

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. 23.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 9, 1932.

PRICE 5 CENTS

Opposition Scores in Electricians Local 3, Despite Big Obstacles

Defeats Mainstay Of Reactionary Machine And Elects Financial Secretary And Executive Member; Split In Opposition Ranks Aids Reactionaries

New York City. In spite of the fact that the conservative officialdom had full control of the election machinery and refused even to allow the opposition the right to have watchers at the polls, the progressive New Deal group in Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, succeeded, in the elections of June 25, in defeating the administration candidate for financial secretary, William A. Hogan, the mainstay of the reactionary machine in the local, and in electing David O'Hara for that office. The vote was 2,107 for O'Hara as against 1,907 for Hogan. The New Deal group also elected one member of the executive board of five, Harry (Happy) Gilroy. In the other cases, the New Deal candidates were defeated both because of the flagrant steals of the administration and because of the conduct of the Rank and File group in splitting the vote of the opposition and allowing administration candidates to be elected without a majority. In spite of the fact that the Rank and File group came around to support of the New Deal candidates for president, John J. Sullivan, and for financial secretary, the very fact that it ran dual opposition candidates elsewhere brought in a certain amount of demoralization and confusion and certainly weakened the opposition front.

The administration candidate for president, Frank Wilson, received 1,895 as against Sullivan's, 1,752—a majority of 143. Outside of the fact that at least one thousand members were arbitrarily disqualified from voting and a thousand eligible to vote were kept away from the polls because they were not regularly notified, it is quite clear that Sullivan actually emerged the victor but was counted out by the officials who had control of the election machinery. In no case it should be noted, did the administration candidates actually get a majority.

The Local 3 elections constitute a big victory for the New Deal group and for the opposition movement in the Electrical Workers Union and is recognized as such by the membership and by the burgeois press. The Rank and File group membership and an appreciation is spreading of the great harmfulness of the policy of this group to split the opposition front, a policy similar to that practised by the Trade Union Unity League groups in other organizations.

The elections have hammered home with great force the necessity of uniting all opposition forces in the Electrical Workers Union for a decisive struggle to oust the bureaucrats and change the policies of the organization. The opposition movement is already spreading thruout the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

The elections in Local 3 were preceded by a long period of bitter struggle in the organization as the administration attempted to crush the rising rebellion of the rank and file against the sell-out policies and the autocratic regime dominating the union.

As the election campaign reached its climax, the reactionary officials resorted to the most unscrupulous trickery. With the help of the International officials, they elaborated an absurd frame-up trying to link up the opposition movement and those elements in the labor movement that came out for clean unionism, with an utterly fictitious industrial spy agency. As a result, Howell H. Broach, International president, G. M. Bugnizet, International secretary, William G. Hogan, International treasurer, are being sued for libel by Louis Francis Budenz, editor of Labor Age, against whom, among others, the shameless slanders were leveled.

FAIRMONT, W. Va.—One striker was killed and seven others severely wounded on June 27 when three guards of the Kelley's Creek Colliery Company opened machine-gun fire into a group of striking miners. The guards were protecting two scabs whom the strikers were urging to strike when the attack took place.

The strike, a movement of resistance against wage-cuts, is under the leadership of the United Mine Workers of America. The U.M.W.A. officials are already calling for Federal arbitration, which means the inevitable defeat of the strike. The workers are standing solid.

HOOVER IN ARMS CUT TRICK

Calls For One-Third Cut Which Would Increase U. S. Armaments

Washington, D.C. A sensation was created in the general "disarmament" conference now meeting at Geneva by the declaration issued on June 22 by President Herbert Hoover in favor of a one-third "all-around reduction" of armaments of all branches. The plan, as read by Hugh S. Gibson, United States delegate at the conference, included chiefly: the reduction of one-third in the strength of all land armies over and above the so-called "police component" (that is, what is necessary to maintain "order" at home and suppress any workers risings) and the reduction of one-third of the tonnage of battleships and submarines and one-fourth of the tonnage of aircraft carriers, cruisers and destroyers. Together with certain minor proposals these are declared to involve a saving, in the next ten years, of ten to fifteen billion dollars on a world scale and of at least two billion dollars for the United States.

An examination of the Hoover proposals shows that, altho it requires sharp cuts for other great imperialist powers, especially Great Britain and

5,000 VETS DEMONSTRATE ON CAPITOL STEPS; WATERS HITS LEFT WING

"Commander" Institutes "Hard-Boiled" Regime To Oust All "Dissenters"; Leaders Swing To Roosevelt But Third Party Demand Grows In Veterans Ranks

Washington, D.C. A demonstration of 5,000 veterans of the rapidly diminishing bonus army here took place, on July 2, on the steps of the Capitol to protest against the adjournment of Congress without passing any bonus bill. Bitter dismay was expressed when it was found that both houses had recessed over the week-end and a new demonstration was announced for July 5.

A parade for July 4 has been organized under permission granted by General Glassford, Superintendent of Police.

FOSTER ARRESTED IN LOS ANGELES

LOS ANGELES.—William Z. Foster, Communist candidate for the Presidency of the United States was arrested here on June 28 as he attempted to address a crowd assembled at the plaza shortly before noon.

The city authorities had arbitrarily ordered that no Communist demonstrations or meetings be held in spite of the fact that Foster was campaigning in the national elections. The Communist leader was taken to jail and booked on the charge of "suspicion of criminal syndicalism!"

Following Foster's arrest the police launched an attack upon the audience using tear gas to disperse the crowd.

A few hours after his arrest Foster was released by the police but he was still prohibited from holding any meeting in this city.

An Issue Skipped! This Must Not Happen Again!

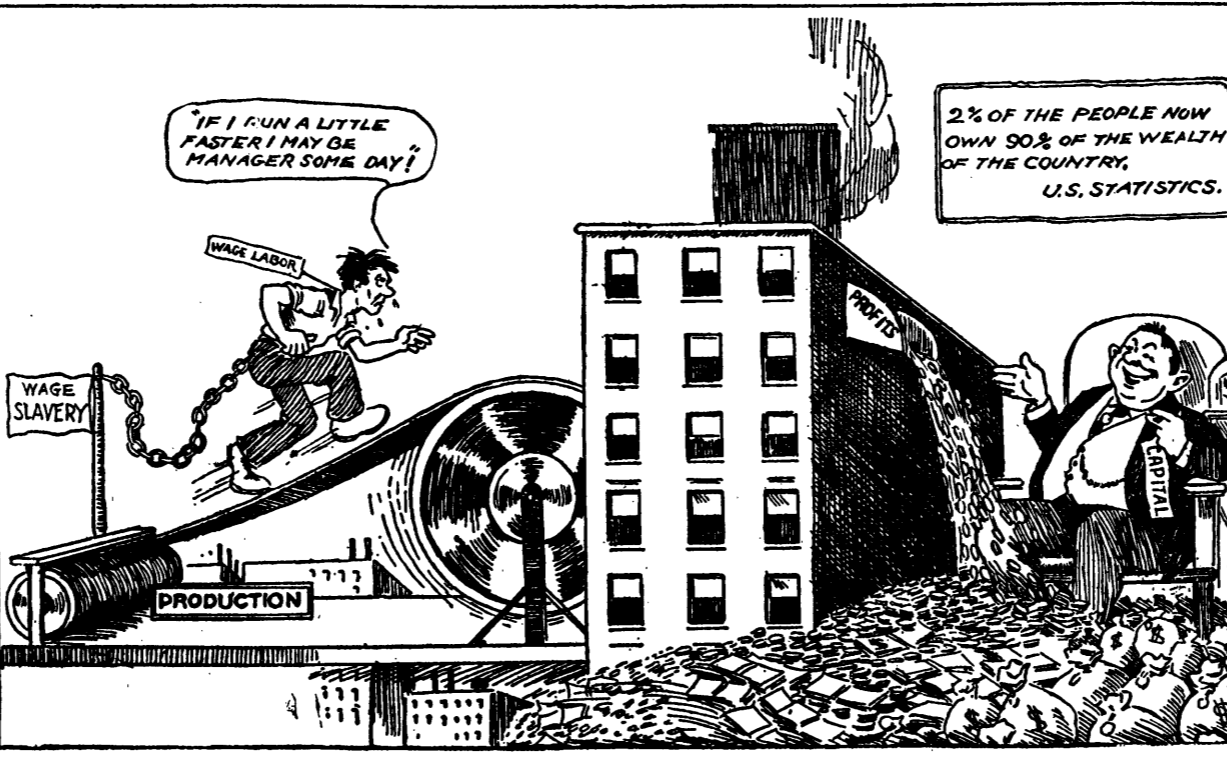
Our desperate financial plight has forced us to miss the July 2 issue of the WORKERS AGE. This is a bad blow to our paper, our movement and all they stand for. We cannot afford any more such blows.

Comrades! Workers! The economic crisis and the impoverishment of the working masses are mounting daily and the financial difficulties our paper has to surmount to continue as a weekly, to exist in fact, are growing as rapidly. They can be overcome only if the readers and supporters of the AGE make

Special Extraordinary Efforts to Save the "Age"

It depends on you! What will you do? Rush in Subs, Bundle-Orders, Donations

HOW THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM WORKS



Nazi Menace and Turn in C.P.G.

A Letter From Germany

We publish below extracts from a letter sent by the American delegate at the Berlin Conference of the International Communist Opposition to the Workers Age. Further letters will be published from time to time within the next few weeks.—Editor.

Berlin, Germany
June 23, 1932.

The situation here is extremely tense. Everything is being prepared in the State apparatus for a Hitler regime. I do not think the Nazis themselves will carry the coming elections by a majority but it seems clear that they will take power thru some form of arrangement, especially in view of the fact that neither the Social-democrats nor the Center will offer any armed resistance. All steps are being taken to drive Communism underground. Workers are being murdered on the streets every day. Brown Shirts march thru the streets terrorizing and destroying!

As to our movement. Another "new turn" greeted me as I came to Berlin—and this time a most serious one. In Berlin the Communist Party officially addressed an appeal to the official leadership of the Social-democratic party for common united front action to embrace the United Front League, the Communist Party, the trade unions, the Reichsbanner, etc.—in short, what they have always called a "united front from above"! In the Prussian Diet, moreover, the C.P. has offered, under certain conditions, to extend the united front against Fascism even to include the Catholic Center! The Social-democrats rejected the C.P. offer in a very shameful statement, reasoning from the right in the same manner as the Party has reasoned from the ultra-left: if the C.P. members want to work with the S.D.P., they must in substance, let them join the Social-democracy! More!

(Continued on page 2)

"VORWAERTS" BAN UPHOLD BY COURT; NAZIS DRIVE TO WIN AT POLLS

Socialist And Center Papers Are Suspended By Papan; Nationalists Call For Restoration of Monarchy; All Forces Prepare For July 31 Elections

Berlin, Germany. In a record-time decision the Federal Supreme Court in Leipzig decided, on July 1, to uphold the demand of the von Papan Cabinet to suspend the Social-democratic party central organ, Vorwaerts, for five days as "libellous." The case was decided by the court on the very same day as it was brought before it.

In its offensive against every wing and tendency of the labor movement, the Junker-militarist regime ordered the suspension of the Social-democratic paper because it had featured a cartoon implying that the Reich was buying uniforms for the Nazis out of the cuts in the unemployment benefits. At the same time the suspension of the Cologne Volkszeitung, an organ of the Catholic Center party, was demanded. Severing, Socialist Minister of the Interior of Prussia, refused to carry out the instructions of the Reich Minister of the Interior, Baron von Gayl. The Supreme Court decision is the reply of the reactionaries.

This is the first time the Socialist paper was suspended since the days of the Kapp putsch in 1920. The suspension of Communist papers, the arrest and imprisonment of Communist editors and the like have been very frequent in this country in the last thirteen years, under all regimes, including those in which the Social-democrats predominated.

All Germany is now seething with preparations for the extraordinary Reichstag elections on July 31. The reactionary forces are looking to these elections for an endorsement of President von Hindenburg's coup d'etat in ousting the Bruening government and replacing it by the non-parliamentary von Papan regime. Altho it is unlikely that the Nazis will emerge the

Democrats Nominate Roosevelt On Fake "Progressive" Platform

Candidate Carries On Fourth Ballot As MacAdoo-Garner Forces Switch; John N. Garner Picked For Vice Presidency; Workers Must Vote Communist!

11,000,000 OUT OF WORK SAYS GREEN

But A.F. of L. Head Rejects Federal Relief In Plea To Democratic Meet

CHICAGO.—In an address to the resolutions committee of the Democratic National Convention on June 25, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, pictured in extremely black terms the present economic situation in this country, especially the unemployment crisis.

Nearly 11,000,000 workers were unemployed in May 1932, Mr. Green declared, while since May an additional 200,000 must be added. In May 22.8% of all the workers were unemployed, in June 23.6%. In June unemployment in the various trades was: building, 63%; clothing, 41%; metal trades, 41%; water transportation, 35%; printing, 18%; street transportation, 18%. In addition to this, there are many millions more workers on part-time, working at greatly reduced wages.

After describing this situation and calling attention to the mounting misery of millions upon millions of people, Mr. Green outlined what he called the legislative program of the A. F. of L. for the crisis. His proposals were extremely timid and did not go even as far as the Wagner bill (Continued on page 2)

Chicago, Illinois. After a series of preliminary victories on the questions of contesting delegations and permanent chairman, the Roosevelt forces at the Democratic National Convention here succeeded in nominating Franklin D. Roosevelt, Governor of New York State, as the party's candidate for the Presidency. The nomination came on July 1 on the fourth ballot. On the third ballot Roosevelt had come within less than 90 short of the two-thirds required; the switching of the California and Texas delegations, controlled by the Garner-MacAdoo forces, which had previously stuck to John N. Garner, Speaker of the House, was enough to decide the issue.

On the first ballot John N. Garner was selected as Vice-Presidential candidate, obviously in return for his help in putting across the Roosevelt nomination.

Just before the choice of Presidential and Vice-Presidential nominees, the Democratic convention had adopted a short platform couched in characteristically demagogic language designed to catch the votes of the lower middle classes and the backward workers who had been repelled by the straight-out reaction of the Republican convention a few weeks previous. Not only is a direct repeal plank included in the platform in contrast to the straddle paragraph in the Republican document, but vague and meaningless phrases about the "common people" against "predatory interests" and the like are scattered thruout the Democratic statement. The platform makers went so far in their efforts to assume a "progressive" "pro-labor" coloring as to include a plank for State unemployment insurance! Nevertheless, in spite of its deceptive phrasing, the Democratic platform makes it quite clear that it stands foursquare for the present capitalist system, which breeds misery, unemployment, war and starvation. Indeed, only a short time ago, Franklin D. Roosevelt declared that this vicious, murderous system was "ever-lasting" and must not be changed! It is clear that basically the Democratic party stands on the same ground as the Republican gathering just held—defense of the interests of the capitalists against those of the toiling masses. Only an independent party of labor, winning the support of the farmers as well, would be in a position to defend the interests of the masses of the people and to challenge the two parties of big business. For the formation of such a Labor party, basing itself on the organizations of the workers and the farmers, all live and really progressive elements in the labor movement should strive!

Today, in the elections this year, the only party that will really challenge the two Wall Street political outfits will be the Communist Party. In spite, therefore, of that party's temporarily false tactics and policies at the present time, no worker, who has the interests of his class at heart, can do other than vote for it. Vote Communist! Vote for Foster and Ford!

SANTIAGO, Chile.—As a sign of its complete subservience to foreign and domestic capital, the Davila clique has restored all its former functions to the Central Bank of Chile, which had been placed under government control as a State bank during the brief domination of the left Grove junta. The representatives of the foreign imperialist powers immediately expressed "deep satisfaction" at this action for it was taken to prove that the Davila government had no intention whatever of taking the least real step in the direction of socialization.

In the meantime the Davila clique is proceeding to suppress with the greatest ferocity the mass movement of the workers and peasants and city poor that overthrew Montero and elevated it to power in the first place. Martial law has been established, the protest strikes of the railwaymen and other workers suppressed and a veritable reign of terror unleashed.

NEW YORK CITY.—A 12% cut in the wages of photo-engravers employed by the Publishers Association of New York was announced on June 30 by the arbitration board, headed by Supreme Court Justice Peter J. Schmock. The employers had demanded a reduction of 20%.

SPECIALLECTURE SERIES NEW WORKERS SCHOOL Begins July 15 - See p. 2

The Struggle Of Two Systems

U.S.S.R. AND INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

Report Of "Institut fuer Konjunkturforschung"

Berlin, Germany.

According to the figures of the Institut fuer Konjunkturforschung (Institute for Economic Investigation) the Soviet Union, the "backward" Russia of a few years ago, now occupies second place in industrial production in world industrial production.

RECREATION AND THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

What effect the crisis has had upon the recreational facilities of the larger American cities is well brought out in the following table of per capita expenditures for such facilities published in the year book of the National Recreation Association:

Table with 2 columns: City, 1930, 1931. Rows include San Francisco, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, Chicago, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, New York.

It can readily be seen that with one exception the city has cut down the per capita outlay for the upkeep and administration of public recreation. Most significant is the drop in the outlay of the city of Boston which was cut down by two-thirds.

"VORWAERTS" BAN IS CONFIRMED

Prince Friedrich Wilhelm has gone to Doorn, Holland, for secret conferences with the former Kaiser and a group of German bankers and industrialists.

GOOD PROGRESS IN THE GERMAN OPPOSITION

Berlin, Germany. The last few months have been months of unusual organizational growth for the German Communist Opposition.

HOOVER TRIES ARMS CUT TRICK

Japan, it actually involves for the United States an increase of some 50,000 men in the armed forces, of 9,950 tons in aircraft carriers and of 33,000 tons in cruisers!

11,000,000 UNEMPLOYED SAYS GREEN

Recently passed by the Senate, Mr. Green refused to support any suggestion for Federal unemployment insurance or relief or, for that matter, any form of direct relief at all!

CAMP SOLIDARITY

A REST PLACE FOR WORKERS :: PROLETARIAN ENVIRONMENT :: PLEASANT ATMOSPHERE :: BATHING AND ROWING IN LARGE LAKE :: ATHLETICS :: GAMES :: ENTERTAINMENTS :: LECTURES

\$13 a week; \$2.50 for the first day, \$2 a day thereafter. Information: 228 2nd Avenue; Gramercy 5-1660 or Ramsey, N. J. 1086

To go by train: Take Susquehanna R. R. from Chambers St ferry to CAMPGAW Station; Fare \$1.05 round trip. Call the camp for a car

W. C. BRANCHES IN CAMP OUTING

Splendid Time Had At Camp Solidarity; Zam Speaks On Fascist Danger

A capacity crowd enjoyed the July 4th weekend at Camp Solidarity at very little cost. Games, dancing, swimming, rowing and hikes made their appeals to all.

A splendid outing to Camp Solidarity was held the week before by the Workers Circle Branches 546 and 386 in which the Yankee Club of Middle Village (a youth social organization) also took part.

REICH BARS ALL REPARATIONS

LAUSANNE.—An absolute refusal not only to continue any reparation payments but even to resume such payments "after the present period of depression", was expressed by Chancellor von Papen, the head of the German delegation to the conference here.

OUR POSITION ON DISPUTED QUESTIONS

16. The Bureau of the National Council of the Communist Party (Majority Group) reaffirms its position that the guiding object of the struggle of the Communist Opposition on a national and an international scale, is the restoration of the Communist International and the various Communist Parties to a Leninist course of strategy and tactics and the reunification, which involves the establishment of new relations within the Comintern (the replacement of the monopoly of leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by an international collective leadership) and the inauguration of a new system of leadership.

OUR TASKS

OUR POSITION ON DISPUTED QUESTIONS

17. We approach the question of unity in the same way. Although we recognize that Party democracy will never be restored in the official Communist movement until its political course and methods of leadership are likewise transformed (for Party democracy was destroyed in order to protect a false course), yet because we regard ourselves as a fraction of the Communist movement, we make as our only condition for unity the guaranteeing of Party democracy, and of our right to defend our conceptions within the Party.

VETS DEMONSTRATE ON CAPITAL STEPS

The bonus army is beginning to break up and to drift apart. The police have already stopped the food supply of the marchers in order to stimulate their dispersal. In the midst of this confusion, Walter W. Waters, the commander-in-chief of the bonus army, resigned because of the dissatisfaction manifested in the ranks with his leadership.

CAMP SOLIDARITY

A REST PLACE FOR WORKERS :: PROLETARIAN ENVIRONMENT :: PLEASANT ATMOSPHERE :: BATHING AND ROWING IN LARGE LAKE :: ATHLETICS :: GAMES :: ENTERTAINMENTS :: LECTURES

\$13 a week; \$2.50 for the first day, \$2 a day thereafter. Information: 228 2nd Avenue; Gramercy 5-1660 or Ramsey, N. J. 1086

To go by train: Take Susquehanna R. R. from Chambers St ferry to CAMPGAW Station; Fare \$1.05 round trip. Call the camp for a car

The Pre-Conference Discussion

Resolution on the International Conference

(Concluded from last issue)

Causes of the Crisis

The impact of the continued defeats of Communism at a time of acute world crisis, the pressure of the resulting ideological confusion and demoralization upon the Communist Opposition, as an integral part of the world Communist movement, provides the general background in which the crisis in the International Communist Opposition has developed.

The disparity between the two dominant types of organizations forming the International Communist Opposition—Opposition Parties (as in Sweden, Alsace) on the one hand, and Party Oppositions (as in the U. S. A., Germany, etc.)—has certainly rendered more difficult than would otherwise be the case, the achievement of a uniform political outlook, particularly in the relations towards the C.I.

OUR POSITION ON DISPUTED QUESTIONS

16. The Bureau of the National Council of the Communist Party (Majority Group) reaffirms its position that the guiding object of the struggle of the Communist Opposition on a national and an international scale, is the restoration of the Communist International and the various Communist Parties to a Leninist course of strategy and tactics and the reunification, which involves the establishment of new relations within the Comintern (the replacement of the monopoly of leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by an international collective leadership) and the inauguration of a new system of leadership.

17. We approach the question of unity in the same way. Although we recognize that Party democracy will never be restored in the official Communist movement until its political course and methods of leadership are likewise transformed (for Party democracy was destroyed in order to protect a false course), yet because we regard ourselves as a fraction of the Communist movement, we make as our only condition for unity the guaranteeing of Party democracy, and of our right to defend our conceptions within the Party.

GOOD PROGRESS IN THE GERMAN OPPOSITION

Berlin, Germany. The last few months have been months of unusual organizational growth for the German Communist Opposition.

HOOVER TRIES ARMS CUT TRICK

Japan, it actually involves for the United States an increase of some 50,000 men in the armed forces, of 9,950 tons in aircraft carriers and of 33,000 tons in cruisers!

11,000,000 UNEMPLOYED SAYS GREEN

Recently passed by the Senate, Mr. Green refused to support any suggestion for Federal unemployment insurance or relief or, for that matter, any form of direct relief at all!

CAMP SOLIDARITY

A REST PLACE FOR WORKERS :: PROLETARIAN ENVIRONMENT :: PLEASANT ATMOSPHERE :: BATHING AND ROWING IN LARGE LAKE :: ATHLETICS :: GAMES :: ENTERTAINMENTS :: LECTURES

\$13 a week; \$2.50 for the first day, \$2 a day thereafter. Information: 228 2nd Avenue; Gramercy 5-1660 or Ramsey, N. J. 1086

To go by train: Take Susquehanna R. R. from Chambers St ferry to CAMPGAW Station; Fare \$1.05 round trip. Call the camp for a car

ence in orientation and approach in solving the problems facing the Opposition. There is thus a certain logic to "new Party" tendencies leading to a negative attitude to the Comintern developing in the Swedish Opposition which is the Communist Party of Sweden and actually functions as such and which quite rightly regards itself as the base for Communist unity in Sweden.

15. The whole burden of the struggle of the International Communist Opposition from the very first day of its existence, has been the drive against the ultra-left excesses of the Communist International (which have had and can have some reflections in the present situation).

OUR POSITION ON DISPUTED QUESTIONS

16. The Bureau of the National Council of the Communist Party (Majority Group) reaffirms its position that the guiding object of the struggle of the Communist Opposition on a national and an international scale, is the restoration of the Communist International and the various Communist Parties to a Leninist course of strategy and tactics and the reunification, which involves the establishment of new relations within the Comintern (the replacement of the monopoly of leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by an international collective leadership) and the inauguration of a new system of leadership.

17. We approach the question of unity in the same way. Although we recognize that Party democracy will never be restored in the official Communist movement until its political course and methods of leadership are likewise transformed (for Party democracy was destroyed in order to protect a false course), yet because we regard ourselves as a fraction of the Communist movement, we make as our only condition for unity the guaranteeing of Party democracy, and of our right to defend our conceptions within the Party.

GOOD PROGRESS IN THE GERMAN OPPOSITION

Berlin, Germany. The last few months have been months of unusual organizational growth for the German Communist Opposition.

HOOVER TRIES ARMS CUT TRICK

Japan, it actually involves for the United States an increase of some 50,000 men in the armed forces, of 9,950 tons in aircraft carriers and of 33,000 tons in cruisers!

11,000,000 UNEMPLOYED SAYS GREEN

Recently passed by the Senate, Mr. Green refused to support any suggestion for Federal unemployment insurance or relief or, for that matter, any form of direct relief at all!

CAMP SOLIDARITY

A REST PLACE FOR WORKERS :: PROLETARIAN ENVIRONMENT :: PLEASANT ATMOSPHERE :: BATHING AND ROWING IN LARGE LAKE :: ATHLETICS :: GAMES :: ENTERTAINMENTS :: LECTURES

\$13 a week; \$2.50 for the first day, \$2 a day thereafter. Information: 228 2nd Avenue; Gramercy 5-1660 or Ramsey, N. J. 1086

To go by train: Take Susquehanna R. R. from Chambers St ferry to CAMPGAW Station; Fare \$1.05 round trip. Call the camp for a car

izations on immediate specific issues in the various countries.

22. While not in agreement with the Swedish comrades to establish a block with all parties and groups outside both Internationals, we believe that this proposal has arisen partially out of the inability of the International Communist Opposition to secure new affiliations recently and to its too weak endeavors to establish contact with and influence groups standing close to us (Maurin in Spain). Moreover, the present chaotic situation in the world labor movement makes desirable a more permanent and closer working together than the united front in individual cases.

OUR TASKS

In the light of the above situation and problems our tasks as the International Communist Opposition are:

- 1. To supplement and clarify our international program on the above questions as to secure clarity and agreement in our ranks, basic ideological homogeneity.
2. To establish new Opposition groups, contacts and centers in such countries as England, Spain and France.
3. To build a really functioning International Communist Opposition Center, to organize common campaigns, etc.
4. To wage, wherever necessary and practical, a campaign for international Communist unity.
5. To strengthen organizationally and politically the various sections—parties and groups—of the International Communist Opposition.

Look on page 3 for the discussion article of Comrade Yablou.

NAZI MENACE AND THE TURN IN C.P.G.

(Continued from Page 1)

over, the Vorwaerts published a confidential document of the Central Committee of the C.P. to the Party organizations including some extreme ultra-left stupidities, and pointed away on that to show that the C.P. offer was a swindle.

In the ranks of the Communist Party there is mounting confusion over this "new turn." Why this "Brandlerism" is an increasingly heard question. Of course all this turns to the advantage of the German Communist Opposition which, in multiplying cases, is considered by the Party membership as a sort of expert on the situation!

Some changes have been made in the leadership of the Communist Party in Germany. Heinz Neumann is taking a vacation in the U.S.S.R. for a few months at least. Thebrunn, Remmel, Luck, and Scherr (of notorious Wittford fame) are now the big four. Neumann's followers, especially in Berlin, are being removed from their posts and are being urged to fight back factually. Not less than five groups are developing in the Communist Party. But no leaders are in sight. Dahlem and Heckerl have also come in for it—the latter being demoted and the former removed as head of the R.G.O. (German T.U.U.L.—Editor). The Neumannites are fighting very bitterly against the "new turn" as "Brandlerism." The Communist Opposition is forging ahead very considerably as a result of this.

But the Party exodus doesn't stop here. Whole organizations of the Communist Party are constantly going down to the Nazis. The more backward sections of the Party membership are becoming disillusioned with the big ultra-left promises made to them by the C.P. leadership. The Nazis seem to be "accomplishing something" and they at least give them free uniforms, cigarette money and frequently even food. So serious has this become that the rumor goes that not even the Communist members of the Prussian Diet are fully trusted. Some of them are quite new members of the Party "pushed ahead." At least two-thirds of the Party membership are less than three years in the Party. Today already the great influx has stopped; the turnover is now fully 100%.

Throughout all this the Opposition here is developing mass contacts in the provinces and in the Berlin organizations of the C.P. The Party bureaucrats openly declare: "United front with everybody except the Opposition!" A few days ago the Opposition organized a big united front meeting here on the Mooney case, a meeting attended by at least 2,000, with hundreds turned away by the police.

These are first impressions. I shall send further information from time to time.

WASHINGTON. — Agreement on the various "relief" bills passed by the House and the Senate was reached on July 1 by the conferees of both Houses just after Congress recessed until July 5. The agreement compromises the Garner and Wagner bills, leaving the main points substantially as they were.



WHICH ROAD FOR THE WORKERS?

A Report Of The Communist-Socialist Debate

The question of Communism versus Socialism was debated at the Rand School, June 23. The Young People Socialist League, represented by Jack Altman and Gus Tyler, defended Socialism and the Youth Section of the Communist Party (Majority Group), represented by Herbert Zam and Minnie Lurye, defended Communism.

The Socialists found it more convenient not to try any real defense of Socialism and preferred to state their case in the form of misrepresentation of Communist theory and thru the "straw man" type of argument.

Gus Tyler began his speech with a passage from one of Radek's pamphlets and used that to prove that Communists favor revolutions carried thru by small, well-organized minorities. This contention was very ably flung back by Herbert Zam who pointed out that this quotation as well as the pamphlet from which it was taken have been officially repudiated by the Communist International.

Gus Tyler was followed by Minnie Lurye of the Youth Section C. P. (Majority Group). She delivered telling blows which remained unanswered thruout the debate. She showed that the attitude of the Socialists to the bourgeois governments, as seen in England, Germany and Spain, was one of bolstering up the capitalist system every time it was in danger of collapsing. In America, where the S.P. is relatively weak, its betrayals are naturally not as glaring as in Germany, but Minnie Lurye showed, by Norman Thomas's support of Block-Aid and by the class-collaboration policies of "Socialist" leaders, that the only reason they have not yet betrayed the working class on a large scale is because they have not yet had an opportunity to do so.

The heavy artillery of Jack Altman proved to be dud shells. To him the questions of proletarian revolution, dictatorship and Soviet power were "secondary questions" to be debated at some later date. (He even issued a challenge for a debate on these questions "some other time.") To Comrade Altman the question of "democracy versus bureaucracy" within the party was the primary point of difference between the two movements! And so his arguments were simply a list of mistakes which the Communists themselves have recognized and corrected or are trying to correct.

This avoidance of principle was of no avail to the Socialists. Comrade Zam presented a clear Communist position explaining that the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and dictatorship within the party do not necessarily go together. And as proof, he pointed out, one need only look at the expulsion of the S.W.P. in Germany and at the treatment of the "Militants" here, to see a dictatorship, at least as strenuous as that in the C. P., in a party that makes a fetish of "democracy." In spite of the fact that the Socialists very carefully and deliberately avoided principles, a few pointed questions by Comrade Zam on the problem of expropriation as against the meaningless "transfer" propositions of the

Socialists forced Jack Altman to take a stand. Strangely enough Comrade Altman insisted that "transfer" is more scientific because it involves buying out the capitalists, competing them out of business, cooperating them out, or "anything you please!"

Because of the insistence on a discussion of principle by the defenders of Communism, the champions of Socialism were forced to make a gesture at a discussion of the main issues in their rebuttal.

Their most telling blow was a quotation from Engels's introduction to Marx's "Class Struggles in France." The quotation was conveniently read in the very last speech of the evening, very convenient for those who want to garble quotations without being answered. Of this quotation, no more can be said than was said by Engels himself in a letter to Karl Kautsky ("The Road to Power," German Edition): "My text has suffered because of the scruples of our Berlin friends due to timidity over the anti-Socialist laws, which under the circumstances, I had to consider."

And in a letter to Kautsky dated April 1, 1895, Engels said: "To my astonishment I saw today printed in the Vorwaerts, without previous knowledge, an extract from my introduction so dressed up that I appear as a peaceful worshipper of legality in spite of all . . . I shall tell Liebknecht very definitely what I think of this and also those, whoever they may be, that gave him the opportunity to distort my meaning."

The Mechrapponi Film Corporation of Moscow has just announced plans for the production of a picture depicting the life of the Negroes in the U. S. A.

To make this picture an authentic document, a group of twenty Negro workers, actors, students and writers has just left for Moscow in order to cooperate in the making of this film.

Special Excursion to the U.S.S.R.

\$169.00 Round Trip All Expenses Includes transportation to the U.S.S.R. on the largest and fastest steamships—Soviet entrance and exit visas for 30 days—Seven days complete tour including hotel maintenance and full sight-seeing in Leningrad or Moscow — Return steamship ticket valid for two years.

TORGINS ORDERS We will forward money to the U.S.S.R. by cable at the rate of only \$1 up to the amount of \$50 for which your friends will be able to buy food and clothing in Torgsin stores at very low prices.

GUSTAVE EISNER Official S.S. Ticket Agent 1123 BROADWAY Cor. 25th St.—Tel. CHelsea 5-5080

Special Lecture Series NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

228 SECOND AVENUE, Corner 14th Street—Tel. GRamercy 5-1660.

SIX WEEKS--FRIDAYS, 8 P. M.

LABOR AND THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Lecturer: HERBERT ZAM JULY 15—The Republican and Democratic Parties and Their Issues. JULY 22—The Workers Parties.

FASCISM AND THE WORKING CLASS

Lecturer: WILL HERBERG JULY 29—The Story of Italian Fascism. AUGUST 5—German Fascism on the Threshold of Power

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

Lecturer: BERTRAM D. WOLFE AUGUST 12—The Character and Tasks of the Spanish Revolution. AUGUST 19—The Labor and Communist Movements in Spain.

FEE for ENTIRE SERIES \$1.00 — SINGLE ADMISSION 25c

REGISTER NOW AT 228—Second Avenue.

In the Pre-Conference Discussion

Some Problems of Our Group

by Morris Yablon

We publish below the article of Comrade Yablon as the first contribution to the pre-conference discussion. We urge all members of the C.P.-Majority Group, of the Communist Party and all readers of the Workers Age to take part in this discussion. Articles should not exceed 500-750 words.—Editor.

As the crisis in the capitalist world extends and deepens, the false line of the Comintern and its sections becomes more clear. At a time when they could have been applied with more effectiveness than ever before, the well-tried and tested Leninist tactics are being dropped.

Wherever our turn, be it trade unions, fraternal organizations or the unemployment situation, failure is obvious all around. In the Communist Party itself the tragedy is even greater. The Party has lost over 3,000 members; more than two-thirds of the membership in the Party is new, a 100% turn over. This is no accident. It is a result of the wrong line of the Party.

The Communist Party (Majority Group) since its inception has sounded the alarm and warned of what is in store for the Communist Party, if the new line is carried out. All our warnings have been borne out by indisputable facts. The existence and struggle of our group for Communist unity and for winning back the Comintern to the correct Leninist line are shown to be indispensable. As a result of the crisis and unemployment, dissatisfaction among the rank and file in the mass organizations is spreading. The complete failure of the trade union bureaucracy to cope with the situation, to initiate a struggle against the continual wage-cuts, its refusal to fight for unemployment insurance, are causing the masses to rebel against the reactionary leaders. The outland strike in the Anthracite, the dressmakers strike, the Paterson strike took place contrary to the wishes of the reactionary leaders. But the Communist Party is not there and the disoriented masses lack a left wing leadership.

Our group, with its meager forces, has done its utmost to provide the masses with group in the above-mentioned strikes is well-known to every body. In each of these struggles the Communist Party refused to give leadership and even fought against the organizations in the midst of the struggle; our group provided the masses with leadership to the degree we were able to.

In these struggles both lines were tested. Who can deny today that the Party line is wrong and our line correct? If one still doubts, all he has to do is to read Stachel's recent article in the Daily Worker on the tactics of the Party in these strikes.

Some Shortcomings In spite of the correctness of our political line, in spite of the important struggles in which we have participated, we have not grown in membership, we have gained in influence to a great deal. This shortcoming of no marked growth in membership can be attributed to the unusually difficult up-hill battle we are carrying on, to the mere fact that we are an opposition outside the Party, not in opposition to the Party, but against the vicious slanderous campaign carried on by the Party against us to a lesser degree, this defect can be attributed to the general laxity and indifference on the part of many of our comrades. The impression one gets is: "Well, we were unjustly even criminally expelled from the Party. The group expresses our political viewpoint, therefore, we belong to the group. This is correct but many comrades have no confidence that the group's efforts will be able to change the Party line and bring about unity. That the Comintern itself will eventually, thru pressure of objective conditions, realize that its line is false and will bring about unity, is a viewpoint that is absolutely false. It is true that the Comintern will eventually change its line but only as a result of our activities. Thru our pressure we can bring about such a change much sooner. Secondly, if we were unjustly expelled then we must fight for our readmittance and you can't fight by remaining indifferent, passive. You must become active and carry on an energetic struggle, particularly in the trade unions.

Our Group and Centrism As a result of its continual betrayal of the interests of the workers great masses of workers and even some leaders are breaking away from Social-democracy. But these masses do not go over to Communism. They stop in the middle of the road and organize independent centrist parties. The blame for the failure of disillusioned Social-democratic workers not going over to Communism must be laid at the door of the official Communist Party. Their theory of "social-fascism", the policy of either you agree with the Party 100% or else you are a "social-fascist" is keeping these masses away from Communism. The Party leadership fails to realize that one is not born a full-fledged Communist, that a Communist does not develop overnight, that it is a process, particularly for those who for years have been members in the Social-Democratic Party. The Party with its sectarian policies is not drawing these workers nearer to Communism but

is pushing them away. This important job again falls on the shoulders of the Communist Opposition. But we must be careful that, because of our organizational weakness and the peculiar character of our existence as an opposition outside the Party, we do not ourselves fall victim to centrism, that we always maintain our Communist integrity.

Some comrades express their disagreement with the sharp attitude of our group towards centrism and say that our attitude is the same as that of the official Communist Party. These comrades fail to grasp the principles which divide us from Social-democracy, left Social-democrats or centrists. With the Communist Party, we have agreement on principles. Therefore our fundamental attitude to centrism is the same; where we differ with the Party is on tactics. The Party refuses to have any of the resolutions which place the "Militants" much closer to the position of Kautsky? Who is responsible? They key to the answer is the resolution on Russia introduced at the convention by Thomas's right hand man, Paul Blanshard. The hand of Norman Thomas can be easily seen.

In the above quotation we read that the demand is for "political democracy." Strange indeed! In the Soviet Union, where industry is socialized, where democracy is an undisputed fact (not even the "Militants" deny it), we are told that there is no political democracy and that it is urgently needed. Here in the U. S. A., with the working class suffering from the most ruthless capitalist autocracy, here, we, of course, have a full measure of political democracy! What is it that constitutes our political democracy? Is it the right to vote for Hoover or Roosevelt or even for a Thomas? Is it the resolution calls for—the legalization of all capitalist political parties? Or will our fighters for democracy confine political democracy to the legalization of the Mensheviks in Russia? The very same Mensheviks whom the "Militants" themselves characterized as counter-revolutionary. In conclusion, we must say it is strange "Marxism" to maintain that there can be such a thing as political democracy for the great masses while they are in economic bondage.

One more example will suffice to prove the double-time retreat by the "Militants"—amounting in fact to political surrender. In the program of the "Militants", published on the eve of the convention, we find the following in the section dealing with Russia. "We set ourselves firmly against dictatorship in this country as long as democratic means of transition to a socialist society are still available."

By a "socialist society" Marxists understand that stage of development which comes after the complete expropriation of the bourgeoisie "by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property and on the conditions of bourgeois production" (Communist Manifesto).

But who is to carry out these "despotic inroads" upon the class enemy? There must exist some previously constituted proletarian State-power to carry out this historic mission. The otherwise extremely "practical" Socialists are very vague on the question of the transition from capitalism to socialism. But from the "Militants," if they wish to be considered Marxists, we must have more precise thinking. Marx says in the Communist Manifesto: "The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class..."

What else does this mean except that the proletariat as the ruling class (the dictatorship of the proletariat) is the instrument of transition between capitalism and socialism, the instrument for suppressing the bourgeoisie, for uprooting the bourgeois basis of production and for beginning socialist construction thru planned economy. Only when this has been accomplished do we have a socialist society.

To continue to prattle about "democratic means of transition" is to accept the position of reform Socialism, which dreads the proletarian revolution, which tears up the only road to the socialist society—the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the "Militants" here object. If and when we find, they say, that

democratic means" no longer exist then we shall favor using other means. But doesn't this view make more difficult a successful proletarian rising by blurring the historical perspective, by misleading masses into believing that a peaceful democratic transition is possible. And at what point will the "Militants" change their attitude, if they ever will? Our experience with Social-democracy has been that it has helped the bourgeoisie drown working masses in their own blood when the only way out of misery and oppression was revolution. Witness Germany, Hungary, Finland and now Spain.

Have the "Militants" nothing to learn from the history of our country? The American colonists resorted to armed rebellion, tho it involved merely a shift of power from the British to the rising colonial bourgeoisie. And look at the Civil War, which resulted from a clash between the rising industrial interests of the North and the slaveholding feudal aristocracy of the South!

The American workers have nothing to look forward to as far as the convention of the Socialist party is concerned. With the whole world tottering on the brink of war, the S.P. seriously discussed an amendment to the constitution to make war illegal! When it is necessary as never before to mobilize masses against the destruction of millions of proletarian youth, it administers soporifics to the proletariat. Its candidate for President, Norman Thomas, racks his brain for proposals, before a congressional committee, on how to "pay for war as we go." It is for the United States entering the World Court and the League of Nations, in order to "make it a more effective instrument for world peace." The rapacious and grasping American imperialism whose hands are dripping with the blood of the Nicaraguan and other colonial peoples is to see to it that the league of imperialist robbers becomes a "more effective instrument of peace!" That it is already an instrument of "peace" can hardly be doubted, especially when one looks in the direction of China.

The Socialist bureaucracy is, in truth, true to its traditions of the past: the emergency repairman in times of "peace" and the recruiting agent for capitalism in time of war.

What Next In The S.P.? The convention marked the defeat of the Hillquit group as the leadership of the S.P. Hillquit has but a small minority in the new national executive committee. Such outstanding Socialists as Maurer, Oneal and Lee were unceremoniously shelved and Thomas took a large majority. And this, kind reader, was not at all accomplished thru open and democratic means but rather thru an outright caucus and thru a solid state vote. But Thomas is not at all sure either of himself or his majority. This accounts for the bitterness with which the struggle was conducted to keep Hillquit out of the chairmanship.

As far as the "Militants" are concerned, the convention dramatized their disappearance as an independent factor. A period of bitter internecine warfare is beginning in the Socialist party. The forces of Hillquit, smarting from the defeat administered them by Thomas, have been quickly put on a war basis and casualties have already begun. Edward Levinson, associate editor of the New Leader, has been removed; of course, we are told, not on factional grounds but because he wrote an article on the convention in the Nation! The question of the "Militants" about Joseph Shaplen, who reported the whole convention for the Times, against whom no steps have been taken, has as yet not been answered. McAlister Coleman has been forced to resign from the editorial committee of the New Leader. These are but the beginnings of the en-

trenchment of the Hillquit group. In view of these developments it is possible that the swing to the right, which the convention initiated, will be somewhat retarded. It is further to be expected that there will occur once again a clean-cut revolutionary basis on a much clearer ideological basis. We, Communists, must follow closely the developments within the ranks of the Socialist party. We must sharply and mercilessly expose both the Hillquit and the Thomas groups, as the two faces of the same counterfeit coin. We must sharply criticize the "Militants" with the aim in view of aiding the development of an opposition on a clean-cut revolutionary basis. It must be our aim to point out to the conscious "Militants" that the road before them is to organize, to mobilize whatever proletarian elements there are within the Socialist party for a Communist position. Together with us they must fight to correct the wrong tactics of the Communist Party, to help bring about a unification of all genuinely revolutionary forces for an effective struggle against capitalism and for Communism.

KARL MOOR IS DEAD!

Berlin, Germany. On the morning of June 14, 1932 there died in a Berlin Sanatorium at the age of 80 one of the oldest veterans of the international revolutionary movement, Karl Moor.

Karl Moor was the son of a high Austrian general staff officer. In Nuernberg, where his father settled down, the young nobleman became acquainted with the ideas of the class struggle and the modern labor movement. The strongest impression was made upon him by the Paris Commune. Karl Moor soon broke completely with his family and adopted as his "civil name" the rebel name in Schiller's "Robbers."

The greatest part of his life Karl Moor spent in Switzerland. With old Greulich he was one of the founders of the Swiss Social-democracy, to the left wing of which he belonged. He became the editor of a Socialist paper in Berne and a Socialist city councillor. Before the war he carried on an unceasing struggle for revolutionary Marxism and when war broke out he continued to hold aloft the banner of internationalism. At this time he flowed into a large inheritance which he used freely in the interests of the revolutionary movement.

During the war he formed the very closest relations with the Bolsheviks and especially with their outstanding leaders. After the victorious October revolution Karl Moor went to the Soviet Union and, upon the nomination of Lenin to the Society of Old Bolsheviks. In 1928 he left for Berlin to procure certain medical treatment. Here he died.

A life rich in revolutionary work has ended. Honor to the memory of Karl Moor!

OPEN MEETING WEDNESDAY JULY 6TH 8 P.M.

HERBERT ZAM Will speak on "THE WORLD REVOLUTION AND THE THEORY OF PERMANENT REVOLUTION" at 228 SECOND AVENUE

QUESTIONS DISCUSSION Auspices COMMUNIST PARTY (Majority Group) ADMISSION FREE

Praise For Insull

Now that the newspapers are waxing sentimental over that fallen stock-jobber, Samuel Insull, who tried to swallow everything in power and bit off more than he could chew, we want to contribute our quota of admiration for his frankness. It was Insull who admitted in the Senate investigation on corruption in elections that he had contributed to both candidates for U. S. Senator in the Illinois Republican primaries and to the Democratic rival of the successful Republican nominee as well.

"Mr. Insull, asked a Senator, "which party does your company support?" "Why, in Democratic states, the Democratic party, and in Republican states, the Republican party." "But, Mr. Insull, what do you do in doubtful states?" "Why in doubtful states, we contribute to both parties."

It's time that somebody pointed out that in the midst of all the talk of relief thru expansion of public works, the government is planning to reduce its expenditures for public works from \$28,000,000 in 1932 to \$393,000,000 in 1933.

And with all the talk of economy and all the disarmament conferences, the expenditures for "national defense" jumped from \$676,000,000 in 1929 to \$721,000,000 in 1932. In 1929 they were the highest in American history. But that was before depression, economy, and disarmament!

The full significance and implications of these social consequences of the economic crisis apparently are not grasped by the social reformists or by their sundry organizations but it is clear that society will be shaken to its foundations as a result of the conditions described by the Welfare Council:

"In general, families accustomed to living in the margin dropped below. Families who had never before been dependent were reduced to the level of the usual run of cases under the care of agencies. Some poor families who had by years of industry and effort raised themselves to a much better position were obliged to drop back to the level where they had started in America or even lower.

The Story of Fascism in Italy The Rise of Italian Fascism

by Alfa

This is the second article in the series "The Story of Fascism in Italy" by Alfa. The third will appear in the next issue.—Editor.

The Fascists Organize The next stage in the development of Fascism was the formation, in March 1919, of the Fascio di Combattimento (League of Struggle) with Mussolini at the head. Il Popolo d'Italia became its official expression.

The political orientation of this new organization can be seen very clearly from the declaration announcing its foundation:

"On March 23 there will not be established a party but there will be released a movement and the movement will be given a direction. On March 23 the anti-party will arise which will fight on two fronts: against the right and the left, and the destruction of the left. It is necessary to prevent the sabotage of peace..."

Consequences Of The World Crisis

THE CRISIS AND WORKERS STANDARDS

by Jay Lovestone

This is the fifth article in the series "Social and Economic Consequences of the World Crisis" by Comrade Lovestone.—Editor.

This crisis will bring about a permanent lowering of living standards thruout the capitalist world. The economic base of the labor aristocracy will be much weakened, in different countries in varying degrees. The I believe, that the American labor aristocracy will still have higher standards of living than the labor aristocracies of other countries, say, Germany or England, yet the standards of the American labor aristocracy will be much lowered absolutely. The privileged section of the working class in the United States will use less automobiles, less gasoline, and, in general, will feel and behave less aristocratic towards other workers.

For some time after the crisis there will be a noticeable weakening of morale, social morale, working morale in industry. The continuous efforts of the employers to lower wages and worsen working conditions in order to increase their own competitive capacities in the world market will constantly tend to sap this morale. There is already sufficient evidence at hand of the devastating consequences for the masses in this undermining of their morale. A recent report of the Welfare Council (New York) based upon an investigation of a million homes shows the tragic psychological effects wrought by unemployment on the lives of families and individuals among the poor. This report says in part: (See New York Times, February 21, 1932).

"Nearly every person must know that two years of unemployment have caused a great deal of hunger, that thousands of men have been driven to the great deal of physical and mental suffering has been caused. Few lay persons, however, are in a position to know what is happening to family life among the unemployed and to the personality of the individual unemployed man or woman."

"Discouragement, depression, despair—often to the verge and sometimes to the point of stealing, murder and suicide. "Bewilderment and mental confusion. "Loss of self-confidence, development of a sense of failure and inferiority. "Loss of initiative and sense of responsibility. "Passive submission and endurance, loss of courage to go on looking for work or to try anything new. "Obsession with the necessity of finding work, inability to take an interest in other activities or to meet other obligations. "Bitterness and disrespect for law and religion, moral and spiritual deterioration. "Cybernetic behavior, the usual run of belligerent—against society, against the government, against things in general. "Loss of pride and self-respect. Carelessness about personal appearance, sensitiveness and avoidance of social contacts. "Restlessness, craving for excitement and distraction leading to drinking and gambling. "Mental and nervous disturbances from irritability and excessive worry up to serious pathological conditions. "Constant fear, even when again employed."

"As a result of the economic conditions of the past two years family affection has been sorely tried; conjugal and parental ties have been weakened; family groups have disintegrated; the source of income has shifted from the husband and father to the wife and children or to the public; parental authority has lost force; home discipline has suffered, personality difficulties and family problems have been precipitated; instability and insecurity have increased."

How Marlene's Baby "Plays" Marlene Dietrich's little girl, Maria, goes roller skating. A nurse follows on foot. Trailing them both is the Dietrich chauffeur in his car. Needless to say, the chauffeur is armed. This is carefree play of childhood in Beverly Hills these days!

A "Drink More Wine" movement is to be launched in Bordeaux. Our hear goes out to the French patriot who's already doing his utmost.

The aristocracy of the trenches must gather... In the same vein wrote Il Popolo d'Italia (March 19, 1919):

"We proceed on the basis of the nation, of the war, of victory, in brief of interventionism. We proclaim the right and announce the duty of transforming Italy, if necessary with revolutionary methods. We interventionists are the only ones who have the right to speak of revolution in Italy. The revolution that lasted forty months under the name of war, is not yet at an end. We aim at the material and spiritual elevation of all Italian citizens, not only of those who are called proletarians. We aim at the greatness of our people."

"As far as means are concerned, we are not watered by anything. We will use whatever means are seen to be necessary, legal and illegal."

Nor can we omit the extremely characteristic remarks of Mussolini himself at the foundation congress of the Fascio:

"Bolshivism would scare us did it not result in the ruin of the economic life of the country. "We declare we upon Socialism not because it is socialist but because it is directed against the nation. Official Socialism is completely reactionary, absolutely conservative and its triumph would have deprived us of every possibility of living. "We want to be an active minority. We want to separate the official Socialist party from the proletariat but if the bourgeoisie believes that it will find in us a lightning-rod, then it is sadly mistaken. "We must approach labor, take over the demands of the working class. If the workers want the eight-hour day, social benefits during unemployment and in old age, supervision of industry, very good... "As far as economic democracy is concerned, we stand on the basis of national syndicalism. There are industrialists who have learned nothing from the technical and moral standpoint. If they do not change their attitude, then they will be overcome. But the working class must be told that national construction is something quite different from continual discord. "Economic democracy, that is our slogan. As far as political democracy is concerned, I have the impression that the present regime is already considering the question of its successor. Therefore we must act. Once the regime is overthrown, we must take its place. For this reason, we organize the Fascist organs of creative activity, who go upon the street with the cry: To us belongs the right of succession, for it was we who drove the country to war and led it to victory! It is necessary to create a new ruling class and provide it with the necessary powers."

In the spirit of Mussolini's programmatic address the following demands were formulated by the constituent congress of Fascism: proportional representation and suffrage, the abolition of the Senate, an "economic parliament", a national assembly, the eight-hour day, a minimum wage law, insurance for sickness, old age, unemployment, etc., "participation of the workers in the technical direction of industry," transference of technical direction in public plants and works to the factory councils, a progressive capital levy, the confiscation of war profits up to 85%, the nationalization of the property of the "dead hand" (owned by churches, monasteries, etc), the establishment of a militia, the nationalization of arms and munitions factories, the reestablishment of the authority of the State thru the carrying thru of these demands, the struggle against the Socialist party which is "disturbing the unity of the nation," for the public, against the ruling House of Savoy.

In general day-to-day agitation, this program was supplemented as follows: "the dissolution" of the big corporations, the suppression of every form of speculation, the confiscation of every form of "unproductive income", the expropriation of the large estates and their transference to the laborers, the nationalization of the banks, the struggle against "those who starve the people."

It is surely not necessary to emphasize the family resemblance between these demands and the pseudo-Socialist demagoguery of the German National-Socialists!

The Seizure Of The Factories And After At the outset Mussolini organized only a few small Fasci, primarily for terror against the Socialist party. Attacks upon party publishing houses, disruption of meetings, carefully prepared assaults on workers became frequent. But the Fascist movement remained relatively insignificant.

Its rapid rise began only after the seizure of the factories in the fall of 1920. In August 1920 a metal workers strike broke out in Milan and in this strike the slogan of "taking over the economic power" arose immediately. The strike spread like wildfire. Very soon all of the more important factories and plants, including a large number of big estates, were to be found in the hands of the workers.

The seizure of the factories is a really revolutionary situation for it is obvious that the workers cannot retain hold of the factories without having also the political power. The seizure of the factories can have revolutionary sense only as a stage in the immediate struggle for power.

For these reasons the Italian Communists, in the fall of 1920, called upon the workers to take up the struggle for political power also. But the movement was dominated by the syndicalists, who rejected the political struggle and held the "taking over of economic power" as decisive, and by the reformists, who used this theory in order to avoid decisive political action. (Their slogan was: Trade union control of the factories!) In the trade unions a referendum resulted in 591,000 for the reformist and 400,600 for the revolutionary proposal. Thereby the movement was thrown into the defensive, the workers found that they could not in fact dominate production, and demoralization set in...

The Giolitti government did not rush in to crush the revolt of the workers by force. Considering the situation in the country and the de-

(Continued on Page 4)

Workers Age

Published Weekly by the
Workers Age Publishing Assn., 228 Second Ave., New York, N. Y.
Phone: GRamercy 5-1660

JAY LOVESTONE, Editor
WILL HERBERG, Managing Editor
B. D. WOLFE, Associate Editor
ALBERT BELL, Business Manager
Organ of the National Council of the
COMMUNIST PARTY of the U. S. A.
(Majority Group)



BEN GITLOW, Secretary
Subscription rates: Foreign \$3.50 a year.
\$1.50 six months. 5 cents a copy.
\$2.00 six months. Domestic \$2.50 a year.
Application for second class mailing
entry pending.

VOL. 1, No. 23.

Saturday, July 9, 1932.

THE VETERANS BONUS MARCH

THE episode of the bonus march to Washington appears to be entering a new stage and the time seems appropriate for an estimate, provisional at best, of the significance of the movement and its lessons from the point of view of the proletarian class struggle in this country.

The bonus march movement was spontaneous, the only spontaneous movement of mass revolt of any sort that has as yet emerged from the present crisis. The idea of a march to Washington, as an expression of popular discontent and demand for relief, is, of course, far from unknown in American history; the tradition carries on from the march of the Continentals in 1783, thru Coxe's Army, right up to the spectacular but self-defeated Hunger March of the Communist Party last year. It was in contact with this tradition that thousands of impoverished and jobless ex-soldiers, disgusted and angered beyond endurance by the cold indifference and do-nothing cynicism of the government that had been ready to send them to death a short time before, arose in small groups thruout the country under the slogan: "On to Washington! We'll stay there until we get the bonus!" How it started no one can now tell, in spite of or rather because of the innumerable versions; but once started it spread like wildfire, proving beyond the shadow of a doubt that the movement reflected a real mass need and found an echo in the hearts of millions. It was not long before over 25,000 ill-fed, ill-clad, but determined veterans were camping in the swamps off the capital city.

The bonus marchers constituted a representative cross-section of the American working masses, in composition and in outlook. Mostly working men, but with a good deal of farmers and a sprinkling of the lower middle classes, these men tramped to Washington in all respects "good American citizens." They felt rather than understood the immediate evil but they certainly could not see its roots in the structure of society. They took our insane and murderous economic, social and political system for granted as the only just, certainly the only possible system. They bitterly protested against the Federal government, Administration and Congress alike, for its callousness, corruption, indifference to suffering; but to regard it as the agency of their class enemy, against which only war to the death is possible, was quite foreign to their viewpoint. They thought exclusively in terms of the ordinary prejudices, illusions and carefully nursed superstitions of capitalism, however much the objective meaning of their actions may have run counter to their words.

But the concentrated experience of the weeks of the march and the Washington campaign could not pass without brushing aside some of the old poisonous fictions and without stimulating some realistic social thinking. Face to face with the government as in fact the enemy from whom a certain concession had to be extorted by threats and pressure, the bonus army began to listen with tolerance and then with enthusiasm to impromptu attacks upon the bankers, capitalists and politicians and to the constantly repeated suggestions for a "third party," for joint political action with the labor movement, with the unemployed, with the farmers. Gradually, partially, haltingly and uncertainly, the veterans began to acquire a working class viewpoint, in spite of all the exertions of the conservative leaders who reflected the most backward elements of the marchers. The whole movement acted as a gigantic educational laboratory of the class struggle, for the thousands of men involved and for the thousands more with their eyes fixed upon it. We need not exaggerate. The veterans have not become Communists; they are not going to organize even a "third party"; large numbers of them are probably going to vote Democratic to "get even." But it would be the veriest blindness not to see that an indelible trace has been left upon their minds, a trace bound to be etched in even deeper by the sharpening economic crisis and the spread of mass misery.

The savage fury with which official bourgeois society greeted the rebellion of the men whom it had sent out to die for its benefit just fifteen years before, was surely not lost upon the veterans. The press thundered forth against the "menace," the ministers issued their pious admonitions to the starving men, the politicians "reproved" in all their ponderous hypocrisy, the brass-hats and swivel-chair generals frothed at the mouth at the "insubordination" and "lack of patriotism." Well, this was to be expected! But why did the organized labor movement stand silent? The millions of the rank and file of the unions were in full sympathy with the movement, but so debased was the leadership of the American Federation of Labor become, so utterly subject to the beck and call of big business, that it did not dare to break its shameful silence. And the Socialist party? Mr. Thomas did indeed go down to Washington to say a few kind words to the veterans but he took care, at the same time, to inveigh against the immediate payment of the bonus because, forsooth, it would "unsettle" American finances! Again the Socialists appear in the not unfamiliar role of guardians of the stability of the capitalist system, as the doctors and not the gravediggers of capitalism!

And the Communists? The official Communist Party conducted a vigorous campaign for the bonus and in favor of the bonus marchers. But here again its narrow, sectarian policies proved fatal. Its antagonistic attitude to all non-Communists alienated the masses of the veterans from the very first and only confirmed the hold of the conservative leaders. Much to the gratification of the police and of the Red-baiters inside and outside the bonus army, the Communist Party bombastically announced its "leadership" over the movement, at a time when the radical ex-soldiers constituted only a tiny fraction of the whole. It set up all sorts of fanciful "united front rank and file committees," which quite irresponsibly issued statements in the name of the veterans, with disastrous consequences. All in all, it showed itself even more incapable than usual of forming organic contact with a mass movement, of heading it into the direction of class struggle, of broadening and of deepening its class consciousness. All it proved able to do was to scold and call names from the outside . . .

From the viewpoint of immediate gains the bonus march was a failure; it certainly did not get the bonus. But this would be an extremely narrow and superficial way of estimating it. It would be far truer to say that it has been a success: it has succeeded in stinging the backward and apathetic American working men into some sort of independent action in the crisis. And the imprint that the bonus march has left on the American class struggle will not be easily effaced!

In the World Communist Movement The Communist Movement in Spain

by Bertram D. Wolfe

Supplementing the general informative letter from Spain in the last issue, we publish below a thoro, if somewhat concise and condensed, political analysis of the Communist movement in Spain, its various tendencies and groups. This material has been sent as official report to the International Communist Opposition Conference.—Editor.

I.—The Official Communist Party

The center of the official Communist Party of Spain, Section of the Communist International, is Madrid, the capital of the country. Its main strength is in Madrid, in the mining regions of Biscay and in Andalusia. Its total membership is small. The recent letter of the Communist International credits it with 10,000 members, certainly a big exaggeration. The press of the Catalan Communist Federation declares the C.P.S. has between 3,000 and 5,000 members, probably much nearer to the truth. It underwent a rapid growth immediately after the revolution (April 1931) but this proved temporary since it was followed by a period of decline, which still continues today.

The C.P.S. has proved absolutely incapable of solving any of the great problems posed by the revolution. It has given no answer, in correct answer to the following basic questions: the character of the revolution, the next steps in the development of the revolution, the national question, the trade union question, inner life of the Party. The sterility and false course of the C.P.S. reflect similar conditions in the Executive of the Comintern, in spite of the latter's attempts to dodge all responsibility. In the name of "proletarian unity" the official Party is pursuing a mad course of splitting tactics in the trade unions, proposing to "unite" all forces in a new trade union "unity" center, distinct from the Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo (C.N.T.), dominated by the anarcho-syndicalists and the Union General de Trabajadores (U.G.T.), dominated by the Social-Democrats. . . . Also these two organizations have between them over a million and a half of workers (the C.N.T. has about 800,000 members, while the U.G.T., favored by the government, is slightly larger), and contain virtually all organized workers in Spain, the official Party does not hesitate to attempt to set up another trade union organization against them!

The C.P.S. today is run by the notorious Lenin School "experts" and a clique of impotent, self-perpetuating puppet functionaries. It is at present in an acute crisis; within it a new opposition is developing, constituting the majority in Madrid and other places. The Party has just received an open letter from the Comintern, making the Spanish leaders into scapegoats for all errors, both of the Central Committee and of the E.C.C.I., on the Spanish question. There is the usual regime of bluffs. The Spanish Party leads all manifestations and movements in the columns of the Paris *Humanite* and the Moscow *Pravda*, much to the astonishment and indignation of the local participants when the stories are translated in the Spanish press.

II.—The "Left Opposition"—The Trotskyites

The Trotskyist "Left Opposition" constitutes an incredibly insignificant sect in Spain. They are a handful (the Spanish letter in the last issue of the *Age* places their number at about 300—Editor) of phrasemongers-philosophers, waiting for the proletarian dictatorship to arrive in Spain and doing nothing about it. Trotsky originally had great influence among the Spanish syndicalists because of his special work in the years 1917-1921 in winning syndicalists for the Russian Revolution. But the events of the one year of revolution have completely undermined his pre-revolutionary influence. Today, neither he nor his pedantic disciples in Spain, have any influence upon the organizations of the workers or upon the course of events. It is interesting to note that Trotsky himself has made several major errors in his estimate of the Spanish revolution. On the eve of the fall of the dictatorship and the monarchy he declared (January 24, 1931):

"A combination of circumstances is possible, to be sure, in which the possessing classes are compelled to sacrifice the monarchy in order to save themselves (example: Germany!). However it is quite likely that the Madrid monarchy, even tho its eyes are blackened, will survive until the dictatorship of the proletariat."

III.—The Communist Federation.

The center of the Federacion Comunista Cataluna-Balearc (Catalonian-Balearc Communist Federation, F. C.C.-B) is Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia. Its first congress was held on March 1, 1931 and its second on April 2, 1932. It broke with or was expelled from the Communist Party over two years ago for reasons emerging from the general crisis in the Communist International and from the development within the C.I. an ultra-left course and un-Leninist system of leadership. The crisis in Spain was complicated considerably by the peculiarities of the national question in Spain and by disputes over the role of the Worker-Peasant Block.

The present membership of the

Federation is about 10,000, located mostly in Barcelona and the surrounding Catalan region (Catalonia is the industrialized region of Spain). At the second congress held in April of this year, the Federation voted to change its name to Federacion Comunista Iberica (Iberian Communist Federation, I.C.F.) and to seek to extend its influence and organization thruout the Iberian peninsula or, at any rate, thruout Spain. (The Iberian peninsula also includes Portugal.) The secretary of the organization is J. Maurin.

It publishes a central organ, *La Batalla*, a weekly (in the Castilian dialect) and several other papers, with circulation largely in Catalonia. The course of the I.C.F. is in general correct, certainly far more correct than that of the official C.P. of the Trotsky group.

1. *General political outlook.* In its zeal to develop an indigene movement on the basis of a study of the Spanish political and economic situation and in its anxiety to eliminate mechanical copying of ready-made formulas from Moscow or Germany or Prinkipo, the Federation is the only healthy Communist group in Spain. Its estimation of the character of the Spanish revolution is superior to that of the official Party or the Trotskyites. Originally Maurin advanced the formula: "Democratic Federal Republic" as the broadest rallying slogan against the monarchy and the dictatorship. This formula is, to say the least, equivocal but its interpretation in theory and practice, since the fall of the monarchy, has been Communist in character. This formula has itself reared into history in favor of the estimate that Spain has at present completed the bourgeois-democratic revolution and only the rule of the workers and peasants is capable of doing so.

But in Maurin's view (expressed in his book on the Spanish revolution) that the rule of the workers can be exercised in Spain thru the trade unions without bodies equivalent to the soviets, there seems to be a trace of syndicalism. The argument is that soviets are a Russian institution appropriate to a country with weak legal unions, that Spain has an old union tradition, and so on. Maurin writes: "The union in Spain . . . is at the same time an economic organization, a political party and a revolutionary fortress . . . The union and the factory committee are the embryo of the proletarian power, the addition of factory committees, on which increasing stress is being laid, broadens the concept but still leaves it stamped with some syndicalist shortcomings."

2. *The trade union question.* The I.C.F. stands solid against the splitting tactics of the official Party and of the E.C.C.I. It proposes the united front of the C.N.T. unions (with chief strength in Catalonia) and its own Worker-Peasant Block. It pays little attention, however, to the Social-Democratic U.G.T., except to oppose its reformist leadership and to acclaim the signs of increasing rank and file radicalization. It is clear that a truly national Communist Party would have to work in both the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. and aim at the ultimate unity of both.

3. *Mass work.* The I.C.F. seems to be uncertain whether it or the larger Bloque Obrero y Campesino (Worker-Peasant Block, B.O.C.) is eventual-

ly to be considered as the real Communist Party. The Federation describes itself as the vanguard of conscious Communists but the B.O.C. is also referred to as Communist. Declarations are usually issued by both jointly. *La Batalla* acts as the organ of both and describes itself as a "Communist weekly." The B.O.C. is regarded as a sort of permanent united front, Communist in tendency, accepting only sympathizers with Communism or at least appealing only to those who are willing to join an organization openly sympathetic with Communism.

4. *The national question.* The I.C.F. has the best stand on this question. The anarcho-syndicalists take a nihilistic attitude towards it by their indifference giving to the bourgeoisie the right to determine the national movement, which is especially strong in Catalonia. The Socialists, playing the game of the bourgeois republicanism, regard it as a simple "administrative-judicial adjustment of the structure of the Spanish republic," with a certain amount of formal autonomy, after the fashion of a State in the U.S.A. "The Catalan problem is not rooted in the class struggle," they declare.

The Trotskyites recognize the problem but in place of analyzing its peculiarities, they talk of Chiang Kai-shek and of the Kuomintang. They favor Communist support of the nationalist movement in such regions where it can be led by the proletariat but are apparently not interested in the movement where it obviously represents a petty bourgeois movement and where the proletariat is weak. The official Party places the question abstractly in purely general terms, tipping its hat to the general formula of "self-determination with the right of secession" and then forgetting it altogether in its daily agitation . . .

The I.C.F. carries on a constant day-to-day agitation on this subject, fighting to wrest the hegemony of the nationalist movement of Catalonia from the Catalan bourgeoisie and exposing the treachery and vacillation of the latter. It naturally has limited its concrete activity largely to Catalonia but recognizes and proposes fraternal aid to the movements in Biscay, Galicia and other regions. It puts the freedom of Morocco on the same basis and agitates for a Union of Socialist Republics of Iberia. There may be a slight tendency to "federalism" in Party matters, while it is certain that Morocco must be put on a different plane from the Biscayan, Galician and Catalan movements.

5. *Communist unity and the Comintern.* There are elements of confusion in the position of the I.C.F. on this question. The Federation and the Worker-Peasant Block have defended themselves well against official slanders, split campaigns and fake unity maneuvers. They have rightly insisted on the restoration of Party democracy and have maintained democracy in their own ranks. They have preserved a thoroly Communist orientation and their interest in international Communist matters. They have been fairly steady in the publication of material in favor of the Soviet Union and so on.

But on the question of Communist unity they insist that unity is possible only on the basis of the acceptance of the program of the Federation and of the Worker-Peasant Block and around their organization as a basis. They also insist that the B.O.C. must be maintained.

THE RISE OF ITALIAN FASCISM

(Continued from Page 3)

Fascists to cripple, by external attacks and internal disruption, the most powerful union in the country, the railwaymen's organization. It was at this time that Mussolini formed his notorious alliance with the powerful Italian employers association, *Confederazione Generale dell'Industria*. A secret joint committee was established with the following aims: (1) the organized placing of Fascists in the factories (this operated very much to help the growth of the Fascists in view of the severe crisis of 1921); and (2) direct financial assistance.

Fascist trade unions began to be fostered in the factories, languishing at first but growing rapidly in the economic crisis. The organizer of these unions was Edmondo Rossoni, a former syndicalist who had issued the following slogan during the war: "The fatherland must not be denied, it must be won!" In January 1922 the National Labor League was formed out of a number of anti-strike, really strikebreaking, "unions" and affiliated to the Fascists. After the seizure of power, it was planned that these unions would embrace both employers and employed in the same divisions, altho this idea met with considerable resistance on the part of the employers. The fundamental principles of the Fascist trade union movement were already laid down by the middle of 1922. Not class struggle but the collaboration of classes; private property is essential because "the State cannot exercise the necessary initiative"; the employers must not "utilize their position of power to oppress the workers"; strikes are permissible "if they do not touch the existence of society"; the general strike is immoral since it is aimed against the State.

The Fascists had supported the proposal of the seizure of the factories as a "justified measure!" But in the crisis they utilized the confusion and the weakening of the labor movement for a broad offensive. Mussolini placed his battalions at the disposal of the capitalists. From November 1920 on, hardly a day passed without acts of Fascist terror against Communists, Socialists and trade unionists, without attacks on trade union offices, public houses, chambers of labor, meetings and demonstrations. The Fascists distinguished themselves particularly in the service they rendered to the great landowners against the small peasants and the agricultural workers. To a certain extent a Fascist mass movement was first established on the countryside and only then did it begin to penetrate the cities. Nuclei were established in factories and even in unions. It proved possible for the



PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, by Leon Trotsky. With appendices by Zinoviev, Vu-yovitch, Nansanov and others. Translated with an introduction by Max Shactman. New York, Pioneer Publishers, 1932.

Trotsky has certainly rendered a service to the international Communist movement in having this collection of speeches and articles on the Chinese revolution published in the English language. Not that it all confirms his own special viewpoint on these questions; its effect is quite the opposite. But the leadership of the Communist International (and of the C.P.S.U.), growing constantly more bureaucratic and dreading the results of a critical study of the history of the Chinese revolution, has actually made such a study well-nigh impossible by suppressing the most important material (even official documents) and by outlawing any discussion that does not proceed on the basis of the accepted fictions. In bringing some of this material out into the open (especially Zinoviev's April 1927 theses and the "Letter of the Three Comrades") and in his bold attack upon the Stalin-Bukharin course, Trotsky has contributed to this necessary process of revolutionary self-clarification, even tho the course championed by him and the basis of his criticism are fundamentally false.

There can be no doubt at the present time that the Comintern policies in 1926 and in the first part of 1927 were characterized essentially by the virtual subjection of the independent movement of the proletariat and of its leading role in the democratic revolution to the national bourgeoisie under the slogan that the latter must not be "antagonized" and that the anti-imperialist block must not be "broken." The lengths to which this maneuvering away from the interests of the Chinese revolution really went, as noted in the various documents in this volume, are positively shocking. But Trotsky has not by any means proven that the fundamental orientation of the Comintern in the Chinese revolution, its basic strategical course, was essentially false or that the analysis and strategical line proposed by himself was in any sense superior. In my opinion he has proved just the contrary.

The basic problem of the Chinese revolution is the problem of the relation of class forces in a bourgeois-democratic revolution of an anti-imperialist character. That the Chinese revolution is in its content bourgeois-democratic, no one ever did or does deny. Therefore, say the Mensheviks, the national bourgeoisie must be its leader and the workers and peasants must so "adapt" their own activities as to "support" the national bourgeoisie and not "frighten it off." No, say the Bolsheviks, the national bourgeoisie can never lead even the bourgeois revolution; in fact it will at best give only the most equivocal support to it. The bourgeois-democratic revolution will be successful only if it is fought under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat in alliance with the peasantry and the masses of the petty bourgeoisie. The revolutionary power will be a democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, in which the organizations of the proletariat and of the other revolutionary classes will participate, under the hegemony of the former. (This general viewpoint was developed by Lenin in the course of the long years of struggle before and after the 1905 revolution). No, says Trotsky, you are both wrong. The tasks of the bourgeois revolution, in China as everywhere else today, "will find a solution only with the success of the dictatorship of the proletariat." This is the theory of the "permanent revolution," quite different from either of the other two viewpoints.

The fundamental outlook of the Comintern was officially the second and Leninist standpoint, however much its practice may have tended towards the Menshevik line. These documents confirm this more than once.

As for Trotsky himself, it is curious to find that this "man of firm principle," etc., etc., allowed himself to be seduced by the wily Zinoviev to publicly defend a position which, horror of horrors, turns out to be "semi-centrist!" Thus, not only did Trotsky himself raise no objection to the affiliation of the Chinese C.P. to the Kuomintang in 1922 but it was not until the latter half of 1927 (i.e., not about the time when the Chinese Communists were driven out of the Kuomintang by the bayonets of Nanking and Wuhan) that the Russian Opposition ever objected to affiliation to the Kuomintang as a matter of principle! Why, in his earlier writings, Trotsky even speaks of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry," which later on he branded as "that reactionary slogan."

Poor Trotsky! Misled by Radek (1923-24) on the German situation; misled by Zinoviev and Radek (1926-27) on the Chinese situation! Poor innocent!

I cannot close without calling attention to the remarkable and generally correct analyses of Zinoviev (April 1927) and to the astonishingly revealing "Letter of the Three Comrades," both of which are published here as appendices.

X.Y.Z.



BETWEEN HAMMER AND ANVIL
The Show Was Lousy

The Republican convention "stamped" for Hoover in a demonstration which lasted exactly as long as the convention leaders said it would. The delegates were as enthusiastic as a taxi-dancer with corns. By a strange accident they all had rattles in their hands when they were swept off their feet by the mention of the great White House Engineer. Mr. Charles Hutson of California, who served his apprenticeship with Barnum and Bailey, kept the boys parading with new tricks. Every time they started to throw their hats, he raised a number on the platform and a new stunt started. No. 7 played the band. No. 12 unloosed balloons. No. 13 revealed pictures of Hoover. No. 22 started the organ playing "Onward Christian Soldiers." Meanwhile the convention leaders anxiously watched the clock. Synthetic gin is closer to pre-war stuff than this funeral parade to a spontaneous demonstration. The "stamped" and a discussion of the difference between repeal, referendum and resubmission to keep our minds off unemployment—were the big acts of the convention. All in all, one depressed elephant doesn't make a very good circus—not even when it is attended by 2,000 clowns.

Senator Dickinson made the Republican keynote speech. The Democratic keynote speech must always "view with alarm." The Republican must always "point with pride." We were wondering what the Republicans could point with pride to. But Dickinson, he knew. He pointed with pride to everything: even to President Hoover. That great executive had prevented a catastrophe, averted a financial panic, headed off wage-cuts, put millions of men back to work and stopped a drop in agricultural prices. Senator Dickinson should get the Pulitzer Prize for the best piece of American fiction. He even pointed with pride to the Farm Board and the fact that the Hoover Administration managed to put more men in jail than were ever in jail before. Not since the days when we were little enough to point with pride to a broken arm or a mump-swollen jaw have we heard anything like it. We nominate Senator Dickinson as the champion pride-pointer of the United States and believe he is ready to take on all comers at a world Olympic pride-pointing contest.

The high point of his speech, however, came when he nearly stampeded the convention, empty seats and all, to nominate Abraham Lincoln on the first ballot. The only thing that prevented his nomination by acclamation was his untimely death.

When somebody interrupted Sen. Dickinson to whisper in his ear that Lincoln was dead, that didn't stump him any.

"In this grave hour," he said, "the Republican party meets again in national convention to nominate another stalwart American, Herbert Hoover." Nobody had the heart to tell him that Hoover was another dead one . . .

When God's gentleman, the Reverend Norman Thomas, received notice of his nomination for President, he declared that "the big task the Socialists have before them is to give intelligent and organized expression to the growing discontent in this country in order that revolution may be averted and the discontent directed into constructive channels."

Compare this with Lenin's proposal that the party paper should "become a part of an enormous blacksmith's bellows that would blow every spark of class struggle and popular indignation into a general conflagration."

And yet the "Militants" ask us why we call Norman Thomas an enemy of the proletarian revolution!

Preparing for Peace

Hoover's "arms cut" proposal is like the Red-baiters' conception of Socialism as a man with no hats proposing to a man with two hats to "divide up." It would require France to cut her army by 90%, Great Britain and the Soviet Union to cut theirs each in half and the United States to "reduce" its army from 139,957 to 190,924—in other words, to increase it by one-third. Great Britain would scrap 120,000 tons in cruisers and 14,000 tons in aircraft carriers; the United States would add 10,000 tons in aircraft carriers and 33,500 in cruisers. And it would leave the world so heavily disarmed that the earth would bristle with bayonets like a porcupine and be spending many times more in preparation for the "enforcement of the Kellogg Pact" than the countries in 1913-14 were spending in preparation for the execution of the Hague Peace Conference Decisions.

We didn't realize what a premium there was on jobs till we read that a candidate had paid \$58,000 in the hope of getting one for two years.

General Pershing says the country is governed by cheap politicians. Not so cheap, General.

Unemployment, according to the *Arkansas Gazette* is caused by not being related to a public office.

Say what you will against capitalist politics but there's less unemployed there than in any other industry.

B. D. W.