

WORKERS AGE

Workers
of all
Countries,
Unite!

For
Communist Unity
in the
Revolutionary
Class Struggle!

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AND FARMERS

VOL. 1, No. 16

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 14, 1932.

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Some Plain Words About Communist Unity!

by Ben Gitlow

Communist unity is one of the greatest needs of the day. With the Communist movement thruout the world split and divided, the question of Communist unity can not be brushed aside by a wave of the hand. The lack of unity among the Communists, at a time when the very foundations of capitalism are being shaken by a world crisis of great political and economic consequences, is to be deplored. Only political fools and blunders, stupid leaders can boast that everything is as it should be with the Communist movement. Only such an attitude can account for the failure to give adequate and serious attention to the important question of unity.

Every Communist must in all earnestness ask the question: Why is it that, at a time when the objective conditions thruout the capitalist world make for an advance and growth of the Communist movement, no such advance and growth is taking place?

If we will be Communists and not crystal-gazers, if we will base our

judgment upon facts and will not attempt to ignore realities because they are unpleasant, then we will answer: Because at a time of world capitalist crisis, the Communist movement too finds itself in a crisis. Because the leaders of the Communist movement have pursued, in the last three years, policies which have split the movement, weakened and demoralized the Communist forces and undermined the prestige of the movement as a whole.

The events which recently took place in Germany, the poor showing of the Communist Party in the Prussian elections and in the Prussian elections, the phenomenal growth of the Hitler horde, should arouse every Party member and convince him that something must be done to halt the downward rush to disaster. It should convince every Communist that the most immediate necessity is to unite the movement, to reestablish Party democracy and to make it possible untily to tackle the problems before the Communist movement, so that our Communist ship can be steered into the proper channels, its sails unfurled to the breeze and progress register-

ed. An examination of policies, a correction of disastrous line, will most surely be possible when the movement will be united. The more the more time is lost in achieving unity, the greater will be the damage, the more costly the defeats.

The working class as never before needs militant revolutionary leadership such as only the Communist movement can provide. But the Communist movement fails to inspire confidence in its powers of leadership, in the effectiveness of its policies.

Communist unity is essential if the working class is to be mustered, inspired with revolutionary enthusiasm and organized for action. Communist unity is therefore a vital question for the whole working class and especially for the Communist movement as a whole. It is not merely the special concern of the Communists who were driven out and expelled from the Party. It should be much more the concern of the Party than of any other organization. To make it the concern of the whole Party is the duty of each and every Party member. If

(Continued on page 2)

LEFT SWING IN FRENCH VOTE

Herriot Forces Triumph As Tardieu Cabinet Beaten; Communists Elect 12

PARIS.—The second elections held on May 8 confirmed and strengthened the drift towards the left bourgeois parties that had been the chief outcome of the first voting on May 1. The Tardieu coalition is certainly beaten, since the various parties in opposition to it have won 358 seats out of 602 in the Chamber. The Radical-Socialist party of Herriot, a mild bourgeois liberal party, will be the strongest in the next Chamber with 156 deputies as compared with 109 in the last Chamber. Other left groups made gains.

(Continued on Page 2)

8 Shot Down As Police Open Machine-Gun Fire On Workers Mass Meeting in Chicago

BILL ON INFLATION PASSES HOUSE

Federal Reserve System To "Restore" 1926 Prices; Senate To Reject

WASHINGTON.—The Senate Finance Committee completed, on May 6, its work on the much-revamped tax bill and is ready to report it to the Senate. According to the semi-official announcement of

(Continued on page 2)

Police Shoot At Demonstration of 1,000 Protesting May Day Suppression; Labor Must Unite Against Bloody Attacks Of Capitalist Government

Chicago, Ill. Eight militant workers were deliberately shot down under a rain of machine-gun fire by the police in an utterly unprovoked attack upon an outdoor mass meeting of 1,000 in Melrose Park, a suburb of Chicago, on May 6. The wounded workers were immediately rushed to the hospital.

The meeting was held to protest against the police attempt to break up a May Day meeting in Bellwood. Forced to leave Bellwood by the police the demonstrators marched to Melrose Park. Leeseberg, the police chief of Melrose Park, called upon the chiefs of Bellwood and Maywood as well as upon the highway police for reinforcements. The police ordered the demonstration to disperse altho it was proceeding in the most peaceful manner. The policemen immediately drew their revolvers and fired in the direction of the crowd. And then, suddenly, without any warning, a machine gun began to sputter and one worker after another fell wounded to the ground. The police rushed at the workers swinging their clubs wildly. At this point further reinforcements arrived, including some fire department engines, and the mass of demonstrators were finally dispersed.

In addition to the workers who were deliberately shot down, fifty of the demonstrators were arrested.

Dearborn and Melrose Park! The real face of American "democracy"—machine-guns and police murder! In Dearborn, several thousand starving workers, the very ones who had piled up the millions over which Ford now commands, marched towards the Ford factory to ask for work or relief and they were met with—bullets! In Melrose Park, a thousand workers demonstrate for the right to fight for their most fundamental interests and they are met with—bullets!

The offensive of the bosses is growing sharper as the economic crisis grows more acute. Wage-cuts, increased unemployment, union-smashing, deprivation of every right and liberty won by labor thru years of struggle! And now the machine-gun to meet the least sign of protest and revolt!

The situation for the labor movement is grave indeed. It stands in imminent danger of destruction under the blows of big capital. All labor must unite—all patriots in the labor movement, without regard to craft, race, creed or present political views! A united front must be welded to meet and beat back the menacing onslaughts of the bosses and the bosses government!

A.F.L. OUSTS TWIN CITY UNION BODY

Expels Building Trades Council For Joining Fight For Relief

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The Building Trades Council of this city, representing 16 unions, has been ousted from office by the American Federation of Labor, that its charter has been revoked for endorsing the proposals of the American Federation of Labor Rank-and-File Unemployment Insurance Committee for Federal unemployment relief and insurance.

By a unanimous vote the Building Trades Council refused to give up its charter.

A short talk was also made by Edward Welsh, who dealt with the frame-up against the Scottsboro boys, the discrimination and oppression of the Negro in "democratic" America. Minnie Lurye, secretary of the Youth Section, told of the historic days of 1886, the arrest and frame-up of the leaders of the eight-hour day movement, and the importance of mobilizing for widespread action today.

An outstanding contribution to the program was the music rendered by Rebecca Davidson, concert pianist. A collection of \$166.00 was made. Dancing followed the program.

On Sunday, May 1, members of the Communist Party (Majority Group), together with the Boro Park Workers Youth Club, formed a militant and enthusiastic section of the May Day parade, singing, cheering, shouting slogans. Many Party members expressed surprise but were glad to see them. Some "self-styled leaders" attempted time and again to arouse the Party members and sympathizers against us, by shouting "renegades," "counter-revolutionists," "scabs" and such other choice names. Our answer came in cheers for the "Unity of the Communist Party," the singing of the "International," "Scarlet Banner," etc. Many of our comrades marched with their respective trade groups and other sections.

—M.

HAWAIIAN KILLERS GET ONE HOUR

Governor Commutes Term; Indignation Spreads At Legal Outrage

HONOLULU.—The four self-confessed and convicted murderers of the Hawaiian athlete, Joseph Kahahawai, were released after one hour's imprisonment in the custody of the sheriff as a result of the commutation of sentence on the part of Governor Lawrence M. Judd. A few minutes before Governor Judd acted, Judge Charles S. Davis had imposed a formal sentence of ten years.

Clarence Darrow, the counsel for the lynch-murderers, expressed satisfaction at the Governor's act but declared that a "full pardon with restoration of civil rights was in justice forthcoming."

All four of the slayers, Lieutenant Massie, Mrs. Fortescue and the two naval enlisted men, will return to the United States immediately.

The sharp feeling of resentment among the population of Hawaii at the brazen official vindication of self-confessed murderers, just because the slayers are of the ruling caste and the victim a colored man, is indicated in the statement of Princess Kawananakoa, a Republican national committeewoman from Hawaii: "With this commutation the verdict of a jury... becomes a farce and the truth... a travesty. Are we to infer the Governor's act that there are two sets of laws in Hawaii—one for the favored few and another for the people generally?"

(Now read the editorial in this issue.)

MARINES ATTACK SANDINO ARMY

New Clashes With Marines Are Reported

MANAGUA, Nicaragua.—Increased fighting between the invading United States Marines and the national-revolutionary troops of General Augustino Sandino has been reported from the interior within the last few weeks. Raids on the Marine camps by contingents of the emancipation forces have become frequent while on April 9 a detachment of Marines attacked an important stronghold of the Sandino men and killed about twelve.

The U. S. Marines are in Nicaragua for one purpose and one purpose only: to prevent the Nicaraguan people from establishing their political and economic independence, to strengthen the hold of Wall Street and of the Washington War Department upon that unhappy land. Out with the Marines from Nicaragua!

Steel Trust Orders New Wage-Cut After Slash in October; All Labor Hit

U. S. Steel And Bethlehem Begin New Avalanche of Wage Slashes; Stock Market Rises At Workers Misery; For United Labor Front Against Wage-Cuts!

The wages and salaries of more than 200,000 employees of the United States Steel Corporation will be slashed by about 15% on May 16, according to an official announcement. This makes the second drastic wage-cut in less than one year, the Steel Trust having slashed wages 10% last October.

The Bethlehem Steel Corporation immediately announced that it would follow suit. About 50,000 workers are involved. Other steel, copper and metal companies have hastened to make public statements announcing coming wage-cuts.

As soon as the United States Steel wage-cut was made known at 2 P. M. on May 6, the widest advance in the stock market since the middle of February, began. It was computed that the slash will net the company at least \$25,000,000 a year, and United States Steel stock jumped up, having its effect on the market as a whole.

The United States Steel wage-slash is one of the most serious things that has happened to American labor for a long time. The Steel Trust sets the pace! The attack on the wages of the steel workers will be followed by similar attacks all along the line. The workers in this country, in every section and in every trade, must beat back the new wage-cutting offensive that has just been launched! If this wage-cutting drive is allowed to go thru unresisted, it will really be an invitation for another one in a few months.

The only way in which this vicious attack on the standards and the future

of the workers can be beaten back is by: **Organizing and Striking!** Every worker can now see that the Hoover-Green "no strike" pact of the fall of 1929 was nothing more than an agreement on the part of the A. F. of L. leaders that they would prevent and sabotage any strikes during the crisis no matter how many wage-cuts would be inflicted on the workers. The shameful "no-strike" agreement must be repudiated by American labor in no uncertain terms. The emergency is great and American labor must prove great enough to measure up to it!

RED FREETHINKERS BANNED IN REICH

Outlaw Atheists As Menace To "Christianity", That Is, To Capitalism

BERLIN.—The suppression of the "Red" free-thinkers association was ordered in an emergency decree issued by President von Hindenburg on May 4. The decree dissolves this association, bans its publications, authorizes the confiscation of its property and threatens imprisonment to any one belonging to it or carrying on its activities.

This piece of shameful cultural reaction is aimed directly at the revolutionary labor movement of Germany. "The dissolution of these organizations," declared an official spokesman of the government, "is to stamp out atheist propaganda that aims at a Bolshevik revolution by undermining Christian civilization and morals." This is the "free German republic," the open defender of all the dark forces of clericalism and reaction. This is the Social-democrats "tolerate," that is, support!

The proletarian free-thinkers and atheist movement in Germany is strong and well established. Until recently it was united but, under the influence of the splitting policies of the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany, the movement was disrupted and a separate and dual "Red" free-thinkers association established. The suppression decree applies only to the Communist-controlled organization and not to the major body under Social-democratic influence.

WORKERS SHOT DOWN BY MACHINE-GUN FIRE OF CHICAGO POLICE



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RELIEF WORKERS IN PROTEST MEET

Demand Adequate Relief For Jobless; Elliott Makes Appeal

NEW YORK CITY.—Under the auspices of the Emergency Workers Association, about 200 city relief workers met on May 4 at the Church of All Nations to consider the critical situation in which all the relief activities of the city find themselves and to formulate a program and a plea for an increase in home and work relief appropriations.

Dr. John Lovejoy Elliott, head worker of the Hudson Guild, was a speaker and called for full publicity on the situation, declaring that, if the people of the city were told "the plain facts of the conditions of the city," something would be done.

A number of relief workers spoke but, because of the danger of losing their jobs, their names were not

TOKYO PLANS SPEEDY WAR ON SOVIET, ADMITS JAPANESE LEADER

"The Quicker The Better!" Asserts Japanese Spokesman In Recent Interview; New Japanese Attack On Chinese-Eastern Railway Reported

"Militarily speaking, the quicker it (the Japanese attack upon the Soviet Union) comes the better it will be!" These were the words in which Kinokue Adachi, influential Japanese writer on international affairs, summarized his interview with William Philip Simms, Scripps-Howard foreign editor. "Every day Russia is growing stronger and better prepared and then the existing hostility to Russia, particularly in Europe, is now in Japan's favor. Tomorrow, for Japan, might be too late."

This frank avowal of Japanese imperialist aggression against the Soviet Union falls into line completely with the recent movements of Japanese troops in the Far East. From Harbin comes the news that the Japanese military authorities and the Manchuria puppet-government have definitely announced their intention of seizing the Chinese-Eastern Railway and driving the Soviet officials from Manchuria. Arrests of Soviet citizens and officials have already begun.

SHANGHAI.—With a powerful force behind him, General Chen Chiang-chang, the military leader of the anti-Nanking clique, seized control of the fleet and air forces stationed there. Immediately thereafter, the Nanking government announced that it would no longer endeavor to exercise control over all of China, but given.

The resolution adopted declared that the city appropriation of \$5,000,000 could continue aid only on a "slow starvation basis" and asked that at least \$20,000,000 be appropriated. It also protested against the recent cuts in the wages of relief workers and against the discharge of others.

C.P.-MAJORITY GROUP IN MAY DAY MEET

May Day 1932 was celebrated by the Communist Party (Majority Group) in New York City, on May Day eve, April 30, at New Harlem Casino, with a concert and meeting and, on Sunday May 1, by participation in the demonstration arranged by the Communist Party.

The meeting on May Day eve was spirited and enthusiastic. Over three hundred workers listened attentively to the speeches and program. The meeting was opened by the chairman, Jay Lovestone, who pointed out the background and importance of May Day as the international holiday of the proletariat. A group of revolutionary songs were contributed by Andre Cibulsky, well-known and greatly appreciated singer. The main speaker of the evening was Ben Gitlow, secretary of the Communist Party (Majority Group), who spoke briefly on the conditions and tasks facing the working class on May Day 1932, stressed the importance of unity of purpose and action in the ranks of the labor movement as a prerequisite for delivering smashing blows to the capitalist system and for its final overthrow.

SUMMER TERM NEW WORKERS SCHOOL BEGINS MAY 27 - REGISTER NOW

Paralysis And Reaction

ABOUT THE I.L.G.W.U. CONVENTION

A Letter From Philadelphia

The following extracts are from a letter sent by our correspondent in Philadelphia describing the first days of the International Ladies Garment Workers Convention in session there. Full reports of the convention will follow in future issues of the Workers Age.

Philadelphia, Pa. May 5, 1932. So far this convention served only one purpose and that is to torture the delegates. On the first day, it looked as if they were trying to speed it up. Usually it takes three days for the credentials committee to report and for the appointment of committees. This time it was all done in the first days. The next day the rules committee reported. It seems to me that the most important rule was not read to the convention. But it is this one rule that is strictly enforced. The rule is 10 minutes for discussion—three hours for sleep—and the rest of the time for picnic. Another issue that was not raised at the convention but which is very popular with the delegates is the prohibition issue. I have seen quite a number of delegates who became quite shaky on this issue. I think that because they are so shaky they will not even be in a position to take part in the beer parade.

Now about accomplishments, so far Monday and Tuesday were taken up with credentials committee and rules committee reports and appointments of committees. On Wednesday, they started the convention at 10 A. M. and after reading a number of telegrams, they adjourned at 11 A. M. to give the committees an opportunity to "meet" (I mean to play pinchole). A number of important questions were already taken up in the committees. The question of the composition of the general executive board was taken up. We recommended 25, the Club (right-wing group—Editor) recommended 7. The committee took both proposals and added them up— which makes 32, and then they made it about 50 and recommended 15! On the question of whether it should be a rank-and-file general executive board they have not acted as yet. Local 89 brought in a resolution for elections every two years. The committee has already acted on this. The recommendation is that the locals be given the right to make it every two years if they so desire. The committee also acted on the question of proportional representation and de-

LEFT SWING IN VOTE IN FRANCE

(Continued from Page 1) especially the Socialists, who raised their delegation from 112 to 129. A "left" cabinet under Herriot is most likely. The Communist Party emerged with 12 deputies as against 10 in the last Chamber. (At the beginning of the last Chamber the C.P. had 15 members but several were lost thru expulsions and splits.) However, the Communist vote declined sharply, especially in rural regions, Marcel Cachin, the Communist Party leader, was defeated. The "independent Communists" scored a big victory electing 11 deputies as against 5 previously.

President Doumer Assassinated PARIS.—Paul Doumer, President of the French Republic, was shot and fatally wounded on May 6 by a crazed anti-Soviet emigre named Paul Gorguloff (Brad). He died the next day. Gorguloff described himself as founder of the "National Russian Fascist party" and a bitter enemy of the Soviet power in the U.S.S.R. He is well known in White Guard circles in Prague and in Paris. He gave as the reason for his act the attempt to embroil the Soviet Union with France. "European states seemed favorable to Bolshevism," he declared, "so I decided to kill the President and cause France to declare war on Russia." In spite of this unequivocal statement of the assassin, the French authorities are semi-officially trying to convert the whole matter into a "Red plot."

cided to reject. All these questions did not come up on the floor of the convention as yet. When they will come up, our delegates will submit minority reports. On the question of one joint board the committee held an open hearing yesterday. Bluestein was there and spoke for one joint board. The rumor is that there will be a favorable recommendation.

I expected that all these questions will come up today, but I was again disappointed. The only questions that were taken up today were the resolutions on Mooney and Billings, a resolution introduced by Local 89 for a 5-day week and 6-hour day; both were approved. Then the resolution on injunctions was taken up. The leftist delegate from Local 9 was supposed to bring in a minority report that the unions should also be prohibited from using the injunction as a weapon in strikes but he forgot to do it. On this issue, there was a brief scrap. Kaplan of Local 9 started. Antonini answered. Bluestein made a pretty good talk defending it and Yosef Levy made his maiden speech at the convention. He mentioned that Soviet Russia has a good Red Army, that he "represented the revolutionary proletariat," he said something about "social-fascism," in what connection I cannot recall. All this in less than five minutes and, about the injunction, after he was reminded that that was the question being discussed, he said that he was opposed that the union should use it and sat down. It was a pity to see the fellow suffer.

That is all that was taken up today. The rest of the time was taken up with speeches, Shiplakoff, Panken, Matthew Woll, Hillquit, and a few small fry took up quite a lot of time. The leftist delegation is a disappointment even to Herbst. Such trash and such cowards. Norman Thomas spoke. Panken spoke. There were motions after- wards to thank them for their "wonderful constructive speeches" and to spread these speeches in the minutes. These motions were adopted and left everybody wondering just where the so-called "left" delegation was. The same was also true when the "impartial chairman," Alger, spoke.

DOLL WORKERS HOLD MEETING

The newly organized doll workers held a mass meeting on Saturday, May 7, 1932, in Labor Temple. The meeting was very enthusiastic. The speakers were Norman Thomas, Sam Farulo, president of the union, MacAlister Coleman and Jack Rosen. The speakers promised support of the doll workers in their struggle. The meeting passed a resolution demanding the freedom of Mooney and Billings and of the framed-up marine workers.

Don't Miss It

HARD TIMES PARTY SATURDAY, MAY 14, 1932 228 Second Ave. 5th Floor

Watte program: Negro Spirituals Irish Ballads Group Singing Dancing far into the Night Good eats! All for 13c Admission

MORE MAY DAY GREETINGS

Bernie Broder Harry Broder J. Bidderman Freda

In the C. I.

Call World Opposition Conference

The following call for an international conference of the groups adhering to the International Communist Opposition has just been issued by the Executive Bureau in Berlin.

Dear Comrades: The entire international situation makes absolutely necessary a bureau session of the representatives of our groups. The danger of an imperialist attack on the Soviet Union was never as serious as today. The consequences of the ultra-left course of the Comintern in Germany, as evidenced in the election defeats, make such a gathering even more essential, while the attitude in relation to centrism (S.W.P.) and to Trotskyism must also be discussed.

Such a bureau session would be of value only if our American comrades could participate. We therefore call upon the American comrades to exert all efforts and organize a special collection to be able to finance a delegate.

As the date for the conference we propose June, as place, Berlin.

With Communist greetings, The Executive Bureau HEINRICH BRANDLER

THE C. P. OF FRANCE AND THE ELECTIONS

Paris, France.

The Humanite admits "very heavy losses" of the Communist Party in the May 1 national elections, in Paris as well as in the provinces. In the spirit of deep pessimism pervades the ranks of the Party membership and sympathizers, especially in view of the close succession of the three German and the French elections, in each of which the Communist forces suffered a big defeat.

Meanwhile, the "famous" Beron, only a short time ago a "leader" of the party and a "renegade-slaughterer" of the most vicious kind, has been expelled from the Communist Party because of his connections with the police spies, Simon and Gundram.

THE REGIME OF BLUFF RAISES ITS HEAD!

The regime of bluff is still going strong. The Improvator of March 10, 1932, Vol. 12, No. 11, informs us, in describing the Ford massacre: "... the police attacked a mass demonstration of about 50,000. Workers flung up barricades. Now the Daily Worker itself only claimed between 3,000 and 5,000 workers in the march. In the Improvator, it becomes 50,000! ... the barricades, nothing need be said. Only the most cynical irresponsibility can convert the blood-bath in Dearborn into a "barricade struggle."

How long will the official Communist press continue to deceive itself and its readers?

THE HERO-CULT IN ITS WORST EXCESSES!

From the April 24, 1932 issue of the Workers News, English language newspaper published in Moscow, we quote the following from the "Congress Greetings to Comrade Stalin": "The IX All-Union Congress of Trade Unions sends its ardently proletarian greetings to the leader of the Party and of the working class, to the best Leninist and theoretician of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Stalin. ... Under your direct guidance the

1932, signed by the members of our National Bureau, urging that we get together to talk over arrangements for immediate Communist unity.

We desire to place again before you the question of the readmission of the comrades in our Group, expelled over the controversies which have arisen in our Party since the Sixth National Convention.

We are anxious to put an end to the demoralizing state of disunity and disruption in the Communist ranks in the United States and elsewhere.

We reaffirm our readiness to do everything in our power to facilitate this work of unification in every way possible so that we can all work together united in the revolutionary class struggle. We are particularly anxious to hasten Communist unity in view of the acute danger of imperialist war against the Soviet Union and the growing possibilities for the revolutionary proletarian movement, as a result of the world crisis. We, therefore, urge that you appoint an authoritative committee to represent the Polburo in conferring with us regarding the necessary steps to be taken to achieve full Communist unity.

With Communist Greetings, BENJ. GITLOW JAY LOVESTONE WILL HERBERG Secretariat COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A. (Majority Group) (Concluded in the next issue)

A Voice From The Negro Press THE FUTILITY OF LIBERALISM

by Ernest Rice McKinney

The splendid and stirring words which we most gladly reprint below first appeared in the Pittsburgh Courier, a leading Negro weekly, of April 30, 1932. They were written by Ernest Rice McKinney, in his column "Views and Reviews."

Liberals in the United States thru the Mooney decision, have had added proof that their beliefs, hopes and tactics are of little avail in the effort to secure justice and prompt decent behavior on the part of those who are in control of the instruments of production, our financial system and our government. When liberalism comes up against capitalism it is as impotent as a snowball attempting to extinguish the fires of hell. Capitalism lives by the sword, by force, and rash is the liberal who believes that he can get it to grant justice through the use of entreaty and protest. The Communists in Russia discovered this truth, many many years ago.

There was no need to discuss the decision. In Russia they know that lamentation and protest never caused capitalism to change its mind nor its methods of dealing with the weak and impotent. In this world of tooth and claw you get what you are strong enough to take. You do not get what you are only weak enough to beg for.

There is no need to discuss the decision. It is silly to rant over the fact that Ralph and those other tools who made the recommendation on which the Governor based his decision, took no notice of the overwhelming testimony in favor of Mooney and Billings. Why should he take cognizance of anything that is in the interest of

working class of the U.S.S.R. has achieved decisive victories on the front of socialist construction.

"Your guidance and advice. . . . Your implacable struggle against all deviations. . . . Your historic six points have become the militant program. . . . Under your direct leadership the trade unions of the U. S. S. R. . . . such are the pledges which the trade unions of the U. S. S. R. give to you. . . . Long live the guide and leader of the Party and of the working class, Comrade Stalin!"

And in the Workers News of April 20 this meets our eyes: "We, Bolsheviks, followers of the revolutionary Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin doctrine. . . . That the hero-cut should reach such odious excesses seems incredible. But from now on anything is possible. . . ."

Baltimore, Md. On Saturday April 30, at 1:00 P. M., the Communist Party held a May Day demonstration with only about 150 participants. Not a single organization took part in the parade. There was no united front. They have four branches of the International Workers Order and not one of them participated in the parade. There was simply the Party, the League and the Pioneers, and very few sympathizers. They marched to the City Hall Plaza where about 300 attended the open air meeting.

The Socialist party held an indoor meeting Sunday and an open air meeting on Monday noon at the City Hall Plaza. Everything was nice and quiet, at both celebrations.

About 250 workers attended the open air meeting called by the downtown and youth units of the Communist Party (Majority Group). Gitlow, Welsh, Rosen and Smith spoke. A large number of copies of the Workers Age were sold. Attempts of several loyalists to disrupt the meeting ended in dismal failure.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS INTERRACIAL CLUB

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these fellows? Who are Mooney and Billings? Wild-eyed radicals, fanatics and dangerous men who hate our institutions. They were trouble makers for the United Railways. And who are their defenders but fools, pinks and radicals who ought to be hanged, or in jail or in Russia. And who elected Ralph Governor of California? And what promise did the gang probably get from him before they put money behind his candidacy? Those who fastened this crime on Mooney and Billings knew what they were about. It is the same gang that got Sacco and Vanzetti. It is the same gang—if Negroes only could learn it—that got the boys in Scottsboro. It is the same gang that will crush any man or group of men who dare strike for economic change and freedom. This same gang will jail and murder as it sees fit whenever its profits are attacked, whenever its power is challenged. It is the same gang that is butchering and smashing human life in Kentucky and Ohio. In Russia they know that has jailed Gandhi in India, bombed the Hottentots in Africa, strangled Haiti and spread starvation, misery and want in every corner of the earth. They are the spiritual descendants of that French queen who said that the populace could eat cake if they had no bread and of that Spanish queen who said that democracies were out of style.

In the face of the stark naked truth, the liberal talks on and on, becoming more ridiculous as the days pass. Day in and day out we hear about third parties, the new capitalism and all the rest of the hokum so dear to the hearts of timid and hopeful liberals. Let the eagle scream, Sacco and Vanzetti are dead, Mooney and Billings are in jail, the Scottsboro boys are to be hanged in May, Gandhi is being smashed, ten million men and women in the land of the free and the home of the brave walk the streets and look for work.

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PASS INFLATION BILL IN HOUSE

(Continued from page 1)

the committee, the bill is "patterned along the lines of Secretary Mills' proposals," that is, it is so organized as to make it "ease the burden on capital" by shifting it on to the shoulders of the masses of the workers and the lower middle class.

Washington, D. C. The Goldborough bill, which directs the Federal Reserve System to "employ its control over credit and currency in an effort to restore commodity prices to about the 1926 level," was adopted in the House on May 2 by the overwhelming vote of 289 to 60. For the bill were 165 Democrats, 123 Republicans and a Farmer-Laborite. Against it voted three Democrats and 57 Republicans.

In spite of the large majority by which it was carried in the House, its passage thru the Senate is by no means assured nor its approval by the President. The Federal Reserve System is understood to be opposed to it.

The bill would involve a large scale, the direct inflation. It would, of course, greatly cut the purchasing power of the dollar and would therefore involve a universal wage-cut and a sharp reduction in savings.

The dominant opinion in Wall St. is against the bill as well as against inflation in general because "it would impair public confidence in the dollar."



With the WORKING YOUTH YOUTH OPPOSITION MAKES HEADWAY!

Report Of Recent Activities

The Youth Section of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Majority Group) has had a series of open meetings recently with a number of outsiders attending, participating in the discussion and asking questions.

At the meeting held on "The Communist Position on War and Militarism," a member of the Young People's Socialist League was present and attempted in his talk to excuse the traitorous role of Social-democracy in 1914. The distorted "history" handed down to these young Socialists by the Hillquits, etc., who are anxious to absolve the Socialist party leaders of responsibility for their betrayal, is in part responsible for the wrong conceptions. It is the task of the young Communists to bring before the rank and file membership of the Young People's Socialist League, particularly the more militant members, the incorrectness of the S. P. program and the harmful effects it has on the working class. The Youth Section has taken some steps in this direction.

Within the past few weeks eleven members and sympathizers of the Young Communist League have come to our headquarters seeking information about the program, its program, the causes for our expulsion and what can be done to achieve unity in the ranks of the Party and League. This is a good sign. We hope it marks a real beginning in the League of giving careful consideration to the disunity and demoralization in the ranks of the Communists and taking steps to fight for the unification of the Y.C.L.

For the clarification of its new members and those sympathizers interested, the Youth Section has arranged a series of two lectures by Will Herberg on the "Organizational Principles of the Communist Movement" for Wednesday, May 4 and 11, 8:30 at 228 Second Avenue.

A Hard Times Party will be held on May 14, Saturday evening, at 228 Second Avenue, 5th floor. A rich and interesting

GITLOW SPEAKS AT CARPENTERS MEET

Over 300 carpenters packed the Labor Temple Friday afternoon, May 6, when Ben Gitlow spoke on the "Present Situation in the Building Trades."

Comrade Gitlow dealt with the situation in the unions and outlined a program of activity upon which the rank and file could unite for the development of a mass movement of opposition to the reactionary corrupt officials who dominate the unions today. The program outlined by Comrade Gitlow had the following main points: 1. The ousting of the reactionary officialdom. 2. The adoption of a militant trade union policy in opposition to the class-collaboration policy of the present officialdom. 3. The ending of craft unionism thru Amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions. 4. For maintenance of wage standards. 5. For unemployment insurance. 6. For abandonment of present policy of non-partisan political action in favor of a Labor party. 7. For an anti-capitalist position in the class struggle.

For the building trades he advocated united action of all the rank and file elements against the wage-cuts and the treachery of the building trade officials. A long discussion followed raising many questions of vital importance to the rank and file of the trade unions, particularly the question of Communist leadership and the united front.

Some Communist Party members from the Painter's Union contended that a united front with Socialists was not desirable because the Socialists always betray. He further contended that only the Communists must be given the leadership in a trade union opposition movement.

Gitlow pointed out that a rank and file opposition movement in the trade unions must consist of all workers who agree upon a program of action for the trade unions regardless of their political views. He then pointed out that a united front thru organizations even including the Socialist party on a concrete issue, as, for example, unemployment insurance, was desirable. If the Socialists betrayed, then they could be exposed for their treachery and fought against. He claimed unity was the greatest need for the working class today. He attacked the position as to "narrowing the movement and preventing it from gaining all the forces necessary for the building up of a mass movement. Gitlow met with great applause and a motion was carried unanimously thanking him for his talk. The meeting opened at 12 noon and closed at 3. It was under the auspices of Local 2090 of the Carpenters.

We stayed in Knoxville one night, and the next day the entire delegation proceeded to Nashville to protest to the Governor of Tennessee, over the violation of Tennessee sovereignty by Kentucky deputies. Governor Horton listened to the protest, surrounded by a group of husky, gun-toting deputies, and then delivered us a lecture on the danger of Communists and Anarchists completely ignoring our protest.

From Nashville we went to Frankfort, the capital of Kentucky where we protested to Governor Laffoon about the terrorism he was creating in his state, and the violations of the constitution by Kentucky officials. Governor Laffoon answered by making the startling announcement that he had no power to protect American citizens in the state of Kentucky.

Then we decided to go to Washington to demand Senatorial investigation submitting as evidence: 1. The violation of the Constitutional right of travelling along a public highway. 2. Our unlawful arrest and imprisonment (we were virtually imprisoned in the bus for several hours, guarded by gunmen). 3. The general reign of terrorism prevalent in Bell and Harlan Counties demonstrated by the treatment received by the student delegation. 4. By implication, the greater terrorism suffered by the miners, whose conditions we had intended to investigate. 5. The futility or unwillingness of Governors Horton and Laffoon to take action on the above evidence.

We left a committee in Washington to demand a senatorial investigation and to interview Senators Costigan and Copeland. The rest of the delegation returned last Thursday afternoon. An open air meeting was held on the steps of Columbia University Library upon our arrival.

program has been arranged: Group singing of revolutionary songs, Irish ballads, Negro melodies, games and dancing. Admission 13c. "Eats" at "hard-time" prices. The funds raised will help finance the work of the Youth Section and a liberal donation will be made to the Workers Age.

FIRED FOR "TALKING TOO MUCH!"

New York City. On Sunday morning, May 1, 9:00 A.M. we received a special delivery letter to appear at the Queens headquarters at 9 A. M. Monday morning. A letter like this is a pretty certain sign that you are discharged. We appeared there at that hour and the gentleman we were referred to refused to talk to us and to explain to us the meaning of the letter. We insisted on seeing him and secured an explanation; whereupon another man in that office spoke to us very kindly, tried to pacify us, and promised that the 29 Broadway office would give us an adequate explanation. When we appeared there, that man also refused to see us or to have anything to do with the matter. We demanded an explanation and refused to leave the office until we found out who was responsible, and why we were fired on a Sunday, without even a day's notice. We also stated that we were in dire need and that our sudden "release" left us in a very precarious financial condition, which they could verify by investigating us. He referred us to a young lady who gave us a food ticket and tried to rush out of the office.

We then phoned one of the men in charge of the bus and he was the first person who gave us the courtesy of a hearing and expressed his regret at such tactics on the part of the Block-Aid and said that he would do everything in his power to help us procure a week's salary. He said he would take it up with the Emergency Workers Bureau. When we called him back he told us that he was instructed in procuring this week's salary for us and referred us to the Emergency Workers Bureau. We called the latter. A man answered the phone and said: "Nothing doing!" and hung up. We then went to 297 Fourth Avenue and after making strenuous demands for an explanation as to their firing us, an explanation was at last vouchsafed us. This "gentleman" said we were fired because we "talked too much."

There is no doubt that they had reference to the fact that we were sympathetic with the Communist movement and were therefore a "menace" to their organization. —Ez-Blockaid

"DEMOCRACY" IN U.S.A. FIRST HAND

by JULIAN PICKER

(Concluded from last issue) We passed one hostile town after another, where the inhabitants yelled such charmingly naive phrases as "get a rope!" "get the red paint!" "put 'em up!" Finally when we were well in Tennessee our gun men and passengers bid us goodbye, and told us to keep right on going, and never to come back or "they'll make it pretty hot for us." We did keep going until we reached Knoxville, where we met the other half of the delegation. And for the first time in twenty hours we had something to eat, and an opportunity to visit a rest room.

We stayed in Knoxville one night, and the next day the entire delegation proceeded to Nashville to protest to the Governor of Tennessee, over the violation of Tennessee sovereignty by Kentucky deputies. Governor Horton listened to the protest, surrounded by a group of husky, gun-toting deputies, and then delivered us a lecture on the danger of Communists and Anarchists completely ignoring our protest.

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Some Plain Words About Communist Unity!

(Continued from Page 1) the Party members will cease being lambs and will become lions. Communists will make known in no uncertain tones what they want and will see to it that they get it; then Communist unity will be achieved!

Communist Party members must call for Communist unity, must demand it, must organize to get it.

It is my purpose to present the facts concerning the unity negotiations between the Communist Party and the Communist Party U. S. A. (Majority Group) so that the membership of the Communist Party will have definite, accurate knowledge of the policies and tactics of the Party leadership. The Communist Party (Majority Group) is of the opinion that there is nothing to gain and a great deal to lose by keeping the unity negotiations behind a veil of secrecy, which makes possible the dissemination of the wildest rumors and falsifications. Furthermore, we are convinced that once the Party membership knows the facts, there is every likelihood that more Party members will take on courage and move energetically and determinedly for unity.

The Latest Facts When Comrade Jack Stachel returned from Moscow he informed our group that, had the letter sent to the members of our National Bureau to the Political Committee of the Party on January 15 requesting the permission to appear before a committee to take

up the question of unity, been received by the Communist International separately from other letters and material dealing with the question of unity, this letter would have been favorably acted upon. He let it be known that the letter of January 15 was received by the Communist International without any comment from the members of the Political Committee, who had forwarded it to Moscow.

He further let it be known that the Political Committee and the Communist International would like to have the matter of unity reopened. He even hinted that he would have no objections to "meeting Comrades Lovestone and Gitlow personally in order to talk about the matter, provided the Political Committee would sanction it!"

The talk with Comrade Stachel did not materialize. Instead, he informed us that the Political Committee was desirous of getting a letter from Comrades Gitlow and Lovestone requesting unity and readmission into the Party. We informed Comrade Stachel that any letter on unity would have to come officially from our group and would have to meet with the approval of the National Bureau.

The question was taken up by the National Bureau. It approved the sending of a letter. On April 20, a letter in behalf of the Communist Party, U. S. A. (Majority Group) was sent to the Political Committee of the Party. The letter signed by the Secretariat COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A. (Majority Group) is as follows: We have not, as yet, received a reply to our letter of January 15,

Marxism and Cultural Evolution

About the 'Literary Class War'

by Will Herberg

The following paragraphs were written as a letter to Edmund Wilson in connection with the latter's valuable and thought-provoking article "The Literary Class Struggle" in the New Republic of May 4, 1932.

I read your article, "The Literary Class War", in the recent issue of the New Republic, with the greatest interest. It is because I entirely sympathize with your forceful protest against the pretentious and wooden dogmatism that presumes to pass as Marxist criticism of art and even to claim kinship with the dialectic flexibility and penetrating insight of Marx, Plekhanoff, Mehring and the other great masters of the Marxist method, that I am prompted to write you in criticism of a phase of your analysis which strikes me as seriously defective.

Industrial and Literary Technique

I believe that the analogy between industrial and literary technique, which lies at the basis of the latter part of your article, is utterly forced and largely false. Not that I disagree with you that "there are elements of the old culture which will carry over and help make the new," or that the pseudo-Marxist critics "misjudge... the true role of many elements of the present bourgeois culture, or that it is fundamentally incorrect to speak of proletarian art in exactly the same sense as we speak of bourgeois art; on the contrary, I think you are right in emphasizing these points as against the New Masses school of "proletarian culture." But I do think that you externalize literary technique altogether too much. It seems to me that the "devices" (forms, styles, technical methods) of bourgeois literature are far too organically the expression (albeit very indirect and complex) of the bourgeois spirit to be able to be detached from it and to be transferred, in a vacuum as it were, to express the spirit of another, and altogether alien, social order. It is one thing for the proletariat to take over the huge factories, the "Johannesen gauges," the "shorts," the technical achievements of capitalism: these have already been socialized (i.e., prepared for the proletariat) from the technical standpoint and await only the expropriation of the parasitic capitalists to become the foundation of a socialist economy. But is it the same with artistic techniques? Are not these rather the technical, technical and political forms of contemporary society, reflecting the class nature of the bourgeoisie so intimately as to be inconceivable except as its expression? Literary forms and techniques, as superstructural manifestations, are surely not comparable to the altogether dissimilar category of forces of production and industrial technique.

In his brilliant formulation of the materialist conception of history in the preface to the "Introduction to the Critique of Political Economy," Marx makes a profound distinction between the "economic basis" and the "superstructure." The "economic basis" is constituted not by the forces of production themselves, but by the economic relations of men in production—which, of course, correspond to the definite stage of the forces of production (as expressed by industrial technique) have reached in their development. This economic basis, the totality of economic relations, determines, directly and indirectly, the "superstructure" in form and content, that is, social and political relations as well as the various types of ideology. However effective may be the reflex influence of the elements of the superstructure on themselves and even on the economic basis, the fact nevertheless remains as the fundamental concept of all sociological analysis that: social existence determines social consciousness. Now, the point is, that in literature and in art generally, not only is content a reflection of social (class) relations but also form (styles, "devices," technique) form is self-determined every vessel into which any content may be poured: it is a living reflection of the same forces that mould the content itself.

Bourgeois Technique and Proletarian Writers

Can you regard the novel or short story forms as simply a "technique" (like building a bridge) to be taken up and utilized by any class whatever? Are not they essentially individualistic art forms which, therefore, can appear only in cultures with considerable elements of individualism? (In late Classical times, but not in the Middle Ages; in bourgeois society, but not under fully developed socialism.) The "devices" of the Joyce and Eliots and Cummings are not external implements detachable from the whole context of contemporary bourgeois culture but are rather integral—and very characteristic—elements of it!

Yet this line of argument does not lead to the conclusion, as it may seem to do, that "proletarian writers" in capitalist society or even writers in a society that has already thrown off the yoke of capitalism must, as a matter of principle, reject the heritage of literary technique and tradition, must start from nothing, as it were. On the contrary, proletarian writers in capitalist countries and Soviet writers must necessarily take the existing literary technique and tradition as their point of departure,

must certainly "master technique." But—not because literary technique can be drained of its social content but because bourgeois literary technique is today the only technique available and possible!

Proletarian Culture or Transition Culture

Take the Soviet writer for example. In the general process of social (and cultural) evolution, the stage of bourgeois society is followed not by a "proletarian" stage, but by a socialist stage; between the two (bourgeois-socialist) there necessarily occurs a definite period of transition. The Soviet Union is passing through this transition period today. In current Soviet economic, social and cultural structures, there exist side by side, bourgeois elements left over from the old society and socialist elements foreshadowing the new. The whole dynamic movement of Soviet development is based on the simultaneous expansion of the latter and the contraction of the former. The culture of the Soviet Union today is not, of course, bourgeois, nor, on the other hand, is it yet socialist; it is essentially a transition culture. As such it necessarily includes bourgeois elements, for example, the novel and the short story as literary forms. In response to the systematic expansion of the socialist base of Soviet life, its culture becomes more and more socialist (i.e., classless) in character and there begin to emerge new socialist (not proletarian!) literary forms and techniques to replace the obsolete ones of the old culture. But, by the same token, it follows that in the earlier stages of the transition period, bourgeois forms and techniques must play an essential and even prominent role. (Just such a similar role do capitalist economic relations play in the economic life of the transition period, as Lenin explains so carefully in his "State and Revolution.") Trotsky is absolutely right, therefore, when he states that "proletarian art will never exist because the proletarian regime is transient and temporary." There can be bourgeois art and there can be socialist art and there can be transition art—but not "proletarian art" in the same sense. But if the term "proletarian art" is used as a synonym for transition art to emphasize the position of social domination of the proletariat and its ideals, the designation is legitimate and may be useful.

In the world outside the Soviet Union the socio-economic conditions necessary for the emergence of even the germs of new forms and techniques of literary culture are still in the lap of the future. Therefore the "devices" of proletarian writers in capitalist society must necessarily remain essentially bourgeois in character. This involves a certain contradiction between form and content, a contradiction that constitutes a serious problem for artistic activity with a proletarian orientation under capitalism. But it is a problem inherent in the case, inherent in the fact that the proletariat (unlike its predecessor, the bourgeoisie) is unable to begin developing even the outlines of its own (socialist) culture before the seizure of political power. I think you will agree that any real understanding of the "literary class struggle" must be based on an appreciation of this fact.

The Selection of Technique

But the very same conditions imply a certain necessary selection on the part of the proletarian writer. Which elements, precisely, of the old culture can best be "carried over" to help make the new? Which forms, styles, technical methods, available to us in literary tradition can most effectively, most harmoniously, be used to express the specific social content of proletarian literature? It does not follow (as it does in industrial technique) that the most "modern," the most recent "devices" are the most appropriate. On the contrary, bourgeois culture passes through many stages of dialectic development before it reaches its final, decadent phase. The Marxists do not make the "latest mode" in bourgeois philosophy (for example, the now fashionable ultra-idealistic "back to Berkeley" movement) the point of departure of their Weltanschauung, but, on the contrary, go back for their point of contact with bourgeois philosophy to classical German philosophy (Hegel) and to the French materialism of the Enlightenment. The Marxists do not make the "latest mode" in bourgeois economics (whatever it may be in these days of crisis) the point of departure for their economic theory but, on the contrary, go back to the classical English school (Adam Smith, Ricardo). Just so it might be possible that, in literary tradition too, proletarian writers might have to go back beyond the "latest mode." At least this possibility is not excluded and the appropriation of the latest bourgeois forms and techniques of literature is not a self-evident necessity.

Medicine and The Workers

RACKETS IN THE MEDICAL FIELD

by Medicus

America make less than \$2500 a year. Above is quoted from Philadelphia Inquirer, February 4, 1932.

The Obstetrical Racket

Another medical racket probably requires a little explanation. A physician brings his patient to be delivered in a private room at a hospital. If he is an ordinary general practitioner who takes only \$30 for the delivery, he will stick around the hospital so that he may be in time for delivery. But if he is an obstetrician, a specialist in this sort of work, who takes \$100 for the delivery, and who is very busy with patients, golf and pinocchio, he tells the nurse to call him only "when she sees the head popping out" and he goes away to play his game. Meanwhile, the woman begins to deliver in spite of the many assurances of the highly-paid specialist that she is good for another 24 hours, and this is what happens. I am citing a case that I witnessed. A woman was taken to the delivery room in order not to disturb the other patients, and he goes away to deliver it, but was told by the chief nurse to stay away—the delivery must be postponed until her private doctor comes, as otherwise the patient would not pay him for the case and he would not send in any more private patients to that hospital. Meanwhile, the woman got worse; the nurse tried by force to hold back the coming baby! The howls and wailings of the woman split the ceiling. When it became impossible to hold back the baby any longer—Reader, I saw it myself—the woman was chloroformed, the baby delivered, and the chloroform continued until the private doctor came, put on a surgeon's gown rapidly, asked if the baby was a boy or a girl, and then let the woman come out of the chloroform, telling her: "Well, deary, you are O. K. We had a little job with you but everything is O. K. now. You have a nice boy!"

This is not only inhuman—but it also has more serious consequences. There is great danger of a ruptured uterus or of asphyxiation of the baby and finally the chloroform itself has a certain hazard to life. Well, would not even some of our readers favor a prison sentence of at least 15 years for a burglar who chloroforms his victims in order to rob him of \$75 or \$100? Yet those doctors do it almost every day and are free and happy and belong to the ethical society of

ques of literary culture are still in the lap of the future. Therefore the "devices" of proletarian writers in capitalist society must necessarily remain essentially bourgeois in character. This involves a certain contradiction between form and content, a contradiction that constitutes a serious problem for artistic activity with a proletarian orientation under capitalism. But it is a problem inherent in the case, inherent in the fact that the proletariat (unlike its predecessor, the bourgeoisie) is unable to begin developing even the outlines of its own (socialist) culture before the seizure of political power. I think you will agree that any real understanding of the "literary class struggle" must be based on an appreciation of this fact.

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Obviously the analogy between industrial and literary technique cannot hold water!

Marxism and Culture

The paragraphs below are taken from Rosa Luxemburg's famous article, "Stagnation and Progress of Marxism."

But, in our movement, what applies to Marx's economic doctrines applies to theoretical research in general. It is pure illusion to suppose that the working class, in its upward striving, can of its own accord become immeasurably creative in the theoretical domain. True that, as Engels said, the working class alone has today preserved an understanding of and interest in theory. The workers craving for knowledge is one of the most noteworthy cultural manifestations of our day. Morally too, the proletarian struggle denotes the cultural renovation of society. But active participation of workers in the march of science is subject to the fulfillment of very definite social conditions.

In every class society, intellectual culture (science and art) is created by the ruling class and the aim of this culture is to satisfy in part the direct needs of the social process and in part the mental needs of the members of the governing class.

In the history of earlier class struggles, aspiring classes (like the Third Estate in recent days) could anticipate political dominion by establishing an intellectual dominance, inasmuch as, while they were still subjugated classes, they could set up a science and a new art against the obsolete culture of the decadent period.

The proletariat is in a very different position. As a non-possessing class, it cannot, in the course of its struggle upwards, spontaneously create a mental culture of its own while it remains in the framework of bourgeois society. Within that society, and so long as its economic foundations persist, there can be no other culture. Also certain "Socialist" professors may acclaim the wearing of neckties, the use of visiting cards, and the riding of bicycles by proletarians as notable instances of participation in cultural progress, the working class as such remains outside contemporary culture. Notwithstanding the fact that the workers create with their own hands the whole social substratum of this culture, they are only admitted to its enjoyment in so far as such admission is requisite to the satisfactory performance of their functions in the economic and social process of capitalist society.

The working class will not be in a position to create a science and a culture of its own until it has been fully emancipated.

The utmost it can do today is to safeguard bourgeois culture from the vandalism of the bourgeois reaction and create the social conditions requisite for a free cultural development. Even along these lines, the workers within the extant form of society, can only advance insofar as they create for themselves the intellectual weapons needed in their struggle for liberation.

"Sacred Healers."

Othe: Rackets

Shall I mention briefly some of the other rackets? Take for instance the graft given by surgical supply houses to doctors. They work on a 33% basis. Therefore, when the doctor prescribes a formerly abdominal support for his patient, priced \$18, he gets \$6 by return mail. Six dollars! It is almost a day's wages to the general practitioner and it amounts to hundreds and maybe thousands of dollars to the professors. The high priests of the healing art do not mind stooping so low as to become plain salesmen for the surgical supply houses for 33%. Do you wonder, reader, that so many of your friends are wearing belly supports, pelvic supports (saero iliac), kidney supports, braces for their backs, elastic stockings, etc? It does somebody some good!

Now, how about the light racket? I mean the various electric contraptions, galvanic currents, diathermy, ultraviolet rays, quartz light therapy, water and air cooled, etc. They may have some little value in a limited number of cases, but compared with the wide range of cases to which they are applied, it is highway robbery.

Think of that children's specialist who told me: "If I tell a poor woman that her child needs a course of 20 ultra-violet ray treatments at \$5 a treatment, three times a week, she will tell me that she can't pay so much. But when I tell her, Lady if your child is dear to you, see that it gets well, and I am the only one who can make it well, so bring \$125 next time you come. The lady brings it to me and I have more than I wanted. I am sure, then, that the lady will stick to me." I ask him: "Suppose it does not help?" "Oh," says he, "I'll tell her then that she needs another course, and I hope by then either nature will make the child well or the woman will get tired and stop coming, but I have gotten my \$250 by that time!"

The same also applies to the tonsil racket. Most of the tonsil snatchers give a certain part of their fee to the family doctor, therefore both have an interest in seeing to it that as many tonsils as possible are removed.

And last, but not least, the injection or needle racket. For what ailments they will give the injections now-a-days? They go by the dozens, and worst of all, if you do not suggest it to the patient, some other physician will and you will lose not only a patient but your reputation as well. You see: you did not know how to treat that patient, but somebody knew.

For A Return to Leninist Tactics! Some Basic Questions Answered

Trade Union Tactics And United Front

The mounting disaster into which the ultra-left course has led the Communist Party in this country, its defeats on the trade union field and in unemployment work, the growing, if still undefined consciousness on the part of the Party membership of the sectarian impotence outside and stifling bureaucracy inside, coupled with the repercussions of the chilling defeats of the German Party in the Presidential and Prussian Diet elections, have stimulated a certain tendency to mutual discussion between the Party comrades and the members of the Communist Opposition. In the course of this discussion, more or less informal, of course, but significant anyway, certain questions have arisen, or rather certain objections have been made by the Party members to our viewpoint on the various tactical questions at issue. Hence we believe it would contribute very greatly to the very necessary process of clarification, if the most important of these objections were to be dealt with a little more at length and with greater precision here than can be done in the course of conversation. We have therefore taken the outstanding questions for discussion below.

On Trade Union Tactics

1. It is declared that the conservative and reformist unions in the United States, as well as in other countries, cannot in general be transformed into proletarian fighting organizations but are once and for all constituted parts of the bourgeois state, since the reformist trade union bureaucracy has, to a large extent, merged with the bourgeoisie state.

Now of course, the last remark is entirely true of the very top officials of the A. F. of L. (Green, Woll) and of the conservative trade unions in other countries; it is less true of the middle official layers, and far less true of the lowest strata of the officialdom. But above all is the conclusion false. On the basis of the premises, it does not follow that the trade unions as such are "hopeless" but rather that the conservative leaders are hopeless and must be removed. The contention of alleged "impossibility" of removing them is sufficiently answered by the striking remarks of Lenin in his book on "Leftism." It will be recalled how Lenin ridicules those "Communists" who feel it possible to destroy the most monstrously powerful bourgeois state apparatus but quail before the reformists in the trade unions and believe it to be impossible to defeat and remove them! It will be recalled how sharply Lenin criticizes those "Communists" who deny

the working class character of the trade unions no matter how reactionary may be their leaders at this particular time. 2. It is very frequently declared in defense of the policies of the T.U.U.L. that the whole question is: Can we expect the reformist trade union leaders to lead struggles? And if this is not to be expected, then don't we have to organize "rank-and-file strike leaderships," "united front strike leaderships," etc. (in Germany they are called "fighting leaderships," "independent leaderships") outside the regular trade union organization? Is it possible for Communists to lead economic struggles except through the "independent strike leaderships"?

That the conservative trade union leaders will never and can never lead economic struggles is, of course, not true; we need only look at England in recent months and, right here in this country, at the textile industry (Paterson, Lawrence), at the mine fields (Ohio), etc. But when they do, under quite definite circumstances, they struggle they carry them on within very narrow limits, to the great detriment of the struggle, of course; they carry them on so as not to unleash too much the mass activity of the workers, so as not to hurt too much the business interests of the bosses, so as not to infringe even a whit upon the capitalist economy as such, or upon the capitalist state.

Naturally, economic struggles, those that the reformist leaders do not want to lead as well as those that they do lead within narrow limits, cannot be carried out without revolutionary, i. e., Communist, leading centers in the trade unions. But the T. U. U. L. "independent leaderships" are precisely the opposite of what these Communist leading centers in the trade unions should be. Not only because "they have no masses behind them to lead and organize" (as the T. U. U. L. course is carried out in the C.P. of England) but because the masses are not to be won by those who try to lead economic struggles outside of and against the unions, by those who aim to destroy the unions, not to win them, strengthen them, activate them. Therefore, the reformist leaders do not carry them more actively the more energetically, the T.U.U.L. course is carried out (and we are always told that the whole trouble is that the "line was not carried out energetically enough"), the worse the consequences for Communism will be! Communist leadership in the trade unions can be established only by a course directed towards winning the unions

and transforming them into organs of militant struggle.

3. Then there is the question: Are we going to desert those who may be expelled from the unions for militant activity (like in Anthracite)? Is it not necessary to organize the expelled into separate unions? Naturally we cannot let the expelled just drop away. Of course they must be included in some organization but not in a separate, dual-unionist organization. The expelled must be organized to fight for readmission and this struggle must be made into an important left wing issue inside the unions. The dual-unionist line of the T.U.U.L., of course, makes this impossible.

United Front Tactics

1. The most usual objection to our demand (the demand of Leninist tactics) that the Party should make its united front offers to the conservative and reformist organizations, and therefore, through their leaders, is: Do you really think it is possible to get William Green, Woll, Hillquit, etc. to fight along side of us against the capitalist offensive, the danger of war and so on?

To this we answer: Of course we don't! Only in exceptional cases will the leaders of the conservative trade unions and of the Socialist party stand in a common front with the Communists (in the struggle against Kapp putsch in Germany, for example). And even in such cases they are certain to desert the struggle, and even to betray it, as soon as it goes "too far" (i.e., develops along militant lines).

But surely there are hundreds of thousands of workers in this country, in the A. F. of L. and outside of it, who still believe that the leaders of the A. F. of L. stand against wages and the capitalist offensive. Surely there are thousands of workers who belong to the S. P. or vote for it, who believe that Hillquit and Thomas stand against capitalism and the menace of a new world war! For the Communists merely to assure these workers that they are mistaken, is obviously not enough. Agitation and propaganda are necessary but not sufficient. Actual experience in struggle is essential. For this reason the conservative trade union leaders and the reformist Socialist leaders must be called upon again and again in every concrete situation to join in a common struggle on specific issues of immediate, concrete importance to the workers. If they refuse, this counts as one more item in the experience of those who still follow them. If they accept, they only in the labor front broadened, but the course of the actual struggle will help to expose the reformists for what they are.

2. Another objection: Is it possible for united front organizations to carry on any fight at all unless they are under Communist leadership? Yes, but only within definite limits. They cannot, of course, carry on revolutionary struggles for power unless they are under Communist leadership. They cannot even carry on the more militant forms of struggle for immediate demands, unless the Communist influence is strong. But the necessary Communist influence is not won by asking for it, but by being in the struggle. For this reason the conservative trade union leaders and the reformist Socialist leaders must be called upon again and again in every concrete situation to join in a common struggle on specific issues of immediate, concrete importance to the workers. If they refuse, this counts as one more item in the experience of those who still follow them. If they accept, they only in the labor front broadened, but the course of the actual struggle will help to expose the reformists for what they are.

About the C. P. Plenum Thesis THE "NEW TURN" TWISTS BACK

by Herbert Zam

(Concluded from last issue) For almost three years, the Communist Opposition has been insisting that the serious crisis in the Party is brought about by sectarian, ultra-left policies, which isolate the Party from the masses and the mass organizations and paralyze its capacity to mobilize the workers. After three years of howling at "right opportunism," the "right danger" and the "Lovestone right wing," after expelling all those who dared suggest that, not "right" deviations, but ultra-left adventurism was ruining the Party, after putting the ultra-leftists in power and permitting them to run the Party on the rocks, the Party leadership now innocently suggests that there is an ultra-left danger after all and that it occupies first place in the Party's shortcomings! Listen to the resolution:

"The chief obstacles which stood in the way of carrying out a correct mass policy and in the further development of the Party are the following: 1. The strong sectarian tendencies (emphasis in original) in the entire work of the Party, as well as in the mass organizations—tendencies which are based on deeply rooted formalism. The Party carries out the great front in a rigid and formal way. It has not yet learned how to connect itself up firmly with the broad masses of non-Party and reformist workers, work in the old unions, to work on the basis of their concrete needs (general demands) and to draw up the demands together with them. Thus, the Party appears before the masses as a Party for the workers but not the Party of the workers."

Four years ago, the Comintern characterized the Party as the "stalwart leader of the workers," as having ceased being a propaganda organization and having become a Party of action. Three years of the "new line" and the "new leadership" which were to have "transformed" the Party, etc., etc., and the leadership is compelled to admit that they do not even know how to draw up proper demands or to work in trade unions. Is any further commentary needed regarding the conditions of the Party in the United States, of the entire Communist International?

And What Remedies?

Well, having duly taken note of the sectarian character of the Party's work, what remedies are proposed by the "leaders"? Here they are: "In order to overcome sectarianism which constitutes the chief obstacle in the revolutionary mass work of the Party, the Party must carry on a consistent struggle against right opportunism as the main danger."

What hypocrisy! Or perhaps we had better say: What stupidity! What blindness! Eliminate sectarianism! Fight leftism by still more sectarianism! Fight leftism by still

greater leftism! Pile isolation upon isolation! Put yourself on the high seas as great leaders! Find more scape-goats! Expel more Lovestones! Smash and destroy everything! That is how to build a mass Party.

The sectarianism and isolation of the Party can be overcome by abandoning the policies which are sectarian and cause isolation. They are:

- 1. A wrong attitude to the Social-democratic and reformist workers and reformist organizations—the theory of "social-fascism." 2. A false trade union policy—dual-unionism and union-splitting in place of working in the old unions and building them. 3. The abandonment of the united front in favor of the pseudo-united front "from below only." 4. The slavish and mechanical imitation of Soviet Party activities, blind obedience without thought and without discussion of all instructions from the E.C.C.I. 5. A system of Party dictatorship in the mass organizations and among the non-Party masses, a system of leader dictatorship inside the Party, the condemnation of any organization as "social-fascist" if it is not quickly won over to the Party position and attempts to split it, disruption of meetings of other organizations, an attitude of intolerance towards all other views in the labor movement and in the Party.

Regarding this system of "Party dictatorship" it is interesting to quote one who carried on an energetic campaign against all conceptions and practices of "Party dictatorship." Polemicizing against it, he declared that the conception must be rejected because it would mean:

- 1. To the non-Party masses: "Don't dare to contradict, or to discuss matters; the Party is supreme; the dictatorship of the Party has been established." 2. To the members of the Party: "Act more resolutely; tighten up the screws; pay no heed to what the non-Party masses say; the dictatorship of the Party is in force." 3. To the Party leaders: "You can have a touch of swelled head; set up, and of course that really means the dictatorship of the leaders."

"The present moment is one at which it is more than ever incumbent upon us to keep these dangers well in mind, at a time when the political activity of the masses is increasing. Now, in especial, the Party must be ready to pay close attention to the voice of the masses, must have a fine ear for their demands, must display extreme caution and show peculiar elasticity in its policy. Now, more than ever, will the Party leadership of the masses be im-

periled if Communists should suffer from swelled head."

Peculiarly enough, this was written by nobody else but Joseph Stalin ("Leninism," p. 51), who is today the expert in violating his own best advice and who has, unfortunately, more followers in its violation than he ever had in its acceptance. The voices of the Party leadership are not being heeded for it is today precisely as Stalin described, or as Harrison George explained in the language of the "third period" (And what, by the way, has happened to the "third period"?):

"The Party must do still another thing. It must change its attitude toward those who have been the pioneers in the struggle against sectarianism and ultra-leftism. It must readmit them to the Party and give them an opportunity to influence the Party's policies—that is, it must open the doors of the Party to all those who accept the principles of Communism and are willing to carry out Party decisions, (Continued on Page 4)

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HAWAII—CALIFORNIA—ALABAMA!

WHAT price murdering a colored man in the American Empire? One hour's imprisonment! This is the deliberate verdict of the law—the law of American imperialism in Hawaii.

What price organizing the workers and championing their interests against capital? Imprisonment for life! This is the deliberate verdict of the law—the law of American imperialism in California.

What price being poor and colored in the South? Death in the electric chair! This is the deliberate verdict of the law—the law of American imperialism in Alabama.

Apparently justice is not blind—at least not color-blind or class-blind!

In Honolulu, Lieutenant Massie, uniformed representative of Wall Street, entered into a conspiracy with his mother-in-law and two naval enlisted men to kidnap and to murder, to lynch, a young Hawaiian athlete who had been accused of attacking Massie's wife but whom the Hawaiian courts had refused to find guilty. And Joseph Kahahawai was indeed kidnapped and shot down in cold blood. At first the grand jury in Honolulu refused to take notice of this "trifling incident" but finally four self-confessed murderers were indicted for second-degree murder. They obtained the services of the high-priced Mr. Darrow, who sold the reputation of a lifetime for a mess of pottage. The jury, carefully selected with a keen eye to race prejudice, finally returned a verdict of manslaughter, not murder, mind you. Yet a tremendous roar of protest arose in ruling class circles in the United States; imagine a white man, much less a white woman, being actually convicted for lynching a "nigger"! It's simply unheard of! But Governor L. M. Judd of Hawaii showed himself equal to the occasion. The sentence of ten years, which Judge Davis had imposed as a gesture, was immediately commuted to ONE HOUR IN THE CUSTODY OF THE SHERIFF! A general hand-shake all around and the whole "unpleasant incident" was over. Not quite! For now there is a movement under way to procure a full pardon for Massie and the others and to obtain naval promotion for the chivalrous lieutenant!

In San Francisco, two militant labor organizers, Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, were arrested on the charge of throwing a bomb at a jingo parade in the city. The prosecutor, an open agent of the public utility interests, conducted the case exclusively on the basis of perjured testimony concocted by himself and his paid tools. The men were convicted, sentenced to death. This sentence too was commuted—to lifelong imprisonment. In the sixteen years that followed, every one who has taken the least trouble to examine the case, has reached the conclusion that both Mooney and Billings are perfectly innocent of the crime alleged against them, that the prosecutor knew this when the case was being tried, that the men were sent to prison simply because they had become a menace to the powerful capitalist ring controlling the life of the city. All the living jurymen of the Mooney-Billings trial and the trial judge himself, have called for their release. Millions upon millions of people all over the world have joined as with one voice to demand the liberation of Mooney and Billings. But "justice" has ears only for the voice of the ruling class. Mooney and Billings are still in jail!

In Alabama, eight Negro boys, jobless, penniless, rode the freights. In the same car were two white prostitutes. That was enough. The "sanctity of white womanhood" had been violated, "white supremacy" had been challenged. The train was met by a furious mob. The boys were seized, placed in confinement and not permitted to get in touch with any friends or relatives. The white prostitutes were informed that they had been "attacked" and that they must swear so. A hasty trial was improvised. Of course, the unfortunate boys were convicted and sentenced to death. Had it not been for the International Labor Defense, the whole matter would not even have risen to the level of a "case". It would have been just another "conviction for rape." As it was, however, impartial investigations were soon organized, every one of which proved that the boys were the victims of a flagrant frame-up, that the trial and conviction constituted a shameful farce, nothing more nor less than a legal lynching. Voices of protest began to be heard on every side, from every country in the world. But the Alabama Supreme Court confirmed the verdict, no governor was found to commute their sentence, and the boys are to die in the electric chair.

Hawaii, California and Alabama! Here we see the two faces of bloody American capitalism: benign and gentle when turned to the ruling caste and its janisseries, cruel and ferocious when turned to the oppressed and downtrodden masses! Sacco and Vanzetti were executed, Mooney and Billings remain in prison after sixteen long years, the Scottsboro boys face the electric chair—but the gentlemen and lady murderers in Honolulu serve one hour's imprisonment!

Can any American worker and farmer, can any American who prizes liberty and justice as something more than a tawdry screen for the rope and faggot and the electric chair, look at Hawaii, California and Alabama and fail to rise in irrepressible indignation at the brazen effrontery, at the cool and calculated ferocity of the ruling class of the United States! But indignation is not enough! Indignation must be transmuted into action! With Honolulu and San Francisco and Scottsboro before our eyes, let a mighty movement of protest arise in every part of the country, in every part of the world, that will not only stay the hand of the bloodthirsty lynchers and open the prison doors before Mooney and Billings but will also strike enough terror into the heart of the ruling class, which knows no law but the law of force, to make it think twice before ever flinging another such outrage in the face of the toiling masses!

Present and Future of American Labor

For Working Class Unity!

by Jay Lovestone

Towards working class unity: Sectarianism and dual-unionism are gnawing at the vitals of the labor movement. These Siamese twins, swaddled in heavy blankets of high-sounding revolutionary phrases, have plagued the ranks of the American labor movement with confusion, dissension and sterility. It is true that the dominant leadership of the A. F. of L. is bureaucratic and corrupt, that the leaders are merely lieutenants of Wall Street in the ranks of the working class. But all this does not mean that the entire trade union movement is just one homogeneous reactionary mass or that the union masses and the bureaucrats are identical.

The Communists will have to learn not only to love their principles but also how to work among the masses so as to win them for their revolutionary program. The official Communist Party must drop its present policy of union-splitting, of deserting organizations because they are not yet militant enough, because they are dominated by reactionary leaders. The official Communist party must drop its sectarian policy of artificially creating so-called new and "pure" revolutionary unions, which actually are neither revolutionary nor unions, but are paper organizations which merely bring further confusion and division into the ranks of labor. It is the task of the Communists and the left wingers to become the banner-bearers of trade union unity and thus become the driving force for working class unity against capitalist reaction. In this connection it would be very well for the official Communist party in the United States to recall and follow the advice of Friederich Engels to the American labor left-wingers at the close of 1886:

"It is far more important that the movement should spread . . . and embrace as much as possible the whole American proletariat than that it should proceed from the beginning on perfectly correct theoretical lines. There is no better road to theoretical clearness of comprehension than to learn by one's own mistakes . . . And for a whole large class there is no other road, especially for a nation so eminently practical and so contemptuous of theory as the Americans. The great thing is to get the working class to move as a class; that once obtained, they will soon find the right direction and all who resist . . . will be left in the cold with small sects of their own. Therefore, I think also the Knights of Labor a most important factor in the movement which ought not to be pooh-poohed from without but to be revolutionized from within. . . . Our theory is not a dogma, but the exposition of a process of evolution and that process involves successive phases. To expect that the Americans will start with the full consciousness of the theory worked out in older industrial countries is to expect the impossible. . . . But above all, give the movement time to consolidate. Do not make the inevitable confusion of the first start worse confounded by forcing down people's throats things which at present they cannot properly understand but which they soon will learn."

It is interesting to note a new source of admiration and support for purity of dogma in the revolutionary movement. Some of the petty bourgeoisie, cracked by the crisis and stock market crash, are now staggering into Communist ranks with much feeling and little thought. These new recruits of the official Communist Party are becoming more holy than the Pope, neo-Catholic, more "left" than even the present ultra-left leadership of the American Communist Party. Nothing is "red" enough for these new "converts" in their "experiment" and "great adventure" in Leninism! These converts fall in with the present Communist Party doctrine that the A. F. of L. is hopelessly reactionary from top to bottom, fossilized, and a mere adjunct of the government, sterile and worthless.

We may grant at the outset the left wing's difficulties in capturing the whole A. F. of L. or any of its big international unions. There is slight chance of attaining such objectives within the next few years. But the point is that the revolutionary work in the conservative unions is not conditional upon the practical possibility of capturing the machinery, the apparatus, of these unions as such. Rather it should con-

cern itself with winning a majority of these masses for militant class struggle policies. The transformation of these organizations into genuine fighting organs of the working class should be the cardinal aim of revolutionary activities in reactionary unions. In this we see our greatest hope and opportunity. But the desertion of the conservative unions by the militant forces leads only to splits and divisions, to the destruction of organizations built thru years of struggle. Regardless of the revolutionary-sounding tom-tom heralding this ultra-left course, Lenin's diagnosis of the infantile paralysis in Communism remains a timely warning. It would be well for these half-baked "radicals" to come down to earth and to change their tactics lest the alarm signals become distress signals and the official Communist Party is stranded on a small, pure, ideological island.

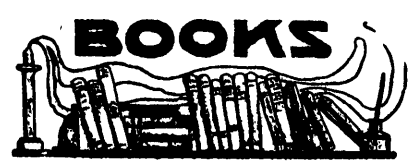
There could be nothing more fatal to the American labor movement in general and the revolutionary movement in particular than the illusion that the A. F. of L. can no longer grow and has no future. It is silly to look at the existing American trade union movement with its 3,000,000 members as stationary, unchangeable. As we have seen, profound changes are developing in the ranks of the labor movement. An influx of masses into the old unions, the A. F. of L. and the like, is entirely possible. We have seen how the base of the labor aristocracy is being undermined. In the 90's when British imperialism occupied the international position now held by the United States, the trade union movement in Great Britain was like the American trade union movement today, ultra-reactionary in its leadership and policies. Skilled elements with narrow guild traditions then dominated the British trade union movement.

But the first shaking of the British Empire brought the "new unionism" and a new leadership. Hundreds of thousands of unskilled and semi-skilled workers poured into the British unions and brought a new breath of life into the organizations. Our own experience, during the war, when several million new workers entered the A. F. of L., was similar. One cannot of course overemphasize the fact that the A. F. of L. officialdom was not responsible for this mass influx of yesterday. Today, they generally oppose the opening of the trade union ranks to new workers. Tomorrow, they may be counted upon actively to resist. Yet we must keep in mind that such social and economic forces as another war or a wave of new class struggles growing out of the present crisis are far more powerful than the corruption and machinations of the Greens, the Wolls, and other trade union leaders of their type.

The outlook is clearly for an ingress into the trade unions, for sharpened class conflicts involving millions of workers in trade unions as well as the millions of sorely-pressed unorganized. In the course of these struggles the unorganized are likely to pour into the unions and finally they will serve as the decisive force, the leaven germinating a new spirit of struggle, militancy and power in these organizations.

Towards international working class unity: The American labor movement, strengthened in number and influence, will continue its development—craft to industrial unionism; trade union to political action on a national scale; and finally achieve a world perspective of international unity and cooperation with its struggling brothers in Latin-America, Europe, Asia and Africa, and the victorious proletariat in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Historically the American proletariat is destined to play a decisive revolutionary role in the international working class struggle because it is fighting the last and greatest stronghold of world capitalism, Yankee imperialism. The World War and the economic crisis have, as we have pointed out, liberated forces molding a new labor movement—more healthy and revolutionary in outlook and action, prepared to fulfill its historic mission. We can look to the American proletariat to take its place, in the not-distant future, in the front ranks of the international working class army, fighting to overthrow the decaying capitalist system and building in its place a society free from all class rule, exploitation and oppression—a socialist order.



SCIENCE AT THE CROSSROADS, Collected Papers on Marxism and Science. Kniga, London.

This book, the collection of the papers presented by the Soviet representatives at the International Congress of the History of Science and Technology held in London last summer, is invaluable to the student of dialectical materialism. The contents taken as a whole give a comprehensive and balanced picture of the method of dialectical materialism as applied concretely to the various sciences. Certain of the essays call for special comment.

First, Bukharin's introductory essay on "Theory and Practice," which supplies a sort of unifying thread to the entire discussion, is a masterpiece of condensation, it is better than anything he has ever done on the subject—and incidentally supplies a needed corrective for some of his own oversimplified formulations in his "Historical Materialism."

Biologic theory today flounders helplessly between the idealism of vitalism and the mechanical materialism of mechanism. Some physicists would have physics swallow biology, some biologists would have biology swallow physics. Needed orientation in these matters is supplied by the complementary essays of Zavadovsky and Colman on physics and biology and their interrelations.

The essay of Hessen on Newton's "Principia" is an excellent piece of historical-materialist analysis. Newton, as a man supposedly transcending space and time, is dragged from the skies and placed squarely on earth in the framework of the society of his time. It is clearly shown how the content and form of his speculations were conditioned by the economic and technologic demands of his day. Clearly indicated also are the limitations of the "mechanical" cast of Newton's whole mode of thought.

Finally, Colman's essay on mathematics is valuable since even variety and shade of anti-Marxism seizes upon the supposedly "pure" and "abstract" nature of mathematics as eternal refutation of the "pretensions" of Marxism.

The unified world outlook of dialectical materialism offers here evidence of its vitality. All the more does it emphasize therefore, the crisis in bourgeois science today.

JIM CORK

The "New Turn" Twists Back Again

(Continued from Page 3)

regardless of differences on questions of policy. The present resolution indicates that the Party leadership is as far as ever from understanding the need for Communist unity. It does not realize that the present disunity in the ranks of Communism is one of the greatest obstacles to the advance of Communism and one of the greatest weapons in the hands of our enemies. Is it not time to end the drive against "renegades" and take back into the Party the hundreds of able, self-sacrificing revolutionists who have been expelled? Is it not time to realize that here are some of the forces which the Party so badly needs? It is up to the membership of the Communist Party. The Party's future is in your hands. You need but act in a determined, Leninist manner to make sure that that future shall be a bright one!

An invitation to join a Soviet scientific expedition to study isolated groups in that country this summer has been accepted by Dr. K. Koffka, the well known exponent of "Gestalt" psychology, and present director of the Smith College research laboratory in experimental and educational psychology.

The invitation was extended by the State Institute of Psychology in Moscow and is the first ever tendered to a foreigner.

Dr. Koffka will lecture in Moscow and in Kharkov.

The purpose of the expedition is to study the psychological functioning of isolated groups. The expedition will go either to the Province of Swantzia in the Caucasus or to Samarkand in Southwestern Asiatic Russia. Collective farming and the rapid economic and social progress of the Soviet Union are destroying the isolation of even the most backward groups in the U.S.S.R. so rapidly that it is felt important to make the scientific studies before it is too late.

New York Revisited

(The Father of His Country Fails to Recognize His Child)
General George Washington was rowed from New Jersey on a barge, greeted in Wall Street by a storm of ticker tape, given the glad hand by Mayor Walker (George, meet Jimmy) welcomed by floor-walker Whalen and accorded all the honors that might be given to a bathing beauty or a flag-pole sitter.

The ticker tape was not welcoming the Washington who led the American Revolution but the Washington whose prestige was used to put across the Hamilton financial program. The big ovation were not for "Our George" but for "Our Jimmie" and for "Our Gene" (Tunney dressed in a Major's uniform).

This history repeats itself—"once as tragedy and again as farce."

SEAMEN AND HARBOR CLUB OPENS

New York City.
Over fifty marine workers attended the meeting opening the Seamen and Harbor Workers Club at 31 South Street on Sunday, May 8.

The speakers were William J. White, who touched upon the benefits derived from labor organization, J. O. Bental, who discussed the role of seamen and harbor workers play, especially in time of war, and Ed Wright, who explained the nature and purposes of the club. About 15 workers joined.



BETWEEN HAMMER AND ANVIL

Blame It On The Reds
Matthew Woll wants more stool-pigeons in the labor movement. As vice-president of the A. F. of L. he's a labor "leader". As acting head of the National Civic Federation he's an open-shopper, union-smasher and labor-hater. In either capacity he's a brilliant logician and frame-up artist. Brother Woll has the floor:

"I am enclosing a report of a survey made by the National Civic Federation throughout the country during the last four months." (Mr. Woll doesn't mean wage-cuts—his outrages were "newspaper clippings of forest and oil well fires, bombings, the destruction and looting of buildings and banks and other crimes.")

"It is not contended," continued Woll, "that any or all of these outrages are the direct result of Communist or other subversive activity. But so many of them point clearly to such origin that the questions are raised: Is not this situation the result of organized effort under the control of master minds, and if so, who are they?"

"For Mr. Woll, to ask is to answer. Scratch an outrage and you'll find a Communist."

"It is hardly reasonable to assume," his exercise in logic continues, "that this is simply a record of sporadic happenings. A study of the Communist literature published in English and foreign languages leads to the conviction that a definite plan (is it a piatiletka?) of destructive action is being conducted in this and all civilized countries."

The First International was blamed because Mrs. Murphy's cow kicked over a lantern in her stable and started the Chicago fire. Now the Third International has spread cancer and bank failures and kidnapped the Lindbergh baby. In honor of our dear union brother, Matthew Woll, we reprint our popular song once dedicated to Bank Superintendent Broderick when he blamed the "Reds" for the failure of the Bank of the United States. We rededicate it to Matthew Woll. It is his by right of superior merit.

It's The Reds

If your tonsils are infected
It's the Reds!
If your business is neglected,
It's the Reds!
If your sweetie has to wait
When you fail to keep a date,
Blame the Reds!

Blame the drought and blame the flood
On the Reds!
Always safe to throw some mud
At the Reds!
Crops that fail and bumper crops,
Poison liquor in the schnaps
Blame the Reds!

If your favorite stock goes blooey
That's the Reds!
If the whole damn market's screwy
It's the Reds!
Wagon cuts, bread lines, bootleg liquor,
You just blame it quicker quicker—
On the Reds!

If the copper shot and missed him
It's the Reds!
Blame the whole damn social system
On the Reds!
Rain and flood and fire and hail,
Banks that merge and banks that fail
Keep the bankers out of jail,
Jail the Reds!

Station W.W.W. Broadcasting
William W. Weinstein is on the air. He is making his summary remarks at the 14th plenum. We copy verbatim from the Daily Worker of May 5:

"What have we been discussing?" asks comrade Weinstein. "What has been the subject of the remarks by most of the comrades? What have we in reality been trying to solve as a result of this prolonged discussion?"

"Very briefly, we have been trying to solve the problem of correct mass work. We thought at the 13th Plenum we had made the beginning of the turn. And for that reason we were not fully aware of the situation in which the Party finds itself. But comrades, have we here, in the resolution of the Communist International, really a correction of the estimation of the Party at the time of the 13th Plenum? Or have we in the resolution of the C. I. an estimation of the work of the Party just more or less a few minor pluses or minuses? Not at all. Because since the time of the 13th Plenum, life has not stood still. At the present Plenum, the 14th Plenum of the Party, the question has been put more sharply than it has in the past, and we will not be able to appreciate the significance of the moment in which we are discussing this resolution."

Honest, reader, we've copied the opening remarks of the closing remarks of Comrade Weinstein word for word!

"What have we been discussing?" asks Comrade Weinstein. We give up! Our readers give up! Comrade Weinstein gives up! Everybody gives up!

This is impossible! We offer a prize to any enterprising reader who finds any sense in the above. No one is barred from participating in the contest. Not even Comrade Weinstein or his relatives! The prize is a pair of smoked glasses. Anybody who can see any sense in it needs a pair of smoked glasses to protect his penetrating eyes.

What does "Station W.W.W." mean? Guess it must be: "Words, Words, Words!"

—B. D. W.

Special Summer Term

of the
NEW WORKERS SCHOOL
228 SECOND AVENUE, Corner 14th Street—Tel. GRamercy 5-1660.

1. REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

Instructor: WILL HERBERG
Four lectures dealing with the revolutionary heritage of the American people, including the Revolution, the Civil War, Agrarianism and Populism, and the rise of modern Socialism
MONDAYS at 8:30, beginning June 6.
Course, 75c—Single Lectures, 25c.

2. DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM.

Instructor: JAY LOVESTONE.
Five lectures dealing with the most important phases in the rise and development of American Communism
FRIDAYS at 8, beginning May 27.
Course, \$1.00—Single Lectures, 25c

3. WHICH PROGRAM FOR REVOLUTIONISTS?

Instructor: HERBERT ZAM.
Four lectures dealing with the controversial issues of the Communist movement, with the programs of the various groups and with the program of the Socialist "Militants".
MONDAYS at 7, beginning June 6.
Course, 75c—Single Lectures, 25c

SPECIAL RATES FOR TWO OR MORE COURSES

POLICE SUPPRESS EXPOSE PLAY

"Merry-Go-Round" Hit For Baring Corruption In City Government

NEW YORK CITY.—Political censorship in its most vicious form was exercised on May 4 by the police here when they prevented the opening at the Avon Theatre of a play entitled "Merry-Go-Round", dealing with civic corruption. The official reason given was the failure of the owners of the house to get a license on time but it was recognized all around that the reason was obviously political—the Tammany administration did not relish a theatrical exposure of its own unfathomable corruption.

The play is by Albert Matz and George Sklar. A few days previously, the play was announced to move to the Cort Theatre but the booking was canceled.

Arthur Ross, attorney for the producers, said application would be made to the Supreme Court for a writ of mandamus against Commissioner Geraghty to compel him to issue a license.

The Economic See-Saw
"Steel Pay Cut Gain; Stocks Rise Briskly—15% Slash for 200,000 Workers Aids Widest Market Advance Since Feb. 13."—Times Headline.
And they say there are no classes in our "democratic" society!