

Workers
of all
Countries,
Unite!

WORKERS AGE

For
Communist Unity
in the
Revolutionary
Class Struggle!

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AND FARMERS

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SHARP STRUGGLE AT S. P. MEET

M. Hillquit Carries In Test Vote But Thomas Forces Make Big Progress

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—The internal struggle in the Socialist party flared up sharply at the national convention held here May 21-23. In spite of the unanimous nomination of Norman Thomas and James P. Maurer as the standard bearers in the Presidential campaign, a bitter struggle was made against the re-election of Morris Hillquit as national chairman. The opposition to Hillquit was made up of an alliance of the "Militants," liberal-Socialists of the Thomas type and the extremely reformist "practical" Socialists of the type of Hoan. As to who had the hegemony in this alliance can be seen from the fact that their joint candidate was Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee! Even Hillquit characterized him and others of the same political character as "opportunists!" Hillquit won by a very close margin but, it was only an empty victory. The new national committee contains a large number, if not a majority, of anti-Hillquit people, while the "old guard," Hillquit's standbys, were left off. James O'Neal, editor of the *New Leader* was elected an alternate!

As a result of this convention, Thomas has emerged as a power in the Socialist party, in place of the figurehead he had been hitherto. The internal struggle will continue and grow sharper. Hillquit's chairmanship will be no bed of roses. The "Militants" seem to have been completely swallowed by the Thomas forces. An amendment on "confiscation" received only a handful of votes after Thomas threatened "not to run" if it were adopted. They, however, did adopt Thomas's amendment on the "Russian" resolution which really smacked it. This is but another step on the part of the "Militants" to water down their principles in order to "catch" influential supporters. The only result has been that the would-be captors have become captives.

FREEDOM FIGHT IN INDIA GROWS

No-Rent Campaign Spreads Communist Opposition Advances Rapidly

ALLAHABAD—The close of the "Congress Week" on May 24 was marked by a sharp revival of All-India National Congress activities throughout the country. With the breaking up of the 1932 session of the Congress recently by British troops, a certain lull in activity has been noticeable. The boycott movement has been resumed and greatly extended.

The no-rent campaign, which had been spreading widely in spite of the disapproval of the National Congress leaders, has now forced a certain grudging recognition from the All-India Congress Committee, even where landlords and not the government are hit by the cessation of rent payments.

Communist Opposition Grows
The Indian Communist Opposition, which has developed as the driving force not only in the reconstitution of the Indian Communist movement but also in the leadership of the All-India Trade Union Congress, in the National Congress left wing, and in the revolutionary peasant movement, has now recovered, at least to a large extent, from the serious blow involved in the arrest and imprisonment for twelve years at hard labor of Manabendra Nath Roy. The Indian Communist Opposition is again moving forward with great rapidity in all fields of work.

"MERRY-GO-ROUND" for "Workers Age"

"Merry-Go-Round," the play which Tammany tried to suppress, one of the best and most outstanding plays of the season, will be seen by hundreds of friends and readers of the *Workers Age* on the evening of June 7, when a benefit performance will be given for the *Workers Age*.

Get tickets now at the office of the *Workers Age*, 228 Second Ave. Prices range from \$1.00 to \$2.50. June 7 is the date. Help the *WORKERS AGE* and see a good play!

Militant Workers Suspended From U. M. W. of A.

Suspensions from the United Mine Workers of America for 5, 10 and even 15 years have been ordered by the reactionary officialdom of this union against a score or more of the militant miners and left wing and progressive leaders in Anthracite District 1 of Pennsylvania. These savage measures against the best and most devoted forces in the union were taken because of the activities of these workers in the recent "insurgent" strike and because of their many years of struggle against the union bureaucracy.

In proceeding against the militants the union officials are working hand in hand with the coal companies which recently placed these very same workers on their blacklist. Blacklist and union suspension—with these two weapons the unholy alliance of coal company and reactionary union officials hopes to drain the miners union of its fighting blood!

Frank Vratovic, well known left wing leader in the U. M. W. A., has received a period of suspension of 15 years! On May 17, 1932 the District Board of District 1, U. M. W. A., notified Comrade Vratovic as follows:

"The Board decided you shall be penalized by being suspended from membership in the United Mine Workers of America for a period of fifteen (15) years from date, and you are debarred from attending any meetings of any character held under our auspices or under the name of the United Mine Workers of America during the period of your suspension."

The suspension of these men, for periods of time which really make these suspensions into expulsions, is a deliberate blow against the United Mine Workers of America against the miners and against the working class. If this nefarious conspiracy of the coal companies and union officials against the best interests of the union is allowed to go unchallenged then it means a free hand in the future to the union-smashing activities of the bureaucrats. All U. M. W. A. organizations, all miners, all workers and workers organizations must raise their voice in loud and determined protest!

Help Free Manabendra Nath Roy!

Class Distinctions in Indian Jails

by Our Indian Correspondent

Bombay, India. The appeal of the case of Manabendra Nath Roy, who was sentenced by the Cawnpore Court in January of this year, to twelve years transportation under Section 121A Indian Penal Code will be brought before the Allahabad High Court for the final hearing sometime in June.

On January 29, Mr. Egbal Krishna Kapoor, Indian advocate of Cawnpore, who has been conducting Roy's defense in conjunction with other lawyers, was arrested on his return from interviewing Roy in Bareilly Central Jail, and was not released until March 17. Mr. Kapoor was tried under Section 17 (1) Criminal Law Amendment Act (Member of an Unlawful Association) but was subsequently set free by the Court after he had contested the case and getting judgment in his own favor.

Roy is lodged in one of the largest prisons of the United Provinces, but in spite of the overcrowded jail conditions in all parts of India, he is the only "political" detained there. This shows how the government seeks to isolate him. He has been set to spinning the Charka (spinning wheel), an ironical fate, especially since Gandhi himself has recently abandoned the Charka, "symbol of national freedom," for the modern sewing machine.

While Roy was originally placed in Class A by the Cawnpore magistrate during his first trial, he was later relegated to Class B after his conviction, as a part of his punishment. The Anglo-Indian government does not recognize the status of political prisoners as such, but classifies all prisoners, political or criminal, as "A", "B" or "C", depending upon their social standing outside the jail. Class A prisoners enjoy certain privileges, such as having their own food, clothing, and bedding, writing and receiving letters, books, magazines, newspapers and other literature, and having frequent visitors. Prominent and rich Congress leaders enjoy Class A status, among them Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs. Naidu, etc. Forgers, murderers and embezzlers may also enjoy Class A status, provided they have sufficient social backing. The Anglo-Indian government enforces class privileges and distinctions, even in its jails!

The majority of Indian prisoners, naturally, are placed in Class C, where they are usually forced to perform prison labor, wear prison clothing, eat prison food and, in general, submit themselves to the worst possible conditions. Intermediate, or Class B prisoners, are exempt from the heavier forms of prison labor, except when imposed as special jail punishment, but are deprived of all the comforts of Class A prisoners, except that they may receive one weekly newspaper at the discretion of the jailor, certain types of books and magazines, and may write and receive one letter and have one visitor monthly.

M. N. Roy is forced to wear heavy prison clothing, eat coarse prison food and must mix with, but cannot speak to, all types of criminals, being deprived of the company of fellow-politicians. He has lost much weight in prison, due to lack of sanitation, insufficient water, insects, etc., but his spirit is not crushed.

The treatment meted out by the Anglo-Indian government to Mahatma Gandhi, representative of the national bourgeoisie, forms a striking and significant contrast to that accorded to Manabendra Nath Roy, representative and champion of the Indian proletariat!

Recently the Executive Committee of the Communist International (E.C.C.I.) made two very important decisions regarding the Communist Party of the United States. These dealt with the present difficult position of our Party, its leadership and the clique rule in its ranks.

Up to the present time, the Party membership has not been informed at all about either of these decisions, the future of our Party is involved in them. We, therefore, urgently request that in the interest of our Party and the

Comintern, you answer immediately the following two questions: (1) Why have you not published the latest letter of the E. C. C. I. to the Central Committee of the Party estimating its work, setting down demands and tasks before the leadership and sounding a warning of a contemplated removal of the leadership by the Communist International in the event that there is no serious improvement in the Party's leadership and work very soon? (2) Why have you not made the agreement signed recently

Two Questions to the C. C. of the Communist Party

in Moscow under instructions and upon pressure of the Executive Committee of the Communist International by Browder, Stachel, Hathaway, etc., pledging themselves immediately to take measures to end the clique regime now dominating our Party? We hope you will see fit to answer these questions without delay and to publish the above mentioned documents in the Party press soon. Otherwise, the *WORKERS AGE* will take the necessary steps to enlighten the membership.

Hindenburg Ousts Bruening, Prepares Way for Nazi-Militarist Regime; Labor Must Unite Against Fascist Menace

FOSTER NAMED ON C. P. SLATE

Ford For Vice-President; All Workers Must Back Red Candidates

CHICAGO. — William Z. Foster was named for President and James W. Ford, Negro leader, for Vice-President by the nominating convention of the Communist Party of the United States that met here on May 28.

About 1,200 delegates, mostly not members of the Communist Party, were present at this gathering which was greeted by an enthusiastic mass meeting of over 10,000 on its opening night. The convention listened to reports on the economic and political situation in the country and adopted a vigorous revolutionary working class platform for the national election campaign.

In the present election campaign the Communist Party is the only party to which any worker or farmer, who has any regard for himself and his class, should give his vote. Of all the parties in the field today, only the Communist Party represents the interests of the working people. The big capitalist parties are openly and avowedly champions of big business. The Socialist party, the claiming to stand for the workers, has a program and a policy that can bring the workers nothing but defeat and bitter disillusion. In spite of the fact that the Communist Party today is temporarily operating with tactics that actually divide and not unite the workers for struggle, yet the aims and principles of the party are such as to deserve the support of the working class.

At the same time that the workers vote for the Communist Party at the elections this year, they should also do everything possible to organize a movement for the establishment of a broad united Labor party, made up of and supported by the labor unions and other workers organizations. Such a party, which would unite the forces of labor politically on a class basis and would break the vicious two-party system, would mark a great advance for the American working class.

Vote Communist! Vote for Foster and Ford!

SHANGHAI.—Big victories for the Red peasant armies, involving the loss of two Nanking divisions, have been reported here on May 26 and May 27. The Nanking government's hold on Anhwei Province, just west of the city of Nanking, has been rendered extremely shaky.

The Seventh and Forty-Sixth Divisions of the Kuomintang army were recently disorganized in encounters with the Red forces. A part of the Seventh Division was killed in battle but the bulk came over very willingly to the Red forces, since great dissatisfaction is widespread in all of Nanking's military divisions. The Forty-Sixth Division was surrounded and disarmed. Both of these victories greatly replenished the munitions and equipment of the Red armies.

Pin Money Jimmie
The boy-friend has not a tin box but he seems to have gathered over a million in pin money.

MAYOR OUSTER TO BE DEMANDED

Quiz Uncovers Evidence Of Gross Corruption Of New York City Head

New York City
The removal of James J. Walker from his post as Mayor of New York City will soon be demanded of Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt by Sam-

(Continued on Page 2)

President Broke On Reorganization Of Bruening Cabinet And Land Decrees; Reichstag Elections Possible To Strengthen Base Of Reactionary Parties

A "national concentration Cabinet" of an intensely reactionary complexion, made up of generals, Junker landowners and big capitalists, without majority in the Reichstag but drawing its power from the President, has been formed under the Chancellery of Colonel Franz von Papen, a member of the extreme right wing of the Center party. This Cabinet is avowedly only a transition arrangement until general Reichstag elections in the Fall. The Nazis refused to participate in any government unless

general elections are held immediately. Berlin, Germany, May 30, 1932.

Only a few weeks after the Social-democratic leaders had called upon the German workers to reelect him in order to "beat back the Fascist advance" and to "save democracy," President von Hindenburg, cutting across all parliamentary practice and routine, dismissed the Bruening Cabinet and opened the way directly for a new regime of militarists and Fascists!

The sensational resignation of the Chancellor and his ministers took place on May 30 after a series of Cabinet meetings and conferences with the President. President von Hindenburg, it is understood, demanded, as the spokesman of the Junker-militarist clique, first, an immediate reorganization of the Cabinet to the right, involving the dropping of some of its more "liberal" members and the inclusion of representatives of the National-Socialists (Fascists), the target party in the Reich today, in decisive positions. Secondly, the President strenuously objected to the recent emergency decrees framed by Adam Stegerwald, Center Minister of Labor, which would allow jobless city workers to work on parcels of the uneconomic estates of the East Prussian landowners, to eke out their miserable existence, made even more precarious by the slashing of unemployment relief benefits. Stegerwald's scheme to cut social benefits by sending the jobless to toil on almost worthless land, was too "radical" for the die-hard Junker reactionaries who still live in the "glorious days" of the Hohenzollerns, and for Paul von Hindenburg, their spokesman!

German trust and finance-capital hailed the overthrow of the Bruening regime and the prospect of a strong shift to the right, as could be seen from the movement of the stock exchange. As the New York Times correspondent remarks, it "expects benefits for German industry from such a (Fascist-militarist) government."

Nothing has yet been officially announced as to the regime that will succeed the Bruening Cabinet. There are three possibilities: a Fascist government based on a block of the Fascists, the Nationalists and at least a portion of the Center party in the Reichstag; a joint government of the Fascists and the militarist clique around von Hindenburg; or a temporary, and not very stable, dictatorship of the generals supported by the President. Any of these possibilities represents a sharp swing to the right and a tremendous stimulus to Fascist advance. Adam Stegerwald, Bruening's resignation, von Hindenburg began a series of conferences with Adolph Hitler.

The Nazis are hailing the dismissal of Bruening as a great victory for the Fascist cause, and indeed it is. It is pointed out that the Nazis and the Junker-militarist clique collaborated some weeks ago to force out General Groener, whom they held responsible for the legal banning of the Fascist Storm-Battalions, and now cooperated in ousting Bruening. This is suggested as foreshadowing a more or less lengthy period of collaboration of these two reactionary forces.

If an ultra-right government of some sort cannot be formed on the basis of the present Reichstag grouping, new elections will probably be held soon in which, it is expected, the reactionary forces, especially the Nazis, will gain enough to give such a government a parliamentary majority.

The fall of the Bruening government has important repercussions in international politics. It constitutes a tremendous push forward for the world offensive of reaction and Fascism. At the same time, it will certainly sharpen imperialist contradictions by placing at the head of Germany the most militant, the most irreconcilable and the most unconquering champions of the new German imperialism, the Junkers, the militarists and the Fascists. This can already be seen in the shadow the German events are casting over the forthcoming Lausanne reparations conference, scheduled for June 16. There is considerable talk, especially in France, of postponing this confer-

(Continued on page 2)



JAPAN PREPARES 'LEGAL' BASIS FOR SEIZURE OF CHINESE-EASTERN R.R.

Tokyo Negotiating To Buy Fraudulent 'Title' To Railway From Czarist 'Owners'; More Jap Troops Rushed Toward Siberia; U. S. A. Helps Japan In Trick

The now openly avowed Japanese imperialist offensive against the Soviet Union has developed in two main directions in the last week. A shameless diplomatic maneuver has now

been initiated by Tokyo to supplement its anti-Soviet military activities.

Semi-official reports indicate that the Japanese government is negotiating to "purchase" the "title" to the Chinese-Eastern Railway from a fraudulent French-controlled banking house which claims to own the Chinese-Eastern! It is everywhere recognized that the only value such a "title" would have for Japan is to serve as a legal pretext for the military seizure of the railway and the initiation of war activities against the Soviet Union.

The Chinese-Eastern Railway was constructed in the period of 1896-1903, and its ownership was vested in the Russo-Chinese (later: Russo-Asiatic) Bank altho it was actually controlled as a concession by the Czarist government. After the revolution in Russia, the Soviet government nationalized the banks and therefore took over the Russo-Asiatic Bank. The directors of the bank, like the other Russian capitalists and financiers, fled to Paris and pretended to maintain their control of the Chinese-

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"Merry-Go-Round" WORKERS AGE BENEFIT Avon, Tues. Eve., June 7

(Continued on page 2)

Against Reformism And Dual Unionism!

THE FUR WORKERS NEED UNITY!

Statement Of Furriers Progressive League

The Furriers Progressive League, whose main objectives are to build the International Fur Workers Union, to lead the struggle against the reactionary leadership and to transform the union into a fighting organization for the interests of the workers, is following with great attention the development in and around the union. Our main task in the union is to make an end to the class-collaboration policy.

In order to make an end to this system, the entire structure of the union will have to be changed. We cannot forget the year of 1924 when Mr. Kaufman officially announced his heartiest cooperation with the fur bosses. This move was followed later by his clique. It was mainly this policy which was responsible for the reorganization in 1927, for the expulsion of the best union members and leaders, for the weakening of union morale, for the chaos and demoralization that has existed until today. It is almost impossible to believe that the class-collaborationists have suddenly and forever abandoned their policy.

Let us for a moment examine the situation of the fur workers in order to have a clear picture of what is to be done to improve these conditions. The thousands of furriers today are terribly depressed. The once respected furrier is now making his way thru relief bureaus, charity institutions, and so on. The trade does not depend any more upon the old mechanic. Speed is what counts today. The older ones fall out of his hands and are engaged in a speed-up competition. In spite of the crisis there was work in our trade but to get a job was quite a problem for the worker. Because of the demoralizing actions and methods of the union leaders our trade slipped into the hands of contractors. The contractors have been the ones to take the last piece of bread from the mouths of workers. If those who are supposed to be the leaders of the union would have the workers interest at heart, this situation could have been remedied. But the workers have their experience with the Kaufman outfit and they know exactly what they can do. When the revolt against the Kaufman clique became unbearable, Kaufman decided to leave "with honor." For this purpose, a hurry-up convention was arranged. He secured a majority of his followers out-of-town and partly in New York, ignoring the New York membership in their demand to postpone the convention to a more appropriate time. The attitude of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union towards the International Fur Workers Union is that the latter is a "company

union." But when the elections of the delegates came before the I.F.W.U. locals, the Industrial Union advised its followers to take part in these elections. The Industrial Union officially supported some of the right wingers. This combination came about in order to get a majority of the convention and break away the Brooklyn dressing locals for the Industrial Union. Here again the plan failed. The main supporter of this ingenious plan of the Industrial Union, Morris Stein, gladly accepted the third vice-presidency, thereby unifying, tightening up more closely, the International locals.

No constructive plan to remedy the troubles of the fur workers was taken up at this convention. Amongst the important accomplishments of this convention are the election of Mr. Lucci, the bootlicker and personal servant of Kaufman, as President of the Bruening government. This was the finish of the trade comedy. The Industrial Union succeeded in making a lot of noise. It failed, however, in its attempt to divide the progressives.

HINDENBURG REMOVES BRUENING

(Continued from Page 1) Hence until "things are clearer in Germany."

The advance of the Fascist-militarist elements, signalized in the overthrow of the Bruening government, brings with it a situation full of the gravest menace to the German working masses. It completely exposes the reactionary and anti-labor character of the Social-democratic party policy of support of Hindenburg in the recent Reichs-Presidential elections. The President, whom the Social-democrats elected, for it was their votes that were decisive, has now openly taken the lead in opening the way for a Fascist-militarist dictatorship. And the Social-democratic workers organizations, corrupted and demoralized by years of falling behind the bourgeois parties, stand confused and powerless. There cannot be

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URGES ARMY RULE FOR HAWAII

Britten Proposes Bill For Military Government Of Colony In Pacific

WASHINGTON. — A proposal to place the Hawaiian Islands completely under the dictatorship of the army or the navy or both, was introduced in the House on May 18 by Representative Britten, the reactionary super-jingo. In his speech championing the bill, Mr. Britten declared that "no nation on earth would allow a possession to be so completely dominated by the natives as Hawaii is today. . . . Mr. Britten is a worthy exponent of American imperialism, of American capitalist "democracy"! It shocks him that the "natives" of Hawaii have a little (and mighty little) to say in their government; such a thing cannot be tolerated under the American flag! Mr. Britten today speaks exactly as did the most stupid Tories in England at the time of the American Revolution. And just as the American patriots of those days, so the Hawaiians can only gain freedom and self-government in only one way—by fighting for it!

HINDENBURG REMOVES BRUENING

the least question in the world that the new reactionary regime, of whatever character it may be, will immediately initiate a new offensive against the workers, the labor movement and all labor organizations on a broad scale. Wage-cuts, slashes in social benefits, further narrowing down to almost nothing of "democratic rights," restrictions upon and even direct smashing of labor organizations, especially the trade unions—these will find a prominent place in the program of the new government.

In the face of this situation the need for the unity of labor against the menace of reaction and Fascism is more acute than ever before. It is now really a life and death question! A united front of all labor organizations against Fascism must become the chief slogan of the whole labor movement! The Communist Party of Germany, whose sectarian policies coupled with its shameful concessions to the Fascist spirit in recent months have rendered it impotent as an effective force in the great political developments in Germany today, must be forced, by the revolutionary workers, to return to the tried and tested tactics of Communism and take the lead in the unification of the German proletariat for struggle. The program of the German Communist Opposition shows the way to restoring the fighting power and mass leadership of Communism. The Communist Party of Germany must take this road before it is altogether too late!

Two More Nazi Triumphs BERLIN.—The election in Oldenburg has given the Nazis an absolute majority in the State parliament, 24 out of 46 seats. The Communist Party, on the other hand, lost nearly 20% of its vote. The German Supreme Court, sitting in Leipzig, has ruled that the material seized in raids on Nazi headquarters on March 17, is "not incriminating." The material showed clear evidence of the preparations of the Nazis for armed seizure of the government, if necessary.

There are three exceptions, however. In Germany and Holland the revolutionary Socialists have been "disciplined" out of the Social-democratic parties and have broken with the L.S.I. They have formed independent parties, known as the German Socialist Workers party and the Dutch Independent Socialist party. In France, in addition to the "Left" within the Socialist party, there is a Socialist-Communist party, who increased their strength in last Sunday's election from one parliamentary representative to eleven. There is one further development to be noted. In many countries the Communist Party has been split open to opposition to the tactics of the Third International. In some countries the Communist Opposition is strong. In Sweden, for example, the Opposition is stronger than the party. It is too early to say how these revolutionary Socialist tendencies will develop, but already considerable co-operation between various sections is taking place. For two years representatives of the Norwegian Labor party, the I.L.P., the Polish Bund and I.S.L.P., and the Dutch "Left" have had informal conferences, at which a common program has been formulated. At the Vienna Congress of the L.S.I. last year, "left" parties and groups from eight countries, including Germany, co-operated. Since then they have kept in constant touch.

CAMP SOLIDARITY

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In The International Labor Movement THE BERLIN CENTRIST CONFERENCE

by Fenner Brockway

We publish below the report of the recent international centrist conference written by Fenner Brockway, outstanding I.L.P. leader, in the British New Leader, May 13, 1932. We publish this report, as supplementary to our own report in the last week's issue of the Workers Age, because we feel that the emergence of an international centrist movement is one of the most important characteristics of the present state of the labor movement. It is surely not necessary to emphasize that not only are Fenner Brockway's speculations on a rapprochement between the Communist Opposition and international centrist altogether visionary and vain but that the International Communist Opposition regards the centrist tendency, on a national and an international scale, as essentially an anti-Communist movement and a barrier in the way of the Communist development of the leftward moving masses. This estimation, of course, overlooks neither the positive significance of the organizational break with official Social-democracy nor the real potentialities of the left opposition movement within centrism.

An important development is taking place in the international working class movement. Until recently it was divided broadly into Social-democrats and Communists. Now a third section is arising—the revolutionary Socialists. Revolutionary Socialists are opposed both to the gradualism and class-collaboration of the Social-democrats and to the rigidity and psychology of the Communists.

The revolutionary Socialists have so far been in different camps. Some are attached to the Social-democratic Parties and to the Labor and Socialist International (the L.S.I.); some are unattached. In Norway the revolutionary Socialists constitute a majority in the Labor party, which is outside the L.S.I. In Poland there are two revolutionary Socialist parties (the Bund and the Independent Socialist Labor party), both attached to the L.S.I. In Britain we have the I.L.P., which is still affiliated to the Labor party and the L.S.I. In most other countries the revolutionary Socialist groups are minorities within the L.S.I. parties, only loosely organized.

There are three exceptions, however. In Germany and Holland the revolutionary Socialists have been "disciplined" out of the Social-democratic parties and have broken with the L.S.I. They have formed independent parties, known as the German Socialist Workers party and the Dutch Independent Socialist party. In France, in addition to the "Left" within the Socialist party, there is a Socialist-Communist party, who increased their strength in last Sunday's election from one parliamentary representative to eleven.

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LEFTS IN A. C. W. HOLD GOOD MEETING

New York City. On Monday, May 23, the Amalgamated Progressive Circle held a very successful open forum. Over 300 crowded the hall and several hundred were turned away for lack of room. Brother Sam Tiger was chairman of the meeting and Sol Rieger was the main speaker. Brother Rieger analyzed carefully and presented forcefully the conditions in the men's clothing trade and in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union and outlined a militant program of action. Among the speakers were: Brothers Nelson, Joe Goodman, Weber, Haber, Tannebaum, etc.

THE PLAY THAT TAMMANY TRIED TO SUPPRESS

Merry-Go-Round A VON THEATRE—West 45th Street Benefit for the WORKERS AGE TUESDAY EVENING, JUNE 7TH A very good production, well written, well staged, and well acted . . . surpasses all other radical plays in excellence of content and execution. —M. N. O., Workers Age Direct and terrifying . . . intelligible and plausible . . . command your interest in a vivid picture. —J. Brooks Atkinson, N. Y. Times A better play than "Precedent" ever thought of being. —John Mason Brown, Evening Post A bite like an angry bull-dog's . . . hitting home against all the rottenness in political life than any play for many a day. —Richard Lockridge, N. Y. Sun Bitter, brave . . . I heartily recommend it. —Robert Garland, World-Telegram TICKETS:—\$1.00, \$1.50, \$2.00, \$2.50 CAN BE SECURED NOW AT OFFICE OF WORKERS AGE—228 Second Avenue



CHILD LABOR AND CHILD HEALTH

by Dr. Alice Hamilton

Dr. Alice Hamilton, whose article in the New York Times we reprint below, is a member of the faculty of the Harvard School of Public Health and a well known writer on social questions.

In considering the possible evils of child labor it is important to remember that the children who leave school for the factory at 14 or 15 years, if the law allows, are in the great majority the children of poor families and that means that they have more than their share of physical handicaps. They come from homes where

MAYOR OUSTER TO BE DEMANDED

(Continued from Page 1) uel Scabury, counsel for the Hofstadter committee, it is semi-officially announced here. Scabury's request will be made on the basis of the glaring evidence of gross corruption on the Mayor's part uncovered in the public hearing with Walker as witness as well as in the quizzing of other prominent politicians and financiers.

The main points in the case against "Jimmy" Walker, as constructed by Judge Scabury, are: 1. Walker accepted over \$26,000 in bonds from J. A. Sisto, banker for the Hartford Transportation Company, a taxicab concern. Mr. Sisto declared he made this gift out of "admiration" for the Mayor. That "admiration" was based on the substantial foundation of return favors on the part of the Mayor, became clear in the investigation.

2. Walker accepted a letter of credit for \$10,000 from J. Allen Smith, promoter of the Equitable Coat Company, and then overwrote the letter of credit by \$3,000—which Smith also paid. This curious transaction took place just after Walker had put thru and signed a valuable franchise measure for the Equitable.

3. Walker had a joint safe deposit box with Russell T. Sherwood, the Mayor's missing financial agent. Just before the Mayor left for Europe in 1927, Sherwood withdrew from their special account with the brokerage firm more than a quarter of a million dollars, all trace of which has since been lost. The Mayor's explanation was that altho the accounts were indeed held jointly, he knew "nothing whatever" of what Sherwood did.

4. Walker accepted over \$240,000 from Paul Block, the publisher as profits from a joint stock account to which the Mayor contributed nothing whatever. Mayor Walker attributed this astounding affair to Mr. Block's "devoted friendship" and "beneficence". Mr. Block himself declared that he had made the quarter of a million gift to His Honor as a result of an ingenious suggestion of his 10-year old son!

5. In Russell T. Sherwood's accounts held jointly with Walker, there was found a \$6,000 payment by William J. Scanlan, who sold equipment to city departments. These five points are only the chief counts developed by Mr. Scabury to prove Walker's political corruption. The investigation is still largely unfinished and all indications are that the dirt-digging has only just begun.

(Concluded in the next issue)

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Against Libertarian Phrase-Mongering!

On Communism and Liberty

by V. F. Calverton

We take the article below from the Baltimore Evening Sun of April 26, 1932. It was written by V. F. Calverton in answer to an article in the same paper by Huntington Cairns, entitled "The Twilight of Liberty," in which the latter presented a thoroughly bourgeois theory of liberty and its relations to Communism.

In his article on "The Twilight of Liberty," Mr. Cairns deals with liberty as if it were an abstract conception, an end in itself instead of a means toward an end. One would think from reading Mr. Cairns's article that liberty once upon a time, in the happy, halcyon days of the nineteenth century, was the precious privilege of all, prince as well as proletarian.

Obviously neither Mr. Cairns nor the editorial writer on The Evening Sun would mean liberty for everyone or everything. They would certainly want to stop somewhere, just as the nineteenth century society, which they implicitly extol for having achieved that liberty which today is threatened with loss, stopped somewhere, and a very definite somewhere, in its logic.

Liberty and Exploitation

Now the concept of theft is very relative. Suppose we turn the tables and construct a new form of society, similar in economic outlook to that of the U.S.S.R., in which as a thief anyone who employs other men in order to make a profit off their labors—would the libertarian be in favor of depriving such thieves of their liberty?

Liberty and the Intellectual

But Mr. Cairns would undoubtedly reply, it is not the disappearance of liberty on the part of such thieves which is so regrettable as the abrogation of liberty on the part of the intellectuals. What Mr. Cairns fails to see is that in reality the liberty of the intellectuals has not been abrogated in Soviet Russia.

And therein lies the class contradiction which makes the libertarian unable to see that the conflict is over who is a thief and who is not a thief—and not over liberty at all. The Communist is in no way in favor of liberty as the libertarian, more in fact, but not liberty for thieves. Corroboratingly, in order to prevent such thieves from running at large and attempting to exploit the masses, the Communist believes in using the state power to throttle them.

The Five-Year Plan has resulted in a greater output of manufactured goods to meet the growing requirements of the rural population for machinery, tools, and articles of consumption. The ever-increasing quantities of both farm products and manufactured goods make possible the development of trade by the collective farms, as an additional source of food supply for the urban centers.

The state farms quota this year will be 151,000,000 poods as compared with 108,000,000 poods last year.

and in many instances are not even Marxians, but are known as "fellow-travelers." In other fields the same latitude is to be discovered. Pavlov, for example, as Robert Briffault points out in his recent book, "Breakdown," "gave loud expression, both in public and in private, to his detestation of the infamous principles of Soviet rule. The intolerant and tyrannical Soviet Government, however, replied to Professor Pavlov's vituperations by lavishing upon him, regardless of cost, every endowment and equipment he desired and by treating him with reverent honor and consideration."

The "Twilight of Liberty"

In the last analysis, the twilight of liberty which Mr. Cairns regrets is not the twilight of liberty at all but the twilight of the special brand of liberty which our middle-class civilization has favored. But that liberty, let it be said at once, has always been liberty for the proletariat.

In brief, wherever conflict occurs between classes in our society the proletariat class has the liberty to use force, either of the courts or of the militia, to combat it.

The basis of liberty is not intellectual but economic. In America the workers have the liberty at the present time to starve; in Soviet Russia, which Mr. Cairns attacks for the absence of liberty, the workers have the liberty to work or to be protected from the possibility of ever being forced to starve for want of work.

But Mr. Cairns is not interested in liberty for the workers, and consequently

he attacks communism as the enemy of liberty. What he does not see, nor the editorial writer on The Evening Sun, is that communism is the enemy not of liberty, but of his brand of liberty.

The liberty which he extols is the right of intellectuals to say what they want while the rest of society is suppressed and starved. He is more concerned with that right than with the fact that "one (American) girl 21 years of age, as Charles Beard points out, "was sentenced to the penitentiary for fifteen years for taking part in issuing a circular severely attacking President Wilson's policy of intervention in Russia."

Problems of Socialist Construction

The task of the Soviet government in the countryside during the last three years was to establish State and collective farming, and to turn these farms into the main producers of food stuff and raw material. This task was accomplished in the third year of the Five-Year Plan.

The effects of socialist reconstruction based on modern agricultural technique are quite obvious. The Soviet Union has greatly enlarged its cultivated areas and increased the gross output of grain. As a result the government was able in 1930 to collect 2,500,000 tons of grain as compared with 11,000,000 tons in 1928.

On March 26, the Central Committee of the Communist Party passed a resolution directed against attempts of some local authorities to skip over the present form of collective farms, the articles. The Soviet government and the Communist Party want to strengthen these cooperatives and are therefore emphatically opposed to any hasty attempts at "jumping over" to forms of agricultural production which will become practicable only at a later stage of development.

The Facts Speak For Themselves

The Militant seems to be quite upset over our comments on L. D. Trotsky, that "Gibraltar of Principles." But in its indignation it does not lose its characteristic political caution: it neither admits, nor denies our charges as to Trotsky's political twists and turns in his attitude to the German 1923 events and to the "Brandler group"—it is quite satisfied with evasion!

In the interests of puncturing the inflated Trotsky-myth, which pictures him as a veritable Rock of Gibraltar who has never budged an inch in his principles and views, to whom political compromising, hedging and right-about-faces are not only foreign but revolting, we present the following facts, with documentary evidence:

1. In January 1924, at a meeting of the Executive of the Comintern, Radek presented draft theses signed by Trotsky, Piatakov, himself and others. These draft theses, not accepted by the Comintern, had the following to say on the German situation:

"The Executive rejects decisively the demand of the leaders of the Berlin organization (the ultra-left anti-Brandler faction.—Editor) to declare that the October retreat of the (German) Party was not justified and was indeed a betrayal. If the Party had, in October, declared the insurrection, as the Berlin comrades proposed, then it would now be lying with a broken neck. . . . The retreat itself corresponded to the objective situation and is approved by the Executive."

2. In September 1924, in his "Lessons of October," Trotsky wrote the following, the exact opposite:

"Still more interesting is the question of the defeat of the German proletariat in October of last year. We saw there (in Germany) in the second half of 1932 a classical demonstration of how an entirely favorable revolutionary situation of world-historical significance can be missed. . . . More favorable, more mature, more appropriate conditions for the seizure of power cannot be imagined."

A complete right-about-face not only without explanation but with the brazen insistence that no change of view has taken place at all! Has not the present leadership of the Comintern found a worthy peer in the art of political trickery?

It is the purpose of the Soviet government to raise the standard of living of the population both urban and rural. Strong State and collective farms are the surest means of bringing this about.

The new decision of the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Communist Party has the same aim in view. It reduces the amount of State collection of grain from collective and individual farms by 4,500,000 tons, as compared with last year. By this fact, collective farms and their members will have a stimulus in developing kolkhoz trade.

This measure, together with the decision mentioned above concerning cattle breeding by collective farm members, is bound to increase the volume of products coming to Soviet markets over and above the goods sold thru the State and Cooperative channels, while at the same time the profiteer will be given no chance to have a hand in the matter.

The new decision is accompanied by a decree of the agricultural tax. The main idea of the decree is to stimulate the cultivation of grain, cotton, sugar, beets, flax, etc. and the raising of cattle and poultry. The new tax regulation is such as to encourage collective farms to extend the cultivated areas and to improve farm methods. New and weak kolkhozes as well as the small farmers who are not as yet organized in collective farms are exempt from taxes, so as to give them an opportunity to develop. It is important to note that most of the means collected in the form of agricultural taxes will be used for local needs, such as the requirements of hospitals, schools, communal development, etc. The regulation is particularly interesting as it shows that the Soviet government uses the taxes which it collects primarily for the benefit of the tax payers themselves, right on the spot.

Summing up, the first step towards the socialist reconstruction of agriculture was to discard the old system of farming which was based on petty production, and to establish large scale farms as a way out of poverty and ignorance in the countryside. This was done in a sharp struggle against the kulaks and also against the right and left deviations from the general line of the Party. It was done in a struggle against all the dark and reactionary forces. The struggle was won.

The next step was to make the collective farmer the central figure in the countryside, and to increase the productivity of labor in collective farms.

The thing to be done now is to use the advantages which have been obtained from large scale collective and State farming for the benefit of the rural and urban population, and the new decrees have this as their principal aim.

Against the Trotskyist System of Dogmas! On "Socialism in One Country"

by A.P.

The question of "socialism in one country" has been made the very center of his system by L. D. Trotsky. In the Communist International long struggles, not always theoretical, have taken place over it. Yet the question itself has been lost in a cloud of quotations, charges and counter-charges. The problem certainly deserves a more careful and more objective analysis than it has received in the Comintern press recently.

What Is Socialism?

The Trotskyite formulation of the question of the construction of socialism in one country is based upon a rather original formulation of the socialist concept. Trotsky questions the socialist character of the present Soviet economy. He writes:

"The working woman who stands in line before a store has her criterion of socialism, and this 'consumers' criterion, as it is disdainfully called by the officials, is decisive in the question." Trotsky goes on to say "that the problems of socialism will be solved not merely by the social forms of property but that it also presupposes a certain technical mastery on the part of society." We always thought that the character of a system of production is determined by the "social forms of property," that it is dependent upon the question in whose possession are the means of production. Where the means of production are the socialized property of the workers, as is the case in the industry and collectivized agriculture of the Soviet Union, there we have socialism. What is Trotsky's definition, however? When he asserts that the Soviet economy is not being run with the object of satisfying the needs of the working masses for consumption goods to the extent possible under present conditions, he is entirely wrong.

When he lays down the rule that the workers must be assured of a "certain standard" of living before we can speak of socialism, he follows in the footsteps of the Social democratic press which always repeats that socialism must begin with the assurance of a comfortable existence for all, so that the workers should not be frightened by the sacrifices and privations necessary for the transformation of the economic system.

That socialism can be developed only on the foundation of a modern technique is a platitude. But the precise stage of technical development necessary for the rise of socialized forms of production is to be determined not by an artificial abstraction, not by the personal views of Trotsky,

or of any other person, but by practice. The present technique in the Soviet Union has evidently been sufficient to socialize not only industry but also a large portion of agriculture. If socialism is not conceived as the socialization of the means of production, not as the abolition of capitalist property and exploitation, but if the assumption is made that the workers must be assured of an arbitrarily determined amount of consumption goods and that an equally arbitrarily determined stage of technical development must be attained in order to have socialism, then the discussion as to the possibility of building socialism will certainly go off on the wrong road from the very beginning.

Why Not Socialism in One Country?

Two trains of thought run thru Trotsky's arguments against the possibility of the completion of the building of socialism in one country. First is the idea that the building of socialism cannot be complete in the Soviet Union because it is an undeveloped country. Trotsky says:

"The theory of a permanent revolution contains two fundamental ideas: First, in Russia the revolution can place the power into the hands of the proletariat sooner than in other lands. Secondly: the way out of the difficulties encountered by the dictatorship of the proletariat in a backward country surrounded by a world of capitalist enemies, can be found only in the international revolution. . . . For the new theory the remarkable idea that the Soviet Union may collapse thru military intervention but never thru its economic backwardness, is a question of honor." (Trotsky, "The International Revolution and the Communist International," Berlin, 1929).

But then Trotsky also states that a complete socialist economy can be constructed only as a world economy, that is, neither in a single country nor in a group of countries, it being immaterial whether they are backward or advanced economically. He says:

"In reality the socialist world economy will never be constructed as a totality of national economies. It must originate in the socialist world economy upon the principle of international division of labor, which has already been created by preceding capitalist development. The outgrowth of socialist world economy will be laid down in the storm and strife of the proletarian revolution and not as a result of the complete building of socialism in a whole series of individual countries." (Trotsky, as above).

The Role of the Proletarian Dictatorship

Let us examine the first part of Trotsky's argument. The discussion of the question of the building of Socialism in one country which took

place in the C.P.S.U. in Trotsky's time occurred on a rather abstract plane. Arguments consisted largely of quotations from Lenin. As a result, a question of decisive importance remained in the background, namely, the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In answer to the Menshevik Suchanow's well-known reproach in his memoirs that the Bolsheviks had tried to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and to realize socialism altho Russia lacked the necessary capitalist "maturity", Lenin said that it was exactly the dictatorship of the proletariat that enables the Russian working masses to obtain in the shortest time the technical and cultural development which they lacked. The results of the Five-Year Plan have proved the truth of Lenin's words. The proletarian dictatorship is a powerful factor in technical and cultural progress. As long as classes exist, the class struggle is the motive force of the development of productive forces. The class struggle, destroying the outlived productive relations which had become the fetters on the productive forces, made possible the broadest application of new technical discoveries. The struggles of the bourgeoisie revolution paved the way for the triumph of mechanized industry. But it is only the proletarian dictatorship that has such very powerful means of developing the national economy. A certain development of industry is surely necessary to make the proletariat strong enough to set up its dictatorship as a class, but once it has created this dictatorship and can hold it against foreign capitalism, then it has the possibility of settling with the capitalist elements within. For socialist construction is, as the example of the Soviet Union shows, a class struggle against the remaining exploiting elements. If the proletariat is strong enough to suppress the exploiters and to abolish them, then it also has the means of mobilizing the resources of the country to overcome economic backwardness and to do this on the basis of socialist relations of production.

Build Or Break The Mass Unions

LOSOVSKY'S UNTRUE 'TRUISMS'

by B. Herman

(Concluded from last issue)

For Lenin, the growth of the reformist trade unions is not something to gnash one's teeth about, as Losovsky does, but signifies the growth, the working, the maturing of the development, the inevitable road of Communists to try to jump over this road, and to try to avoid the unavoidable—means sectarianism and isolation. Regarding the growth of the reformist trade unions in Great Britain from 5.5 millions in 1917 to 7.5 millions in 1919, Lenin writes:

"These facts speak most clearly, and are confirmed by thousands of other indications, of the growth of class-consciousness and of the passion for organization, which exists especially amongst the 'rank and file,' amongst the backward elements. Millions of workers in England, France and Germany, who were not at all organized heretofore, have, for the first time, entered the most elementary, most simple and most easily accessible form of organization—for those still imbued with bourgeois-democratic prejudices—namely the trade unions."

Lenin does not weep like a spoiled child that the immense growth of these trade unions means the strengthening of capitalism! That is because what is a truism for Losovsky, is nonsense to Lenin.

Bureaucracy and Unions

To Losovsky, the reformist bureaucrats and the trade unions are inseparable. One can only defeat reformism, which is a pillar of capitalism, by breaking up the trade unions. He runs away from the struggle to capture the trade unions, to drive out the reformists. He wants to "explode" the reformist unions, driving out not merely reformist bureaucrats, but the workers as well. For if you weaken the reformist unions, you weaken capitalism! But Lenin's answer was:

"This struggle (in the reformist trade unions) must be mercilessly conducted, until, as was done in our case, all the incorrigible leaders of opportunism and social-chauvinism have been completely exposed and thrown out of the unions."

But how can you win the masses in the trade unions away from the reformists except by working with the trade unions, to win them, to build them, and by showing in practice not only in words, that the Communists are the most active and devoted fighters in the trade unions, organizing the workers in struggles, exposing the betrayals and the union wrecking of the reactionary bureaucrats. Communists cannot compete with reactionary bureaucrats in "breaking up unions." If this will weaken capitalism, then John L. Lewis has done more effective work to "weaken capitalism" than even the ultra-left course of the Party can ever be given credit for. The slogan of the Communist must be: "Build and win the unions!" The greater the impounding of masses into the old unions, the more precarious the position of the reformists. The theses of Lenin at the Third Congress of the Communist International state:

"In the very first year of its existence, the Communist International disavowed all sectarian tendencies. It called upon all parties affiliated to it to enter the unions and, from within, overcome the reactionary trade union bureaucracy in order to transform the trade unions into revolutionary mass organizations of the proletariat, and into efficient organs of struggle." This is miles away from any policy of breaking the trade unions. One does not make efficient organs of struggle of the trade unions by smashing them. Nor does one build the Communist Party by disorganizing and demoralizing the ranks of the proletariat.

But Losovsky is not thru with his "truisms." Like an obstinate musician developing a bad melody, he pushes his theory further. He invents it, and arrives at the idea that "when the reformist trade unions are strong, the range of the strike movement is weaker. Such is the sterility resulting from the truths of Losovsky. Break up the trade unions, in order to have strikes! It is no wonder that Comrade Heckert risked his

(Continued on page 4)

Problems of Socialist Construction

THE NEW GRAIN COLLECTION POLICY

from The "Moscow Daily News"

The material below on the new regulations as to grain collections in the Soviet Union is taken from the Moscow Daily News, English language newspaper published in Moscow.

The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. has published the plan of grain collection for this year. The new plan marks a decisive improvement in the material conditions of the masses of collective farmers and peasants in general.

The decree states that, as a result of the successful development of collective farms and state farms and the limitation of the kulaks in the countryside, cultivated areas have greatly increased and the output of grain has risen from 600,000,000 poods in 1928 to 1,400,000,000 in 1931. Thanks to the organization of big collective farms and machine-tractor stations, the country is in a position to employ the most modern technique and large scale machinery.

The Five-Year Plan has resulted in a greater output of manufactured goods to meet the growing requirements of the rural population for machinery, tools, and articles of consumption. The ever-increasing quantities of both farm products and manufactured goods make possible the development of trade by the collective farms, as an additional source of food supply for the urban centers.

This being the case, the Council of People's Commissars has decided to reduce the amount of grain to be purchased by government organizations directly from the collective farms so that the latter may be in a position to organize trade on an extensive scale. On the other hand the amount of grain to be secured from state farms will be greater this year than in 1931. Accordingly, the amount of grain to be collected this year from collective and individual farms is fixed at 1,103,000,000 poods, not including the grain tax on milling, as compared with 1,367,000,000 poods last year, a decrease of 264,000,000 poods.

The state farms quota this year will be 151,000,000 poods as compared with 108,000,000 poods last year.

This plan of grain collection is to be carried out by January 1, 1933. Seed reserves for next year are to be fully prepared by January 15, 1933.

After January 15, when the plan of grain collection is in effect, the latter will be ready, collective farms and farmers will have a free hand in selling grain on their own terms both on markets and in their own stores. The local authorities are obliged to give the collective farms and individual farmers every assistance in combating go-betweens and speculators.

The task of the Soviet government in the countryside during the last three years was to establish State and collective farming, and to turn these farms into the main producers of food stuff and raw material. This task was accomplished in the third year of the Five-Year Plan.

The socialist reconstruction of agriculture became possible due to the extensive use of modern machinery supplied by the rapidly growing state industries. The effects of socialist reconstruction based on modern agricultural technique are quite obvious. The Soviet Union has greatly enlarged its cultivated areas and increased the gross output of grain. As a result the government was able in 1930 to collect 2,500,000 tons of grain as compared with 11,000,000 tons in 1928.

On March 26, the Central Committee of the Communist Party passed a resolution directed against attempts of some local authorities to skip over the present form of collective farms, the articles. The Soviet government and the Communist Party want to strengthen these cooperatives and are therefore emphatically opposed to any hasty attempts at "jumping over" to forms of agricultural production which will become practicable only at a later stage of development.

The resolution emphasized the necessity of improving the organization of the collective farms and warned against any compulsory socialization of livestock belonging to members of col-

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HOOVER'S NEWEST PROGRAM

THAT significant combination of historical circumstance—the economic crisis and the Presidential elections—is certainly bringing forth a bumper crop of program economists, legislators, engineers, "Socialists," Presidents and would-be Presidents. All species of political quacks and patent-medicine salesmen are coming forward daily with new solutions and new ways out of the crisis.

In this industry which, next to the bootlegging business, is the country's most flourishing industry, Hoover is the chief producer. Scarcely a week passes without some Hoover program or plan seeing the light. None of us has forgotten how Hoover, immediately after the stock market crash, prophesied and promised that prosperity would sweep the country in sixty days. Nor have we forgotten how the Department of Commerce and every other government department and prominent Republican party spokesman assured the country that the "bottom" had been reached, that the country was on the upward trend, that "prosperity was around the corner."

Soon this Christian Science method proved bankrupt. Hoover and Company had to try a new racket. Things were going so rapidly and so seriously from bad to worse that Coucism by itself could no longer be offered with even a pretense at a straight face. When gold started to flow out of the country by the hundreds of millions of dollars, when hoarding reached the billion dollar level, when an avalanche of bank failures hit the country, then Hoover gave birth to a scheme to shower the huge financial and industrial corporations with hundreds of millions of dollars. However, things continued to go from bad to worse. Then, Hoover altered his program so as to pour more money and pour it more quickly into the pockets of some of the biggest shattered corporations. Thus was born the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (R.F.C.).

Any one acquainted with the A B C of American democracy could see that the R.F.C. was really only a Relief For Crooks organization. Plundering the government treasury on an unheard of scale was really no new venture for the giant corporations of the country. The crisis continued and will continue for some time yet to grow worse. Another program was needed. Again something new. Once more the Hoover moratorium labored. Another rat was born. Hoover has reentered the lists of saviors with a new program, this time a 12-point program!

What is Hoover's latest program for getting out of the crisis? What is the meaning of Hoover's economic program which will serve as his platform of "principles" in the coming election campaign, as his fortress against the demagogic Bryan-esque attacks of such might-be presidents as Roosevelt? In his newest "program" Hoover, first of all, stresses the need for "quick, honest balancing of the budget." In line with this he insists on the unconditional avoidance of any further government borrowing. Both of these "remedies" can only serve to relieve the millions of jobless and starving people of whatever facilities for living they now have. "Balancing the budget" means cutting down whatever there are of social services. And avoiding further government borrowing only means definite refusal to appropriate even a penny for relief of the actual sufferers in the crisis. The third Hoover proposal of introducing a five-day week for government employees without raising government expenses, is only a Federal wage-cut and an inspiration and further urge to all industries to follow suit with more wage-cuts in the name of economy and the stagger system of disemploying workers.

Hoover's whole program limits "economy" to wages. He proposes to dump another billion and a half dollars into the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for any public or private agency if the projects thus financed will "sustain and expand employment" and be "income-producing." On this basis, the R.F.C. is also to be authorized to lend money to States for "distress relief." How empty this relief proposal is can be seen from the vagueness of the President's suggestion for "unceasing efforts at sound strengthening of the foundations of agriculture" and for the "continuation of national, community and individual efforts in relief of distress." More loopholes couldn't be invented by anyone.

It is clear that Hoover now proposes unlimited help for the banks to keep them from failing. Yet, at the same time, the R.F.C. will engage in some banking itself. Naturally, in this competitive role Hoover's new banking apparatus will be able to compete most effectively precisely with the weakest banks, with the banks which are in the greatest danger of failing. Consequently, Hoover's new program will, like the preceding ones, fail to down the tide of bank failures.

There's much more to the new Hoover scheme. When the R.F.C. was first organized we were told its original two billion dollars capitalization would be more than sufficient. Now Hoover must again bury his optimism and practically double the original capitalization. The continuous pouring of billions of dollars of government credit into the coffers of finance-capital means inflation with all its inevitable and serious dangers to the entire capitalist credit system. But it means even more; its objective and unavoidable logic is for the government to guarantee practically all prices and profits for the capitalist class. This is fraught with incalculable danger. The further expansion of short-term and long-term credit is no way of ending the crisis of capitalist production. Already the volume of Federal Reserve credit is approximately 50% above what it was three years ago at this time. In reality, the expansion of credit is much greater than 50% because, since the middle of 1929, the United States has lost about a billion dollars in gold. "Normally" the Federal Reserve banks should be accumulating excess reserves during periods of crisis, during periods of low business activity. Today, the trend is in the opposite direction.

On certain important international questions, like the war-debts, reparations, tariff, etc. Hoover keeps silent. Perhaps the Republican party national convention will give us more generalities and vagaries on these matters. One thing is already clear—and this is decisive—no relief will be given to the hungry by the ruling class. Whatever relief will be gotten will have to be fought for and forced by the jobless and by those momentarily employed themselves. Besides, it is obvious that the capitalist class is at present bankrupt in so far as any concrete and effective measures are concerned, for even the slightest temporary alleviation of the crisis. Apparently, the "natural course" of blood-letting at the expense of the workers and lower middle class is the only course for Wall Street capitalism, the strongest sector of international capitalism. Only the organized militant mass action of the workers can alter this course, insure immediate relief, and build a revolutionary proletarian movement to destroy the decrepit, decaying system of capitalist exploitation with its crisis amidst plenty and to replace it by a classless, socially planned, a socialist society.

Here is the only program offering a way out of the devastating economic crisis.

Consequences of the World Crisis

How Capitalism 'Overcomes' Crises

by Jay Lovestone

We publish below the first of a series of articles by Jay Lovestone on the "Social and Economic Consequences of the World Crisis."

The greatest event since the War cannot be looked upon as a single historical incident or problem. The crisis is an epoch-making event of the entire world—for the Soviet Union as well as all the capitalist countries. Its social and economic consequences, I believe, will be at least as great, and in many respects even more profound than those of the World War itself. Often spoken of as an economic crisis, it is far more inclusive, pervading every walk of life—in thought, in action, in all ranks within classes and in all relationships between classes.

Let me attempt to outline the social and economic consequences of the crisis not merely for the United States but internationally, those of world-wide character. In fact, it is still too early for anyone to try to present a complete picture of these consequences. I will merely endeavor to trace, as it were, the contour, the broad outlines, the common significant features more and more characterizing the world situation as a result of the crisis.

It is appropriate, therefore, to approach the question at the outset with an examination of the general reactions of the bourgeoisie, the class ruling the world, to the economic crisis. The financial experts in Amsterdam estimate the crisis in this fashion:

"Looking back over 1931, the striking fact is that the crisis has caused more uneasiness and mental disturbance than any other crisis of the past generation. The reason assigned for this is that financial communities throughout the world had for years persuaded themselves that the depression was a passing phenomenon. As a natural consequence of this belief, the severity of this year's economic trouble had psychological results as serious as the economic damage.

"One result has been that great masses of people are virtually refusing to accept the devastating effects of the economic reaction. This may conceivably lead to great political changes." (New York Times, Annual Financial Section, January 1, 1932).

This represents the opinion of the biggest Dutch bourgeoisie. And Holland, relatively speaking, is today a prosperous country according to general standards. One need not take too seriously the Amsterdam bankers' assertion that the great mass of people don't realize the devastating results of the crisis. Rather, we must take much more seriously the uneasiness shown by these spokesmen of the ruling class. But to understand the psychological reactions of the ruling class, or of the proletariat, we must not rely merely and mechanically on the method of cause and effect. Historically, dialectically, economic and social forces cannot be regarded in a simple A.B.C. relationship. It would be folly for us to assume that we can arbitrarily pick any particular incident in the crisis, or in the period before the crisis, and say that it was or is the cause of another particular effect or event. Only by viewing questions in their relation to many forces, distinct forces, here supplementing each other, here conflicting with each other, can we have a close-up and a bird's eye view of the situation.

With this dynamic approach we will divide the problem before us into two main categories: First: What are the economic consequences of the world crisis? Secondly: What are the social and political consequences? Of course, not for a moment are we trying to draw a hard and fast and permanent line between economic and social consequences. They are interwoven in life.

1.—ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

One of the basic features of the present crisis is its being deepest and severest precisely in those countries which have the highest technical development. For this reason and out of this situation there will come a series of organic derangements in the present economic order which will cause fatal and incalculable damage to the capitalist system of production and exchange. Because of the very nature of capitalism the unemployment crisis which is international all world-wide in character, has reached its worst levels just in those countries which yesterday were most prosperous. Look at the United States and Germany, where unemployment is severest.

In so-called normal times the financial structure of world capitalism, the banking system, appears to be strongest in countries like the United States. However, as a result of this crisis, the banking system of the United States, but yesterday the world's stronghold of finance-capital, has become one of the weakest links in the chain of the bourgeois order, on the American sector of the world capitalist system. Germany's banking system has been hit perhaps second hardest. That America's banking system has been hit the hardest and is today relatively in the most precarious position remains true, but absolutely, the German, the British and even the French banking systems may be weaker for the moment. The decisive factor to be considered here is that the proportion to which the American banking system has been undermined and the mountain-high casualties in the American banking world far exceed the weakening and the casualties suffered by the banking system of every other capitalist country.

Because the crisis reaches its greatest depths in the highest developed countries it brings in its train a sharpening of great masses of the basic contradictions of world capitalism. Thus, the primary among the economic consequences of the crisis will be a further widening of the gap between the production capacities and the consumption possibilities, to an extent and degree hitherto unknown in the history of the capitalist system. Sweeping as this contention may appear it is rooted in the painful facts of reality. The falling standards of living, and the rising capacities of production are the opposite poles. Between these two poles mass misery will flourish in the coming years.

Destruction Of Capital

The present crisis will entail a huge destruction of capital throughout the entire bourgeois world—a destruction of capital which, unequaled in the history of the capitalist order, today means not so much a wiping out of small shop-keepers, petty merchants and little industrialists as a liquidation of huge corporations. The tempo of the obsolescence of capital is being increased by the very acuteness of the competitive struggle in a world dominated more and more by monopoly, by finance-capital. Pauperization of great masses of workers will be an inevitable result of the still more rapid discarding of labor power of millions of workers thrown out of industrial organizations and thrown on the scrap heap of the economic system. Even in its best days, with its much-vaunted efficiency, the capitalist system is very wasteful. Take the speed-up and scientific management systems of the capitalist efficiency. You will find upon close examination that these institutions are paid for, unnecessarily, only for the sake of profits, with the lives of hundreds of thousands of workers in every capitalist country of a high technique.

This picture doesn't reveal merely technical relations in their narrow sense; it reveals the distortion of the most fundamental economic relations. Here in New York City, we have the model capitalist urban center. In so-called prosperity days thousands of buildings are torn down; buildings still useful for commercial purposes. The laws of profit and interest in the property, in the realty market demand the destruction of such usable buildings. At the same time, these laws of profit and interest in the realty market, even in the brightest of prosperity days, demand the perpetuation of slums—whole sections of the city with buildings that are un-occupied, unfit for occupancy but that are especially fit for securing heavy interest payments on mortgages.

However we are not stressing here the normal unnecessary destruction of capital which is inherent in the competitive, the capitalist system, itself. We are now speaking of the terrific destruction of capital growing out of the difficulties arising from the present economic crisis. It will be necessary for the bourgeoisie in every country to charge off as a loss huge proportions of the very capital which they only recently used for the development, for the creation of the ex-

cess capacities of the surplus production forces now plaguing them. This is blood-letting, economically speaking, and, certainly, socially speaking.

The ruling class must rid itself of the burden of carrying this giant burden of carrying this great capital investment which every attempt is being made and will continue to be made by the ruling class to have the workers pay for this costly and momentary way out of the crisis. The German economist, Professor B. J. Bonn, shows remarkable understanding of this process of capitalist development and decay when he says:

"In the modern capitalist economy every crisis must, before it is quite overcome, entail a cancellation of excessive capital. This very painful devaluation is the remedy by which capitalism restores order to economic chaos, punishing those—unfortunately, not those alone—who are responsible for it. In this it employs the method of expropriation by means of destruction of value, of depreciation—the capitalist form of socialization, which is far more radical, more ruthless and more sensible than the ordinary attempts at socialization. This was the course taken by the American crisis after fruitless attempts at intervention." (Monthly Review, Prosperity: Myth and Reality in American Economic Life, page 113).

Professor Bonn is evidently somewhat morally indignant when he speaks of individuals "who are responsible for the crisis because of their evil intentions or their malpractices. Hoover, Mellon, Schwab, Morgan, Rockefeller—none of these as individuals intended to or planned to bring on the present crisis. The crisis came as a logical stage in the process of capitalist development. Good intentions and bad policies mix to bring on chaos in all walks of life in the present system. We may be indebted, however, to Professor Bonn for stating so plainly that destruction of capital is the highest and most decisive form of socialization the capitalist order knows. As to the wisdom of this method of socialization, the international working class will yet speak. In the Soviet Union it has already spoken. This "radical, ruthless and sensible" method of stabilization of socialization, capitalism can resort to only as long as the working class permits it. This is simply another way of saying that the capitalist system will continue in crisis after crisis, each subsequent one worse than each preceding one, until the international revolutionary proletariat takes matters in its own hands and destroys the system as a whole. But it is never a sad commentary on a social system, a condemnation which defies imagination, when it can find no more sensible way of even temporarily getting out of serious difficulties than by wholesale, wanton destruction of the fruits of many years of labor of millions of workers.

LOSOVSKY'S UNTRUE 'TRUISMS'

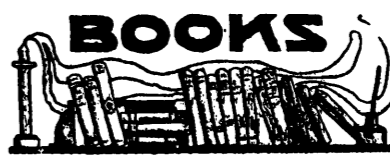
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political life and protested. Ever Losovsky knows better and admits: "In Great Britain the reformist apparatus is strong, the Minority Movement is weak, yet there have been big strikes." This confutes Losovsky's theory. But Losovsky is not to be downed so easily. He answers: "But we might ask what would have been the sweep of these strikes if the reformist apparatus had been weaker and the Minority Movement stronger?"

Politt dared, cautiously of course, to blame the R.I.L.U. Executive for the desertion of work in the reactionary unions. He declared: "An impression has been created that, whatever may be stated in the resolutions, the work within the trade unions is of no importance, and the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. has never taken any steps to carry out this work."

And further, that the R.I.L.U. even hindered in carrying on work in the reformist unions. Losovsky is indignant. He sanctimoniously crosses himself, and cries: "Oh, Lord! I have not sinned! Look in France, in England, in Germany. I am an innocent lamb!" He actually says: "When and where did the R.I.L.U. tell you that it is unnecessary to work within the trade unions?" True, on paper, the R.I.L.U. has always been "in favor" of work in the reactionary unions. But it is no accident, nor is it the fault of the British comrades alone, that in all countries, the work of the Communists in the trade unions has collapsed. Losovsky should know that the dual-unionist course is incompatible with healthy Communist work within the trade unions.

The new campaign to revive work in the trade unions for the purpose of exploding these organizations, will succeed only in exploding the Communists out of the trade unions. This turn will be as barren of everything, except defeats, as were all other innumerable turns of the Party and the R.I.L.U. It is not surprising, therefore that even the recent thesis of the American Central Committee is forced to admit that despite all the turns, we have not made the "real turn." This is a confession of the



TECHNIQUE DU COUP D'ETAT, (Technique Of The Overthrow of The State), by C. Malaparte. Translated from the Italian into French by Juliette Bertrand, Paris, Editions Bernard Grasset, 1932.

A thoughtful Fascist writer, with considerable experience in European political life and broad contact with it, discusses dispassionately the technique of the overthrow of the modern state and takes as his master in that art—Leon Trotsky! This is intriguing enough to impel one to read this small volume did it not merit study for other reasons as well.

Malaparte's thesis is certainly novel, although it is strikingly characteristic. "The tactics (of the coup d'etat) constitute a problem of a technical order and not of a political order," we are told (p. 147). Strategy, Malaparte, admits, depends upon economic, political, social and especially class relations and therefore, since no exact recurrence of these conditions can be found from country to country nothing very much of general importation can be learned from the strategy of any particular revolution (say, the Russian October revolution). But tactics are quite different, believes the author. The tactics of the coup d'etat do not have any reference at all to socio-political relations; they are of a purely technical character "not bound up with the general conditions of the country (so that) their application does not depend upon circumstances which are indispensable to strategy..." (p. 15). This conception which breaks the organic bond between strategy and tactics, denies the very possibility of strategic principles, and drains tactics of all their living social content, is fathered upon Trotsky without any serious justification, it seems to me.

This thesis Malaparte recommends to the "Cattinarians" of both the right and the left—to the Fascists and to the Communists. And this thesis he bolsters up with a mass of the most amazing misinformation. I have ever encountered within the covers of one book more misinformation so audacious, so weird, so cleverly worked in with a stray fact or two, that it leaves you breathless. Unblushingly he tells us that in 1923 Radek proposed and Trotsky endorsed the plan of "organizing in all the countries of Europe a special corps for the overthrow of the state. His Radek's) point of view was that a thousand men would be enough to take over the matter what country of Europe, in France as in England, in Germany as in Switzerland as in Spain" (p. 80). As if this were not enough we learn that Lenin opposed Radek's scheme because he (Lenin) insisted that: "If we want to aid the Communists of other countries seize power we must work to create in Europe similar conditions to those that existed in Russia in 1917" (p. 87). In a nonchalant manner, as if it were all self-evident fact, Malaparte tells us that the October "coup d'etat" was carried thru by Trotsky and his "thousand (the number "a thousand" seems to be a fetish with Malaparte!) technicians" not only without the Bolshevik Party and the masses but against them! The Stalin-Trotsky controversy we are shown as an armed struggle for state power culminating in the failure of a "Trotskyist coup d'etat" on November 7, 1927! And so on! It positively takes your breath away!

The remarks on Pilsudski and Primo de Rivera are hardly more than interesting anecdotes; nor is there anything especially original in the discussion of the Kapp putsch. On the other hand, the long chapter on Mussolini is not only gripping but is really enlightening in the insight it gives into the early history and ideology of Italian Fascism. But the description of the unfolding of the Fascist seizure of power in Italy is a standing refutation of the thesis that the coup d'etat is a technical act independent of time, place and circumstance!

The book concludes with a biting criticism, from the Italian Fascist viewpoint, of the Hitler movement in Germany. The legalistic development of the Nazis is acutely analyzed but the probing, of course, never penetrates the surface. "Insurrection is an art!" (Marx) should read it.

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bankruptcy of all the "new turns." Each turn claimed that it was the one to put the party upon the real road to leadership of the masses. Earl Browder's turn to "faith in the masses", Ralph Simon's turn, which he declared was the "decisive turn", the "turns" to the factories, to the A. F. of L., and the turn to nursing personal contacts, that latest and most idiotic of "turns", all fail to effect the ever-widening gap between the Party and the masses of workers. The Party Central Committee mutters phrases borrowed from the "renegades" about the isolation of the Party and the necessity for a "struggle against sectarianism." But with a course towards "exploding" the trade unions, the disruptive and dual unionist line of the Party is not weakened, but is really strengthened.

What is needed is a genuine turn to a Leninist trade union policy. This will come not thru the timid criticism of a single Hecker, who, when forced to the wall, is made to say "Black is white". The resistance must be multiplied amongst scores of thousands of Party members and left wing workers, who, by their rejection of union-wrecking will put an end to the present anti-Leninist policies, an end to metaphysics and "truisms" in the R.I.L.U.

"Come Back In Three Months"

Now we have a slump in slump relief. The very organization of planned starvation is breaking down! First came the "no help wanted" signs; now, after three years of depression, the "no help given" signs. Not so long ago we were being promised our "jobs back in three months." Now we're told we may get our bread-lines back in three months.

The bourgeois "thinkers" talk glibly about planning production under capitalism. The heartless, reeling system isn't even showing itself able to plan jobless relief!

A Diet To Die On

Bernarr Macfadden, sex, smut and scandal salesman of the Macfadden Publications, Inc. is now running a Diet Marathon in Grand Central Palace to demonstrate that: "Every hungry person in the United States can be well nourished indefinitely with almost no burden on the economic structure or upon the charity organizations of the nation. My own investigations have demonstrated to me that a family can live healthfully on a bushel of wheat a month and nothing else."

And like the mule in the fable, just when we had him used to living on nothing, he went and died.

Coffee To Burn

"6,244,897 Bags of Coffee Are Destroyed by Brazil", reads a New York Times headline. "In an effort to solve the coffee crisis, Brazil has undertaken not only to buy and destroy 12,000,000 bags of coffee but between 300,000,000 and 400,000,000 coffee trees."

With millions thruout the world unable to buy a decent cup of coffee, the equivalent of billions of cups of coffee already harvested is destroyed and permanent injury effected by the destruction of the coffee trees themselves. Such is capitalism's solution of the crisis.

Lightening Expenses

Champaign, Illinois has the right idea in city economy. It is replacing light bulbs in the city hall with bulbs of lesser wattage with an estimated saving in electrical bulbs of \$5 a month. New York should try it. The bulbs on the Gay White Way furnish light enough for the Boy Friend, Jimmie, and most of the City's politicians don't need any lights in their offices at all—except maybe one room for pinocchio.

Cuba Celebrates Its "Freedom"

Cuba celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of its "freedom" appropriately enough by the "precautionary" jailing of 300 labor leaders.

Fear God and Raise the Rates

Noah W. Cooper of Nashville, Tenn., spokesman of Southern Methodism, petitioned the Interstate Commerce Commission to abolish Sunday trains on the railroads. It will end the railroad stock drop, says Noah Cooper, because railroad falls are due to non-observance of the Sabbath. Incidentally there should be a 15% increase in freight rates. "The Lord helps those that help themselves."

Leftism on the Cultural Front

The Education Worker, organ of the T.U.U.L., among the teachers, is educating the educators in earnest. "Do not try to make your students worshipping of classics," writes the May issue, "... a mediocre contemporary radical writer may be of immeasurably more intellectual value to a student than one of the giants of a vanished age."

Sure, what do we need of Shakespeare so long as we have Magill? What good is Swift, Voltaire, or Moliere compared with Harrison George? How can we mention Goethe in the breath with Gomez or range Zola with Zack or raise Spinoza to the level of Steuben or Stachel or J. Louis Engdahl?

"A mediocre contemporary radical writer may be of immeasurably more intellectual value to a student than one of the giants of a vanished age." But of course, the student must make sure he's mediocre!

Morgan And His Gardner

J. P. Morgan, exhibiting tulips grown on his estate, won first honors this afternoon at the annual tulip show of the Nassau County Horticultural Society.—New York Times, May 17.

J. P. Morgan had no more to do with the production of those tulips than he had, we presume, with the production of the gardener's babies. But as usual, he's garnering first honors from things he did not produce.

The Stamp of Revolution

After one year of the Spanish Republic, during all of which time the "economic" republican leaders continued using the face of Alfonso on their postage stamps with the words "Republica Espanola" printed across his face, they have finally used up the supply of monarchist stamps and gotten out their own. The new stamp bears the picture of Joaquin Costa and the stirring revolutionary motto: "Plant a Tree!" The slogan is worthy of the accomplishments of the Spanish "Socialist" revolution. B. D. W.