

# WORKERS' AGE

Workers of all Countries, Unite!

For Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle!

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## With the 'Age' Builders

IT'S UP TO YOU!

WELL, we have been forced to miss another issue again! What are you going to do about it? Are you going to take it lying down or are you going to buck up and see that it doesn't happen again?

We have been able to get this issue out because of the quick response of a number of sections of our organization, The PHILADELPHIA section of the C.P.-Majority Group has sent us \$50. From the BRONX, N. Y., group has come \$35. The DOWTOWN, N. Y., group has come across with \$50. The CHICAGO section, finally, has rushed in with \$20.

Fine, say we! But you can't live now on what you ate a month ago. We need money now! This is an appeal to all readers of the AGE, to all members and sympathizers of the C. P.-Majority Group. Get on the job! Rush in subs, donations! Increase your bundle orders! Rush don't wait!

## PUBLIC WORKS IN SHARP DECLINE

Survey Shows Two Billion Stoppage; Fall Of Over Two-Thirds In Year

New York City. In spite of all pre-election propaganda and legislative gestures in the direction of the "relief" of the unemployed thru public works, the partly completed national survey, made during the last two months by the American Society of Civil Engineers, shows that hundreds of projects for State and municipal public works in the forty eight States, amounting to a total of more than \$2,250,000,000 have been suspended and that the actual building program this year is far below normal.

While the normal annual program of State and municipal works, exclusive of Federal projects, has been between \$2,500,000,000 and \$3,000,000,000 during the last ten years, indications are that this year it will not exceed \$800,000,000 according to the statement by John J. Hogan, chairman of the engineers committee on public works.

"The result has been," Mr. Hogan said, "that nearly 2,000,000 people who would normally find seasonal employment on public works have not found work and that unemployment has increased to an alarming rate."

"The prevalent low rate of operations in the supply industries, such as steel and cement," Mr. Hogan continued, "is partly due to the suspension of these public works projects, and other industries have suffered greatly thru the loss of purchasing power by these 2,000,000 workers and their dependents, totaling over 8,000,000 people."

In New York State alone the projects reported as "ready to go" amount to a total of \$478,410,500.

Most of these projects are self-liquidating or could easily be made so and are therefore eligible to obtain support from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation but the R.F.C. is apparently so busy extending aid to the big banks and railroads that even public works, it seems, have no call on it!

NEW YORK CITY.—Over 500 economists and sociologists from all over the United States, led by John Dewey of Columbia University, have signed a declaration sharply condemning the two big capitalist parties and calling for the formation of a third party, a "liberal" party. Among the other signers are Alvin Johnson, of the New School for Social Research; Paul Brissenden, of Columbia University; C. Wilcox, of Swarthmore College; and Paul H. Douglas, of the University of Chicago.

WASHINGTON.—Robert P. Lamont, who resigned recently as Secretary of Commerce, has been chosen to head the American Iron and Steel Institute, which represents about 98% of the steel producers of the country.

## Help Save Comrade Roy!

We publish below extracts from a letter recently received from India. It pictures the intolerable conditions under which, Manabendra Nath Roy, outstanding Indian Communist, has to suffer in prison. It also calls attention to the acute shortage of money of the M. N. Roy Relief Committee. Every American worker and farmer, every friend of the struggle of the colonial peoples for freedom, should help in this fight. Send your contribution, no matter how small, to the Workers Age and we will forward it.—Editor.

Partabbarh, U. P.

May 6, 1932. Roy's appeal has been filed in the High Court but the date of hearing has not been fixed up yet. We have engaged a famous lawyer of the Calcutta Bar, Mr. Chatterjee, and we hope that there will be a substantial reduction in the sentence. But as you know the case is a very complicated one and is political—ordinary justice may not or rather will not be administered. As for the personal conditions of Roy I am a bit alarmed. He has already lost 20 pounds and has been suffering from influenza. Being a B-Class prisoner he is allowed to have no supplements from outside; this means that he is a sort of undernourished. He further, occasionally, suffers from his ear trouble. I tried to get him A-Class but I haven't been successful. It is to be hoped that the High Court may do something about this. If he gets A-Class, at least he won't be undernourished

and will have more facilities as for receiving books and letters and will be able to write two or three letters more every month than he does now. The intense heat of the Indian Summer is also greatly responsible for the loss of his health. I hope he will get better in Winter. Luckily Mareilly is a very healthy place—only it is too hot in Summer. Today the temperature is 114 degrees F.

I have asked the junior lawyer at Allahabad to send Mr. Rosenfeld a copy of the High Court's decision. I suppose after the judgment we will try the Privy Council. It will be useful that Mr. Rosenfeld should be informed about the case.

Now one thing is very important. We had absolutely no money for the High Court. Rupees 1000 were to be paid to the lawyer and Rupees 500 more were necessary for the case. The Americans had sent some money for Roy's defence but it was sent back by the Indian postal department with a remark that Roy refused to accept the money, while Roy did not know anything about it until it was sent back. Under the circumstances I had no option except to raise a loan of Rupees 1500 to meet with the expenses of the High Court. B. has mostly advanced this money—partly he paid from his pocket and partly he borrowed. Now this money has to be given back to him—you know he can't afford to spend Rupees 1500. I have written to E. about it. You must also please write.

## RED ARMIES SCORE IN CHINA

Insurgent Forces Circle Hankow; Big Swing Of Sentiment Leftward

Shanghai, China.

A number of striking and spectacular victories on the part of the Red peasant armies over the forces sent out by the tottering Nanking regime have gradually been tightening the circle around Hankow, one of the most important of Chinese cities. In the early part of August some Red divisions advanced within five miles of Hankow, which is itself only twelve miles from Hankow. They then already held Tsaitien, Kotien, Yanglo and Lotien, thus completing a circle around the big city.

At the same time, the Red armies have smashed all of the "punitive" and "anti-Red" expeditions sent out by the so-called "central" government; usually the government troops simply went over and joined hands with the insurgents without even a battle.

A sharp revision of feeling against the Kuomintang government and the United States of America and in favor of the U.S.S.R. and the Red forces, has been noticeable in recent months among important sections of the lower middle class elements in the cities and the intellectuals, even among some groups of the native bourgeoisie. Among the city workers and peasants the leftward movement is also making considerable headway. The impotence and political cowardice of the Nanking regime in the face of the Japanese imperialist offensive has told very heavily against it. Even more important is the popular resentment against the recent change of policy on the part of the United States, in line with which it has given up all hopes of uniting China under the Kuomintang government but has now accepted the division and partition of China as a more or less permanent condition. The illusion of Wall Street as the unifier and emancipator of China is rapidly evaporating and the intense unpopularity of the Nanking government is the result. All of these movements take place, of course, on the background of the acute economic crisis in China, especially in agriculture, which has produced intense suffering and growing unrest.

## RUMOR CHANGE IN POLICY TO SOVIET

U. S. S. R. To Float Bonds In U. S. A.; Diplomatic Echo Is Expected

Washington, D. C.

A sensation was created here by the announcement of the opening of an international campaign to sell a large amount of Soviet Union gold bonds running for ten years but redeemable on demand in the currencies of the countries in which they are marketed, a move that is thought to have important political and diplomatic consequences. The bonds, which will be handled in the United States by the Chase National Bank and by the International Acceptance Bank, are expected to compensate to some degree for the serious shrinkage of Soviet credits, hampering foreign trade and the industrial expansion of the Soviet Union.

At the same time, and in connection with this financial development, rumors are rife that a change of diplomatic policy on the part of the United States is imminent. Among certain banking and financial circles such a turn would be quite welcome, it is declared. The appointment of a trade commissioner or a high commissioner, to be followed by recognition, was suggested. It was pointed

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been defeated, it is yet far from thru. Only by settling accounts with the semi-monarchist Azana regime and replacing it by a radical regime, based on the organizations of the workers and peasants, only by a workers and farmers government, in fact, can the republic be really safeguarded!

## Deadlock in Germany As Hitler Demands Nazi Dictatorship; Death Decree Issued

10,000 PAINTERS STRIKE IN N. Y. Demand Uniform Scale Of \$11.20; T.U.U.L. Plays Shameful Scab Role

New York City.

The strike of about 10,000 painters in Manhattan and the Bronx, called out by District Council 9, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, on July 13, is still being vigorously maintained by the workers in spite of all obstacles. The strike was called to bring about

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Nothing Less Will Be Accepted, Hitler Tells Hindenburg; Nazi Bands Gather Near Berlin Ready For Action; Von Papen Regime Issues Oppressive Decrees

Berlin, Germany.

Extreme tension marks the political condition of Germany today in connection with the new government emerging from the elections of July 31. As was foreseen, no government is now possible, with a majority in the new Reichstag, except an extreme right coalition including the Nazis or at least supported by them. Negotiations in this direction have been under way for several days between

President von Hindenburg and Chancellor von Papen, representing the Junker-militarist clique, on the one side, and the Nazi leaders on the other. But, as Hitler informed von Hindenburg on August 13, the Nazis will accept nothing less than complete hegemony in the new government, with Hitler as Chancellor endowed with "precisely the same power as Mussolini exercised after the march on Rome." The Junker and militarist circles, altho anxious to "make use" of the Nazis in secondary positions, are not yet prepared to subordinate themselves and hand over complete power to Hitler. And so the deadlock continues, with Hitler holding the decisive cards.

Meanwhile, tens of thousands of armed Nazi members of the Storm-Battalions and the Defense Guards, are concentrating just outside of Berlin for "field exercises." It is understood that they are gathering there to provide Hitler with a powerful weapon to exercise pressure during negotiations before or when the Reichstag meets, in a way in which the Black Shirts on the march to Rome functioned in the ascent to power of Italian Fascism.

Berlin, Germany.

In an emergency decree issued on August 10 over the signatures of President von Hindenburg and Chancellor von Papen, a whole series of oppressive regulations were enacted under the pretext of eliminating "political violence" but actually designed to crush the Socialist, Communist and trade union movements and to cripple the self-defense activities of the workers against the Fascist menace. The death penalty is provided for "implication" in a political killing, whether deliberate or not, and also for any other "crime involving public danger." Heavy penitentiary terms are prescribed for even the mildest cases of what is called "rioting" (political demonstrations, etc.). To give effect to these provisions the government of the Reich, in conjunction with the States, will create extraordinary courts which will function under special mandate and from which there will be no appeal. These courts will have jurisdiction not only in the prescribed cases but in all other cases "arising out of the political struggles." Such courts are to be set up immediately in East Prussia, Silesia, Berlin and Brandenburg.

At the same time a decree was issued imposing a post-election political "truce" until the end of August, according to which all public political demonstrations are barred. These emergency decrees, which as everybody knows will be used against the labor movement, have been persistently demanded by the Nationalists and by the Nazis and this demand has been echoed by the Social-democratic leaders! They constitute martial law in substance and will operate to clear the road even more completely for the advent of Fascism.

Meanwhile the Nazi terror against the working class and its organizations continues unabated. The government which regards the Nazi movement as "very useful," issues a "warning" statement once in a while but limits its overt activities to attacks on the labor movement.

BERLIN.—Notice that the German government intends to open negotiations in London on the demand for full German equality in armaments as outlined by Defense Minister von Schleicher the week before, was announced by Count von Bernstorff, the German charge d'affaires in London, on August 3.

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—A second defeat of the proposal to reduce the basic wage scale for Illinois miners by \$5 was indicated here on August 6 on the basis of returns from the State's 240 local unions. The officials of the United Mine Workers Union had endorsed this plan of a drastic cut but the men had defeated it some time ago. The second referendum is almost certain to go the same way.

TERRE HAUTE, Ind.—One man was killed and seven wounded here on August 2 when about 60 scab workers, protected by the sheriff, tried to break a strike in the Dixie Bee mine. The sheriff has called upon the Governor to send National Guardsmen to crush the strikers.

## "THAT'LL TEACH HIM TO RESPECT LAW AND ORDER!"



## VETS ARE OUSTED FROM JOHNSTOWN; WATERS IN NEW FASCIST RACKET

Prize Fighter Mayor And "Commander" Deceive Men And Force Their Dispersal; Eye-Witnesses Give Lie To Hurley's Statement On Events

JOHNSTOWN, Pa. — Under the

pressure of the business men of the town, who placed a strongly worded ultimatum before him and at the same time provided him with adequate resources, Mayor Eddie McCloskey, the loud-mouthed ex-prize fighter, forced some 9,000 encamped veterans to leave this city and disperse thruout the country. The men had gathered here, upon invitation of Mayor McCloskey, to await further orders from "Commander" W. W. Waters, who had repeatedly assured them that "the fight has only just begun" and that he was going to acquire a camp site somewhere to which the veterans would be welcome. But all of these "assurances" turned out to be mere deception for on August 3 Waters, who somehow has never yet been present on the scene in times of crisis, sent written "orders" for the men to disperse and leave for "home" where starvation and misery were awaiting them. At the same time, Mayor McCloskey made public the fact that he had obtained sufficient financial support to underwrite the fare back home of those veterans who would leave immediately. After a fruitless revolt the remnants of the bonus army dispersed, greatly dissatisfied and cursing their false leaders.

Meanwhile ex-"Commander" Waters is strutting all over the country (at whose expense?—he travels in airplanes and in parlor cars and puts up at first class hotels!) trying to form his American Fascist "khaki-shirt" movement, with himself cast in the role of the home-bred Hitler. But in spite of rumored support from some powerful capitalist interests, his success has not been at all marked so far.

WASHINGTON.—The insolent declaration of Secretary of War Hurley to the effect that the bonus army, which Federal troops, under Hoover orders, had attacked with machine guns and gas bombs, was really composed of non-veterans, many of whom were "criminals," and that the troops had acted with "unparalleled humanity and kindness," was given the lie, im-

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## RAILWAYS WANT NEW WAGE-CUT

NEW YORK CITY.—A demand for new cut in the wages of railway workers, amounting to at least 5% was made here on August 10 by a conference of presidents of Eastern railways, in connection with a similar move pending in the West. This demand follows a 10% wage-cut already forced on the men for the year February 1, 1932 to February 1, 1933. The railway companies now declare that the February cut was "insufficient" in view of the decline in earnings of the companies, "in other words, they want to make the railway workers bear the brunt of the crisis.

The railway workers must prepare in time so that now it will not be possible for their leaders to put over a new cut without a struggle as was done last year.

At the recent convention of hotel workers in Boston, William Green, President of the A. F. of L., expressed the opposition of the federation to any further wage-cut on the railways.

## Monarchist Revolt in Spain Suppressed by Masses; Army, Civil Guard Aid Royalists

Sanjurjo Heads Restorationist Attempt In Madrid And Seville; People Rise To Save Republic; Azana Regime Nurtured Royalist Plotters

Madrid, Spain.

First in this city and then in Seville, which became its last point of entrenchment, the largest monarchist revolt that the Spanish Republic has yet experienced in the sixteen months of its existence was rapidly put down by the vigorous action of the masses who showed an unconquerable determination never to permit the restoration of the monarchy.

The royalist uprising broke out simultaneously in Madrid and in Seville on August 10. The insurgents, led by General Sanjurjo, were supported by a number of monarchist army units and by many detachments of the Civil Guard, whose reactionary leanings have become notorious thruout the country. In the capital some fighting took place, especially before the Ministry of War, but the counter-revolutionists stood no chance in the face of the upsurging

masses of the city. In Seville, General Sanjurjo, with the help of the local Civil Guard organization, took control of the situation but was able to hold out for only one day. Meanwhile, huge and militant republican crowds gathered, stormed the royalist newspaper buildings, the homes of the leading supporters of the counter-revolution, the buildings housing the various organizations of landowners and other reactionary elements, and finally forced the monarchist leaders to flee. General Sanjurjo was captured as he was attempting to escape to Portugal. He will stand trial for his life.

In Barcelona and in all other Spanish centers, large and small, tremendous republican demonstrations continued for the two days, without cessation.

Thruout the whole crisis, the army and the Civil Guard acted in a very uncertain manner. It was clear that the restorationist revolt found great sympathy in these circles, even among those who remained formally loyal to the republic. In many cases, indeed, the Civil Guard attacked republican demonstrators and arrested republican speakers and agitators for "disturbing the tranquility of the State!" The counter-revolution was nipped in the bud but by the armed forces of the government but by the spontaneous rising of the masses.

The counter-revolutionary attempt at a restoration must be laid directly to the responsibility of the Azana government. In all its activities this reactionary regime, as well as the one that preceded it, operated to demoralize, suppress and disperse those revolutionary forces of the masses that made possible the April 14, 1931 revolution and that alone could defend it. Communists and syndicalists have been arrested and deported by the hundreds, trade unions attacked, strikes broken, peasants leagues outlawed—while, at the same time, the forces of reaction, the growing elements of a monarchist restoration, have been treated gently, have been allowed to retain key positions in the army and the Civil Guard and have even been given new positions of power. The restorationist attempt was inevitable and, altho it has now

## URGE REACTION IN HOOVER SPEECH

Washington, D. C.

In a carefully prepared speech, strongly emphasizing the extremely reactionary character of the Republican party bid for power in the coming elections, Herbert Hoover declared his formal acceptance of re-nomination as President of the United States in the regular notification ceremonial on August 11. A positive rejection of Federal unemployment insurance and of all other effective relief measures, an equivocal statement on war debts, a passionate defense of the robber tariffs, a few empty words on farm relief, the championship of the power trust interests, and the change of the Eighteenth Amendment so as to give each State the right to deal with the liquor problem in its own way, constituted the high points of his address.

Herbert Hoover, his hands red with blood of the murdered ex-servicemen, is ready for another term as the Lord High Executioner of the power-mad capitalist class of the United States.

BERT WOLFE SPEAKS FRI., Aug. 19 at 8 p. m. - 228 2nd Ave. "LABOR IN SPANISH REVOLUTION"

The Capitalist Frame-Up At Work

THE "REVOLUTION" IN SOUTH BEND

from "The New Republic"

The following paragraphs, taken from an article in The New Republic, August 10, 1932, illustrate very strikingly the frame-up as a weapon in the struggle of capital against labor.

On July 6, just three weeks before the great Communist bank plot was announced from Pontiac, Michigan, the Hearst newspapers carried reports of another great conspiracy in South Bend, Indiana.

The arrests were made by Murray W. Garson, special assistant Secretary of Labor, and a picked squad.

The investigators found the plot was backed by Chicago gangsters who hoped by means of terrorism to terrorize the Midwest industrial leaders.

This story sent out from Washington by Universal Service, was carried on the front page of The New York American, and presumably appeared in other Hearst newspapers all over the country.

South Bend is an industrial city containing several important factories—Studebaker, Bendix Brakes, Oliver Chilled Plow, Singer Sewing Machine, etc.

At Bendix Brakes, this private force was commanded by William Vernon, formerly chief of police for the city.

On April 1, in his second report, Miller urged that the factories be well guarded with armed watchmen to prevent disorders.

On April 25, he reported that the Reds had a truckload of Italian pineapples (bombs) buried somewhere between South Bend and Mishawaka.

On April 26, he sounded the alarm: "THEY PLAN TO HOLD A REGULAR REVOLUTION."

By this time South Bend society was becoming alarmed. The officials not only of Bendix Brakes but also of Studebaker, Oliver and Singer, took steps to guard their own lives and property.

In the same connection must be taken the semi-official statement of the Roosevelt headquarters to the effect that Governor Roosevelt is in favor of a considerable modification of the traditional anti-Soviet attitude of the State Department.

It is quite clear that the great desirability, in the eyes of certain decisive sections of American banking and industrial interests, of improving commercial relations with the Soviet Union, the only country in the world today experiencing an unexampled economic boom, is operating very effectively to produce a serious change of relations between the two countries.

to William Vernon to the Bendix officials. Now Miller is looking for bombs, now listening to threats of death, now learning that Communists and gangsters are in alliance and now, on May 12, he is watching a bomb in process of manufacture.

In a state of complete panic, the city politicians and plant officials telephoned Washington for rescue. They asked the whole United States army, or at the very least a regiment of Marines, be sent by train and airplane to South Bend.

He arrested five men (not twenty-eight as stated in the newspaper story). There was not a Communist among them.

This sort of "revolution" has occurred many times in American history, and in many other places than South Bend.

Nothing more was heard about the revolution in South Bend.

Nothing more was heard about the revolution in South Bend.

The Pre-Conference Discussion

Some Shortcomings and Some Tasks

by Eli Keller

Paterson, New Jersey.

The approaching conference of our group will take place one year and a half after our last conference. This time was full of historical events and had marked a deepgoing change in the life, thought and action of the working masses.

Our international problem resolves itself very easily in the following manner, in my opinion. First, last, and all the time we are Communists, Leninists, unjustly expelled from the Communist International.

Our big problem, however, is what should be our conduct now in the U. S. A. in view of our experiences and the present objective conditions?

Paterson textile strike and the needle workers strike in New York. The only way to change the wrong line is to prove by action its incorrectness and the correctness of our line.

The result is that the C.P.L.A. and the Socialist party, who were in dispute among the workers, are now leading a spontaneous unemployed movement in Paterson and the surrounding towns.

A thorough estimation of the crisis, the relative strength or weakness of capitalism and especially of United States capitalism in view of developments in the last year and a half,

should also have been raised by the bureau for discussion before the next conference.

The advent of Fascism in Germany the great danger of war, and the relations with the Soviet Union, the Japanese seizure of Manchuria, the resulting strained relations between the U. S. and Japan, the USSR and Japan, the maneuvers of the former Allies to get out of war debt payment to the United States, the French raid on American gold, the British effort to take away the American trade, the revolutionary unrest in South America, India and China, the mass movement of the ex-servicemen, their march on the capital and their emphasis on unemployment, the inclination of a big part of them to Fascism, the growing antagonisms between the different capitalist countries, all these are big problems.

I don't think that in this limited space it is possible to touch on all problems of our group. It is sufficient that I have touched on one or two. Other comrades will point out others. There is only one point I wish to stress and ask of other comrades to help discuss.

That we must prepare ourselves now.



With the WORKING YOUTH

THE Y.P.S.L. NATIONAL CONVENTION

A Letter From Cleveland

Cleveland, Ohio. The sixth national convention of the Young Peoples Socialist League held in Cleveland on July 23 and 24, at a time when the young workers and students are in a state of ferment, gave indications of a group crystallizing within the Y.P.S.L. on the basis of revolutionary Socialism.

The convention was divided into three distinct groups: a small reactionary minority, led by Cohen of N. Y.; the majority led by J. Umansky, Fish, and McDowell; and a small determined left wing minority whose chief spokesman was Sol Larcks of Chicago.

The report of Comrade Smerkin, National Secretary, was characterized by its absolute lack of political content. There was no attempt at analysis of American imperialism in the arena of world capitalism, no effort to appraise and understand the role of the young workers as a distinct section of the working class with specific problems.

that there was not one word on the war danger or on anti-imperialist activity.

The first clash between the left wing and the majority occurred on the report of the credentials committee, when the Montreal delegation moved to unseat the Toronto delegation on the charge of cooperation with the Y.C.L. of Canada.

The left wing, thru an amendment by Larcks, waged a determined struggle for the elimination of the above mentioned "hope" of the majority. The resolution, as finally adopted, characterized the Soviet Union as a beacon of hope for the working class, and evasively pledged friendliness and defense of the Soviet Union on the basis of the call of the Socialist International.

MARINE UNITY SCORES VICTORY!

New York City.

Convincing proof of the value of united action has once again been established. A call issued by the Unemployed Seamen's Council was answered by hundreds of maritime workers.

On Sunday, August 7, it was learned that the administration of the Institute agreed to reduce bed rates from 35¢ to 20¢.

The value of the boycott as a weapon of defense and attack was also demonstrated. The Seamen and Harbor Workers Club at 31 South Street called upon its membership to refrain from patronizing the revenue-making departments of the Institute.

There is no doubt that this boycott aided in some way to achieve victory. We maritime workers are another mile nearer port.

10,000 PAINTERS GO ON STRIKE IN N. Y.

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a uniform scale of \$11.20 a day for all painters, the same scale as exists for the other building trades unions affiliated to the Building Trades Council. The painters union, which is not so affiliated and whose direct agreement with the master painters association expired last December, negotiated for months attempting to get the uniform scale but, after these negotiations failed, the strike was called.

As has unfortunately been the case all over in the last few years, the Trade Union Unity League has played an openly scab role in this conflict. Two weeks before the strike was called, the Alteration Painters Organization League, a T. U. U. L. organization, was reorganized into the "Alteration Painters Union" and this "union" has actually been sending men to scab on the striking painters.

Capitulation and Bravado

In the New Leader of August 6, 1932, Morris Hillquit speaks out on the political situation in Germany and on the perspectives of Fascism. Those who expected the titular head of the Socialist party of America to make a plea for united working class action in Germany to crush the Nazi menace before it is too late, before it achieves power enough to destroy the whole labor movement in all its tendencies, were disappointed.

"Today Hitlerism has evolved into a parliamentary political movement. If it should come to power, it will be at least outwardly bound by constitutional methods. It may be well that it should gain complete power as soon as possible. (This victory) will probably prove the starting point of its recession and downfall."

Hypnotized by the fetish of "parliamentarism, Hillquit believes and would like the German working class to believe that, because it has "evolved into a parliamentary political movement," Hitlerism has somehow changed its character so that its triumph would therefore now no longer constitute a deadly menace to the German masses.

The Daily Worker of August 8 reports these remarks of Hillquit and, with proper if somewhat incoherent indignation, it takes him severely to task. Very correctly it declares: "It (the Communist Party) will not consent to gamble with the lives of workers on the hope that before they are all killed or all of their unions driven underground, Fascism will 'collapse'."

Precisely the same thought as expressed by Hillquit today! Only then the Daily Worker applauded Remmele; today it attacks Hillquit for echoing the German official Communist leader. Would not its criticism of Hillquit be a good deal more convincing if it also criticized Remmele a little?

LABOR CONDITIONS IN CONNECTICUT

We publish below an item from the Hartford (Conn.) Courant, August 5, 1932, throwing some light on working conditions in the needle trades industry in the smaller centers outside of New York City. These facts should hammer home to every organized worker in the needle trades and to all workers in general the necessity of organizing the needle trades in these centers—if only as a measure of self-defense against the effect of the lack of organization of these workers in undermining unionism and union standards in New York and elsewhere.—Editor.

Middletown, Aug. 4. Alphonse Gambale and Joseph Schiro of Brooklyn, N. Y., and Benedict S. Rame of 104 Court Street, this city, owners of the Middletown Cloak Company, will be tried on 32 counts of violating state labor laws at the City Court hearing, to be held Friday morning before Judge Carl F. Anderson.

Attorney O'Neill said this afternoon that the charges include employing minors for more than eight hours daily, employing minors without working certificates from the State, employing women for more than 10 hours daily, the legal limit, and with operating the shop without having working regulations for women posted in the factory.

Miss Wood, industrial investigator for the State Department of Labor, who declared the conditions to be the worst of any she had encountered, talked with one woman who it is claimed had been paid two cents when she was discharged after one day's work. The highest wage Miss Wood found among the employees was \$1 a week.

VETS LEAVE JOHNSTOWN; HURLEY LIES EXPOSED

Immediately upon its issuance, by many eye-witnesses. Major General Frank T. Hines, veterans administrator, estimated that of the 8,000 bonus marchers under departmental scrutiny, at least 93% were really ex-soldiers. Reporters among them Paul V. Anderson (New York Nation, August 17, 1932), as well as some army officers, have stated categorically that they saw the troops set fire to the billets, trample men, women and children and act in the most brutal manner generally, in direct contradiction to Secretary Hurley's declaration that Camp Anacostia was "fired by retreating radicals."

in remuneration for work over the same length of time, and many of them proved to be minors who have no working certificate as required by the State, police said. It is anticipated that the courtroom will be crowded to capacity at the hearing.

MEETING DEFEATS C. P. HOOLIGANISM

Over 300 workers attended an open air meeting held under the auspices of the Communist Party (Majority Group) on Thursday July 23, at Pitkin and Herzl Streets. For about three hours these workers listened and applauded as speaker after speaker exposed the reactionary character of the Democratic and Republican parties and the unwarranted claims of the Socialist party to being a party of the workers.

The speakers were Ben Gillow, I. Zimmerman and Minnie Lurye. Ben Lishitz was chairman. This meeting was arranged to call upon members and sympathizers of the official Communist Party to put a stop to the hooligan tactics of the Communist Party of smashing working class meetings not arranged by itself or by its auxiliaries.

Subsequently, a number of meetings have been held without disturbance.

The Prayers Of The Pope The Pope's got all mixed up. He told the Bishop of Toledo the other day that he prays daily for prosperity. If the depression is the will of God, why should God's representative pray against God's will. If it's not God's will, why does it take more than 1095 days of prayer before God can stop the damn thing. Maybe the old fellow is hard of hearing!

Not satisfied with the hold that the church already has upon millions of American people, Archbishop McNicholas would have religious periods introduced into all schools—elementary, high schools, and universities. He would replace scientific thought by religious superstition. The report of his speech is given in the New York Times which we reprint in full: CINCINNATI.—Our educational system is honeycombed with atheists, agnostics, rationalists, naturalists and Communists. Archbishop McNicholas declared at the national conference of the Catholic Educational Association here today. "I speak plainly," the Archbishop said, "because Catholic schools too, are affected by the trend of the times, by a dangerous secularism, by the propaganda of State absolutism and by the pernicious philosophy of edu-

The resolution on the organization of industry, while charging the N.E. C. with the responsibility of creating a department of industrial activity, failed to note any specific problems of the young workers in relation to organized trade unions. It weakly characterized the class-collaboration policies of the A. F. of L. misleaders as "business type of union philosophy."

The resolution on war, while decidedly not pacifist and possibly offering to a militant leadership a basis for revolutionary struggle against imperialist war, falls far short of being a thoro, revolutionary resolution in that it fails to see the real opportunities for working class revolt given by political and economic crises which follow in the wake of imperialist war.

A resolution for the release of the Scotsboro boys and a resolution taking note of increased capitalist attacks on workers political rights were passed.

What is to be done? How is it to be done?

Fanny Rothman Dead!

New York City. Fanny Rothman, for years a leading member of the Young Communist League and in the left wing of the needle trades, died here on August 10 as a result of tuberculosis.

Fanny Rothman, although young in age, had been active for many years in the Communist Youth movement and her early and most untimely death can be traced partly to the devotion and selflessness with which she dedicated herself to the cause. Her loss will be greatly felt not only by the movement as a whole but by large numbers of comrades who have learned to appreciate her courage, cheerfulness and spirit.

Honor the memory of Fanny Rothman! Education in vogue in the training colleges of the country, and by a too great willingness to accept all their standards, the value of which is not only doubtful but the effects of which are often detrimental. "It is time we should break with all the nonsense in vogue today, especially in our schools and departments of education. It is our duty to combat the false philosophy of education that is influencing the teachers of the country and even those of our own schools. "I ask your association to help this course in preparing a complete course in religion for all schools."

Hear

JAY LOVESTONE

Editor of the Workers Age

who was delegate to the International Conference of Communist Opposition in Berlin

Europe in Crisis

Friday, September 2nd, 8:30 p. m.

LABOR TEMPLE, Second Avenue & 14th St.

Admission: 25 Cents

Auspices: Communist Party, U. S. A. (Majority Group)

On the Communist Election Program

The Sad Logic of Ultra-Leftism

by Herbert Zam

This is the second and concluding article in the series by Herbert Zam "On the Communist Election Program."—Editor.

The second cardinal shortcoming in the Communist election platform is the complete absence of any indictment of the capitalist system. This may appear very strange on a platform which calls for a struggle for the proletarian dictatorship—but it is one of those contradictions which exists invariably in all ultra-leftist minds. Surely now is a good time for such an indictment! The language of it can be read by the masses themselves in the unemployment, hunger, misery, which is in every house. It is the meaning which must be supplied by the Communists. Everybody is talking about unemployment. Everybody is talking about starvation. Everybody is talking about war and peace. But it is up to the Communists to trace these sores to their source and show that they arise inevitably from the capitalist system, which at the present time is already rotten to the core, and which, in its death struggle, is causing untold suffering to the toilers of the entire world. That these things are said in theses is not enough, for the masses do not read them, and most certainly do not understand them. But an election platform, which is likely to be more widely read than any other Communist document, is the place to say these things in language which the masses will understand, but which will nevertheless contain no illusions and no cheap, vulgar popularizations.

In the Communist election platform "capitalism" is referred to only twice, once in connection with the building of socialism in the Soviet Union and the uprooting of the remnants of capitalism, and the second time as follows: "Capitalism has shown its inability to feed the people."

This sentence is the only form in which an indictment of the capitalist system appears. For the rest, the platform speaks "capitalist politicians," "capitalists and their political henchmen," "the Republicans and Democrats, who control the National and State governments," etc. The use of such expressions is not in itself wrong, but when they are used as a substitute for an indictment of the capitalist system, then the users sink to the level of middle-headed liberals. Indeed, there is nothing in the entire analysis of the situation which a half-baked liberal cannot subscribe—it consists almost exclusively of an enumeration of evils and a damning of those responsible. Only by implication, in discussing what a workers government in the United States would do, is there any effort to bring out some of the basic characteristics of capitalism.

Two Examples

It is quite possible that this error was brought in by a desire for popularization. But the real result has been to vulgarize the program without in any way adding to its simplicity. Two particularly striking examples can be cited.

"The political parties of capitalism which rule the country... have exposed their complete bankruptcy in this period of severe crisis."

"This is quoted from the platform and not from Professor Dewey's manifesto! Bankruptcy for what? For serving the interests of the capitalist class? For this they are far from bankrupt! For oppressing the workers and shifting the burden of the crisis to their shoulders? They are doing a pretty good job of this, too! Bankruptcy for doing something in the interests of the working class? They never had this as their task and for the Communists to make such statements is to help maintain dangerous illusions among the workers."

And here is the way in which the platform handles the question of imperialism: "In their greedy desire for greater profits the capitalists set out to wrest new markets from their imperialist rivals by armed force and to further oppress the people... and rob them of their territory and natural resources."

Again it must be remembered that this is not quoted from either Professor Dewey or from the New Republic but from the Communist election platform. So imperialism is caused by greed, by a desire for greater profits, and results in further oppressing the people of the colonies. Presumably the original rates of profit and the original oppression of the colonies were all right; it is only the evil greed of the capitalists, which prevents them from being satisfied with a "justifiable" profit! And all this is an election platform in the "third period," when revolutionary theory has been enriched by the addition of "Stalinism!"

What Is the Communist Party?

Anyone who reads this platform will have to become convinced that it is the product of political illiterates, who have converted a street-corner speech into an election platform, but whose ignorance oozes from every sentence. In fact, the very first sentence of the document exhibits what in a serious, Marxian document would be considered the grossest error of all. The platform declares: "The Communist Party is the political party of the oppressed masses of the people—the indus-

trial workers, the persecuted Negroes, the toiling farmers."

The present leaders of the Communist Party, the authors of the platform, are hereby challenged to produce a single authoritative quotation supporting this formulation, either from the works of Marx or Lenin, or from any of the important documents of the Communist International. They are challenged to produce a quotation from Stalin on this question which is in accord with the viewpoint expressed in the above sentence. If this formulation is a serious description of what its authors consider the Communist Party, then it is false and un-Leninist. If it is intended only as a "simplification," it is very dangerous and can create bad illusions. The Communist Party is not the party of the oppressed "people." It is the party of the proletariat, a one-class party. It also fights for the interests of other classes, of the oppressed people, but does not for that reason cease being the party of the proletariat. The Communist Party is, in short, the party of the proletariat which leads other toiling classes. The common struggle of the proletariat and other classes is expressed not thru one common party but thru the fact that, whereas the Communist Party expresses the immediate as well as fundamental (historic) interests of the proletariat, it can represent, at certain times, only the immediate interests of, let us say, the farmers and not their fundamental interests, which are based on private property. This is just as true for other classes. A Communist Party cannot, therefore, be a many-class party; it cannot be a mere representative of "oppressed"; it cannot exist in a country where

there is no working class, because the Communist Party is the representative of the proletariat. The Program of the Communist International declares that the "Party is the vanguard of the working class," that it "unites the revolutionary workers, who lead the millions of oppressed and exploited against the bourgeoisie," that the Communist International is the "international organization of the working class, the embodiment of real unity of the revolutionary workers of the whole world." Nowhere in these careful and precise expressions, do we find any justification for the absurd formulation in the present platform.

In 1928, the Communist Party had an election Platform. If one were to examine it, he would undoubtedly find errors and shortcomings, but not the enormous ones contained in the present one, in spite of the fact that the 1928 platform was written by the "opportunists" who have been expelled and replaced by the politically empty but obedient "leaders" today at the head of the Party. And it is quite characteristic that, whereas the present platform begins with a bombastic (and wrong) declaration on the Communist Party, the 1928 platform very correctly begins with a current issue, carries thru a competent indictment of capitalism, and leads the worker to the conclusion that only the Communist Party offers a way out. This difference is quite characteristic of the change which has taken place in the Communist Party since 1928 and expressed in the current platform, a change which has brought great damage in our movement, and which it will take a long time and much effort to counteract.

Medicine And The Workers

COMPENSATION LAWS AND WORKER

by Medicus

This is the last article in the series, "Medicine and the Working Class," by Medicus.—Editor.

The various workmen's compensation acts were enacted as a result of long struggle of the labor movement and they are supposed to be for the benefit of labor. Yet many of the provisions of the workmen's compensation acts have turned out distinctly to the benefit of the bosses—with the help of unscrupulous doctors. First, the worker gets his disability benefit only after a week's illness. This was done with a purpose, because the greatest majority of accidents are small ones and cause disability of from one to four days a week. This immediately robs the worker of a week's pay.

Second, the disability benefit is very small, usually between \$10 and \$15 a week, generally the former.

Third, whenever the boss is not insured (an offense against the law) or when the insurance company refuses to pay, you can appeal to the compensation board. But the board is so composed that, from my own experience as a physician, and from the experience of other doctors I have spoken with, the worker almost always loses his case.

Fourth, and this is very important, the greatest majority of the insurance companies have the right, according to law, to compel the injured worker to get treatment from the doctor employed by the company. The company employs doctors, keeps up clinics and even a number of beds in certain hospitals. If a worker needs an operation as the result of an accident, he must be operated by the doctor hired by the company and in the hospital kept up by the company. The significance of this may not be obvious to everybody, but it is important. By not permitting another doctor to step in to the case the company makes it hard for the worker to get medical support if the case ever comes to court. Furthermore the companies employ the "greatest" professors, men with professional chairs in medical universities and big chiefs in hospitals. These medical brains are hired by the insurance companies, car companies, and railroad companies; they are paid high salaries (\$7,000 to \$10,000 a year) for doing very little work but simply for the use of their great names in beating every case which comes to court. What chance remains for a worker whose case is taken to court when a great authority, the author of medical books and a professor of a medical college, steps out against him? None at all!

It is these company-employed professors who treat the injured workers like dogs, insult them, browbeat them, threaten them and send them back to work.

In this connection I well remember some incidents which have left an indelible imprint on my mind.

For about 2 years I was connected with a hospital in the coal region. In that hospital the coal companies, the Hudson D & L, and others, not only had their surgeons but also had special beds which were always filled with torn-up miners and treated only by company doctors. When an injured miner was brought to the emergency ward, the nurse was to call the doctor on the payroll of the coal company, and no other doctor was

allowed to touch him even tho the patient be in pain.

I well remember the scenes in the clinic where the company doctors used to torture, laugh at and browbeat the injured miners. I still see with my mind's eye the half-starved coal diggers, suffering from miners asthma, pressing their fists against their chests to control their pain during an attack of cough which would bring up quarts of expectoration mixed with coal and blood. The company doctors would threaten these miners with arrests "for faking disease" and "playing sick" and then send them back to work, probably with the thought in mind that the work would kill them off quickly and the company would not have to pay them any more, as they would have died a natural death.

Another incident I'll never forget. A very intelligent young miner, resembling Pat Tooley. His leg had been torn clear to the knee and could not be found. The company doctor trimmed it around and put him to bed. I ventured to suggest to the doctor the administration of tetanus antitoxin, to prevent lock-jaw. But the company doctor probably wanted to save a few dollars for the company, and replied that it was not necessary. Within twenty-four hours the young man died in agony from lock-jaw. If probably paid the company better to have him dead.

So serve the high priests of the medical arts. To the sacred healers the alluring sound of gold is very powerful. When you look at our medical profession you see the chaos and breakdown of the capitalist system. The capitalist system not only starves the worker and throws him out of the factory but also lets him die from scores of diseases without offering him medical aid and medicine. The body of the working class is bleeding from a thousand wounds and no help comes, while 80,000 doctors are sitting in their pigeon-hole offices waiting for patients, their mental and physical powers stagnant, atrophying with disuse, working at about 10% or less of their ability. Between the idle, unemployed doctor and the sick worker who needs care, stands the ruinous capitalist system.

Over 80,000 doctors all over the United States are starving in spite of all their rackets, rackets forced upon them by circumstances. Still worse. Look at our hospitals: the same devastating hand of the capitalist system is seen here. Beautiful structures, highly expensive marble, fixtures and rugs, fitted up to stir some idle rich to give donations. Spacious buildings and entire floors used for job-holding administration offices and "social work." The hospital should serve the needs of the masses. But what do we see?

Here is my hospital with a capacity of 380 beds and only 80 beds for surgical and medical ward cases. Entire floors of private and semi-private rooms luxuriously furnished are vacant all the time because the leisure rich are not sick frequently or long had their surgeons but also had special beds which were always filled with torn-up miners and treated only by company doctors. When an injured miner was brought to the emergency ward, the nurse was to call the doctor on the payroll of the coal company, and no other doctor was

A Twist, a Turn Back Again!

In the Freiheit of August 7, 1932 there appears a very significant article, unsigned and therefore all the more official, headed: "The Industrial Needle Trades Workers Union, 1930 to 1932." The whole article is worth reading for the light it casts upon the turns and twists, the ins and outs, of the trade union policy of the Communist Party. But surely the following is most significant:

"At the convention of the union in 1930 a serious mistake was made in this question. In the attempt to combat the liquidation policy of the Lovestonites, the union adopted a policy of isolating itself entirely from the masses of the workers who are still in the reformist unions. It was considered enough to characterize the reformist organizations as company unions and no attempt was made to distinguish between the social-fascist leadership of these unions and the masses of the workers who are members of them. The result was that the Lovestonites took advantage of this and utilized the left and dissatisfied elements who were ready for a struggle against the reformist leaders."

Very unwillingly, very uncertainly, with every possible attempt to hide the issue, yet definitely nevertheless, the writer of the article is forced to confess that: (1) the "Lovestonite" policy was substantially correct; (2) the N.T.W.I.U. policy was false and sectarian; and (3) as a result of their correct policy the "Lovestonites" made headway among the needle trades workers.

But now consider these words, only a few inches below the paragraph just quoted:

"Among the leading comrades of the left oppositions (the T.U. U.L. groups in the reformist unions.—Editor) there is still a tendency to continue their activity along the same line that was followed in 1925. These comrades forget that in 1925 the general economic and political conditions were quite different from what they are today. They forget that in 1925 the reformist unions were not social-fascist, as they are today. They forget that then we still believed that perhaps these unions could be reformed..."

What shall we make of this? Apparently, the reformist unions are, in spite of all turns, "social-fascist unions." Apparently, the task is still to smash the reformist unions, for we are told, they cannot be reformed. Which and we believe: the repudiation, even tho partial, of the sectarian dual-unionist tactics in the former of the two quotations or the vigorous reaffirmation of these tactics in the latter?

According to census bureau report illiteracy percentages for all age groups were lower for native whites than for foreign or mixed parentage. The percentage of illiterates for native whites was 10 to 14 years the illiteracy percentage for foreign-born whites was likewise lower than for native whites of native parentage, this being also due to the largely urban character of the foreign-born white population. The census bureau defines as illiterate any person 10 years of age or over who is unable to read and write in any language.

The percentage of illiteracy for Negroes and foreign-born male and female is much higher than for the country as a whole. But the bureau takes no trouble to explain the reason for such a condition. Doesn't the bureau know that the overwhelming majority of the Negroes have either lived or still live in rural districts? Is it unaware of the jim-crow schools? And isn't it well known that the foreign-born also come from peasant countries without adequate educational facilities? Then why the silence on this phase and such emphasis upon the defense of the native-born of native parentage?

The poor, but 90% of the money has gone to fix up the floors and rooms for the rich. All the campaigns that the hospital makes go to cover the running expenses of the vacant private floors.

The doctors of the staff are bombarded with letters asking why they do not send in enough semi-private and private room patients, but their ward patients are refused. Still worse. Of the 80 ward beds in my hospital there are only eight free beds, the rest of the patients must pay between \$10 and \$21 a week. It may happen that thirty ward beds are vacant but you cannot place a patient who has nothing to pay. Consider it: Entire floors of private and semi-private rooms and half the ward beds vacant and my poor patient will die outside the hospital walls with no medical help at all because he has no money to pay for it!

The doctor sees it all and understands it. I never heard so much radical talk about Communism and Soviet Union as I hear lately among the doctors. It is about time the doctors realized their condition and organized a real union to fight for direct government control over medicine, as is done in the Soviet Union. But then the doctors will have to realize that in order to do the job efficiently the government itself will have to be operated by the workers!

The Economic Crisis in Indiana The Ft. Wayne Jobless Council

by Henry H. Conner

Fort Wayne, Ind. In an earlier article in the columns of the Age, conditions in Northern Indiana have been touched upon. Since then, important developments have taken place and will be dealt with in a couple of articles.

In the beginning of May, a small group of workers in Fort Wayne got together and discussed the possibilities of organizing the unemployed of that city. A small hall taking in about 150 was used for temporary headquarters and, by passing out bills and other agitation, the group soon managed to pack the place. Many tendencies showed themselves, from those that wanted to do whatever the city officials might tell them to those that wanted to kidnap the same officials, and dump their bodies on the steps of the courthouse. There was quite a strong colored element. The leadership was partly conservative; partly radical workers from the Liberty party and from the Communist Party (Majority Group).

A Clash Of Tendencies

In the beginning, the conservative element predominated. The by-laws that had been drawn up under the supervision of the county attorney made the organization an auxiliary of the charities and, among other things, made it one of the purposes of the council to "prevent a spirit of radicalism." This, however, did not reflect the spirit of the rank and file. They were simply too absorbed by the things that were to be done to pay much attention to the by-laws. Sensing this, the conservative leaders did their utmost to make the organization grow. They believed that when the bulk of the jobless came in,

the prevailing spirit would be that of the timid church-going hoosier. On the other hand, the radical element too wanted the council to grow, feeling sure that the bigger the organization, the stronger would the members feel and the more militant would they become.

There was perfect agreement that the only way to mobilize the masses was to do things that gave immediate results and that would appeal to anybody out of work, regardless of his beliefs or opinions. So a grievance committee was set up, investigating cases of discrimination against the jobless, calling them to the attention of the proper authorities, discussing ways of settling them. At the same time, the council organized collections of food and other things that the unemployed might need. The council had managed to get a larger building donated, where a distribution center was established. Small business men showed sympathy and, in addition to the building, some cash was donated, which was spent for gasoline for soliciting trucks. The unemployed themselves could furnish quite a few trucks and of course did all the work. A problem that came up was how to reward the workers. Their number grew incessantly, some soliciting, some investigating grievances around town, some keeping the headquarters in shape and some doing clerical work. After some friction and discussion, the matter was settled by the appointment of a committee that should pass judgment on all work that was done and give some small rewards out of the goods that were donated.

This work gave the council plenty of prestige and the membership kept

on growing. Granted that it didn't take much to become a member, no cards, no dues, only the signing of a name. Yet it is quite an achievement to have fifteen thousand signed up, particularly since it has been made a practise to avoid having a man and a wife sign up both, unless both worked actively in the organization. In all likelihood, this unemployed council is the largest one in the U. S. A.

With growth came strength. The authorities recognized the council as the spokesman of the unemployed and some minor demands were granted almost immediately. Previously, the grocery orders that the county had given the jobless had been equal for all married men. Now they were increased wherever the family was large and single men also got some relief, which they had not gotten before. And it soon became evident that the growth certainly increased the militancy of the council. Several motions introduced by members of the C. P. (Majority Group) were passed, most of them by sweeping majorities. One eliminated the clause about "preventing a spirit of radicalism" from the by-laws. Another made the council come out for Federal unemployment insurance. A third urged the members to support union labor and never take part in strike-breaking. At the same time, the leaders of the council moved to the hands of the rank and file thru ward committees. Finally, the rather conservative president decided to resign before he got kicked out. The new one stands for a course decided by the unemployed themselves not by local politicians and "prominent citizens."

Meetings were carried on in the different parts of town, under the auspices of the ward committees. A practice was made to have political leaders address these meetings, talking on the general political situation but without mention of candidates or platforms. These men were mainly from the two factions of the Liberty party, some from the C.P.-Majority Group, some just radical workers who had something to say. The attendance at these meetings could be counted in thousands and the spirit of the masses was soon shown to be against our present economic system. Speakers that attacked capitalism in general and the present Administration in particular got the most hearty applause while Hoover's name brought boing only. A Democratic politician who had interested himself in the council and used to talk for it, soon discovered that it did not pay to say that prosperity was right around the corner. He got no greater cheering if he told them that the people ought to get justice for themselves, guns in hands.

Marxism And The "Negro Question"

THE STRUCTURE OF NEGRO SOCIETY

Resolution Presented To National Conference

We continue below the publication of the resolution "Marxism and the Negro Question," to be presented to the coming National Conference.—Editor.

17. A large part of the Negro petty bourgeoisie is bound up, economically, organizationally and ideologically, with the Negro bourgeoisie which it aids in carrying out its specific role as the agency of white capitalism among the Negroes. Considerable sections, however, have already gone a long way in freeing themselves more or less from the spiritual domination of the bourgeoisie, or at least from the crassest bourgeois prejudices. The social outlook of these sections of the petty bourgeoisie has hitherto been marked, quite inevitably considering their class position, by its lack of consistency and resolution, by its grave inner contradictions, by its endless vagaries, by its extravagant oscillations from one extreme to another, by its fantastic utopianism combined with an equally fantastic "practicalism"—but all within the framework of the basic bourgeois preconceptions. Especially characteristic is its strange faith in the belief that the "Negro question" can be solved within the frame-work of capitalism, perhaps by the benevolent whims of the white capitalists themselves. At one time, Garveyism, an essentially reactionary philosophy based on an inverted form of the "white supremacy" gospel of the white masters and shot thru with the crassest demagoguery and the grossest charlatanism, had considerable hold over the lower middle class elements of the large Negro cities. Now Garveyism is happily dead. Today the Negro intellectuals and professionals are lost in the absurd utopia of creating a self-contained Negro economy thru utilizing the "organized buying power" of the race or thru some equally efficacious means. The capricious and ever-changing vagaries that dominate the Negro petty bourgeoisie are a certain indication of the gulfs that exist between it and the masses of the Negro people, the peasants and workers, whose interests are poles apart from the unreal fantasies of the small man or professional. Its estrangement from its own people with the consequent lack of political and social stability, is unquestionably the greatest inner weakness of the Negro petty bourgeoisie.

18. As has already been pointed out the Negro farmers in the South (where the bulk of the Negro people and the vast majority of the Negro farmers are to be found) are not "free" farmers in the capitalist sense

of the term. They occupy an intermediate position between "free" farmers and slaves—a semi-free position this is the basic element of the caste status of the Negro people in this country. They are practically no Negro agricultural capitalists and almost as few wealthy farmers. The vast majority of the Negro farmers—whether tenants (and the proportion of tenancy is very high) or nominal "owners"—find themselves in the category of the poorest of the poor, exploited in pre-capitalist and semi-feudal forms of exploitation (peonage, share-cropping, etc., in many cases even forced labor). The Negro agricultural worker is not a "free" laborer in the bourgeois sense; he also toils under semi-slave relations of exploitation. On this basis, a superstructure of caste oppression has been raised of incredible viciousness. The most elementary form of economic organization is prohibited under penalty of death (the cases of the Phillips County, Arkansas, and the Camp Hill, Alabama, share-croppers unions).

19. Yet even here the wave of Negro migrations and the experiences of the World War have had an immense effect. The bleak seclusion, the dreary isolation of decades, the hopeless desolation, was broken. A vigorous breath of fresh air swept thru the poisonous atmosphere of the Old South. The vision of the Negro peasant was suddenly and immensely enlarged; intimate contacts were established with the world, something were done, the council would have to take matters in its own hands, and set the evicted back in. This brought forth a temporary injunction against evictions and, when that expired, other arrangements were made. The county obligated itself to pay the rent temporarily and to find new quarters. It is worth noting that the council has introduced two bills in the State legislature pertaining to this question. One calls for a moratorium on mortgaged landlords that are threatened with foreclosures; the other one for tax-exemption for landlords whose tenants are unemployed. Thereby, the council has gotten some important allies in the struggle against evictions.

It will be evident from the above that the authorities in the city of Fort Wayne have shown themselves rather "lenient" in their dealings with the unemployed and their organization. However, out of town when a township official tried to have the unemployed carry on some unpaid work, the council took charge of things and no tool was ever moved on the job in question. A demonstration is being planned at the time this is written.

20. The Negro proletariat is primarily to be found in unskilled and semi-skilled capacities in large-scale basic industry. Altho he has become a proletarian he has brought his caste status with him; he occupies a position of distinct inferiority in the scheme of things in industry. He has no access to the more desirable situations; he is hindered in his approach to skilled or semi-skilled jobs; he is forced into the least paid and most menial occupations; he is discriminated against in wages and working conditions. His recent peasant background and his lack of collective experience in the labor movement are expressed in his backwardness in class consciousness and in his indifferent or even negative attitude on many of the basic questions of the class struggle. (This tendency is, of course, helped by the antagonistic attitude of the white workers and labor leaders). The white worker and Negro class has not been slow in utilizing this backwardness of the Negro workers and the antagonism between the Negro and white workers in their attacks on the labor movement and on the working class as a whole.

21. Yet in spite of all temporary circumstances, the Negro proletariat constitutes historically the natural leadership of the Negro people in its social struggle in American society. The leading role of the proletariat within the Negro people is made inevitable by the inner processes of capitalist production which thrust the proletariat to the fore of modern society, organize it, stimulate its class

The Practice Work Of The Council

This spirit also manifested itself in the practical work of the council. In the beginning, all the goods were passed out only over the signature of the county trustee who had to do with the county relief. By and by, the sentiment grew that the unemployed knew better themselves what they needed than the county trustee did and a change was made. Now, the leaders of the council have taken the distribution of goods and every day, about twelve hundred persons get their baskets filled at the headquarters of the council. Goods totaling \$600-\$800 are passed out daily.

Also on the question of evictions the attitude was changed. In the beginning, all the council had done was to find new quarters for the victims. By the beginning of July, however, a committee called on to get more, establishing a fund for something were done, the council would have to take matters in its own hands, and set the evicted back in. This brought forth a temporary injunction against evictions and, when that expired, other arrangements were made. The county obligated itself to pay the rent temporarily and to find new quarters. It is worth noting that the council has introduced two bills in the State legislature pertaining to this question. One calls for a moratorium on mortgaged landlords that are threatened with foreclosures; the other one for tax-exemption for landlords whose tenants are unemployed. Thereby, the council has gotten some important allies in the struggle against evictions.

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But no doubt the council has its (Continued on page 4)

consciousness, widen its political horizon, and give it that collective self-confidence, solidarity and consciousness of aim which are the necessary attributes of class leadership. The emergence of the Negro proletariat as the leader of the Negro people still remains for the future but the creation of the modern Negro proletariat, thru the great migrations, is certainly the most significant event in the history of the Negro since the days of Reconstruction. (Continue in the next issue)

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JAY LOVESTONE, Editor  
WILL HERBERG, Managing Editor  
B. D. WOLFE, Associate Editor  
ALBERT BELL, Business Manager  
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BEN GITLOW, Secretary

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Saturday, August 20, 1932.



## ALL EYES ON THE RAILROAD WORKERS!

**A** GAIN the eyes of American labor, organized and unorganized, are turned upon the railroad workers. A conference of Eastern company presidents, acting in concert with the companies of the West, has announced their determination to put thru another wage-cut, of at least 5%, to supplement the 10% general cut that went into effect last February. The "earnings" of the companies, we are told, have been further hit by the last year of acute crisis and, of course, the workers are forced to bear the burden. And so the stage is being set for a repetition of the disaster of last December.

Last year, it will be recalled, the railroad companies came out with a similar bill of particulars, loudly bemoaning their "poverty" and demanding that the workers "share the burden." The masses of the railroad men arose in spontaneous resentment and the union officials announced their opposition. Workers in all industries looked with keen interest upon the proceedings for the key position of the rail workers was fully appreciated. Well organized, as such things go in America, with the great traditions of resistance to the offensive of capital in the crisis ten years before, the railroad workers were regarded with great hope; it was well understood that a victory of the railroad unions against the wage-cutting drive, or even a good courageous fight, would constitute a tremendous victory for the whole working class of this country, desperately pressed by the crisis, while a surrender or a half-hearted struggle would deal a bad body blow to the labor movement and would be an invitation to capital to tighten the screws all around.

The famous December 8 conference of the 1,500 union chairmen came and went. To the consternation of the workers, to the indignation of the union members and against the opposition of some union officials even, the wage-cut was accepted without a struggle! But it was fervidly announced that it would be the "first and last" cut, that to accept it would operate as a sort of "guarantee" against any more slashes in the future. The railroad men were dissatisfied, grumbled a great deal but, in the end, acquiesced.

And now comes the demand for another 5% wage slash. Again the workers are indignant. Again the railroad unions, with the brotherhoods in the lead, announce their opposition to this insolent demand of the companies. At a union convention a short time ago, William Green emphasized that the "federation takes its stand now against a cut in the pay of the railroad employees." But last year these same declarations of "opposition" prepared the way to surrender. Will the same tragedy-comedy be repeated now? It depends upon the railroad workers themselves and upon the railroad workers alone! Have they learned the lesson of the disaster of last December? Will they now demand more of their leaders than vague promises and empty gestures? Will they make their own will clear enough and definite enough and determined enough to prevent or to scotch any sleight-of-hand tricks of their officials?

Upon the organized railroad workers and upon their representatives rests a momentous responsibility. A decision for militant resistance against the attacks of capital will even now bring a breath of fresh life into the entire labor movement and may mark a real turning point in the immediate situation of the whole working class. Another surrender will only inspire and encourage the capitalist class to new and more fierce assaults on labor and will surely intensify the demoralization with which the labor movement has been afflicted for some time. Which will it be?

All eyes on railroad labor!

## WILL THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY LEARN NOW?

The recent Reichstag elections in Germany registered the first noticeable Communist gain since the 1930 elections, even though the rate of gain is still far behind that of the Nazis, and the total Communist vote is considerably less than half of the Nazi total. As compared with the low point reached by the Communist Party in the run-off Presidential elections, the vote increased by over one and one-half million. The Communist Party was able to absorb practically the entire Social-democratic loss of over 600,000. In Prussia, the Communist gains were even more significant.

What is the explanation for this upturn in Communist strength? Undoubtedly, the official explanation of the Party leaders will be independent leadership, "struggle against social fascism," "vindication of Party line" and "complete bankruptcy of the renegades." This is the usual rubber-stamp explanation and is today even more false than usually. This explanation negates the results of the elections and the positive activities which brought them about.

For several months before the elections there were indications of the beginnings of a change in tactics by the Communist Party of Germany in the struggle against Fascism. The Party participated with the Social-democratic party in the demonstration against the suppression of the "Vorwaerts." In many localities the Party participated in the formation of anti-Fascist united front organizations which included the so-called "social-fascists" and even the "renegades." In Prussia the Party issued a general appeal to all labor organizations and their leaderships for the establishment of a united front struggle against Fascism. All these moves were a concrete, even the insufficient demonstration to the workers of the renewed readiness of the Party to participate in a common labor struggle against Fascism, as against its previous demand for a "united front around the Communist Party." When the Social-democrats rejected the proposal for a united front, then the responsibility for splitting the ranks of the workers rested with them, whereas previously, they had been able to utilize the Communist Party's negative position for placing the responsibility upon the Communists. It was these new tactics which enabled the Communist Party to convert previous losses into some gains and to gain particularly at the expense of Social-democracy. It is not accidental that the biggest gains were made in Prussia, the only state where the Communist Party made a specific and direct appeal to other labor organizations for an anti-Fascist block. Had this been done on a national scale, more consistently, more energetically and, above all, had this been done in the past four years instead of merely in the past four months, the situation in Germany might have taken a different turn and the position of the Communist Party would certainly be much more favorable.

It is the Communist Opposition which has consistently advocated the united front tactics as the most effective not only for mobilizing the workers in the struggle against Fascism but also for rallying them in support of the Communist Party. At the present time, with the resistance of the workers to the Fascist terror rising, with the mood for struggle developing, these tactics are all the more timely. The beginning made recently must be followed up and continued on a wider scale.

Should the German Communist Party leaders become "dizzy with success" as a result of these elections and intensify the ultra-leftism which marked the Party's course in the past four years, then these small gains will be wiped out, but the Party will be more isolated than ever, rivaling even the isolation of the Fischer-Maslow era.

If the Party leaders are unable to learn from failure, perhaps they can learn from success. The success is due to the partial abandonment of the ultra-left course and the partial adoption of the policies of the Communist Opposition. The few steps taken before the elections point in the proper direction. The Party membership must see to it that this road is followed consistently and speedily and consciously.

# The World Struggle of the Opposition Results of the Int'l Conference

from "Gegen den Strom"

The report of the International Conference of the Communist Opposition is from Gegen den Strom, the theoretical organ of the German Communist Opposition.—Editor.

Berlin, Germany.

On July 2, 3, 4, and 5 there took place in Berlin the conference of the International Union of the Communist Opposition. The order of business was: (1) The world political situation and our attitude to the Comintern and the Soviet Union. Reporter: Thalheimer (Germany); Co-reporter: Kilbom (Sweden). (2) Our attitude to centrism and to Trotskyism, national and international. Reporter: Lovestone (U. S. A.); Co-reporter: Bringolf (Switzerland). (3) Organizational matters and the extension of our organization. Reporter: Brandler (Germany).

On Our Attitude To The C. I. On the first point of the order of business Comrade Thalheimer reported for two hours; in this report he explained and defended the viewpoint as developed in our recent draft theses. Comrade Kilbom (Sweden) spoke for an hour and a quarter and developed the standpoint of our Swedish comrades. He specifically declared that he stood firmly on the basis of the Platform of the International Communist Opposition. The proposed draft of the German comrades and the report of Comrade Thalheimer, however, he thought, weakened our criticism of the Communist International and its individual sections. He read extracts from our March 1930 Open Letter to the Communist International and proposed that the concrete conditions for unity in this document be included in the new Comrade Kilbom described in detail the collapse of the Comintern policy in the most important capitalist countries. From this he concluded that we must not weaken our criticism but, on the contrary, strengthen it. He declared that the Swedish comrades were not ready for unification with the Communist International merely on the basis of the recognition and the realization of democratic centralism but demanded more substantial assurances, changes in the statutes of the Comintern which would remove in fact, Stalin's monopoly of Comintern leadership. The Sillen-group in Sweden (the Comintern-party.—Editor) is carrying on a destructive policy with the support of the Comintern and with it there is possibility of reaching an understanding but only the sharpest struggle.

In this discussion there participated: Lovestone (U. S. A.); Bringolf (Switzerland); Voelkl (Czechoslovakia); Falk and Arne Ording (Norway); and from Germany, Bolze, Hausen, Ely Bruecker, and Brandler. Bringolf and the Norwegian comrades supported the standpoint of Comrade Kilbom. Comrades Lovestone, Velki and the German comrades defended the draft theses. As against the statement of the Swedish and Swiss comrades that they had the impression that the C.P.G.-O. was weakening its criticism of the Comintern and of the C.P.G.-O., it was argued that this was not the case at all. The change of language in the theses and in the report was to be explained by the changed situation. The German comrades declared, with the agreement of the Czech and American comrades, that they did not want to retract a single word of the Open Letter of March 1930 and that they had no objection to including in the theses the unity conditions there enumerated. Today, however, it was insisted, the old formulations are inadequate because the C.P.G.-O. has made a big step forward. The political estimation of the situation and of the consequent tasks as made by the C.P.G.-O. in 1928-1929 has been completely confirmed by events. The ultra-left course is beginning to disintegrate, all the Comintern's methods of abuse and violence to the contrary notwithstanding. The half and quarter "turns" put thru by the C.I. and the C.P.G. leaderships, limping after events, on the question of the united front and trade union policy, have not led to the rehabilitation of the movement because these leaderships have shown themselves fundamentally incapable of understanding their own errors and of really correcting them. Broad sections of members and sympathizers of the C.P.G. are beginning to appreciate this, very slowly but surely. With full sincerity they are calling for reunification. We must be able to give an answer to this concrete situation. The growing collapse of the ultra-left course in Ger-

many will necessarily have extensive consequences in the various sections and in the Comintern. It is therefore necessary not to capitulate but to continue fighting for our standpoint with even greater vigor.

Without the cooperation of the C.P.G.-O. the C.P.G. cannot go thru a real turn, leading to the rehabilitation of the Communist movement. The old functionary cadres have been destroyed and even the Party leadership willing to carry thru a real united front policy, which today it is not, it would not be in a position to do so. In the C.P.G. bitter factional struggles are breaking out which, in connection with the clique fights in the bureaucratic apparatus, are greatly weakening the Party. The C.P.G. has no bases of support in the reformist proletarian mass organizations. What-ever Communist positions are still maintained are held by the comrades of the Opposition. Therefore it is no more than a consistent application of our platform and of the March 1930 Open Letter to place before the C.P.G. as the only conditions for unity, democratic centralism and the collective readmission of the expelled members in the C.P.G.-O.

In connection with the viewpoint of the Scandinavian and the Swiss comrades, it was pointed out that this attitude might be regarded as strongly resembling the standpoint of the former minority of the C.P.G.-O., a standpoint basically different from that of the Platform of the International Communist Opposition. If carried to its logical conclusion it must imply that the Communist International and its sections are no longer to be reformed, are hopeless, and that a new party and therefore a new International without the Party of the Soviet Union, must come into being.

The Scandinavian and the Swiss comrades declared themselves very decisively against any idea that they represented a basically different viewpoint—a viewpoint for a new party and a new International. The German comrades were, however, making a mistake, they declared, in carrying over their relations to the situation in the International as a whole. The German, American and Czechoslovakian comrades replied that they were not trying to do this at all except insofar as the German conditions were of decisive significance for the other countries.

In the special conferences with the Scandinavian comrades and in the editorial commission these questions were discussed in even greater detail. The result of these conferences was a new formulation of the resolution, without, of course, any basic modifications. The Platform of the International Communist Opposition and the March 1930 Open Letter remain as the basic documents determining adherence to the I.C.O. and the resolutions adopted at this conference are to be regarded as concretizations of the old standpoint.

On Centrism and Trotskyism On the second point on the order of business, our attitude towards centrism and Trotskyism, Comrade Lovestone reported. He defended the draft theses before the conference and the delegation instructions of the American Opposition. Comrade Bringolf said that he had no intention of making a separate co-report; he merely declared that the Swiss comrades were of the opinion, in regard to the conflict in the C.P.G.-O., that the majority was indeed basically incorrect and an altogether too sharp tone adopted towards it. He declared specifically that the Swiss comrades condemned the passage of Walcher, Froelich, etc. to the Socialist Workers Party. He was of the opinion, however, that more clever tactics might have prevented the organization of the S.W.P. altogether. Comrade Voelkl (Czechoslovakia) showed, on the basis of Czech experience, how dangerous was a policy of "collecting" all sorts of contradictory elements agreeing among themselves only in what they are against. Comrade Lovestone showed also, on the basis of the experiences of the discussion on centrism in America, that the standpoint of Comrade Bringolf was incorrect.

As against the contention of the Swedish and Swiss comrades, in particular, that such a detailed resolution on Trotskyism was not necessary because in their countries the Trotskyites were altogether without significance, Comrade Lovestone pointed out that numerically this was true also for the United States and other countries but that the Trotskyist viewpoint must not be judged by the numerical strength of its organized

adherents but that it must be judged for what it is—a broad, unclear mass sentiment, anti-Soviet in its logical conclusions.

In the editorial commission the resolution on Trotskyism and centrism was broken up into two.

### On Organizational Questions

On the third point on the order of business, Comrade Brandler reported quite briefly. He pointed out that the work of the International Communist Opposition has hitherto been completely inadequate. It is impossible that the German group should be able to carry on the international work alongside of its own activities which are enough to absorb its forces. He proposed that the conference should decide upon a minimum of organizational tasks but that the decisions arrived at should be unconditionally carried out. This is to apply to dues payment as well as to reports. For financing the work of the I.C.O. an international drive should be organized. The various groups should assign certain comrades for connections with the bureau so that, on the basis of an accurate knowledge of the special conditions in the various countries, effective international work will be made possible.

The Platform, the March 1930 Open Letter and the resolutions of the conference, it was decided, should be published in pamphlet form in the German, French, Swedish and Norwegian languages.

In conclusion the conference decided to issue a manifesto to be published in the same languages as the pamphlet. The conference expressed its regret that the Alsatian comrades could not be represented at the conference because of Comrade Mourer's delay with parliamentary work. The conference took a position on the vote of Comrade Mourer in the French Chamber supporting the resolution of confidence in the Herriot ministry. The decision on this point reads:

"The second session of the bureau of the I.C.O. has learned from the *Neue Welt* that Comrade Mourer supported the vote of confidence of Herriot in the French Chamber. The conference declares unanimously that this act cannot be reconciled with our Communist principles. "The bureau directs to the Alsatian comrades the request to correct the attitude of Comrade Mourer and to report to the bureau about this."

The Iberian Communist Federation (the opposition party in Spain) had been invited to the conference for the purposes of information and for expression of opinion. From Comrade Joaquin Maurin, the secretary of the Federation, there came a detailed report about the activity of this organization. He greeted the conference and declared he was sorry that a delegate could not be sent because of lack of means. The conference empowered the bureau to answer in detail and to maintain connections with the Spanish comrades. The conference also greeted the fact that it finally proved possible to establish connections with a group of English oppositional comrades. As members of the small working committee were elected Comrades Brandler, Leo and Thalheimer. It was further decided that the bureau should meet every half year and that the European sections should be obligated to send a representative to these meetings.

A declaration of greetings came from the Austrian comrades, regretting their inability to send a representative because of lack of means. They put before the conference in writing their proposals for amendments to the theses. A proposal signed by four Austrian comrades urging the rapid reestablishment of Communist unity on the basis of the readmission of the expelled without insisting on party democracy was unanimously rejected. Also the proposal of the majority of the Austrian group for close collaboration with organizations such as the I.L.P., the Norwegian Labor Party, etc., was rejected unanimously.

The second conference of the I.C.O. succeeded, after a sharp discussion, in settling the differences and arriving at clear and binding decisions. In organizational matters, decisions were reached which, if carried out, will make possible better work for the future. It was a very fruitful gathering. Good work for the rehabilitation of the Communist world movement was accomplished.

## THE JOBLESS COUNCIL IN FORT WAYNE

(Continued from Page 3)  
by pointing out that so far only \$140 in cash had passed thru the treasury of the council and that most of this had been spent for gasoline for soliciting trucks. Further it was pointed out that the council had no paid officials whereas the Chest had, until recently, a \$10,000-a-year man. Neither did the council sell donated goods for administration money, such as the Chest had done. The council-baiters then became silent with notable suddenness, when they learned how their newspaper was booted and derided in the meetings of the council. In all likelihood, the big shots in town, the leaders of the Chamber of Commerce, were scratching their heads, pondering what the devil they can do with this monster of an unemployed council.

## BOOKS

**LA REBELION DE LAS MASAS**  
(The Rebellion of the Masses), by Jose Ortega y Gasset. Revista de Occidente, Madrid, 1930.

This book has been announced for publication in English this Fall. The author edits *El Occidente* of Madrid, a magazine of literary criticism. Like the other Spanish "intellectuals" of the "Generation of 1898", Ortega y Gasset has chosen the essay as the form for his literary and pseudo-philosophical themes. Some of his criticism is amusing, often well-written, but full of the astonishing contradictions that have captured the imagination of this entire group, long under the influence of that master of paradox—Unamuno. None of his work is very profound. When, however, he leaps from the field of letters into political philosophy he meets with complete disaster.

"The Rebellion of the Masses" is an undigested mixture of old wives tales, worn out legends and political superstitions seasoned with two decades of after-dinner gossip. Life's preachment uncertainty with it contributes altogether to the rise of the "common man." The topics of great interest would include—the rise of the masses, the superiority of liberal-democratic government over proletarian rule, the weaknesses of present day Marxism, and the meaning of the Russian Revolution.

The writer seems to be under the impression that the masses control the present destinies of this world and paint in somber colors the evil that awaits us because the masses "will not heed the chosen minority of cultured intellectuals." In his own words (page 76): "If this type of human being should continue to rule the destinies of Europe, three decades would lead the world back into barbarism."

He discusses with great "erudition" the reasons for his belief in the utter incapacity of the masses to rule. In proof he offers his description of their behavior in crises (page 187): "In times of hunger the popular masses search for bread and their usual method is to destroy the bakeries. . . . This is a symbol of their behavior before the civilization which nourishes them. . . . When the masses act for themselves, they have only one law—the lynch law. . . ." "Mass man has no plot of life and is therefore unable to construct anything but his power and opportunities be limitless."

In his views of "liberal-democratic" government the author seems to be writing of another world. He is altogether unaware of the complete bankruptcy of the bourgeois political machine. He deplores the "quick disappearance" of the masses from the visible worlds created by "liberalism in politics." He asks us to recall, especially today "that liberalism in politics is the apotheosis of generosity: the right which the majority grants the minority—the noblest cry that has been heard on this planet" (page 116).

This same "genius for analysis" he applies to his discussion of Marxism today. He stresses the philosophy of Marx expresses complete contempt. He is thoroughly unfamiliar with original Marxist doctrine. Thus: "Marxian Socialist doctrine takes it for granted that their desired future world must come inexorably. Tricked by this belief the Marxians have lost their alertness, their agility and their effectiveness. Thus they have let life escape through their fingers and today exist as wanderers about the world, lost, with no definite direction" (page 4).

In his attempt to describe the Russian Revolution we find how thoroughly ignorant is this Spanish intellectual: "What is altogether inconceivable to me is how a Communist in 1917 launched himself upon a revolution which is in form identical with all the revolutions that have gone before and which have not corrected a single error or defect of the past. For this reason there is nothing historically interesting in the Russian Revolution. It is a monotonous repetition of the eternal revolution—it is, in fact, the supreme commonplace of revolution."

All this is on a par with the rest of the information handed out. The book is a product of learned ignorance, endlessly stressing the type of opinionated stupidity. It is much more poorly organized than this brief summary would suggest. It bristles with fear and hatred of the masses in revolt—the resentment of a petty-bourgeois philistine faced with events too big for him to comprehend. And yet, Ernest Boyd's, "fanous American literary critic," has pronounced "La Rebelion de las masas" one of the greatest books produced in Spain during the post-war years!

At present, Ortega y Gasset and his group of intellectuals furnish the ideology for the political charlatanism of the Spanish Republic. A close reading of this book will help to explain why it is that the Spanish workers and peasants have nothing to hope for from such leadership and why they are finding it necessary to scrap these intellectuals, forge their own leaders and make their own revolution.

ELLEN WARD

## BETWEEN HAMMER AND ANVIL

Picked Up On The City Streets

Will Schroeder, Jimmie Walker's private physician and head of the Sanitation Commission, proposes to issue a magazine for street cleaners with voluntary obligatory subscription at \$1.00 a year.

The magazine is to contain poems, stories, department personals and instructive reading matter.

Suggestions follow:

- "Around the World with Mayor Walker", by William Schroeder, Jr.
- "Keeping the Boy Friend Fit".
- "Refuse Found in Tin Boxes", Sheriff Farley.
- "Sewage Disposal at the City's Beaches or Bathing as a Fine Art", (Poem by Gertrude Stein).
- "My Pile . . . and How I Made It."
- "How to Live on \$22,500 a Year."

### Book Review

Jimmy Walker's reply to Roosevelt has been called by critics "the best novel of 1932".

It is written on the basis of the "stream of unconsciousness" theory.

Its author is the first on record to have collected all royalties in advance of publication.

It has all the appropriate characters, incidents and plots for a novel of the underworld. Its only technical defects are a lack of verisimilitude, a lot of unexplained clues and an unsolved riddle—the mystery of Mister Sherwood. When Simon and Schuster publish the novel, their publicity campaign will begin with a prize offered to the reader who makes the best solution of the disappearance of Russell Sherwood.

The motto of the book is: Too many gifts spoil the Mayor! or: "Never look a gift tax in the mouth."

### Henry Enjoys The Depression

Henry Ford on his sixty-ninth birthday thinks "these are the best times that the world has seen in many years—they are teaching us something."

They're teaching us how long a man can go without eating and not die of starvation, and how long a whole nation can starve amidst plenty and not revolt.

### Progress of science is evidenced in the following:

"The child under 10 years old whose 'mooring' most nearly resembles a cow will receive a gallon of milk and a gallon of ice cream at the Dairy Day exercises held under the auspices of the Dairymen's League."

The Frankfurter Men's League should follow with a contest in barking like a dog and the apple-sauce canners should arrange a competition between capitalist political candidates.

### Dulce Est Pro Patria Mori

William J. Hushka, after going thru hell in the trenches of France without being shot by the Germans, returned to America to be shot by order of the President of the United States by American troops. While he was alive the government wouldn't give him work, unemployment insurance or even a loan on bonus money coming to him. Instead they gave him poison gas and cold steel. Now that he's dead they're giving him a funeral with full military honors. He died at the hands of "his country."

1917: "Nothing is too good for the boys!"  
1932: "Give 'em hell!"

The bankers had nothing coming to them but they got a loan of two billions. The vets had bonus coming to them and wanted to borrow against it. They got tanks, machine guns, bayonets, sabre and gas bombs.

In 1917 they were promised "a world fit for heroes to live in."

In 1928 they were promised "a chicken in every pot and a car in every garage."

In 1932 they were given a gas bomb in every shack and a bayonet in every rib.

The President, who was going to abolish poverty, has ended up by trying to abolish the poor instead.

When Eric Carlson died of wounds received when "our" army attacked the B. E. F. the War Department made public his service record.

"Eric Carlson. Enlisted in the U. S. Army on April 29, 1917, assigned to Troop D, 18th Cavalry. Sailed overseas on April 23, 1918, served in the Chateau-Tierry sector; Marne defensive; Aisne-Marne offensive; St. Mihiel offensive; Meuse-Argonne offensive. Returned to the United States on May 30, 1919, honorably discharged June 4, 1919, at which time his character was recorded as very good."

To which we must add: "killed by his country while unarmed and asking for bread, July 31, 1932."

B. D. W.

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