

Workers
of all
Countries,
Unite!

WORKERS AGE

For
Communist Unity
in the
Revolutionary
Class Struggle!

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AND FARMERS

VOL. 1, No. 8.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 19, 1932

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DEVALERA PICKED IRISH PRESIDENT

Labor Party Demands That Social Issues Precede Oath Rejection

DUBLIN. — Eamonn DeValera, head of the Fianna Fail party, became President of the Irish Free State Executive Council on March 9. He received 81 votes in the Dail as against 68, his majority consisting of a Fianna Fail-Labor bloc. Tremendous popular excitement accompanied the accession of DeValera to power, huge crowds cheering wildly as he was raised to office.

A straight Fianna Fail cabinet was then chosen.

DeValera's first official act was to order the release of more than a score of political prisoners who had been imprisoned under the vicious Force acts of the Cosgrave regime.

DUBLIN. — A rift between the Fianna Fail, the coming government party in the Irish Dail, and the Labor party, upon whose seven votes in the Dail the possibility of a Fianna Fail government rests, is presaging in the course of the negotiations taking place between the two parties preceding the opening of the Dail on March 9.

The Labor party insists its program of social and economic reforms be put thru first before the question of abolishing the oath of allegiance to the British crown is taken up. Housing plans and the relief of unemployment constitute the main points in the Labor party program. According to William Norton, the new leader of the Labor party, if the repudiation of the oath is taken up first, the consequences of the step will be such as "to hopelessly submerge the Labor program of social reform." The DeValera group insists upon the primacy of the oath issue.

The Cosgrave opposition party is biding its time hoping the break of the DeValera-Labor bloc will give it its opportunity to return to power.

2000 KIDNAPINGS IN 1930-31

Abduction For Ransom Is Big Business In U. S. Under Capitalism

More than 2,000 kidnappings for ransom took place in the United States in the two years of 1930 and 1931, according to official and unofficial reports of police agencies throughout the country. As a matter of fact, abduction has grown into a "big money crime," taking its place beside the liquor, vice and drug traffic among the most prominent rackets in the land.

In the state of Illinois alone, it is estimated, there were more than 400 kidnappings in these two years. Only a small fraction of these cases were ever reported to the police and a still smaller fraction of the kidnapped persons were ever recovered with its aid.

The monstrous growth of kidnaping as a form of Big Business is a startling reflection of the advancing social disintegration of American social life under the blight of capitalism.

WORKERS AGE

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Lindbergh Baby Kidnappers And Other Kidnappers!

by J. O. Bentall

The whole world is all hot and bothered over the kidnapping of the Lindbergh baby. Is there any one who does not sympathize with the bereaved humans involved in the terrible sorrow that has come to them? Certainly not!

Of the details of the crime and of its nastiness the publicity hounds of two continents have spread out acres in print and the spouters of the ruling class have spouted oceans of sacred vengeance upon the perpetrators of the atrocity. So let that be enough.

And blessed be that great prophet sent from heaven to reveal the mysteries of our benighted earth, our own wizard of wisdom and the knower of all knowledge, Mat Woll, for his early hastening to tell us the real cause of this latest bubble on the rotten belly of our putrifying system, the real cause—prohibition. Amen! Here endeth our first lesson.

For a common worker to inject a few questions, in connection with this accident in the smug life of an overfed ruling class, may not be considered entirely delicate, but this common worker has been robbed and knocked and crushed and kidnapped and torn and starved and kicked so often that he has decided to have his say right now and here while the breath of the excited world is still hot and hectic.

Now while my fellow-workers are sobbing soft and jerky sobs over this calamity to the Lindberghs they should not forget that things as bad as this and worse happen to us every day. I am with the miners in Kentucky. I go into the shacks and find the father kidnapped and beaten up and left in some ravine to die—by the kidnapper legalized by the coal company's government.

I run on and slip into another shack and find another stooping over her lifeless child, dead from hunger, stolen from loving hearts by the kidnapper, the legalized kidnapper, the wage cutter.

I go on to other camps and on the way I see in the hillside little white crosses that mark the tombs of the multitude of killed men, killed in the mines, kidnapped from their dear ones by the legalized kidnapper; the tombs of women who have gone down to death in their struggle to feed their hungry children when there was not enough food for them all; tombs of

boys and girls dead from undernourishment; babies snatched from life, kidnapped by the rigors of a too hard environment.

And then I move to other fields, to open plains, to the farmstead and the village. There has been a regular spree of kidnaping. The big boy kidnapper has been along and taken from the bosom of every mother the best and bravest of her sons—to hold for a ransom, for the gold that flows thru the trenches of war into the coffers of the robber class. What does it matter if the working class is the victim. "In Rama was a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children and would not be comforted, because they are not."

The kidnapers of the Lindbergh baby are mere pikers, they ask for the paltry sum of \$50,000. They are in the lower class of racketeers. Even our Christian sheriff would sniff and (Continued on page 2)

HINDENBURG GETS OVER 18,500,000

But Fails To Get Majority; Nazi Gain Heavy; Run-Off On April 10

March 14, 1932

With over 37,660,000 votes cast, a very high proportion of the total electorate, Paul von Hindenburg, reactionary candidate supported by the Center party, the Social-democrats, and the "middle" groups, succeeded in obtaining almost a majority—18,661,736 votes, in fact, about 170,000 short of the majority necessary for election. This unexpectedly large vote placed him well in advance of Adolph Hitler, Fascist candidate, whose 11,223,000 votes nevertheless register a tremendous gain for the Nazis as compared with the 6,500,000 in the 1930 elections. Communist candidate, Ernst Thaelmann, received about 5,000,000 votes, just a half-million more than in 1930. The Nationalist-Steel Helmet candidate, Duestenberg, received 2,517,876 votes and Winter obtained 181,115.

Since no majority was received, run-off elections will be held on April 10 in which a plurality will be sufficient.

March 4, 1932

Berlin, Germany. Five candidates have so far been put forward in the March 13 Reichs-Presidential elections and approved by the Reich Election Commission. They are: Theodor Duestenberg, National Peoples party and Steel-Helmets League; Paul von Hindenburg, so-called "non-partisan candidate," supported by the Social-democratic party, by the center (Catholic) party and by the democratic groups; Adolph Hitler, German National-Socialist Workers party (Nazis, Fascists); Ernst Thaelmann, Communist Party; and Adolf Gustav Winter, People's Revalorization League. The last candidate, Winter, is of no special significance in current political life; the main programmatic object of the Revalorization League is declared to be the redemption of pre- (Continued on Page 2)

FARLEY IS FREED BY COURT

Rules Tammany Sheriff's Stealing Was Without "Criminal Intent"

NEW YORK CITY.—Thomas M. Farley, Tammany leader of the Yorkville section, who was removed by Governor Roosevelt as sheriff on February 24, was acquitted by order of Judge Freschi in General Sessions on March 9 of unlawfully appropriating interest money left in his charge.

According to Judge Freschi, the prosecution had not proved that the ex-sheriff had taken the public money "with criminal intent."

After the judge had acquitted Farley on one of the counts against him, the special prosecutor moved for the quashing of the others.

It is now apparently legal in New York City for a public official to steal public money, provided, of course, he does so with pure motives and "without criminal intent."

4 Are Dead, 3 Dying, 35 Wounded, As Police Fire On 3,000 Hunger Marchers Before Ford Plant

SALES TAX TO HIT MASSES OF POOR

One Billion To Be Taken From Purchasing Power Of Working People

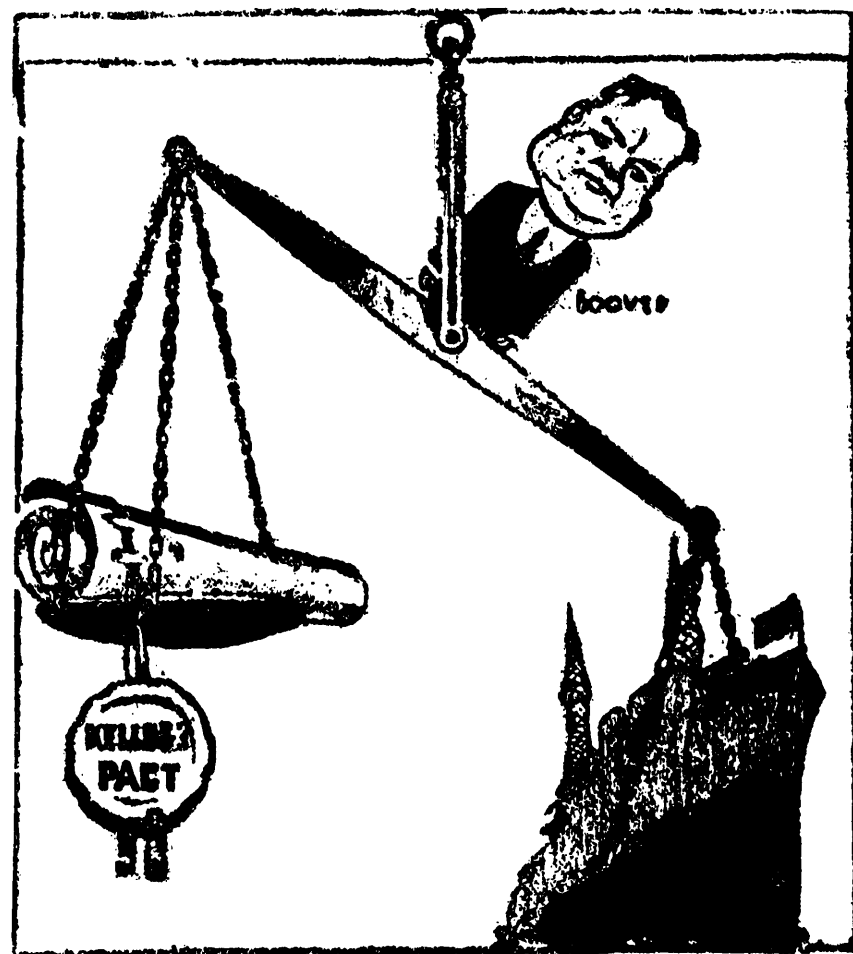
WASHINGTON. The new billion dollar tax bill, reported favorably by the House Ways and Means Committee and championed by Representative Crisp, has been introduced into the House of Representatives and preparations are being made to rush (Continued from Page 2)

Police And State Troopers Open Machine Gun Fire Upon Determined Crowd Of Unemployed Demanding Jobs And Relief; Y. C. L. Organizer Murdered

Detroit, Michigan. Four are dead, three are dying and more than thirty-five have been wounded as the result of the murderous attack of the Dearborn police and Ford guards upon a crowd of 3,000 jobless workers who had gathered before the Ford River Rouge plant in Dearborn asking for employment and making other demands to alleviate their miserable condition.

The Hunger March was organized here by the Unemployed Council of Detroit on March 7 and proceeded to March to Dearborn. The march began at one o'clock in the afternoon.

FACTS AND FACTS



At this point police reinforcements consisting of sheriff's deputies and State troopers for whom a call had been issued, arrived. As the crowd was about to end its march and turn back to Detroit, the police, to whom a number of Ford guards had been added, unlimbered machine guns and let loose a hail of machine gun bullets at the marching workers. At least two score workers fell under this murderous attack.

Among the dead is Joseph Yorke, 23 years old, Young Communist League organizer, who died in Delray Hospital of bullet wounds in the abdomen.

After the massacre the Dearborn police arrested five of the demonstrators on charges of "inciting to riot!"

The demands of the Ford Hunger Marchers, for attempting to present which they were shot down by the police, were:

- 1. Jobs for all laid-off Ford workers.
- 2. Immediate payment of 50 per cent of full wages.
- 3. Seven-hour day without reduction in pay.
- 4. Slowing down the deadly speedup.
- 5. Two 15-minute rest periods.
- 6. No discrimination against Negroes as to jobs, relief, medical service.
- 7. Free medical aid in the Ford hospital for the employed and unemployed Ford workers and their families.
- 8. Five tons of coke or coal for the winter.
- 9. Abolition of servicemen (spies, police, etc.)
- 10. No foreclosures on homes of former Ford workers.

Ford to assume responsibility for all mortgages, land contracts, and back taxes on homes until six months after regular full time re-employment. 11. Immediate payment of lump sum of \$50 winter relief.

The murderous attack of the forces of "law and order" upon the 3000 unemployed who were guilty of the "crime" of trying to get a hearing for their demands, must arouse the workers of this country to the understanding that today, even the most elementary demands of the workers, corresponding to the bare necessities of life, can be achieved—can be presented, even—only thru determined and militant class struggle, only thru bitter resistance to the capitalists and to the capitalist government.

SECOND 5-YEAR PLAN BEING DRAFTED AS HUGE SOVIET GAINS RECORDED

Masses Take Part In Working Out Plan; Big Advance For Heavy Industry As Light Industry Moves Forward; Great Britain Tightens Soviet Credit

Moscow, U.S.S.R. A profound technical reconstruction of socialist industry coupled with the complete collectivization of agriculture, designed to lift the Soviet Union to the first rank in the world in technical-industrial development

and to win for it full economic independence, are the aims of the Second Five-Year Plan now being drafted here.

It is calculated that a full year will be taken in drafting the Plan in which not only the experts but the masses of workers and peasants in the U.S.S.R. will actively participate. Even the smallest political and economic body in the Union will take part in preparing the Plan. It is expected that the Plan will be finally complete on February 1, 1933, and since four and one-quarter years assigned for fulfilling the first 5-Year Plan will be over by January, the second Plan will go into effect about one month before finally completed.

The general outlines of the plan, based upon the various republics and autonomous regions, will be prepared by the State Planning Commission (Gosplan) on the authority of the recent decisions of the Soviet power. These outlines, or guides, are sent to the various territorial subdivisions for detailed elaboration. For these figures every branch of the national economy, from the largest trusts to the smallest factories and farms, must contribute its own Five-Year Plan. Every stage of the work is subjected to full discussion by the workers in the factories and by the various workers organizations, by the Communist Party units, by the trade unions, by the factory executives and by the Soviet bodies and constant alterations and revisions take place in (Continued on Page 4)

WHEAT GIVEN TO RED CROSS

WASHINGTON.—By a vote of 344 to 2 the House of Representatives, late on March 3, passed the Norbeck joint resolution authorizing the "free distribution of 40,000,000 bushels of government-owned wheat thru the Red Cross for the relief of distress." It will very likely pass in the Senate and be signed by the President or at least not vetoed.

This is the first direct relief measure passed by Congress in the present crisis. Up to the present time the Administration and its supporters in Congress have been willing to grant direct Federal relief to starving mules and cattle but have told the starving humans to take care of themselves! Now "rugged individualism" seems to have suffered a slight rebuff!

The form in which this "direct Federal aid" is being given is extremely characteristic. Not only is it given in the form of charity and not unemployment relief, but it is given thru the Red Cross, one of the most labor-hating agencies in the country, which will use the Federal grant as a new weapon to break down labor conditions, smash unions and break strikes.

For a number of reasons, among which the most important and decisive was:

THE LACK OF MONEY TO PAY PRINTER
we have been obliged

TO MISS THE MARCH 12 ISSUE OF THE WORKERS AGE

Precisely at the time when the regular appearance of the paper was most necessary, this happened.

This Must Not Happen Again!

Rush in All Ready Money You Can Put Over the Sub Drive

Don't Delay -- The Need Is Great!

New Jap Drive Beyond Shanghai Is Planned As New Forces Arrive; Anti-Soviet Threat Grows

5,000 New Soldiers Arrive From Tokyo; "Greater Japan In Yangtse Valley" Is Forecast; Chinese Forces Sent To Manchuria; Soviet Press Exposes Jap Aims

March 7, 1932. In spite of all talk about "truce" and "peace" a new Japanese drive beyond Shanghai is being reported by the ardent Japanese press. The Twenty-Seventh Brigade, Fourteenth Division, from Japan, raising the Japanese army strength to over 70,000. The Nineteenth Route Army under General Tsai Ting-shai, upon which the burden of fighting the Japanese rests, is also being reinforced again to meet the Japanese attack.

After the retreat of the Nineteenth Route Army, Shanghai is quiet but heavy fighting is being reported on the Nanking-Kiating front. Seizure of Nanking by the Japanese is expected in Chinese quarters.

The defeat of the Nineteenth Route Army, after weeks of successful resistance, is laid to the failure of Chiang Kai-shek to send adequate relief and reinforcements—which, in itself, reflects the bitter and demoralizing struggle of cliques within the so-called Chinese "central" government.

An enormous wave of sentiment against Chiang is sweeping China. Merchants associations, chambers of commerce, students leagues, and other organizations of the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, are passing resolutions against Chiang. Eugene Chen, leading the anti-Chiang clique, has made himself the spokesman of this wave of protest. In reaction to this movement, the "central government" meeting at Loyang, has sent a telegram of elaborate praise to the Nineteenth Army and to the Eighty-eighth Divisions. A break of the Canton clique with Loyang-Nanking government is not considered impossible.

The Japanese, meanwhile, are forging ahead intent upon establishing a colonial base in the Yangtse valley. Japanese names are already being given to conquered Chinese villages. In the funeral oration over the body of the Japanese Colonel Hayashi the following words were pronounced emphatically and are taken as a semi-official indication of Japanese intentions: "Colonel Hayashi's death on the battlefield lays the foundation for the expansion of greater Japan in the Yangtse Valley."

Chinese Forces Reported Sent To Manchuria. SHANGHAI.—The new military

For a number of reasons, among which the most important and decisive was: THE LACK OF MONEY TO PAY PRINTER we have been obliged TO MISS THE MARCH 12 ISSUE OF THE WORKERS AGE Precisely at the time when the regular appearance of the paper was most necessary, this happened. This Must Not Happen Again! Rush in All Ready Money You Can Put Over the Sub Drive Don't Delay -- The Need Is Great!

The Party And The Far East Crisis AGAINST CHAUVINISM IN THE PARTY!

A Letter From An Anthracite Miner

We publish below a letter from Peter Gallia, Communist anthracite miner. It places in a very sharp form the criminal chauvinism of the policy of the Communist Party on the Far Eastern question.

In the ranks of the Party itself a growing move of protest is visible against the chauvinist line of the Central Committee. This movement is a healthy one and bears within itself the promise of a correction of the gross opportunist mistakes of the Party policy. We hope it will develop on a broad basis and prove thoroughly effective.

It is a sad reflection upon the Party that its slogan is of such a character that it is already being taken up in the Assembly of the League of Nations! In the New York Times on March 3, Clarence K. Streit cables from Geneva: "There is quite a significant still unofficial, revival of talk of the Assembly seeking now to get a truce at Shanghai by declaring all its members will withdraw their diplomats from Tokyo."

Breaking diplomatic relations with Japan—the slogan of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. and of the Assembly of the League!

In the Daily Worker of Monday, February 22, 1932, in the statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party on the China situation, I read this slogan: "Demand the expulsion of the diplomatic representatives of murderous Japanese imperialism from the United States!" I did not believe my eyes and I started to read the full statement again but the slogan did not change. Well, I said, perhaps this is some kind of mistake of the print-shop. I hoped to see a correction next morning but there was none. Instead of the correction, next Monday, February 29, 1932, I saw the second statement of the same committee with all its revolutionary phrases but in the end of the statement I read again: "Drive out the diplomatic representatives of the murderous Japanese imperialism in the United States! Force their expulsion!" Yes, I saw the correction, but not in the sense I was expecting. The second statement was even sharper and more provocative. What happened?

The slogan is a slogan of imperialism; it is a slogan that the imperialists use for mobilizing the nation for war, for making the population of this country do the purpose of the ruling class against the interests of the working class. What is the difference between this slogan of boycott supported by the representatives of Wall Street, Kammerer, Lowell Baker. To me it is the same but Wall Street representatives were not so sharp. The Central Committee of the Communist Party is more clear; they want to break diplomatic relations with Japan. If this happens, the workers take this slogan for pure gold, if they go on the streets to carry thru the meaning of this slogan, what will the leadership of the C.P. do?

I don't understand the criminal attitude of the Party leadership. How can they preach war? Will the rank and file of the Party not understand this slogan? In the Daily Worker of March 1 on the first page, first and second columns, all readers are advised to study this statement. I hope they will do this and understand the real meaning of this slogan and throw out those responsible to the place they belong.

Benito Mussolini, when he was editor of L'Avanti, when he betrayed the Italian workers for the money of French imperialism, the Italian workers chased him out. Will there be the same here in America? We will see.

Peter Gallia

JAPS PLAN NEW DRIVE BEYOND SHANGHAI

(Continued from Page 1)

The Pravda of March 6 publishes a long article analyzing and describing Japanese imperialist development closes with the declaration that the seizure of the Soviet Far East is the next step in the Japanese plans in the Far East.

Simultaneous reports come from Riga to the effect that a pan-Baltic movement resuming the effort to create a Baltic bloc, dominated by Poland, against the U.S.S.R., is under way.

SHANGHAI. — The dispatch of three divisions of troops to Kiangsi to stem the advances of the Red peasant troops, was announced here on March 6.

The recent events in Shanghai culminating in the retreat of the Nineteenth Route Army, show very clearly that only a revolutionary China arrayed against imperialism, able to inspire confidence in the masses of the Chinese people, workers, peasants, and radical middle class and not afraid to arouse and to unleash these class forces, only such a revolutionary Chinese government can put up any effective resistance against Japanese imperialist aggression. The corrupt, clique-ridden Nanking "central" government, even with the support of Wall Street, is proving itself impotent. And to make up for its impotence against Japanese imperialism the Nanking-Loyang puppet government initiates a new campaign against the Red peasant revolutionary armies, one of the forces in China really capable of defending the country's integrity and independence.

HINDENBURG POLLS OVER 18,500,000

(Continued from Page 1)

war Reichsbank notes! The total number of eligible voters is estimated at about 44,000,000—3,000,000 more than in the Reichstag elections of 1930. At least 37,000,000, it is expected will vote. It is necessary for a candidate to get a majority of the votes cast in the first ballot to be elected; if no candidates get a majority, second elections are held in April, in which a plurality suffices. Between the first and second elections a realignment and concentration of parties usually takes place.

It is not expected that any one of the candidates will receive a majority in the first balloting so that second elections will almost certainly be held. Then, if not before, some sort of arrangement will be completed between the Nazis, on the one hand, and the Hugenburg Nationalists and the Stahlhelm, on the other.

The Communist candidate, Ernst Thaelmann has been endorsed by the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition), by the Leninbund (a semi-Proletarian organization led by Urbahn), by the Socialist Workers party, and by smaller labor groups. The Communist Opposition has issued an Open Letter to the Communist Party appealing to it to initiate a united front anti-Fascist movement and proposing a program of action.

Work for the Dushman

"Three justices of the Supreme Court were suffering from physical ailments today."

"Justice Brandeis was kept at home by a cold; Justice Van Devanter had a touch of rheumatism and ascended the bench with his arm in a sling. Justice Holmes, who will be 91 on March 8, had considerable difficulty reaching his seat because of an attack of lumbago. Nevertheless, after he had been assisted to his place, he delivered one of the day's two decisions."

The older a thing is under a reactionary system, the more respected. Capitalism fires men from the factories at 40. It keeps judges on the bench till they drop off. These rickety old justices with their rheumatic ancient ideas are a fitting symbol of a system that has grown old and decrepit and is crying for the dushman of the revolution to come along and make a clean sweep.

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300 WAGE CUTS IN DEC. 1931

January Trend Drops Still Lower, Labor Bureau Figures Show

Not a single wage increase and almost 300 wage-cuts were listed by reporting employers, unions, and municipal governments in December, with preliminary estimates for January indicating a further downward trend, according to "Facts for Workers," the monthly economic news letter of the Labor Bureau, Inc.

Decreases averaged a little less than 10% for the manufacturing establishments involved, with reductions most widespread in the cotton goods industry, it was said. The white-collar workers, the report added, "have been feeling almost universal encroachment on their salaries, which are averaging 10% below last year."

THE LINDBERGH BABY KIDNAPPERS

(Continued from Page 1) make sour faces at the miserly gift of \$50,000. He hugged out some \$50,000 in his racket. But he, too, was a sanctified piker — and got caught, sort of.

No, you got to go better than that. Get into the racketeer class of Morgan and Hoover, if you want to be safe. How many hundred million did Morgan and his crew make out of the war? How many hundred million are they making out of the depression and out of the starving unemployed and their dying families?

How many hundred million did Hoover make out of his racketeering and slave-selling career in preparation for the presidency of the greatest country in the world? How many Chinese workers did he kidnap and ship to South Africa at \$5 a head? Only a few shiploads totaling 60,000 helpless Chinese workers. Making only \$3,300,000, at one time.

Bah! The Lindbergh kidnapers are cheap pikers! Get up in the world! Become a sheriff! Become a cabinet member! Become an attorney general! Become a president! Become something better than a runty beggar for a sloppy \$50,000!

It would be slinging salvation to the winds to tell the moping, soughing, sniveling, languishing sob-sisters of the press, pulpit and radio how this and other kidnaping comes about. They will all believe like humble holly-rollers that Mat is right, and if it were not for the Volstead Act there could have been no kidnaping of the Lindbergh baby. So what can you do? You stand against the rock of ages of stupidity, like Luther before his thesis. You're pulverized.

But to you workers for whom there is still some hope, I would say: Don't weep over the kidnapped baby, weep over yourselves and over your children, if you are going to weep at all. No don't weep! Find out where all this racketeering comes from, then get together and wipe out the whole damn system that causes it.

It is the capitalist system. When we have said that we have said all. The entire capitalist system is honeycombed with racketeering, and kidnaping is only one branch of it, a kind of twig. We must make a howl about capitalism as the capitalist press and spouters are making a howl about the Lindbergh kidnapers. For in the main we workers are the hardest hit by racketeering in all its vicious forms. It is we who pay. We pay the \$50,000 and the \$500,000 and the \$3,300,000 and all the rest of the millions and billions that the capitalist racketeers put over on us.

And I want to whisper softly in your ears: There is one country in which there is no kidnaping. Could you conceive of any reason for kidnaping in Russia? The workers did their last trick of kidnaping in Russia about November 7, 1917. They kidnaped the whole capitalist system and chucked it into the sewer of obliteration.

The Lindberghs have another baby coming, 'tis said. It will be just as unsafe as the one now held for ransom — unless Lindy and his family move to Russia, or capitalism is destroyed.

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The Apostle Of Class-Collaboration GANDHI AND THE CLASS-STRUGGLE

A Conversation With Romain Rolland

Paris, France. On the way home to India, Gandhi passed thru France. Here he spent several days with Romain Rolland, a close friend of his. In the course of a formal discussion between the two, Gandhi made the following declaration on his attitude towards the class struggle:

"I make no distinction between the European capitalists and the Indian capitalists. My writings deal with the struggle between the factory workers and owners, outside of the national struggle. But in truth I do not consider as an inevitable law the antagonism between capital and labor. However difficult it may be, I consider that, as a matter of fact, it is possible to establish harmony between capital and labor. But if it were to appear that such harmony is impossible, I would not hesitate to

lead labor in an action of such a nature as to destroy capital or completely transfer it into the hands of labor. For such an action, as in all other cases, Satyagraha (the tactics of non-cooperation) would bring capital to self-destruction, should its destruction be regarded as necessary. Even the capital is associated with the national struggle, I would not consider the interests of capital if they showed themselves to be contrary to those of my community. But I would not, today, unnecessarily, engage in a conflict with capital and make a difficult problem still more difficult.

"My observations have led me to the conclusion that as far as England is concerned the unemployed have no reason to complain of capitalism. I am convinced that if capitalism, at the end of its resources, were at this moment to give up all its capital and distribute it among the workers, and themselves (the capitalists) join the ranks of labor, this sacrifice would not alleviate the social crisis. The real remedy for England at the present time and the reorganization of its entire life. English capital cannot be profitably utilized in many of the existing English industries. In these conditions the English unemployed must first of all revise their living standards and secondly get to work in some sort of domestic industry (as artisans) or else return to agriculture. In this whole rearrangement capitalism plays almost no role at all."

14 WORKERS ARE KILLED IN N. J.

These words are sufficient to indicate the thoroughly bourgeois standpoint of the leader of the All-India National Congress. But even more do they illustrate the shabbiness, the shreaddariness, the crude-obsolete-ness of the Mahatma's ideological furniture.

The fundamental harmony of the interests of labor and capital, class-collaboration, coupled with a platonic promise to "share labor" in case these interests should clash at some distant future. But in the immediate present: " . . . I would not, today, unnecessarily, engage in a conflict with capital."

And in the struggle of labor, what does Gandhi advise? The passive defeatist tactics of non-cooperation!

And in the English situation, Gandhi actually advises the workers to lower their standards of living, to accept wage-cuts, to accept cuts in social benefits. Thru him speaks the voice of MacDonald and thru MacDonald the voice of the Tories.

The way out of unemployment? Turn back the wheel of history? Back from machinery and large-scale production to handicraft! Back from industry to agriculture!

No wonder Gandhi is the apostle of our own "made-in-America" liberals!

HOWARD U. GRANT CUT BY SENATE

Negro University Fund Is Slashed In Third In Senate Committee

WASHINGTON — A reduction of the Federal grant to Howard University, leading institution for the higher education of the Negro people in this country, from \$1,942,000 to \$675,000, at a time when the minimum budget of the university requires a grant of at least \$1,600,000, is threatened in the pending Senate bill on appropriations. The cut is being put thru in the name of "Hoover economy."

GET A SUBSCRIBER TO THE AGE!

The expenditures for military and naval purposes are being raised, tens of millions of dollars are being poured into the corrupt sink of prohibition "enforcement," but the few dollars for Negro education must be cut down to almost a third.

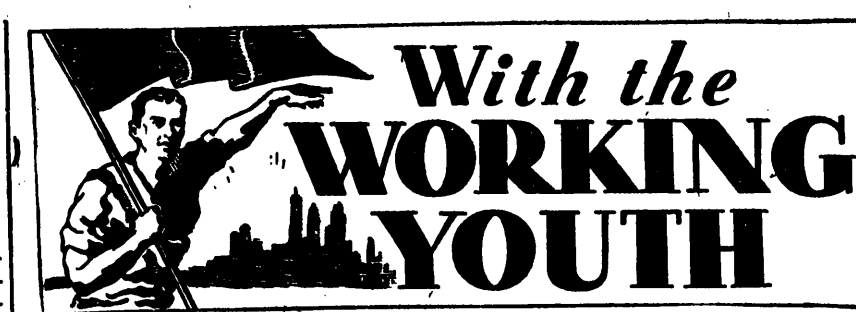
SALARY CUT BILL OUT IN HOUSE

LaGuardia Amendment Is Carried In House By Bi-Party Vote

WASHINGTON.—By a very close vote of 160 to 155, cutting across party lines, the House of Representatives on March 5 passed the LaGuardia amendment restoring to the postoffice and treasury appropriation bill, salary increases, advances in grades and automatic promotions for employees in these departments. The bill carried a total of \$1,059,778,163. The amendment adds about \$1,200,000 to the appropriations.

The Democratic party which has control of the House came out against the LaGuardia amendment as did also the Republican party. Nevertheless, party ranks broke and the amendment was carried.

The reversal on the appropriation bill takes place under the sign of the coming election campaign. The support of the civil service employees is a considerable factor for which the various congressional groups are angling.



With the WORKING YOUTH

KINDERGARTENS IN U. S. S. R.

(Concluded from last issue) Artistic expression is encouraged in every possible way. The youngest group begin to handle colored paper and pencils and crayons and clay. The older groups record their impressions of their daily activities and excursions in drawings or modeled figures, sometimes even arranging "wall newspapers" with the help of their teachers. Music, singing and dancing are considered essential in the daily program—both organized musical and rhythmic work being carried on in connection with other activities. The children sing at almost every thing they do.

Much is made of the various national holidays. The first part of the school season in the Fall is devoted to preparation for the "Day of Harvest and Collectivization," and these are the occasion for many activities. The children not only arrange their own celebrations within the school but take part in the general celebration outside, and so are brought closer to the adult world.

First Steps In Grammar

In the 7-year-old group a beginning is made in grammar and mathematics, not as separate subjects, but as a part of the other activities. The method followed is to teach whole words rather than letters and syllables. There has been much discussion of the type of stories children should have when they reach the story-telling and reading age. Fairy stories with a mythical content are absolutely taboo. "Let children have fairy tales," one hears, "but let them be fairy tales about the wonders of real life—let them hear about the wonders performed by wind and water, coal and electricity and not build up an unreal world of magic and fantasy." The miracles involved in reshaping the country under the Five-Year Plan, it is argued, can be made quite as exciting to children as magic carpets and frog princesses.

Perhaps the main distinction between the methods used in pre-school work in the Soviet Union and elsewhere is the emphasis on collective activity or social help rather than self-help alone. The older groups hold

meetings, elect a school soviet, elect commissions for this and that, divide up the work to be done, even have joint meetings with parents. Thus the beginnings of self-government are introduced even in the pre-schools. Close contact is maintained with other pre-school institutions and schools in the neighborhood, the older children helping the younger ones in many of their activities.

The children in these Russian schools impress one as a gay and eager lot, enthusiastic over doing so many things for themselves. The "work" is made into play for them. These play-work activities are no more exhausting than any child's play. And, in addition, there is plenty of unplayed play, both free and organized—sand piles to play in, things to pull about and climb on, games and dancing and music, all for sheer joy. Of course, the degree to which all these things are developed depends on the teachers and local facilities. Many of the pre-school institutions are sadly lacking in proper equipment. What has been described here is true of the best ones, the aim of the others. Special schools in Moscow and Leningrad and Kharkov are trying out different systems. Doctors and psychiatrists are found hiding behind screens and testing the children's reactions just as in this country. Frequent conferences of pre-school workers are held to exchange experiences and develop new methods.

SALES TAX HITS MASS OF POOR PEOPLE

(Continued from page 1) it thru both Houses. The main feature of this bill is a 2.25% general sales-tax, which is expected to bring in at least \$600,000,000 of the \$1,096,000,000 provided for in the bill. All goods sold, except a few arbitrarily selected as "necessities," are subject to the tax.

The bill was unanimous in the House Ways and Means committee. Yet in each house opposition of various elements in both parties is expected, especially to the sales-tax provision. Representative Fiorello LaGuardia has already announced his intention of fighting the sales-tax and of replacing it with a luxury tax.

The sales-tax of \$600,000,000 will raise prices by even more than that amount, since the tax will be made the occasion for a general rise in prices beyond the 2.25%. It has been estimated that the price rise will amount to at least one billion, the bulk of which will fall upon the working people and lower middle class elements, cutting their purchasing power very considerably. In this economic crisis, as in the World War, the capitalists very deliberately plan to transfer the burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the masses, to overcome the crisis at their expense.

The rest of the revenue the Crisp bill proposes to raise thru retroactive income tax increases, higher tobacco tax and postal rates, and special excise levies on automobiles, bank checks, gasoline, real estate transfers, radios and phonographs and electric energy.

The "wet bloc" in the House proposes to replace the sales-tax by a tax on legalized 2.75% beer.

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L. NELSON

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Again the Party Trade Union Course!

The Party Doctors Disagree!

by B. Herman

The question of what is the trade union policy of the official leadership of the Communist Party has been a particularly hard question to answer in the past year since the "new turn" every month brought with it a new trade union policy. For rank and file workers to catch up with the pace of the "new turns" was a difficult task. That not even the leaders of the official Party find it easy to accomplish this is evidenced by the conflict between William Z. Foster and Joseph Zack in the last two issues of Labor Unity. Foster chides Zack for his wrong estimate of the A. F. of L. The experts disagree! Not only do the experts in the American Party disagree amongst themselves but the American experts disagree with their fellows in the British Communist Party, as can be seen by comparing the views of both Zack and Foster with the British Daily Worker of January 19 and 22, 1932 and with the theses of the Communist Party of Great Britain in the Communist Review of February 1932. The doctors, all endorsed by the Red Trade Union International, disagree. Whether they agree or disagree makes no difference—the patient gets worse just the same.

The "Bosses Labor Agency" Comrade Zack's position in the Labor Unity of January and February 1932 is a couple of turns behind the latest trade union line of the Party. He maintains that the "A. F. of L. is the bosses labor agency", that "the sharpening class struggle has caused a sharp, clear-cut break between us and the A. F. of L., not only ideologically but organizationally." He sees the T.U.U.L. growing by leaps and bounds while the bosses A. F. of L. shrinks away. For five years Zack has had this vision. In 1927 the Comintern condemned him for advocating dual-unionism. In 1929-31, under the aegis of Lovozovsk, all the blessings of the Comintern were heaped upon his brow for the same misanthropic views. Now, in 1932, the axe is again being ground, as we shall see, for the consistent and consistently wrong head.

Zack continues: "The main organizational conclusions that follow from this (the organizational decline of the A. F. of L.) are clear, namely the organization of the masses into unions outside of the A. F. of L. and not into it. It is precisely on this that the basic differences occur." He sees us and Muste, Lovestone, Cannon, etc. The honor of this unusual and therefore doubly admirable. Zack declares that the differences of the "Lovestoneites" with the official Communist Party lie in the fact that the Party advocates dual-unionism and the splitting the American labor movement while the "Lovestoneites" propose to build, consolidate and win the American Federation of Labor in a revolutionary struggle. We plead guilty to the charge of opposing sectarian separation of the left wing workers from the main stream of American labor!

Foster is not so honest in his characterization of the role of the "Lovestoneites" in the trade unions. He dare not be. Because it is his painful duty to carry out the latest line and advocate renewed activity of the Communist Party in the wage-fighting ranks. After years of being proposed this the "Lovestoneites" have been denounced as "renegades and counter-revolutionists" for almost three years. So Foster must get out of this predicament by slander, lies and vilification. Foster says: "The renegade Lovestoneites are making a united front with the Musteites and the A. F. of L. bureaucrats in the wage-cutting drive." This is quite different from Zack's analysis! What kind of work in the A. F. of L. will be accomplished by the Party when Foster, the leader of this form of activity, does not know the difference between the bureaucracy, the progressives and the revolutionary workers who are now working there? The activity of the Musteites, as part of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy." This is quite different from Zack's analysis! What kind of work in the A. F. of L. will be accomplished by the Party when Foster, the leader of this form of activity, does not know the difference between the bureaucracy, the progressives and the revolutionary workers who are now working there? The activity of the Musteites, as part of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy." This is quite different from Zack's analysis!

The A. F. of L. "Rackets" For Zack, the A. F. of L. unions are "in most cases not unions in the common sense of its meaning. . . . They have degenerated into plain rackets that with the assistance of the bosses, extort money from the workers. The task of the Communists is to get the workers to 'vote to get out of the A. F. of L.' He boasts how the T.U.U.L. groups outmaneuver the A. F. of L. leaders in certain locals, "making it impossible even to collect dues or assessment for the fakers union." That is, they persuade the workers to drop their membership in the American Federation of Labor.

The Heyday of the New Line From this, it is clear that Zack's position is that of the T.U.U.L. of the years 1929-30, the first turn of the new line and of the T.U.U.L. In those days (October 1930), Foster

wrote "The reactionary unions are completely useless in the class struggle for the workers." On April 1930, Daily Worker editorial declared: "The U. T. W. is not a labor union." Upon the foundation of the T.U.U.L., the Daily Worker declared (September 3, 1929): "The new T.U.U.L. will succeed because it is the workers federation of labor—not the bosses." The A. F. of L. was called a scab, company-union organization. Despite the fact that every resolution of the official Party favored on paper "intentioned work within the A. F. of L.", in practice their viewpoint led to a situation in which the Party members and left-wingers as well as Party leaders regarded membership in the A. F. of L. as equivalent to scabbery. When the members of the C. P.-Majority Group in the T.U.U.L. opposed engaging groups in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, for instance, the Party loyalists considered this the height of treason to the working class!

The Bankruptcy of the New Line!

But the working out of the sectarian course of the Party led to the bankruptcy of the new unions, loss of membership and decline in influence in the labor movement, and growing discontent with the Party's wrong policies. At the same time, the crisis and the attacks of the bosses have brought with them strike struggles on the part of the A. F. of L. unions as in Paterson and fostered a leftward movement in the ranks, completely disproving the nonsense of the

Revolution in Spain And The Communists

WHITHER THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

A Letter From Spain

Barcelona, Spain. From every viewpoint Spain is one of the most interesting and important countries in the very animated stage of world politics. The transition from the monarchy to the republic brought with it a political-cultural revival of the Spanish people, somewhat similar in nature to the effects of the February revolution. A flood of political literature poured upon the country—a large number of new papers, satirical and political journals, with large circulations. In every bookstore the most important books of Marx, Engels, and Lenin are prominently on sale. The spiritual censorship of the Catholic Church, that had kept the Spanish people in cultural oppression for so long, was largely broken and political and social questions flared up again. Innumerable meetings and demonstrations today show the lively participation of the toiling masses in the entire political life of the country. Anyone visiting the villages of Spain will find everywhere circles and clubs of political parties (with the exception of the Communists) really centers and points of concentration of the politically interested masses. The radio plays a tremendous role, especially considering the large rate of illiteracy. The radio forms the center of very lively discussion everywhere. The political events in Spain since the proclamation of the republic offer a direct parallel to the February revolution. Tremendous economic and political strikes sweep the country from one coast to the other; bloody collisions, sometimes developing into revolutionary uprisings, shake the young republic. A few days ago a general strike embraced the whole province of Valencia; the same in Seville and other important places. These strikes are generally of short duration but they distinguish themselves by their vigor and violence. The bloody collisions taking place everywhere are a consequence of the rapidly growing unemployment. The economic crisis has seized Spain too in its grip and, as a first manifestation, came unparalleled joblessness. Even more significant for the revolutionary will and the political maturity of the Spanish workers and peasants are the struggles with the State power, struggles which assume an outspoken political-revolutionary character. Symptomatic are two events of recent days. In the North of the Iberian peninsula, in a small village, the inhabitants arose as one man against the police and severe bloody combats followed lasting several days. In a small town outside of Barcelona the workers took over the power, arrested the authorities and proclaimed the social revolution. The republican government immediately set into motion its tremendous military and police force and suppressed the revolutionary government with incredible brutality.

These are only a few of the most important events with which Spain is so full. The bourgeois republic, the embodiment today of the counter-revolution, has had a hard struggle but it has hitherto emerged triumphant because of the weakness and disunity of the revolutionary class forces. The split of the working class into syndicalists, Communists and Socialists permits the government to play each of these tendencies against the others with great ease. If the republican government has hitherto been able to emerge triumphantly

from all struggles, this is due less to its own strength than to the weakness of its opponents. The Civil Guard, a special political organization, splendidly equipped and organized, under the monarchy its most reliable support, is still largely monarchist in sentiment and in leadership as is clear on all sides. Political development since the establishment of the republic has demonstrated very obviously that the Spanish revolution is not yet over. The question of what stage it finds itself in today, must therefore be placed. For facility in characterization we have made the parallel between the Spanish revolution and the February revolution in Russia but this parallel has only a limited, conditional validity. Premature and hasty conclusions that events will simply repeat the Russian scheme to the October revolution, are certainly not to be drawn. A number of factors, external as well as internal, are quite different, factors which opened the way for the October revolution in

Russia. Among the latter we need only mention the absence of a strong conscious Communist Party. Whether proletarian revolution or bourgeois revolution will triumph in the coming wave of class struggle depends upon whether it will prove possible to forge the revolutionary unity of the Spanish working class and to establish the alliance with the peasantry. And nothing is more likely to hammer these political truths into the head of the working class than the hard experiences of the present struggles. If the Spanish working class draws the proper political lessons then the victory of the proletarian cause is at hand. But if this does not happen, if the rapid development of events allows no time for this, then great dangers will arise from the right. The monarchist-Catholic counter-revolution is not dead, not even asleep. It lies with the Spanish Communist Party and its international leadership to exercise a tremendous influence upon events. Let us hope that the forces of the Party will be adequate for this!

GET A SUBSCRIBER TO THE AGE!

CLARENCE DARROW has definitely accepted as counsel for Mrs. Granville Fortescue and the three others who have been indicted on second degree murder charges in the notorious lynch-slaying of a Hawaiian, Joseph Kahaahawai. What such a step means for Darrow's public career is clear enough. After years devoted to the championship of the oppressed and persecuted, Darrow now stands forth as the defender of brutal excesses of American imperialism in its colonies. After years devoted to the interests of the colored peoples, he now takes his stand with the representatives of "white supremacy." After years devoted to the victims of lynch-law, he now stands forth in defense of the lynchers! The fatal step taken by Clarence Darrow stands out as all the more reprehensible in the light of Mr. Darrow's action in the Roy case. When Manabendra Nath Roy was on trial for his life because of his heroic activities in behalf of the liberation struggle of the Indian masses, Clarence Darrow was appointed to come to Roy's defense in his legal capacity. Here is the reply of Mr. Darrow:

Dear Mr.— I do not see how I can, do anything in the Roy case that could do any good. I am not practicing law and have not been for three years and could not undertake writing a brief. Then I am not well and past 74 years old and can't undertake to do anything that needs sustained exertion. I sincerely hope that the matter will come out all right as I believe it will. Truly, CLARENCE DARROW The Roy case—no; but the Fortescue-Massie case—yes! Clarence Darrow's services to mankind and to the working class can never be forgotten; but neither can this act of his which will cast a dark shadow over his whole career!

World Revolution And Comintern

On Sunday March 6, the New York Times, the most representative organ of the American bourgeoisie, published an editorial headed: "World Revolution." In this editorial we read:

"Today the impressive fact about the world revolution . . . is that its prospects should have been growing so dim under circumstances that in theory are exceptionally favorable to its victory. For nearly three years the economic system of the capitalist peoples has been in a state of prostration. The world's army of unemployed is estimated to be close to twenty millions. The nations finances are disarranged. On every side, one hears of complete loss of confidence in the entire scheme of social and economic organization under which the world outside of Russia has been living. Wherever one turns to in Europe one discerns conditions that used to be set forth as the ideal for the proletarian revolution. But it is also true that nowhere in Europe today is the Communist peril regarded as serious. The problem that engages the attention today is the extreme challenge to Communism, and that is, of course, Fascism.

"Germany best illustrates the startling change, but the signs are to be found in many places. Till four years ago it was the common formula that peoples must not be allowed to slide into despair lest they throw themselves into the arms of Bolshevism. Victor nations were warned not to bear down too hard on defeated nations, lest the vanquished turn Red and bring down the victor with themselves in common ruin. Today the main argument for fair treatment for Germany—and a solid argument—is that the German people must not be driven into the arms of Hitler. In any number of less important places in Europe one sees the Fascist ideas and methods in vogue. But the Communist menace has dwindled. Even in revolutionary Spain, the Communist challenge has been disposed of with greater ease than would have been believed possible by any one in Europe half a dozen years ago."

Lenin taught us to study very carefully judgments of the class-enemy. Could there be any more devastating commentary upon the impotence and sterility that the new sectarian course has brought into the ranks of the world Communist movement?

A FATAL MISSTEP FOR CLARENCE DARROW

CLARENCE DARROW has definitely accepted as counsel for Mrs. Granville Fortescue and the three others who have been indicted on second degree murder charges in the notorious lynch-slaying of a Hawaiian, Joseph Kahaahawai. What such a step means for Darrow's public career is clear enough. After years devoted to the championship of the oppressed and persecuted, Darrow now stands forth as the defender of brutal excesses of American imperialism in its colonies. After years devoted to the interests of the colored peoples, he now takes his stand with the representatives of "white supremacy." After years devoted to the victims of lynch-law, he now stands forth in defense of the lynchers!

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November 5, 1931. The presidential campaign hitherto, as conducted by the C.P.G., only confirms our statement. Whereas for the Fascist wire-pullers the election campaign is simply a curtain behind which they are laying the actual foundation of the Fascist dictatorship (cooperation of the Fascist powers with the executive organs of the State, Reichwehr, police, justice), the Communist Party, according to its press, is conducting the campaign as an election maneuver, pushing the question of person (Thaelmann—Editor) to the forefront.

This attitude is all the more dangerous because the critical moment which will decide whether Fascism will rule Germany is approaching. Now, if the Communist Party fulfills its role as the leader of the proletariat, the proletarian united front can be built up and Fascism beaten back and destroyed. But this is unfortunately being hindered by your policy. A concentration of masses against Fascism is impossible if the Communist Party rejects the building up of united front bodies with other proletarian organizations and the creation of really non-party anti-Fascist class defense organizations, if, thru the C.G.O. tactics, a mobilization of the organized workers is made impossible. That today, in a situation in which the crisis of capitalism is much deeper than in 1918 or 1923, the Communist Party, in spite of numerical growth, is weaker in the factories and in the unions and in strikes than it has been in years, is the fault of the ultra-left policy of the C.P.G. This ultra-left course has helped the reformists to retain their influence over the decisive sections of the working class in spite of their unparalleled betrayal. On these facts all empty slanders and "ideological campaigns" with which you try to meet the criticism of the C.P.G.—O. must shatter. In spite of our differences on the life-and-death questions of tactics, we are ready to fight side by side with you.

The Paterson Strike and the Communists The C.P.L.A. in Paterson Strike

by Ben Gitlow

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action (Musteites) was represented in Paterson during the strike of the silk workers by its chairman, A. J. Muste, and by its secretary and editor, Louis F. Budenz. In addition L. F. Budenz was the actual head and leader of this strike. From its role in Paterson a good estimate of the Muste movement can be made. There is an outstanding characteristic of the Muste movement. That is vacillation. It is neither fish nor flesh. It proclaims itself both as a political organization and a trade union group. At the time of the Paterson strike it was neither. At that time it was like a horse with its head where its tail should be and its tail where its head should be. Off galloped the young steed in the direction in which the tail pointed at a particular moment. The Musteites were as dependable as a ruderless ship in a storm. Their line, if any, was one of continuous vacillation.

If one has to generalize on the policy of the Musteites one would have to say that they love to hear themselves talk as radicals, on the one hand, but prefer, on the other hand, to rely upon the conservative trade union officialdom for actions of decision. In other words they consider their program good, ideal, but they haven't any confidence in it. The masses may support the program but they themselves have no faith in the masses and lay their trust in the conservative officials. They have no particular enthusiasm for the building up

of a progressive rank and file opposition movement in the trade unions. Their actions in Paterson prove this. When the question of what should be done in Paterson was considered, it was stressed that what was needed was to build up an organization committee representative of all elements in the labor movement, to organize the workers and call the strike.

The Musteites, who were in a position to make this possible, agreed with the officialdom to organize a Joint Action Committee representative of the officials of the various unions plus Muste, Budenz and Gitlow. They sought to have no issue made on Eli Keller's membership on the Joint Action Committee. Eli Keller represented the left wing elements among the Paterson textile workers. After a fight on the question, Eli Keller was given a voice but no vote on the Joint Action Committee.

On the question of advancing the strike date so that the unity of all the textile strikers could be achieved in one strike, the Musteites first resigned on this issue—both the chairman and secretary of the Joint Action Committee (Muste, chairman; Budenz, secretary). But when they saw that the strike of the National Textile Workers Union was a failure, that the workers did not answer their withdrawal, stated they had been wrong in their estimation of the situation and the union officials had been right. Before that meeting I took up with Muste and Budenz the

necessity of continuing the fight to advance the strike date. They agreed with me but in the presence of the union officials their opposition melted away like a snow ball on a hot stove. I insisted upon my motion to advance the date. Muste and Budenz voted against the motion. I withdrew on the grounds that to keep the workers in the shops longer while the National Textile Workers Union was conducting the strike was demoralizing the whole situation and dividing the workers. Nevertheless, after my withdrawal and the publication of my statement, on the same day the committee changed its action and advanced the strike date.

The power to appoint sub-committees was placed in Budenz's hands to a very large extent. His appointments were always of the conservative officials. He almost never took in the left wing workers into the sub-committees.

When the General Strike Committee was selected the Musteites, together with the union officials, decided to make it a committee secondary to the Joint Action Committee. It took considerable time to maintain the General Strike Committee and finally to have it reorganized as the authoritative committee of the strike.

The Musteites agreed secretly with MacMahon to have a sub-committee of union officials during the course of the strike work out the basis of amalgamation. The result was that our proposals for utilizing the Paterson strike to tie up with Allentown and to build the national silk workers' federation in the heat of struggle thru the participation of the masses of silk workers, was ignored and an actual amalgamation and the building of a national silk workers' federation delayed months after the strike. During the heat of the Paterson strike, A. J. Muste, heading a committee from Paterson, without any authority from the Paterson workers, was instrumental in settling the Allentown strike. No report, tho it was requested, was made to the General Strike Committee. The settlement was no settlement at all. The Allentown strike was called off and the workers sent back to get what terms they could. This was a terrific blow to the Paterson strike at its most critical period.

Muste's leadership in the strike was characterized by the exertion of pressure continually upon the General Strike Committee to move for settlements after another. Whenever Zimmerman, Keller and myself would confer with Muste and Budenz, we would come to the executive board a policy of militant strike action and resistance to yielding to continuous compromises. But no sooner did Muste and Budenz face the General Strike Committee then they yielded to the compromisers and became advocates of compromise.

Before the general strike was over, Muste and Budenz pressed for the abolition of the General Strike Committee and, during the strike, for turning strike action over to a small committee made up mainly of the union officials. After the end of the strike the

MAKE EVERY READER A SUBSCRIBER TO WORKERS AGE

Musteites upheld the constitutional provision which eliminated the outstanding progressives and militants from running for the executive board in the elections of the Associated. At first membership meeting they supported the conservative elements and officials against the left wing.

When the officials refused to continue Budenz as a paid organizer, they broke with the officials and constituted an opposition.

The Musteites, the C.P.L.A., reached the height of their development in the Paterson strike. The pressure and constant direction of the Communist Party (Majority Group) prevented them from making gross mistakes, pushed them in a large measure towards militancy and was responsible for the militancy and spirit which characterized the strike. But the Musteites have, since Paterson, decided to be more of a political organization, to organize a so-called third left party and to be militantly anti-Communist and against the united front.

So they, from the right, are reaching the same sectarian conclusions as the leadership of the Communist Party reaches from the left. But the C. P. L. A. has no organization, no masses. It has the desire but not the potency. The tail wagging but the head—well, we leave it to the reader's imagination!

Clear As Mud

If the Japanese have contributed nothing new in imperialist statecraft at any rate they have invented something new in alibis. "Japanese blame mud for reverses," reads a Shanghai dispatch. "Soldiers forced to lift feet with their hands as Chinese leisurely pick them off." Of course mud never deters a Chinese soldier. He just reverses the process and lifts his hands with his feet while he takes aim and fires. The Jap government should protest about the mud in Shanghai to the League of Nations. That's what the League is for.

The Economic Week

THE formal enactment of the Glass-Steagall bill and the lowering of the rate by the New York Federal Reserve Bank have failed to arouse improved sentiment. Apathy and dullness grip the Stock Exchange. January motor output was smallest since 1922. Steel production registered a new low. Freight cars in service today are only one-third of last year. Car loadings and power output were heaviest losers during the week to precipitate the business index reaching another new low for the crisis. Unemployment has reached new peaks in some basic industries with about ten million now fully jobless. Bank failures continue at alarming proportions showing 467 so far for the year with deposits of over one-quarter of a billion dollars involved. The Federal government's report on total bankruptcies shows 1931 to have set the record with 60,000 involving a loss to creditors of \$911 million as against 15,000 with only \$144 million in 1921. The 1932 first quarter dividend payment

bleak. Interest payments will likewise fall because of heavy defaults on foreign issues and bad realty investments. The foreign situation continues complicated with the gold outflow continuing, the Bank of France gold holdings now being only \$37 million less than the Federal Reserve's. Germany's dwindling export surplus is endangering the Mark, especially in light of German industries working at about only 30% capacity today. There is increasing talk of inflation policies in Germany.

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"BLOODY MONDAY" IN DETROIT

The killing of four and the wounding of several score workers at the gate of the Ford River Rouge plant is one of the decisive events in the economic crisis to date. Important as the lives and welfare of the affected individual workers are, there is an even greater significance to this affair. It marks the beginning of the end of a myth—the myth and bluff of Ford as a high-wage payer, of Fordism as a "solution" for the difficulties and brutalities of capitalism. For years the American capitalists have been offering the European workers Ford as a savior, as a substitute for Marx. Now the real meaning of Fordism will be clearer than ever to millions of workers.

The mowing down of workers pleading for a chance to work in the Ford plant, of international renown for its up-to-dateness and efficiency, will help dispel more than one illusion for the workers at home and abroad. The shots fired at Dearborn are no ordinary dose of bourgeois democracy showered upon workers in the every-day class struggle. These shots will be heard around the world. "Shoot to kill!" is the voice of Ford clearly audible in every town and hamlet! And "shoot to kill" is the answer of Ford not to revolutionary workers seeking to take the plants they have built, not even to militant workers seeking improved conditions and higher wages but to workers in despair begging for a chance to be hired, for a chance to eke out a mere existence. This from the kingpin of American capitalist industrialism! This from the symbol of "enlightened," "progressive" and efficient capitalism in the U. S.!

The poor Social-democrats in Germany will have lots of explaining and more lying to do to their followers whom they were for years offering Ford as a substitute for Marx and as living proof of the possibilities of capitalism still being socially useful and historically necessary for the working class. We wonder what the liberals like Lincoln Steffens will now say. Only the other day this militant admirer of Mussolini reiterated his hope that Ford's high-wage system offers the masses the way out of the crisis and misery of capitalism. The workers who were wounded and murdered in a truly Fordian efficient manner could teach a lot even to the most obtuse and "unteachable" petty-bourgeois intellectual who still clings to and worships his cherished illusion of private (capitalist) initiative, incentive and freedom.

Obviously, capitalist mass production means mass murder. For, in a fundamental sense, the cold-blooded murder of these workers may mark a new stage in the present crisis. When the crisis broke out Ford answered Hoover's call with a publicity stunt about "maintaining high wages." He, Ford, was going to show his generosity, his efficiency, his "benevolence" in running the plants for service and not for profit. Soon wage-cut followed upon wage-cut. And Ford was still "progressive"! Then he cut wages openly but quietly. Now this auto king takes another step. He has turned from starving workers thru low wages and unemployment to killing workers outright when they try to find out why they are denied work. Naturally, as the crisis continues the workers suffering becomes more acute, their protests become more conscious and militant. The workers at the Ford gates apparently were not terrorized and stood up against the tear gas and gunfire more valiantly and determinedly than Ford's private gunmen in uniform thought they would.

The capitalists are quick to see that in this heroic resistance of the Ford jobless there are all the potentialities of a new mood in the ranks of the workers. "We have had nothing like it, or approaching it, in all the hard days of the depression," says the New York EVENING POST editorially. Even Hoover's other authoritative mouthpiece in New York, the HERALD TRIBUNE, is compelled to admit that: "We have not reached a point in the U. S. where crowds have to be mowed down with bullets. . ."

But facts speak louder than words—even Wall Street's words. Apparently such a stage has been reached in Ford's own kingdom. Of course, the Communists will be blamed for it all. It is Ford and his corporation who are guilty of murder. It is Ford's gunmen who shot and killed. It is the municipal authorities who organized the murderous assault against the Detroit jobless. The Communists only lent inspiration, militancy, organization, courage and leadership to the starving workers.

It is precisely for this reason that Ford and his capitalist colleagues are so hot on the trail of some Communist Party leaders and militant workers. Ford wants more blood, workers blood, Communist blood, to hide his own responsibility and guilt for the slaughtering of hungry workers. The attempt to prosecute Communist and other working men for Ford's crime must be resisted by the workers thruout the land as a most dangerous assault on their right to assemble and organize. Unless the workers smash this contemplated attack on the whole working class in general and on the Communist Party in particular, it will be easy for the capitalists to frame-up, jail, and ever kill any worker who is loyal to his class, who shows devotion and militancy in resisting slave conditions.

The Ford myth is exploded. Only the closed ranks of ALL WORKERS, of ALL WORKERS ORGANIZATIONS, can prevent the explosion of this myth from breaking in the face of the entire working class and crippling some of their best fighters. The danger is great. The answer of the working class to Ford and his frame-up gang must be unbreakable class solidarity in defense of the attacked workers, Communists and non-Communists, and a non-sectarian, broad movement thruout the land to punish severely the murderers of the hungry working men in Detroit.

The Career of a Petty Bourgeois The Life of Adolph Hitler

by Karl Radek

In a little town on the Austro-Bavarian border there lived a petty customs official. He was a former peasant who had reached the position of an insignificant official thru long and bitter struggle. Even his life was not showy or luxurious, it was nevertheless quiet and "permanent." It is true he had to count every penny and save on everything but he knew that he would have something to eat on the morrow and that a tiny pension was waiting for him in his old age.

This pension was the highest ideal of Adolph Hitler's father; his imagination could picture nothing more lofty. His dream was to make an official out of his son. But the young fellow dreamed of a freer, broader life of an artist whose talent could raise him out of the stupid existence of the petty bourgeois and working man. Father and son had many a quarrel. But both father and mother soon died and the young Hitler, a petty bourgeois, dreaming of a great career as an artist, found his road in that direction barred. He had to earn his living as an unskilled house-painter!

He went to Vienna, his head full of dreams and artistic bourgeois ideology. He had read a number of nationalist books of German history, Germany—the young hero, Siegfried, surrounded by enemies. France—the black Hagen, waiting for a chance to sink his dagger into the back of the young knight. What was threatening the hero now? In Austria the Germans had to fight against all sorts of "Slavic cliques" then there were the Jews; they "corrupted the spirit of the German people"—as he had already learned from the leader of the Viennese anti-Semites, Dr. Lueger. The Slavs and the Jews were being helped by the Social-democrats, who were propagating the class-struggle among the masses of the people.

With the masses of the people Adolph Hitler now came into immediate contact. The Viennese building trades workers were organized into a trade union and they called upon the petty bourgeois to join the union. Here began Hitler's first conflict with the workers. He treated their demand with contempt. He didn't want to be a worker. For him the building upon which he was working was a prison from which he was trying to escape as quickly as possible. He—the "free artist" of the future—would have nothing to do with labor solidarity. He had no contact with his fellow workers and drew away when, in the lunch hour, they would get together, read the Social-democratic papers and discuss what they read. He would gulp down his meager meal and dream of another world, of finer surroundings. He was overjoyed when he was able to escape from the building and "go inside" into the office as a sketcher. Into an office with men wearing white collars—men after his own heart, men who hated Jews, Czechs and workers!

The War and After

Before the war Hitler left Austria and moved to Bavaria. He lived the life of the down-at-the-heels bohemian, consisting of part-time workers, sketchers, painters, with the ambition of becoming an artist. The World War burst out and Hitler joined the German Army as volunteer. One historian believes that this step is not unconnected with the fact that Hitler had not fulfilled his military service requirements in Austria and had enlisted as a way of avoiding "unpleasantness." However that may be, it is a fact that Hitler went to war, his head full of the slogans of Germany's innocence and the glorious future to come. Without doubt Hitler saw in the war an opportunity of rising out of his own hopeless position. Perhaps he would become an officer and so open a new page in his life he never reached a commission. Wounded he returned home and watched all his hopes and dreams collapse in the general catastrophe. Germany defeated and all the sufferings of war were in vain!

What Hitler did immediately after the war is uncertain. He himself says nothing concrete. But one thing is clear: he struggled for his bread, he made no attempt to play any sort of political role, and, during the short existence of the Bavarian Soviet power, he remained in Munich not letting himself be heard from in any way. It was only after the fall of the Soviet government that he joined the Bavarian White formations—whether as spy or as an agitator, is not clear. He was sent to workers meetings and had to submit detailed reports to his superiors. Here Hitler had, for the first time, the opportunity of studying at close hand the mysteries of political propaganda and political technique. He also came into contact with the nationalist organizations that were just arising and were carrying on agitation among the workers and the "small people." These organizations were unpopular, even with the most backward workers. They bore too obviously the brand of reaction; they did not understand how to speak to the workers and to the excited petty bourgeois.

In these organizations, Hitler learned of the responsibility of the Entente for the ruin of the middle classes, here he learned also how an emancipated Germany would free the people of the war debts. Here he learned that the "Jewish money-power" must be destroyed so as to open the way for the deserving. They were

almost the same ideas as Hitler had heard years before in the meetings of the Austrian anti-Semites. Only the combination of nationalism and anti-Semitism was new. It was in these surroundings that Hitler collected his armory of ideas. The fact that these ideas became the point of departure of his movement is to be explained by the condition of Germany in the days after 1920, by the rapid economic collapse that set in in Germany in those days.

Inflation and Big Capital

Germany was forced to pay reparations. German capital paid them primarily with the assistance of the printing press. New paper money was continually being produced and thrown on the market. The petty bourgeoisie in the foreign countries, who believed the mark would certainly rise again, bought the paper marks and hoped to make fortunes. The inflation was stimulated by the big capitalists who used the opportunity to buy up factories and properties, houses and newspapers. For this they received paper money from the Reichsbank and paid it back when it had entirely lost its value.

Stinnes was one of the initiators of this policy and he well understood how to disguise it in patriotic phrases: The collapse of the mark will make the foreigners pay to make fortunes. The foreigners policy were borne by the workers and the middle classes. Wages kept rising but you couldn't buy anything for the money in which you were paid. The urban petty-bourgeoisie went to extremes trying to keep their heads above water. It was overwhelmed with fear of the future!

The kings of coal and iron, who got most out of the great inflation, succeeded in spending in distracting attention from themselves. They had not participated in the government. They had left that to the Social-democrats, to the Center, to the Democrats. Of course, Stinnes had issued the commands but the responsibility for them had to be borne by Scheidemann and Erzberger, whom Stinnes was denouncing in his papers as responsible for everything evil that was taking place in Germany. The nationalist papers, financed by him and Hugenberg, told the petty bourgeois popular masses that the inflation was a consequence of Marxism because Marxism wanted the destruction of the middle class, and because Marxism aimed at the surrender of Germany to its enemies.

The leaders of monopoly-capital were, however, not content with merely newspapers. They began to finance nationalist secret organizations in order to use them as a means of pressure against the democratic government, if the latter, in fear of the voters, showed any restiveness. Hitler's agitation registered great success among the petty bourgeoisie. He succeeded in drawing great masses of

the petty bourgeois strata to his meetings and to win tens of thousands of them to his organization. The young officers from the secret organizations came to his aid and there was organized the first of the Sturmabteilungen (Storm Divisions) whose original task it was to protect the Hitler meetings against the antagonistic workers.

As is well known this period of development of the national-socialist movement ended in the catastrophic collapse of November 9, 1923. Let us examine this collapse which is so characteristic of the mechanics and aims of the Hitler movement.

The Bavarian Adventure

How was Hitler able to succeed to sink such deep roots precisely in Bavaria? The simple fact that he, the Austrian, understood the South German environment exceptionally well is insufficient. Rather must we study the whole complex of social-political relations in Bavaria and the role that Bavaria played in the program of French imperialism.

French imperialism, not content with Versailles, strove for the partition of Germany. Influential French military men and diplomats worked out a plan for the creation of a South German state under the rule of the Catholic German Austria with the Catholic Bavaria. France even maintained a legation in Munich. Cardinal Faulhaber and Prince Rupprecht were in eager negotiations with the representatives of France. These intrigues were conducted under the banner: "Protect the Bavarian middle class against the ruin brought about by Jewish-Protestant-Bolshevist Berlin!" Bavarian separatism saw a point of support in the Hitler movement although Hitler was mouthing phrases against France. For the main thing was the agitation against Berlin and that was enough to make their allies. Thru unification with the Ludendorff group, who had a great reputation in military and petty bourgeois circles, the Hitler movement achieved a greater significance and the nationalist officers flattered themselves that they were not instruments in the hands of the Wittelsbacher, the Catholic Church and monopoly-capital, but that they were going to make Bavaria into a jumping-off point for the winning of all Germany. A section of heavy industry stood behind Hitler and Ludendorff. But in the decisive moment, after the Ruhr invasion and inflation had been ended, at the moment that Hitler and Ludendorff, without waiting for a final understanding with General von Seeckt, attempted to seize the state power in Bavaria, at that moment it suddenly appeared that the petty bourgeois Hitler and the nationalist romanticist Ludendorff had been deserted both by heavy industry and by the Bavarian separatists.

(Concluded in the next issue)

RUTHENBERG AND THE C. P. LEADERS

by Ben Gitlow

At the last minute, three days after the anniversary of the death of Comrade Ruthenberg, the Daily Worker came out (March 7, 1932) with a superficial and desultory editorial on Ruthenberg. That even this gesture was made under protest in the Party, there can be no doubt. But still no Ruthenberg Memorial Meeting. A few days ago a small meeting in some obscure hall arranged under the auspices of the League for the Struggle for Negro Rights for a discussion by M. Olgin on the national minorities in the U.S.S.R., was suddenly transformed into a "Ruthenberg meeting" with W. W. Weinstein and Wm. F. Dunne, of all people, as speakers. This is how the Party today honors Ruthenberg.

Charles E. Ruthenberg, the founder and builder of the Communist Party of the United States, died five years ago, on March 2, 1927.

"Forget!" is the edict of the present leadership of the Communist Party.

The Party must forget its founder and builder.

The Party press must keep silent. Not a word must be printed. The old members who remember the erect figure, the piercing eyes, the resolute courage, the enthusiasm and devotion of Comrade Ruthenberg the embodiment of the Communist spirit, that energy to push forward regardless of difficulties and dangers, always keeping the interests of the movement above all personal considerations, must now forget their old comrade and departed leader.

The new members and the young who could draw inspiration from Ruthenberg's life for a life of Communist activity, must be kept in ignorance. They must be kept in darkness concerning his role and leadership.

Forget, obliterate, wipe out the name of Chas. E. Ruthenberg—that is the only interpretation which can be given to the edict in the Party press and the failure of the Party to hold Ruthenberg memorial meetings, on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the death of Comrade Ruthenberg.

Why? Because those placed in the leadership of the Communist Party have been the very ones who fought against the policies and leadership of Ruthenberg. Because this very leadership continues today a line of policy which has nothing in common with the policies of Ruthenberg and the best traditions of our young Communist movement of the United States.

But the record of Ruthenberg cannot be wiped out by edict. Ruthenberg was not imposed upon the movement. Ruthenberg is the product of the American class struggle. He was part of the very fibre, life and aspirations of the toiling and exploited masses of America.

One might as well attempt to obstruct the light rays of the sun in order to throw the world into eternal darkness as to keep back all the knowledge and appreciation of the life and activity of Ruthenberg.

A fighter against war, in the Socialist party, leader of the masses in militant resistance to the imperialist war, he is thrown into prison repeatedly. He is an uncompromising opponent of reformism and opportunism, leader of the left wing in the Socialist party. The proletarian revolution of 1917 is hailed by Ruthenberg. He becomes its staunchest supporter. He becomes a Communist. He is among the first to join the Communist International. He organizes the Communist Party. He is thrown into prison for his Communist activity. He comes out of jail. The working class finds him at the head of its struggles against American capitalism. The Communist Party makes him its standard-bearer and leader.

He is again thrown into prison. He gets a short respite on appeal. He works tirelessly—fearlessly. He is for a mass Communist Party, united and entrenched in the working class organizations.

Slowly his efforts are being crowned with success. The Party breaks thru. It begins to sink its roots deep in American soil. It shapes itself to American conditions.

Untimely death deprives the movement of a real man, a good fighter and an American Communist leader. His death is a loss to the entire

BOOKS

THE CHALLENGE OF RUSSIA,

by Sherwood Eddy.
It seems that even the fairest-minded anti-Marxian reporter of life and its activities, its growth and development in the Soviet Union, must fail to understand the social implications, particularly in the period of transition, of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Mr. Eddy in his book stresses the fact that the Soviet government admits and confesses its mistakes. Certainly capitalism does not confess or stress its mistakes. Its rulers are not bothered much about the welfare of the masses, the hell on earth that unemployment, for instance, brings them. The handful of Wall St. barons, I suppose, are no dictators in Mr. Eddy's estimation. But the Soviet dictatorship Mr. Eddy cannot understand. "How can this dictatorship," he asks, "hope to reach the intellectually free, tolerant, people of the world?" Who are they and where are they, on which side of the struggle, capitalism or Communism?

Mr. Eddy admits in his preface that it is almost impossible to be impartial and objective, if one's convictions are deep rooted in "sacred traditions" as his own seem to be in Christianity. Yet, any reader would be favorably impressed with the first half of his book. It is as good and faithful a report of the practically bloodless revolution (as even Mr. Eddy admits) of Russia, its Marxian aim and Leninist tactics. He describes well the development and growth and the ultimate aims of Communism.

It is very interesting to note that the most of the "experiments," as he insists on calling the established facts of accomplishment in Soviet Russia, seem to impress even Mr. Eddy very favorably, yet he cannot reconcile himself to the period. He

criticizes it ruthlessly. In particular, Eddy raves against the method of dealing with counter-revolutionaries. He forgets, of course, the Indian Ocean Penal Colony of Great Britain and such places elsewhere to which the capitalist governments send their political prisoners. He forgets the case of Comrade Roy, in his ardo of denunciation. He forgets Sacco and Vanzetti. He forgets Mooney and Billings and the thousands of revolutionary soldiers rotting in the capitalist jails the world over. He probably has never heard of the workers heads that were chopped off on the streets and permitted to lie in the gutter, during the Chinese reaction a couple of years ago! All in the name of the "democracy and civilization," of the capitalist class and its system.

BRING THE WORKERS AGE TO THE MASSES OF WORKERS

While the Disarmament Conference is quacking in Geneva: France proposes an increase in its war budget to \$600,000,000 for the next nine months without counting the war budget for the colonies. The American Senate Naval Affairs Committee approves the construction of new ships totalling \$988,000,000. The United States assembles 202 ships, the entire Atlantic and Pacific fleets, except one crippled cruiser, for 'Pacific' fleet maneuvers.

Japan proposes to double its armed forces in China and begins secret mobilization of its reserves. Japan abrogates the "one-year naval holiday" by laying keels for four new cruisers. A Polish delegation arrives here to purchase \$20,000,000 worth of munitions. White Russian guerrilla forces in Harbin receive trainloads of munition and armaments for a projected invasion of Soviet territory.

Such are the first fruits of the Disarmament Conference which took twelve and one half years to materialize. The world bristles with bayonets in a way that would make the coat of an enraged porcupine look like a billiard ball in comparison.

Psychology Plays Harlot
Dr. M. S. Viteles of the University of Pennsylvania is a psychologist, which doesn't have to be proved because he admits it. He has been investigating the fact that industrial accidents occur mostly in the late afternoon.

"The increase in accidents in the late afternoon is not due to fatigue, as has been generally thought," says the Doc, "but to the workers looking forward impatiently to the pleasures of the evening."

Of course, the remedy is simple. Since fatigue has nothing to do with it, prolong their hours so that there's no time for pleasures in the evening, and there'll be no more accidents.

If the worker insists upon thinking of the pleasures of bed while he does over his machine, why, cu that out too and institute the 24-hour day!

Dr. Viteles also told the Safety Conference that those who sustain accidents do so because of "the personal factor"—they have "the accident habit." He stressed the importance for "curing the accident habit" of "finding out what underlies an individual's susceptibility to them."

If a worker gets his head knocked off in your factory by a flying girder, when you pick up his head take out a notebook and pencil and ask it what underlies his accident habit. If it tells, you perhaps you can stop it from being knocked off twice in the same way.

Crossed Wires
Imperialist diplomacy is a merry game. Stimson makes a gesture of warning that "American" interests must be protected and addresses his note to Senator Borah. Borah, of course, doesn't answer; but Japan does. Japan's answer is in effect: "Ah, shut up! We're only doing what you do around the Panama canal." But the answer is addressed to Lord Cecil and "British fair play."

We are expecting any day now that Gruening will write to Thaelmann requesting that Hitler's activities should cease and Hitler reply with a strong note to Dr. Valera saying: "Sir, you're an ass!"

Party members, remember your Comrade Ruthenberg! Protest and demand that the despicable action on Ruthenberg shall be corrected!

Demand that Ruthenberg's life and service to the working class and the Communist movement be used to inspire and build our movement!

BETWEEN HAMMER AND ANVIL

Lindbergh Baby

If the plight of the poor Lindbergh kid and his suffering parents were not so tragic, the big ballyhoo surrounding the case would have its comic elements. The staid New York Times which would scorn to give two lines to the frantic plea of poor parents for their lost child gives the Lindbergh baby five columns on the first page and three indigestible pages, less "disdefined," have no room on the front page for the Sino-Japanese war, the ruthless sales tax, "disarmament," Tammany or presidential politics. The Hoover administration, which callously watches millions of parents and babies starve in anguish, calls a cabinet conference and lines up the Department of Justice, the Postal Inspection, the Secret Service, the Prohibition agents, the Revenue and Customs services, and Army and Navy for the search. Congress drops its callous plan to put across the sales tax long enough to listen to pompous denunciation of the crime by portly fat-boys in both houses. State Legislatures adopt resolutions expressing their concern. Foreign nations send messages of hope. Radio stations, telephone, telegraph, teletype, airplanes, ships, autos, 100,000 searchers are mobilized. Local, state and national police, guardsmen, constabulary, legionnaires, boy scouts, watch every road, bridge, ferry, wharf and station or run around in circles feeling important and making it impossible for the anxious parents to establish contact with the kidnapers or child. The baby's diet is published and broadcasted. School children are led in prayers. Clergymen conduct special services in church and over the radio praying to God to soften the kidnapers hearts, "seeking to stir the abductors shame," (Times) and to capture a bit of place in the light. Papers and personages that wisecrack while millions of babies starve grow sloppy over the grandson of the House of Morgan, the baby whose first cry caused a golden spoon to drop out of his mouth.

How Disarming!
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