

FOR COMMUNIST  
UNITY IN THE  
REVOLUTIONARY  
CLASS STRUGGLE!

# THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING  
THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS

ISSUED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
(Majority Group)

WORKERS OF ALL  
COUNTRIES  
UNITE!

VOL. III, No. 5.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JANUARY 2, 1932.

PRICE 5 CENTS

## Experts Urge "Revision" of Debts, Reparations; Young Plan Thru

Post-War Collapse Of Capitalism Reaches New Stage;  
Suggest Extending Moratorium Two Years; Hoover  
Moratorium Passes Senate On Bankers Orders

PARIS.—A conference to consider the recommendations of the recent meeting of the advisory experts will be held on January 18 at The Hague. The French and British governments have already signified their participation in the conference. The American attitude is yet uncertain although the U. S. A. will be represented.

BASLE.—An immediate and general revision of all reparations and other debts was recommended by the conference of advisory experts of the Bank of International Settlements, in their report issued on December 23, as the only way of "reestablishing the economic stability of the world."

The experts declare that Germany's finances will not permit the Reich to resume reparation payments when the Hoover moratorium ends next July. A new two-year prolongation of the moratorium, although not recommended, is suggested.

The Young Plan is criticized as "inadequate" because the "relatively short depression" envisaged by the Young Plan has turned out to be an extremely long and extremely severe world economic crisis.

Thus the lengthening chain of the World War gains another link. That the collapse of capitalism and its whole economic, financial and social structure, ushered in by the World War, cannot be averted, is becoming clearer and clearer every day. Every attempt to do so only renders the disintegration more acute and brings the world nearer the brink of ruin. The Reparations Commission, the Dawes Plan, the Young Plan, the Hoover Moratorium—all vain efforts to bolster up a system whose very foundations are rotten and crumbling away. No imperialistic revision of the reparations and war debt questions can possibly succeed except in widening the circle of capitalist contradictions. Only the elimination of capitalism and imperialism, only the revolutionary destruction of the whole vicious Versailles "Peace" system, can lead the world out of the darkness and de-

## MOONEY HEAD OF WORKERS MEET

In a letter addressed to the International Labor Defense Tom Mooney has signified his agreement to serve as honorary president of the International Workers Athletic Meet to be held in Chicago in 1932. At the same time Mooney has issued an appeal for the boycott of the 1932 Olympics which are to be held in Los Angeles in the state that has kept him and Billings prisoners for sixteen years on a charge that is openly admitted to be a frame-up.

These actions of Tom Mooney constitute a definite repudiation of the rumors that have been circulating to the effect that Mooney had given a promise to Mayor Walker to "abstain from all labor activities" in return for the latter's efforts for his freedom.

## PROTEST! MASS MEETING

Hear the true facts of the  
"N. Y. DYNAMITE PLOT"  
Thursday, January 7, 1932, 7 P.M.  
Webster Hall, 125 East 11 Street.

Speakers:

Ben Gitlow

J. P. Cannon

Carlo Tresca

Ben Fletcher

Walter Starrett

A. J. Muste

Carter Hudson, Chairman

Admission Free!

Aspirants:

Marine Workers Defense Committee

82 East 10 Street, N. Y. C.

spair in which it finds itself today.

WASHINGTON.—On December 22, after a series of hearings before the Senate committee headed by Senator Johnson of California, in the course of which the powerful heads of finance capitalist oligarchy ruling this country, including Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan and Company, Charles E. Mitchell of the National City Bank and Otto Kahn of Kuhn, Loeb and Company, praised the financial policies of the Hoover Administration, the resolution approving the Hoover Moratorium was passed by the Senate, by a vote of 69 to 12. The vote was non-partisan since among those opposing ratification there was an equal number of Democrats and Republicans. The opposition was led by Senator Johnson of California.

On the following day President Hoover signed the moratorium resolution.

## Appeal for Communist Unity!

Letter Of C.P.-Majority Group For Meeting To Discuss  
Unity, Labor Temple, January 19

The letter below was sent by the National Council of the Communist Party (Majority Group) to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., and to the National Committee of the Communist League (Opposition), to various left wing trade union groups, to foreign language Communist Opposition groups in the U. S. A., etc.

The severe economic crisis throated the entire capitalist world, characterized by a growth of capitalist reaction and Fascism, by assaults upon the living standards of the workers, by the threat of war against the Soviet Union, by the menace of an impending imperialist world war and by widespread unemployment, misery and degradation of the toiling exploited masses, confronts the Communist movement with problems of the most paramount importance to the entire labor movement.

At this time, unity in the ranks of the working class is imperative, if the working class is to be mobilized to beat back the attacks of the capitalists and to march forward in its struggle against capitalism. The demoralization, impotence and passivity so general in the labor movement today is in a very large measure due to the fact that there is a lack of unity in the ranks of the working class. Especially is this true of the Communist ranks, which, if united, could be the one force to give leadership to the working class and mobilize it for militant struggle. But the organization of the Communists—the Communist Party—is in no position to do that today. Its ranks are split and divided. The situation demands unity of the Communist ranks because only a united Communist Party, uniting all the Communist forces, can put an end to the present deplorable conditions in the ranks of the working class. Really effective action of the working class is assured when the Communists have achieved their own unification within one united Communist Party.

The Communist Party U. S. A. (Majority Group) has, therefore, come to the conclusion that the Communists must do everything in their power to put an end to the splits and dissensions in their ranks and to achieve unity in order that all the Communist forces may be united in one powerful Communist Party.

The militant workers are looking to the Communists to establish unity. They maintain that working class unity in a very large measure depends upon the unity of the Communist forces. The militant workers are insisting that the Communists recognize this fact and take the necessary steps to bring unity about.

The Communist Party U. S. A. (Majority Group) is, therefore, in the face of the urgent need for Communist unity, taking the initiative in a move it considers an important step in the direction of unity. It has de-

cid to call an open meeting to consider the question of unity. The meeting to take place on January 19, 1932 at the Labor Temple, 14 Street and Second Avenue, New York City.

To this meeting the Communist Party U. S. A. (Majority Group) invites one representative from each of the following organizations: The Communist Party of the U. S. A., the Communist Party U. S. A. (Majority Group), the Communist League of America (Opposition), as well as one representative from the left wing in the trade unions and one from the left wing in the foreign language organizations.

These representatives will be given the floor for 30 minutes time in which to present the viewpoint of their organization on the important question of Communist unity.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party, if it faces its responsibility to the working class squarely as Communists should, is in position to do very much to hasten and bring about Communist unity. The acceptance of this proposal by the Central Committee will go a long way.

## BIG SOVIET RISE IN 1932

Soviet Production To Be 4  
Times Pre-War In 1932

MOSCOW.—The raising of Soviet production to four times the pre-war level by the end of 1932, was indicated in the control figures for the coming year as presented to the plenary session of the Central Executive Committee of the All-Union Congress of Soviets, meeting here. The control figures were unanimously approved.

The resolution on the 1932 control figures followed the reports of Molotov, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, and Quibeshoff, head of the State Planning Commission. Both reporters had pointed out the steady progress of the Soviet economy within the last year in contrast to the chaos and decline of the world capitalist economy. "In 1931," the resolution adopted reads, "the national income of the U.S.S.R. increased 13% to 14%, whereas in capitalist countries it decreased on the average from 10% to 20%." For the year 1932 a rise in national income of 30% is planned. An approximate industrial growth of 36% is calculated upon, of which 44% is assigned to heavy industry and 29% to consumer goods. Special provision is made for a big rise in the standard of living of the workers, such as increases in wages, increase of 100% in housing construction, increase of expenditures for social and cultural purposes, etc.

## SPECIAL NOTICE!

This is the LAST ISSUE of the  
**Revolutionary Age**

On January 16

there will appear the first issue of

## THE WORKERS AGE

A Weekly Newspaper of the Workers and  
Farmers in America

All unexpired subscriptions to the REVOLUTIONARY AGE  
will be carried over to the WORKERS AGE.

The subscription rates are the same

THE WORKERS AGE will be published by the WORKERS AGE  
PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION as the official organ of the  
Communist Party (Majority Group)

Workers! Communists!

The WORKERS AGE is your paper! It defends your interests!

It stands for working class unity, for Communist unity!  
SUPPORT IT! — SUBSCRIBE TO IT! — SPREAD IT!

## Japan Aims War Against Soviet And Partition of China

So Admits "Times" Correspondent; Japan Orders New  
Advance In All Directions; China In Chaos As  
Nanking Collapses; Big Left Move Seen

December 29, 1931.  
SHANGHAI.—A new government, predominantly of the Canton group, has been established in Nanking under the leadership of Sun Fo as President of the Executive Yuan. The full government has not yet been named. Rumors of a split in the Canton group and of an alliance of Chiang Kai-shek with Chin-wei and Peng Yushiang are current, which might possibly serve as a bridge for Chiang's return to power.

That the Japanese invasion of Manchuria is directed against the Soviet Union and that Japan, on the one hand, and the United States, on the other, have been operating on the basis of the complete partition of Manchuria and China proper, are disclosed and admitted in a sensational article by Hallett Abend, the New York Times China correspondent, in the issue of the Times of December

27. "It becomes evident," the article declares, "that Japan's present military adventure into Manchuria is aimed against Russia. . . . It is almost certain that the principal inspiration of her present policy is not the hope of adjusting treaty and other disputes with China but rather the urgency of so establishing herself in Manchuria that she can be in a position to meet Russia. . . . whenever the conflict occurs. Many foreign observers, and not a few of the Japanese leaders themselves, believe that Japan will force a war upon Russia, believing that. . . . Japan should push her advantage now rather than wait until Russia can complete her Five-Year Plan and becomes more efficient industrially and mechanically."

At the same time, Mr. Abend points out that Japan has indicated semi-officially that it is ready to allow a free hand to the "other great powers" (the United States in the first place) in China proper if it is not interfered with in the plans in Manchuria.

"In Manchuria, where Japan's interests are greater than in any other part of China," declared the article, "Japan has acted alone and believes she has acted in self-defense. Her representatives here do not conceal their hope that the other great powers will unite in a somewhat similar venture in China proper."

JAPAN IN BROAD DRIVE  
A wide, sweeping campaign for the complete military, political and economic control of Manchuria up to Great Wall, following upon the ousting of Chiang Hsueh-liang, his replacement by the pro-Japanese Kirin clique, and the resignation of the Nanking government, has been initiated by the Japanese authorities under instructions from Tokyo. Troops from Mukden left on December 20 to proceed northward, while penetration southward began the day before. An ultimatum was issued to the Chinese to evacuate Chinchow or else the gathering Japanese forces would attack the city. Clashes with Chinese irregulars have already taken place around Mukden. West of Yinkow a still fight between a Chinese armored train with a Japanese armored train took place on December 22, the Japanese emerging victorious.  
Reflecting the sharpened state of Japanese-American relations and the open hostility towards Japan in this country, the New York Times published, on December 22, a sensational report by Hallett Abend, its Chinese correspondent, exposing in detail the manner by which the Japanese imperialists have seized hold of the most important resources in Manchuria and are busily at work converting it into a colony under a puppet government.

CHAOS IN CHINA  
SHANGHAI.—The resignation of the entire Nanking government and the inability hitherto of the Canton clique to form another government to replace the one headed by Chiang Kai-shek, has thrown all Chinese politics into almost complete chaos. What will emerge is yet uncertain. Most likely is the formation of a government.  
(Continued on Page 2)

## MILLIONS GIVEN RICH AS REFUND

Treasury Returns Nearly  
\$70 Million As Masses  
Starve In Misery

WASHINGTON.—Nearly seventy million dollars will be given by the United States Treasury Department to the capitalists of this country in the form of tax refunds for the fiscal year 1931. The exact amount is \$69,476,930, mostly on income taxes. Among the recipients of this gift from the government are the United Verde Copper Company (\$1,047,399), the various Prairie oil companies (\$2,348,158), the Illinois Central Railroad (\$1,158,675), etc.

Nothing for the unemployed workers and starving farmers—millions for the rich.

## In Memory of AARON GROSS

On January 3, 1931, Aaron Gross died. It is hard to believe that it is already one year since Comrade Gross left us. This year has been a year full of events and experiences, events and experiences that have justified to the full the principles and aims for which he died fighting.

Aaron Gross was one of the outstanding Communist leaders in the trade union movement of this country. His direct field of activity, his immediate effectiveness were concentrated upon the needle trades unions, but the sphere of his interests extended to all branches of Communist mass activity. And to all spheres of Communist mass activity he brought the same spirit of firmness in principle and flexibility in tactics, the same hatred of sectarianism. In his obituary article on Gross a year ago, Comrade Gitlow wrote:

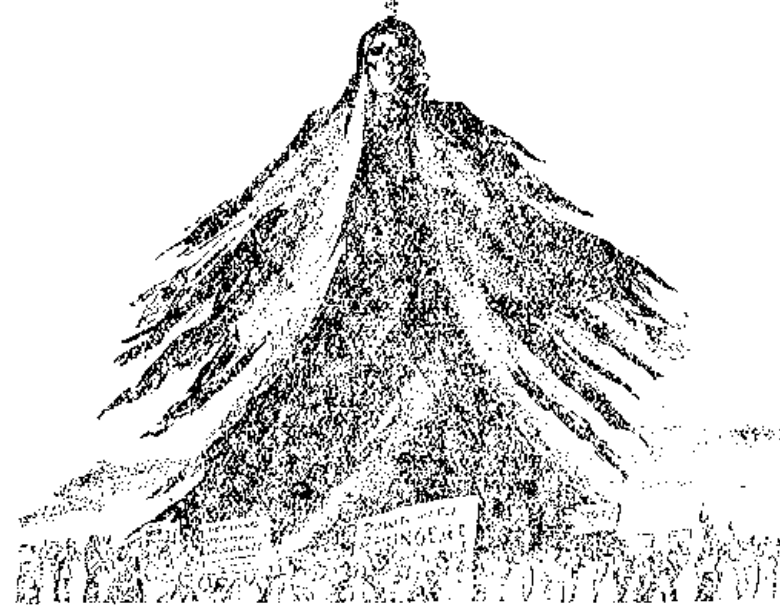
Comrade Gross was a leading figure in the trade union movement in the building up of a left wing. He was uncompromising in his fight against the reactionary trade union bureaucrats and their policies of peace and cooperation with the bosses. He was always for the building up of a broad united front of labor for a fighting policy against the bosses, for organization of the unorganized and for industrial unionism. Today, when the left wing has been abandoned and liquidated by the official Communist Party leadership and by the T.U.U.L., we find Comrade Gross conducting an energetic campaign, particularly in the needle trades, to revive the left-wing and to build it up as a mighty movement of the trade union masses in the United States.

The revival of the left wing movement in the American trade unions, and in the needle trades unions in particular, to which Aaron Gross devoted his last energies, has been carried considerably nearer realization within the year following Comrade Gross' death. Left wings and progressive movements already exist in the most important branches of the needle trades industry and already have big successes to record. But the work has only been really just begun and, in its continuation and successful prosecution, the memory of Comrade Gross, of his persistence and determination in spite of almost insurmountable difficulties, will play no small role.

Gross was a Communist. He held his Communist convictions and the basic interests of the Communist movement above everything else. And when he was faced with a situation in which the fundamental tactical principles of the Communist International were being scrapped and being replaced by a line of policy that was certain to divide the workers and

(Continued on page 2)

## CHRISTMAS CHEER!



## 8 DEAD, 50 WOUNDED AS BRITISH FIRE ON RED SHIRTS; NEHRU ARRESTED

Red Shirt Leader Also Under Arrest; "No Rent" And  
"No Tax" Movements Grow Among Peasantry As  
Nationalist Movement Swings Left

CALCUTTA.—Jawaharlal Nehru, leader of the Congress Youth League and former president of the All-India National Congress was arrested in Allahabad on December 25. Nehru recently devoted himself to extending and strengthening the "no rent" and "no tax" agitation among the peasants. Jawaharlal Nehru is also head of the M. N. Roy Defense Committee.

CACUTTA.—Abdul Ghaffar Khan, leader of the Red Shirts in the Northwest Frontier Provinces, with three of his principal lieutenants, was arrested in Peshawar late in the evening of December 24. The arrest of these national-revolutionary Mohammedan leaders marks another stage in the campaign of vicious suppression initiated by the British officials in India against the rising revolutionary tide in India.

PESHAWAR, India.—Eight men were killed and fifty wounded on December 26 as British soldiers fired upon a crowd of 500 members of the Red Shirts, a Mohammedan national-revolutionary organization. The crowd had gathered outside the Kohat cantonment in sharp protest against the ordinance outlawing the Red Shirts and against the arrest of their leaders. Police armed with lathis (staves) charged the crowd but with no success. Thereupon soldiers were summoned and the order given to fire into the crowd whereupon the massacre oc-

curred.  
BOMBAY.—A sharpening of the antagonism between the nationalist movement and the British government in India, accompanied by a pronounced swing of the local Congress committees and the younger leadership of the Congress towards the left, are the most noticeable features of the present situation in this country.

In a speech at Poona Subhas Chandra Bose, leader of the All-India National Congress, called for "determined organization along the whole front." Jawaharlal Nehru, in spite of police prohibition, has issued declarations urging the revival of the militant movement against British imperialism for independence.

The "no-rent" and "no-tax" movements have taken hold of Bengal and the United Provinces in spite of the most severe repressions of the government. At the same time the revolutionary terrorist movement is spreading with unexampled rapidity among the nationalist intellectuals, especially among the girl students.

Tobey Has No Master Now!  
Poor Tobey! Now that the last of the Misses Wendell has died, her poodle sleeps all alone, cats (oh, indignity!) on the floor in the kitchen and has only two servants to attend him in his huge house and \$3,700,000 garden.

Koch on "Workers Education" January 2nd, at 228 2nd Avenue

# FASCISTS GAIN IN STUTTGART

### S. D.'s Lose As Communist Opposition Takes Most Of Left Gains

The results of the municipal elections in Stuttgart on December 6 are of the greatest significance as a mirror of current political developments in Germany. The total vote cast was 209,048 as against 217,772 votes cast on September 14, 1930 in the Reichstag elections. In detail, the results are (the comparisons are with September 14, 1930): National-Socialists (Fascists): 44,599 (21,360), 7 mandates; Nationalists: 10,525 (18,000), 3 mandates; Social-democratic party: 46,810 (55,602), 7 mandates; Communist Party: 37,803 (36,119), 6 mandates; Communist Opposition: 4,037 (ran no independent ticket in the Reichstag elections), no mandates; bourgeois "unity list" (Democrats, People's party, etc.): 23,104 (49,938), 3 mandates; Center party: 18,186 (19,074), 3 mandates; miscellaneous: 13,835 (11,332), 1 mandate.

The Fascists more than doubled their vote. The Social-democrats lost about 9,000 votes, of which about 5,800 went to the two Communist tickets and over 3,000 to the Fascists. Of the 5,800 votes gained by the two Communist tickets, the official Communist Party gained only 1,700 while the Communist Opposition was able to win over 4,000 votes! All the middle bourgeois parties, and even the Center party, lost—to the Fascists.

The relatively large number of votes the Communist Opposition was able to pile up, under the most difficult conditions, is a tribute to the success it has had in forming close contacts with the workers of Stuttgart.

# IN MEMORY OF AARON GROSS

(Continued from Page 1)

break the bonds connecting the Communist movement with the working class, his answer was clear. He declared open war against the suicidal change of course and was one of the founders of the American Communist Opposition, the Communist Party (Majority Group), to the National Council of which he was elected. Here, too, the quiet determination with which Aaron Gross maintained his convictions in the face of incredible slander, misrepresentation and abuse, will not fail to have its effects on the future of the struggle.

Aaron Gross died largely as a result of the serious injuries sustained when he was attacked in 1927 by gangsters set to the task by right-wing officials in the course of the bitter struggle in the International Fur Workers Union. The reactionary bureaucrats knew what they were about for in Gross they saw a bitter and dangerous enemy, the enemy of everything that was rotten in the trade unions, the enemy of everything that hindered the development of the militancy of the workers. Today the degenerate leaders of the Industrial Union, once the comrades-in-arms of Gross, openly glory in his death. "We have buried Gross," boasted one of these leaders. And yet in their very shamelessness they too knew what they are about for in Gross, the dead, they see a bitter and dangerous enemy, the enemy of everything that is demoralizing to the forces of revolutionary unionism, the enemy of the destructive dual-unionist sectarianism of official Communist policy today! The hatred of the reactionary union bureaucracy, on the one hand, and of the degenerate Industrial Union leaders, on the other, are Gross's badge of honor.

A year after the death of Gross! A year of events and experiences that have entrenched the memory of Gross more firmly than ever in the hearts and minds of the best and most militant elements of the American labor movement.

# AN APPEAL FOR UNITY OF COMMUNIST RANKS

(Continued from Page 1)

way in convincing the workers that the leadership of the Communist Party sincerely recognizes the need of Communist unity and desire to bring it about.

The same responsibility of facing the question of Communist unity squarely rests upon the other groups invited to participate at the unity meeting.

We, therefore, trust that you will consider the important matters raised in this communication and that you will let us know as soon as possible whether you accept the invitation to participate at the unity meeting.

Hoping to receive your answer soon, and for Communist unity, I remain

Comradely yours,  
BENJAMIN GITLOW  
Secretary  
COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.  
(Majority Group)

WASHINGTON.—On December 24 railroads of this country received permission from the Interstate Commerce Commission to put into effect the freight rate increases which were suggested in the recent decision of the commission.

# THE TRUTH ABOUT HOW THE BRITISH JAILERS TREAT M. N. ROY

### Circular Of The Roy Defense Committee

(We publish below a circular letter sent out to the labor press of the world by B. Singh, secretary of the Roy Defense Committee, Cawnpore, India.)

In the German press there has appeared a slanderous article dealing with Comrade Roy in which it is declared that he "was living in a restaurant in comparison with the Meerut prisoners, who pine away in a veritable hell compared with the conditions that Roy is receiving in prison on the hands of imperialism." It is the purpose of this article to "prove" that Roy was arrested as an accomplice of the imperialistic government for "purely diplomatic reasons." Let the facts speak for themselves.

In reality the conditions of the Meerut prisoners are about the average for political prisoners in India. They have the following advantages, none of which Roy is allowed to enjoy:

1. The Meerut prisoners are allowed to receive all books and papers (whether forbidden or not) at their own expense. They receive all of the publications of the Communist International, of the Communist Party of Great Britain, of the League against Imperialism, and of all affiliated organizations.

Roy is not permitted to receive any of these publications. He is not allowed to receive any political books.

2. The following papers are received by the Meerut prisoners at their own expense: *Sun*, *Times* of India, *Manchester Guardian*, *Pioneer*, *Worker*, *Forward*, and *New Statesman*.

Roy is not permitted to receive any newspapers at all.

3. Typewriters are allowed the Meerut prisoners for the preparation of their defenses.

The court granted Roy permission to have one typewriter but the prison director refused to allow it in the prison.

4. The Meerut prisoners are allowed at their own expense to send out as many letters as they like and are allowed to express their revolutionary ideas in them. The government gives each prisoner three annas (postage for a foreign letter) a week for postage.

Roy's chief complaint has been the suppression of his letters.

5. The Meerut prisoners are allowed as many interviews as they like each and every one of them.

Roy is not permitted to speak to any one except his lawyers. Even members of the Defense Committee are not allowed to him. Even the visit of Jawaharlal Nehru was forbidden.

6. The Meerut prisoners are allowed to take walks mornings and evenings outside of the prison walls and have a special place for sports outside the barracks.

All of this is denied to Roy.

7. The Meerut prisoners receive 75 rupees a year for material and for work on clothing of their own choice. This is denied to Roy.

8. In cold weather the Meerut prisoners are allowed fire and a boiling water.

**High Cost of Running**  
As the reader knows, we live in a democracy. Any citizen may become a U. S. Senator. And any American born boy or girl may be elected President of the United States.

A report of the Senate committee which investigated eighteen senatorial elections reveals that \$5,503,712 were spent for their elections—something like thirty times their combined salaries.

Senator Nye, who is a rabid reformer is proposing a bill to provide that for the nomination of a President \$250,000, for his election \$5,000,000, shall be the limit. Since the Civil War, every election but one was won by the party with the biggest campaign fund. Anyhow, any poor boy who had the patriotism to be born on American soil can become President. Reader, you may be next!

**The "Times" Defends China**  
The editorial writer of the New York Times says we really should say "Chino-Japanese" and not "Sino-Japanese" because "the Chinese are in danger of losing so much as it is, it is dangerous to deprive them of their identity in the mind of the public."

What a thoughtful sentiment!

pot, in hot weather, ventilators and ice.

Roy has received neither ventilators, ice nor hot water.

The Meerut prisoners are allowed a bed and furniture, as well as bed clothes and mosquito netting.

Roy must provide this at his own expense (that is, thru his Defense Committee).

The attack on Roy contained in the article is a shameless piece of meanness. In India certainly not a single person can believe that Roy is "an accomplice of imperialism."

Cawnpore, November 19, 1931.  
B. SINGH  
Sec'y of the Roy Defense Committee

# JAPS AIM WAR ON SOVIET UNION

(Continued from Page 1)

ment of the Canton group but the return of Chiang Kai-shek and T. Y. Soong is indicated in many directions. Such an eventuality would be a decisive victory for the United States against Japan.

**The Leftward Swing in China**  
Meanwhile one thing is clear—the Kuomintang has collapsed. A government of the Cantonese may proceed to operate under the Kuomintang flag but the process would be utterly hollow, while if Chiang Kai-shek returns to power, it will be with-out the trappings of the Kuomintang.

A decisive swing to the left is visible almost everywhere. The nationalist movement is rapidly freeing itself from the paralysis of reactionary Kuomintang control. The greatest movement is expanding and a certain amount of new life can be detected in the Soviet areas.

An advance of Red armies from Southern Kiangsi Province to Nanchang is being reported. At the same time information has come of the mutiny of nine regiments of government troops in Kiangsi Province and of their joining with the Hunan Red forces. The Soviet area now extends to 63 out of 75 hien (counties) of Hunan Province. In the cities, while the labor movement still remains stagnant, signs of revival are visible. A strike of over 11,000 workers has broken out in Shanghai last week. The political activities of the nationalist students, one of the factors that led to the overthrow of the Chiang regime, greatly intensified in recent weeks, are assuming a more clarified and militant character.

An important factor in the leftward movement is the open letter of Mme. Sun Yat-sen made public on December 20, in which she bitterly condemns both the Nanking and the Canton cliques of the Kuomintang as having "deserted the revolutionary path" and having become "enemies of the people" busy "fattening themselves thru corruption and despicable political tricks which the pre-republican mandarinates dared not attempt." "China's true revolutionists," the declaration concludes, "won't shrink fearfully from the reactionaries' horrible oppression but will, in answering the peoples demands, redouble the efforts for advancement along the road to revolution."

**Good News**  
In case our readers should have missed it, we let them know that John D. Rockefeller, Sr., is appearing in a talkie news-reel in which he says: "Better times are coming," assures us he never felt better in his life and wishes us all "a merry Christmas and a happy New Year." Now that's very nice of Mr. Rockefeller.

WASHINGTON.—A favorable report on the proposal to establish a \$500,000,000 "Reconstruction Finance Corporation" was decided on, on December 22, by a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency after hearing Melvin A. Traylor, president of the First National Bank of Chicago, explain in detail how useful such a measure would be to the big bankers and to finance-capital in this country.

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# DIPLOMAT IN ANTI-SOVIET PLOT

### Czech Discovered Behind Plot To Provoke New World War

MOSCOW.—It was made known on December 26 that the member of the foreign mission that was behind the recent attack upon the Japanese Ambassador as a provocation for a Japanese attack upon the Soviet Union is Karl Vaneek, former counter-revolutionary leader of the Czech legion in Siberia. Vaneek has already admitted "espionage" relations with "Citizen C," the man implicated in the attempted assassination.

The Czechoslovakian diplomatic official acted as the agent of the French Foreign Office, the center of the world conspiracies against the Soviet Union.

Geneva, Switzerland.  
The United States stands first and the Soviet Union last in the list of the number of unemployed in the various countries of the world, according to the figures released by the International Labor Office of the League of Nations. The world's needy are estimated as 100,000,000. This number is reached on the basis of the assumption that for every worker unemployed there are four persons suffering as a result of his unemployment.

The total world unemployment is estimated as 25,000,000—a great underestimate, since there must be between 32 to 35 million unemployed in the world as a whole. The A.F. of

L. furnished the figure of 6,000,000 as the number of unemployed in the U. S. A.—also an under-estimation, as there are probably nearer to 10,000,000 jobless in this country today. Germany is next with 5,350,000 and Great Britain follows with 2,650,000. In France there are today about 1,500,000 out of work, altho the government persists in issuing the most ridiculously falsified figures. In Italy there are 800,000 unemployed and Poland, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary report 250,000 each. There are no accurate reports available to the International Labor Office as to unemployment in Latin America and in the Asiatic countries.

The Soviet Union stands in the last place—for there is no unemployment whatever in the land of the workers! In every capitalist country, the International Labor Office reports, unemployment is still increasing, and rapidly at that. In the Soviet Union the shortage of labor is increasing as the plans for Socialist construction grow greater and more extensive.

No greater contrast could be imagined: the whole capitalist world in the throes of crisis, hunger and misery—steadily ahead, developing its resources, building up gigantic industries and rapidly improving the lot of the workers and farmers. Over 100,000,000 in misery in the capitalist world—no one unemployed or hungry in the Soviet Union. The contrast is a contrast between capitalism and Socialism—between an economic system for profit and an economic system for use—between the rule of the bosses and the rule of the workers.

The close connections between French capital and the new Spanish regime is shown by the deliberate exemption of French imports from most of the burdens of the new tariff law. According to the Franco-Spanish commercial treaty of October 1931, France is given favored-nation treatment from which both the United States and Great Britain are excluded.

The statement of the Young Workers League of India was commented upon in an article as well as in "Hammer and Anvil." B. D. W.'s column would certainly object to such a censorship as the worst of this letter seems to suggest. The bourgeoisie has no secure resources on bluff, as perusal of the columns of the DAILY WORKER would demonstrate. As to the suggestion that the readers of the AGE discuss the paper we would welcome such discussion. Our columns are open to our readers.

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# U. S. A. IS FIRST, U. S. S. R. IS LAST IN JOBLESS, AS CRISIS GROWS

### Report Of The International Labor Office

Geneva, Switzerland.  
The United States stands first and the Soviet Union last in the list of the number of unemployed in the various countries of the world, according to the figures released by the International Labor Office of the League of Nations. The world's needy are estimated as 100,000,000. This number is reached on the basis of the assumption that for every worker unemployed there are four persons suffering as a result of his unemployment.

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# HURLEY AGAINST P. I. FREEDOM

### Sec. Of War To Recommend Rejection Of Demands For Independence

WASHINGTON.—The forthcoming report of Secretary of War Hurley will recommend that the United States refuse any grant of independence to the Philippines or even to fix any date for future independence. Mr. Hurley has just returned from a trip throughout the Philippine Islands.

The report of Secretary Hurley ought to convince the nationalist forces in the Philippines, if any more convincing is still necessary, that independence cannot be achieved thru reliance upon the "good-will" and "

# The DePriest "Non Partisan" Conference The Counsel of Abject Servility

by Will Herberg

A few weeks ago there took place in Washington, D. C., a conference of representatives of Negro civic, religious, fraternal and benevolent organizations, supplemented by a number of individuals who came in a personal capacity, so to speak, called under the auspices of Representative DePriest of Illinois. The conference was immediately dubbed a "non-partisan" conference since it included members and adherents of both capitalist parties. The main object of this conference was to discuss the course of future political action of the Negro in this country. The organizational and directly political consequences of the gathering are not likely to be very great nor were most of the opinions presented strikingly original; yet the very importance of the question of Negro political action itself and the character of the answer given by the conference to this question, make it worth-while to examine the whole matter from the viewpoint of the economic and political realities of the situation.

The "findings" of the conference—that is, its political resolution—opens with a "reaffirmation of our undeviating devotion to the principles of American institutions, as set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, believing that no other foundation can be laid than that which has been laid." It continues with a frantic warning against Communism. "We warn members of our race against the specious pleas of Communism, whose basic principles are vitally at variance with our received ideals of free institutions. . . . The American Negro must rely for relief upon the American ideal." And then comes the significant appeal "to the American people (to the white ruling class.—W. H.) not to make the continuance of . . . loyalty, patriotism and devotion hard and difficult by harsh and unjust treatment."

With these "preliminaries" out of the way, the main question of the conference is approached: What shall be the political course of the Negro? The American Negro today finds himself at the crossroads politically. The traditional bonds that have tied the mass of colored voters (in those sections of the country where the Negro is not graciously permitted to vote) to the Republican party are loosening. The realization of the fact that the "party of Sumner and Stevens is dead" is spreading among considerable sections of the Negro people. Today, the Republican party has given up even the pretense of championing the rights of the Negro. Under Republican administrations, as under Democratic, no attempt is made to enforce the 14th and 15th amendments; no move is made against the whole vicious system of caste slavery, jim-crowism, discrimination, lynch-democracy. Indeed, the Republican party has become ally-white in the South while Hoover has intensified rather than lessened the segregation existing in the Federal civil service. The profession and practice of both parties are exactly the same today: both bitterly anti-Negro, both viciously ally-white, both founded on the philosophy of "white supremacy!" "There is absolutely no difference," the conference itself admits, "in attitude towards the Negroes by Republicans and Democrats in Massachusetts, any more than there is between Democrats and ally-white Republicans in Mississippi."

What then shall the Negro do? The answer given by the conference is only too indicative of the odious servility to the white master and his institutions that permeates every fiber of the conservative "race leaders" of the Negro people in this country.

"Solid blocs are dangerous to good government. We would like to see Negroes build up a basis of effectiveness and influence inside both parties so that when the wheels of political fortune bring the one or the other into national control, they will not be without friends in the seat of power." "One can always make a better bargain when there are two candidates than when there is only one." "The Negro race has no deprecatory political conviction."

"We endorse the advice of Congressman DePriest to Southern Negroes, to come for the fair-minded men in their several communities . . . to vote for the best Southern whites."

And, if these quotations from the "findings" are not explicit enough, the *Pittsburgh Courier* (December 12, 1931), the unofficial organ of the N. A. A. C. P. (I), dots the i's and crosses the t's in its editorial comment on the conference:

"Every rule of common sense . . . dictates beyond dispute the necessity as well as the propriety of the Negro in the South joining wholeheartedly the Democratic party."

lowed to live and feed and clothe themselves! Gone is the hypocritical cloud of thread-bare phrases about the Republican party being "the ship and all else the ocean", even the appeals to tradition and sentiment are self-peddled; the conservative leaders of the Negro race speak openly and unashamedly: "The white capitalists control the country. The Negroes are slaves and will remain slaves. But even the boon of eating the bread of slavery in peace will be granted to us only if we will cast our votes, as the great white lords direct—in the North for the Republicans (except in Democratically controlled communities such as New York City) and in the South for the Democrats. And this we must do!" And in this convenient arrangement, the professional "race leaders", the DePriests, the Kelly Millers, the Mordcaei Johnsons, are only too happy to serve as the heralds of the colored vote-catcher for their white masters—Republicans here, Democrats there, but the white capitalists all the time! In return for a slightly more tolerable position in the horrible scheme of caste slavery that is American democracy for the Negro, these "handkerchief-heads" are ready and willing, even anxious, to sell their services to help tighten the chains of slavery around their miserable race.

Between the fervid assurance of unalloyed attachment to "Americanism" and the warning against Communism, that open the "findings" of the conference, and the recommendation of the utterly shameless political self-prostitution, that forms its main features, there is a vital organic connection. For the Negro to accept "Americanism" means to accept slavery, to accept lynching, to accept jim-crowism, to accept social caste-subjection. "Americanism" once accepted, all the rest follows. And to "Americanism", whose spirit is lynch-democracy the only real challenge, the only fundamental alternative is Communism!

But it is surely not necessary for the Negro worker, farmer or intellectual to adopt the viewpoint of Communism for him to arise in disgusted revolt against the unprincipled recommendations of the "non-partisan" conference. Any Negro who has any regard for himself and for his race, any Negro who has any respect for the great traditions of his people's struggle for freedom, from the slave revolts to Reconstruction, any Negro who has any sense of the realities of the moment, will recoil with angry contempt from the recommendations of the conference in Washington. To the contrary, they will rather hearken to such advice as Dr. Max J. Barber (see his article in *Pittsburgh Courier* a few weeks ago) who urges the Negro masses to break with the two parties of "white supremacy" and, together with other exploited and unprivileged groups, organize a new party—a party of labor—to fight against oppression under the conditions of today.

## Culture And The Proletariat LITERATURE AND MUSIC IN U. S. S. R.

Interviews With Soviet Cultural Leaders

In the last few weeks two very interesting interviews appeared in the American bourgeois press with outstanding representatives of Soviet culture—Louis Rischer's interview with Vyacheslav Polonsky, the well-known literary critic (*Herald-Tribune*, Books, December 13, 1931) and Rose Lee's interview with Dimitri Szostakovich, the famous Soviet composer (*New York Times*, December 20, 1931). To illustrate the significant features of the new Soviet culture arising in the land of the proletarian dictatorship, we publish below extracts from the remarks of Polonsky and Szostakovich as given in the interviews.

### I. THE NEW LITERATURE IN THE U. S. S. R.

by V. Polonsky

He characterizes the present period as one in which the "ends" vie with the new "beginnings". But the "ends" are dying. "The world (the Soviet world) is being rebuilt from top to bottom. Can art remain unaffected? Vain question!" Soviet literature, Polonsky maintains, is as different from the old literature of Russia "as Soviet society is from yesterday."

"Life has been revolutionized. Literature must follow. 'We are burying the bourgeois order,' Polonsky declares. 'We are pulling up the roots of capitalism in our country, and creating new social relations, new cultural forms and a new art. Every feature of our daily lives is being renewed. The old, to be sure, has not yet disappeared. But it is dying, falling to pieces.' The struggle between the old and the new in the Soviet Union penetrates every phase of life and is, of course, reflected in literature."

"Please do not think that we are dispensing with the classics. Nothing could be further from the truth. We grow from the past. Pleshchansky once said: 'The grave of the past is at the same time the cradle of the future.' The proletariat takes whatever it needs from the past, and then departs on its own path."

Nevertheless, the break with the pre-revolutionary period of Russian art is complete and definite. "Old Russian literature," says Polonsky, "was the work of the Russian intelligentsia—the nobility, the bourgeoisie and petty officials. It was by the few and for the few."

And today? "Today the proletariat and the peasantry are ceasing to be the objects of artistic creation and becoming its subjects. The 'mujik' is no longer merely a reader. He has stretched out his hand for the pen."

What else has changed? "Almost everything. The hero of literature. (Theme, Style). The people who are entering the field of literature have a new class philosophy, new tastes, a new vocabulary, the new demands on art."

"Who were the heroes of Russian literature before the revolution? Tolstoy, Eugene Onegin, Pechorin Rudin, Nekhliudov, Bolkonsky, Bezukhov, Raskolnikov, Ivan Karamazov. There is a characteristic that unites them all. They are intellectuals, individualists. They philosophize. They introspect. They seek their place in life. They wish to justify the world and to find its raison d'être."

"Later the philosopher and grumbler gave way to the soft intellectual of Chekhov, mystics, dreamers, vain protestants, egoists, Hamlets, anar-

chists, soul-hunters. No, no, the pre-revolutionary hero has not entirely disappeared. The pro-Soviet 'poputchiks' or 'fellow travelers of the revolution' are still under his spell to some extent. But his days are numbered. He is no longer the central figure on the stage of Russian literature. And out of the ruins of the old a new hero is arising."

I demand a sketch of this new revolutionary human being whom the Soviet regime is evolving. A difficult task. "His chief trait is revolutionary activity. He runs the lathe, he carries a rifle, he directs the government, he does big deeds and engages in a work that may remain unnoticed. He builds plants and collectives, railways and blast furnaces. He destroys, illiteracy, eradicates religion, banishes the dirt of ages, and uproots the advocates of private property. He loves work. He hates phrases. He is a soldier of the revolution."

"Love and death. These subjects absorbed the hero of Czarist literature. He wanted to understand the world. But life and he were at odds. He submerged himself, therefore, in analyses of personal feeling, and sought, by cogitation, to find a way to happiness. Not so the new Russian. He identifies himself with society. He aims to understand the world in order to remold it. His personal responses are secondary. Social interests dominate over the egoistic. Indeed, his social and individual interests coincide. His life is broad and embraces a universe."

"The hero of our day does not know sentimentality. He is a bit dry, somewhat hard, likes to stick to concrete facts. He is a realist. The unearthly, the immaterial does not exist for him. He abhors idealism, mysticism and religion. He prefers dialectic materialism to metaphysics. He thirsts for knowledge so that he may destroy and create efficiently. And, of course, he lives a full, healthy personal life just because it is not the core and end of his existence."

But does this revolutionary human being already live in literature? "Not completely. Literature is busy fashioning him as a finished product. Here, too, the old struggles with the new, and Russian authors can be classified by their relationship to former and present heroes. The Russian writers who remained abroad are thoroughly in the thrall of the old hero. The non-Communist pro-Soviet 'poputchiks', on the other hand, vacillate from the old to the new and back again. Tradition often defeats revolution in their novels. To the extent that the new proletarian hero triumphs, the work of the 'poputchik' approaches the category of proletarian literature."

With the hero the theme of Russian literature is likewise changing. The struggle of one class against the other, of the revolution against reaction, and of the proletariat to build a new society takes precedence over the sex problems of the individual, the eternal problems of man and the needless questions of the philosopher which must remain forever unanswered. Authors begin to feel ashamed of spending a whole novel on the ancient and threadbare love triangle when a new world is in the making under their very eyes and calls loudly for the artist to reveal its true inwardness."

The conflict between the old and new in Soviet literature is far from ended. It will probably last as long as

## The Stage and Screen

"KILLING TO LIVE," A Sovkino film at the Cameo.

"Philosophy explains the world . . . what we must do is change the world. . . ."

So ends "Killing to Live," a Soviet movie dealing with the struggle for existence in the plant and animal world, with important and essential lessons for human life—man's world!

The weak must die. The strong struggle, growing, decaying; death walks hand in hand with life.

The movie depicts Nature—its outward calmness and quiet, giving the impression to the superficial observer that all is peaceful and serene. This false impression is quickly corrected and the process of growth: buds in blossom, bees buzzing from flower to flower, the male animals fighting for their mates, the defeat of the weaker and the proud possession of the female by the victorious one, animals mating, new life being created! And simultaneously with this development of life, decay and death: petals and leaves shedding, losing their brilliant colors, fading. In the animal world, vipers hunting down their prey to the little toad snapping up flies and bugs, winged vulture to the slimy snake, delivering death blows to the weaker, so that they may survive. Killing to live! And this struggle for existence, this life and death process continues always, through the night as thru the day.

Life—growth—decay—death! The inevitable process, as true of human life and social institutions, as it is in nature!

Only man, with his superior knowledge, gained through long years of experience and intelligence, is able to harness the forces of nature and develop and build a better world.

Soviet film closes with brief glimpses of man's ability to improve and master natural forces. Scientific breeding of animals to develop more suitable types, the improvement of the "production value" of hens—larger eggs, more eggs! And finally, dams erected and power houses built—nature harnessed for the use of man!

Philosophy explains the world and man's task is to change the world! So, along with the film of nature's ever changing world, is shown a newsreel of the 14th Anniversary celebration in Soviet Russia. Sports events, Soviet Russia's strong, sturdy youth, boys and girls marching past the government stand, saluting those who are giving them leadership and aid in building up a new world, a worker's state where exploiters and money-lords have been wiped out. Soviet leaders—Stalin, Kalinin, Voroshilov, Budeny, Bukharin, Litvinov, etc., are shown and receive an ovation from the audience. But most applause is received by the masses and masses of workers and Red Army soldiers, who file past singing and cheering, with banners pledging their lives for the defense of their fatherland.

Many other interesting features of Soviet life are shown. Even a stupid American slapstick comedy can be seen, and in a program so splendid and rich in its lessons to workers in capitalist America.

—M—

### II. SOVIET MUSIC

by D. Szostakovich

"There can be no music without an ideology. The old composers, whether they knew it or not, were upholding a political theory. Most of them were bourgeois. Only Beethoven was a forerunner of the revolutionary movement. If you read his letters, you will see how often he wished to give new ideas to the public and rouse it to revolt against its masters."

"On the other hand, Wagner's biographies show that he began his career as a radical and ended as a reactionary. His monarchist patriotism had a bad effect upon his mind."

"We, as revolutionists, have a different conception of music. Lenin himself said that music is a means of uniting broad masses of people. Not a leader of masses, perhaps, but certainly an organizing force! For music has the power of stirring specific emotions in those who listen to it. No one can deny that Tchaikovsky's Sixth symphony produces a feeling of despair, while Beethoven's Third awakens one to the joy of struggle. Even the symphonic form, which appears more than any other to be divorced from literary elements, can be said to have a bearing on politics. Thus we regard Scriabine as our bitterest musical enemy. Because Scriabine's music tends to an unhealthy eroticism. Also to mysticism and passivity and escape from the realities of life."

"Not that the Soviets are always joyous, or supposed to be. But good music lifts and heartens and lightens people for work and effort. It may be tragic but it must be strong. It is no longer an end in itself, but a vital weapon in the struggle. Because of this, Soviet music will probably develop along different lines from any the world has known. There must be a change! After all, we have entered a new epoch, and history has provided that every age creates its own language. Precisely what form this development in music will take, I cannot say any more than I can say what the idioms of speech will be fifty years from now."

# Philosophy and the Proletariat The Struggle Over Hegel

by August Thalheimer (Berlin)

On the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the death of Friedrich August Wilhelm Hegel, one of the greatest thinkers in the history of mankind and an important figure in the pre-history of Marxism, we publish the following article from the pen of August Thalheimer, outstanding Marxist theoretician of Germany.

The German philosopher, Hegel, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Berlin, died on November 14, 1831. He was not merely a professor of philosophy; he was a great revolutionary philosopher, one of the greatest revolutionary thinkers of the bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century. He is the profoundest and most all-embracing bourgeois revolutionary of the spirit. As such he belongs not only to Germany but to the world; not only to the bourgeoisie but to the working class as well. In him classical German philosophy finds its positive completion.

Philosophy was the generalized spiritual expression of the bourgeoisie revolution in Germany, the revolution against feudalism and the absolute monarchy. The German bourgeoisie was historically still on the ascendancy when Hegel died. The class struggle was still immature and even the German bourgeoisie did not engage in political struggle until 1831. It did not yet fight as a mass, as a class. Only its vanguard, composed of great writers and thinkers, fought on the field of thought, separated from the body of their class, without its active partici-

ipation, without its practical support. For their very material existence (these thinkers and writers of the bourgeoisie had to depend upon the absolute state, upon princely patronage, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel were professors in universities that stood under the paternal rod of princely absolutism. Goethe, Schiller, were compelled to live in the courts of petty princes.

All of these circumstances make it clear enough why German classical philosophy, in its completed form as Hegelian philosophy, bears contradictory elements within itself. Revolutionary features are mingled with reactionary; the greatest intellectual acuteness, with the greatest practical caution and narrowness. Hegelian philosophy was self-limited thru the fact that it was still bourgeois philosophy and that it had, as its social basis, the German bourgeoisie as yet unawakened to political life.

With the development of the class struggle in Germany in the course of the 1830's and 1840's, there matured also the contradictions within the Hegelian philosophy. The bourgeois classes appeared on the political arena. The Hegelian school split into a right and a left wing. The right wing utilized the weapon of Hegelian philosophy to defend churchly orthodoxy, state absolutism and the junker-bourgeois privileges. The Hegelian left arose in a storm of criticism against the absolute state and against feudalism. In Strauss it dissolved away upon whether one took hold of the revolutionary kernel or of the historically conditioned, reactionary shell.

On the one side, Hegelianism ends, materialistically developed in a revolutionary manner, stood on its head as it were, as the dominant philosophy in the Soviet Union. On the other side, crippled in a reactionary manner, as the Fascist philosophy of Mussolini's Italy.

The German bourgeoisie, of whom Hegel was the representative at the time when it had not yet awakened to political life, is today pushing to their conclusion the reactionary and mystical sides of the Hegelian philosophy—today, when towards the end of its historical course, it is surrendering its political existence in favor of the autocracy of the Fascist state.

Such is the social sense of bourgeois Non-Hegelianism. Fascism takes possession of Hegel as one who saw "in the state only an expression of the living spirit of the people." Hegel thus becomes the bearer of the "fundamental spirit of the people."

Reformist Socialism, at the end of its rope, attempts to bring about a rotten compromise between Marxism and Hegelianism, by revising Marxism backwards to Hegelian idealism.

Catholicism celebrates Hegel as the champion of the reality of conceptions, as an objective idealist and therefore as an ally of the orthodox Catholic teachings of Thomas Aquinas.

They all can justify their appeals to Hegel more or less substantially. But they can only appeal to isolated sides of the thinker and his teachings, to those sides that were the transitory, historically conditioned, reactionary externals.

What remains of Hegel, his revolutionary kernel, is the heritage of Communism, of the working class. Thru the working class it receives further development in revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice!

## NEW TERM OF NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

Important Courses To Be Given In 1932

The New Workers School has announced the opening of the Spring Term for the middle of January after having completed the most successful term in the history of the school.

Among the courses offered for the coming term are a popular lecture course by Will Herberg on: *Problems of Socialist Construction*, a course in *Communist Strategy and Tactics* with Herbert Zam as instructor, a course in *Historical Materialism* with Bertram D. Wolfe as instructor, and others to be announced later. Registration begins the first week of January.

The course in the *Problems of Socialist Construction* is of special interest because it involves the question of the building of Socialism in the Soviet Union, the Five-Year Plan, planned economy in a proletarian country and so-called economic planning in capitalist countries, prospects

for the second Five-Year Plan and related matters. Each of the above courses run for twelve sessions, once a week for a period of three months and the fee for a three months course is \$2.50.

Watch the columns of the *Revolutionary Age* for further information about these and other courses.

The new headquarters of the school are on the 4th and 5th floors at 228 Second Avenue, corner 14th Street.

general and its last remaining spiritual support, idealistic metaphysics, and thereby also philosophy in the form it had assumed until then. For a short period bourgeois philosophy became materialistic and openly bourgeois-revolutionary, democratic and republican!

But along with the German bourgeoisie the German proletariat also entered upon the stage of history. Spiritually the proletariat formed its point of contact with the Hegelian left. Marx and Engels began as disciples of Hegel and Feuerbach and in the course of a few years crossed over from the extreme end of the bourgeois revolution to the beginning of the proletarian revolution, from the criticism of bourgeois society and the bourgeois state, from natural-science materialism to historical-dialectical materialism.

In the course of fifteen years, Hegelian philosophy, stimulated by the maturing class struggle, gave birth to orthodox Christians, bourgeois free-thinkers, democratic-republican revolutionaries and, finally, the champions of the proletarian dictatorship, of proletarian Socialism, of Communism! How could this happen? It was the result of the self-contradictory features of Hegelian philosophy as such. The dialectic method of Hegel included the elements of the general formula of revolution. His idealistic metaphysics could be of service to religious orthodoxy and political reaction. One or the other—depending upon whether one took hold of the revolutionary kernel or of the historically conditioned, reactionary shell.

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Dumb Dora Wants To Know

It seems that the presence of Chinese troops on Chinese territory is "insupportable" according to General Honjo. Dumb Dora wants to know: "Then why don't they get off, if that's what's causing all the trouble?"

General Honjo has been conducting a "defensive war all over China to wipe out banditry." But now, the Japanese government declares: "We possess strong evidence that many of the so-called bandits are Chinese regulars masquerading as bandits." Thus the astute Oriental mind improves upon the teachings of its Western masters.

Affirmative DR. EDMUND B. CHAFFEE Director, Labor Temple Negative DEBATE BERTRAM D. WOLFE Dir., New Workers School

DOES LABOR NEED A GOD? . . .

AT LABOR TEMPLE SAT. JANUARY 23 14th STREET and 2nd AVENUE 8 P. M.

TICKETS FOR SALE AT: New Workers School, 228 2nd Ave. — Labor Temple, 14th St. and 2nd Ave. ADMISSION: 35 CENTS

# Revolutionary Age

Published Weekly by the  
 Revolutionary Age Assn., 228 Second Avenue, New York, N. Y.  
**JAY LOVESTONE, Editor** B. D. WOLFE, Associate Editor  
**WILL HERBERG, Managing Editor** ALBERT BELL, Business Mgr.  
 Organ of the National Council of the  
 COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A. (Majority Group)  
 BEN GITLOW, Secretary  
 Subscription rates: Foreign \$3.50 a year—\$2.00 six mos.—Domestic \$2.50  
 a year; \$1.50 six mos.; 5 cents a copy.

VOL. III. No. 5.

Saturday, January 2, 1932.

## PROGRESS AND DECAY

**O**BVIOUSLY there is not going to be much cheer in the New Year prophecies this time. The deep undercurrent of gloom is animating all the experts and political analysts of the bourgeoisie in their outlook for 1932.

In their desperate effort to counteract the deluge of pessimism, the recognized financial authorities and the spokesmen of the ruling class are now again turning to attacks on the achievements of the Soviet Union. The occasion for these attacks is the announcement of the slackening of the tempo in certain industries in the general nature of the Second Five-Year Plan. The New York Times, for instance, argues that planned economy has failed in the Soviet Union because some industries have exceeded the quota of advancement set for them while others have fallen below the levels. Other capitalist "students" of international affairs argue that the Soviet Union is again compelled to retreat because, in its second Five-Year Plan, much more attention will be paid to light industry that was done in the first.

This is rather thin thinking and a shallow approach. The fact that some industries did better even than planned, reached levels higher than their schedules, is no defeat. Such occurrences only require the careful eye on the part of the Soviet economist for a co-ordination between one industry and another. The need for such correlation, we have always emphasized. In fact, one of the distinct features of Socialist economy, of genuine planned economy, is the correlation between and among industries. Here is a striking contrast with the chaotic conflict of industry versus industry, factory versus factory, under the capitalist system. Of course, it would be foolhardy for any Communist to say that planning insures perfect, schematic, constantly upward progress in all industries at the same time. There are numerous complicating factors which enter and which tend to strengthen the base in one industry compared to another. It is clear that in the Soviet Union the transportation problem has not been dealt with, as yet, as successfully as, let us say, the problem of the construction of power houses. Still, not even the New York Times can deny considerable progress has been made, though not as much as necessary and desirable.

Communists are not opposed to retreat on principle. Often it is the best generalship which selects retreat at a certain time. Lenin expressed this classic truth when he championed the New Economic Policy and said that we step back in order to spring forward all the more later on. This is precisely what is happening in the Soviet Union. However, there is not the slightest shred of truth to the conclusion that the Soviet Union is making a retreat in its program of Socialist construction when it is preparing to invest more energy in the development of light industries, in the manufacture of consumption commodities, than was done in the first Five-Year Plan. Production and exchange have an unchallengeable logic which cannot be blurred by sophistry and confusion. The fact of the matter is that it was necessary for the Soviet Union first of all to engage in the construction of factories in order to be able afterwards to be engaged efficiently and sufficiently in the production of commodities. The Soviet Union had to build factories first in order to have means with which to produce articles of consumption necessary for the masses. The second Five-Year Plan is only an additional proof of the general success of the first Five-Year Plan. Without the achievements of the first Five-Year Plan, without laying the basis of Soviet economy in the establishment of heavy industries, in the collectivization of agriculture, the Russian proletariat could not today make any plans for building a superstructure, for the production of lighter commodities, for immediately and substantially raising the standard of living of the masses in the U.S.S.R.

Even in the second Five-Year Plan, there may be and there will be shortcomings, mistakes, difficulties, up and down trends. This is natural. One must not lose sight of the fact that the Soviet Union, in relation to the entire outside capitalist world, is working in a state approaching military siege. Still, there is one guarantee amongst others for our success in the Soviet Union—the guarantee which not even the most efficient capitalist countries have today to the least degree. We refer to the very apt characterization of Socialist economy in the Soviet Union made by one of America's most prominent engineers. He said:

"The most remarkable feature of this competition (the nationwide emulation campaign to create friendly rivalry in all fields of labor) is the radical change of attitude in the workers toward labor which is transforming work from the humiliating and heavy burden it used to be considered, into an act of honor and glory and an expression of courage and heroism."  
 Herein, especially, do we find a sign of the progress, social and economic, in the Soviet Union, as against the ever-spreading decay now eating into the world capitalist system.

### Announcement Extraordinary!

## DIEGO RIVERA

Famous Mexican Revolutionary Painter

will speak at the

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL FORUM

Sunday, Jan. 17, 1932

At 8 P. M.

or

### Social Implications of Art

The lecture by Jay Lovestone announced for that date will be postponed one week.

ADMISSION --:-- 25 CENTS

## Trade Union Policy and Metaphysics

# Lozovsky Rises to Philosophy!

by B. Herman

Comrade Lozovsky, the head of the Red International of Labor Unions, in an article, "The Struggle for the Masses," in the November Communist, comes out as a champion in the struggle against "metaphysics in the trade union question." Four times in this one article, the opponents of work within reactionary trade unions are denounced and theoretically demolished by being attributed a metaphysical outlook. Now, we can expect all the lesser Lozovskys, the Fosters, Minks, Johnstones, to begin writing these and making eloquent speeches against "metaphysics," not knowing exactly whether metaphysics is a complacent or a medicine. It is, therefore, necessary to go into this question to discern whether Lozovsky is not himself a metaphysician of the purest water.

### Metaphysics and Dialectics

The metaphysical viewpoint regards things and ideas as static, motionless, separate and apart, fixed, rigid, eternal. Every question is answered: "Yes" or "No." A thing exists or does not exist. A thing is examined by holding it right in front of one's nose, without regard to its relation to all other objects or its development. As Engels wrote: "It cannot see the woods for the trees."

As against this, the Marxian dialectic views things in their movement, their constant change. Nothing is eternal. There is a constant flux. Things become their opposite and develop thru contradiction. A thing is and is not itself. We answer not merely "Yes" or "No" but "Yes and No." A reactionary trade union may have a reactionary bureaucracy and, at the same time, an organized powerful left wing. A reactionary union can turn into its opposite, a revolutionary union. Even Lozovsky, for instance, can change his mind, due to the bankruptcy of the so-called "revolutionary" unions and give forth ideas today the direct opposite, in some cases, of what he stood for so staunchly and so metaphysically for the last three years!

### The Metaphysical Scapegoats

In his article Lozovsky admits the decline in the revolutionary trade unions. "Our unions not only do not grow... but have lost part (1) of their membership. Side by side with our small unions there are some relatively mass unions affiliated to the A. F. of L. Well, do we conduct activities in these unions, do we organize groups in them, form contacts? No, despite all the dozens of decisions, this practical work is not being carried on." Not only is this the case in America, but, as Lozovsky shows, it is true likewise for France and Germany. "Our activities in the reactionary unions of Germany have slackened all along the line. What is the reason of this?" asks Lozovsky. And he answers: "The metaphysical manner of placing the question, widespread among part of the functionaries of the revolutionary trade union movement: either we form independent unions or else conduct activities in the reformist unions, one of the two."

In typical "third-period" fashion Lozovsky blames the workers in the field, a useless metaphysical opposition in the revolutionary trade unions. Lozovsky does not blame Lozovsky and the leadership of the Communist International, which has deliberately withdrawn the revolutionary forces from work within the reactionary trade unions. Who does not remember the attack which Lozovsky made upon the American Communist Party for the crime it committed in building up a powerful left-wing movement in the United Mine Workers of America—the "Save the Union" movement, that rallied scores of thousands of miners behind it. Who does not remember the sarcasm of Lozovsky in 1928 that the T. U. E. L. was dancing "quadrilles" around the reactionaries in the A. F. of L. because we carried on revolutionary activity in the reactionary organizations. Who is responsible for calling the A. F. of L. unions "social fascist from top to bottom" and "company unions"? The metaphysical opposition can well answer: "But, Comrade Lozovsky, we learned our metaphysics from you! Now you berate us for having been your loyal and faithful followers. We questioned neither the where nor the why."

### Who is the Metaphysician?

The metaphysical opposition (if it had either the nerve or the brains) would answer Lozovsky: "It is not we who place the question metaphysically; it is you. You do not propose to work within reactionary unions to transform them into revolutionary unions. No, as you say: 'A stubborn struggle is required from the R.I.L.U. adherents in the reactionary unions in order to win the workers of these organizations and to transfer them to the corresponding Red trade unions. But when we organized our revolutionary trade unions three years ago, we split the reactionary trade unions. Now, you admit that the forces in the Red unions have dissipated. You propose to go back to work in the reactionary unions to split them and replenish the forces in the Red unions.

Now, if the Communists gain forces by working in the reactionary unions, and lose them after 'transferring' them to the Red trade unions, clearly it is a metaphysical mind which proposes to win workers in the reactionary unions in order to lose them again in the sectarian T. U. E. L. unions.

"You regard the reactionary unions, Comrade Lozovsky, in a rank metaphysical manner. For you, they are eternally, unchangeably and forever, fixed reactionary organizations. On the contrary, for the dialectician they are not eternally reactionary. They can be transformed, as Lenin and Marx pointed out, into revolutionary organizations, with a change in the objective situation and the correction of the wrong policies of the Communist Party in the trade union work. The reactionary unions were not always reactionary in all cases. Marx pointed out how the British trade unions became more and more bourgeoisified and how the revolutionary energy of the British proletariat oozed away with the powerful monopolistic position of British capitalism in the 19th century and how this process would revise itself with the loss of industrial monopoly by Great Britain.

"You, Comrade Lozovsky, admit now that 'we must fight for every single worker in the reactionary unions.'" Granting that we achieve our aim, the winning of every single worker from the reformists, then we will have succeeded in revolutionizing the trade unions. The rule of the reactionary bureaucrats is at an end. In most cases, the left-wing will drive out the reactionary bureaucrats and capture the trade union apparatus. This idea is positively shocking to the official leader of the R.I.L.U., who regards the apparatus of the trade unions just as he regards the apparatus of the capitalist state to be shattered and disintegrated, this being another case of metaphysical uniformity. (This question is of such fundamental importance that a special article dealing with it will be forthcoming.)

"The bureaucrats will resort to repressive measures and mass expulsion. The bureaucrats will 'expel' the whole union, which means in reality that the union will expel the bureaucratic agents of the bosses. In which case, why do we need a dual 'corresponding Red trade union' to the mass trade union? Are you afraid that having won 200,000 miners from the reformists, you will have no place to bring them unless there exists a little pure Red miners union of 200 members? Or do you need the Red union to keep back half or three-quarters of the revolutionary forces from working within the mass organizations? Or do you need the little Red union, which you admit cannot win struggles or conditions for the workers, as a scarecrow, a skeleton, to rattle before the eyes of the workers in the reactionary unions, to frighten them by the sight and the sound of what a pure, sectarian, little, revolutionary union means from ever wanting a revolutionary mass union, a union which is not a paper organization but a powerful militant organization of the workers.

"Comrade Lozovsky, you who level the charge of metaphysics against us, are yourself resting your whole line in the trade unions upon a metaphysical base."

Such an answer is not forthcoming. For there is no such metaphysical trade union opposition. The Fosters and Minks, who meekly accepted the new line, the splitting of and withdrawal from the trade unions, are just as meekly accepting the "new turn" of working within the reactionary unions for the purpose of "disintegrating" them as Lozovsky so nicely puts it.

The utterly nameless opposition is invented by Lozovsky in order to have someone on whom to blame the complete collapse of work within the reactionary unions. Nor is it out of the question that Browder, for instance, should discover the so-urgent needed metaphysical trade union opposition in the person of William Z. Foster!

The repeated charge of metaphysics made by Lozovsky is a vivid example of the method of debate about which Turgenyev once wrote amusingly: "To prevent your opponent from criticizing your own faults and weaknesses, simply accuse him of that which you yourself are guilty in a loud and authoritative voice. In this manner he is struck speechless." He cannot accuse you of metaphysics in the trade union question, for instance, when you come out with such righteous indignation against metaphysics.

The irony of the situation lies in the fact that the whole new line of which Lozovsky was one of the parents, is permeated with a metaphysical outlook. Space does not permit a detailed analysis of the new line to prove this. We can but mention the metaphysical "third period" during which we found ourselves in the revolution with all just, a very rigid, fixed period in which the revolution must occur in all countries. The proof of this was the general and widespread radicalization of the masses in all countries at the same rate of speed. The policies of the Communist Party were to be the same in every country. Anyone who denied this uniformity, this even character and development in all countries was guilty of the heinous sin of "exceptionalism" and denied the basis for internationalism in the Communist movement (Stalin's speech in the American Commission). To prove this rigid metaphysical uniformity, the leadership of the Comintern went to the most absurd extremes. Let us remind Lozovsky of his speech in the American Commission in April 1929 in which he asserted that the labor aristocracy in the U.S. was not relatively larger than the labor aristocracy in France, Germany and other European countries. The leader of the R.I.L.U. could see no difference in the working classes in the U. S. A., Germany, France. One was bigger another smaller in number. Otherwise—the same!

We need only mention the theory of "social-fascism" which puts fascists, Socialists and Communists all together in one common category. What a brilliant contribution to the realm of metaphysics! Or the theory of the "united front from below" in which every mass meeting and demonstration of the Party becomes a mass united front of the workers against the bosses.

With this metaphysical approach Lozovsky sails under the banner of "fight against metaphysics." We think that the laughter aroused by this effort of the laughter will effectively end the philosophical pretensions of the head of the R. I. L. U.

## BOOKS

**SOCIETY AT WAR, 1914-1916**, by Caroline E. Payne. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1931.

Miss Payne sets out to make a psycho-social study of the behavior of British society under the special conditions of the first two years of the war. As data she uses primarily newspaper clippings which she somewhat naively takes as more or less accurate reflections of the deeper processes at work. The conclusion she comes to is also her point of departure: that social behavior during war is pathological behavior—"Everyone is more or less mad in war-time!"

A real study of the "psychology of social life, the state of men's minds, under the influence of the stress and excitement of war" is quite impossible without an understanding of the motive forces and laws of development of modern society. Certainly it is impossible without an adequate comprehension of the social roots of war and of the character of the recent imperialist war in particular. But of all this Miss Payne is completely innocent. She deals in superficiality of the most superficial sort. And, therefore, while the book may make interesting reading and may contain a hint or two here and there, it certainly is not an adequate study of the social psychology of war. X. Y. Z.

**SINCE CALVARY, An Interpretation of Christian History**, by Lewis Browne. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1931.

Like everything else Lewis Browne has written, this sketch of the history of Christianity is interesting, informative and intelligent. But it is certainly no adequate interpretation of the history of the dominant religious faith of the Western world.

Mr. Browne describes in a very attractive manner the rise of the new religion and its struggle for survival amidst varying circumstances. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Browne has made no advances in historical method since his earliest writings; his point of approach is still fundamentally eclectic. He frequently utilizes to good advantage obvious correlations between economic and social development and the history of Christianity but under the least pressure he drops the thread to the maze and wanders off in the most remote idealistic blind-alley.

X. Y. Z.

## GUSTAVE LE BON DEAD IN PARIS

Gustave LeBon, widely-known sociologist and philosopher, died during the night of December 14 in Marne-la-Coquette, near Paris, at the age of 91. When he died he held the position of director of the Library of Scientific Philosophy.

Attho in his long life he contributed to many fields of science and scholarship, Gustave LeBon is best known for his psycho-social writings, especially on the "theory of crowds." His general ideological viewpoint was an extremely reactionary one, basing itself uncritically upon the officially received conceptions of bourgeois culture. His theories of crowd behavior show that he was completely ignorant of the real moving forces and laws of motion of human society; any real penetration beyond the surface of social life proved impossible for him so that many of his most widely-heralded "laws" were either platitudes or trivialities or grotesque fantasies. The complete hollowness of his whole psycho-social system became clear enough, when Le Bon turned to the demolition of Socialism and the justification of French imperialistic jingoism.

Toronto, Canada.  
 The Revolutionary Age arrives quite regularly and is interesting and instructive. I always pass it on to some other worker.  
 Conditions here as you no doubt are aware, are very bad despite the bosses' new road work in Northern Ontario where the workers are fired for wanting to change their wet clothes for dry when soaked to the waist. The same old oppression. When these men return to town they will be branded and so will be enlisted to a bowl of soup or a bed in the flop house. A fine christian country!  
 This is all just now but will write again.  
 I am, yours in struggle,  
 F. S. H.

**Notice!**  
 For important technical reasons we request all readers of the REVOLUTIONARY AGE sending in money to make sure to make out checks and money orders as follows:  
 For the REVOLUTIONARY AGE: ALBERT BELL  
 For the C.P.-Majority Group: BEN GITLOW.  
 For the New Workers School: EVA STONE.  
 All at:  
 228 SECOND AVENUE  
 NEW YORK CITY

**Feed on Angel Cake**  
 "The only way to conquer our fears," Dean Gates told a well-kept Christmas congregation in St. John the Divine, "is to go to the first Christmas Day and listen with attentive ears to the angels singing 'Fear Not' and let Christ be born again into our hearts..."  
 Wonder if Dean Gates had fears that he would have nothing to eat the day after Christmas, whether he'd try his own prescription. Listening to the angels sing is scanty nourishment to an empty stomach.

**The Pope, the World and the Vatican Roof**  
 His Holiness the Pope finds the world of terrifying spectacle "this Christmas Day." "We will not say anything about peace or disarmament because we or our predecessors have done that so many times." Isn't it about time that the words of the inflexible should have some effect in a Christian world after being repeated over some thousand odd years?  
 And as a Christmas present God goes and lets the roof of the Vatican cave in. You'd think He'd take better care of the housing of His own Vicar on earth. An impressive miracle would have been to let the whole of Rome cave in except the Vatican. But God is like Charlie Chaplin. He made enough miracles in His younger days and now He's resting on His reputation.

B.D.W.



## King Henry Compels His Subjects To Eat

Inkster is a town which grew up near Dearborn as a result of Ford "prosperity." "A little village of cabins built along mud roads." For two years, its 1,000 inhabitants, mostly Negroes, have had no work. Lights are out, stores closed, banks closed, families starving, children rickety, the town buried in a blizzard of debts.

Now that King Henry requires some of his subjects again, he has decided to "clean up" the town which he brought into existence to serve his factories. He has put some of his subjects to work in road-gangs, clearing rubbish and working on the lord's demesne. "The women work in vast soup kitchens—without pay. Men taken back in the plant are paid \$1.00 a day in place of \$5, the rest being retained by the Ford overster to pay off his subjects, debts—123c an hour, \$1 a day being what was actually needed to feed these families." When they need clothing, shoes, etc., they must buy from the company stores. After hours they must work for their food on Ford farms.

"What we are trying to do," said a Ford official, "is to find a way to do things without money. The system which requires money for every move you make is wrong."

So King Henry is discovering ways of getting labor from his subjects on his royal lands and roads and in his royal factory, without paying money for every move they make. The farmer must feed and house his horse and his mule so that he can get work from them, so he supervises working hours and sleeping hours and even what his beasts of burden eat and the condition of their stalls. Now Henry has become a great farmer with men as cattle and the supervisors not eight hours out of 24 but 24 hours out of every 24. They can't buy what they please but what he pleases. They work eight hours in the factory, then, in their "free time," they work on the portion of his estate of which the crop is assigned to feed them. They don't get any wages but they're allowed to live, aren't they?

The inhabitants of Inkster are all Negroes but of course "the selection of this race group was accidental" when the great boss decided to restore chattel slavery in America.

## A Christmas Present

As a Christmas present to the ruined farmers and starving workers, President Hoover has authorized a "raise in freight rates to add a few hundred million to the cost of living. Herbert wishes us all a Merry Xmas and a Hard Up New Year! Same to you, Herb!"

## Priests and Prostitution

Patrick Cardinal Hayes, Bishop Manning, Rabbi Nathan Krass, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick and other prominent clergymen and leading citizens have issued a statement on the growth of prostitution due to the depression. "Recognizing that the desperation of young women who cannot find work is forcing many of them into prostitution," reads the statement and it calls for a "persistent and well-informed pressure behind the law enforcement authorities."

Trying to cure the "desperation of young women who cannot find work" by means of a policeman's club is like curing a cold in the head by fastening a clothespin on the nose. Let the reverend gentlemen try their sermons on the cops and the cops their clubs on the reverend gentlemen. What the jobless girls need is immediate relief unemployment insurance and for the permanent elimination of prostitution where everything is prostituted for profits from the bodies of women to the tongues of preachers and the clubs of cops.

**Feed on Angel Cake**  
 "The only way to conquer our fears," Dean Gates told a well-kept Christmas congregation in St. John the Divine, "is to go to the first Christmas Day and listen with attentive ears to the angels singing 'Fear Not' and let Christ be born again into our hearts..."  
 Wonder if Dean Gates had fears that he would have nothing to eat the day after Christmas, whether he'd try his own prescription. Listening to the angels sing is scanty nourishment to an empty stomach.

## The Pope, the World and the Vatican Roof

His Holiness the Pope finds the world of terrifying spectacle "this Christmas Day." "We will not say anything about peace or disarmament because we or our predecessors have done that so many times." Isn't it about time that the words of the inflexible should have some effect in a Christian world after being repeated over some thousand odd years?  
 And as a Christmas present God goes and lets the roof of the Vatican cave in. You'd think He'd take better care of the housing of His own Vicar on earth. An impressive miracle would have been to let the whole of Rome cave in except the Vatican. But God is like Charlie Chaplin. He made enough miracles in His younger days and now He's resting on His reputation.

B.D.W.

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