

Workers
of all
Countries,
Unite!

WORKERS AGE

For
Communist Unity
in the
Revolutionary
Class Struggle!

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AND FARMERS

VOL. 1. No. 9.

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Workers Age Builders

THE AGE ASSOCIATION MEETING

The Workers Age Publishing Association was definitely organized on March 10, 1932. The following officers were elected: President—Benjamin Gitlow; Treasurer—J. O. Bentall; Secretary—Ida E. Rose.

The meeting decided that the report on the editorial policies of the WORKERS AGE shall be given by its editor, Jay Lovestone, at the next meeting of the Association. This meeting will take place at Annah's Armenian Restaurant, 89 Lexington Avenue, near 27th Street, on April 1 at 8 o'clock in the evening. A delightful Armenian supper for 50c will be served. Members of the Association should make their reservations immediately.

The New Workers School held a meeting of the student body on March 11. Thirteen shares were sold. The New Workers School bought in addition ten shares. This was a very good beginning.

A meeting of the needle trade workers will be held soon at which meeting the question of the WORKERS AGE will be considered. A large number of needle trades workers are expected to buy shares and become members of the Association.

Buy your shares now and join the Workers Age Publishing Association. Shares are \$5 each and may be bought on the installment plan.

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1. "Short Stories Out Of Soviet Russia."
2. "Social Implications Of Art," by Diego Rivera.
3. "Lenin," by D. S. Mirsky.

HUGE MILLINERY STRIKE IN N. Y.

Stoppage Wins Conditions If Enforced; New Union Regime Necessary

New York City.

A general stoppage of all millinery workers of this city, uptown, downtown and midtown, of all branches of the trade, operator, cutters, trimmers and blockers, was called out at 10 A. M., March 17, by the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union and by Local 24 of the International. The response was very good; at least 11,000 came out as the strike was called, by far the most decisive part of the trade in the city. The big overflow meetings at Mecca Temple right after the stoppage began, meetings at which 5,000 at least were present, showed the splendid spirit of the workers.

The conditions of the workers in the millinery trade had been growing worse and worse for many months. The contracting evil had become widespread and undermined all standards. The slogan of a general stoppage to root out the contracting evil, to restore union conditions, to wipe out the racketeers, to establish the minimum wage, etc., had been raised by the Millinery Workers Progressive Center which had called upon the membership of the union to put pressure to bear upon the union leaders in this direction. The union leaders, on their part, had concluded on March 1, a collective agreement with an association of manufacturers now numbering about 100 and employing 4,000-5,000 workers, thus surrendering the strong position of the union against the individual manufacturer and providing the employers with a sharp weapon, organization, to use against the workers

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The Results of the German Elections

The table below gives a picture of the results of the 1932 Presidential elections in Germany as compared with the 1930 Reichstag elections:

PARTY	Vote	% Total	Vote	% Total	% gain
Parties which in 1932 formed the Hindenburg bloc (S.-D., Center, State party, etc.)	20,158,000	60%	18,662,000	49.5%	-7%
Nazi	2,401,000	19%	11,328,000	30.0%	77%
Nationalists	2,458,000	7%	2,518,000	6.0%	0.2%
Communists	4,588,000	14%	4,982,000	13.0%	9%
TOTAL	33,605,000		37,490,000		12%

The only decisive victors in the elections are the Fascists, the Nazis. From 19% of the total in 1930, they jumped up to 30% in 1932. Whereas the total vote cast in 1932 increased only 12% over 1930, the Nazis increased their vote by 77%.

The parties that in 1932 formed the Hindenburg bloc (Social-democrats, Centerists, Peoples party, Economic party, State party, Bavarian Peoples party, Agrarians,

Christian-Socialists, Conservatives) received in 1930, 60% of the votes, while in 1932, they got only 49.5%. Whereas total votes increased 12%, the Hindenburg bloc vote decreased 7%. The Nationalist vote remained almost the same which, with an increasing total vote, means an actual loss.

The Communist Party received in 1930 14% of the vote; in 1932, 13%. Whereas the total vote increased 12%, the Communist vote increased only 9%—an actual loss!

House Forced to Adjourn As "Revolt" Cripples Tax Bill and Threatens Sales-Tax Measure

LaGuardia Leads In "Explosion Of Demagoguery"; High Surtaxes And Income Tax Rates Passed; Leaders In Compromise To Save The Sales-Tax.

WASHINGTON.—An increase of present estates tax to a degree designed to yield new revenue amounting to \$500,000,000, was the fourth achievement of the insurgents in the House of Representatives. By a vote of 190 to 149, the House, on March 22, voted to increase the estate tax to a minimum of 45%, applicable to net estates over \$10,000,000. The present law provides a maximum of 20% and the Crisp bill proposes 40%.

Washington, D. C.
March 21, 1932.

Unable to stem what the conservative *New York Times* aptly calls an "explosion of demagoguery" on the part of the majority of the voting members of the House of Representatives, the leaders of both parties summarily adjourned the House early on March 20 to prevent any further dismemberment of the Crisp-Mills revenue bill and to give time for a "return to the insurgents" in the effective application of caucus whips. The adjournment is to last until Tuesday, March 22.

Opposition to the sales-tax, the most offensive section of the new revenue bill unanimously recommended as a "bi-partisan measure" by the house Ways and Means committee, had been growing rapidly among the rank and file of the Democratic Representatives and among a good section of the Republicans, in response to the unmistakable signs of the unpopularity of this measure among the masses of the people—and in an election year! An opposition Democratic caucus and a LaGuardia "progressive" group, under the name of "Allied Progressives", began to be organized and established an informal working arrangement. On March 18 the "rebellion" began. As the bill was being considered in the committee of the whole and amendments were being taken up, Representative Swing (R., Cal.) offered one to impose surtax rates of practically the war-time level, with the maximum 65%, applicable to net incomes of more than \$5,000,000. The Crisp committee recommendation had been 40%. Swing carried his amendment by a vote of 153 to 87.

In quick succession followed an amendment of LaGuardia (R., N. Y.) carried 121 to 81, to raise to 7% the present 5% rate on incomes above \$8,000, the committee's proposal having been 6%, and an amendment for the repeal of the provision allowing American firms doing business abroad to deduct the amount of taxes paid to the foreign government from that due in the U. S. A. The second amendment was scotched by a hasty adjournment. It came up again, however, the next day and was passed by 139 to 103.

It proved impossible for either Speaker Garner or Democratic leader Rainey or the Republican leaders to stem the revolt on the floor and so an adjournment for several days was pushed thru on the ground that the House was in no condition to transact business. LaGuardia and the other insurgent leaders agreed to the adjournment. The low total vote should be carefully noted. Over 190 members either

did not vote or were absent. This is certain to prove of great significance when attempts at reconsideration of the recent action of the House come to be made later on, as they are almost certain to be.

The Democratic leaders, who have official control of the House, were greatly disturbed at the "insurrection" in general, and especially at the danger of the sales-tax measure. Democratic leader Rainey declared that in passing the amendments "we have made a longer step in the direction of Communism than any other country in the world ever made except Russia!" Representative Swing, on the other hand, a leader of the insurgents, remonstrated that "the action of the House is the greatest insurance against Communism. Communism thrives on grievances and flagrant discriminations. . . ."

The Republican members held together rather better than the Democrats under the party whip, a caucus of 175 having been held on the evening of March 18 under the direction of Republican leader Snell. But most of the Republicans apparently abstained from voting in the House.

With the adjournment the work of whipping the insurgents into line has begun. Negotiations, "compromises," "threats," "pressure," "hints" from party bosses at home are all under way full speed and when the House reconvenes, the picture is expected to be considerably different.

"The revolt" of the rank and file Representatives, especially those of the Democratic party, really is essentially an "outburst of demagoguery". The Crisp-Mills bill was deliberately contrived by the leaders of both parties and by the financial representatives of trust-capital as a means of overcoming the treasury deficit at the

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Here's an Example to Follow!

The spirit of this letter is the spirit that every worker and friend of the AGE should show in this crisis. If we could mobilize the loyalty and devotion shown by the comrade who has written this letter, then the AGE would grow rapidly and win the influence it deserves.

We ask you to read this letter and reveal it! It should serve to inspire all of us to do our duty and move in the drive to build the AGE, to get subscriptions and support—immediately!

March 21, 1932

Dear Comrade Lovestone:
Thanks for your letter. You are asking whether I am still alive. It is worse than that, I am living, but just like dead. I am sorry that I did not renew my sub. for the WORKERS AGE

50,000 Miners Out in Dist. 1, Anthracite; Strike Spreads to Dist. 9; Police Terror Grows; Vratovic, Others Jailed

FORGE ACT VOIDED BY DE VALERA

Chamberlain Issues Threat Against Oath Repeal And Annuity Suspension

DUBLIN.—The Irish Free State Executive Council suspended, on the evening of March 18, the Public Safety Act (the Force Bill), and abolished the military tribunals under this act. The ban on all republican and Communist organizations was also removed. Several score prisoners sentenced under this act have already been released.

A British "warning" against all attempts to carry out the main points of the DeValera program, especially the repeal of the oath and the suspension of land annuities, was voiced in a semi-official form by Neville Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the same night.

DUBLIN.—A program of four points has been announced as the immediate parliamentary platform of the new Fianna Fail government. These four aims are: (1) A merger of Northern and Southern Ireland into one state; (2) the removal of the oath of allegiance to the British crown; (3) an end to the payment of land annuities to Great Britain and a claim against the British government for the restoration of 30,000,000 pounds already paid; and (4) the suspension of the Public Safety Act (the Force acts) at the next session of the Executive Council, pending its repeal by the Dail.

The Labor Party demand that social questions come up for immediate

10000 IN FUNERAL OF FORD DEAD

Workers Honor Massacre Victims; Ford-Murphy Fight Sharpens

DETROIT.—About 10,000 workers participated in the big mass funeral of the victims of the Ford massacre, the workers slaughtered by the Dearborn police and Ford guards in the machine-gun attack upon the Hunger March a few days ago. The mass funeral, which took place on March 15 attracted considerable attention among the Detroit workers.

The fight between Ford and the Murphy regime in Detroit has grown more acute. The Murphy administration, utilizing the Dearborn massacre for its own political advantage, has issued a circular accusing Ford of responsibility for the slaughter. At the same time the Ford office has sent out a statement declaring that Mayor Murphy was responsible because of his "facity" in Detroit, that is, because he allowed the Hunger Marchers to parade thru the city!

From our correspondent in Detroit we have received the following report as to the circumstances connected

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JAPS FOR WAR ON SOVIET UNION

Tokyo War Minister Asks For Reinforcements In Manchuria

TOKYO.—Even larger Japanese forces for Manchuria, as preparations for a war against the Soviet Union, were demanded by General Sadao Araki, the Minister of War, in a speech before the Diet on March 22. No opposition whatever to the General's proposals was noticeable in the lower house and the govern-

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Company Controlled Government Outlaws Picketing; U.M.W.A. Leaders Help Coal Company By Attacking Strike; T.U.U.L. Also Joins In Strike-Breaking

(From Our Special Anthracite Correspondent)
Wilkes Barre, Pa.
March 21, 1932.

Over 50,000 miners are on strike in District No. 1 of the Anthracite organization of the United Mine Workers of America, according to the official report presented to the general mine committee today. The strike is also spreading in District No. 9.

Out of 75 local unions reporting, 61 are definitely on strike and the collieries closed down. Seven are working full-time and seven are working 50%. There are some locals in the district from which there are still no reports.

This morning 175 additional State troopers arrived here from Harrisburg, Butler and Greengrub.

(An account of the events that led to the big Anthracite strike and the issues involved will be found in the article on page 3)

After the strike call was issued on March 14, 1932, by the joint mine committee in District No. 1, mass picketing started. The first week of this mass picketing was a hard fight between the City and State Coal and Iron Police and the miners. Many miners were badly hurt by the police clubs; hundreds were jailed.

After the sheriff's proclamation, outlawing mass picketing, three mine workers were arrested by the Wilkes Barre city police. Frank Vratovic was arrested at No. 5 Colliery of the Glen Alden Coal Co., South Wilkes Barre. John Emerishack and Joseph Stash were arrested also by the Wilkes Barre city police at North Wilkes Barre, at Prospect Colliery, Lehigh Valley Co. The last two paid \$10 and costs each (because their wives were scared about them). Frank Vratovic was released after spending 17 hours in the city jail. This mass picketing brought good results as shown by the new forces joining the strike. Some of the locals which were under the influence of the coal company and the district officials of the U.M.W.A. at first refused to take action on the strike, but when they were forced out, then they took a vote to stay out on strike!

In some cases where mines were closed down one day by the pickets, the next day the bosses organized the men they controlled in blocks of 15 and 25 men, to march under police protection, through the pickets to work.

The strike now has about 30,000 out of about a total of 65,000 miners in District 1; about 20,000 miners are totally unemployed and others partly employed. The strike has been spread into District 9. The general mine committee voted for the strike in that district. Tuesday March 15, the vote was taken on the strike which went into effect Thursday, March 17, and since then mass picketing succeeded in closing down 80% of that district.

The mass picketing threw the coal company's county sheriffs and local government all in a panic. They began issuing statements appealing to the public, scaring pickets, and, thru these means, they hoped to break the strike. The district officials of the U. M. W. A. have done their best in the direction of breaking the morale of the strike. Will they succeed in this? It depends upon the courage and energy of the joint mine committee leaders.

The so-called "rank and file committee" (T.U.U.L. cover-organization—Editor) is losing out in the joint general mine committee and among miners proper. The reasons are: 1. Stupid sectarian policy; 2. Lack of leadership; and 3. Composition of forces.

For instance at Local 458, Malthy, which is affiliated with the "rank and file committee" and had their so-called "committee of 25" elected long before this strike, they held a special meeting to consider the strike. At the meeting Mike Kosck, vice-president of District No. 1, was given the floor to speak against the strike. Shipley and Shuster, representatives of the strike and joint general mine committee, were excluded from the meeting. The result is that they are today working full-force. The local also decided to organize into a big group and march to work!

leaders of the Republican party are conducting a vicious campaign against any form of unemployment relief, even the most indirect and insignificant.

The attitude of the governors, at a time when at least 10,000,000 workers are jobless and many times more are starving in this country, can only be compared to the traditionally callous attitude of the French aristocracy on the eve of the great revolution when the masses of the people were in the throes of starvation and misery.

"EACH HIS OWN BURDENS!"



"NO STARVATION!" SAY GOVERNORS IN ATTACK ON JOBLESS AID

Executives Deny Mass Hunger As Tens Of Millions Are In Direst Misery; Pinchot Dissents And Attacks Congress; Only Mass Struggle Can Win Relief!

In an attempt to defeat the \$132,000,000 emergency highway construction bill, already passed by the Democratic House of Representatives and now before the Senate, the governors of 37 states have sent telegrams to Senator Bingham of Connecticut

denying that there is any starvation at all in their states, or even that there is any special emergency as a

result of the economic crisis! Only one of the governors, Pinchot of Pennsylvania, declared that in his state the families of 1,000,000 unemployed were "in practical starvation." The statement reads:

"At least 1,000,000 people are unemployed in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia gives \$4.38 per family per week for relief. That is practically starvation. Relief given in many other places is far less. Underfed children have increased 30% in Pennsylvania schools in one year. Suffering is widespread, but no one has enumerated the starving. Unemployment is costing Pennsylvania wage earners a billion dollars a year; I regard refusal of stand-pat Democrats and Republicans in the Senate to give relief to suffering people after giving \$2,000,000,000 in a dole to big business as the most scandalous and indefensible preferring of money to human beings in my experience."

The governor of Minnesota in his reply had nothing to say about the ravages of starvation in his state, altho he admitted that there are at least 150,000 unemployed, outside of the farm population. The secretary of Governor LaFollette of Wisconsin simply answered that 200,000 were out of work.

No replies were received from Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Rhode Island, Washington or New Jersey, while New York, Alabama and the others reported that "accurate statistics are not available."

On the basis of these "reports" the

at the rate of 6c per hour and they work from eight in the morning till 7 or 8 in the evening. Besides that, they are taking bundles of dresses home where they toil late in the night in order to make a few more cents. The sewing machine which I bought from Comrade . . . in Pennsylvania for two dollars is in use now.

Now the "Public Service" company has sent me an ultimatum that if my gas and electric bill is not paid by March 24, my light will be turned off.

Comrade Lovestone: I am ashamed to state that I can't send you more than 50c but it is the best that I can do.

With comradely regards,

If it was not for my comrade wife, I don't know where we would be today. My wife is working in a sweat-shop here in . . . as operator where she is getting 16c for sewing of one dress. If she makes one dollar a day she calls it a good day. Unexperienced operators are paid

I. L. D. REJECTS UNITY ON MOONEY DEFENSE IN ANTHRACITE MEET

A Letter From The Anthracite

Wilkes Barre, Pa. The Tom Mooney Conference which was called by the I. L. D. on March 6, was held at 139 South Main Street, Wilkes Barre, Pa. Before the conference took place all energies were employed by the I. L. D. to get the organizations and their delegates affiliated to the Anthracite Free Tom Mooney Conference to withdraw. The I. L. D. Conference credentials committee reported forty-six fraternal organizations with 897 members, one local union, two rank and file delegates and one delegate from the General Committee of the Rank-and-File. The committee estimated that the 53 delegates present represented 19,000 members. This, of course, is an exaggeration, of the number of fraternal organizations as well as the membership of the conference. The credentials committee failed to read the names of these so-called 46 fraternal organizations. The fact that this was an exaggeration can be further proven by the fact that only thirteen more organizations were added to a former committee of 12. Out of these, seven that were selected definitely declared at the opening of the conference that they were not delegates and did not represent anybody.

The conference was composed of Party members and close sympathizers, except for very few who took a critical attitude towards the conference and its dual appearance to the one already in existence. The conference machinery was organized in a typical Party fashion. The Party organizer, Scott, was elected chairman and Carson, another Party organizer, reported for the committee, other Party organizers were placed among the delegates to make it appear whenever necessary to answer questions, that those who answered were simply rank and filers. Among such was Leon Plotz, district organizer of the Philadelphia district. Excitement at the conference appeared when Comrade Vratariac was nominated on the resolutions committee and was of course, defeated. After the report of Carson, discussion took place in which Comrade J. Stanley was the first to take the floor. No sooner did he open his mouth to make criticism of Carson's report, than the whole hall was in an uproar and tactics such as the Lewis machine gun plays were used: "Sit down! you're out of order! Out with him!" Comrade Stanley could not do anything else but criticize Carson's report because in Carson's report he lied and slandered the Anthracite Free Tom Mooney Committee and its leading members.

After a few other delegates spoke, Comrade Vratariac rose for the floor and then the excitement began again. M. Loucharevich, one of the leading Party members, who combined with the reactionaries in the fraternal organization (C. F. U.), raised the question of limiting time and the motions were for ten, eleven and fifteen minutes and finally eleven minutes were given to Comrade Vratariac. After six minutes he was interrupted and told that his time was up. He finished and protested at not having been given the time that the conference had decided upon. Finally he was called back again by the chairman to make up his time. Before and after his talk, bona fide delegates of Local 1174 United Mine Workers of America had protested against the tactics used at the conference. All kinds of abuse was used against them and those they defended (Vratariac and Stanley), among the other names words of "stool-pigeon" could be heard. On the report of the credentials committee delegates of Local 1174 U.M.W.A. declared their withdrawal from the conference.

Among the resolutions adopted at the conference was one condemning the Anthracite Free Tom Mooney Committee and calling "fakers" and "stool-pigeons" all those affiliated with it. Finally their united front was exposed, when the following resolution was presented by Comrade Vratariac and was rejected by the conference, six delegates voting for the resolution.

"Whereas, the effective struggle of working masses for the freedom of Japanese for war on Soviet Union

(Continued from page 1) ment's proposals were voted unanimously. Meanwhile the breakdown of parliamentary government in Japan is admitted on every side and strong tendencies, with support in powerful circles, are making themselves felt for the establishment of a military dictatorship.

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NAZIS RAIDED IN PRUSSIA

S. D.-Center Government In Futile Gesture On Eve Of Prussian Vote

BERLIN.—In a panic at the certain defeat facing it in the coming Prussian elections, the ruling Socialist-Center block organized, on March 17, a series of raids on the various headquarters of the National-Socialist (Fascist) party in Prussia. Certain of Hitler's demagogic and bombastic putsch plans were brought forward as the official excuse. The raids resulted in practically nothing since the most important police officers are uniformly in sympathy with the Nazis.

Adolph Hitler, with a great show of indignation, directed the "charges" of the Prussian government and asserted that the Nazis intend to ascend to power "in a perfectly legal manner." General Groener, the Reich Minister of the Interior and of the Defense, also protested unofficially against the attacks upon his half-ally, Hitler.

BERLIN.—Theodor Duesterberg, candidate of the Stahlhelm and Nationalist (Hugenberg) party in the recent Reich-Prussian elections has withdrawn from the lists for the second elections (April 10) with the statement that his supporters are released to vote "for whom they please." It is understood, however, that the unofficial advice is to vote for Hitler, although the orientation of a section of the Stahlhelm toward Hindenburg makes impossible an official pronouncement.

THE "REVOLT" IN THE HOUSE

(Continued from Page 1) expansion of the masses of the poor population, especially the workers and the farmers. So flagrant and so obvious did it appear that quite unexpected protest arose in many parts of the country. This being an election year, and an election year of quite extraordinary importance for the Democrats, the Democratic members are quite "sensitive" to widespread protest, especially from the farmers and small business men. Hence the readiness to "revolt." Laguardia, with his consummate demagogic skill and cleverness at intrigue, easily became the instigator and the "insurrection" was on. The Republicans, not at all displeased at the prospect of having the Democrats discredited first with Big Business, on account of their "unreliability," and then, later on when "sobriety" returns and the business of reconstruction begins, also with the masses lent more than a little help to the "revolt" by their tactics of abstention.

Of course, neither the old-guard leaders nor the insurgent demagogues hold out anything to the working masses of this country or care anything about them. Both saw it their intention to save the broken-down capitalist system that is the source of all the misery and poverty of the masses. The party leaders believe the emergency is big enough for the most pro-capitalistic measures; the insurgents believe more demagogic and more radical phrases, more "progressive" trainings are necessary, in view of the elections. Neither side

FORCE ACT IS VOIDED BY DE VALERA

(Continued from Page 1) consideration, has apparently not been headed. Serious friction is to be expected. At the same time DeValera has issued a "warning" to the radical republicans that with his own accession to power their activities are to "cease." The antagonisms between the reformist nationalists of the type of DeValera and revolutionary nationalists of the Irish Republican Army, are now coming to a head. While the reforms that the DeValera regime is intent on introducing, are to be welcomed, it must be clear that the reformist road of DeValera is not the road to Irish freedom. Only a broad, militant national struggle of the Irish people under the leadership of the Irish working class can bring emancipation to Ireland.

MAKE EVERY READER A SUBSCRIBER TO WORKERS AGE

my, are now coming to a head. While the reforms that the DeValera regime is intent on introducing, are to be welcomed, it must be clear that the reformist road of DeValera is not the road to Irish freedom. Only a broad, militant national struggle of the Irish people under the leadership of the Irish working class can bring emancipation to Ireland.

MANILA.—Prison sentences were imposed on March 14 on 125 members of the Filipino Tugang society, a secret nationalist-revolutionary peasant organization, in connection with the suppressed uprising of last December. The charge against them was "conspiracy to commit rebellion". The sentences ranged from one to six years imprisonment and fines of \$100 to \$3,000. Patricio Reyes, the leader, received the maximum penalty.

The Tugang society is only one of the many spontaneous peasant revolutionary organizations arising continually to fight against the incredibly oppressive agrarian conditions in the islands. The landlords and village users are supported by the imperialist power of the United States, and therefore the agrarian revolutionary movement is immediately transformed into an anti-imperialist struggle against Wall Street.

ANTHRACITE AND SOVIET COAL A NEW BOSS PLOT

by Peter Gallia

Plains, Pa. The Soviet-baiters of this region are at work again. All the reactionary forces, the Chambers of Commerce, the coal barons, the American Legion, the priests, helped by the officers of the U. M. W. A. and of other A. F. of L. organizations, are all together. All together they are crying for an embargo on Russian coal. These reactionary forces, with their false propaganda and lies, are trying to convince the politically backward people to go around with petitions for an embargo. Some local unions have even passed resolutions on the subject. A few locals have fought this petition of the coal barons but until now I know of only one local that went 100% against.

What is the purpose of this move, this united front of all reactionary forces? These reactionary forces know that the workers are starving and that before they starve dead they will fight. They therefore try to keep the sheep together by crying: "Wolf!" "Your misery comes from Russia," they say. The terrible Russian government forces the workers in Russia to work for nothing. The Russian coal is being mined by convict labor. Let us stop Russian coal from coming into this country and your misery will be over." And many workers believe. Who controls the minds of the workers here? The priests! Of the workers in this region we can say truthfully that they are 95%—controlled by the priests. The church is the school of labor hatred. The capitalists use religion for

the purpose of keeping the workers slaves and for using them against the Workers Republic, the Soviet Union. Let us see the economic side. The Soviet government imported from this country in 1931 machinery to the value of \$103,000,000 and exported to this country goods worth \$12,000,000. In 1931, 250,000 tons of anthracite were exported to this country. This means that if all mine workers worked five hours they could produce the 250,000 tons. Now consider how many workers are employed in producing the \$91,000,000 difference between Russian imports and exports. These workers surely buy coal and far more than make up for the 250,000 tons imported.

If Congress passes the bill to forbid the import of Russian coal then certainly the Soviet government will have to find other countries to export to, which means that the imports from the U. S. will stop and thousands of workers will be thrown out of work.

But the meaning of the propaganda does not stop here. The real meaning is to prepare the workers for a war against the Soviet Union. The building up of socialism in one-sixth of the earth scares the capitalists. They are determined to destroy the work before it is finished. What policies would be best to beat back all this imperialist propaganda against the Soviet Union? The majority of the workers of this region are politically backward, conservative, religious. Can we go to them with the ultra-left approach of the official Party, attacking all other organizations as Fascist organizations and separating all organizations of the workers from the Communists? No! We must have a broad policy of mass mobilization and we cannot get this correct policy without Party democracy.

GITLOW SPEAKS AT W. C. LECTURE

Benjamin Gitlow delivered a lecture on the world crisis and the labor movement before a large audience at the Labor Temple at Woodbridge, N. Y., Sunday evening March 13, 1932. The lecture was under the auspices of the Workmen's Circle. Gitlow explained the nature of the capitalist world crisis, the fact that only in the Soviet Union were the masses free from its terrible effects. He explained the role of Social-democracy and sharply criticized the number of workers in the diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union in the capitalist countries.

Symposium On Workers Education April 15

"Workers Education" will be the subject of the big symposium arranged by the New Workers School for Friday evening, April 15, at the Labor Temple, 14th Street and Second Avenue.

The four participants in the symposium are: Spencer Miller, Jr., Professor George S. Counts, A. J. Muste and Bertram D. Wolfe. Spencer Miller is the head of the Workers Education Bureau which is the educational institution supported by number of workers in the diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union in the U. S. Government and the extension of a large long-term loan to it.

A Swell Alibi

Sheriff Farley admits taking the interest accruals on funds in his charge but says: "I don't spend the money, I put it in the bank, so I could return it if wanted. That's a swell alibi for the next year; that cracks a safe. Let him deposit the proceeds in the National City Bank. Then he can say he's keeping them in case the owner should want them back."

"DUAL UNIONISM"

LECTURE BY JAY LOVESTONE SATURDAY 1 O'CLOCK March 26, 1932 at Stuyvesant Casino 142 SECOND AVENUE Sponsors: United Progressive League



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MILITARISM AND THE YOUTH

Lenin Shows The Way!

By March 13, 6,000 young workers and students had applied for enrollment in the Citizens Military Training Camps of the Second Corps Area, embracing New York, New Jersey, and Delaware. The quota allotted for this district is 7,500. Training in these camps does not begin till July. Major General Dennis E. Nolan has reported an unprecedented flood of applications for this summer military training camps. What is taking place in this district is most likely taking place in other parts of the country. Undoubtedly unemployment has driven a great number of young workers to the C.M.T.C.'s.

What should be the attitude of the young workers to military training? What stand should the Communist youth take on this question? Some have answered this query by an attitude of complete opposition to any military training at all. This has been the attitude of the pacifists, and of the Young Communist League for a time.

This question can best be answered by reprinting Lenin's article on disarmament which appeared in the collection: "Against the Stream": "If the oppressed classes do not make efforts to learn to use and possess arms, they deserve to be treated like slaves. For it is obvious that if we are not to become bourgeois pacifists or opportunists, we have to bear in mind that we live in a society composed of different classes, and that there is no way out except thru the class struggle and by wresting power from the ruling class. . . . Our slogan should be: Arm the Proletariat for the purpose of overthrowing, expropriating and disarming the bourgeoisie."

This is the only possible tactic for the revolutionary class, a tactic which is the natural outcome of the entire objective development of capitalist militarism, and which is decided by this development. Only after the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie, will it be able to throw all arms on the scrapheap without being false to its historical task. Only then will the proletariat be able to do this, and there is no doubt but that it will succeed.

"It is the business of the bourgeoisie to develop trusts, to drive children and women into the factories, to torment and deprave them here and condemn them to dire poverty. We do not "demand" this kind of development. We do not "support" it, we fight against it. But how do we fight? We know that trusts, and women as factory workers, mean progress. We do not want to go back to handicraft, to pre-monopolist capitalism, or to women working at home. Let us advance forward, thru these trusts, etc., and yet further.

"This reasoning, which takes into account the objective trend of development, may also be applied, with the necessary alterations, to the present militarization of the people. To-day the imperialist bourgeoisie let themselves be scared by militarization of the youth, if they bear in mind the example of the Communists. . . ."

"At present militarization is permeating all social life. Imperialism is the relentless struggle of the great powers for the partition and repatriation of the world. It must therefore inevitably lead to further militarization in all countries, including the neutral and small ones. How will proletarian women react to this? Will they restrict themselves to cursing all wars and everything pertaining to them and to demanding disarmament? The women of the oppressed class, really revolutionary, will never rest content with such a shameful role. They will say to

their sons: 'You will soon be grown up. You will be given rifles; take them and learn how to use them. Military science is indispensable to proletarians, but not for shooting at their own brothers, or at the workers of other countries, as in the present war, and as you are advised to do by the traitors. You must learn how to fight against the bourgeoisie of your own country, so as to put an end to exploitation, poverty and wars, not by pious resolutions, but by overthrowing and disarming the bourgeoisie.'"

"Unless we carry on such propaganda, which is more necessary than ever in connection with the present war, it would be as well to cease using fine phrases about international revolutionary Social-democracy, or about revolution and war against war."

It is the task of the Communist youth to carry on agitation not against military training, but against the uses to which it is to be put. We must teach the young workers to become class-conscious and, once they become revolutionary, their military training will be of tremendous value in the revolutionary struggle.

10000 IN FUNERAL OF FORD DEAD

(Continued from page 1) with the Ford massacre. *** At the meeting in Danceland Auditorium that preceded the Hunger March, everything was all right. Foster, Schmieles, and others spoke for the purpose of getting the people to turn out for the demonstration in fact out for what the meeting was held for. The demonstration had been advertised for some weeks and this meeting was the culmination of the activities for it.

The general composition of the marchers reflected the unemployed generally, automobile workers, farm work market clerks, restaurant employees, and so on. Most of the recent employees of Fords were not there because they did not want to take a chance, hoping that they would be called in to work again. The percentage of Communist Party members among the marchers was very small.

Before the marchers got out of Detroit, Foster made a speech to them telling them to be careful so as not to be provoked and that there should be no violence, that they were only to march peacefully to the plant and to present their demands. Foster was booked to be in Milwaukee that day and he left immediately.

The tragic events of the march you already know. The official labor movement here is antagonistic to the Communists but condemns very sharply the Dearborn authorities for the massacre of unemployed workers, who only asked for a chance to work. A number of unions have already passed resolutions condemning the Dearborn and Ford police. The Mooney Conference here also passed a resolution of condemnation, a resolution which I introduced.

The Party is still functioning the same as ever, with this exception, that Schmieles, Baker and some others, whom the prosecuting attorney was looking for, are directing things from a private home. I think that the district attorney and the Ford outfit intend to prosecute if they can, for the purpose of breaking the Party. The grand jury has decided to "investigate" the case and I have no doubt that indictments will be returned.

There is no sign of terror here in Detroit but in Dearborn there's plenty of it against the Communists and sympathizers. Ford has already fired all Communist and sympathizers whom he could locate. The papers and the police report right along about the under-cover men in the Party and at the meetings and demonstrations.

C. W. B.

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The Career of a Petty Bourgeois

The Life of Adolph Hitler

by Karl Radek

(Concluded from last issue.) For, as heavy industry became convinced of the fact that the possibilities of inflation had been exhausted and that the further pauperization of the middle classes and of the working class would involve a serious and immediate danger of revolution, it decided to reach an agreement with France. For this it was not necessary to overthrow Ebert, who had already deprived himself of power in favor of General von Seeckt and who had unleashed a war against the left Saxon government. And so Stinnes dumped his "financial dictator," Minoux, his contact with Ludendorff—and he dumped Hitler. It was decided in Bavarian clerical circles that after an agreement had been reached with France there was no longer any occasion for the separation of Bavaria. And Hitler, who only yesterday had succeeded in surprising the Premier, Kahr, suddenly found himself persecuted by the Bavarian police. The savior of the nation had to flee from Munich and even to submit to arrest!

The New Hitler Program As Hitler and his followers recovered from the defeat, two things became clear to them. First, it became obvious that a much more compact and elastic independent organization of their own had to be created if they expected to be taken seriously by big industry. Secondly, it was no longer clear that no adventures against the captains of industry were to be thought of. Of course there was a certain contradiction between these two conclusions but we will soon see how this contradiction was resolved.

In order to create an organization of their own, in order to win the broad masses of the petty bourgeois and to penetrate into the workers quarters at the same time, there was required social demagoguery of such unlimited scope as to cover the most diverse sections of the population. In its twenty-five theses, the Hitler program contains the most varied promises to the most different strata of the population.

First of all it appeals to the nationalistic instincts of the petty bourgeois. Only a German of pure race can be a citizen of Germany. The Versailles treaty must be torn up and Germany must get its colonies back. But all these things had been long demanded by the nationalists as a whole and yet they had not made an appreciable impression upon the petty bourgeoisie, not to speak of the working class. And so Hitler adorned his program with social ornaments. The state must provide the conditions for "the economic advance of all citizens." "Should it be impossible to feed the entire population of the Reich, then all inhabitants of non-German origin must be expelled from Germany." "The abolition of unearned income! The destruction of usury-slavery!" "We demand the nationalization of all hitherto already socialized concerns (trusts)." "We demand profit-sharing in big concerns."

"We demand the creation of a healthy middle class and its maintenance. We demand the nationalization of the big department stores (chain-stores, markets) and their leasing out at low prices to small tradesmen, the greatest consideration for all small tradesmen to be given by the state, the provinces and the municipalities."

Such demands were most energetically propagated in the National-Socialist press. In tens of thousands of meetings agitators waved their program around like a flag. It was made to show that they wanted to protect all poor elements against the exploiters. Up to today the Angriff bears the slogan: "For the oppressed—against the oppressors!"

The Social-democrats tried with the help of bourgeois scholars, to convince the Nazis that within the capitalist system of society interest-taking and usury could not be eliminated, because lending by capitalists could not take place otherwise. They attempted to prove that big concerns, as well as big department stores, could not be rented out in pieces, because that would destroy their significance for their economic function. But naturally such arguments could not weaken the attractive power of the Nazi slogans. The department and chain-stores push the small merchant out of existence. What does the small merchant care about economic reason? Down with the department and chain-store! And what artisan in debt is not in full agreement with the abolition of debts? Quite naturally this slogan had a big effect with the peasantry, stifling under the load of debts. What was going to happen with capitalist credit, they declare, let the capitalists—and the Social-democrats—worry! The demagogic program of the Nazis won for them the broad masses of the ruined petty bourgeoisie, which remained absolutely pauperized with the end of inflation and the beginnings of stabilization.

The Consolidation of the Nazi Organization Having taken to heart the experiences of 1932, Hitler now worked not only for the extension of his influence but also for the consolidation of his organization. After the defeat of 1933 his party counted no more than a few thousand members. In July 1932 it had already risen to 800,000. Now they have at least 800,000 members, among whom are the 300,000 members of the S.A. and the S.S. (armed divisions.—Editor.) Perhaps these figures are exaggerated but even the Social-democrats, the strongest

mass party in the Reich, have to admit that in many places they fall behind the Nazis. The National-Socialist organization is essentially different from that of the usual type of bourgeois party. The ordinary bourgeois parties have no stable mass organizations. They have only an organization staff and a big press. When elections approach, the apparatus is set in motion and so they exercise their influence upon the popular masses. Aside from parliamentary elections they don't need any organization. The bourgeois parties create the legend of the free expression of the will of the voter in the elections, in the act of expressing confidence in one or another party. The National-Socialist party fights for a dictatorship, open and undisguised. Of course they don't reject any of the instruments of power of the capitalist state. But since their dictatorship is to be the terrorist dictatorship of big capital and the chief task of this dictatorship is to be the destruction of the revolutionary labor movement, it is clear that a military and not a democratic organization is requisite. Therefore the nucleus of the Nazi organization is formed by the Sturmabteilungen, military bodies trained in the art of civil war and ready at any time for armed attack. The petty bourgeoisie, following the Nazis, love to rattle the saber over a mug of beer but for real war they have no very great liking. Therefore the S.A.'s are formed not out of merchants or artisans or similar elements but out of slum-proletarians, out of unemployed workers corrupted by a

small wage, and out of students who play leaders and imagine that the S.A.'s are the future army not only of the civil war but also of the war against France. The Power of the Nazi Slogans People who have had the opportunity of being present at Hitler meetings ask themselves in astonishment: "What is the source of his influence? Why do the petty bourgeois hail him with such enthusiasm? He can not boast of one clear idea and certainly of no concrete thought-out program. He is nothing but a confused and superficial enthusiast." A well known writer notes cynically: "He possesses the courage to be banal." But who ever puts the question in this manner drops the petty bourgeois masses themselves out of consideration. For the petty bourgeoisie there are no concrete, thought-out measures that can help them immediately. With tooth and nail, they cling desperately to everything that perhaps can prevent them from being driven down to a lower social stratum, to a proletariat, although precisely this is the only real way out for them. In such a situation there is nothing for the petty bourgeoisie to do except to attempt to apply the senseless recipes of the quack Hitler and to give ear to his phrases. Never has the petty bourgeoisie had an independent political idea, never has it independently solved a political question. Therefore it looks eagerly to the idea of a savior-hero, who can do for them what they cannot do for themselves. That the

(Continued on page 4)

Again The Party Trade Union Line! THE PARTY DOCTORS DISAGREE

by B. Herman

(Continued from the last issue) Foster "Corrects" Zack Foster, in carrying out this line of the Profintern, is forced to criticize Zack in the March 1932 issue of Labor Unity and, incidentally, to heap ashes on his own head for the isolation of the Party from the reformist unions. After years of biting criticism, Comrade Foster now discovers at this late date that the workers in the A. F. of L. "are suffering severely in the crisis... a wave of radicalization and revolt is spreading in the American Federation of Labor". So the A. F. of L. unions are not "fascistized from top to bottom" any longer! Comrade Foster reads his endorsement as "useless in the class struggle for the workers." He would—if he were told to do so by the Profintern, we have no doubt.

Foster goes further and says: "Here again is a great weakness of the Trade Union Unity League. There is too much of a tendency to speak of 'their unions' and 'ours,' of 'their strikes and ours.' The consequence is that it isolates us from the masses." Zack wrote: "The A. F. of L. is the bosses labor agency." But for Foster, the "bosses labor agency" is now to be called "our unions" and its strike to be called "our". Yet on the very next page of March Labor Unity, the New York dressmaker's strike is reviewed in an editorial in which the strike of the A. F. of L. is called nothing else but a "strike in the interests of the bosses," to "defeat" the strike of the United Front Rank and File Committee! When "we" strike, it is against the bosses. When "they" strike it is for the bosses. That is the typical editorial in the magazine inaptly called Labor Unity. Zack, with his theory of the dwindling away of the A. F. of L., gives no comfort to the efforts of the Profintern to revive work within the reformist unions. Foster answers him that despite a certain loss in membership of the A. F. of L., "we must not conclude from this that the reformist unions are about to break up and that the danger of reformism is on the decline. This was a wrong tendency exhibited in the article of Comrade Zack in the January number of Labor Unity. On the contrary, social-reformism is a menacing danger to the solidarity of the workers. We may be sure that the bosses will find the way to keep it in existence until the very revolution."

Foster conceives the A. F. of L. as continuing to exist until the revolution—but only as the bosses union. This is again the theory of reformist unions as "company-unions." While correctly criticizing Zack's grotesque position, Foster leaves out of the realm of even possibility the transformation of reformist unions into revolutionary organizations. We reach the revolution and still the bosses sit up nights worrying what to do to maintain the labor movement, a labor movement that even now, in 1932, is according to Foster himself, seething with revolt. Just the reverse! The workers will find it necessary to carry on the bitterest struggle against the bosses and the capitalist government to maintain their unions, reformist or otherwise.

The Collapse of Work in the A. F. of L. For the past three years, says Foster, "the Trade Union Unity League has been exceedingly weak in

its work in the reformist unions." That is, precisely since the expulsion of the C.P.-Majority Group from the Party, precisely since the leadership of the Party was presented by the Comintern to Foster and Browder, have we seen the collapse of Communist trade union work. It is during this period that we were told by the Party loyalists that Lenin's "Infantile Sickness of Left Communism" is out of date, that the "Lovestonites" are "renegades" and worse for wanting to work in reactionary unions. When the members of the C.P.-Majority Group in the Anthracite fought against splitting away from the masses in the United Mine Workers of America, the Party leaders from Foster down to Joe Judson, called our comrades Borich, Gallia and Vratarski every name from "scab" to "traitor" in the best Party style. Now Foster unctuously talks of wrong tendencies shown in the work in the reformist unions, examples being plans to boycott the United Mine Workers of America national convention; the proposal for dues strikes (Anthracite) the formation of revolutionary branches instead of minority groups in the old unions; abstentionist attitude towards official positions in the unions (Anthracite). All this so "innocently" as if the Party policy in the Anthracite and as if he has not for three years led a shameful campaign against our comrades in the Anthracite who staunchly upheld a Leninist policy in the trade unions.

The Result of the Latest Turn The turn to renewed activity in the reformist unions as proposed by Foster and the Profintern is the ultra-left line. How does Foster propose to organize work in the reformist unions? "Each revolutionary union should establish a committee for developing the work in the reformist unions in its jurisdiction," Foster writes. "Work in the reformist unions is a raiding expedition organized by the dual revolutionary unions! This continuation of the splitting policy in the trade unions will lead to further disasters and defeats. The masses of workers in the reformist organizations will not be won over, but will be bitterly antagonized by this union-disrupting policy of the dual union brazenly organizing the disintegration of the mass organizations."

Nor will the workers discontented with the older turns in the union-splitting policies of the Party be appeased for long by the newest turns. Already, the operation of the newest turn in the dressmaker's strike in New York has resulted in a debacle for the Party's policy and a vivid exposure before all the workers of the sectarianism, disruption and bluff in the latest turns.

That Rarity—Discussion! The dispute between Foster and Zack is a wriggle between an old twist and a new in the ultra-left course of the Comintern. Some workers may be impressed sufficiently by the differences between Foster and Zack to say: "See, discussion of differences in policy is possible in the Party! The good old days are with us again!" To such workers we advise the experiment of raising within the Party not those differences arising between "old" and "new" turns but a genuine Leninist policy of working in the A. F. of L. It is our experience that they will be shut up and put out with great expe-

In the C. I.

Parliamentary Crisis In C. P. Of France

Paris, France.

Of the eleven Communist members of the Chamber of Deputies, five have been taken off the list of reelection by the Central Committee. The five are: Beron, Doebble, Berthoin, Desoblin, Freisseire. An annihilating attack has been launched against them. In two cases they refused to vote against bourgeois governments but merely abstained! In particular they did this in the proposals, finally carried, to launch an offensive against the foreign workers in France. Beron (Lorraine) was a fanatical champion against the Communist Opposition in Alsace. Berthoin has already left the C. P. because of his refusal to put him up for reelection.

The sensational developments in the Communist Chamber fraction only reflect the acute crisis in the Communist Party of France. But the removal of the five deputies is no more than a bureaucratic gesture of scapegoat-hunting. The whole parliamentary fraction is as guilty as tooth and nail, they cling desperately to everything that perhaps can prevent them from being driven down to a lower social stratum, to a proletariat, although precisely this is the only real way out for them. In such a situation there is nothing for the petty bourgeoisie to do except to attempt to apply the senseless recipes of the quack Hitler and to give ear to his phrases. Never has the petty bourgeoisie had an independent political idea, never has it independently solved a political question. Therefore it looks eagerly to the idea of a savior-hero, who can do for them what they cannot do for themselves. That the

Fight Fascism—By Letting It Triumph!

If the revolutionary workers want to know why it is that the Communist Party of Germany, with its scores of thousands of members and big resources, stands so helpless before the growing menace of Fascism, let them think over the following words of Hermann Renneke, the Communist Party leader, as given in the Rote Fahne of October 16, 1931: "When once the Nazis get into power, then will the united front of the proletariat arise and brush them aside. "They will be done away with more rapidly than any other government."

The experiences of Italy, the dictates of the most elementary political common sense, mean nothing to these "heroic" strategists of defeat! While the Nazis are not yet in power, nothing seems to be able to be done against them. But when they get into power and have all the resources of the State in their hands, then Remeneke will conjure them away with a wave of his pen! The suicidal irresponsibility here reaches the level of a crime against the working class!

Huge Election Victory For Alsatian Opposition

Strassburg, Alsace. To fill the place of the recently deceased Comrade Schreckler (Strassburg) in the General Council of Lower Alsace, elections recently took place. The Communist Opposition was victorious in the first ballot. J. P. Mourer was elected by a vote of 3,591. The candidate of the official C. P. received only 409 votes. As against the last elections (October 1931) the Communist Opposition gained 355 votes while the official C. P. lost 67.

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Lenin and the Chinese Revolution

The Revolution in China

by V. I. Lenin

The article below was written by Lenin in July 1912 in the Petersburg Bolshevik paper, Nevskaya Zvezda. In reading this penetrating article today, it should be recalled that in the present period the national-emanipulation movement in China is no longer embodied in the Kuomintang party, which has become transformed into the expression of the counter-revolutionary national bourgeoisie in alliance with American imperialism. Powerful forces of revolutionary petty bourgeois nationalism still exist in China, of course, but they are largely outside the Kuomintang and to a great extent unorganized.

The article by the Acting-President of the Chinese Republic, Sun Yat-sen, which we take from the Brussels Socialist paper, Le Peuple, is of exceptional interest for us Russians. An old adage says: "Things seem clearer from afar." Sun Yat-sen is an extremely interesting witness "from afar," for although a man with an European education, he is apparently totally unacquainted with Russia. Yet this European-trained representative of militant and victorious Chinese democracy, which has won itself a public, confronts us with purely Russian problems. These problems, moreover, are presented quite independently of Russia, of Russian experience, of Russian literature. This progressive Chinese democrat argues literally to a Russian populist. His resemblance to a Russian populist is so great that it amounts to an absolute identity in basic conception and in a number of separate expressions.

Things seem clearer from afar. The program of great Chinese democracy, which is indeed represented in Sun Yat-sen's article, compels us and gives us a convenient opportunity to view once more the problem of correlation between democracy and Populism in contemporary bourgeois revolutions in Asia, from the aspect of new world events. This is one of the most important problems which faced Russia in the revolutionary epoch commencing from 1905. And it has not only confronted Russia, but the whole of Asia, as may be seen from this program of the Acting-president of the Chinese Republic, particularly if we view this platform in the light of the development of revolutionary events in Russia, Turkey, Persia and China. Russia in many and in very substantial respects undoubtedly represents an Asiatic State, and at that one of the most barbaric, medieval and disgracefully backward of Asiatic States.

Russian bourgeois democracy bears the imprint of the Populist movement beginning with its far-off and solitary forerunner, Herzen, and ending with its mass representatives, members of the Peasant Union of 1905, and the "Trudovik" deputies of the first three Dumas, 1906-12. We now see that the bourgeois democracy of China bears the identical imprint of the Populist movement. Let us see from the example of Sun Yat-sen what is the "social significance" of the ideas engendered by the profound revolutionary movement of hundreds of millions of people who are now definitely drawn into the current of

universal capitalist civilization. Every line of Sun Yat-sen's program is imbued with a militant, sincere, democratic spirit. There is full comprehension of the inadequacy of a "race" revolution. There is not one iota of anti-political reasoning, or ever neglect for political liberty nor even the admission of the idea of compatibility of Chinese autocracy with Chinese "social reform", with Chinese constitutional transformations, etc. There are genuine democratic conceptions, with the demand for a republic. There is a direct presentation of the question of the position of the masses, the question of the mass struggle; there is warm sympathy for the toiling masses and the exploited, belief in the legitimacy of their cause and in their strength.

We see a really great ideology of a really great people, which is not only able to lament its centuries-old slavery, not only able to dream of freedom and equality, but also to fight against the perpetual oppressors of China. One cannot but compare the Acting-President of the Republic in this barbaric, dead, Asiatic China with the various Presidents of Republics in Europe, in America, in the countries of advanced culture. There the presidents of republics are, almost without exception business men, agents or puppets in the hands of the bourgeoisie, thoroughly rotten stained from head to foot with filth and blood, not the blood of mandarins and Chinese emperors, but the blood of workers, who in the name of progress and civilization have been shot for striking. There the presidents are representatives of a bourgeoisie which long ago disowned the ideals of its youth, which has prostituted itself to the last degree, sold itself entirely to the millionaires and multi-millionaires, to feudal landowners who have become bourgeois, etc.

Here we see the Asiatic Acting-President of the Republic—a revolutionary democrat, full of nobleness and of heroism belonging to that class which does not go downhill but uphill, which does not fear the future but believes in it, and self-sacrificingly fights for it—a class which hates the past and is capable of casting off the deadening rot of this all-destroying past—a class that does not cling to the preservation and restoration of the past for the sake of guarding its own privileges.

Does not this mean, then, that the materialistic West has decayed and that light is only shining from the mystic religious East? No, it is just the contrary. This means that the East has definitely stepped on to the path of the West, that fresh hundreds of millions of people will henceforth participate in the struggle for ideals that the West has already achieved. It is the Western bourgeoisie that has decayed and its grave-digger—the proletariat—is already standing by. But in Asia there is still a bourgeoisie capable of representing a sincere, militant, consistent democracy, a worthy comrade of the great teachers and great fighters of the end of the 18th century in France.

The chief representative or the most important social support of the Asiatic bourgeoisie—a bourgeoisie still capable of historically-progressive work—is the peasant. Side by side with the latter there is already a Liberal bourgeoisie whose representatives, such as Yuan Shi-kai are more capable of treachery than of anything else; yesterday they feared the Emperor and fawned before him;

BRING THE WORKERS AGE TO THE MASSES OF WORKERS

terwards when they saw the force ad felt the victory of revolutionary democracy, they betrayed the Emperor, and tomorrow they will betray the "mocrats for the sake of a deal with the old or new "constitutional" Emperor.

Without a high and sincerely democratic enthusiasm which ignites the toiling masses and renders them capable of performing miracles, such as can be seen in every phase of Sun Yat-sen's program, the real liberation of the Chinese people from age-long slavery would be impossible.

This militant democratic ideology is combined firstly with Socialist ideas, with the hope of escaping the path of Chinese capitalism, of averting capitalism, and secondly with the anning and preaching of a radical agrarian reform. It is just these two ideological-political tendencies which represent the element that sets to make up the Populist movement in the specific meaning of the term, i.e., as distinct from democracy and supplementary to democratic theory.

(Concluded in the next issue) MOSCOW.—A new department to deal with immigrant labor has been created here and attached to the commissariat of Labor, with Michael Jordan at the head. The sharp unemployment crisis in the capitalist world and the rapid industrial development in the U. S. S. R., have brought about a flow of immigration of workers into the Soviet Union. ure, it will not be my blame" (!) When this question was brought up to the joint general mine committee Duhar did not bring up his own program and did not criticize the insufficiency of these five points for the present situation.

The Workers Against The Bosses Offensive

THE STRIKE IN THE ANTHRACITE

by A Hard-Coal Miner

Wilkes Barre, Pa. On March 11, 1932 a meeting of the general mine committee was held. Prior to this a few meetings had been held where the question of wage-cuts, violations of agreement, the equalization of working time and the general unbearable conditions were discussed. Finally at the March 11 meeting, at which 125 delegates from District 1 of the United Mine Workers of America were present, a strike vote was taken and 39 locals voted for the strike and 5 against. The strike goes into effect on March 14.

The strike was called in a very hasty way; there was no preparation and no organization. The leaders of the strike are composed of the mine committees of the local unions. The committees will certainly have a hard job in getting the other 81 local unions out on strike, due to the fact that the district and International executive boards are against the strike. The general opinion among the active miners is that it would be possible to get about 75% of the miners out on strike. If this is achieved, then with a proper program, it will be possible for the miners to prevent the worsening of their conditions.

As far as the program is concerned it will be a question of the ability an organizational strength of the progressive group within the strike, whether or not they will be able to force the program thru in spite of Maloney who is opposing such a program at the present time. These progressive demands were read at this meeting of the general mine committee by Delegate Cipey from the Pennsylvania Coal Company, and also backed by all the Pittston miners and their committees. This program was proposed to the executive of the joint general mine committee and was laid over by that executive committee of which Maloney is chairman. The program of the progressives follows:

- "1. Strike for the following demands: (a) Enforcement of consideration rate in all mines in abnormal places. (b) When the miner is unable to work in his place, other work must be provided to him and his family to remain at their regular work on idle days. (c) Past practices and seniority rules to be followed. (d) No to close down mines or sections of mines and equal division of work between all miners of the same company in the Anthracite. All closed mine to be reopened immediately. (e) Company to supply the committee with list of hired men. (f) Mine bosses to discontinue threatening miners about topping of cars, the same to be determined by the union checkweigh man. (g) Against wage-cuts regardless of what form they may take. (h) Recognition of strike by all our officials or else their immediate resignation. (i) Establishment of complete democracy in the union and fullest participation of the rank and file in union affairs. (j) Against discrimination of militant union men by the company (or union officials) for their activity in the union and strike. For the reinstatement into the union with full rights of all those expelled for their militant activity. (k) No return to work until these demands are granted. (l) Together with the above immediate demands and in the course of our struggle we pledge ourselves to the rank and file miners to fight for the following general demands: (a) Solidarity with the soft coal miners in

building our fighting union free from bureaucracy. (b) For a national agreement of all miners, soft coal and hard coal, and the establishment of 6-hour day and 5-day week. (c) Fight for the abolition of topping cars. (d) Abolition of arbitration and conciliation board. (e) Abolition of the contract system. (f) Complete dissociation of our union officials from the Chambers of Commerce, Anthracite Cooperative Association and other strikebreaking agencies. (g) For complete trade union unity of all workers. (h) Officers of the union to receive the average wages of the miners and actual expenses. (i) Against appointment of field workers and for their election by the membership. (j) We stand for and pledge support to the organization of the unorganized miners. (k) We will fight together with the workers of the other industries for a system of social insurance which will fully protect the miners and other workers against unemployment, in old age, against sickness and accidents, the fund for such insurance to be provided by the government and the company and to be administered by the union."

The "rank-and-file committee", which sprang up from the National Miner's Union, the P. U. L. organization and which has been coordinating all its activities upon issuing leaflets but doing no actual work in the U. M. W. A., was in the beginning a opposition to participating in the elections of the union and to struggle to oust rotten officials. Later, however, they gained a few locals by getting the officials of the local unions to join the "rank-and-file committee".

The "rank-and-file committee" which these officials joined not because they were willing to fight rotten conditions but because their colliers' ad shut down. All this time the so-called "rank-and-file committee" was against the joint general mine committee. But a few weeks ago they cleared at the meeting of the committee at which Scott, the Organizer, got the floor and in speech he thought he was discrediting Maloney. But because of his exaggerations he really cleared Maloney. On March 5, Duhar, for the "rank-and-file committee," said as spokesman for this committee: "If it is true what Maloney says, then you are not guilty of the charges against you. Finally the executive committee of the joint general mine committee agreed to meet with Duhar and his 'rank-and-file committee. The first meeting took place on March 11. A program for the strike was supposed to be worked out. Cipey proposed a program and Duhar another and both were rejected. The 'rank-and-file committee' program contains demands which are absolutely out of question for the present strike. As a result the following demands were drawn up by Maloney and put forward as the demands of the strike:

- "1. Reopening of all abandoned collieries and equalization of work among the mines. (2) Fulfillment of the present five-year agreement by the company in the discontinuance of wage-cutting. (3) Abolition of the contract system of mining. (4) Restoration of the scale where slashes have taken place. (5) Strike to be called Monday and to affect all mines in District 1. In the meeting, Duhar and his rank-and-file committee agreed with Maloney in these demands, with the statement that "in case of strike fail-

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THE RESULTS OF THE GERMAN ELECTIONS

THE election outcome in Germany is no victory for the German or the international working class.

Given an extremely favorable situation, the working class forces made no progress. The forces rallied around the Hindenburg line were not forces of progress. They were forces of reaction in leadership and policy. This remains true to the monarchist Hindenburg, honorary president of the Fascist outfit, the Stahlhelm, has undoubtedly received several million workers votes. For this the Social-democracy and, in a measure, the official Communist Party are to be thanked!

Two results are most significant and sinister in their effect. First, the Communist Party, tho having the field entirely clear to itself as the only working class party, secured a SMALLER proportion of the total vote cast than it did in the 1930 Reichstag elections when the Social-democratic party was in the field with its own ticket as a labor ticket. The increase of over 300,000 votes by the Communist Party in the last two years, is far too small and can bring only keen disappointment and injury to the workers thruout the world. Second, the approximate doubling of the Fascist votes is certainly a smashing victory for the ultra-reactionary forces. Together with Duessenberg, the Stahlhelm candidate, Hitler polled about fourteen million votes. Undoubtedly, Hindenburg's reactionary traditions and Fascist outlook attracted several million shabby Nazi voters. Fascism is still growing, still crystallizing its strength. While this process is not yet completed, German capitalism could find no more fitting rallying symbol than Hindenburg. Everything about Hindenburg's past, present and future is reactionary, monarchist and out-and-out anti-labor. The Fascists who cast their vote for Hindenburg will not be so turned aside in the Prussian elections.

The tragedy of the German elections should teach the workers of Germany and elsewhere a very necessary lesson. It is the lesson of the urgent need of working class unity, of a genuine, broad, workers united front against capitalist reaction and Fascism. Such unity is the only way to smash the onrushing battalions of Fascist reaction. And in the struggle for working class unity, the Communist Party must be the leader, the most persistent and honest champion of unity. This the Communist Party failed to be. In fact, its whole policy in Germany has, in recent years, been a course blocking unification of the workers. It is this wrong tactical course which is responsible for the relative loss of votes by the Communist Party and for undoubtedly driving several millions of workers, greatly anxious to block Fascism, even to vote for Hindenburg as someone "less bad," as "the lesser of two evils!"

As the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) proposed nearly three years ago, when both the Trotskyites and Stalinists sneered at them, the proper Communist tactics in fighting German Fascism would be the following:

First to build a united front of all working class organizations around elementary issues (no wage-cuts, no lengthening of hours, maintenance of social services and living standards and defense of labor bodies and institutions against Nazi attacks, etc.) in order to present a common front against the common enemy, Fascism. Secondly, in the elections to present a united working class front by having a candidate for president jointly agreed upon by the Social-democratic party and the Communist party. In this fashion there would have been presented a broad working class front against outright Fascism personified by Hitler.

If the Communist Party offered such a united front to the Social-democrats the following might have happened: If the Social-democratic party had accepted this united front proposal, then the class struggle would have been much sharpened. Then Hindenburg could never have served as the rallying centre for a broad bourgeois bloc beguiling millions of workers. Then there very probably would have been developed a situation in which the open class collision between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie would have been much nearer at hand. In such a revolutionary situation only the Communist Party could come to the fore, lead the masses and proceed well on the road towards Soviet power. Under such conditions, the Communist Party would be much stronger than it is today and would be dynamic, unifying and leading force in the entire working class.

If the Social-democracy had rejected the united front offer of the Communist Party, then the "Socialist" bureaucracy would have been bared in its true role as enemies of the working class, as enemies of proletarian unity. Failing to achieve such a united front, the Communist Party could then step forward with its own candidate and make a much more effective appeal for all working class support. Undoubtedly, if this course had been pursued instead of the splitting sectarian course which the Party did follow, the Communist Party vote would have been much larger than it was.

As it is, the Social-democratic party has been given another lease of life in its treacherous policy of paving the way for Fascism step by step thru Bruening, Hindenburg and Co., with their three-fourths Fascism, to full Fascism. As it is, Fascism has moved forward another long stretch on the road to its victory. The status quo in Germany cannot continue with Fascist strength constantly mounting and reaching about fourteen millions votes in the Hitler-Hugenberg line-up. Deepgoing changes are in the making, changes which are of world-wide significance, of vital import to the workers of every country in the world.

Along what road will Germany travel? Much depends on the Executive Committee of the Communist International and the policy it decides for the Communist Party of Germany. It is not too late for the E.C.C.I. and the Communist Party of Germany to heed the warning of the International Communist Opposition and the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) to drop the sectarian course to return to the Leninist united front tactics and to unify the Communist ranks for a smashing offensive against the Fascists and the Social-democrats—the two pillars of decaying capitalism.

Let the heavy price paid in the serious setback for the revolutionary proletariat, for the whole working class, in the last German elections, teach us all. It is never too late to learn.

The Lessons of the Dress Strike

N. T. W. I. U. in the Dress Strike

by Chas S. Zimmerman

The dress strike is over. Most of the workers who came out on strike are now back in the shops. It is now possible and necessary to make a general review of the different elements in the strike, its conduct and outcome and what next.

This strike of the dressmakers was unique in the history of the class struggle in America. In it three elements, i.e., the dual unionists, under the name of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union and its appendage the United Front Committee, the reactionary bureaucracy as the leadership of the I.L.G.W.U., and the left wing and progressive elements known as the Dressmakers Progressive League and the administration of Local 22, played a vital part. The policies and tactics of all three elements were tested in this struggle. Out of this struggle the workers can learn lessons that will lead to a renewed upward march toward the establishment of a powerful union in the industry—the revival of militancy among the workers and the establishment of union conditions in the shops.

Conditions Prior to the Strike
Prior to the strike the conditions of the dressmakers had been reduced to the lowest possible level. The misery, poverty and suffering of the dressmakers, the inhuman treatment and degradation to which they were subjected in the shops, became unbearable. It became clear then to most of the workers that something drastic had to be done. It became clear that we would have to undertake not only a defensive struggle to prevent a further lowering of the standards of the workers but an offensive struggle to improve the existing unbearable conditions.

In such a situation unity in the ranks of the workers was of prime importance. It was necessary to develop a campaign of propaganda and agitation to rouse the workers of their passivity, to rout out the "What's the use" attitude prevalent among them, to inspire them with a renewed enthusiasm, to fire them with a militant fighting spirit that would draw into the struggle not only the organized dressmakers but also large sections of the unorganized workers. For the success of the strike depended largely upon the extent to which the unorganized workers would be drawn into the struggle.

Spreading Demoralization
Let us see how the different elements approached this situation. We will analyze first the policies and tactics of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, those who call themselves "lefts."

Instead of acting as a left wing should act, i.e., be with the masses of workers, inspire them to struggle, arouse their militancy, be in the forefront of the struggle, not only the Industrial Union stood aside from the mass of workers and called on the workers to leave the union to which they belonged and come over to them. They organized some of their members and sympathizers into a so-called "United Front Committee" and, under this pseudonym, they attempted, under the slogan of unity, to create further splits in the ranks of the dressmakers. How this committee was organized, of whom it consisted, we have already pointed out in a previous article. Now we will only examine the activities and propaganda of this so-called "United Front Committee," alias the Industrial Union.

Their whole campaign was centered only on spreading propaganda to lead to the demoralization of the ranks of the dressmakers in the International, on spreading pessimism and defeatism, on further dividing the ranks of the workers and on bringing about more chaos. In their anxiety to "capture" the strike their tactics led them to adopt some of the worst methods of the reactionary bureaucracy, namely slugging of opponents, and eventually even led them to scabbing during the strike of the International.

Let me prove these assertions with their own propaganda. In a leaflet issued by the Industrial Union, calling upon the dressmakers to send delegates to the "United Front Conference," on November 28, they said: "The Lovestones under the leadership of Zimmerman, use revolutionary phrases by means of which they want the dressmakers to believe that it is possible, under the leadership of the traitors in the International, to strike and win union conditions." Such a viewpoint is absolutely false and leads only to the spread of defeatism and pessimism. Do they mean to say that workers in reactionary unions with a reactionary leadership cannot carry on any struggles against the bosses for better conditions? It is enough to look back to the many struggles of the American workers in general and of the needle trades workers in particular, to prove that such a viewpoint is false. Where there is a rank and file that is aroused to struggle, they can force even the reactionary officials to carry on the struggle for better conditions. There are many instances when agreements arrived at by officials of unions were rejected and the struggle continued until better conditions were won. Another gem from the same leaflet states: "The International is bankrupt. Thru a united struggle against the bosses, you will bring about their complete bankruptcy and establish union conditions in the shops." Here again they give the workers, as an inducement to unity, the smashing of the union to which they belong. Thus they tried,

under the slogan of unity, to create more dissension in the ranks of the workers. And what about those workers who don't want to see the complete bankruptcy of the International, who don't want to smash it? For them, according to your propaganda, there is no hope. They cannot fight for union conditions in the shops. Such propaganda is stupid and harmful. It can only bring about chaos and demoralization. It certainly does not lead to a unified struggle of the workers against the bosses. It was tried before by the I.W.W., and the Comintern, under the leadership of Lenin, took a most decisive stand against such destructive propaganda and activities.

The "United Front Committee" echoed the propaganda of the Industrial Union and even elaborated on it. In a leaflet issued by the "United Front Strike Preparation Committee" we read: "Members of the International! The International is not your union. It is a union of the bosses. The strike which the International is planning to carry thru is not your strike. It will not be a strike. It will be a lock-out to worsen your conditions. Do not commit a crime against yourselves, your families, against all dressmakers." Not content with appealing in this demoralizing manner to members of the International they also appealed to the workers in the open shops. And here is how they aroused them to struggle. "Dressmakers of open shops: During the coming few days, your bosses will tell you or force you to go down on a fake strike sell-out which they, together with the International fake union, are calling. Do not listen to your bosses. Do not permit yourselves to be fooled." I don't think any comment is necessary on such propaganda. Any worker can judge whether such propaganda helps or hinders the struggle of the workers.

Strike-Call Strategy
That their main strategy for capturing the strike consisted in creating confusion can be seen from the further developments. When the International announced a mass meeting at the Mecca Temple for February 4, they hurried to call a separate meeting also at the Mecca Temple for February 3, a day earlier, expecting to catch some souls in the confusion. The same trick they tried with the strike-call. Expecting that the International would call their strike on Tuesday, February 9, they again held for February 8. Here, however, they were too quick. And also they tried to create the impression that their "United Front Committee" had the support of all dressmakers, they were sorely disappointed when they discovered that the International did not call their strike on the ninth as the leaders of the Industrial Union anticipated. And Ralph Simons, the main tactician of the T.U.U.L. who wrote two special articles in the Freiheit on how to break thru the wall of the ranks of the International, cries bitterly in his article in the

Freiheit (February 13) that: "The Schlesinger machine consciously and maliciously postpones the calling of its own strike."

Let me state here that the strike was set for February 16 for one reason only and that is because there was no work in the industry. By being too quick with their strike call, the Industrial Union also embarrassed the so-called "Left Group" they have in the International. This so-called Left Group, also they are members of the International, carried on a campaign asking the workers to answer the strike call of the "United Front Committee" only. But when the "United Front Committee" called its strike these people themselves remained at work. Thus they appeared before the workers as hypocrites. At first they thought that it was only for one day so it would not matter. Then there were also "strategic reasons." They were supposed to be the ones who were to be in the International strike halls and "capture the strike from inside." A most remarkable strategy! It seemed as if all angles were covered to capture the masses—the Industrial Union for those who are already pure and convinced and have reached the holy of holies, the "United Front Committee" for those who are still wavering, who are still impartial and need a bridge organization to cross over to the holy of holies, and then the "Left Group" within the International, the missionaries in the land of the heathens to bring back the sinners who have not seen the light yet. Really most remarkable strategy! Only one little thing was overlooked and that is—the mood of the masses of workers and a realization that a left wing cannot win the leadership and confidence of the masses by applying tricks and maneuvers. The result was a complete fiasco.

The poor response to the Industrial Union strike so disheartened and discouraged this so-called "Left Group" that they did not even attempt to carry thru their strategy and the directives given to them for "capturing" the strike halls. The result of such a confused strategy was that, in the midst of a strike where thousands of workers were involved, this group, calling itself "Left," went around like orphans of the storm. They did not participate in the picket lines they did not participate in the discussions of the agreement. They were not seen or heard of anywhere. And yet they called themselves "Left Group." Yes, they will need more than a label to be recognized as a left group. Is it not about time that the individuals who make up this "Left Group" should begin to think over their situation? They would then realize that some real changes are necessary, that the sectarian line they are following is only diverting them from the masses of the workers, that such a line cannot help build a union not can it help to develop a real constructive left wing that will gain the confidence of the workers. Members of the "Left Group" just try to think this over!

(Concluded in the next issue)

THE LIFE OF ADOLPH HITLER

by Karl Radek

(Continued from Page 3)
promises of the Nazis are unreal only corresponds to the fact that a petty bourgeois domain in an imperialist world no longer possess any possibilities for real existence. When Hitler, surrounded by the banners of the Storm-Battalions, appears in the hall and mounts the tribune amid the sound of ten military bands, the entire petty bourgeois mass, electrified, arises and greets its savior, the prophet of the Third Reich, in which a commodity-economy will, of course, persist, but behind the scenes, the most friendly negotiations between Hitler and the "capital of Germany," the war for the emancipation of Germany not only from the shackles of the Versailles treaty but also from the "yoke of the Roman law," then the petty bourgeois is happy, altho, of course, he doesn't know what the Roman law is all about; then he is overjoyed at the prospect of the reestablishment of the never-existent German law, of which he knows even less—because he confidently assumes that the change will mean the abolition of debts. When Hitler lets loose against the "Jewish French literature" and promises the return of "lofty Nordic art," the petty bourgeois feels his soul rise within him, altho, of course, he has never heard of the Eddas or of the Icelandic sagas, for he fancies himself a Viking of the spirit, triumphing over the cursed "French diseases." When, finally, Hitler announces the defeat of Jewish philosophy, the small tradesman understands by it not so much the expulsion of Einstein from the German higher schools as the destruction of the Tietz and Karstadt department stores.

And Hitler Himself?
At the same time, however, that in the electrified atmosphere of the mass meetings the soul of the petty bourgeois arises above the fumes of tobacco and beer, there take place, behind the scenes, the most friendly negotiations between Hitler and the leaders of the German banks and the heads of the metal trust. Hitler long ago ceased being an "enraged petty bourgeois" operated as an unconscious

marionette in the interests of the forces of reaction. Hitler long ago became the cunning, conscious paid agent of monopoly capital. With the help of the money of heavy industry he created his party and in this process he overcame his petty bourgeois illusions as to the aims of the party. He knows well enough that the National-Socialist party must help monopoly capital deprive the working class of its rights so that the unlimited exploitation of the working masses can become the fruitful source of the rebirth of German capitalism. He appreciates his own role perfectly well. But he also understands, as do all pretorians how to keep his price high and to keep it always getting higher . . .

WASHINGTON.—By a vote of 227 to 187, the largest vote the wet forces have so far been able to gather in the House of Representatives, the dregs in the House declined, on March 14, to take up the Beck-Lithium resolution legalizing 2.75% beer and establishing an excise tax on it. According to the sponsors of the bill, this tax was to take the place of the unpopular sales-tax provision in the new revenue bill.

The vote was: For—Republicans, 97; Democrats, 90. Against—Republicans 112; Democrats, 114. Farmer-Labor, 1.

New Workers School Forum

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BOOKS

BOOKS

NAPOLEON'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY, The Personal Memoirs of Bonaparte. Compiled from his own letters and diaries, by Professor F. M. Kirscheisen. Duffield and Company, New York, 1931.

To the popular mind, Napoleon appears merely as a military genius. But Napoleon was far more than that. He was a statesman—one of the greatest that the bourgeoisie has produced. In his autobiography we see revealed the true Napoleon—"the executor of the testament of the French revolution and the practical consolidation of the new social relations" (Mars). His life is full of a multitude of events and ideas, battle, loves, religion, science and comments on the great men of the day. But all these things are subordinated by Napoleon to his main aim of the establishment of a unified bourgeois society. Napoleon expresses this thought in the concise and remarkable statement: "Yes, the historian will find me guilty of ambition, but surely the greatest and loftiest ambition that ever was!—namely to restore and consecrate at last the kingdom of reason, the full development, the whole enjoyment of all human abilities!"

"I have stopped up the abyss of anarchy, and produced order out of chaos. I have cleansed the Revolution, ennobled the nations, strengthened the feeble, I have encouraged all talents, rewarded all meritorious services, and have advanced the boundaries of fame."

Could anything be more typical of a conquering bourgeoisie. Of course Napoleon mistakes bourgeois society for the final development of humanity. But that was the accepted opinion of the day. Napoleon correctly thought very highly of his code of laws of which he said: "The Civil Code is the law-book of the century" and in another place: "I have devised a code of laws and put it into practice which will hand down my name to posterity." This code of laws, Marx pointed out emerged, "from the ideological school of Voltaire, Rousseau, Condorcet, Mirabeau, Montesquieu and from the French Revolution." It was the expression of the new capitalist property relations and a model for other capitalist nations to follow.

Napoleon visualized his era of reason not only for France but for the whole of Europe. He expressed his wish thus: "One of my favorite ideas was the fusion, the federation of the nations, which had been separated by revolutions and politics. I wanted to unite them all (Continental Western Europe) into one strong, national body." Elsewhere he speaks of it as the "noblest, most courageous and highest-minded plan." At the same time he made the following prophecy: "The great general war that breaks out, the ruler who understands how to unite his interests with those of the common people, will see himself in a moment head of all Europe, and will then be able to do what he likes in this respect."

Napoleon's megalomania and his stress upon individual leaders can be traced to his complete lack of understanding of the social forces that make possible the emergence of men of his type. The brilliance of Napoleon's career, like the brightness of an electric bulb, arises not merely of his own special nature. The bulb obtains its light from the energy stored up in the fuel and released by the dynamo. Napoleon's career was made possible by the French Revolution which broke the feudal walls that had imprisoned the power of the new society. But Napoleon thought that he himself was the source of all power. The only part of this autobiography which can be considered uninteresting to the layman is that which deals with the details of battles, his views on religion, marriage, women, adultery, and love are nakedly bourgeois, and revealing. Engels has shown that the Code Napoleon legalizes the supremacy of man over woman in capitalist society. Napoleon is very frank about this.

Those who are interested in Napoleon not only as an individual but also as the symbol of an era should read this autobiography and read more of the history of the period than many ordinary book give us.

A. E.
The following item from the *New York World-Telegram* throws a devastating sidelight upon this "land of the free" where "every poor boy has a chance."
ATLANTIC CITY.—John Albanese, 15, of Palisade Park, N. J., who recently escaped from the State Home for Boys at Jamesburg, and was recaptured here, was in a hospital after three attempts to commit suicide.

He attempted to strangle himself with his necktie, tried to hang himself with his belt, and then swallowed poison. He will recover.
"Somebody stole some money and I was blamed for it, but I had nothing to do with it," Albanese told police. "I don't want to ever go back home again and face the fellows."

BETWEEN HAMMER AND ANVIL

"It Doesn't Hurt," Said the Dentist
"39 Governors Hold No One Is Starving"—N. Y. Times headline.

"Tell them," said Governor Ritchie to his secretary, as he wiped the gravy off his mouth, "I do not know where you get the idea that anybody is starving in this state. We resent the insinuation."

"Have no authentic record," wired White of Ohio "of any present cases of starvation."
"It has not been brought to the attention of the Connecticut Unemployment Commission at any time," wired Governor Cross, "that anyone in Connecticut is starving or near starving." "Guess that'll hold 'em," said Governor Cross to his pretty stenographer as he dictated the wire.

"Any report to that effect is sheer nonsense," wired Governor Shafer of North Dakota. Any one who dies of starvation in North Dakota just doesn't know what he's talking about."

And so with sickening unanimity the fat, well-fed, pork-barrel and gravy inhaled, rally to the defense of the purse and bank vaults of their masters against the demand of the starving millions for some share of the wealth they have created. Relief for bankers, relief for railroads, relief for foreign government debtors, relief for securities gamblers; for the workers and farmers on whose backs these complacent leeches live, nothing but doles and hand-outs and empty words. Such is the cruelty and brutality of capitalism in the face of the artificial hunger it creates.

Bats in the Belfry
Rouen's majestic cathedral has just taken a census of its communicants: 1200 winged creatures attend all services—900 pigeons, 250 bats, 60 hawks, 40 owls and 35 ravens.

There will be a time soon when any church will envy that congregation.

When Are You Getting Started?
Rev. Dr. Ribourg told St. Andrew's Protestant Episcopal Church on Fifth Avenue that "religion is needed to alter the human heart." Fair enough if it can do the job, but the rest of the sermon declared:

"The human heart has changed little from the day that the brothers of Joseph kidnapped him and sold him to merchants on their way to Egypt. The world has changed materially but the heart of man has remained stationary, submerged in sin and wickedness."

Then what has religion been doing these two or three thousand years?

Dumb Dora on China
Dumb Dora complains that I have been neglecting her lately.
"What do you think of the Chinese situation, Dora?" I asked.
"Ain't it a regular chook-suey?" said Dora. "Them Chinks gimme a pain in the eyebrow. If they'd only leave Shanghai and go back where they come from, everything would be jake! Trouble is, they ain't no immigration laws in Asia. A Chinese exclusion bill would set the whole thing straight and then the League of Nations could start something important . . ."

The Instalment Plan in China
The Japanese military, after inspecting the Woosung forts, announced that they were defended with ammunition bought from Japan on the instalment plan and not paid off yet.
So the whole Japanese attack was only a piece of inspired instalment collection work. Now that the Japs have taken the Woosung guns they want to make China pay for them. China won't return the rest of the guns but expects to send a lot of ammunition back.

Buy Stock Now
If our readers would stop hoarding as President Hoover requested and come across with the purchase of some shares of the Workers Age Publishing Association, the Age wouldn't be skipping issues.
The shares are a sound investment, too—the only stock that won't drop in value in the event of a proletarian revolution in America. Buy Now!

America First Again
The progress in surgical science is becoming incredible. At a recent international scientific congress the following competition in surgical miracles was reported. (In the last case, we are obliged to alter the technical anatomical language for popularization purposes.)

French Surgeon: "Last month we operated on a man whose intestines got tangled. We put a sheep's gut in his belly now the man is walking the streets."

German Surgeon: "Och, that's gar nichts. Only last week in Berlin a man's heart stopped. We put a monkey's heart in and now the man is walking the streets."

The American Surgeon was silent for a moment. "I don't see anything remarkable in that. A few years ago we put a horse's neck in the White House and now we're all walking the streets!"

Achievements of the League
"League to keep up Pressure in the Orient"—Times headline.

"Keep up," is good. Their pressure is as effective as the gestures of a radio actor and the results as easy to notice as perspiration on a fish. If they press Japan any harder the war will be all over—all over the rest of China.

Prize Contest!
Our prize contest puzzle for this week is:
"What is a disarmament conference?"
—B. D. W.