacturers are expiring at the end of this month. And around this question of renewal of the agreements, i. e., the new standards under which the dressmakers are to work and how to get them, most of the questions revolve.

The Conditions of the Workers

Within the last few years, the conditions of the workers in the dress trade have grown from bad to worse. When the union was strong and able to exert an influence in the trade, hours of work were regulated, thus lengthening the season somewhat and employing more workers; the minimum wage was guaranteed and, in many instances, the workers earned above the minimum.

Two Dangerous Tendencies How do the different tendencies in the furriers' union... What is the situation among the furriers? Here we have in our ranks the most advanced elements, men and women who at one time were the leaders of the furriers union, the most active and the most lively section of the militant furriers.

and with the aid of the Governor or Mayor, they will be able to sign an agreement. That is why they do nothing to mobilize the dressmakers.

There are two distinct tendencies which are dangerous and, if allowed to be carried thru, are sure to make the situation even worse.

One is the policy of the right wing, i. e., the International and Joint Board officials; and the other is the policy of the dual unionists, the so-called "left wing."

The Policies of the Right Wing

How do the Int'l and Joint Board leadership approach this question? It is now a few weeks before the expiration of the agreements. Negotiations with the manufacturers have already begun. The contractors have had the audacity to put forward demands that would reduce the conditions of the dressmakers to slavery.

2. The "Left Group"

What do our friends, the so-called "lefts" propose? They, who are supposed to be the most militant section of the workers, who are supposed to stand in the front ranks of all workers struggles, have today isolated themselves from the masses of workers. They stand aside in their own organization which, they themselves admit, cannot function any more as a union, because the masses of workers are not in there; they devise all sorts of schemes how to get the workers. They haven't the courage to face the fact that the majority of the organized workers are in the I.L.G.W.U. and, instead of maintaining their sect, to give up the Industrial Union and join the union where the masses of workers are found—there to propose a constructive, militant policy and, on the basis of this policy, win the workers.

The Paralysis Of Burocracy COMMUNIST PRESS AND MANCHURIA

The Official And Opposition Press Compared

By their fruits shall you know them!

The Imprecor of November 5, 1931 (Vol 11, No. 57) contains a very interesting article headed "Weaknesses and Vacillations Which Must Not Be Tolerated." It is devoted to a scathing criticism of the incredibly confused and downright anti-Communist character of much that has appeared in the Communist press internationally on the Manchurian situation.

Japan and the United States... It is the duty of the American Communists to expose American imperialism, above all by laying bare its robber policy of enslaving China with the help of Chiang Kai-shek and Co. They must expose it as the oppressor of China, as the overthrower of the workers and peasants movement in China, as the provoker of all anti-Soviet adventures, for which it is prepared even if Japan takes part in them.

GERMANY "Even in the German Communist press we find at times a certain underestimation of the events in Manchuria." "The Communist press organs of Europe and America have not undertaken a systematic exposure of the fact that Manchuria, thru Japanese intervention, has again become the starting point for White Guard war in undermining the Soviet Union, the point of departure for beginning intervention against the Soviet Union."

What, then, according to the Imprecor writer, does a really Communist estimation of the Manchurian crisis involve? (1) The Japanese invasion of Manchuria is a phase of the imperialist drive for the partition of China.

"The article by I. Nishi," we read, "is an example of how Communism should not write. Nishi's article makes out that American capitalism, by its penetration of China, compelled Japanese capitalism to 'defend' its interests. Thus, at bottom, there is no Japanese intervention..."

FRANCE "Comrade Perin (the Paris Humanist) expressed his indignation that the French bourgeoisie now (October 5) 'gives its blessing to Japan, whilst it cursed the Soviet Union' when it repelled Chang Tso-lin. The fundamental thing which ought in all circumstances to have been said regarding the specifically aggressive and provocative role of French imperialism was left unsaid. The whole article was confined to those moralizings which Comrade Lenin always so ruthlessly condemned."

ENGLAND "In the Daily Worker of October 5, the English comrades draw a not very happy comparison between the repulse of the Chinese White bands by the Soviet Union and Japanese intervention and declare that 'when negotiations were begun Soviet Russia demanded no more than a return to conditions as they existed before the raid.' Instead of showing the fundamental difference in principle between the imperialist policy of robbery and plunder of the colonial dependent peoples, on the one side, and the Soviet policy of fight to defend the revolution and for peace on the other, the authors of the article..."

THE UNITED STATES "It (the American Daily Worker) writes in its issue of September 23: 'Action and the League of Nations would draw Great Britain and France even further into the situation and sharpen inter-imperialist fights for hegemony in leading the conflict for redistribution of China or armed (1) war against Japan.' War between America and Japan—that is what forms the center point of all discussions! Not intervention, not commencement of a redistribution of China, not machinations and provocations against the Soviet Union, but an almost already cut and dried 'armed war' between

How is it, we ask, that the official Communist press failed so shamefully in carrying thru its most elementary tasks while the Opposition Communist press succeeded so well. Is not the answer to be found in the fact that the present sectarian course and bureaucratic regime of the Communist International so paralyzes the capacity for ideological initiative, so petrifies the political thought of its victims that only the most empty "moralizings" and the most dangerous confusion are possible even on fundamental questions? It is the blight of sectarianism and bureaucracy! Only the Communist Opposition, maintaining the course of Leninism and its own ideological initiative, is in a position to meet the many complicated problems of the day.

It is because the official Communist press completely missed these fundamental points that the Imprecor writer criticizes it so mercilessly. But why doesn't this critic have anything to say about the Communist Opposition press?

Curiously enough, we find that the Opposition Communist press has done precisely what the official Communist press so signally failed in. We cannot examine in any detail the International Communist Opposition press here. We merely call attention to the fact that the German Opposi-

The Struggle Among The Furriers OUR MISTAKES AND OUR TASKS

by B. Baraz

What is the situation among the furriers? Here we have in our ranks the most advanced elements, men and women who at one time were the leaders of the furriers union, the most active and the most lively section of the militant furriers. I recall how in 1929-1930 Comrade Gold, then busy in trying to "convince" our comrades to a position in which he did not believe himself, admitted that our comrades constituted the best and most significant element of the furriers. It would therefore naturally be expected that our furrier comrades, carrying thru the line of our group, would advance even faster than the comrades in the other branches of the needle trades or at least as fast.

What we see is quite the contrary! We, the furriers, understood how to agitate among others that our line is correct; but we stood still and marked time when we had to carry out our line into action. Each and every one of us agreed that we must build a left wing in the Int'l Fur Workers Union; nevertheless, we left this important task to our good sympathizers alone. When they noticed that, on the many occasions of the sharp struggles in the Kaufman and Stetsky groups, our comrades not only failed to assist with policy and guidance but did not even become members of the union, those who were members of the I.F.W.U. failed to attend meetings and to bring forward to the workers our constructive policy as against the destructive policy of the right wing. When our sympathizers noticed that we failed to come and present our point of view they also became indifferent.

In the Unity Conference called by the N.T.W.I.U. we made a good showing in presenting a resolution demanding that the Industrial Union take part in further conferences called by Stetsky and Joint Council in accordance with their previous declarations. In spite of their original refusal, N.T.W.I.U. leaders were forced to participate under pressure of the furriers once our group had begun to take part in the conferences. In these conferences we succeeded in bringing forward our line and proving that it was the only course along which the unity and fighting power of the workers could be restored.

In the last session of the conference our comrades committed a serious error for which we are certainly to be severely criticized. We had a resolution with the proposal for a referendum vote of the organized fur workers on affiliation to the A. F. of L. But our speaker never made the proposal. It is true that, owing to the "impartiality" of the chairman, another of our comrades, who was supposed to bring this resolution forward, never did get the opportunity to do so. Not only did we not fight to get our resolution forward but we were even hesitant about it altogether. Our failure at the last session of the conference certainly helped to undo some of the good work we had accomplished previously.

We continued making mistakes after this also, mistakes which bring some doubt if we really understand the trade union line of our group. After the unity conferences we failed to clarify our position. There was a good possibility to fight Kaufman in his alliance with the United Hebrew Trades and his revival of the slugging committee against the workers. But we did nothing. Here the Bank and File Committee (the C.U.U.) organization, a cover for the Industrial Union) committed a greater crime than ever before committed in the entire period of struggle. They went ahead and "elected" a "Joint Council" outside of the regular union organization but claiming to be the regular union body! An act like this is an act of the crassest dualism. It leads to more division and to more destruction. Without speaking of the lack of unity in using the label of the I. F. W. U. and the A. F. of L. (which, in itself, is contradictory to the hostile attitude of the T.U.U.T. to these organizations), the mere fact of the "election" and the creation of a third union is a crime and a severe blow to the policy of unity and the building of one union. It should have been our duty to clarify these matters. We, who realize and see clearly, where these acts are leading to, we should have come out immediately and exposed and condemned this act. It was our job to prove to the workers that the road to unity lies not in splitting but in the unification of all fur workers regardless of their political views and affiliations. And in this we failed. Today, in the few days before the expiration of the agreement, unity is especially necessary;

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Such is the fruit of the 1930 City Hall agreement. And Hochman, the general manager of the Joint Board, dared boast, at the last general membership meeting of Local 22, about the "victory" in the 1930 strike!

What is needed now is not a 1930 strike or a 1930 agreement but a real strike for conditions in the shops. The dressmakers must become active in the union, must defeat the class-collaboration policy and must help to carry on mobilization and preparations for a real strike.

Conditions have changed since 1928 when the Industrial Union was organized. The majority of the workers are today in the International. Most of the workers who were in the Industrial Union at the time of its formation are today in the International. But the leaders of the Industrial Union haven't learned yet or haven't the courage to change their policy. They, therefore, resort to all kinds of manoeuvres, running from one extreme to the other, and, instead of being a constructive militant force, as a left wing should be—to stir enthusiasm and inspire the workers to struggle, they sow demoralization, pessimism and confusion. They commit one mistake after another; a few months later they criticize themselves "admit" the mistakes and then proceed to commit new mistakes—as Jews do before Yom Kippur: come to the synagogue, beat their breasts for their sins and then go on sinning.

Thus a year ago, the Industrial Union proposed to the dressmakers to go out on strike for the 7-hour day, 5-day week and week-work. They denounced and condemned anyone who pointed out to them the stupidity of attempting to call out the workers on strike for such demands. But on the eve of the strike, when they finally realized that the workers did not take their demands seriously, they changed them—but it was already too late. The damage was done and the result was a fiasco. A year ago, we pointed out to them the need for unity in the ranks of the dressmakers, the need for one union in the trade, if we wanted to improve the conditions of the dressmakers. We were denounced and condemned for such heresy. Today, they see that the workers want one union in the trade.

Here again, instead of taking up the question and facing it boldly, they resort to petty schemes that will not lead to unity but, on the contrary, to more confusion and disunity.

The "Unity" Proposal of the "Left" Group Let us see what is their proposal for bringing about unity. They take their forces, i. e., the members and sympathizers of the Industrial Union, and divide them into three groups: You, Grossman and Rosenberg; lead a so-called "Left Group" inside the I.L.G.W.U. and carry on the work from the inside. You, Lupin and Weissberg, lead the army of the Industrial Union. And you, Migdal and Stoll, lead the "United Front Committee." At first, Grossman and Rosenberg introduce a resolution in Local 22 to elect a committee of 25 to meet with a committee of 25 of the Industrial Union. These two committees are to call a shop conference where a committee should be elected to take over the leadership of the strike, disregarding the union organization altogether. Then the Industrial Union sends a committee of 25 to the Local 22 meeting with a similar proposal. Then the "United Front Committee" calls a conference to which anyone can come and claim

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(Continued on Page 4)



# Revolutionary Age

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## AND END AND A BEGINNING!

**B**ANKERS and experts committees are again on the job trying to save the last plan on which all had been staked to save Germany, Europe, and "western civilization". Even in the United States Congress, which has aptly been evaluated as a cross between a troop of monkeys and a herd of sheep, explosion follows upon explosion over the Young Plan and against the Hoover moratorium.

But what happens in the American Congress, the "excess" talk, the disregard of Congressional courtesy to the President, these are all tempests in a teacup in so far as actual "settlement" of the world crisis of capitalism reflected by the reparations and debts, conflicts and dilemmas goes. A review of the course of "solutions", of the maze of "remedies" will suffice to show the paralysis and helplessness of capitalism in its tottering days.

The astronomical figures set for Germany's payment by the Reparations Commission, not even Clemenceau would seriously propose today if he were still alive. Then came the Dawes Plan to stave off the first disastrous fruits of the Versailles system, symbolized by the collapse of the German currency and the occupation of the Ruhr. Soon this edifice, based entirely on American architecture—an attempt to make Germany credit-worthy, no fixation of German's final liability, specific graduated payments over a number of years, huge foreign loans, flexible provisions based on an index of "prosperity"—was soon rocked to its foundations.

Indeed the very "success" of the Dawes Plan spelled its doom. As the annuities rose to their maximum, as the importation of capital was slowed down, and as the German capitalists began to have a little more confidence in themselves, in their vitality as exploiters and as competitors in the world market, "Hell-and-Maria's" pills were thrown overboard and the Young Plan opened a third chapter. The financiers trumpeted the launching of this plan for its finality and for its taking "the whole question out of politics." Figures were now scaled down for Germany. Young was, in recognition of his services, even termed "presidential timber". Scarcely had the ink dried on the Young Plan when the logic of the development of world capitalism, especially due to its post-war structural changes, reached a point of acute crisis. Prices toppled with a violent bang. A blizzard of devastating proportions gripped the economic life of the entire capitalist system. The most careful figures and the best laid plans and safety loopholes of Wall Street's experts were then instantly as out-of-date as the almanacs of the years gone by.

Stimson wasn't far from wrong when he estimated Hoover's moratorium as an attempt to save the world—for, to save German capitalism from collapse would mean to go a long way towards saving the entire capitalist world from an irreparable debacle. The Hoover Plan, has failed to end or even improve what the French imperialists call a "crise de confiance". The confidence of large and decisive sections of international capitalism and even German capitalism itself has been rudely undermined by the successes as well as by the failures of the Reparations Commission, the Dawes Plan, the Young Plan, the Hoover Plan, the "standstill" agreements, and the Wiggan proposals.

The breakdown of the Hague agreement in less than two years was recently dramatized in the opening of a fourth chapter when the German government applied to the Bank for International Settlements to convene the Advisory Committee to consider again Germany's capacities for further reparations payments. Congressman McFadden has certainly the low-down, in general, on Hoover's role as an agent and tool of Wall Street's biggest bankers. Yet, he is talking thru his hat when he says Germany's economic conditions are not as black as painted. In reality the economic situation is much worse than admitted by any German or other "experts". Were it not for the sectarian, splitting tactics and the divided ranks of the German Communist Party enabling Fascism to make such phenomenal gains and the Bruening regime to continue so long, the life of capitalism in Germany would probably be measured by weeks today.

This negative and temporary factor of Communist insufficiency cannot, however, serve as a permanent prop to the crippled capitalist system in Germany or elsewhere. For one thing, sooner or later, the Communist Party of Germany will correct its tactics and unify its ranks. Besides, every time another country tries to bolster up its own system, for example Great Britain with its skyward tariffs, it only hurts Germany's position still more. Hitler's days of power are only hastened by such remedies. The circle of capitalist contradictions is not only vicious but unlimited in diameter and circumference. When the crash does come, it will not affect Germany alone—but all Europe. Nor will it really stop here. The underpinnings of the whole system of international capitalist finance and industry are decayed. Every chapter of the reparations crisis is only an end of a "solution" of yesterday and a beginning of despair of today and disaster tomorrow. The reparations crisis is only a decisive phase of the inexorable logic of the development of those economic and social forces, the maturity of which were precipitated by the World War.

We are now witnessing the completion of the destruction of the capitalist system—a destruction so auspiciously hastened by the last war. But the end of capitalism will only be the beginnings of a new society already growing up in the U. S. S. R.

## Our Mistakes and Our Tasks

(Continued from page 3)  
 it is the only way thru which the fur workers will ever again regain their conditions. But, instead of this, we permitted the carrying thru of this insane policy of the T.U.U.L. without saying anything. We continue even now to be indifferent to what is going on. Let us not forget for a moment that our difference with the Party in regard to trade union work is primarily that we are for building the existing trade unions under the A. F. of L. and for transforming them into real fighting organizations, while the T.U.U.L. is for breaking up the unions and for transporting the workers by every means into the T. U. U. L. unions. As a matter of fact Comrade Gold, in the recent open forum in the Bronx, expressed more openly what the others are trying to hide. In answer to a worker's question as to the policy of having left wing groups in the right wing unions, Gold declared openly: "We are having left wing groups in the right wing unions for the purpose of breaking these unions and bringing the workers into the Industrial Union!"

We must learn from past mistakes. We must remember how Lenin and the Communist International attacked the policies of dual unionism and deserting the mass conservative unions, as harmful to the revolutionary movement. Our immediate task is to have all comrades become members of the A. F. of L. union, the I.F.W.U., to take an active part in the organization, building the left wing, strengthening the organization, unifying and mobilizing the fur workers for a struggle against the class enemy, the bosses. We must show in the future that not only do we understand and talk about the correct line but we are actually able to carry it out. Only by deeds and active participation in union work will we be able to overcome our shortcomings.

The sweet Girl Scouts have a lovely good deed to do now. So many parents being compelled to take their children out of school because of the depression, the thoughtful Girl Scouts are distributing posters and circulars bearing the slogan "Keep them in School." That should help a lot!

## The Paterson Strike and the Communists

# The United Front in Paterson

by Ben Gitlow

Unity is a much abused word. In the name of working class unity all kinds of destructive splitting tactics are used in the labor movement. The strike of the Paterson silk workers served as an object lesson on unity. The Communist Party (Majority Group) carried out in Paterson the policy of the united front. It succeeded in uniting trade union organizations and various groups in the labor movement behind a common struggle against the bosses for better conditions and for trade union organization. The united front movement in Paterson, initiated by the Communist Party (Majority Group), was successful because it helped to mobilize the workers for the strike, to develop militant strike activity, to win better conditions and to strengthen the union of the silk workers thru amalgamation, increased membership and an increased spirit of unionism. It also made possible the birth of a progressive and left wing group in the unions.

The united front in Paterson as I stated in my previous articles included trade unions—the A. F. of L. unions and the Associated Silk Workers of America, an independent union. It included groups like the Conference for Progressive Labor Action (Muste group) and the C. P. (Majority Group), a Communist group, and enlisted the support of Socialists, I. W. W. syndicalists, anarchists, etc.

This united front was most bitterly attacked by the official leadership of the Communist Party and its trade union department—the Trade Union Unity League.

On November 11, the resolution of the National Executive Committee of the Trade Union Unity League estimated the united front in these enlightening words:

"The A. F. of L. and its various wings from Muste to Gitlow have played an increasing role as strike-breakers, and against the demands of the unemployed. Every struggle of the masses can only be carried on correctly, if it is directed against the reformists as part of the combination of the bosses, the government and labor bureaucrats."

This statement is instructive. It explains what happened in Paterson. It exposes the basic trade union conceptions of the official leadership of the Communist Party and the Trade Union Unity League. It is a flat rejection of any united front action with the A. F. of L. organizations and groups within the A. F. of L. According to the T. U. U. L. resolution, the A. F. of L. and its various wings have played an increasing role as strike-breakers, every struggle of the masses can be carried on correctly if it is carried on against them as part of the combination of the bosses and the government and the labor bureaucrats.

This is a declaration of war which divides the working class and its organizations into two definite, opposing camps: (1) The A. F. of L. and all groups, tendencies, etc., in the A. F. of L. as an enemy force to be attacked, smashed and destroyed; (2) the revolutionary unions of the T. U. U. L. under Communist leadership, as the only working class organizations to be recognized, supported and built up.

This is a strange conception of unity. It is pure and simple conceit against which Lenin fought so bitterly. It is Simple-Simon trade union policy. It is bound to develop some queer conceptions and the most destructive, splitting, demoralizing tactics in the labor movement. If capitalist conditions are such, taking the T. U. U. L. resolution seriously, that no opposition in the A. F. of L. unions can develop against the capitalists, then capitalism is so entrenched, has such a definite hold on the masses, that no genuine opposition to capitalism in workers organizations, like the A. F. of L. unions, is possible. This is giving too much credit to the ability of the capitalists; it exposes the extreme pessimism and hopelessness of those presenting this position, of building up a trade union front against capitalism.

The counterpart to the united front initiated in Paterson by the C. P. (Majority Group) was the so-called "rank and file united front from below." A caricature of unity! It is Christian Science applied to trade union tactics.

The National Textile Workers Union calls together its own members and others to come to a mass meeting, presents a hand-picked "general strike committee" for the approval of the mass meeting and then declares the "united front" established by calling the committee the "United Front General Strike Committee!"

Then the fight for "unity", in line with the basic policy laid down, as noted above, in the resolution of the T. U. U. L. begins. The strike for conditions, for unionism, against the bosses, is altogether secondary.

From the first bulletin issued by the United Front General Strike Committee and the National Textile Workers Union, I quote:

"The workers have openly rejected the leadership of the A. F. of L.-Associated crowd. They have not been able yet to break from their company union leadership and come to us."

This was issued when 7,000 workers were following the united front strike leadership of the amalgamated A. F. of L. unions, when hundreds were being arrested on the picket lines, when in Clifton, the Henry Doherty mill was using injunctions and policemen's clubs against the heads of the strikers.

The same bulletin advocates "unity" further on in the following terse words:

"That is why the bosses tell striking workers if they want a union, they should go to the Associated. The bosses know the Associated—now part of the A. F. of L.—won't fight them. There must be something funny about a union the bosses want."

From another strike bulletin issued from the same sources, we read first in reference to a parade of over 3,000 strikers following:

"They have to cover up the defeat of their victory parade of 422, most of them bosses."

Then, further on, during the bitterest weeks of the strike, it states:

"Is more proof needed than the U.T.W. and Associated are lined up with the bosses. Is more proof needed that they fear the power of the National Textile Workers Union? Is there more proof that the place of every worker is in the ranks of the National Textile Workers Union?"

Calling for an open split of the ranks during the greatest activity of the strike!

When an actual attempt was made by rank and file workers to end the splitting, dividing tactics of the so-called "United Front General Strike Committee" and the National Textile Workers Union, this same "The agents of the U.T.W.-Associated tried bulletin attacked the move as follows:

to get some of our workers to meet with a so-called rank and file of the fake union. It was a move to get some sort of fake unity across. We sent none of our leaders. But their committee had nearly the whole of the Joint Board on it. We sent this unofficial committee, knowing very well what the outcome would be but we did it in order to convince every one of our workers that we do not reject a chance of getting unity!"

I could quote leaflets, resolutions, speeches, etc. all along the same line. It is no wonder that the Party leadership and the T.U.U.L. admit failure in Paterson. They blame the strike leaders, the subordinates, for failure to execute the policy correctly and energetically enough.

But if this leadership were honest in analysing the situation, then they would have to admit that their basic trade union line makes the establishment of a united front and unity impossible. They would have to further admit that it makes inevitable the pursuit of splitting, disruptive strike-breaking tactics, precisely as was done in Paterson. And lastly, they would have to admit that the united front is not a scheming maneuver but an effective weapon for mobilizing and leading workers in struggles when it is based upon a trade union unity policy as advocated by the Communist Party (Majority Group).

To force such a recognition requires a new attitude on the part of the membership of the Communist Party. They must stop being submissive followers and become active revolutionary fighters who fight for their convictions inside the ranks of the Communist Party and the T. U. U. L.

## WHO IS IN WAY OF DRESS STRIKE?

(Continued from Page 3)  
 to represent a shop. All three above-mentioned forces come together and adopt a proposal similar to the one Grossman introduced in Local 22 but, instead of a committee of 25 from Local 22 and a committee of 25 from the Industrial Union, there is now a third committee of 25 from the "United Front Committee!" They elect a committee to go to the Local 22 membership meeting. And, with all due pomp and ceremony, they come to Local 22 and present their proposal, not forgetting to attack in advance the Local 22 administration and of course the "Lovestonites" declaring that their proposals would be rejected and that they alone would remain the champions of unity!

This situation would really be comical if it were not so tragic. Do they really believe that with such schemes they can build up a united front of the dressmakers? Don't they know that you cannot disregard the union organization? They call on the workers, right wingers and left wingers, to form this united front. And if the right wingers, let us say would choose to follow the International,

Union think that they can fool many workers with such a proposal? Any worker who reasons and thinks can see that it means further disunity more splits and more confusion. Surely the leaders of the Industrial Union are not fooled by it. They know that their proposal will not bring about unity and they are already attacking the administration of Local 22 and the "Lovestonites" that it is they who don't want unity!

This is what they are doing now. A few months later they will "self-criticize" themselves and admit their mistakes in the unity maneuver. We call upon them to see their mistakes now, while there is still time to correct them and before much damage is done. With their schemes and maneuvers they are only bringing a confusion and disunity to the workers and the interests of the movement.

Face the situation squarely and boldly. Now, on the eve of the strike when real militant action is necessary, unity in the ranks of the workers is the first prerequisite for a successful struggle. In his pamphlet on The Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement combating the policies of the dual unionists of the past, Foster says (Page 33): "Exactly at the time the militants are needed the most to hold the organization together



**OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE**, by Rosamand W. Goldberg, Columbia University Press, New York, 1931.

After one has read thru the catalogue of occupational diseases listed in this book, one is compelled to conclude that not a single important industry is free from hazards to the life and health of the workers. All industries, from the lightest (jewelry) to the heaviest (coal and iron), offer serious health hazards. Neither the aristocrats of labor nor the most unskilled and unorganized are spared the ravages of occupational disease. One of the most poisonous substances, lead, affects the most "aristocratic section" of the working class—the painters and printers. And, ironically enough, the so-called "prosperous" periods mean the greatest harm to the workers from poisons and other injurious elements.

The substances responsible for ill-health in industry are many and varied. In broad classes, they may be listed as dust, metals, chemicals, fumes, excessive heat and light and compressed air. Who ever imagined that "banana oil" as a vapor caused headaches, nausea, digestive disturbances and palpitation of the heart? How many physicians know that jaundice is the principal symptom of tetraethyl lead poisoning?

Tuberculosis still remains the chief occupational disease. And the main cause of tuberculosis is the effect of the various dusts—metallic, mineral, vegetable—upon the respiratory system of the workers. Dusts are present to a greater or lesser extent in most industries. Chemicals and metals are even more dangerous to the health of those that come in contact with it, but are not as widely used. Compressed-air illness is well known and has received much publicity. Excessive heat and light cause a considerable number of physical and nervous disabilities. Cancer and skin disease have resulted in many cases from industrial factors.

In this brief review, to give an adequate description of the causes, incidence, and consequences of occupational diseases is impossible. But even the author in 110 pages dealing with hazards in industries does not do justice to the subject. Her book deals more with the laws relating to industrial hazards and workers' compensation than to occupational diseases as such. In the part dealing with these laws, the author reveals, unwittingly perhaps that practically nothing has been done in the United States to safeguard the health of the worker and that just as little has been done to aid the worker and his family after his health has been seriously impaired. I shall cite one provision of the law, as quoted by the author, to show how completely ineffective these laws are.

On Page 124, she says: "New York requires, as a precautionary measure, the factories in which lead, arsenic or other poisonous substances, dust or gases are present as an incident or result of the occupation shall furnish hot water, soap and industrial towels for the use of the workers." The author makes this statement seriously and without comment. Of what use are all the water in the world in preventing the fumes, dust or the gases from being inhaled by the workers involved in these industries? Serious investigators of lead poisoning have pointed out that the greatest danger comes from the inhalation of fumes. And even if there were more stringent laws it is absolutely imperative that there should be trade unions to protect the workers to see that the laws are enforced.

Dr. Goldberg thru her book reveals extreme naivete and meager book knowledge. A book on occupational diseases cannot be written without first-hand information on the subject. As a bibliography the book is excellent. It is useful for those who are interested only in the general features of occupational diseases. As a summary of existing literature on this question it is satisfactory but if we are interested in the insidious, chronic and painful nature of occupational diseases, in order to find means of combating them, we must turn to the conscientious, able and thorough investigators of whom Dr. Alice Hamilton is a good example.

—Albert



**BETWEEN HAMMER AND ANVIL**

A Tip for the Jobless!  
 If our readers are wondering how to spend New Year's Eve, here's how: "New Year's Eve Cruise: One Day—Dec. 31st: Your problem solved. Sail out to sea 6 P. M. Dec. 31. See the old year out on the bounding deep. Return Jan. 1, 1932. Only \$52.50."

And here's another:  
 "New Year Week End Cruise: Cruise: Two Days—Jan. 2. To re-energize from 'That New Year's Eve Party.' Sail out to sea at noon. Saturday, Jan. 2, 1932. Enjoy the rest and recreation of a voyage—and return Monday morning, Jan. 4 in time to start the New Year right—\$50!"

The two trips seem to cancel each other, but what the hell! They only set you back \$102. And you've got to spend your time somehow... if you're unemployed!

**The Christmas Spirit**

Reader, the great pre-Christmas sale is on. Shirts that were selling two weeks ago for \$1.00 are now \$2.95. Suits that were \$27.50 are \$55. Fifty cents ties are being practically given away for \$1.35. All to celebrate Jesus Christ's first birthday. No wonder the Jewish merchants call him "Our Savior."

**What's In a Name?**

Dr. Nicholas Miraculous Butler proposes to abolish war by abolishing the Departments of War, Navy and Aviation and "substituting a single department or Ministry of National Defense." The right words will still perform wonders. The age of magic is not dead!

**Clothes Make the Man**

The Pope denied an audience to the Mahatma because Gandhi refused to put on enough clothes to shield his Holiness's sensitive modesty. The old adage distinguishes three sexes, men, women and priests. The ones who wear the least clothing are the women. The ones who wear the most are the priests. No wonder His Holiness feared the shock of Gandhi's disheveled nudity. If the proverbially "red" Vatican should ever try to crash the Swiss Guards before she could get into the first anti-chamber. After all, it's not hard to understand. The Pope without his robes would lose his infallibility. He'd be no Pope at all.

**Church Cashes In On Communism**

"Money talks!" says the Rev. W. E. Saunders of the Marcy Avenue Baptist Church. To fight Communism, strengthen Christianity. To save your money from confiscation give part of it to the church.

"In Russia," warns Saunders, "Christianity meets its first serious challenge in many centuries. Communism is an out-and-out criticism of the method of conduct of human life in our present civilization. We have all agreed that our practice of the theories of Christianity is far from perfect. Communism attacks their philosophical basis, proclaims the Christian program a failure, the ideal of the kingdom of God as inadequate, the leadership of Jesus superfluous. This challenge can be met only as the followers of Jesus Christ stand behind His program in a way in which their money speaks of their sincerity."

"This involves not only Christian use of wealth but also the support of the institution which at home and abroad represents the Man of Galilee. Communists in Russia have given a significant sign of their sincerity in their mistaken ideal of giving up their individual wealth. Christians who believe in the individualism of Jesus must also give the sign of their sincerity by support of the church and its program. Their money must speak for them."

A swell collection speech! The shekels must have rolled in!

**Doings of the Elite**

"Town Topics is a naughty little title-tattle sheet that tells smutty true stories about America's society folk. The "right people" read it faithfully in hope that there may be some breath-taking innuendoes about some of their "dear" friends or for fear that they might find some nasty scandal about themselves.

Many of America's best people own stock in Town Topics, Inc. It's a good insurance scheme. After all, the paper doesn't mind withholding juicy scandal if you come across and become a part owner.  
 The stock salesmen approach their prospects armed with such notations as these:  
 "... proposed once in his life-time and was rejected."  
 "... has affair with sister of brother's wife, age 18; wife left him several times; last time two months ago; wealthy."  
 "... wife in distress suing for non-support of child; he's supporting other girls; took five shares \$550.00; promised to take five more in the fall."  
 Who wouldn't takes shares after an appeal like that?

Hee! Hee! Hee! How's coming back!" is the prize-winning slogan selected from among 100,000 for the Democratic campaign in 1932. Sounds like another jackass in the White House!  
 —B.D.W.