

# WORKERS AGE

Workers of all Countries, Unite!

For Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle!

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## WALKER GOT CAB COMPANY BRIBE

Received \$26,000 From Wall Street House; Hastings Worked For Rival

NEW YORK CITY.—Mayor James J. Walker was the recipient of over \$26,000 worth of bonds given to him by J. A. Sisto, Wall Street broker who had a hand in the financing of the Parmelee Transportation Company, in consideration of the Mayor's services in getting the passage of a bill creating a Board of Taxicab Control, that is, putting the city's taxicab industry on a single-franchise basis, much to the advantage of the big companies and the detriment of the "independents." This was the gist of the testimony given by Mr. Sisto of the firm of J. A. Sisto and Company, under promise of immunity, before the Seabury Committee on May 12. Mr. Sisto declared that he met Mayor Walker, "accidentally", of course, at a resort near Atlantic City, "took a liking to him" and made him a present of a batch of bonds thru an intermediary, John J. McKeon. Curiously enough, Mayor Walker thereafter vigorously championed the Board of Taxicab Control bill, for which the big taxicab companies were so anxious.

At the same time that Mayor Walker was so affectionately treated by the financial representative of the Parmelee Company's interests, State Senator John A. Hastings was on the payroll of the Parmelee Company's chief rival, the Terminal Cab Company, at a salary greater than its vice-president and general manager. Mr. Seymor, general manager of the Terminal organization, declared that the Senator was being paid "about 50-50 for his technical knowledge and his political acquaintanceship." Senator Hastings is Mayor Walker's political manager.

Thus Jimmy Walker, the hail-fellow-well-met "friend of the people," the inimitable wise-cracker, stands accused as an ordinary grafter, receiving bribes in return for legislative privileges! The workers of this city ought to realize that it is at their expense that this whole dirty game of capitalist politics is being played—and ought to determine to make an end of it!

## LANG REMOVED BY BRITISH GOVERNOR

Left Laborite Forced Out Because Of His Fight Against Bankers

SYDNEY, Australia.—J. T. Lang, left Laborite Premier of New South Wales, was dismissed from office on May 13 by Sir Philip Game, British Governor of the State. R.B.S. Stevens, leader of the New South Wales opposition and member of the reactionary United Australia party, was commissioned to form a government. It is expected that Parliament will be dissolved next week and a general election will be held immediately.

The news of the Governor's action aroused tremendous protest among the masses of the city, especially among the members of the organized trade union movement which is backing Lang. Big demonstrations were held throughout the city.

The dismissal of the Labor Premier took place on the pretext of a technically unconstitutional act on the part of Lang in connection with the recent conflict over finances. The actual reason, of course, is the resistance Lang has been making to the plans of the Australian bourgeoisie to shift the burdens of the crisis more and more on to the shoulders of the working masses of the country. When the news of Lang's removal became public great joy was manifested in capitalist circles and all Australian issues rose on the London Stock Exchange.

MELBOURNE, Australia.—The reactionary United Australia party emerged the victor in the general elections that took place here on May 14. The Labor government, which was maintained by the support of the "independents", will now give way to a coalition of the United Australia and Country parties.

Before a well-attended meeting of the Social Problems Club of Vassar College, Jay Lovestone spoke on "Russia and Communism."

After the talk there were many questions. Questions and discussion lasted over two hours.

## For Militant Unionism!

The following statement was issued by Chas. S. Zimmerman to the delegates of the convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in session in Philadelphia. The case referred to is the attempt to remove Zimmerman and others from the executive board of Local 22 on some technical grounds.

You have acted yesterday on the report of your Committee on Appeals and Adjustments, which involves me. The main reason for seating me, as stated by Secretary-Treasurer Dubinsky, was the spirit of generosity which animates your convention. I am making this statement because I believe that this reason is false and misleading, the real reason being quite different from the one stated on the floor of the convention. In my opinion the real reason is the following. This convention meets at a time when the standard of living of the workers of our industry is getting worse from day to day. The workers are so impoverished that

miserly and starvation worse even than in the old sweat-shop days is the prevailing condition. The Union is in a chaotic state, financially bankrupt and organizationally on the downward path. The employers are taking advantage of this situation and are intensifying their offensive, devising all kinds of schemes to lower even further the living standards of the workers. The policies and tactics of our leadership have failed completely to safeguard the interests of the workers. Widespread discontent with the policies and tactics of the administration of the Union prevails among the members.

The convention, meeting at such a critical time, instead of giving thorough consideration to these problems, instead of making drastic revisions in the policies and tactics of the Union, instead of adopting measures to reconstruct and consolidate our Union and put it on a basis to enable it to take the offensive against the employers, instead of heeding the dis-

(Continued on Page 3)

## A Letter from Sweden

## Kreuger Swindle and Social Democracy

by S. K. (Stockholm)

Stockholm, Sweden.

April 27, 1932. All politics in Sweden within the last few weeks has taken place under the sign of the Kreuger scandal. In the Parliament a whole series of issues were raised connected with it, especially the proposal for a subsidy to the Kreuger concerns. Over 215,000,000 kronen (\$54,000,000) were at stake.

The Social-democratic parliamentary fraction not only approved the Kreuger subsidies but even championed them and in this they stood together with the bourgeois parties. Only a short while before the Social-democratic fraction had cooperated with the same bourgeois parties to reject the proposal of the Communist Party of Sweden (adhering to the International Communist Opposition) for general unemployment insurance!

The fact that the Social-democratic party had unhesitatingly approved 215,000,000 kronen for capitalist purposes but had just as unhesitatingly rejected any assistance to the miserable masses of unemployed, gave rise to the most intense indignation in the ranks of the working class. Protest on the part of Social-democratic supporters against the action of the party leadership were heard on every side and a considerable number of Social-democrats joined the Communist Party. The results of the Social-democratic Kreuger policy thus were: a sharp drop in the circulation of the Stockholm paper Sozialdemokraten, a wave of resignations from the Social-democratic party and, on the other hand, the strengthening of the Communist Party and the rise in the circulation of its central organ Folkets Dagblad. And in the executive elections of the Stockholm metal workers union the Communist Party emerged triumphant in striking contrast to the real serious defeat of the Social-democrats.

These manifestations produced real panic in the top circles of the Social-democracy, especially in view of the coming parliamentary elections. And so the old reliable methods of "fighting Communism" were dragged out again: suddenly there arose the rumor that the Communist Party had been "corrupted by the Kreuger interests!"

A real "bomb" was exploded for the elections. The world was told that Kreuger had subsidized the Communist paper Folkets Dagblad to the tune of 100,000 kronen in order to "render it subservient to himself and his interests!"

But—alas, the "bomb" was a dud! The central organ of the German Social-democracy Vorwaerts assures us that these "exposures" have produced a "storm of indignation in the ranks of the Swedish working class." This is true; but it was directed not against the Communists but precisely against the election maneuver of the Socialists. As far as the Swedish workers were concerned they knew very well the record of the Swedish Communist Party in the struggle against the Kreuger interests. The rotten trick of the Social-democrats in fact proved a boomerang and rebounded upon the heads of the bureaucracy itself.

Kreuger was supposed to have corrupted the Communist paper so to make it "subservient" to him! But

who, in all Sweden, raised his voice against Kreuger in the days of his greatness except the Communist paper Folkets Dagblad?

It was precisely Folkets Dagblad that, long before the rumors of "difficulties" and "irregularities" of the Kreuger concerns ever became public, thundered against the Kreuger manipulations and demanded a full and open public examination of the records of all of the Kreuger firms. At a time when Kreuger was still alive, when he was the central financial luminary in all Sweden, Folkets Dagblad specifically forecast and warned against the collapse of his enterprises and described the consequences of his swindling operations for the Swedish workers and middle class. And yet it was at this time, if we are to believe the Socialists, that our paper was in the pay of Kreuger and was "subservient to his interests!"

When the first whispers of the Kreuger collapse began to leak out, it was again Folkets Dagblad that hit out at Kreuger and his system with the greatest vigor while the Social-democratic press in Sweden could not find a single condemnatory word for him!

The Swedish Socialist paper Nya Samhaellet wrote that "the present age needs people like Kreuger." The Socialist paper Sozialdemokraten announced that Kreuger belonged to "the most sympathetic elements of the employers," because "he was the warm champion of collaboration between the workers and the masses of the city poor (lower middle class elements). It is on this basis that the numerous revolutionary disturbances have been taking place in South America in the last two years. The plan for joint action against the rising revolutionary movement is not only aimed to maintain the native bourgeoisie in power but also to preserve the stranglehold of foreign imperialism upon the economic life of South America.

The immediate object of the repressive efforts of the Peruvian and allied governments is the so-called "Apra", a petty bourgeois anti-imperialist organization headed by de la Torre.

Peru and Mexico have broken off their diplomatic relations. Peru accused the Mexican government of promoting Communist activities in Peru!

That the recent withdrawal of Japanese troops from the Shanghai area and the simultaneous rushing of big reinforcements into Manchuria are parts of the preparations of Japanese imperialism for an attack upon the Soviet Union, was made clear in the special reports of the capitalist press in this country. The Chicago Daily News of May 12, 1932, declares: "The withdrawal of Japanese troops from Shanghai and the dispatch of a new army to Manchuria is interpreted... as the first move in a war between Japan and the Soviet Union. Covert observers, such as the Daily News correspondent in Peiping, are now convinced that the long expected conflict is near!" Similar reports have been published in the New York Times and in the New York Herald-Tribune.

On May 10 the Japanese War Office announced that the Fourteenth Division, about 24,000 strong, which had been withdrawn from Shanghai, had arrived at Dairen and was "en route for the interior." On May 12 the bulk of the division arrived at Harbin. The Japanese troops in Northern Manchuria have been more than doubled in the last month. It is declared every-

where that the immediate Japanese aim is to cut the Usuri Railway, running along the Northern and Eastern borders of Manchuria, thus isolating Vladivostok and the whole maritime province.

In Soviet Siberia the work of defense against the expected Japanese offensive is progressing with feverish intensity. The entire population is aroused to the highest pitch in the determination to defend the great achievements of the proletarian revolution and of socialist construction against the attacks of imperialism. The Soviet government and the Soviet masses want nothing more than peace but they are ready to defend their socialist fatherland to the last ditch!

The war clouds are growing darker every day. The American workers and farmers must realize that a Japanese imperialist attack on the Soviet Union is a life-and-death matter to them. In the first place, such an attack would inevitably develop into a world war, more horrible, more destructive, more fatal to civilization than the last world war. In the second place, the Soviet Union today is the citadel of world labor. The crushing of the Soviet Union would usher in such a wave of reaction on a world scale as never seen before in world history: every working man and woman, no matter of what political tendency, every workers and farmers organization, every progressive and liberal movement even, would feel the terrible consequences. In defending the Soviet Union against imperialist attack we are really defending our own best interests. Therefore our slogans must be: Fight the danger of a new world war! Defend the Soviet Union!

HARRISBURG.—One out of every seven boys under eighteen years of age engaged in coal mining in Pennsylvania, meets with an accident in a one-year period, according to the preliminary findings of a recent study made by the State Department of

## TARIFF THREAT AT FREE STATE

Tariff Preference Will Soon End If Oath Is Void, J. H. Thomas Says

LONDON.—The abolition of the oath of allegiance to the British King by the Irish Free State Dail will bring with it the retaliation of cutting off without negotiations the tariff preferences now enjoyed by Free State products in Empire markets. This threat was uttered on May 11 by J. H. Thomas, Secretary of State for the Dominion, in a speech in the House of Commons. The barring of the Irish Free State representatives at the Ottawa conference was also intimidated.

In a statement a few hours later Eamon de Valera declared that the Fianna Fail government would not be moved by either "threats or misrepresentation of facts."

The New Irish Budget DUBLIN.—Heavy income taxes, surtaxes, amusement taxes, steep levies on British and foreign magazines, taxes on phonographs, radios, light beverages, packed foods, cosmetics, etc., are the chief features of the new Free State budget as presented by Sean McEntee, Fianna Fail Finance Minister. In this budget, provisions are included for the encouragement of Free State industries (20% allowance in income tax) and for assistance of smaller industrial enterprises. About \$400,000 is added to various forms of unemployment relief.

## REACTION BLOCK FORMED IN S. A.

Peru in Diplomatic Union To Crush Mass Revolt Trout Continent

LIMA, Peru.—Diplomatic negotiations for joint action on the part of South American governments to suppress the revolutionary workers peasants movements in the various countries on the continent, were begun by the Peruvian government in the middle of May.

The world economic crisis and the far-reaching breakdown of the economic life of South America as a result of its subjection to U.S. and British imperialism have produced widespread disturbance among the workers, peasants and the masses of the city poor (lower middle class elements). It is on this basis that the numerous revolutionary disturbances have been taking place in South America in the last two years. The plan for joint action against the rising revolutionary movement is not only aimed to maintain the native bourgeoisie in power but also to preserve the stranglehold of foreign imperialism upon the economic life of South America.

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## Union Heads Demand Hoover "Do Something" for Relief to Allay Labor Militancy

FASCISTS FORCE GROENER OUT

Defense Minister Resigns As Nazi-Center Parleys Continue In Prussia

BERLIN.—General Wilhelm Groener, one of the leading figures of the Bruening regime, has resigned from his post as Minister of Defense which he has held since January 1928. He still continues to head the Ministry of the Interior. The resignation of General Groener, which took place on May 12, is (Continued on Page 2)

## Relief to Allay Labor Militancy

Railway Union Leaders Present Statement To President Calling For 25-Year Moratorium; Unless Immediate Relief Is Forthcoming, "Dole" Will Be Demanded

Washington, D. C. In a statement presented by the representatives of the seven leading railwaymen's union to President Hoover on May 13, dealing with the crisis, unemployment and labor, the proposal is made for a twenty-five year moratorium on all war-debts and reparations and the demand voiced for some immediate steps "to increase employment and relieve distress" in default of which the unions in ques-

tion "warn" that they will come out in favor of the "dole," that is, Federal unemployment relief and insurance!

The declaration, which is written in a language quite new in the American labor movement in recent years, opens with a description of the world crisis and of the miserable plight of the workers of this country. "Mr. President," the appeal continues, "we have come here to tell you that unless something is done to provide employment and to relieve distress among the families of the unemployed, we cannot be responsible for the orderly operation of the railroads of this country—that we will refuse to take responsibility for the disorder which is sure to arise if conditions continue. Nor will we accept responsibility for the demands that will surely be made upon representatives of the government and which we predict will be more far-reaching than any yet made, including the dole... If something is not done immediately, we will be obliged to demand a dole... The unemployed citizens whom we represent will not accept starvation while the two major political parties struggle for control of government and, meanwhile, fail to observe the rapid approach of a critical situation that threatens our whole country and our very existence."

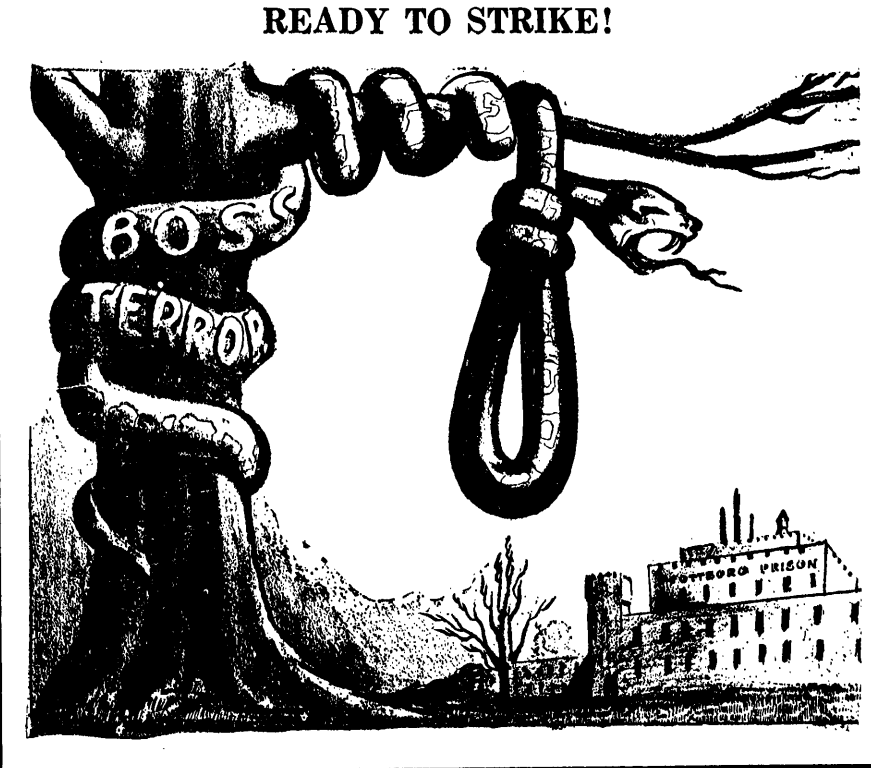
The statement then goes on to examine the interdependence between the economic life of this country and that of the rest of the world as shown in foreign investments and in foreign trade. From this comes the only concrete proposal in the statement, the suggestion for a twenty-five year moratorium on foreign debts.

The presentation of this statement came within twenty-four hours after President Hoover had made public his "three point relief program" to operate thru the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the main feature of which is the authorization of a billion and a half additional capital for it—another gigantic "dole" for the big bankers!

At the same time Hoover made it clear that not only is the administration against any form of unemployment relief but it is even against large-scale public works programs!

The declaration of the railway union leaders, in content and tone, reflects the profound changes taking place among the masses of the workers in the A. F. of L. under the impact of the economic crisis. A distinct movement to the left is growing, extending even to the lower ranks of the officialdom while the top officials have to begin to talk "left" and engage in various "left" maneuvers to maintain leadership over the rank and file. The statement shows this. The railway union leaders appeal to President Hoover to "do something" otherwise they cannot "stand responsible" for what their members will do—that is, for a rising militancy in action on the part of the railway workers.

That the railway union leaders, in spite of their loud complaints about the misery of the workers and the do-nothing policy of Congress, stand firmly on the basis of the capitalist system which generates the horrors of war, unemployment and poverty, can be seen from their own words. Not only do the union leaders boast (Continued on page 2)



## JAPAN RUSHES WAR AGAINST SOVIET UNION; PREMIER INUKAI SHOT

Moving Of Shanghai Troops Into Manchuria Admitted To Be Step For Anti-Soviet Attack; Fascists Assassinate Premier And Bomb Buildings

TOKYO.—Ki Inukai, Premier of Japan, was assassinated on the afternoon of May 15 by a group of Fascist terrorists who penetrated his office and shot him dead. At the same time five of the most important public buildings in the city, including the bank of Japan were bombed. These terrorist acts are the work of the secret Young Army and Navy Officers Association, a Fascist organization with considerable influence in the army and among the rapidly declassed petty bourgeoisie dominated by an intense chauvinism. The political object of the assassination was to stimulate the overthrow of parliamentary government and its replacement by a military dictatorship. The rising Fascist movement is finding ready support among the great feudal families dominating the army and navy.

That the recent withdrawal of Japanese troops from the Shanghai area and the simultaneous rushing of big reinforcements into Manchuria are parts of the preparations of Japanese imperialism for an attack upon the Soviet Union, was made clear in the special reports of the capitalist press in this country. The Chicago Daily News of May 12, 1932, declares: "The withdrawal of Japanese troops from Shanghai and the dispatch of a new army to Manchuria is interpreted... as the first move in a war between Japan and the Soviet Union. Covert observers, such as the Daily News correspondent in Peiping, are now convinced that the long expected conflict is near!" Similar reports have been published in the New York Times and in the New York Herald-Tribune.

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MORE ABOUT THE CONCOOP LOCKOUT

by A Food Worker

New York City

In my last letter published in the Workers Age regarding the Concoop I explained how the Party bureaucrats applied the bosses' method of lock-out—closed the cafeteria for "alterations". But the only alterations made was the replacement of the workers by a new crew with wage-cuts and longer hours.

However, this seems to be a refined scheme considering the rough way they locked out the grocery store workers.

They prepared the new crew Saturday evening and told the workers to stay home Monday. The workers called a meeting on Sunday and discussed the situation.

According to the agreement between the union and the Concoop management, in case of a discharge of a worker, the management should notify the union two weeks in advance. The workers demanded that the agreement be enforced. To this the representatives of the T.U.U.L. (Zack) and of the union replied that this decision came from the National Bureau and must be carried out to the letter. The workers replied that, according to the constitution of the union, the shop was the basic unit and its decision stood until the executive council decided. But nothing could help, the workers were told to get out. The only reason that stopped the workers from picketing was the prestige of the Party.

A committee of the workers was elected to see Comrade Foster. Seeing Comrade Foster, the committee found out that the whole affair was worked out by the union officials, Comrade Zack and the Coop management. Zack admitted in Foster's office how they worked out the plan and admitted he had "made a mistake."

But how about the statement in the Workers Age? It was a "treason," Stachel said, to write in "counter-revolutionary papers." You must sign a statement denouncing this action! This statement may appear in the Daily Worker signed by all these workers. They all agreed that this was a "terrible mistake." Still nothing is unchanged. The best union fighters were left out and only a friend of the manager returned to work. Let the union officials answer the question: Why Steven and Cornelius, who served 18 months each in prison for their union activities, why Franck, why Sylvia Weiner, who we all know the police tried to frame as "mentally unbalanced" for the valiant fight she put up for the union, why all these militant members and one of the clerk's union (whose name I don't know) were left out.

The answer is because of their criticism of the inefficiency of the management and the bureaucracy of the union officialdom. What I mentioned above is only one of the crimes they committed at the expense of the union. How many were driven out of the union in order to rid themselves of criticisms? And others who built the union who became pessimistic and shut their mouths for fear of being expelled? And as an example, I bring you the case of Comrade Pappas. His activities on picket line and other activities we all know; while the officials with their swell wages were roaming from cabaret to cabaret, he was on the job more than a year now. The union members them-

The Kreuger Swindle And Swedish Socialists

(Continued from Page 1)

tween the employers and the employees," because "he frequently expressed himself that we all (employers and workers) find ourselves in the same boat." A third Social-democratic paper Oestergoetlands Folkblad assured us that "we would certainly misjudge the deceased were we to regard him as a conscienceless swindler, speculator and adventurer."

The Social-democratic press has maintained and still maintains a very friendly and conciliatory attitude towards the whole Kreuger business. The same factors operate to determine this attitude as those that operate on the bourgeois parties' concern for the "stability" and "welfare" of the capitalist system.

In the campaign against Folkets Dagblad (the Swedish Communist Party) (a small sect) also took part—as was, of course, to be expected. Only a short time ago this "Party" had received a loan of 30,000 kronen from a Kreuger Bank (on regular business terms, of course, and in a perfectly legitimate manner); yet it has not hesitated to make a rear united front with the Social-democrats against the Communist Opposition Party.

But neither the Social-democrats nor the little Sillen-"party" succeeded in their plots against the Swedish Communist Party which is too deeply rooted in the Swedish working class for that. At a meeting attended by more than 4,000 workers of Stockholm, it was unanimously resolved: "We declare that in the Kreuger collapse Folkets Dagblad has been and is today the only paper to speak consistently for the working class. We call upon all revolutionary workers to close their ranks against a system that breeds and permits such swindles and scandals as the Kreuger affair."

selves collected \$3,000 to send him to the Soviet Union to get well. The officials, to make things easier for him, discharged his wife, his only support! This is the way they treat our militants. They only surround themselves with a clique of job holders, and if anybody has the courage to criticize them he is charged with being a "Lovestonite" or "Trotskyite." We still remember what they told us when they expelled Comrade Konstas and the rest of the "counter-revolutionaries." They put the responsibility of the bad situation in the union on them. They told us that now that the "renegades" are out, the union will make progress.

In my next letter I am going to write what happened since.

AMALG. PROGRESSIVES IN OPEN FORUM

New York City. The open forum of the Amalgamated Progressive Circle was a big success. The hall in Stuyvesant Casino taken for it had to be exchanged for a larger one since there were over 300 present.

S. Tartatsky was chairman. Brother Ostrinsky explained the program and policies of the Circle for the rebuilding of the union as a fighting organization of the workers. Several T.U.U.L. adherents present openly declared that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers had to be broken up. Sol Rieger exposed the destructive course of the T.U.U.L. adherents. Among the speakers were M. Aber, J. Goodman, Goldblatt, A. Cohen, Tannenbaum, Lasser and Karabnick.

FASCISTS FORCE OUT GEN. GROENER

(Continued from page 1)

everywhere interpreted to be a result of the almost irresistible pressure of the powerful Nazis who look upon Groener as being largely responsible for the recent presidential decree "dissolving" the Fascist Storm-Battalions. The resignation of General Groener is considered as a step facilitating a rapprochement between the Catholic Center party (the party of Brüning) and the National-Socialists in Prussia and in the Reich.

On the same day that the retirement of General Groener was announced, the Brüning government received a vote of confidence in the Reichstag by the very close margin of 287 to 257. It has become obvious that a government excluding the Nazis, the largest party in the Reich, cannot be considered "stable," even in the usual bourgeois sense.

Brüning Calls For Cancellation Of Reparations

BERLIN. The cancellation of all reparations and other "political debts" was demanded by Heinrich Brüning, German Chancellor, in a speech before the Reichstag on May 11. The inability of Germany to pay any more reparations whatever was emphasized. The new Reichs budget includes no reparations items at all.

RAIL UNION HEADS IN APPEAL TO HOOVER

(Continued from Page 1)

of the 10% wage-cut which they helped the companies put thru recently, but they also declare that: "we recognize that business activity and earning power are essential to the stability of capitalism and are essential to our hope for unemployment relief and better wage scales." This is the old bankrupt theory that the interests of the employer and employees are "identical" or at least "harmonious," while every worker who thinks about the question will readily see that interests of the bosses and workers are directly opposed! On the basis of the "harmony of interests," class-collaboration, the only thing the workers can "achieve" is to tighten the yoke of slavery and exploitation around their necks.

Only on the basis of the class struggle, on the basis of militancy, only by brushing aside the timid counsels and open sabotage of their pro-boss leaders, can the workers achieve anything! Only in this way can they win adequate government unemployment relief and insurance, which is the only way in which mass starvation can be at least partially avoided in the period of the collapse of the capitalist system.

FROM A PHILA READER

Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Editor and Comrade: I am enclosing the result of the revolution caused in my mind by your article in the Workers Age of April 9, 1932, which you will, no doubt, well recognize. If you can use it, well and good, if not, I wish that you may know the influence that truth as brought out by your organ has upon the minds of people.

Fraternally yours,

M. N.

A girl sympathizer.

40% FLAT TAX ON THE POOREST PEOPLE

To ease this burden of the tax, A solution must be found. "Sir Mayor, may I propose A hint that will, I vouch, Not only gain your wise approval But bring a flow of enthusiasm In your kind heart?" So spake a learned and sagacious

TEXAS JIM-CROW BILL VOIDED

But Court Shows Way To Pass "Constitutional Primary Bill"

WASHINGTON.—The Texas law vesting the State executive committee of a political party with the power to prescribe qualifications of its members (to exclude Negroes) has been declared invalid by the United States Supreme Court in a 5 to 4 decision.

The Texas Legislature, looking around for legal ways to disfranchise the Negroes as a supplement to the usual extra-legal means, originally passed a law prohibiting Negroes from participating in the Democratic party primaries. This was declared unconstitutional as a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment and so the Legislature proceeded to modify the law by giving the State executives the right to bar Negroes from the primaries. This also has now been declared unconstitutional. But in the majority decision, voiding the law, Justice Cardozo has met with militant labor and farmer groups, a party fighting against every form of discrimination and oppression in American social and economic life—a labor party!

While the barring of Negroes from the primaries of the big capitalist parties should be resisted vigorously as a form of indirect political discrimination, the Negro masses must quite clearly understand that it is not thru fantastic attempts to "capture" the parties of the white capitalist oppressors that they can make themselves felt in politics but thru helping to form an alliance with militant labor and farmer groups, a party fighting against every form of discrimination and oppression in American social and economic life—a labor party!

"EMPROS" AND BANK OF ATHENS CASE

by A Greek Worker

To the Editor of Workers Age:

Dear Comrade: About 6 or 7 months ago the Bank of Athens Trust Company of N. Y. brought charges against the Empros for libel and for circulating news tending to discredit it and to cause a run on that institution. The whole Greek section of the Communist Party, the L. D. and the Party members in defense of the Empros. One of the biggest campaigns was conducted by the Empros for its defense. All the available space in the Empros was devoted to the campaign. Special pictures of the editor and business manager were inserted in the first page and they were advertised as martyrs of the working class (martyrs of stupidity).

The case came before Jefferson Market Court. There the attorney for the defense, Buitenkant, waged a most opportunist fight, trying to prove to the court that the Bank of Athens Trust Company is not an American Bank, but a foreign institution, leaving the impression on the hundreds of workers present that American bankers are better than the Greek bankers. The case was transferred to a special sessions court and then things began to develop. There were rumors that the Bank of Athens Trust Company and the Empros had come to an agreement to settle the case out of court. The workers were sceptical, did not want to believe that the Empros would hide anything from its readers.

The case was postponed from day to day, and in the mean time the Empros stopped or shut up like a clam about the Bank of Athens Trust Company and its case. But on the contrary, there began a campaign against the National Bank of Greece, that the affairs of that bank were not so rosy without mentioning anything about the Bank of Athens. Suspicions began to arise in the minds of the workers for the peculiar way in which the Empros acted, but they waited patiently until the case ended. In the meantime, Empros advertised the S. S. Agency of Cassavetis, which had previously been condemned as in alliance with the Bank of Athens Company to swindle the Greek workers.

Then came the end—the case was dismissed! All the Greek workers expected that the Empros would celebrate the victory, the triumph against the exploiters. They expected that the editors will give at least half of the space they had given previously during the campaign when they had appealed for funds to the Greek workers. But nothing doing! The news was put in small type in about four inch space, plain and dry. Without any comments.

The next issue mentioned nothing about the case. The editorial board of the Empros is anxious to make its readers forget the accident of the Bank of Athens, by conducting a smoke-screen attack on the National Bank of Greece.

Now what is going on behind the scenes in the offices of the Empros? Some of the upper functionaries started to fight the editorial policies of the Empros. There must be something fundamentally wrong in the petty bourgeois outlook of the editor, more than a tendency. I believe something more substantial must be the reason. It's up to the readers of the Empros to unmask it. The leaders of the Party will do their best to cover everything.

Greek workers! Demand a full account of the dealing of the editor of the Empros in the Bank of Athens case.

—Greek Worker.

In the Communist International J. T. MURPHY EXPELLED FROM PARTY

An Inprecor cable from London, dated May 10, and published in the Daily Worker on the next day, announces the expulsion from the Party of J. T. Murphy, one of the founders of the Communist Party of Great Britain, member of its political Bureau and editor of its theoretical organ The Communist Review.

The facts are briefly these: Comrade Murphy, in his capacity as editor of The Communist Review, wrote an editorial in the April 1932 issue dealing with the danger of war and with the Soviet Union and its relations to the capitalist world. The Political Bureau decided that the line of the article was wrong and, not content with answering Comrade Murphy or issuing a statement against his views, insisted that Murphy himself should repudiate his article and declare his views false. He refused and expulsion proceedings were begun but Murphy forestalled this action by himself sending in a letter of resignation from the Party. The C.P. now attacks him as a "deserter," as a "renegade," as a "coward," etc.

This summary treatment of one of the oldest, most capable and most experienced leaders of the British Communist Party focuses sharp attention upon the intolerable regime now dominating the world Communist movement. In his editorial article Comrade Murphy expressed a certain vague and unformed dissatisfaction with the mere abstract repetition of such slogans as: "Defend the Soviet Union!" Such slogans are quite correct and necessary but, as Murphy says, "we must do more." In proposing what this "more" should be, Comrade Murphy certainly indulges in unsubstantial vagaries that have no basis at all in fact. In brief, he holds forth a perspective in which the "daily life of the working class of this country (Great Britain) becomes integrated with the industrialization of the Soviet Union even thru bourgeois channels," in which "the strug-

gles for bread and work" (is bound up) close to the fate of the Soviet Union . . . until the working class of this country feels and realizes more and more that its fate and the fate of the Soviet Union are inseparable. Now, to demand the granting of long-term credits to the U.S.S.R. and to point out how this would affect the economic crisis in the capitalist world, is one thing; but it is quite another thing to believe that the capitalist economy of Great Britain, for example, can be organically united with the socialist economy of the Soviet Union in such a way as to make the "struggle for bread and work" in Britain dependent upon the reflex economic influence of the U.S.S.R. Such organic unity of utterly opposed economic systems is inconceivable.

But however wrong Comrade Murphy may be in his views, they are surely not such as to make him an anti-Communist. There is not a single leader of the Communist Party of Great Britain or of the Communist International today who has not made many, many worse mistakes in his career. And yet just because Comrade Murphy was not ready to "admit" his mistake when he was not convinced of any mistake, he was expelled! It is officially announced that he resigned; if this is true, it only shows how low the morale of the Party has fallen that one of its best leaders has been so overwhelmed with despondency and lack of hope for the Party as to resign in disgust!

Another "Militant" Scoop

The Trotskyists have scored a real scoop over the loyalists this time! In the May 14, 1932 issue of The Militant they announce: "International Right Wing on Verge of Disaster." It will surely take the Daily Worker a couple of weeks to catch up with this news!

The substance of the item with this sensational title is the letter written by Alois Neurath, one of the leaders of the German section of the Czechoslovakian Communist Opposition, to Comrades Brandler and Thalheimer of the German Opposition. In this letter Neurath quite definitely shows his relapse into Trotskyism (he was once an adherent of the Trotsky-Zinoviev block) and sharply protests against the attacks of the German Opposition upon Trotskyism. This letter of Neurath was published in the last issue of the German Opposition organ Gegen den Strom so that the Militant has really made no sensational discovery. However, The Militant does "forget" to mention several points:

1. that Neurath's change of front represents his own position, in other words that the leadership of the Czech Opposition by no means shares his views, as can easily be seen from his own letter.

2. that the German section of the Czech Opposition, of which Neurath has hitherto been the outstanding leader, by no means shares his views.

3. that in the Communist Opposition movement internationally Neurath's step stands as an isolated tendency. Most of the groups (Germany, U. S. A., Austria, Sweden) have taken a definite stand against Trotskyism while nowhere at all have there been any leanings towards it.

Finally, in connection with the gratuitous remarks in the foreword of the Militant article: "What will Brandler do when he discovers that his American bulwark is breaking up and capitulating to the Stalinists?" we might say that all the unity moves (to

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With the WORKING YOUTH FROM COLLEGE TO BREADLINE!

by Saul Held

What is the outlook for the mass of workingclass youth in the institutions of higher learning? Can they escape the factory or the breadline? Does the capitalist educational system offer the student of proletarian origin the opportunity to "rise" out of his class?

Before we venture into the facts concerning the chance that a young proletarian or middle class student has of entering the professions, it would be fitting to briefly note some vital facts pertinent to a deeper understanding of the question.

First of all, there are fewer students of proletarian origin in the colleges than is commonly supposed. Kenneth M. Goode and Harford Powell, Jr., in their book: "What About Advertising?" follow the schooling of one thousand typical American men, all of whom began their education in the first grade of our public school systems. Here is the result:

- 1,000 boys enter 1st grade
490 boys enter 8th grade
Of our original one thousand boys:
230 enter 1st year high school
170 of them finish 2nd year high school
120 of them finish 3rd year high school
95 of them graduate from high school
Of our original one thousand boys:
50 boys enter 1st year college
40 of them finish 2nd year college
20 of them finish 3rd year college
10 of them remain in college to be graduated.

Here the trend is clearly seen, although the group of men investigated is termed "typical" so that in all probability it contains elements of all classes. It is sufficient, however, to indicate what a tiny fraction of

which The Militant presumably refers under the delicate phrase "capitulation" which the C. P.-Majority Group has made, have been made with the full knowledge and approval of the German Opposition and of the International Communist Opposition Bureau and that this approval was publicly expressed in the German Opposition press!

Swedish Communist Party In Congress

The Swedish Communist Party, expelled from the Communist International and affiliated to the International Communist Opposition, is holding (May 14, 15, 16) a special Party Congress to mark its fifteenth year of activity. On the occasion of this congress, the Communist Party (Majority Group) sent the following greetings:

AMERICAN COMMUNIST OPPOSITION GREETIS SWEDISH COMMUNIST PARTY. HAIL IT AS VALIANT LEADER OF SWEDISH TOILING MASSES AND CHAMPION OF STRUGGLE FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST UNITY AND WORLD PROLETARIAN VICTORY.

In connection with its congress the Swedish Communist Party conducted a big organization drive. On April 26, that is, nearly three weeks before the end of the campaign, the results already were: an increase of 2,000 in circulation of Folkets Dagblad, the central Party daily; the establishment of 40 new youth groups and 30 new Party organizations; the recruiting of 2,000 new members.

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SPECIAL RATES FOR TWO OR MORE COURSES

the proletarian youth can avail themselves of higher education. Despite all the capitalist propaganda to the effect that higher education is accessible to all youth, the available facts rudely crush this myth. It is a certainty that only a very insignificant number of these graduates are of proletarian origin.

But what of the young fellow from the working class or lower middle class ranks who, by dint of hard struggle and more often the sacrifices of his working parents, finally grasps the sheepskin? Is the mere possession of this hard-fought-for scrap of paper the open sesame to an income above that of a Ford worker? Is there no unemployment among the professionals? What is the situation in the professions and what are the students facing today? T. Swann Harding has presented a few highly significant facts on this matter. This writer, after visiting several American and Canadian universities, found that the "students are faced with the dilemma of accepting employment (1) in lines for which they are unprepared or of going from college to the breadline."

He offers us the following facts concerning some of the professions: (1) "The Architects Emergency Committee of New York City reported in April, 1931, that 800 architectural draftsmen were out of employment and 500 of this number destitute." (2) About four or five years ago, (yes, before the depression) the employment bureau of the New York Chemists Club "warned prospective clients that it was really almost useless for them to list their names and qualifications, with the dollar registration fee, because there were so many more chemists than there were jobs. If this was the situation in normal times it is certainly far more acute today." (3) Pharmacy: There are approximately 100,000 pharmacists in the United States. Many years ago pharmacy may have been a profession that yielded a standard of living above that of the worker but not today. With the chain stores ruthlessly driving the independent pharmacist out of business, the white-collared gentlemen with their sheepskins are found selling everything from pins to auto tires at the salary of a sewer-digger—that is, if they are fortunate enough to get a job. (4) Law: The following table presents the picture:

Table with 3 columns: No. Law Schools, No. Students. Data for 1900, 1910, 1920, 1928.

This "overproduction" of lawyers so frightened the American Bar Association that in 1930 it declared that, "commercialism is likely to crush out the professional character of the calling." Risking the platitudinous, we wish to again point out that the young graduate (of proletarian origin) usually without "political drag" and with little hope can hope for nothing more than a possible clerkship in a law office. Money, slimy capitalist political connections, and the like—how many can hope for this combination of factors that determine success in law today?

Had we sufficient space, we could examine each profession separately and show with what facts that the future promised the proletarian student is but one of the poisonous myths used to perpetuate the colossal myth of "opportunity for all, to acquire the wealth and happiness of our beloved . . . blah, blah, etc." Medicine, engineering, etc., are today all "overcrowded!" Not because slums have been wiped out! Or, because preventable diseases cannot be exterminated! Not because there is no more need by society as a whole for the services of a larger army of professional men! No, this talk of the "overproduction" of the professions is only possible in a society where the privileged classes fear for their "secure" position, a system of society where the happiness of the overwhelming majority means nothing to the capitalist rulers; where the masses have constantly less possibility to buy the services of competent physicians, etc.; where corruption and stagnation (engineering, for example) are rampant.

The proletarian student must open his eyes to the bleak future that stretches precisely where he thought he would find the road to the pot of gold. Capitalist civilization, in crushing the ambitions of thousands of young men and women, is creating another powder-magazine of disillusioned fighters against its insatiable and unbearable greed, degradation, and starvation. Some acute thinkers have already caught the drift and they tremble: James Truslow Adams in "Our Business Civilization":

"But for the young it is different, fortunately. They see the poverty, the social injustice, the frequent emotional maladjustment between the individual and society, and they do not see, and let us hope that they are right, that such things need always be. "Unless we can assist intelligently the process of adjusting ethical ideas and codes to the social change, the amount of injustice and individual maladjustments, emotional, economic, and other, may increase so rapidly as to endanger the social structure itself."

Wages and the Working Class

Individual Incentive Systems

by Hal Long

We publish below another article of Hal Long in the series "Wages and the Working Class."

The different systems of wage-incentives can be classified in two main groups. One is individual incentive, where each worker gets paid according to his own work only; the other, group-incentive, where several workers get paid according to their combined work. There are also combinations of the two; in fact, any up-to-date system will present such a combination. In this article, we shall examine individual incentives.

These again, may present themselves under different names: piece-work, bonus, point-system, merit-system, and so on. In principle, there is no difference between them; they all establish a definite relation between a worker's pay and his work. But in practice, the nature of this relation is, of course, all-important in determining the income of the workers. However, when a system is shown by a curve, a plot of pay against work, it may be seen that systems with different names, may be almost exactly alike. The bosses will always have such graphic pictures of their payment-plans. By a single glance, all important features can be seen, such as average costs per piece, the possibilities of speeding the workers to the limit, and so on. The workers will, at the best, have the plan presented to them in tables, that may well show them what they get paid when they work so hard, but that will conceal the purpose of the plan and wherein it differs from others.

When the bosses pick a plan for a certain plant, their choice will depend on social as well as technical conditions. Among technical factors may be mentioned whether the work is uniform or diversified, machine or manual work, and so on. But they will also consider the workers, whether they are young or old, skilled or unskilled, used to incentives or not. In the following, some of the most common systems will be described, and we shall see under what circumstances they are used.

Straight Piece-Work

Straight piece-work is well known and understood by all workers. The pay is directly proportional to the work a man turns out. It is the oldest and still the most common of all incentive-systems, although it has been declining during the last ten years. In some cases, the workers may have a guaranteed minimum earning per day, which, of course, is an advantage for them, provided the piece-rates are not lowered to make up for this. For the capitalist, straight piece-rates embody all the chief advantages of incentives: The workers will speed up, so overhead costs are lowered; there is competition instead of solidarity among the workers, so average wages go down. Straight piece-work is the simplest of all incentive-systems. It will therefore be used where the capitalists do not want to take the trouble of detailed job-analysis. This again is most likely to be the case in small shops, where investments are small and financial means limited. It is significant that straight piece-rates prevail in the tailoring industries.

The Differential Piece-Rate

The first step on the road to more complex systems was Taylor's differential piece-rate, introduced more than forty years ago. This system provides a lower piece-rate for slow workers, a higher rate for fast ones. The tendency of such a system is, of course, to drive the workers to the limit. For the capitalist, fast work will carry large labor costs. The system is therefore a suitable one where it is extremely important to have the work done fast, that means where overhead and fixed investments are large. Further, it is suited for unskilled workers, who can be easily replaced if they overstrain themselves. It is significant that the plan was developed in the steel industry, for hauling and handling. However, the capitalists use the plan only in extreme cases, and it is now of more historical than practical interest.

Some Modern Systems

The modern plans were mostly developed during the post-war period of intensive rationalization. They bear the stamp of modern methods of job-analysis, with stop-watch and movie-camera figuring out with exactitude how much a worker can accomplish. These plans are all based on a standard task the worker must work up to before he gets any extra rewards for his efforts. Below this standard, most plans pay a guaranteed minimum, usually called the base rate. Above the worker gets extra payment proportional to a certain percentage of what he accomplishes beyond the standard. He may get paid for the full percentage and the plan is then identical with straight piece-rates and guaranteed minimum. But that is rarely the case. Say, the standard is fifty pieces per hour, and the base rate 50c. If a worker turns out sixty pieces in an hour, he would earn 60c on piece-work. On a modern plan he might get 55c and the plan would then be known as a 50% plan, paying the worker for half of what he accomplished beyond the standard.

Most manufacturers have their own particular systems, the details of which rarely go beyond the bounds of their plants. However, some well-known plans, devised and published by specialists, may be taken as typical.

The Emerson and Halsey Plans

The Emerson Bonus and the Knoppel Efficiency Plans both give incentive-payments even below the standard task. From 70% of the standard and up, the workers get extra pay beyond their base rate. In the beginning, the incentives are very small; as the standard is approached, they increase faster and faster. At the 100% level, the Emerson plan gets to be identical with straight piece-rates, while, for the Knoppel plan, the payments even make a jump. These surprisingly generous plans have, however, one application only: beginners to be broken in. They will never be able to reach the standard right away but will strain themselves to become skilled, so as to benefit from the high payments at standard task and above. But soon, another and less generous plan will be substituted.

Some that may be employed then are the Halsey 50-50 and the Haynes Manly Plan. Both give base rate below the standard and 50% incentives above. These plans are used in industries where the operations are not rigidly standardized, so the tasks cannot be set with the highest degree of accuracy. Thus, if the standards should happen to be easier for the workers than the boss had figured, "there is no danger of excessive earning," as the capitalists put it in their

own language. Haynes has also another plan, giving the workers 5/6 incentives above the standard. This plan is used in highly standardized industries, where the bosses always can be sure that the tasks are reached only by a minority of the workers.

The Gantt Task and Bonus plan, gives higher rates. Below the standard it gives a base, which it jumps by 20% as soon as the standard is reached. Above standard, it gives 100% incentive. However, this plan, like other generous ones, has a peculiar application. It is only used for work where there are frequent delays, due to breakdown of machinery or other things beyond the control of the workers. The workers will therefore rarely reach the standard, and on the average, their earnings will not go beyond any 50% plan.

In all these plans, the important thing for the workers will be their possibility of reaching the standard or getting beyond it. But the standards are always set so that the average worker will be unable to reach it. An expert on management openly says in an article in "Factory and Industrial Management": "A large group of workers will fall just a few percent below standard." In other words, the standard and the payments that go with it play the same part as the rabbit on the dog track. The dogs are not supposed to get it; it is there to make them run fast.

Medicine And The Workers

AND THESE ARE "HOLY HEALERS"!

by Medicus

Here is Dr. M. of New York—a very good X-ray man—and a very poor man—no matter how busy he is, there is one black-letter day for him every month—the day he has to pay rent. What is the matter? He does not please the doctors who refer patients to him. For instance, a high-class man refers a patient to him for an X-ray of the lungs, with the understanding that he may charge for the X-ray as much as he wants, but will be kindly find that the lungs, and so state in his report, present a picture indicating tuberculosis. On the basis of such an X-ray report, the doctor could perform a legal abortion on that patient in the hospital he is connected with. The X-ray man, Dr. M., can't see it! What do you mean? The woman has a pair of normal lungs! Dr. M. will remain a poor man until he stops asking questions and does what he is told to do.

Dr. B. is a great goiter specialist in New York. He examines a girl in his office and tells her that she needs an operation immediately. Suspecting that she is poor he will charge her only \$250 and will operate on her in ward. The girl says that she hasn't even 250 pennies. He gets sore: "If your life is not worth \$250 to you, the girl is scared to death, borrows the money and Dr. B. operates on her in ward and gets the \$250. Now, according to medical ethics, one is not allowed to take money from a ward patient. It is considered sacrilegious! Yet this high priest of the "sacred healers" does it and gets away with it.

Dr. X is a skin specialist who has succeeded in interesting a rich ladies in his scheme to establish a hospital to cure and to relieve suffering. He is, of course, made the medical director of the hospital. Ten doctors are working their heads off every day in this hospital without getting a cent for it, but all the 300 or 350 prescriptions that come out of this hospital every day bear the signature of Dr. X. He does not know it. Dr. X. for bids all doctors except himself to have their names on a medicine! The state board allows these doctors to practice medicine and sign their names but Dr. X. forbids them to do it! When you speak to him he tells you frankly: "When you have a hospital, you will not let anyone else sign your name!" He tells me openly that since he has been medical director of this hospital his private practice has doubled and he has such rich patients as never before. And not only this—I know also that he uses this hospital, which is applying to the state and the welfare bureau for support, as a dumping place for his private patients whom he has treated for months in his office with no relief and when they complain that they have no more money. And again he uses this hospital as a fresh reservoir from which to draw patients. No wonder there are 300-350 bottles every day all over the city with his name on them. And so behaves a highly respected healer, an authority who has written several books on the subject of his specialty.

Here is Dr. K, a heart specialist. His treatment never begins without an X-ray of the stomach, lungs and heart. If the patient is very poor he takes only a picture of the heart, for which, as a special favor, he charges

\$35. He cannot take any less because it probably costs him 50 cents! During his course of treatment he may take three or four "electro-cardiograms," pictures showing the working of the heart. Then he recommends fourteen injections. Why fourteen? Because, the little bluffer, the general practitioner, always speaks of twelve injections and there must be a difference between the professor and the small, insignificant doctor! For these he charges \$5 an injection, which the nurse gives. Then fourteen baths—always fourteen—for which he charges \$10 a bath. It is heart-rending to see the poor people and workers, who really can't pay \$2 for the doctor's visit, spend hundreds of dollars with him, sell their houses and their last belongings, and after they spend everything, they come back to their family physician with the same ailments and with a long story that they have no money and that they will surely pay the family doctor some time in the future when they have some. But that doctor is making \$100,000 a year and is a prominent figure in the medical world, although everybody knows that he is a high-pressure salesman, selling lots on the bottom of the ocean.

There is Dr. J., head of a tuberculosis sanatorium. It is easier for the general practitioner to reach heaven than to place a patient in the ward of that sanatorium, but he can—of course (plan). When a patient pays him \$50 (cash, graft), he places him. Another trick of his is to place the patient private for two weeks and then transfer him to ward. This way he makes thousands of dollars doing work for nothing—for the sanatorium.

Here is Dr. E., a children's specialist. Among his many rackets there is one worth honorable mention. He advises mothers that their children must have their tonsils out. When mothers ask when he recommends, he states—he himself is going to take them out! He gets together four cases, for each of which he charges \$100, calls it a poor nose and throat specialist, who does all four cases in less than one hour and gets \$25. Over \$350 goes down into the pockets of that horse-thief!

For Militant Trade Union Struggle!

(Continued from Page 1) tent of the membership in their clamor for changes, instead of attempting to solve all these problems, you are riding roughshod over all the demands of the membership of the biggest locals of the International. This convention will go down in the history of the international as one of the blackest and most reactionary. Every decision that has been adopted so far is to strengthen reaction. You have defeated every proposal for a change either in policy or in structure of our Union. You are happy over the victories that you have succeeded in strengthening your machine. By your failure to take up and to solve all the pressing problems of our Union you have openly shown your bankruptcy. But at the same time you fear the membership, you want to justify somehow the

white-washing of various elements of your machine. Vice-President Feinberg was seated as a delegate to this convention and his actions in Local 43 white-washed because he is a cog in your machine. You whitewashed Louis Langer who was condemned for his shady activities and for being financially unbalanced while in office, by a Committee of the Labor Movement appointed by President Schlesinger—because he is a part of your machine. Secretary Dubinsky has as much as confessed to this when he stated that you are "far-sighted." You know in advance that you will have to white-wash these cogs in the wheels of your machine, that is why the learned Appeals Committee of the G. E. B. could not, in their supreme wisdom, decide upon such a weighty point of

law as was involved in our case, and referred it to the convention. Your intentions were to fool the membership with your so-called "impartiality" and "generosity." I am making this statement in order to expose the real motives for your actions and your so-called spirit of generosity, which you have so suddenly acquired. I fought in the past for a militant class struggle policy for our Union and against reaction and I will continue to do so in the future, because I am firmly convinced that, only by adopting such a militant policy and by giving the membership of our Union more expression, will we be able to build up a strong Union capable of defending and fighting for the interests of the workers in the indus-

That Gibraltar of Principle!

Nothing is more threadbare, nothing is more fraudulent than the mantle of stern principle with which L. D. Trotsky loves to clothe himself. Here is the knock of Gibraltar who has stuck to his guns thru thick and thin, who has never budged an inch in his views as a result of external pressure, who has never stooped to political deals involving compromise of principles, etc., etc! This is the Trotsky myth assiduously cultivated by all the devotees of the Trotsky cult. Let us look at a little reality.

The pro-aversion of Trotsky has traditionally been the Brandler group (the leadership of the present German Opposition). It was Trotsky who put into classical form the so-called "October legend," according to which the then Brandler Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany was responsible, thru its opportunistic policies, thru its political cowardice and thru countless other sins, for "missing" the German revolution that "should" have taken place in October 1923. (This myth has become official Comintern "history.") It is Trotsky who has been attacking the "Brandlerites" for the last three years as the very essence of "opportunism." You cannot pick up an article or a pamphlet of Trotsky's recently without finding a heap of abuse against "Brandlerism" and the "Brandlerites." And, of course, the Trotsky loud-speakers in other countries echo the Master's words. But just consider these facts:

1. Towards the end of 1923 and towards the beginning of 1924 Trotsky made a vigorous effort to get the Brandler group into the international fact he was just beginning to organize. In January 1924, Trotsky, Radek, Piatakov and the other leading Russian oppositionists issued theses on the German situation in which the course and conduct of the Brandler Central Committee were thoroughly justified. "Had the German working class gone out on the streets," the theses declared, "it would have broken its neck."

2. After the rejection of these overtures by Brandler, Trotsky made a right-about-face and began a venomous attack upon him and his political associates. It was at this point that he originated the notorious "October legend."

3. In 1926, when Trotsky was forming his own bloc with Zinoviev, this unbending man of principle approached Brandler (who was then in Moscow in Party exile), both in person and in writing, and appealed to him to join in the new opposition bloc. If Brandler would agree, Trotsky promised, Zinoviev, who was then yet head of the Comintern, would issue an official declaration repudiating all the attacks on the "Brandlerites" and "rehabilitating" them generally. Zinoviev had expressed his readiness to do so, Trotsky assured Brandler. Brandler refused because he was in thorough disagreement with the main foundations of Trotsky's platform (especially on the questions of "Socialism in one country" and the "permanent revolution").

Disappointed in his "negotiations" again, Trotsky and his cohorts began a new campaign against "Brandlerism" which has lasted until today. All of these statements are substantiated by documents published in the recent pamphlet of the German Opposition on Trotskyism.

What has happened to this unbending pillar of political rectitude? Even Stachel can learn from him in political trickery, unprincipledness and intrigue. In Russia they have socialist competition to see which town can complete the Five-Year Plan first. In America we have capitalist competition to see which town can feed the unemployed best. The Mayor of Syracuse boasts that he has cut the starvation diet to 9c a day. Now an Oklahoma town boasts: "We've cut them down to 6c and still they don't die or revolt."

All of which is received with callous indifference by the same people who went into fits of sympathetic hysteria for fear that one little baby might not get its accustomed diet, vitamins and all, while in the hands of kindnappers—a diet that cost more a day than a whole jobless family, father, mother and kids, are allowed in a week.

It's a great country. . .

The Bankruptcy of Centrism

New Program of the C. P. L. A.

by Herbert Zam

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action (C.P.L.A.), generally known as the Muste group, started, as the name implies, as essentially a progressive movement in the trade unions. In the last year or so, however, the C.P.L.A. has been changing into a basically political organization. Today it bears a dual character—that of a progressive wing in the trade unions and that of the nucleus for a new political party. The program recently adopted by the C.P.L.A. reflects this condition. While the new program has in no way strengthened the trade union aspect of the C.P.L.A.'s principles, it shows a tremendous confusion on essentials and the concrete proposals are also very meager, certainly much less clear and definite than when they constituted the bulk of the C.P.L.A. program.

The Program of Action

The C.P.L.A. program of action includes six points: organize a unorganized, against the trade union bureaucracy, for progressive trade unionism, for independent political action thru a labor party, for workers education, and for labor unity. But these six points do not by any means exhaust the immediate problems confronting the American workers. Thus, for example, there is nothing said about the burning question of the time, unemployment, except that the trade unions should fight, among other

things, for "a nation-wide system of social insurance against the risks of accident, death and unemployment." And this point is itself a very minor item in one of the six main points. This is enough to show the meagerness of the immediate action which the C.P.L.A. urges upon the labor movement.

On Capitalism and Socialism

With regard to the general political considerations, the C.P.L.A. program is surely the worst of any group claiming to be "left." The C.P.L.A. claims to be more to the left than the Socialist party, but it is very difficult to find this leftness in its program. The program is much worse than the pretty bad program of the S.P., "Militants," in spite of the claim of kinship between the two. Let us examine some of the points.

The C.P.L.A. program declares it stands against capitalism, but it does not even mention the word Socialism. It says nothing as to whether it believes that capitalism will be followed by a socialist society as the next stage in the development of productive relations. Instead, we are told to substitute "a workers' republic with planned economy." Is this workers' republic to be a transition to socialism, that is, will it be a proletarian dictatorship? Not according to the program! The program conceives the "workers republic" as the next social

system after capitalism. What sort of a republic will it be? Will it be based on the parliamentary system? Will it be based on Soviets? Will it have some other form? The program does not say. What will be the class relations in this workers' republic? Will there be classes? Will the capitalist class be expropriated? If not, how are we to get into possession of the means of production? There is no answer here. The program speaks of the disappearance of "senseless class distinctions." What sort of language is this? This represents a utopian attitude toward the capitalist system, a Rosencranstian attitude, but not a Marxian attitude. It typifies the kind of analysis the program makes of the capitalist system. No understanding as to its origin and evolution; no examination of its internal contradictions and its inevitable downfall; it is just "senseless."

On the Workers Republic

While emphasizing many times that it wants a "workers republic" that is, a form of state dominated by the workers, the C.P.L.A. program, nevertheless, declares that "democracy will be a reality" and the "system will be operated in the interests of all." Now it is obvious that if the system is operated in the interests of all, and if there is real democracy, then it cannot be a workers republic, in which there is democracy only for the workers and which is operated in the interests of the workers only; while only under socialism, which grows out of the proletarian dictatorship (workers republic), is there any real equality, but then there are no longer any classes, working class either. The amazing confusion of the program is obvious.

On the Soviet Union

The attitude toward the Soviet Union as expressed in the program also leaves much to be desired. There is nothing in the paragraph to which an extreme right-wing Socialist, or a liberal, could not subscribe. The Russian revolution was the "great turning point in modern history"—to say this is merely to state an historical fact; it does not express an attitude toward it. And to "stand for vigorous defense of the Soviet regime" says only a little more. Again there is no attitude expressed. It is possible to stand for the defense of a country against imperialism without believing in its social system (example—Nicaragua, Morocco, etc.). This attitude we expect of half-baked liberals, but of "revolutionists" we expect that they declare themselves, that they have an attitude, a political estimation of the Soviet Union, and not merely an expression of friendship.

On Internationalism

The C.P.L.A. program declares that the "labor movement must be international" and refuses to say anything else. What international? And what labor movement? Are you referring to a political international? Then there are two: the Socialist and the Communist. You protest with one or the other, or you can propose organizing a third. In any case, you must state your attitude to these three propositions. If you don't, then you had better not say anything at all about labor's "internationalism."

It must not be supposed that the above few remarks exhaust the shortcomings of the C.P.L.A. program. By no means! They are merely samples of the general appearance of this program. It is a compound of confusion, ignorance and political cowardice. The program indicates that the C.P.L.A. can obviously not live very long in its present state. It will have to change. If it changes in the direction of its original aims, it might become a factor in re-orientating the labor movement, if it continues in the line indicated by the present program, it will either disintegrate or be swallowed up by the S.P., the only organization which can absorb the C.P.L.A. program and not die of ptomaine poisoning.

overhead expenses, so that in all cases progressive piece-work rates must be connected with the fulfillment of the planned cost of production.

This clears the progressive piece-work system from everything which undermines its effect. Correctly introduced, according to production expediency and according to peculiarities of various enterprises, the progressive system may serve as a lever for the increase in the productivity of labor, for improvement of qualitative and quantitative indices in the production plan, and the betterment in the material well being of the working masses.

To The Pure

Cornelius D. McNeerney, chief investigator for the Lord's Day Alliance, was caught by the New York police extorting \$100,000 from theatre owners for permitting them to open their movie houses Sunday mornings. The Lord's knight in shining armor was trapped by a dictaphone and a marked hundred dollar bill. Thus are the Lord's appointed agents hampered in their holy work of keeping the Sabbath pure and blue or getting corresponding compensation from the embattled hosts of Satan and Cinema.

In a racketeering civilization, even piety becomes a racket, but the Lord's Day Alliance will not be injured for "to the pure all things are pure."

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JUNE, 1932!

**M**ORE than a year has passed since the collapse of the Credit-Anstalt in Austria became a signal for a world-wide deepening of the crisis, particularly for an acute intensification of the credit crisis. Since then, sundry relief measures, national and international in character, have been proposed or tried for the purpose of at least alleviating, if not actually ending, the world-wide economic debacle.

In Germany the government has been feeding the biggest banks to hide or prevent the bankruptcy of at least some of them. The Hoover reparations and debts moratorium, the flood of standstill agreements, were all offered with the hope of turning the tide. The collapse of the gold standard, long dreaded by the British bourgeoisie as their blackest bane, was soon hailed by Lombard Street as the tonic for British foreign trade, for English economic revival. This much-banked-upon antitoxin, so to speak, has failed dismally as a stimulus. The hoped-for price advantage in the world-market as a result of being shoved off the gold standard has not materialized for British capitalism. This is due primarily to the accelerated tempo of the price decline on a world scale. British foreign trade hasn't shown the looked-for spirit. Unemployment in England is continuing to mount ominously.

And in the United States it is now generally admitted that the entire Hoover Reconstruction Program has proved a flat failure—except for dumping many millions of dollars into the coffers of some sorely pressed corporations. Conditions here have not only worsened since Hoover came forward with his banker's relief program but there is every reason to believe that the coming weeks will see a serious worsening of the situation in the U. S. It must be kept in mind that the international finance overlords had counted much on even a slight rise in American economy as a signal and spur to a better trend or at least sentiment in the weaker capitalist countries. Today, such hopes and prospects are already discounted.

Insofar as Germany is concerned, the political repercussions and reflexes of the ever-deepening economic crisis are now coming to a head. The reconstruction of the Prussian government in the light of the recent election results will be a milestone on the road of Fascist victory. The dismissal of Groener as Minister of Defense, upon the insistence of the Nazis, is only a straw in the wind. Which way German political winds are now blowing is obvious. Nazi-wards, towards Fascism!

With such a background, the Lausanne Conference on reparations is soon to be opened. How long it will stay open is a matter of conjecture. What its achievements will be in a decisive sense, is, however, no matter of conjecture. Nil is the word. Nil is the answer. Perhaps it will close soon after it will open. At best it will give birth to more moratoria, to more standstills. It shouldn't surprise anyone in the least to see Hoover "arise to the occasion" one more, immediately or shortly after Congress adjourns, with a new panacea, with a new reparations and debts deal. More stalling, more temporizing. All with the hope that some presently unforeseen event or circumstances will save the day.

But no solution, no fundamental dealing with the reparations or debts or any other problem of capitalist decay and chaos. This is impossible under capitalism. And Hoover himself more or less feels it and is even beginning to understand it as can be seen from his recent frank expression of doubt (at a confidential conference of Washington editors) as to the surviving capacities of the capitalist system.

Add to this the intensification of the war danger on the Far Eastern front again the Soviet Union. Note the sharpening of class antagonisms within Japan proper, as evidenced by the wave of official assassinations. Look at the volcano on which the British imperialist lion sits in India. And the storm brewing in China.

The coming weeks, the month of June, will see desperate efforts of the world leaders of the exploiting class, especially at Lausanne and at Berlin, to stem the tide of disintegration.

Fortunately for the world bourgeoisie and most unfortunately for the international proletariat, that force within the ranks of the working class, the Communist movement, the Communist International, which could supply the necessary inspiration and leadership for dealing mortal revolutionary blows to capitalism is itself in a most serious crisis. But the events this June will prove decisive in a world sense for the workers as well as the capitalists of the whole world—epoch-making, world-shaking and decisive to the core.

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# Some Plain Words About Communist Unity!

by Ben Gitlow

(Continued from last issue)

The important thing to note here is that the initiative was taken by the Political Committee thru Comrade Stachel. We had our doubts about the sincerity of the requests by Comrade Stachel and the Political Committee. If the Political Committee really desired to take steps for unity, then it could have replied to our letter of January 15 and elected a sub-committee to confer with a committee of our group in an effort to determine a course for unity.

But the letter of January 15 was never answered. The event that letter was the result of negotiations and was requested by Comrade Max Bedacht and Wm. Weinstein on behalf of the Political Committee.

Even though we were of the opinion that the request of Comrade Stachel was not a sincere one, but a contemplated maneuver to utilize the question of unity to break up, weaken and discredit the Communist Opposition nationally and internationally, the National Bureau of the group nevertheless took the position that every little opportunity and loophole must be availed of in an effort to achieve unity.

We recognized that the step taken was evidence that there was considerable sentiment inside the Party ranks for unity. Evidently the ballyhoo of the Party, which characterizes its activities today, could not drown the voices of discontent with the wrong policies and line responsible for serious defeats and isolation from the masses.

The fact that the Party leadership, which is doing everything in its power to arouse in the membership a hatred of our group as "counter-revolutionists," "renegades," "agents provocateurs," etc. took this step is evidence of the two things:

1. That they do not consider us as enemies of the working class but recognize us still as Communists.
2. That they have failed to crush the Opposition because the criticism of our group is being justified by the force of events and our policy, when contrasted in action against the policy of the Party leadership, proves its correctness, as in Paterson, in the needle trades, in the Workmen's Circle, etc.

This letter of April 20 does not demand that the Party be given over to our group. It does not demand that Comrades Lovestone, Gitlow, Wolfe, etc., be given the Party leadership. It does not even demand that the false Party line be abandoned and replaced by the line of the Communist Party (Majority Group).

The letter is the most sincere offer on the part of our group to do everything to bring about genuine Communist unity.

Had the Political Committee and its emissary, Jack Stachel, been really desirous of unity, this letter would have been answered, a committee appointed and steps worked out for the unification of the movement.

The Political Committee, however, was interested in maneuvers and not in unity. It was not concerned about the great need for unity. It failed to take the very step that would do most to overcome the split and crisis in the Communist movement. It did not answer the letter but instead, if the words of Comrade Jack Stachel are to be believed, rejected the letter on the following astounding grounds:

Paragraph One, reading as follows:  
"We have not, as yet, received a reply to our letter of January 15, 1932, signed by the members of the National Bureau, urging that we get together to talk over arrangements for immediate Communist unity."

is objected to because it refers to the letter of January 15, signed by all members of the National Bureau. Reference to this letter, it is said, raises again the proposals brought forward in that letter for unity and makes them binding as far as this letter is concerned.

Paragraph Two, reading as follows:  
"We desire to place again before you the question of the readmittance of the comrades of our group, expelled over the controversies which have arisen in our Party since the 6th National Convention."

is objected to because it refers to the readmittance of comrades expelled over "controversies which have arisen in our Party since the 6th National Convention." The claim is that there have been no such controversies! The Political Committee doesn't know of any!

Paragraph Three, reading as follows:  
"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."

is objected to on two grounds: (1) Because it states that a "demoralizing state of disunity and disruption exists in the U. S. and elsewhere." The Political Committee claims there is no disunity or disruption anywhere! It doesn't exist! (2) "Elsewhere," they claim, refers to the settling of unity internationally whereas, they insist, it has nothing to do with the International, it being a purely national question, for the United States alone!

Paragraph Four:  
"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."

is objected to because the Political Committee doesn't "like the tone" in which we express our readiness to do everything in our power for unity.

Paragraph Five:  
"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 Politburo in conferring with us regarding the necessary steps to be taken to achieve full Communist unity."

is objected to because the Political Committee does not like our proposing unity because of the acute war danger and war against the Soviet Union!

These are astounding reasons. Jack Stachel states he blushed for shame when he read our letter. I have my doubts as to Jack Stachel's blushing propensities. But the reasons given are astounding. It should make the Party members realize that something must be done to make the Party leadership understand that unity is desirable and necessary.

Let us deal with Paragraph One. Does the letter of

January 15 lay down proposals for unity? It is impossible to understand the reasoning of the Political Committee. The letter of January 15, signed by all members of the National Bureau of the Communist Party (Majority Group), was one of the sincerest moves taken for unity. The letter was sent as a result of conversations with Comrade Max Bedacht and was sent in compliance with a request of the Political Committee of the Communist Party, stating that such a communication would be given favorable consideration. The failure of the Political Committee to reply can be only explained by its fear to act upon the letter except upon direct orders from the Communist International or by the fact that it was only playing with the unity question in an endeavor to maneuver the Opposition into a position where it would be discredited.

The letter of January 15 had no strings attached to it; it laid down no proposals, asked only for the opportunity of a committee of ours appearing before the Political Committee to discuss in a constructive way how to achieve Communist unity. The letter of January 15 speaks for itself. It is as follows:

We have been informed that the Political Committee of the Central Committee have decided to give consideration to the problem of reunifying the Communist movement in this country and to put an end to the demoralizing state of disunity and disruption that exists today.

We wish to declare that we stand ready to do everything in our power to facilitate this work of unification in every way possible.

We suggest that a committee of ours appear before the Political Committee to discuss in a constructive and comradely manner the various problems arising in the reunification of our movement and on the reinstatement of the expelled members.

We are prepared to appoint and send such a committee at any time the Political Committee signifies its willingness to receive it.

We assure you that we will take every Communist step leading in the direction of unity.

Bureau of the National Council of the  
COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.  
(Majority Group)

- Bertram D. Wolfe
- J. O. Bentall
- D. C. Gitz
- Jay Lovestone
- Will Herberg
- Alex Bail
- Chas. S. Zimmerman
- Edward Welsh
- D. Benjamin
- Ben Lifshitz
- L. Becker
- Pearl Halpern
- Benj. Gitlow, Secretary

The failure of the Party leadership to take a position on this letter, its fear to explain to the Communist International what it thought about the letter and its recommendations on the same, do not excuse the Executive Committee of the Communist International for its failure to welcome this move for unity. The leadership of the Communist International is even more guilty in this instance because, if it was sincerely interested in unity, it was in a position to act. It received adequate reports from the representative of the Communist International who had a long conference with Comrade Lovestone in which he promised to report back this conference to the Executive of the Communist International. If the Communist International Executive had acted, it would surely have gone a long way in paving the way for unity not only in the United States but thruout the International. The failure of the Executive to act boldly and openly upon the January 15 communication, in spite of the flimsy excuse given by Comrade Stachel that all the material "came together", is proof that the Executive of the Communist International is not ready as yet to move sincerely and genuinely for Communist unity. This is a bad indictment of the leadership of the Communist International. It has to be made. The facts bear it out.

The objection to Paragraph Two is of the most flimsy character. For, if there have been no controversies since the 6th National Convention of the Communist Party, something really mysterious and unexplainable must have taken place. We are dealing with a political party, with issues and individuals. We are not engaged in fairy tales. Comrade Stachel and the Political Committee may want to appear like ostriches hiding their heads in the sands. But really their necks are too short—their memories not so bad—and there is no political desert that affords them such an opportunity. If there were no controversies over the 6th National Convention of our Party, how can they explain the 90% of the convention delegates, the overwhelming majority of the convention, elected a delegation to appeal, on behalf of the convention, against the decisions of the Executive of the Communist International? How can they explain that it was precisely this majority of the delegation to the Communist International, with the accredited leadership of the Party, which was expelled from the Party? The controversies are of a fundamental and basic character. To deny their existence is to put obstacles in the way of achieving unity and liquidating the causes for the present split and crisis in our Party and in the Communist International.

The position of the Political Committee on Paragraph Three is too ridiculous in its denial that there is a state of disunity and disruption in the Communist movement here and elsewhere.

If that is the case, why bother with unity altogether, since no disunity exists? How can one maintain such a ridiculous position in the face of the various groups of Communists, with their organizations, outside of the official Communist movement? How can any one deny the splits in the Communist Party and in the Communist International? How did it come that the very founders and builders of the Communist Parties and the Communist International are today outside of the official movement, expelled from their Parties and from the Communist International? The Communist Opposition in Germany, Sweden, Austria, Czechoslovakia, France, the U. S. A., etc., the Trotskyist oppositions, and the other split-off groups all over the world, show that there is a crisis in the Communist movement and call for the speediest and most energetic steps to liquidate the crisis and to unite the Communist movement once more.

(Continued in the next issue)



**BOOKS**  
THE AMERICAN JITTERS, A Year of the Slump, by Edmund Wilson. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York City, 1932.

The interest in the essays that make up this volume—most of them appeared separately in periodicals in the year 1931—is surely rather sociological than literary in the narrow technical sense. Not that Mr. Wilson's sketches do not well merit close study as high-grade models of vivid and penetrating reportorial writing but obviously their true significance is as a symptomatic record of what the Times reviewer aptly calls "the intellectual plegma of a social critic of real stubborn integrity . . . thru twelve months of heavy pressure."

The case of Edmund Wilson is only secondarily the case of Edmund Wilson, the individual; it is primarily a case-history of the tremendous revolution in spirit and outlook that the conjunction of capitalist world crisis and Soviet Five-Year Plan has produced among the best and most socially responsive sections of the bourgeois intellectuals. It is from this viewpoint that the Marxist critic must approach "The American Jitters."

"Prosperity fooled us all," the author now confesses for himself and colleagues (p. 302); the process of self-disillusionment, reported in this book, has brought Mr. Wilson close to Communism. Of course his ideas are still in rapid flux; not only each essay in this volume but literally every number of the "New Republic" shows a progressive change of landmarks. But judging on the basis of this book alone, it is clear that the reconstruction in his ideology has lagged considerably behind his radical change of orientation.

These essays disclose in every paragraph evidences of the petty bourgeois liberal heritage of not only in particular views but in the whole mode of thought. "Ford, we are seriously told (p. 85), 'has fought the capitalist system according to his lights . . . he finds himself at last overwhelmed by that system, helpless in its collapse.' This is ordinary liberal silliness and altho Mr. Wilson is not guilty of such stuff very frequently, yet a vein of it does run thru his thought. The whole strangeness, inappropriateness, even absurdity of the petty bourgeois mode of thought attempting to operate on the basis of a revolutionary proletarian orientation, is brought out with great force in Mr. Wilson's remarks on Marx and Marxism. We do not refer to such 'facts' as that Marx 'expected revolution first in some more highly industrialized country like England' (p. 297) or that Henry George from his actual experiences in the West had reached conclusions similar to Marx's" (p. 299); these are easily explained thru unfamiliarity with the material. We refer to the mode of thought which makes it possible for Mr. Wilson to assure us that: "The great advantage, the great superiority of Marx over other economists was due to his psychological insight," that "the 'real laws of capitalist production' of which he writes are merely the instinctive workings of human acquisitiveness, selfishness, deception . . .", which makes it possible to speak of "Marx, like other great Jewish prophets . . ." It is not merely that these views are wrong, absurd, fantastic; what is more important is that the very language, the very cast of thought, the very ideological modus operandi, so to speak, is something utterly foreign to and absolutely incompatible with the revolutionary orientation to which Mr. Wilson now so wholeheartedly adheres.

But all this means that Mr. Wilson's Pilgrim's Progress is not yet over. Indeed, it must in all justice be added that his recent work, especially his "New Republic" articles on "The Literary Class Struggle", shows that not only is he moving rapidly in the right direction but that he is even becoming conscious of the necessity of reconstructing the mode of thought, "shifting the bases of thought" (as Mr. Wilson himself terms it) in conformity with the change of orientation.

A leading idea that dominates much of Mr. Wilson's outlook in this book and since, is the problem of the "Americanization" of American Communism. The idea is one of great value and significance, if understood properly. That the revolutionary movement of today must tie itself consciously to the revolutionary tradition in the life of the American people, that it must grow out of American life and problems and reflect them, that it must face American conditions and mold its policy, strategy and tactics in their light, that it must speak to the American working men and farmers in a language they can understand—all this is very true and very important and cannot be over-emphasized.

But it seems to me that Mr. Wilson is not satisfied with this; he wants the whole ideological apparatus of revolutionary Marxist thought scrapped or at least modified because it is "foreign". Mr. Wilson thinks (p. 12) "it is the idiom of Russian Communism." In this he is wrong; it is the idiom of international Marxist thought. And this idiom is not arbitrary; it reflects a new "base of thought". Its "foreignness" is not that it is not American but that it is not bourgeois. But this foreignness is historically quite inevitable as long as the masses of the American workers remain bourgeois-minded. An attempt to eliminate it, not by raising the ideological level of the masses but by degrading and vulgarizing Marxist thought, certainly cannot



**BETWEEN HAMMER AND ANVIL**  
The Beer Parade (to the tune of "My Bonny Lies Over the Ocean")

Last night as I stood on the bread-line,  
And wished that the weather were clear,  
Says a guy that was standing beside me,  
"What we need is to get back our beer!"

Bring back, bring back,  
Bring back my bock beer to me, to me  
Bring back, bring back,  
Oh, bring back, my bock beer to me!

My guts were aching my throat's cut,  
The end of my troubles was near,  
When a guy pines a troy on my shirt  
front

"Prosperity, bring back our beer!"

I'm sitting all froze on a park bench,  
When a cop offers me a career,  
"Want a job, bud?" "Yuh kiddin'?"  
"Earn two bits by marching for beer!"

We march down Fifth Avenue to music,  
With cops in our front and our rear,  
Our Mayor is leading the marchers,  
Ashouting for Jimmie and beer.

Rich boozers in silk hats and tuxes,  
Horseback riders who play Paul Revere,  
Arding to wake folks for freedom,  
Free pretzels, free grafters and beer.

The saps on the sidewalks are starving,  
But forget what they want while they cheer,  
Forget starving kids and the bread-line,  
And yell their old heads off for beer.

Bring back, bring back,  
Oh, bring back, my bock beer to me,  
Bring back, bring back,  
Oh, bring back, my bock beer to me.

And now I am back on my park bench,  
Awishin the weather was clear,  
The next guy that says: Beer's what's needed!"  
Will get a good clout in the ear.

Shakespeare was Right  
Jimmie Walker is going to run for Mayor again merely to prove the truth of Hamlet's saying:  
"A man can steal and steal  
And be a Mayor still!"

When the Croon Comes over the Crisis

Hap of the New Masses has responded to Herbert Hoover's appeal for some patriotic (Republican) song-writers to compose a song for Rudy Vallee to croon the crisis away. Now all join in the chorus:  
When the croon comes over the crisis,  
Depression flies off like a dove.  
How nice is the dream of high prices,  
Low wage is confession of love.  
Eviction makes vagabond lover  
For Morgan and Mellon and Hoover,  
Herb would be president twice,  
When the croon comes over the crisis,  
Wage-slaves are sugar and spices.

Tin Pan Alley grinds out 25,000 different popular songs a year. Well, anyway they have different names.

Crooners who go on the ether should take it instead.

The only redeeming feature of the scheme to cheer up the jobless over the radio is that the jobless haven't radios.

Some other themes for blues-chaser croon-tunes for ambitious song-writers to try for prosperity's sake are:  
"You made me what I am today  
I hope you're satisfied"  
(dedicated to Herbert Clark Hoover)

"It's a long way around the corner."  
"Dry my eye" or is it "Dry? My eye?"

"The Bolsheviks 'll get you if you don't watch out!"

"I promise you." (Campaign Song)  
"You'll have to live on love."  
"Wolf, stay away from my door."

Hoover has asked Rudy Vallee to chase the depression with a radio croon on the theory that desperate diseases require desperate remedies!

—B. D. W.

commend itself to conscious revolutionists. To replace "Communism" by "equity" (as Theodore Dreiser would like to do), "surplus-value" by "unearned increment", "class struggle" by "interaction of social groups" and so on, is no mere matter of language or technical expression; it means to shift the "base of thought" from revolutionary proletarian socialism to radical petty bourgeois socialism!

Wilson's book should be read and studied by those who want to learn to write in a clear, simple, effective, even powerful manner. It should be read and studied by those who want an accurate report of the impact of the first year of the crisis on American life. It should be read and studied by those who want to get an insight into the profound changes that the collapse of capitalism and the emergence of the new Soviet socialist order have effected in the spirit of the best of the American bourgeois intellectuals.

X. Y. Z.