

WORKERS AGE

For
Communist Unity
in the
Revolutionary
Class Struggle!

Workers
of all
Countries,
Unite!

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AND FARMERS

VOL. I, No. 26.

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With the 'Age' Builders

TO THE RESCUE
Two big items this week, which materially helped in the emergency: From Fort Wayne \$40, and from the Brooklyn unit \$30! Good work! Surely examples worth following by all Age Boosters!

We must confess, however, that some of those fine pledges announced in last week's Age are still pledges... And the printer refuses to print on the basis of pledges. How about it, comrades?

Who to the rescue, next?
The boosters and supporters can find below some good examples to follow!

Fort Wayne Comes To The Rescue of the AGE!

From Fort Wayne, like manna from the skies, rained a check for \$40 just in time to settle an argument with the printer. With the check came the welcome comment: "We have now managed to get in a position where we can contribute to the hard-pressed Age. Taxes for our unit here would amount to about \$9 a month. Enclosed find money order for \$40. Out of this take \$2.40 for dues stamp and make the rest taxes from Fort Wayne for the Summer assessment. The spirit in the unit is good."
(Signed) HAL LONG"

Our readers will recognize in this Age Booster one of our best contributors in the editorial columns, as well. One of the unusual features about the Workers Age is that its writers and editors "pay for their space" instead of being paid by the paper. That's one of the things that keeps us alive and growing!

Brooklyn has some live wires. The fulfillment of their pledge of \$110 proves it! Last week \$50 was rushed to the Age and this week came the welcome contribution of \$60 to help tide the Age thru the summer months. That's the way to answer an S O S call!

We've heard rumors to the effect that the \$100 pledged by the Bronx-Harlem unit is slowly making its way to the Age office and may still reach us in time to help get out the next issue. Will someone from the Bronx-Harlem unit verify that rumor with hard cold cash, as quickly as possible? That's the only language our creditors understand! And we must get the Age out!

From California comes a letter from a new recruit: "Dear Friends: I am enclosing money for two bound volumes. I appreciate your courtesy part has been due to lack of funds on my part. Having laid hands on a little money, I am going to subscribe to your paper for a year and in that way I will be sure of getting it. I enclose \$2.50 for my subscription... The bound volumes I received were up thru 1930 to 1931. Please tell me if there are bound volumes for the year 1931 and to the present or copies available for a like period and the price...
N. M., Los Angeles.

Philadelphia Helps in the Emergency
From Philadelphia this week comes a check for \$15.50, for a renewal, circulation and on account of the Summer Assessment! Says Philadelphia: "... We are trying our best to obtain fifty dollars. As soon as we will succeed, we will send the money immediately." All we can say is that we hope you succeed!

This is one time, we're in favor of some form of a speed-up system—we're referring to the "expiations" a number of units and comrades are supposed to be looking after. How about those renewals? Can't we get a little more speed? Send them in. We don't want these subscribers to miss a single issue of the Age.
Build and Boost the Workers Age!

BIG ANTI-WAR MEET IN NEW YORK

NEW YORK CITY.—Between 12,000 and 15,000 workers took part in the anti-war demonstration on August 1 in this city. The meeting was predominantly a protest against the Hoover "war" against the bonus army in Washington. I Amer, Communist candidate for Governor, H. Shepard, Communist candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, and Walter Trumbull, of the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League, were the speakers.

Nazis Make Gains; Communist Vote Rises Socialists Lose in Reichstag Elections

The Results Of The July 31, 1932 Elections

Berlin, Germany.
Sweeping gains for the Nazis, increases for the Communists and Center party in varying degrees, were the results of the momentous Reichstag elections on July 31. The Social-democrats and the Nationalists lost and the so-called "middle parties" were practically wiped out. The figures based upon 98% of the returns, are (comparisons with the September 14, 1930 Reichstag elections): Nazis: 18,733,000 (229 deputies)—6,401,000 (107%); Nationalists: 2,173,000 (37) — 2,458,000 (41); Communists: 5,300,000 (89)—4,588,000 (76); Social-democrats: 7,900,000 (133)—8,572,000 (143); the Center party (which includes the Bavarian People's party): 5,800,000 (98) — 5,100,000 (87). The total increased from about 33,500,000 valid votes in 1930 to about 37,000,000 in 1932. The increases (or decreases) are: Nazis: 7,332,000 gain (110%); Nationalists: 284,000 loss (11%); Communists: 702,000 gain (15.3%); Social-democrats: 572,000 loss (6.6%); Center: 700,000 gain (13.7%). The total vote increased about 10%.

In view of the increased total votes cast, a fair picture of the situation is obtained by comparing the proportion of total vote cast in 1932 and 1930: Nazis: 37.2% (19%); Nationalists 5.9% (7.3%); Communists: 14.3% (13.2%); Social-democrats: 21.3% (24%); Center: 15.7% (15%).
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A. F. L. APPROVES JOB INSURANCE

Council Instructs Green To Prepare Plan For November Meet

Atlantic City, N. J.
Unable any longer to resist the rapidly mounting tide of sentiment in the trade union movement in favor of some sort of governmental unemployment insurance, the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, in session here, completely reversed itself and its traditional policy and instructed William Green, President of the A. F. of L., to formulate some plan of compulsory Federal unemployment insurance and bring it in to the next meeting of the executive council in October to be presented for final action to the Cincinnati convention of the federation in November.

The sharp change of policy came as a result of the flood of demands of various trade union organizations throughout the country, local unions, city central bodies, international unions and the like. How great the reversal really is can be seen from the sharp attack on the proposal made by William Green and Matthew Woll and other conservative leaders at the last October A. F. of L. convention in Vancouver.

The plan of government unemployment insurance to be proposed, Mr. Green said, would be based on Federal action rather than on that of the States and would safeguard the interests of the trade unions.

The change of front of the A. F. of L. leaders is a tribute to the persistent struggle waged by the progressive and left wing forces in the trade union movement in the last few years for Federal unemployment insurance and is an indication of how strong the feeling for it is in the ranks of the A. F. of L. It is now necessary for the masses in the unions to see that the decision of the executive council does not remain on paper, that an adequate bill is drafted, that it is adopted at the Cincinnati convention and that all the forces of labor be mobilized to push it thru Congress.

WASHINGTON.—The Chilean Embassy made public on July 29 a dispatch received from its government announcing that the latter had repealed the law declaring all deposits and credits in foreign money in banks the property of the State.

Thus vanishes the last vestige of the radical gestures of the Davila government in the days when it paraded as a "Socialist" regime. Its loyalty to Wall St. having been proved, United States diplomatic recognition will follow very shortly.

NEW YORK CITY.—That there is little hope for the "people at the bottom of the economic heap" from the activities of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation or from the other so-called "relief" measures of the Federal government, was the conclusion of a report brought in on July 22 by the committee on unemployment of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York.

CLOAK COMPACT HITS WORKERS

Lehman Settlement Includes Standards Of Production Scheme In Disguise

New York City
Under pressure of Lieutenant-Governor Herbert H. Lehman, with the assistance of the leaders of the International Ladies Garment Workers, aided by Morris Hillquit, as the union attorney, a settlement has been effected in the cloak trade which, in spite of certain concessions for the workers, saddles upon them a provision that will lead directly to the vicious "standards of production" system, already so notorious in the men's clothing industry where it has brought such devastating results.

The settlement came as a result of a long series of negotiations after the conclusion of the old agreement on June 1, 1932. These negotiations, in their later stages, were supervised personally by Lieutenant-Governor Lehman who was very anxious to patch up a "peace" with a view to the coming Presidential and State elections. The chief demand of the employers was the legalization of piece-work; the union demanded the maintenance of the week-work system as well as the limitation of contractors. The final agreement as reached in the conference—the new agreement is to run to June 1, 1933—the retention of the week-work system and the limitation of contractors not to exceed twice the number actually required by the jobs to produce their output, as well as a number of other points. It also includes a flat \$5 wage-cut, or about 10%, and a provision that the union should participate with the three employers' associations in a so-called "trade council" to "establish and maintain uniform production costs for all garments to be paid for by jobbers engaging outside contractors." It is this latter provision that constitutes the most objectionable and dangerous part of the agreement, since it lays the basis for the introduction of a full-fledged "standards of production" system—a new system which, as the experience of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers shows, only binds the union closer to the employers in their task of exploiting the workers.

On Saturday, June 23, there was held a meeting of the general strike committee to consider the agreement. David Dubinsky, the President of the I.L.G.W.U., and I. Nagler, general manager of the Cloak Joint Board, reported on the agreement. Thereupon A. Gladstein, of the Cloakmakers Progressive League, made the motion to reject the point in the agreement to reject the "trade council." The chairman, Nagler, having ruled that the agreement must be either accepted or rejected as a whole, Gladstein amended his motion to include the rejection of the agreement as a whole. I. Stenzel, also of the Cloakmakers League, supported Gladstein's motion. Dubinsky, in his summary, attempted to deny that the agreement implied a step towards "standards of production" but without much success. The agreement was finally adopted by the

BIG RAIL MERGER IS ENDORSED

Interstate Commerce Body Endorses Consolidation Plan Of Railroads

WASHINGTON.—The consolidation of all Eastern railroads, except those of New England, into four great systems was approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission on July 21 in a far-reaching decision handed down by the commission. The four systems to be created will be known as the New York Central (including 75 roads), the Pennsylvania (82 roads), Baltimore and Ohio (68 roads) and Chesapeake and Ohio-Nickel Plate (70 roads).

The decision of the I.C.C., which follows substantially the lines of the proposals of the big railroads in their petitions for the modification of the commission's 1929 plan, is hardly more than a recognition of a long process of consolidation that has placed the control of the Eastern rail lines in the hands of a small group of super-financiers with almost unlimited powers. Facing them are the railroad workers, largely unorganized, and, even where organized, grouped into over a score of unions, divided and weakened thru class-collaboration policies. The railroad super-merger should be a challenge to the railroad workers to amalgamate their unions into one powerful railwaymen's union and to initiate a determined drive to organize the unorganized.

STRIKE WAVE IN N. CAROLINA

Spontaneous Strikes Break Out; Bosses And Police Start Attacks

HIGH POINT, N. C.—A spontaneous wave of strikes in textile and hosiery mills, furniture factories and laundries and many lesser establishments has broken out in North Carolina and is spreading in all directions. Over 150 mills are already tied up.

The movement started in a textile mill near here in protest against a threatened 25% cut of the already miserable wages of the workers. The workers walked out, marched to the next mill, pulled it out and proceeded in this way, gathering numbers in their progress, from factory to factory, taking advantage of the astonishment of the factory managements and the authorities.

On July 21, the employers began a counter drive. Arrests were initiated on every side and the outstanding leaders of the movement jailed. On July 24 a large force of police was mobilized here to crush the strike in the Diamond hosiery mills. The movement, however, is spreading rapidly.

From Jesse James to Al Capone. The Chicago World's Fair will show the progress of civilization for the past fifty years. That'll take us from the old-fashioned six-shooter right up to the modern machine-gun.

general strike committee.
On Monday, July 25, 1932 came the cloakmakers shop chairmen's meeting in Webster Hall. Dubinsky made the same report as he had at the general strike committee the Saturday before. A number of questions were asked, but insisted on opening a discussion. Dubinsky called for a vote on the adoption of the report, quite in the old bureaucratic way. He later announced that the report was adopted unanimously, with the exception of one vote in opposition. But in fact, the vote was railroaded thru without any discussion being allowed and against the strong opposition on the part of Stenzel, Zeldin and Gladstein, members of the Cloakmakers Progressive League.

Then Dubinsky made a very bitter and vicious attack on the Progressive League, calling it a "disruptive group" in the union. He made this attack because he knew the position of the League against the adoption of the agreement, especially their opposition to the clause about the "trade council."

Army Fires on Veterans; Camps Are Burned; Hoover Opens Drive on Radicals

WALKER OUT FOR 8% WAGE-CUT

Urges City Workers Yield Month Pay; Fireman In United Protest

NEW YORK CITY.—In a radio address on July 22, Mayor James J. Walker announced that the 147,000 municipal employees must accept a "voluntary" wage-cut of 8% or else the city would face "embarrassment, if not a defunct condition." This pay-cut he suggested should be in the form of a deduction of one month's pay from their 1933 salaries
(Continued on page 2)

Bonus Army Driven Out Of Federal Buildings And Camp Anacostia By Gas Attack; Communist And Radical Vets Arrested; W. W. Waters Out For Fascism

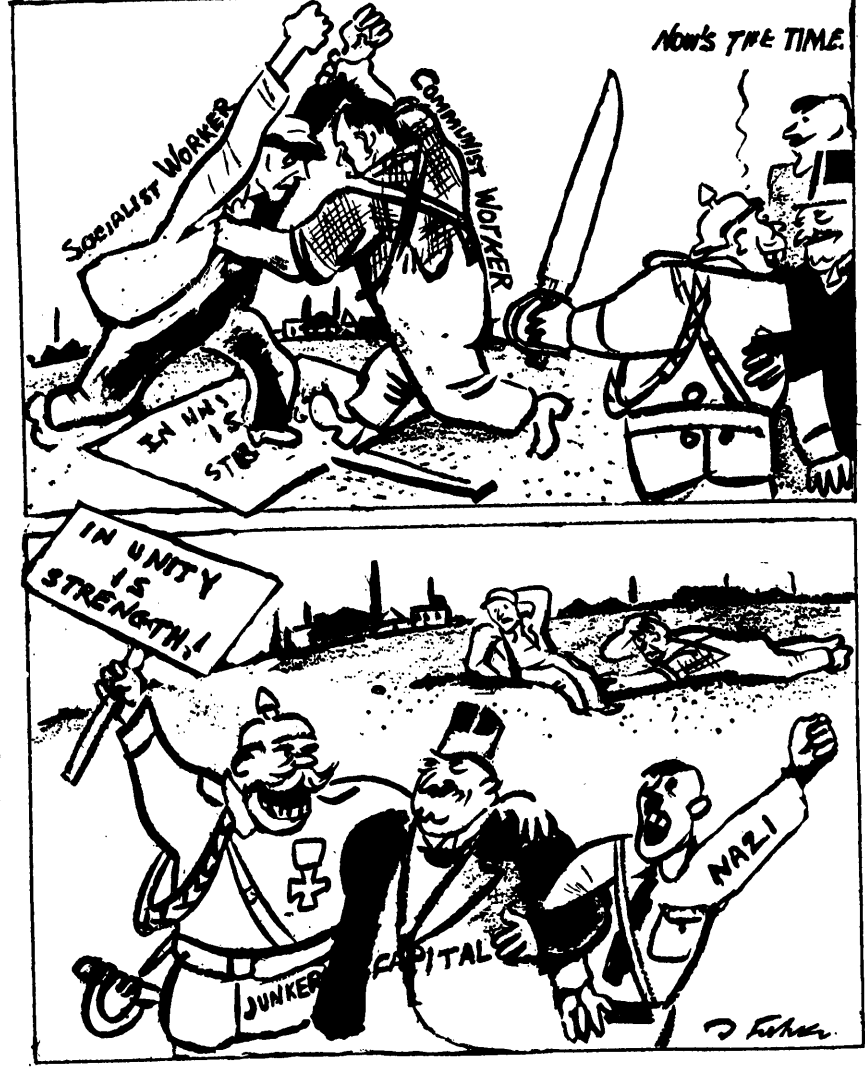
WASHINGTON.—After United States troops had driven the veterans out of Camp Anacostia and set fire to it, the entire city police force was mobilized to "mop up" the scattered bonus army, including many women and children, that is, to hunt them out and drive them from the city. To prevent them from returning, a ban was placed by the District of Columbia Board of Commissioners upon entry into the District of "all organized bodies or

groups of persons, unless it be established that such bodies or groups of persons have a lawful purpose in entering the District..." The authorities of the surrounding States met the hungry and shelterless ex-servicemen with orders to "move on," harrying them as if they were wild animals or criminals. Only Eddie McCloskey, ex-prize fighter Mayor of Johnston, Pa., offered the desperate veterans a refuge and even here the "substantial" and "respectable" citizens of the town have threatened to appeal to the Governor to drive the former soldiers out.

At the same time, under direct orders of the President, a special drive was begun against the radical wing of the ex-servicemen, particularly the Communists. Nearly fifty have already been arrested, including James W. Ford, Communist Vice-President candidate. The International Labor Defense and the American Civil Liberties Union immediately made public their intention of defending the ex-soldiers under arrest. The Communist Party issued a statement declaring its solidarity with the bonus marchers, protesting against Hoover's brutal attack on the ex-servicemen and announcing preparations for another and larger bonus march in December when Congress meets.

W. W. Waters, self-appointed "commander-in-chief" of the bonus army, who was somehow "absent" when the United States soldiers attacked and fired the Anacostia encampments, reappeared immediately afterwards broadcasting a plan for an American Fascist "khaki-shirt movement," with himself already cast for the role of a native Hitler. He announced that he had bought a tract of land in Maryland to which he would admit only those veterans "who are willing to abide by semi-military discipline and are decent, law-abiding citizens," that is, those who are ready to subject themselves to the dictation of this would-be Mussolini and his conservative boot-licking tactics.

THE WORKERS MUST LEARN THE LESSON!



DOMINIONS FOR BAN ON SOVIET GOODS FROM BRITAIN AT OTTAWA MEET

Gathering Reflects Cross-Currents And Antagonisms Within Empire And Outside; Wheat, Coal And Steel Are Big Issues At Conference

Ottawa, Ontario.
A demand by the representatives of the Canadian, Australian and New Zealand governments, speaking for the capitalist classes of these dominions, for the practical exclusion of Soviet products from British markets was one of the outstanding developments of Imperial Economic Conference in session here. This proposal, made on July 23, had as its primary object the barring by Great Britain of Soviet wheat and lumber. The general opinion of the conference is that an embargo on wheat of at least a year's duration is very likely to go thru. Canada already has a sweeping policy of excluding Soviet exports and Australia and New Zealand have been moving in the same direction recently. Now they demand that Great Britain fall in line.

The numerous questions under consideration at the Imperial Economic Conference center around two main points: tariffs and currency. The representatives of Great Britain, the colonies and the dominions are now

engaged in a complicated process of bargaining and counter-bargaining to provide themselves with "sheltered" markets in exchange for some equivalent tariff benefits. But this struggle takes on a world significance, far beyond the limits of the British Empire. The various European countries but particularly the United States and Argentina, are directly involved.

British and Canadian industrialists have already laid before the conference a plan whereby in return for British tariff concessions on Canadian exports, Canada would buy from Great Britain all or almost all of the steel and coal it is obtaining today from the United States. It is understood that the Bennett government is not unfavorable to this plan if only the loss of revenue involved could be made up. Both South Africa and Australia have demanded the diversion of the chilled beef purchases of Great Britain from Argentina to the two dominions. In return they have declared themselves ready to enlarge their British markets. Australia and the dominions are now

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WILL HERBERG SPEAKS FRI., Aug. 5 at 8 P. M. - 228 2nd Ave. "STORY OF GERMAN FASCISM"

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The Sectarian Course In Action!

THE PARTY AND THE BAKERS STRIKE

A Letter From Philadelphia

Philadelphia, Pa.
In early May, the Bakers Union in Philadelphia declared a strike against the wage-cutting campaign of the bosses. In this connection, the Mothers' Educational League, consisting of members and former members of the Socialist party, a few left-wingers, a member of the Communist Party (Majority Group) and some workers who have no particular political affiliation, discussed the issues in the strike and decided to participate and actively support the bakers in their fight. The Women's Council (under Communist Party leadership) decided not to participate because the leaders of this strike had failed to support the movement for "cheaper bread" which was initiated by these councils some year and a half ago.

International down to all whom they class as "social-fascists". The leader in this vicious attack was a Party representative who was neither a delegate nor a member of any of the delegated bodies. He summed up the Party's line in a resolution which proposed the transferring of all authority from this joint committee into the hands of the city committee of the Women's Council! The resolution also had a section against arbitration, centering attack against the union leaders, among whom some also were opposed to arbitration.

These tactics employed by the Party could lead only to the disruption of the conference. The method of attack and criticism and the atmosphere created at this conference by the large number of Party and League members who came into the hall and created as much disturbance as they possibly could, finally led to the disruption of the conference and the purpose for which it was called.

The pressure brought to bear upon the Women's Council by the Mothers' Educational League when it proceeded to mobilize workers on behalf of the strike thru the organization of mass meetings and picket duty, forced the Party to change its previous decision. Thru the initiative of the Mothers Educational League, a joint committee of the Bakers Union, Women's Council and the Mothers Educational League was organized.
At the first meeting which took place, we came face to face with the Party's so-called "united front" tactics. It was expected that this meeting would lay the basis for coordinated activity on the part of the organizations involved in order to arouse the interest and support of all workers behind this strike. Prior to this committee meeting a delegation representing the Mothers Educational League and the Women's Council had appeared before the Bakers Union expressing themselves against arbitration. At the joint committee meeting the question of arbitration was again raised for discussion. The opinion of the committee was divided on this issue. There were members of the Mothers Educational League as well as members of the Women's Council expressing their opposition to arbitration as a means of winning the strike in the interests of the workers. This, however, was not sufficient as far as the Party was concerned. Instead of sticking to issues and acting in a conservative fashion they opened a mud-slinging campaign involving everything from the Second

DOMINIONS CALL FOR U.S.S.R. BAN

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tralia has proposed a plan that would divert to it present British purchases in Denmark. These plans have not yet been acted upon.
Three years ago, at the last imperial Conference, similar market proposals failed because Great Britain was then a free trade country and could not make any extensive tariff arrangements of the character described above. Now Great Britain has gone protection but all the dominions are high tariff countries and would be very loath to reduce their protective walls for British manufactures in return for British purchases of raw materials from them.
The currency questions on the agenda primarily concern the problem of accommodating the currencies of the dominions and colonies to the British pound off the gold standard.

The Ottawa conference mirrors all of the difficulties of the British Empire, all the conflicting interests within and without, as accentuated by the world economic crisis. The resistance of the rising capitalist classes of the colonies to the crippling of the economic life of their countries in British imperial interests, the sharpened rivalries of the growing capitalist economies of the dominions with the economy of the mother country, the struggle between United States and British influence in these dominions, the centrifugal forces making for the disintegration of the Empire, all emerge very manifestly in the proposals and counter-proposals already before the conference. The outcome of the negotiations is not yet clear but it is probable that the sharp conflict of interests, as well as the pressure of such "outside" countries as the U. S. A., will prevent any very marked achievements. An economic block against the Soviet Union, however, is not unlikely to emerge from the conference.

WALKER DEMANDS BIG CITY WAGE-CUT

(Continued from Page 1)
and would amount to \$26,000,000. Unless this was done, the Mayor said, the city finances would be such that the State would act and force a wage-cut thru.
A sharp protest against the threatened wage-cut has already become evident among the city employees. The Uniformed Firemen's Association voted by a large majority to reject the slash. On the other hand, the Merchants Association, an organization of city business men, has raised a demand for an even bigger wage-cut!

NEW YORK CITY.—A flat rejection of Mayor Walker's expected plan of a "voluntary" wage-cut for municipal employees was contained in an editorial in *The Chief*, the civil service employees newspaper, of July 21. The editor of *The Chief* is Deputy Controller Frank Trial, who has been in almost continuous controversy with

The Pre-Conference Discussion

Our Attitude to Centrism and Our Tasks

by E. Smith

Our group has as its task the taking of the leadership in the fight against both right wingism (Social democracy and centrism) and against ultra-left sectarianism. In this dual struggle we must carefully keep our Communist integrity while not capitulating in any way to ultra-left sectarianism.

Because of the fact that the ultra-left course in the Party was begun by our group and because there was a centrist split in our group (Miller-Leviitch) just as we were emerging from this ultra-left course, we have, on the whole, bent the stick too much in the direction of the ultra-left. This is especially noticeable in connection with our attitude towards centrism, both on a national scale, the C.P.L.A. and the S. P. "Militants", and on an international scale. This attitude is best summed up in Point 11 of our International Resolution, as follows: "From this light it must also be recognized that there are serious dangers of centrism in the proposal to stimulate a general more or less permanent block of parties and tendencies standing outside of the internationalists" (emphasis mine—(E. S.)).

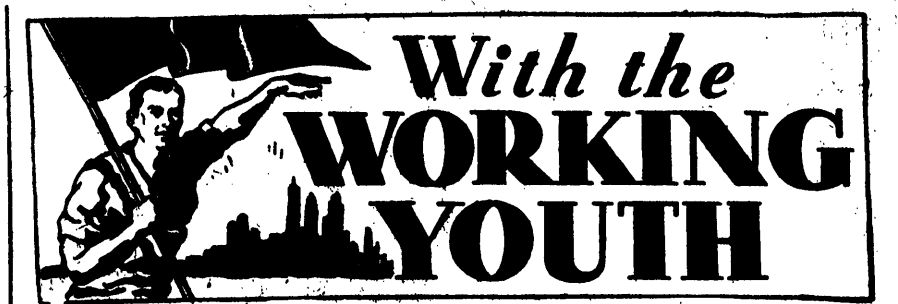
It is my opinion that one of the best guarantees of Communist unity would be the formation of definite

Communist groups (or parties) resulting from splits in the Social-democracy—which group would refuse to affiliate to the Communist Party. Such an analysis is not an idle dream. Any realistic view of the international labor movement would show that this is a perfectly possible and probable development. We must recognize that as Comrade Yablon says: "The blame for the failure of the disillusioned Social-democratic workers not going to Communism must be laid at the door of the official Communist Party." Accepting this analysis as correct we then have the task of doing that which the Party (and the Comintern) cannot do, win these workers for Communism. This can best be done by "a compromise, as, on the one hand, would facilitate and accelerate the necessary complete fusion with this left wing and, on the other, would in no way tie the hands of the Communists in their ideological struggle against the opportunistic right wing of the Independents" (Lenin, "Left-Wing Communism"). This means, of course, that we must form united fronts with centrism, in order to win the masses away from

the temporizing leaders (Seydewitz, Muste, Maxton, etc.). This can, in my opinion, best be carried out by united fronts thru the International Bureau of the Communist Opposition and the newly formed centrist International. These united fronts would not only cause greater fraternization between the membership of the Communist Opposition and the membership of the centrist groups in those countries where we have Oppositions but would give us an entering wedge in those countries where no Oppositions exist (Great Britain, Holland, etc.).

We will neither lose nor "compromise" our Communist integrity in such a block but, on the contrary, draw large masses of centrist workers closer to Communism.

It is my opinion that the conference of the international Communist Opposition should work out a definite program for an international block with centrism. It is my further opinion that the national conference of our group will have to work out a similar program on a national scale. Only by these methods can the leftward movement in the Social-democracy run its full course. Only thus can we break down the dam of centrism.



With the Working Youth

WHY I WAS EXPELLED FROM Y.P.S.L.

by Morris Gold

We publish below the statement of Morris Gold who was expelled on July 16 from the Young People's Socialist League of New York for being a "Lovestoneite." Comrade Gold was educational director of his circle (Circle 8, Manhattan), and, shortly before his expulsion, had been elected delegate from his circle to the national convention of the Y.P.S.L.—Editor

so I am writing this letter in order that the real issues might be made clear.

You will be given a list of startling revelations about many of my personal affairs which have no bearing on the case. It is a definite plan on the part of our "Militant" friends to beat down all expression of opinion under a "Red" scale.

To Circle 8, Manhattan, Y.P.S.L. Dear Comrades:—

You will be sent a statement on the case of my expulsion from the Y.P.S.L. It will contain a deliberate attempt to confuse and hide the real problems involved in this affair. And

The formal charge against me is that I am a "Lovestoneite" and that I have maintained my membership in the Y.P.S.L. for destructive purposes. I will deal later with the first part of this charge.

The accusation that I have tried to destroy the organization will be extremely hard to swallow for those of you who have worked together with me in our circle. My main activity, as brought out at the trial, was to bring into the circle discussions of working class problems. I have done this as educational director. I believe that the best thing that could happen in the Y.P.S.L. is a development of militancy which would necessarily go beyond the limits set by those pseudo-"Militants" who prefer to talk with left-sounding phrases but at the same time keep a sharp eye open for any expression of real militancy.

I am accused of being a "Lovestoneite." That charge is true. But how does it happen that an attack was started against me? Was it because of any destructive work on my part? The fact that I was twice elected delegate to national convention from our circle and received a vote of confidence even after the charge was made about my ineptibility, is eloquent testimony to the fact that my work was not of any destructive character but was, on the contrary, entirely constructive in the interests of labor. In electing me as a delegate, the circle signified its recognition that my point of view was not harmful to the working class. In electing me personally the circle demonstrated its approval of my past activities. No amount of slanderous charges and personal abuse can change that.

What then is the reason for the "detective work" of Comrade Cohen and the sudden "exposure"? The answer is very simple. The convention is coming on. The Y.P.S.L. "Militants" Cohen, Altman and the others, are faced with the task of imposing penance for all their past "folies." These "folies" were the expression of opposition to the time-worn reformist policies of the S.P. Having seen that this course would find its logical conclusion in an open break with the Socialist leaders and the Socialist party, they have chosen the path of least resistance, the path of self-deceit, the path of support of the very penance which they developed which the development of the struggle forced them to rebel. By their own confessions they have admitted that it is the prospect of seeing a convention take place with an expression of real militancy that put them on the war-path and led to my expulsion.

It is only in this light that we can understand why I became the object of all these "secret investigations." It is because of my activity as educational director, to which the circle has given repeated approval, it is because of my article on Germany in the *Young Socialist*, in which I say what our "Militant" friends no longer dare say, it is because of my article on confession, which they refused to print even before I was accused of being a "Lovestoneite"—in short, it is because I have been a consistent militant at the time when they thought it expedient to retreat, that I have become the object of their heresy-hunting campaign. I don't deny being a "Lovestoneite." But they have "discovered" it only because they are determined to stamp out all dissenting opinions.

I want to be as objective as possible. It is not a question of myself personally. But this case will be a signal for a new campaign of extermination of all militant viewpoints. This will happen unless the comrades resist these activities of Altman and Cohen and others by discussing all disputed questions and expressing their own opinions at all times.

Let me close with this: I am not sorry I joined the Y.P.S.L. I learned much thru being a member and I think I contributed something in bringing certain important issues forward for discussion and in helping to spread the spirit of militancy among the members of the Y.P.S.L.

I am a member of the Communist Party (Majority Group). I agree with its principles and tactics and I intend to be active in carrying out its program. I believe that its policies present the only road to the unification, strengthening and class-conscious awakening of the working class of this country. I hope and I am confident that in the near future many of you will become convinced, thru your own experience, of the correctness of this position.

Comradely yours,
MORRIS GOLD

THE ELECTIONS IN GERMANY

(Continued from Page 1)
The gains of the Communists came largely from Social-democratic losses. The gains of the National Socialist party came predominantly from the new voters, especially the youth, and from the bankrupt bourgeois "middle parties." It should be noted that the labor front, the Communist and Social-democratic votes combined, for the first time fell behind the total of the Nazis alone, not to speak of the Nazis, Nationalists and other extreme right wing elements combined. The proportion of the labor vote of total was in 1930, 27.2%, and in 1932, 25.6%.
The Communist gains are due largely to beginnings of the application of the united front tactic against Fascism.

It is clear that the July 1932 elections continue the trend initiated in September 1930 and maintained ever since: huge gains for the Nazis, gains for the Communists, big losses for Social-democrats, stagnation or slight gain for the Center party, catastrophic losses for the middle parties.
The retrogression of the labor front, in spite of Communist gains, was unquestionably due to the failure of the Communists and Social-democrats to establish a united front against the menace of fascism. Had such a united front existed, not only would the working class vote have been consolidated, but unquestionably tens if not hundreds of thousands of vacillating voters, backward workers or lower middle class elements, would have been swung away from Fascism.

The results of the elections indicate a difficult situation for the Reichstag when it meets in a few weeks. Only an extreme coalition, including the Nazis, the Nationalists, the Center party (or at least its right wing), and the minor reactionary parties, under the hegemony of the Nazis, such a coalition with the Hitlerites playing second fiddle may be regarded as out of the question. If this right coalition is not effected, stalemate remains (as in Prussia today) with the prospects of new elections or a completely anti-parliamentary dictatorship. Until the Reichstag meets, the von Papen clique will maintain control and will certainly utilize its power to advance its campaign against the working class on all fronts.

The July 31 elections took place after nearly two weeks of virtual dictatorship in Prussia, the largest part Mayor Walker in the last few months over budgetary questions.
The editorial in *The Chief* points out the chief beneficiaries of the proposed wage-cut of civil service employees would be the big corporations, especially the utility companies, operating in Manhattan, the New York Central, the New York Telephone Company, the New York Edible Company, the Pennsylvania Railroad, and the Consolidated Gas Company in particular.

Two New Pamphlets!

- THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT**
by Jay Lovestone
10c—Bundle Orders 8c
- SOME PLAIN WORDS ON COMMUNIST UNITY**
by Benjamin Gitlow
5c—Bundle Orders 4c

Rush In Your Orders
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of the Reich. On July 20 the von Papen Cabinet ousted the Social-Democratic coalition government of Prussia, removed the officials in many cases by force, and sent in a Reich-Commissioner. For nearly a week also martial law was declared in Berlin and the Brandenburg Province. An appeal to the Reich Supreme Court resulted in a confirmation of the coup of the Junker-militarist regime.

ARMY OPENS FIRE ON BONUS VETS

Encampments Are Burned; Men Driven Out; New March Is Coming

(Continued from Page 1)
Anacostia River. A gas attack, followed by hand-to-hand fighting, cleared the camp, which was also burned. Thereupon, the troops withdrew, five hundred of them being detailed to police the city.
In an attempt to justify these proceedings against men who only a short time ago had been sent out by the Federal government to the field of battle, President Hoover issued a solemn, lying statement, branding the bonus marchers as frauds and criminals, asserting that "a considerable part... are not veterans, many are... persons with criminal records." He also tried to raise the "Red" issue by declaring that there were many Communists among the veterans who, apparently, were to be blamed for the murderous violence of the government!

The veterans are now scattered throughout Washington. General Glassford, Superintendent of Police, has made public a statement to the effect that "the problem was not solved" by the destruction of the bonus encampments, that the police still had the job of "handling" the cattered veterans, that is, of rounding them up and driving them out of Washington.

The brutal attack of United States soldiers, under orders of President Hoover, upon men who had been asked to give their lives only a few years before, has aroused bitter resentment thruout the country. The Communist and Socialist parties, the American Civil Liberties Union, the International Labor Defense, dozens of trade unions and scores of community organizations, have made public their protest. A number of "progressive" Senators and Congressmen, led by LaGuardia, have sharply scored the Administration. In the United States the newspapers have, on the whole, upheld the action of the President but in foreign countries, especially Great Britain, France, Germany and Mexico, the press has been extremely critical.

(Now turn and read the editorial on page 4).

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Our Wonderful Civilization

The extracts below from a news item in the New York Sun of July 22 lay bare, in startling fashion, the real visage of the much-advertised "America, the Golden."—Editor.

Suicide In Despair
Edward Dallig, 52 year old, a mechanic out of work for nearly two and a half years, set fire to his furnished room at 353 Fifty-second street, Brooklyn, early today and then shot himself.

The police said Dallig had been receiving \$5 a week from a municipal relief agency. Last week he was informed that the payment could not be continued.

Tries To Die In Bay
George Spooner, 42 years old, who was pulled out of the bay last night after he had jumped from the upper deck of the Staten Island ferryboat Tompkinsville, in an effort to commit suicide, was recovering today at Broad Street Hospital.

Fred Mortha of 934 Ogden avenue, the Bronx, a passenger, saw Spooner jump. He slid down a ladder and held on to Spooner until both were lifted to safety. On the deck was found a note written by Spooner to his sister, Mrs. David Spooner of Somerville, Mass., telling of his inability to find work. Spooner is a seaman and has been living recently at 25 South Street.

Woman Ends Life
Mrs. Lily Modigli, 33, of 154 4th Avenue, Brooklyn, committed suicide last night by inhaling gas in the kitchen of her home, according to the police. Her body was found by her husband, who is unemployed.

Miss Rose Pitzinger, 35, of 47 Seventh Street, Weehawken, N. J., was killed last night in a fall from the roof of a six-story apartment house at that address.

A note written in German and addressed to the dead girl's sister revealed she had been despondent for some time because of her inability to find a job.

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THE FURRIERS UNION AND MR. SCHORR

(Concluded from last issue)
It is therefore clear that nothing can and is to be expected of Mr. Schorr. It is equally clear that the disease in the fur trade will not be cured with phrases, loud speeches, promises—nor with terror. No man, let him be the most influential person, unless he is directly connected with the shop, can solve the problems of the fur workers. The fact that two unions exist and lead to competition and fights between the unions, is to a large extent responsible for the robbing of conditions from the workers. The two union systems came as a result of the inner strife on fundamental questions to how a union is to be led. This inner fight is primarily responsible for the disruption of the Union. To make an end to this system, to stop the fight between the unions, does not require the interference of outside forces.

The fact that the fur workers were never consulted on whether or not an outsider should be brought in, and who he should be, is sufficient proof that the Joint Council does not intend to change policies, that the union will continue to go in the footsteps of Mr. Kaufman and Company, that the check-off system will not be changed.

These are good reasons for our League not participating in the work of an organization that works against our program and against the interests of the workers. We declare that we stand firm on the proposals made by us several weeks ago. Our viewpoint for one union in the trade is unchanged.

The furriers will have to realize that the strength in building the unions lies with the unification and working together of all progressive elements. In a united union there will be no place for dictators and false messiahs. It becomes the duty of all progressive elements in the union to aid, assist and strengthen our movement against autocracy, against terror, against new splits.

The movement for one union in the trade will remain the main task and should therefore be strengthened. The fur workers must not have any illusions of any miracles that will solve their problems.

Each and every furrier, who is tired of the suffering, must come to the conclusion that in order to bring about betterment and solution of their problems, a stop will have to be made first to the fratricidal struggle. Every fur worker must become an organic part of such a movement. The leaders of both unions so far have failed

to bring about real unity. The only one who will continue the struggle in this direction is the Furriers Progressive League. We, therefore, call upon all fur workers to unite forces with us in a common struggle against those who are in the way of bringing unity in the ranks of the fur workers, to oust the bureaucrats and give over the union to the rank and file. Only then will we become a power, a real weapon against the bosses, to regain the right to organize, mobilize and fight and save the lives, the very existence of our families.

FALL TERM IN NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

Communist Theory, History And Economics Are In New Schedule

The New Workers School, which was successful in all four terms it arranged during last year, and in addition is now conducting a series of summer lectures, has just released its tentative schedule for the coming Fall Term, opening in September, 1932. The courses and the instructors tentatively listed follow:

- Current Events—Jay Lovestone.
- Marxian Economic—Bert Wolfe.
- Fundamentals of Communism—D. Benjamin.
- History of the Revolutionary Movement in the United States—Will Herberg.
- Communist Strategy and Tactics—Alex Bail.
- Basic Conceptions of Marxism—B. Herman.
- History of the Russian Revolution—Herbert Zam.

In addition to the above courses, there will be a regular Forum on Sunday evenings.
Prominent individuals in the radical movement, including V. F. Calverton, will also present short courses on various important questions.
Workers who are interested in the above courses, who wish to make proposals or suggestions, or who wish to receive copies of the printed schedule, are asked to communicate with the New Workers School, 228 Second Avenue, New York City.

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Against Reformism and Sectarianism!

Nazi Menace and United Front

by A. P.

Berlin, Germany. In spite of reformist demagoguery and ultra-left confusion in the leaderships of the Social-democratic and Communist parties, the cases are piling up in which Social-democratic and Communist workers join in common resistance to the capitalist offensive and to Fascism. These joint actions are based partly on local agreements and partly on spontaneous cooperation at demonstrations and meetings without appeal of any organizations or even against the orders of such organizations. Of such latter character were the mighty demonstrations in Berlin in the last few days.

The Demagoguery Of The S. P. G. Leaders

A circular of the district committee of the S.P.G., Berlin-Brandenburg district, demands, as a prerequisite for the proletarian union front, the declaration of "civil peace" between the S.P.G. and the C.P.G., that is, "that all mutual attacks are to be suspended until July 31." "Speeches, such as those of Deputy Koerner, full of attacks upon the S.P.G., must not be repeated by any Communist speaker during the Reichstag election campaign." In the same circular in which the cessation of all attacks upon the S.P.G. is required, the Communist Party attacked for its "dirty Party affairs."

The Social-democratic leaders are quite ready to demand a suspension of Communist attacks upon the C.P. but they would not dream of attacking upon their police chiefs and officials to "suspend" attacks upon the workers during the election campaign; nay more, they would not even think of calling upon them to appear in the Prussian Diet to raise their voices and vote against the suppression of the Social-democratic central organ, Vorwaerts. They would rather waver everything for a mess of parliamentary pottage! How can the Social-democratic demagogues speak of "suspending attacks" (by which they mean political criticism) when they know very well that there are profound differences of principle between the two parties and that an agreement or a united front concluded for a specific purpose, on a specific program, cannot exclude these differences. It is mere hypocrisy for the S.P.G. leaders to pretend to desire a "suspension of attacks" which they would be the first to violate, directly and indirectly!

The decisive fact is that the party interests of the Social-democrats stand in contradiction to the less interests of the proletariat. The party interests of the S.P.G. leaders are, on the contrary, in accordance with the support and the strengthening of the bourgeois State. These State interests weigh so heavily upon the Social-democratic leaders that they are even ready to flirt even with the idea of cooperation with the fascists. Thus in his Nienburg speech of July 3, Severing declared: "If National-Socialism shows through deeds that it is capable of fruitful work, it will not be denied recognition by the S.P.G. Over 13,000,000 voters cannot be ignored nor can their cooperation in the State be rejected."

The Confusion Of The C. P. G. Leadership

The demagogic attempts of the S. P.G. leaders to appear as real champions of the united front are greatly facilitated thru the conduct of the leadership of the C.P.G. which, in spite of all the defeats to which the Party has been subjected in recent years, refuses to break with the ultra-left course. The latest evidence of this is the long, 32-page article of Thaelmann's in the July number of the Internationale. Here he strives to formulate the strategy and tactics of the C.P.G. in the struggle against Fascism. And what does he say? He addresses himself to the question of why it is that in spite of the objectively favorable situation, the forces of the counter-revolution are growing faster than those of the revolution. And he answers quite correctly: "Because the proletariat does not conduct any great struggles because there are lacking mass actions and strikes of great scope and depth, therefore have the working class and its revolutionary vanguard hitherto not been able to become that magnet which is capable of attracting the other vacillating strata to itself or else to neutralize them. For this reason above all, alongside of others of course, the revolutionary advance has not yet been able to pass beyond the advance of the counter-revolution."

But these words completely refute the fantastic stories featured in the official Communist press in recent times about the "victorious mass struggles" under the leadership of the C.P.G. and the R.G.O. (the German T.U.S.I.—Editor). When we express our skepticism as to these stories, we were abused as "renegades" and worse. But now that Thaelmann, much later, makes the same statements, why, of course, that is "bolshhevist self-criticism!"

Thaelmann does not explain why there were no "great struggles," "mass actions and strikes of great scope and depth," in this particularly favorable period. That is beyond him. And what does he say on what is after all the basic question, the question of how to make up for "loss of tempo" of the Communists, how to defeat Fascism and, in the course of the same struggle, to break the hold of reformism over the decisive sections of the working class? What has Thaelmann to say on the question of the united front?

Thaelmann drags out the supposedly dead doctrine of "social-fascism" and tries once more to "prove" that the S.P.G. is the party of "moderate Fascism." Of course, it is true that the S.P.G., and all bourgeois parties, accept the bourgeois State. But to overlook the differences between Social-democracy and Fascism, or even the differences in the bourgeois camp, to serve up again the discredited theory of "one reactionary mass," means to lose sight of all realism in the struggle for the revolution. This "single reactionary mass," embraces, according to Thaelmann, everything from Fascism to the Social-democracy. The "fasciation" of the Social-democracy extends, in the view of this Communist leader, "up to the left" S.P.G. auxiliaries, the Socialist Workers Party and the Brandler group, who serve the bourgeoisie and Fascism as the most dangerous elements of disintegration of the proletarian united front.

Such is the point of departure for a united front policy as conceived by the official leadership of the Communist Party of Germany! He even goes further and declares that as long as

the Social-democratic workers are "not freed from the influence of the social-fascist leaders, then these millions of workers are lost for the anti-Fascist struggle, are completely useless for this struggle." Is this not sectarian defeatism of the first water, hidden under high-sounding phrases? We declare that not only can the millions of Social-democratic workers be mobilized in the struggle against Fascism before they become Communists but that in order to help make them Communists and to destroy the influence of the reformist leaders over them, it is necessary to fight to bring them into united front actions of the Communist and Social-democratic organizations!

Thaelmann, who rejects the very foundations of the Leninist strategy of the united front, is ready, under certain circumstances, to accept the united front "from above!" But he delegates united front offers to Social-democratic leaders and leading bodies (what he called "from above") to "certain cases, above all in the stage of a highly developed mass movement." Of course, dear Comrade Thaelmann, united front appeals to reformist leaders are made by Communists precisely then these reformists have noteworthy mass influence. But according to Thaelmann, they must be appealed to "in the stage of a highly developed mass movement," that is, when the influence of the reformist leaders has already been broken or at least greatly weakened! This whole theory, smack-in the face of the most confused opportunism, is developed in order to excuse Thaelmann from making a united front appeal to the Social-democratic leaders and organizations today, right now, when such a united front is most acutely needed and when the workers are striving for it, consciously or unconsciously!

It is clear enough that the present leadership of the C.P.G., having made certain hesitating steps in the right direction, has relapsed into the old ultra-left nonsense and has proven itself incapable of carrying thru a consistent Leninist policy. The confusion in the leadership and the Party cannot only be overcome thru a determined struggle of the Party membership side with the Opposition and along the lines of its political program, for the restoration of the C.P.G. to health and fighting power. The longer this confusion lasts in the leadership and in the Party, the greater the advantage to the reformists and to Fascism.

Against Reformist Illusions

CONFISCATION OR "TRANSFER"?

by Morris Gold

The article below was written by Comrade M. Gold, a member of the Young People's Socialist League for publication in the New York P.S.S.L. The Young Socialist. After Comrade Gold had been elected by his circle as delegate to the national convention of the Y.P.S.S.L., he was charged with being a "Lovestonite" and expelled from the organization. —Editor.

At the recent convention of the Socialist party, a motion was made to include in the election campaign program, a clause for the confiscation of the means of production. The motion was overwhelmingly defeated but it succeeded in raising to the fore the question: How shall the working class get control of the wealth of this country, now in the hands of a relatively small group of capitalists?

Since the convention there have been discussions in a few circles on this cardinal question, as well as an explanation of his objection to the motion by Comrade Thomas, in the June 4 issue of the New Leader.

There have been innumerable proposals of methods to take the place of confiscation but a few of them made by Comrade Thomas will suffice to show the essence of all these suggestions—and their fallacies.

The first argument of Comrade N. Thomas is that a confiscation clause in the program would alienate workers who think they have something to lose thru confiscation. This is not a very poor argument. No Socialist in his right mind, no matter how radical, ever proposed to confiscate the bits of land of the poor farmers or the miserable savings or household furniture of the workers. Such schemes are only attempts to discredit and caricature Socialism by its enemies. What confiscation really means is the confiscation of the large-scale means of production and distribution, today in the hands of the capitalists as their private property. Furthermore any plan for socialization, in order to be effective, presupposes a revolutionary sentiment among the masses of workers and poor farmers—which means they are conscious of the fact that they really "have nothing to lose but their chains."

Any program that appeals for votes on any other basis is not truly a socialist program.

Every plan for socialization falls into one of two categories. It is either a plan for direct confiscation of the means of production without compensation or it is a plan, in one

form or another, for buying out the capitalist class. It is my contention that this latter plan (to which Norman Thomas subscribes) is in direct contradiction to Marxist teachings on the nature of capitalism. According to the Marxist conception, capitalism is a system, almost characteristic of which is the almost complete monopoly of wealth in the hands of the capitalist class. If we conceive of "buying" and "selling" as the exchange of wealth in one form for another, it becomes clear that the simple process of "buying out" the capitalist class is an impossibility. And it is not necessary to refer to "Marxian dogma" to see the truth of this statement. Compare the tremendous resources of the Ford industry alone, the mines, rubber plantations, glass factories, railroads and assembling plants, with the combined wealth of all the workers and poor farmers and the futility of any plan for the purchase of the Ford industry is all the more forcibly demonstrated. The same can be said of the plan of competing Ford or any other industrial and financial magnate out of business. When examined concretely there are two variations of the same principle that deserve closer consideration.

The first is the problem of purchasing the industries thru "bonds in the so-called industry to be amortized within thirty years." This is a completely utopian conception. It is not based upon the fundamental truth that the capitalists always act in their own class interests and so will never agree to yield their property in any form; it is rather based upon the premise that in some unexplained manner a conciliation of the classes will take place and the proprietorial class will agree to give up its property in the interest of humanity. But aside from the fact that it is fantastic, such an arrangement would not effect the fundamental change in class relations that Socialism requires.

Let us visualize a situation where industry is owned by the government but the former owners still have bonds drawing profits from the socialized industry. What would be the basis of this industry? In order to pay a profit the government would have to open an agency for the capitalist class in exploiting labor for the sake of guaranteeing to the capitalists a profit which, by the way, they are by no means certain of today. In other words, the capitalist class collectively would own the industry thru the government instead of the individual

An Insolent Gesture!

In the Daily Worker of July 25 there appears an hysterical editorial under the heading "The Judas Endorsement", violently disavowing the support given to the Communist Party Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates by the Communist Party (Majority Group) and the Trotskyites. Such endorsement on the part of the ex-rebelled Communist groups, we are told, shows that the groups "are serving the capitalist class in its attempts to find a way out of its crisis thru the Hoover hunger and war program."

The whole editorial is so frantic and incoherent that it would be futile to try to reason about it. It is, however necessary to make certain points clear.

1. As far as we are concerned, we do not regard the cause of Communism as the private property of the disorganizers and disrupters now in control of the Communist Party of the United States nor do we believe they have a copyright on it. Much as we would like us to do otherwise, we will continue to fight for the interests of the working class, to spread and defend the ideas of Communism, as laid down by Marx and Lenin, uncontaminated by the corruption of the sectarian disease ravaging the official Communist movement today.

2. We support the Communist candidates because the Communist ticket, in the present elections, the only ticket representing the class interests of the proletariat. It is unfortunately, true that the present methods and tactics of the C. P. greatly hinder the realization of its own, and our, fundamental aims. We hope that thru our participation in the campaign, which, of course, is based on a real Communist program of action, we will be able to counteract, to some degree, the harmful activities of the official Communist Party activities, dangerous to the cause of Communism and to the interests of the working class. We will do our best to see to it that the workers reached by our message will couple their support of the Communist Party ticket with a criticism of its sectarian election program and with a sharp protest against its present anti-Leninist, suicidal policies and leadership generally.

3. It is a scathing indictment of the clique narrowness of what should strive to be a Communist Party of the working masses, that the central organ of the C.P.U.S.A., officially and most offensively, rejects the support of groups of Communists who disagree with the official leadership on what are, after all, secondary questions of strategy and tactics. It is the attitude of the C. P. to Socialist workers or to the masses of the workers who have no working class political views at all? Is their support also to be rejected?

capitalists owning their particular industries. In short, we would have State capitalism. Then, after thirty years of capitalism with Socialist sanction would come confiscation ("amortization of the bonds"). The question naturally arises: If the interest on the bonds cannot be turned back into industry to create more jobs, fits, is that not confiscation of the means of production? Will not the object just as strenuously to a scheme where they cannot use their (temporary) profits for obtaining more profits as to outright confiscation? Those who are looking for an arrangement that will not provoke the capitalists to resistance must answer. And again, if there is no objection in principle to confiscation after thirty years, why an objection in principle to confiscation after ten years, five years or right now, and the next suggestion, closely related to that of direct purchase, is government purchase thru taxation. It is not necessary to go into a lengthy analysis of taxation to see that it is impossible to raise taxes to swallow up the total value of industry. The governmental tax does not have the prerogative to pay such taxes and to take them from the capitalists is confiscation, pure and simple. But then it can be proposed that we start by buying up some industries and use the profits of these industries to buy the rest. Quite apart from the practical futility of this plan, it should be remembered that no matter what form an industrialization can take place only on a national scale and on the basis of the large-scale industries. This is possible only by confiscation.

It is not simply by the process of elimination that I arrive at this conclusion. All history shows that wherever property has been taken from one class and placed in the hands of another, it was thru confiscation. Witness the confiscation of landed property in the French revolution and slave property after the Civil War. How much more true is this in the case of the working class whose purpose it is to abolish not only slave property, not only feudal property, but private property in all forms!

The Story of Italian Fascism

The Record of Fascism in Power

by Alfa

This is the fourth article in the series "The Story of Italian Fascism" by Alfa.—Editor.

With its ascent to power Fascism began to undergo a profound transformation in its inner structure and composition as well as in its external relations. From its very inception, as we have noted, the Fascist movement was closely associated with Italian industrial capital and served as its political weapon not only against the proletariat but also against the pretensions of the big landowners, who had dominated the country before the war, and against other sections of the bourgeoisie. Altho Fascism was essentially a movement of the petty bourgeoisie, the fundamental points in its program as carried out in practice, expressed the basic interests of industrial capital.

Once in power the close relations between Fascism and industrial capital became even more intimate. This was immediately reflected in the practical course of policy struck out by Mussolini but it also had its direct effects as far as the Fascist party itself was concerned. The party, especially its higher ranks, began to change in composition; it became permeated more and more with the direct representatives and scions of industrial capital at the expense of the petty bourgeois demagogues and "hot-heads" of earlier days. At the same time, the party lost its position as the real spearhead of the Fascist movement and became a subordinated instrument of the Fascist State clique.

In the same direction the party was reorganized on a thoroughly autocratic basis which bore only a superficial resemblance to the organization in the days before the seizure of power. The party today is headed by Il Duce di Fascismo ("The Leader of Fascism") who is equipped with absolute and unlimited power in the organization. Under him stands Il Gran Consiglio Fascista ("The Grand Fascist Council") composed of the "head of the government" (Mussolini), the Presidents of the Senate and the Chamber, the ministers and the undersecretaries and others "who deserve it because of the significance of their position as leaders of Fascism and as important exponents of the Fascist party and as leading personalities in cultural life, in organizations and institutions." These "others" are appointed to the council by Mussolini, who, moreover, is authorized to modify and replace the

Grand Council at will. The provincial federations are completely subjected to the Grand Council by whom all officials are appointed and controlled. Theoretically, the basic organization of the Fascio, usually a local unit, but the existence of the Fascio is largely on paper only. There are no meetings, no discussions, no delegates or representative conferences. Everything comes from above.

It is surely not surprising that this startling change in the structure, composition and role of the Fascist party did not proceed without bitter resistance from the ranks. But this we shall examine in detail later on.

Fascism and the Constitution The State policy of Fascism bears such an astonishing contrast to the program of the party while it was fighting for power that it is hard to believe that both emerged from the same organization. It shows how useful in the demagoguery of Fascism and how politically glib the petty bourgeois masses that this shifting of base could take place as successfully as it did.

Let us recall the radical promises of the Fascist program in regard to the Italian constitution: the abolition of the royal House of Savoy, the establishment of a republic, the calling of a constituent national assembly, proportional representation, women's suffrage, the abolition of the Senate. As late as 1921, the whole Fascist delegation, with Mussolini at its head, left the Chamber upon the appearance of the King, because, it was explained, no real Fascist could shout: "Long live the King!"

In power, however, Fascism has become the bulwark of the monarchy and of the aristocracy. The promise of universal suffrage has dribbled down into the grant of limited ballot rights to certain selected groups of women. To demand a constituent assembly today is punishable by a heavy term of imprisonment. In November, 1923, a new election law was promulgated according to which the party receiving the highest vote in the elections (not necessarily a majority!) would be given two-thirds of the Chamber, the other one-third being divided among the remaining parties. Thru the operation of this law, which Mussolini put thru with unveiled threats of violence, the 1924 elections gave the Fascists 4,500,000 votes and 375 seats and the opposition parties 3,000,000 votes but only 113 seats. In 1928 there took place a complete

reorganization of the Italian Constitution in line with the spirit of Fascism. Parliamentarism was completely abolished in fact and in form and was replaced by the so-called "corporative state". According to this scheme, the Fascist "corporations" or "syndicates" (the Fascist trade unions, employers associations, professional bodies, etc.) prepare nominations from which the Grand Fascist Council selects 400, who are presented to a referendum of "yes" or "no" votes on the whole list. If "yes" wins, then the slate of the Grand Fascist Council is elected as the Chamber. There is some complicated alternative procedure in case the majority votes "no" but this is of little importance since such a contingency is not likely to arise. To make things doubly sure the "yes" and "no" ballots are of different colors so that recalcitrants are made unpleasantly conspicuous. It is no wonder that in March 1929, the first elections under the new law, the vote stood: 8,250,000 yes; 135,700 no!

It is impossible not to draw an analogy between this system of general referendum and the plebiscitary system of Louis Napoleon in France. Both were constructed to serve the purpose of slightly veiling a gross despotism and of choking off all political life. In this as in other respects, the regime of the hero of the Society of December 10 bears many points of resemblance to Fascism.

It is surely not necessary to emphasize that the Fascist regime has gradually illegalized all opposition political parties and organizations and has suppressed all civil and political rights with the heaviest penalties.

Fascism And Social Legislation

The profound reaction introduced by Fascism is most clearly evidenced in the field of social legislation. The previously existent eight-hour day was immediately nullified thru a series of "exceptions"—for "the good of the State." Instead of the minimum wage promised came the legal reduction of wages 15%, 20% and sometimes even 30%. Sick, old-age and unemployment insurance were done away with. The factory councils were abolished.

The Fascist "Trade Unions"

In its rise to power Fascism had greatly weakened, and partly destroyed, the powerful trade union movement in Italy. The brutal offensive of Fascism met with little effective resistance on the part of the labor organizations because of their opportunistic policies and low morale. More than that, the reformist leaders of the trade unions actually took advantage of the occasion to "sell" the unions of all militants, that is, of all Communists and Maximalists and their sympathizers. The General Confederation of Labor was soon reduced to a mere shell and, not long after the Fascist seizure of power, was officially dissolved by Mussolini. Fascist syndicates or trade unions had existed for several years before the coup d'etat and in some cases, thru collaboration with the employers, had acquired considerable significance. But it was only after October 1922 that these "corporations" began really to grow and to embrace large sections of the proletariat. It is difficult to get any accurate or reliable figures as to the membership of the Fascist unions. Remembering, however, that adherence to these organizations is made practically compulsory, it may be stated that the Fascist unions embrace the great bulk of the organized workers of Italy and that the other (illegal, of course) trade union federations have been able to maintain no more than skeleton organizations in Italy.

The Fascist unions are not really unions in the sense in which that term is usually understood. Originally, Fascism proposed to organize not employers and employees in one body but upon the resistance of the former, two separate "corporations" were organized. The Fascist unions are entirely State organizations. They specifically reject the class struggle under the slogan of the "harmony of interests of the employers and the workers under the Fascist State." They reject the class struggle not only in theory but also in practice: the strike is forbidden under heavy penalties. The officials of the syndicates are all appointed by the Fascist authorities; no meetings are ever held, no rights at all vouchsafed to the membership; yet all decisions made in the name of these unions are legally binding on their members and even on workers who are not members! Except where, as a result of spontaneous revolts of the membership, control is temporarily seized, by the workers, the Fascist unions operate openly as agencies of the State in defense of the interests of industrial capital.

Fascist theory regards all social activity to be conducted under the control of the State and thru the channels of one State: "Everything in the State and for the State, nothing outside the State." (Continued on page 4)

The petty bourgeoisie is destined to play a far more significant and progressive social role in the struggle of the Negro people for emancipation and in the general social struggle than is the white petty bourgeoisie in the analogous situation. As a significant factor in the life and development of the race the Negro petty bourgeoisie is second only to the Negro proletariat. (Continue in the next issue)

Marxism And The "Negro Question"

THE STRUCTURE OF NEGRO SOCIETY

Resolution Presented To National Conference

We publish below the second installment of the resolution on "Marxism and the Negro Question," to be presented to the coming national conference of the Communist Party (Majority Group). —Editor.

11. The great Negro migrations during the last two decades, in the course of which scores of thousands of Negro farmers swarmed to the great Northern industrial centers and to the basic industries of the land, really introduced a new stage in the history of the American Negro. They effected a profound social fermentation and a basic realignment of class forces. They faced the Negro masses with a whole series of new problems arising out of the new urban and industrial environment. They really created the modern Negro proletariat. They greatly stimulated the development of the Negro bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie and seriously transformed the relations between these classes. They had a profound effect upon the Negro peasantry in the South, sunk in the mire of peonage and semi-serfdom. They also greatly influenced the relations of two races in the North as well as in the South. All of these phenomena soon made themselves evident in their effect upon the changed structure of American Negro society.

12. The social organization of the Negro people in this country, altho, of course, closely related to and in fact integrated into American society as such, bears a characteristic aspect, especially in the relation of classes and the specific gravity of each in the whole. The organization of Negro society resembles, in certain important respects, the organization of society in a colony or a subject nation.

13. The Negro bourgeoisie is rather weak numerically (absolutely and relatively) and even weaker economically. It has no hold upon or contact with basic industry; it is almost exclusively confined to certain very unimportant branches, usually organized on a small scale, or to commercial and related occupations that emerge in the large Negro sections of the big cities, South as well as North. But thru the Negro bourgeoisie, thru the more plant elements of the petty bourgeoisie, and thru the conservative sections of the professional "race leaders," the white American bourgeoisie exerts tremendous influence over the masses of the Negro people. The Negro bourgeoisie is the class

agency of white domination over the Negro people and it operates with borrowed power. The fundamental standpoint of the Negro bourgeoisie was theoretically formulated by Booker T. Washington in the famous "Atlanta Compromise": The Negro is to be content with his place in the American (bourgeois) scheme of things. He is to bend his energies to the acquisition of an efficient, if ignorant, of the white master. Any present aspiration for social and political rights—not to speak of social equality—is a vain and dangerous delusion! In the South the Negroes are to acquiesce in their complete political disfranchisement; in the North they are to serve as blind voting cattle for the Republican party. Lately, an infamous flirtation with the Democratic party (in North and South) has been initiated (the DePriest "non-partisan" conference). Within the last year the crusade against Communism has become an important part of the services rendered by the Negro bourgeoisie to their white masters. The political activities of the "race leaders" of this class are marked by proportionately also corrupt and shameless patronage—all at the expense of the Negro masses. Of the emancipation of their people they know nothing and care less!

14. Thru the sham social power of prestige, lent it by the white ruling class, the Negro bourgeoisie and its professional "race leaders" have been able hitherto to dominate the social and political ideas of the backward Negro masses. In this work the widespread network of Negro social and fraternal societies (especially the churches) have played a very important role.

15. The Negro petty bourgeoisie and professionals (most of the petty bourgeoisie) are more numerous altho proportionately also smaller among the Negroes than among the whites (only in the proportion of clergy to the population do the Negroes show precedence!). Like the bourgeoisie this class found a firm basis of existence (especially in the North) only with the great Negro migrations and the creation of the huge Negro cities in the relatively free atmosphere of the North. In the post-war "renaissance" period of deep-going fermentation and real achievement, the Negro intellectual played a brilliant role, especially in literature and the fine arts.

16. As a consequence of the characteristic caste status of the Negro people in American society, the Ne-

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BLOODY THURSDAY IN WASHINGTON

It is hard for us, so close are we to the events themselves, to grasp the full meaning of what happened in Washington on that fateful Thursday, July 28. The terrible scenes enacted on the streets and in the outskirts of the capital on that day may well mark a significant point in the post-war development of this country, in the ceaseless class struggle of labor and capital, with the most pregnant consequences for the future.

Not long ago, at the Republican convention in Chicago, the political high-priests of trustified finance-capital congratulated themselves with malicious glee that the acute suffering of crisis and unemployment had not spurred the American people to any direct action involving a clash with the government. The military attack upon the bonus army, under direct orders from President Hoover, is a striking challenge to this exultant boast. The working masses of America, backward and unorganized as they are, dominated by the ideals of the master class and unenlightened as to their own interests and as to the means of their achievement, have proved capable of arousing themselves to action vigorous enough and threatening enough to throw a scare into the power-mad rulers of this country and force them to tear aside rudely the tawdry curtain of sham "democracy" and expose the real foundations of our government—the bayonet, the machine gun, the gas bomb. The spectacle that was unfolded in Washington will not soon be forgotten by the miserable veterans who were its victims or by the millions of American people who read about it in indignant horror.

The thousands of ex-servicemen who marched upon the capital city and lay camped there were not revolutionists; the radicals among them never constituted more than a handful. They were ordinary, average Americans, a good cross-section of the masses of American working men and farmers. They came to ask for what was rightly theirs, their bonus, at a time when they were in the most dire need of it. But they raised their demand, modest as it was, not thru the labyrinth channels of capitalist "democracy," calculated to stifle, confuse and defeat all popular strivings, but thru direct mass action. Thru their own mass power were they going to enforce their will upon Congress and the Administration! And this was the crux of the whole situation, realized far more clearly by Mr. Hoover and his advisers than by the men themselves. "If President Hoover had not acted when he did," declared General McArthur, chief of staff of the army, "he would have been faced with an extraordinary situation. Another week might have meant that the government was in peril." Of course, this statement is greatly exaggerated—the collapse of the capitalist government was not quite so close at hand; but it nevertheless makes quite clear what a menacing challenge the master class government saw, and quite rightly too, in a direct mass political movement outside of and even counterposed to the sanctified forms of democratic parliamentarism. It could not be tolerated; the violent dispersal of the bonus army, executed with all the trappings of real war, accompanied by a savage drive against the "Reds," was the only way out for President Hoover as the faithful watchdog of the interests of his class. And the heroic chorus of approval, arising almost unanimously from the pages of the press, is evidence enough that the capitalist class of this country well appreciated the menace and exulted when it was overcome.

For the veterans too there are valuable lessons in this bloody experience, and with them, for the masses of the American working people. The contrast between their treatment fifteen years ago when they were sent, in their bright, new uniforms, to fight to safeguard the interests of the capitalists, and today, when, in the same uniforms, old and threadbare, they come to ask of these same capitalists, the promised bonus in order to alleviate their intolerable hunger and misery, is certain to strike the ex-servicemen with unforgettable force and will not fail to rise again when they or their children are once more called upon to go out and fight "to make the world safe for democracy." That not this or that capitalist politician is their enemy nor this or that capitalist party, but that government as such, owned and dominated by big business, and that from such a government no justice is to be expected but only concessions extorted by organized mass power, fairly springs out of the stirring events of the bonus march; in learning this lesson the veterans will have to settle accounts with their charlatan leaders of the type of Waters, who fed them with dangerous illusions but restrained their decisive action when such action might have counted, who were somehow absent at the critical moments, and who are now, with irresponsible cynicism, strutting around and aspiring to be little Hitlers in America. It must be realized that it is not in any deceptive "khaki-shirt movement," which will play right into the hands of big business, but in a firm alliance with the progressive labor movement, and especially with the other sections of the unemployed, that salvation can be found—and this in spite of the disgraceful apathy of the conservative, boot-licking leaders of organized labor in the face of the emergency of the bonus march.

For the Communists the situation holds out great tasks and great responsibilities. The tremendous lessons of the bonus march and of the Washington "war" will not be learned automatically. They must be brought to the backward, confused, depressed veterans and other workers who are slowly but surely beginning to awaken to the most elementary forms of class consciousness. If the Communists are unable to take hold of the situation and help raise the masses a step higher to the level of clearly understanding their own class interests and class duties, then they forfeit all right to the name of vanguard and they sink back to an insignificant, impotent sect. And, unless the suicidal ultra-left course of the Communist Party, infecting every field of its activities, will be openly and completely scrapped, failure is inevitable.

On January 9, 1905, the Czar's cosacks murderously dispersed a crowd of "loyal" Russian workers petitioning for relief. On July 28, 1932 Hoover's troops murderously dispersed a crowd of "loyal" American workers petitioning for relief. Only history can tell how far the analogy will go . . .

On the Communist Election Program

The Platform of Ultra-Leftism

by Herbert Zam

This is the first of a series of two articles by Herbert Zam on the Communist Party election platform.

One of the greatest shortcomings of the Communist movement of the United States has been its isolation from the American-born workers. This is reflected in the absence of Communist influence in those industries in which the bulk of the workers are American-born (transportation, for instance), in the weakness of the movement, in the small industrial towns and in its inability to make any sort of a showing in parliamentary activity. The small vote which the Communist Party has always received in all elections, a vote out of all proportion to the actual influence of the Party, is due largely to the fact that Communist strength is confined almost exclusively to the foreign-born workers in the United States, who are either disfranchised or else do not participate in elections for other reasons. The Communist movement in the United States will not be a mass movement until it has penetrated the American-born workers and recruited substantial numbers from among them. The election campaign is not the sole, nor even the primary, means of accomplishing this, but it is a very important means. The election campaign offers the Communists in the United States an opportunity to speak to the American workers at a time when they are more politically awake and receptive than at any other time, and when the Communists can more readily secure a hearing. Properly utilized, a well-conducted election campaign can serve as the starting point for the Communists to break into the heretofore "closed territory."

The 1932 election campaign of the Communist Party has received a bad start. The election platform, adopted at the Chicago nominating convention, can not serve as the basis for a broad campaign to rally the masses behind the Communists in the struggle for their own immediate interests. It is a narrow, ultra-left, sectarian document which gives the tone to the entire election campaign, can only serve to perpetuate the present isolation of the Communist Party from the American workers.

The "Revolutionary Way Out of the Crisis"

The central point of the election platform, around which the entire platform and the demands are built up, is "the revolutionary way out of the crisis." While we have been hearing quite a bit about this new discovery, the election platform explains the question so that there can be no misinterpretation. This "revolutionary way out of the crisis" is neither more nor less than the setting up of a proletarian dictatorship (a workers and farmers government) in the United States. The election platform makes the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship the central point of the Party's election campaign and proposes it to the workers as the answer to their present needs. The slogan of a workers and farmers government is not raised merely as a propaganda slogan, which would undoubtedly be correct; it is raised as a slogan of action around which to rally the workers today. The platform declares:

"Resist the carrying thru of the capitalist way out of the crisis! Fight for the workers way, for the revolutionary way out of the crisis—for the United States of Soviet America!"

Now it is one thing to raise this slogan—the revolutionary way out of the crisis—in, let us say, Germany, and quite another thing in the United States. In spite of the severity of the crisis, in spite of the great suffering of the masses, we are not on the eve of a revolution, we are not in a revolutionary situation. The masses of workers are not yet rebelling either against the capitalist system, or against the capitalist government, even though there are signs of great discontent. The Communists cannot as yet rally the American workers on the issue of socialism versus capitalism, or against a dictatorship versus bourgeois "democracy." If the Communists are to lead the masses it must be on the basis of their present needs and demands, properly expressed in the election platform and in the campaign. Support of the masses of the workers for the Communist candidates cannot as yet be procured on the basis of the entire program of Communism. It must be done on the basis of the defense of their present needs, in line with their present mood. To make support of any immediate demands of the Communists equivalent to or dependent upon support of the proletarian dictatorship, means isolation for the Party, means that its support will be confined to those workers who are already Communists. The immediate demands of the platform are confined to six, which, with the exception of the one for "self-determination of the Black Belt," are in themselves not incorrect, although vague. But do these six demands exhaust the needs of the masses? Absolutely not! Such vital demands as shorter work week, against speed-up and rationalization, and for immediate unemployment relief are omitted. The platform has a general demand "against capitalist terror" but is silent on the concrete questions of freedom of speech, press and assembly, on the right to organize and to picket, on the use of injunctions and deportations, and armed forces against the workers. It forgets the political

prisoners (Mooney, Scottsboro boys, Imperial Valley prisoners and others) and is silent about the anti-labor laws (criminal syndicalism and criminal anarchy) under which workers are being put in jail. There is no demand for the protection of the foreign-born. There is the abstract "equal rights for Negroes", but no concrete slogans against lynching and Jim-crowism, for enfranchisement, against the anti-intermarriage laws, and so on. Nothing is said on the question of protection of women and youth, on children or education (especially at the present time when a nationwide campaign is being conducted against the free education system). The anti-imperialist demands are confined to: "Against imperialist war; for the defence of the Chinese people and of the Soviet Union!" The demand for recognition of the Soviet Union is again forgotten (How can we regain our opportunity?) America's colonies are non-existent in the platform. ("Self-determination for the Black Belt" but not for the Philippines, Hawaii, etc!) The activities of American imperialism in Latin America in fomenting war, changing governments, ruthless oppression of the native population, armed intervention and occupation, are not mentioned, nor included in an election platform. And on the burning international questions of reparations, war debts, League of Nations, the platform is just as silent. Is the American Com-

munist Party belatedly repeating the error of the German Party of not considering these questions "of no concern to the workers"?

The Cardinal Error Of The Platform

The omission of all these important demands from the election platform is not accidental. It arises out of the cardinal error; making the proletarian dictatorship the central point of the campaign. In a revolutionary situation it is correct to concentrate on those slogans and demands which can best serve to rally the masses in the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship against the government which cannot grant their demands. Thus, in 1917 in Russia, "bread, peace, land" served this purpose. It is thus that the authors of the platform, the leaders of the Communist Party in the United States, have in mind when they pick out the six points to concentrate upon?

In 1928 the S.L.P. severely criticized the Communist Party platform as a "reformist" platform, because it had even more demands than that of the Socialist Party! The S.L.P. platform is the only "revolutionary" one because it has but one demand, the "conditional surrender of the capitalist class." After having tried to steal De Leonism from the S. L. P., are the leaders of the Communist Party also trying to steal this feature from its platform?

THE RECORD OF FASCISM IN POWER

(Continued from Page 3)

outside of the State!" In April 1927 there was issued the so-called Great Charter of Labor to regularize the relations of the Fascist unions to the State and to "organize the harmonious collaboration of all factors in production." "Professional and trade union organization is free," we are brazenly informed in the face of the murderous suppression of the real labor unions. "But," it is added, "the legally recognized and the State-controlled syndicate (that is, the Fascist union—Alfa) alone has the right to represent legally the total category of workers for whom it is established, to defend their interests legally in relation to the State and other professional unions and to form obligatory agreements for all workers belonging to that category." These "legally recognized" unions receive dues from all workers, whether members or not. In fact, these dues are checked off the wages. When, in 1928, the "Fascist State" was established, the Fascist syndicates became integral parts of the State apparatus.

The full philosophy of the Fascist unions is given in Paragraph 4 of the Great Charter of Labor: "In the collective labor agreement there is expressed the solidarity among the various factors in the organization of the counterposed interests of the employers and employees and thru their subordination to the higher interests of production and the State."

The Economic Policy of Fascism Mussolini's first care upon his access to power were economic questions. At the very outset, all capital levies, inheritance taxes, taxes on industry, and the like, left over from the old regime, were immediately abolished because they "disturb commerce and industry, property and the family." In place of these levies, a poll tax was introduced. The entire State budget rests upon indirect taxes for they "limit consumption and leave a large quantity of goods for export, whereas direct taxes would endanger production." State industries, nationalized industries, such as telephone, radio, parcel post, railroads, armaments, the match monopoly, were turned over into private hands, in fact, this was only apparently a denationalization tendency for at the same time that these industries were turned over to these individuals for the greater profit of the bourgeoisie, extremely close ties were formed between the State and heavy industrial capital, a veritable fusion in fact. An elaborate and extensive policy of the stimulation of industrial capital was inked out and initiated. A big impetus was given to the formation of trusts on a large scale. As a part of his social-economic policy Mussolini placed a ban upon emigration and even upon the free movement of workers, especially agricultural workers, thruout Italy.

Fascism And The Church The anti-clericalism of the early Fascist movement was well known. Not only did the Fascists demand the confiscation of all the properties of the Church ("property under the dead hand"), but in the Popolo d'Italia Mussolini wrote on May 11, 1919: "We demand the separation of the Catholic Church and the State, the abolition of the constitutional privilege according to which the Catholic Church is elevated into the State religion. We demand the confiscation of all Church property and episcopal benefits. The State must recognize the Church merely as a private organization, subjected to the general laws . . . The exercise of religious cults and instruction must be permissible only outside of public and private schools." The practice of the Fascist dictatorship has of course been notorious to the opposite. The Church has not been separated from the State. No Church property has been confiscated. The influence of religion in the schools has been greatly deepened; one of the worst offenses is to fail

to display a picture of Mussolini or a crucifix! In return the Church functionaries have been transferred practically to officials of the Fascist State. At the beginning of 1928 Mussolini concluded a treaty with the Pope which definitely established the Catholic Church as State Church and regulated its relations with the Fascist regime. We shall examine later on the roots and significance of the unceasing struggle between Fascism and the Catholic secular and religious organizations.

The Fascist Foreign Policy

The foreign policy of the Fascist regime has been an outspokenly imperialistic one, characterized by the most sensational sber-rattling and jingoistic bravado. In the first years of the regime a certain flirtation was attempted with France but it did not take long before a definite anti-French alignment was developed which involved also sharp antagonisms with the French puppet-states, especially Yugoslavia. Today Italy operates in its foreign domestic policy, under the patronage of Wall Street, upon which it really depends for financial existence. To support its imperialistic pretensions Fascist Italy long ago reorganized its military institutions in the directions of a thoroughgoing militarism. The term of service was raised from eight months to a year and a half. The standing army was increased from 230,000 to 350,000 men. The term of service of the marines was raised from 24 to 28 months. The Guardia Regia (Royal Guard), consisting of 35,000 men was indeed dissolved but the Carabinieri, the armed policemen, were increased from 65,000 to 90,000. In addition to everything else there is the Fascist militia, the special "party army" of the Fascist party, reaching the enormous figure of 600,000. All in all, there are today in Italy under arms at least 1,000,000 men!

As a mass movement Fascism does indeed rest upon the petty bourgeoisie even upon certain backward sections of the proletariat. But the fundamental line of policy of Italian Fascism, in spite of all its demagogic gestures, is the expression of the basic interests of industrial capital. It is this tremendous contradiction that generates the forces of disintegration of Fascism.

On Wednesday, July 13, Herbert Zam spoke before the student body of the Barnard Summer School for Girls in Industry on the subject "Which Program Should Workers Follow?" After pointing out the collapse of capitalism and the misery it brings to the masses of the toilers, as demonstrated by the present world-wide crisis, Zam explained the Communist doctrine of establishing a proletarian dictatorship as a transition stage to usher in a socialist society, serving as a weapon to expropriate the capitalist class and destroy its counter-revolutionary attempts, finally liquidating it as a class. In this connection he pointed out that the belief of the Socialists in the possibilities of utilizing bourgeois democracy to legislate for socialism, their opposition to expropriation and to proletarian dictatorship in reality operated for the preservation of the capitalist system. The progress of the Communist movement, Herbert Zam pointed out, was hindered by the existing disunity and the wrong policies and mistakes of the leaders of the Communist Party, expressed particularly in the trade unions and mass workers organizations, in the relations to Socialist workers ("theory of social-fascism") and in the rejection of the united front tactics. Workers who wish to carry on a fight against capitalism and its evils must become Communists and also fight for Communism

BOOKS

HITLER, by Emil Lengyel. Lincoln MacVeagh. The Dial Press, New York City, 1932.

This book is no more than a competent journalistic sketch of the career of Adolf Hitler, with some side-light on certain phases of the Nazi movement. It is well written, interesting, sometimes shrewd but painfully superficial.

It is hard to tell whether Lengyel himself takes seriously some of his incredibly trivial remarks upon history and politics, such as, for example, that "if there had not been so much sunshine in Bavaria in the Spring of 1918 Adolf Hitler might be today a common laborer in the suburb of Munich," because the sunshine made people "like to linger on the streets, and once they were in the streets they started revolutions which were responsible for the counter-revolution on waves of which Hitler rode to fame!" This is only a fair sample—what can you do with a book like this?

Emil Lengyel has not the slightest inkling of what the Nazi movement really means in the political development of post-war Germany. He examines it from the point of view of Bruening, who seems to be his special hero. He sees in it, therefore, some sort of inexplicable collective lunacy, useful enough in its place (and this place is to "curb the excesses" of the working class) but utterly impossible as the ruler of Germany. He doesn't like it; he, in fact, feels the deepest contempt for it, but he doesn't understand it in the least.

Some parts of the book, such as the ironical exposition of the Nazi program, are fairly tolerable, but others, above all the chapter "The Three Dictators", are simply impossible.

An even partially adequate book on the Nazi movement or on Hitler still remains to be written but it will never be written by a bourgeois journalist, a prisoner of his own journalistic superstitions, thrown into amused bewilderment by things he cannot understand. . . . X. Y. Z.

THE STORY OF THE CONFEDERACY

By Robert Selph Henry. The Bobbs Merrill Company, 1931. An adequate examination of the career of the Confederacy would be a valuable contribution to the history of the American people. The bourgeois-democratic revolution in the United States, while not altogether unknown outside the United States, is still rare enough to merit the most detailed study from every angle where, as in this country, it has occurred on such a gigantic scale. But Mr. Henry's work cannot, unfortunately, be regarded as an attempt in this direction.

Its merit is that it is well and interestingly written; in every other respect it is defective. It is almost entirely a military history and, no matter how true it may be, does not merit the recognition that in order to be intelligible war itself must be correlated with the social-economic background. Mr. Henry's narrative is extremely sketchy and cursory when dealing with economic, political and social affairs; it is clear his heart is not in his subject, when he leaves the battlefield.

But worst of all, Henry's work depicts a thoroughly false and distorted orientation on the historical significance and position of the Civil War. According to him it was primarily a struggle between two conceptions of the American government: unitary state versus federal union. The slavery question, we are explicitly informed, is not involved with this fundamental issue in some more or less accidental manner. On such a basis the Civil War and all that happened before or since must remain a book sealed with seven seals. Mr. Henry persists in his naive and narrow-minded viewpoint in spite of the fact that the developments recounted by himself, as for example, the struggle between the States Rights and centralizing factions within the Confederate government, completely shatter it! . . . X. Y. Z.

NO ROOM FOR TRUTH IN FEDERAL GOVT

About four months ago Secretary of Labor Doak took some time off from depicting militant workers and breaking strikes to announce to an astonished world that, "upon information supplied by his aids, he could state positively that employment was on the increase." This astonished Ethelbert Stewart, head of the statistical Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, even more than anybody else, since the conclusion was supposed to be based on information supplied by himself, while all material he had at his disposal pointed to quite the opposite.

He began questioning and was quickly replied by his superior, Mr. Doak. Last week, Mr. Stewart was suddenly recommended for retirement. His name was omitted from the list of officials who, in spite of their years beyond the retirement, were to be retained because of their usefulness. In other words, fired!

Ethelbert Stewart is well known in American economic and statistical circles. He is a very capable technician in spite of his narrow and limited social viewpoint. Certainly there is nothing in the least radical about him. But he tells the truth even when it is inconvenient for Messrs. Hoover and Doak. So he must go . . .

unity and a Leninist line to insure the progress of Communism. A large number of questions, largely dealing with the difference in the ranks of the Communists, were asked by the members of the audience.



BETWEEN HANDBL AND ANNU

Golden Path leading out of the dark shadows of depression winds its way along the rural byways and into quiet pastures," writes Corinne Reid Frazier in the Philadelphia Public Ledger. "Rich farmlands, spelling health, wealth and the happiness popularly associated with getting back to nature, await you out there in the open country, yours for the taking!"

A perfect pipe dream! It takes \$1,028 worth of supplies to start a two-mile family farm in the South-eastern States, without counting cost of buildings, land or improvements. It takes a capital outlay of \$2,180 for a 100-acre farm in the Central Atlantic States. Where's the jobless worker going to get the fare to get out to the land, or enough food to follow the old proverb: "Live horse till the grass grows?"

At the same time, one-fourth of the entire area of the State of Mississippi went under the auctioneer's hammer, sold up for taxes in a single day in April of this year, making 40,000 farm families homeless because of unpaid taxes. Taxes, mortgages, loan sharks, freight rates, produce speculators, banks—the grass is always greener farther off! especially to college professor economists who don't have to go there.

One contingent of the B.E.F. carried a placard reading: "Hoover blew the whistle, Mellon rang the bell, Wall Street gave the signal, And the country went to Hell! More truth than poetry. But if Mussolini Waters thinks he can turn it into Democratic capital, we suggest another verse:

Roosevelt took the throttle, Then he rang the bell, Wall Street gave the signal, And the country stayed in Hell!"

Speaking of changing drivers in midstream, there's no sense changing drivers if the new one's going to ride you just the same. . . . X. Y. Z.

Happy Days For Democrats

It's all right for the Democrats to adopt as their campaign song "Happy Days Are Here Again," even tho' the election of Roosevelt would mean jobs for the rest of us, there'll be a lot of fourth-class postmasterships and port collectors berths going to hitherto unemployed and deserving Democrats.

Essential Civil Servants

Most of the district captains of the Democratic party in New York City are on the city payroll. Thousands of city workers have been fired for lack of funds, but not one of those holding a position by virtue of "political merit" is among them. It's clear that their work cannot be dispensed with since they never do any. . . .

Latest Quotations From the Bologna Market

"Hoover has prevented disorders, upheavals. We have cared for the needy. We have averted a panic. The nation is tranquil, solvent . . ."—Secretary of War Hurley.

"The Anglo-French pact is not aimed against any other power."—Ramsay MacDonald.

"Manchuria is free."—Japanese note to the League of Nations.

"If the rich pay the taxes they will control the government. If the poor pay, the poor will control."—Ex-President Coolidge.

Healing The Well

There is a "new recovery plan in Hoover's mind which is to be made public as soon as improvement sets in . . . Like administering a new medicine when the patient gets well.

They Call On Dumb Animals

You couldn't persuade a monkey to starve in the midst of a banana grove. No jackass is so dumb that he would go hungry because there was too much grass around. But man is called homo sapiens—the animal that thinks—or so that thinks he thinks. "Sapiens" is right!

"Capitalism is on trial."—Dr Julius Klein. "Guilty!" say we, "and give it the works!" . . .

Free Advice

Secretary of the Interior Pollyanna Wilbur recently found that the depression was really a blessing to children because it compelled their parents to fire the servants and give the kids the benefit of their parental love and care. Now he has returned from a tour of the national playgrounds and he urges the jobless to visit the nation's parks to build their health. Just one trouble, Mr. Wilbur! Fresh air and outdoor exercise increase the appetite.

Stimulating The Imagination

New York City's Summer schools are opening classes to teach jobless women how to cook. It's too bad that their chance of learning the art comes at a time when they have nothing to practice on!

Piggie An Angel Now

They're asking us to rejoice because hogs are going up. But a ham sandwich is high enough to be out of reach already.