

WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

VOL. IV, No. 27

SATURDAY, JULY 6, 1935.

Five Cents

At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

IT appears that the American Communist Party is now in its high and palmy days of perverting most crassly the very essence of Marxism-Leninism. Its outstanding personage, General Secretary Earl Browder, tells us that "Socialism is that society just emerging out of capitalism, when the workers gain power and take over the means of production from the capitalists. . . This transitional period to which we give the general name Socialism. . ." (New Masses, May 14th). Well, well, this is a new turn—from Marxism. Unlike Marx, Browder would have us believe that the socialist society is completed with the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. Very much unlike Marx, the theoretical leader of American official communism, that is rubber-stamp communism, would have us forget that between the capitalist society and the socialist society there is a transition period in which the proletarian dictatorship prevails.

Adhering to such dime-store Marxism, the Young Communist League, propagating Marxian ideology, was rooting for Braddock to win the world's heavyweight championship so that "daddy" Braddock would buy "mama lots of new dresses" and "a big new house". And also that after this victory it would "be like Christmas" (Young Worker, June 4th). On the same basis, General Secretary Browder enters into a united front from on top with General Smedley Butler of the strike-breaking U. S. Marine Corps and into a united front from on high with Father Divine on May Day.

Cap this disappointing climax with a declaration of the New York East Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church (Dr. Harry F. Ward) endorsing the toy-balloon organization known as the American League Against War and Fascism, because it has pledged "to oppose such insidious movements as Fascism, war hysteria, AND DICTATORSHIP OF ANY KIND."

JUDGING by the way in which President Roosevelt is taking away issues from some of his critics, the graves of many of his political opponents won't be tenantless by the time November 1936 comes around. We have in mind Roosevelt's demagogic playing with the so-called "Tax-the-Rich" program. However, no one should have any notion that the President means immediate business. Least of all is there the slightest justification for assuming that there is anything radical about his proposals, even if they were carried out completely and instantly. So black a British capitalist sheet as The Telegraph very correctly evaluated the Roosevelt measures in this fashion: "To the British mind there is little that is revolutionary about Mr. Roosevelt's proposals in Congress. They merely follow in the footsteps of a succession of British Chancellors of the Exchequer who have made these forms of taxation familiar to this country." It is patent that in many respects Wall Street capitalism has been exceptionally backward and is only now catching up with the world-renowned American tempo.

TO the Waley-Eaton Service we are indebted for some political sense that is unusual for agencies of its kind. In one of its recent Foreign Letters it thus sized up Germany today: "Hitler takes care of the political, wherefore economic leadership does not have to worry about whether or not its programs have popular support. . . Sentiment is employed to hold Hitler in power, but there is no sentiment in the economic control behind the scenes. . ." Our contemporaries, the Daily Worker, Socialist Call, and the New Leader would do well to ponder these sound conclusions. Surely, this is welcome light shed on the division of labor in the Nazi terror regime and on the real character of the indirect monopoly-capitalist dictatorship now holding Germany in its grip. No doubt this analysis also explains why it is that in recent months such huge corporations as the General Motors and the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey have been spending rather lavishly on propagating Hitler's ideas amongst their employees.

QUITE a number of Wall Street economists and Washington legislators ought to mend their speeches a bit lest their fortunes be marred. In their heated assault on state capitalism, now developing at a feverish pace in the United States, they are playing an even more foolish and forlorn role than King Canute. For instance, before the National Association of Credit Men, Representative Samuel B. Pettengill of Indiana bemoaned the fact that the government is

(Continued on Page 3)

Breslow Released From Prison

International Ladies Garment Union Organizer Serves Six Months For Union Work

MONTREAL, Canada.—Frank Breslow was released today (June 29) from Bordeaux Jail after having served four months for participating in a strike as an organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

The decision in that case set a dangerous precedent which threatens to curtail the right to strike and to picket. For this reason many trade unions and other working class organizations interested themselves in this case and demanded the liberation of Frank Breslow.

Upon his release he returns to his position as organizer for Dress Cutters Local 205 of the I.L.G.W.U.

WAITING FOR THE SIGNAL



EUROPE TODAY

By August Thalheimer

SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS IN NATIONAL CONVENTION

The convention of the Socialist Party of France took place in Muelhausen, Alsace. It proved that the Social Democratic workers as a whole had moved further to the left, that the opportunist tactics of the C.P. in the united front has sown confusion in the left wing of the S.P.

The swing to the left on the part of the socialist workers was especially evident when the party leadership was forced to withdraw its own resolution, introduced by Faure and Severac, in favor of a far more radical resolution from the North District. Left wing sentiment further manifested itself in the statement of Vincent Auriant to the effect that he was now convinced that gradual seizure of power is impossible. The resolution introduced by delegates from the North District and accepted by the conference categorically denounced any participation in a bourgeois coalition government. The North is the strongest district of the S.P.

On the other hand, the paralyzing influence of the opportunist united front tactics of the C.P. is shown in the following:

1. The leadership of the S.P. was given full power by the congress to participate in negotiations for the formation of a "left government."
2. The left wing which hitherto rejected the policy of coalition both in theory and in practice is now admitting the possibility of supporting a radical

Editor's Notes

Due to technical difficulties we could not get out our 6 page issue this week. The chief difficulty was the inability to have all our convention documents in form for publication. These difficulties have been overcome and the next issue will carry all this material.

Besides the Convention Theses, Workers Age will also contain 3 articles of major importance:

JAY LOVESTONE, continues his brilliant discussion on Soviet foreign policy.

WILL HERBERG, takes up the question of Constitutional reform.

STEPHEN CUNNINGHAM, submits an article on Dictatorship in the Black Belt in which he answers the question: Who runs and controls Negro education?

You can't possibly afford to miss this issue. As far as we know the best way of making sure that you do not miss this coming and following issues is to subscribe now.

Shadow Of August 1914 Hovers Over Comintern

A discussion on the Franco-Soviet Pact; the Stalin-Laval Statement and the tasks of the Communists in case of war, by

Jay Lovestone

FRIDAY, JULY 12, 8 P.M.

At IRVING PLAZA HALL
15th Street and Irving Pl., N. Y.

Questions and Discussion
Admission 15c.

Auspices: Communist Party U.S.A.
(Opposition) New York District

government both inside and outside of parliament.

3. The question of war. Leon Blum defended the policy of national defense and on the other hand Pivert argued against participation in any war.

The crude, opportunist attitude of the C.P. is further characterized by the following:

1. The Party has come out for the thesis of Paul Faure who regards the organization of physical defense against fascism as "adventurous." The C.P. on the other hand ignored the correct thesis of Pivert which called for the tying up of extra-parliamentary mass actions, of anti-military mass agitation in the army with the organization of physical defense against the fascist leagues.

2. The so-called "Unity Program" which was submitted to the S.P. by the C.P. as the basis for the establishment of organic unity failed to designate the "only party of the proletariat" as Communist and did not expressly call for the affiliation to the C.I. Furthermore, the question of armed insurrection was glossed over in this program.

The resolution of the C.P. published on June 7 is exactly what the French call "negre-blanc" (black and white at the same time). It confirms the opportunist position of the Party evading all unequivocal and clear formulations.

To repulse the growing advances of the Fascist leagues the S.P. and the C.P. have issued calls for joint demonstrations in front of the police departments demanding the dissolution and disarming of these leagues. It is obvious that as long as the S.P. and the C.P. fail to organize jointly workers defense corps against the physical terror of the fascist leagues all their protests and demands for the disarmament of the fascist leagues resolve into nothing.

ANGLO-GERMAN NAVAL AGREEMENT

England has agreed to the German demand for 35% of English naval strength under certain restrictive conditions. The most important of these are: that the 35% correspond to the English ship categories; secondly, that the stages of the plan be definitely decided upon; thirdly, that the other participants agree to the naval agreement. Germany is to reach these 35% within 7 years. In reference to submarines Germany is to be on a par with England within 7 years. She is, however, to go beyond 45% of the English submarines only after a second consultation with England. Another stipulation is that Germany build no airplane carriers particularly undesirable to England. The agreement was signed in London on June 18th.

England is obviously hoping that the other powers will raise objections in time. The French have already done so. France is reminding England of the London and Stresa conferences which determined that naval, air and land disarmament must be dealt with as a single problem. France has announced that it will hold to the Washington naval treaty. The English minister, Eden, is

(Continued on Page 4)

CORRECTION

We regret that there was a line missing in the first paragraph of the article "Shadow of 1914 Falls Upon the Comintern." The paragraph should have read as follows:

On May 21st, following a few days of silence, Peri touches the question in an article entitled "The Soviet, Der Fuehrer and We." Peri is the author of a regular column on foreign affairs in Humanite.

Coal Strike Postponements Harm Miner's Interests

Roosevelt's Last Minute Plea Wins Postponement Of General Strike; Workers Indignant At Vacillating Policy

In the course of the last several days a general strike call affecting all bituminous miners was issued by John L. Lewis, only to be countermanded 12 hours later upon the request of President Roosevelt who pledged that the Guffey Bill would be speeded to passage.

This call and recall has occurred several times in the course of the last number of weeks, and it is safe to say that were the operators to call John L. Lewis' bluff the union would be on the spot. The workers are very much demoralized as a result of the frequent changes.

Zausner Steals Union Election

Opposition Claims Many Irregularities; Plans To Challenge Elections

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Riot squads were called out to handle large numbers of enraged members of the Painters District Council who saw the election stolen practically under their eyes.

This, workers in the industry say, is not a new thing. The Zausner clique in power has been doing the same stunt regularly but never was it done with such brutal frankness. Protesting workers insisted that hundreds of ballots were simply not counted, that hundreds of others repeated with clocklike regularity until a sufficient lead for the machine had been run up and that there was no way for an effective challenge because the machine controlled the tellers.

Charges of intimidation were numerous. A particularly clever stunt worked upon opponents of the administration was the following: when these entered the voting place their membership card would be stamped and they would be immediately hustled out thru the rear door with the assurance that the stamping of the book constituted a vote. Some one of the machine then probably proceeded to place a marked ballot into the box. Many workers complained of this procedure.

Opposition candidates and workers complained bitterly against the police stationed at the polling stations. They all seem to have worked hand in glove with the Zausner machine. On complaints of irregularities or beatings they would simply turn their backs upon the complainant.

No announcement has yet been made whether the opposition forces intend to take the election challenge into the local unions. There is no question but they can secure widespread support among the workers since the Zausner gang, supported and assisted by the Jewish Daily Forward, is cordially hated and is considered to be one of the worst racketeering groups in the unions here in New York.

The sentiment for a strike was quite strong among the soft coal miners, especially is this true in such unorganized fields as the Trick mines of western Pennsylvania. Here the miners had hoped to utilize the general strike for making a sweeping drive thru the captive mines. But this is not to be since it is almost a certainty now that there will be no general strike.

At the moment the United Mine Workers Union finds itself in a difficult spot. Most of the operators have already accumulated a tremendous coal reserve to last them at least 2 months even if a strike were called. Under such circumstances any called strike would have to from the very start prepare for a long siege.

In a number of districts, workers, disgusted with Lewis' temporizing are calling conferences to discuss the calling of a strike.

Coughlin Invades Trade Union Field

DETROIT, Mich.—Father Coughlin is trying out a new angle in his propaganda which is preparing the ground for a fascist movement. Speaking before the Automotive Industrial Workers Association, an organization claiming 9,000 members in the various units of the Chrysler Corporation, he called for a real campaign to improve conditions of the auto workers but at the expense not only of the auto manufacturers but also of the auto buyers.

Of course he still raved and ranted against the bankers but any campaign for improvements which would lift half the burden from the manufacturers is perfectly all right with the bosses. It is possible that the bosses are rushing in Coughlin because of the widespread desires among the workers for a fight for better conditions.

Hartford Labor Unions Organize Labor Party

HARTFORD, Conn.—The Central Labor Union has issued a call for a conference to organize a Labor Party. Calls have gone out to locals thruout the State.

AGE SUSTAINING FUND GETS GOOD SEND-OFF

First Returns Encouraging, But Drive Must Be Speeded To End By August First

The drive for \$1500 to keep the Workers Age as a weekly has begun with a bang. The response to the drive from the New York units of our organization has been more than satisfactory as a beginning. But this drive must be spread out to include all our organizations in the country and all friends of the Workers Age.

Comrades and friends get busy now. The \$1500 must be raised by the end of July. Send your contribution now to Workers Age, 51 West 14 Street, New York City.

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED (As of June 27, 1935)

Sarha Gross	\$5.00
Nora Gray	15.00
Beatrice Evans	4.00
J. Gissing	5.00
Abe Bail	2.00
K. Sharp	20.00
Bessie Young	10.00
B. Schlachter	\$5.00
Joe Rosen	5.00
J. Titielsky	.50
H. Linn	5.00
G. Gerson	1.00
B. Solomon	5.00
I. Haasenberg	2.00
Robert Payne	\$5.00
Jennie Silverman	5.00
June Winters	10.00
Lawrence Davis	5.00
Dimitroff and Pope	25.00
Joe Kaufman	3.00
Lou Kane	\$5.00

Morris Miller	\$10.00
Frances and Harry Fox	5.00
J. S.	1.00
Barney Enly	2.00
G. Phillips	5.00
Mary Shaines	2.00
Jennie Kaye	1.00
Eta Greene	2.00
B. Lifshitz	10.00
B. Schwartz	1.50
Leo Al	1.00
George Halpern	5.00
Rose Brill	2.00
E. Frances	2.00
M. Martin	5.00
A. Epstein	25.00

Total\$222.00

PICNIC

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Get off at 238 Street and take Bus
to the Park.

SOVIET ECONOMY AND FOREIGN POLICY

This is the fifth in a series of articles by Jay Lovestone on "Soviet Foreign Policy and the World Revolution." Back issues containing the first four articles may be obtained thru Workers Age—Editor.

By JAY LOVESTONE

The general line of economic policy pursued by the C.P.S.U. is not new. It is a policy long ago sketched for the Bolshevik party by its leader, Lenin. Stalin is neither to be condemned nor commended for it. At best, his contribution is a firm adherence to this line coupled with a vigorous hand in its execution. In corroboration of our viewpoint, we cite from an address by Lenin to the Academy of Science on April 6, 1918 entitled "Outline of Scientific and Technical Work."

"The Academy of Science, which has commenced on the systematic study and investigation of the natural productive forces of Russia, must immediately be instructed by the Supreme Council of National Economy to set up a number of committees composed of specialists, for the purpose of drawing up a plan for the speediest possible reorganization of industry and the economic revival of Russia. . . .

"A most rational plan from the standpoint of the latest and the largest industries and particular trusts, for the amalgamation and concentration of production in a few very large enterprises. . . .

"A plan that will guarantee to the widest possible extent the Russian Soviet Republic in its present state (without Ukraine and without the territory occupied by the Germans), the ability independently to supply itself with all the most important items of raw materials. . . .

"To devote particular attention to the electrification of industry and transport and the application of electricity in agriculture. . . .

"Water power and wind motive power should be utilized in general and also in agriculture. . . .

To Lenin even the military occupation of one of the most naturally endowed sections of the Soviet Republic was not a drawback for initiating the economic reconstruction along socialist lines. Those who see "capitalist restoration" in this economic progress, those who see in this "capitalist restoration" the raison d'être for "capitalist aims" in the foreign policies of the U.S.S.R., apparently do not know from a crisis of the bourgeoisie ideologists, however, know better and sense the social implications. For instance, Nicholas Murray Butler, President, Columbia University, has thus sized up the recent trend in the U.S.S.R. . . .

"And what are our institutions doing to meet the challenge?"

No one claims that we now have communism. In fact, the road to socialism, the doing well on the road to socialism, are still quite some distance from a socialist society in the U.S.S.R.—despite exaggerated claims made by Stalin in the heat of factional controversy. The Communist Party of the United States, leading the Soviet government, has very properly sought to utilize all the technical progress achieved by capitalism and the best technical talent of the bourgeois countries. These efforts have been made possible and facilitated by the real growth and strength of the U.S.S.R. and the other countries. These efforts and relations have served to enhance and not to undermine the socialist character of the socio-economic setup inside the U.S.S.R. and the weight of the Socialist Republic outside its borders.

HOW SOVIETS GAIN

A prominent German manufacturer who, in the days when Trotsky was Commissar of Foreign Concessions, ran a concession in the U.S.S.R., bears witness as follows:

"We are traitors to our class. We are helping Communist Russia in capitalistic technique. We are serving a Frankenstein monster which some day will devour our class through the world."

And Professor Sombart, the well-known anti-Marxist, discussing "The Future Economic Development of Western Europe" before the Social Science Association in Zurich, was compelled to go even further. "The domination of capitalism is nearing its end. A new economic system is arising." On what basis do these capitalists and their economists arrive at their conclusion? Let us hear from Professor Calvin B. Hoover, who has spent some years studying the U.S.S.R., as a critic. Examining "The Soviet Challenge to Capitalism," Professor Hoover pointed out even as far back as 1930 that:

"At the present time Soviet industry has reached an entirely new stage in its development. For the first time, a considerable part of production is being carried on with mechanical equipment which has been provided by a socialist economy. It is

Changes In Diplomacy Are Determined By Economic Position

now being demonstrated that such a socialist economy can not only operate with modern equipment inherited from capitalism, but can also carry on the necessary social saving and construction required to replace and augment that equipment." (Harper's Magazine, October, 1930).

LOOKING INTO AN INDICTMENT

None of these experts has been able to comprehend or even recognize the significance of the fact that while capitalism is worst off in agriculture (where it is able to make giant headway here. This phenomenon has inestimable import for the economics and politics of the whole world. But some of the hyper-critical such as 46-clincher revolutionary names as "International Bolshevik-Leninists Left Communists" (affiliated with the French, Spanish, Belgian, etc. sections of the Second International), jump on the C.P.S.U. for precisely this achievement.

"The U.S.S.R. is engaged in dangerous maneuvers in its foreign policies in order to get the means whereby it can hasten its becoming self-sufficient and then draw itself still further away from the world proletariat. . . . This is a masterpiece of cunning. . . . The U.S.S.R. there were Soviets, let us say in Germany, Japan, Poland, Rumania, etc. adjoining it, such efforts at self-sufficiency would not be necessary for the U.S.S.R. either from the viewpoint of its economic self-interest or its military defense. . . .

No international division of labor can take place without more proletarian revolutions. National division of labor is, therefore, forced upon the U.S.S.R. The C.P.S.U. very correctly and very effectively has, even in the face of this great obstacle, been stimulating proletarian revolutions elsewhere by demonstrating in life the superiority of the socialist organization of economy over the capitalist mode of production and exchange.

"But to justify the logic of their own fallacious major premise, these "super-revolutionists", declare that the "degeneration of Soviet foreign policy naturally flows from the Thermidorian degeneration of the C.P.S.U., desperately trying to hold on to the U.S.S.R. . . . Being in their hearts and minds against building socialism in this one, specific, particular country, called the U.S.S.R. and occupying one-sixth of the earth, the Trotskyites deny that socialism is actually being built here. . . .

"It is necessary that a comparison of the business results of the management of individual communes becomes should be welcomed and encouraged. The American Federation of Labor leader . . . was possible to avert disastrous and disturbing international exchange developments. . . .

LENIN ANSWERS THE CRITICS

Such criticism is not new. It was leveled against Lenin by some highly self-esteeming pure and simple. . . .

"Socialism not only does not extinguish competition but on the contrary creates for the first time the possibility of applying it on a real scale, on a really mass scale, of really drawing the vast majority of toilers into work in which they can develop their abilities, which can reveal talent among the people that has never been tapped and that capitalist and bourgeois workers who are struggling in thousands and millions. . . .

"Only now has the possibility for wide and really mass display of enterprise, competition and bold initiative been created. . . .

"Now that a socialist government is in power, it is our task to organize competition." (Our emphasis). . . .

"Every social order (slave-holding, feudal, capitalist) had its own methods and practices of compulsory labor and labor-training in the interests of the exploiting classes. . . .

"Expulsions of workers because of political belief has proven to be disastrous for the trade union movement, especially in this true in the needle trade industry. Such actions grow into bitter fights between workers and workers to be advanced by the employers. . . .

"In addition to the agitational-ideological influence on the laboring masses and repressions as far as injured parasites, shirkers and disorganizers are concerned, competition

is a powerful force making for increased productivity of labor. In capitalist society competition bore the character of rivalry and led to the exploitation of man by man. In a society where the means of production are nationalized, competition in labor must necessarily, with the fringing of solidarity, be the sum total of the products of labor. Competition between factories, districts, shops, departments and individual workers must be made the subject of careful organization and attentive study on the part of the trade unions and economic organs." (Our emphasis).

TWO-FOLD PROBLEM BEFORE US

Too many comrades look upon the revolution as a simple one-act process. They forget the various stages of development. They are not aware of the new types of work revolutionists must undertake after the proletariat has taken power. This failure to distinguish between the "destructive" and "constructive" phases of the whole revolutionary process has led many workers to the falsest conclusions. . . .

"In order to win, in order to establish and consolidate socialism, the proletariat must solve a two-fold or rather a biune problem. In the first place, to carry with it the whole mass of toilers and of the exploited by its self-sacrificing heroism in a revolutionary struggle against capital, to carry the mass with it, to organize it, to lead it in order to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to put down completely all resistance on its part. . . .

"This second task is more difficult than the first. It can be realized only by the heroism of a single outburst of enthusiasm, but requires a most strenuous heroism in the day-to-day work among the masses. . . .

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Nelson Scores Woll's Anti-Red Drive

The following statement was issued by Louis Nelson, Manager of the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union in reply to the declaration of Matthew Woll barring Communists and Socialists from the American Federation of Labor unions.

"Any attempt to bar workers from membership in the American Federation of Labor unions for their political beliefs is directly opposed to the best interests of trade unionism. All who are sincerely interested in promoting the growth and strength of the trade union movement should vigorously and energetically oppose this policy. . . .

"Many A. F. of L. Locals and Central Bodies have gone on record calling for the removal of Matthew Woll because of his affiliation to the National Civic Federation, yet the A. F. of L. leadership condones this and takes no steps to remove Woll. . . .

"The Senate passed, on June 19, an amendment to the Social Security program which 'is said seriously jeopardizes the compulsory old age pension section' (N. Y. Times). . . .

"Recent news dispatches and items reveal that the franc was saved from complete collapse by the Trust Co., a Morgan bank, and by the U. S. Treasury. This was achieved by heavy purchase of the declining franc for conversion into gold. . . .

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pendence by means of paying a certain tribute to foreign capital." . . .

Fortunately, this period "of paying a certain tribute to foreign capital" is practically gone by now. In none of its foreign policies since the death of Lenin has the Soviet government gone back on a single prerequisite laid down by the founder of the Bolshevik Party. . . .

"Labor productivity is, in the final analysis, the prime and most important factor in the triumph of the new social order. Capitalism has created a degree of labor productivity unknown to serfdom. Capitalism can be finally overthrown and will be finally overthrown by the fact that socialism will create a new and much higher productivity of labor. . . .

"Communism means a higher labor productivity than capitalism. . . .

"In order to win, in order to establish and consolidate socialism, the proletariat must solve a two-fold or rather a biune problem. . . .

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The ECONOMIC WEEK

The coal strike that threatened to break in past weeks has influenced the business index to the extent of reversing the main downward trend. . . .

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Some time ago Workers Age carried a number of articles by Will Herberg on some of Sidney Hook's misconceptions of proletarian dictatorship. . . .

judicious reader to decide whether I have dealt unfairly with Dr. Hook in this respect. . . .

"The most glaring 'falsification' of which Dr. Hook accuses me is in connection with his proposal to replace the term 'dictatorship of the proletariat' by 'workers democracy'. . . .

"I am sorry to say that I am utterly unable to follow Dr. Hook in his strictures upon my methods of quotation and 'accent'. . . .

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JOIN the Communist Opposition

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PROFESSOR HOOK LOSES HIS TEMPER

By Will Herberg

Concluding Remarks On Hook's Misconception Of Dictatorship

judicious reader to decide whether I have dealt unfairly with Dr. Hook in this respect. . . .

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may be quite true in capitalist society where the masses of the workers are under bourgeois influence; naturally they don't know their own interests. . . .

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the German Soviets in December 1918 were organs of proletarian dictatorship also both were democratically elected, authentic expressions of workers democracy. . . .

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its program or will it continue to hold to the conviction that its line is for the best even if it means that the former answer means to sacrifice all political reason on the altar of a mystical democratic faith. . . .

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JULY 6, 1935.

Roosevelt Election Maneuver

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT is now engaged in some cheap and petty maneuvering. All his noise about the tax program, which has been so inappropriately labeled by the big capitalist press as a "Soak-the-Rich Plan", is just that much election campaign preparation and nothing more.

The very suddenness with which he came forward with the program showed he was playing a game, the ordinary game of election politics. When some of the progressives in the Senate showed signs of taking him seriously, he dropped the word that he meant to push thru his tax schedule in this session. In order to lend some tinge of truth to this, he even had some of his Senate whips issue declarations to the effect that the President's proposed tax plan would be enacted into law within a few days. Of course, all this time the President was well aware of the fact that the very mechanics of the Congressional mills would not permit such speedy action.

We entertain the most serious doubts whether the President really wants his tax program passed in the present session of Congress. We are much more inclined to think that he is playing with the whole idea in order to use it as campaign material and to pose as a progressive in the coming elections.

As to the very character of the tax program, we can only repeat what we have said time and again: There is nothing revolutionary or radical about the new tax schedules proposed by Roosevelt for multi-millionaires and huge corporations. Every good-sized capitalist country has, for years, had higher levels than those contemplated by the President. Wall Street and Big Business the country over are steadily getting adjusted to such prospects of higher taxation. They have begun to realize that in the interest of preserving the very system out of which they are profiting so much it is necessary for them to cough up a bit more. After all, it does cost money to maintain a huge army and navy to defend markets abroad and to sustain a giant government bureaucracy to preserve law and order against the workers at home. Such taxation schedules are viewed by many of the more so-called socially minded bourgeoisie as insurance premiums.

In this sense, W. N. Kiplinger, prominent business writer of Washington, spoke frankly before the Graduate School of Banking of the American Bankers Association at Rutgers University the other day: "The President's new tax program now at issue in Congress is the sort of thing we must expect over the long pull: heavy death taxes, heavy income taxes, . . . heavier taxes on large profits of large corporations."

Those who do so much yelling against heavier taxation on the recipients of higher income also forget that the great majority of the people of this country, the already poor and the about to be poor, are themselves paying huge levies in taxation. Witness the widespread use of the sales tax; witness the heavy burdens imposed on the average worker thru the processing taxes on agricultural products.

THIS whole problem brings to light some important trends in American economic development accentuated by the "remedies" introduced by the chief New Dealer. The trend towards concentration of capital, the trend towards increasing impoverishment of the masses—scientifically put, the increasing misery of the masses—has been much accelerated by the New Deal. A report just issued by Leon Henderson, who headed the Division of Research and Planning of the NRA for over a year, confirms this evaluation of ours to the hilt. Mr. Henderson says: "While laborers participated fully in the decline in national income, those receiving dividends and interest found their income not only increased faster than national income during the boom, but declined less than national income during the depression."

Mr. Henderson's report points out specifically that from 1925 to 1929, so-called prosperity years, wages rose 20 per cent, while dividends and interest payments rose 65 per cent. During the depression years dividends and interest fell considerably less than labor income. In 1932 wages were at most 65 per cent of the scales prevailing in 1923-1925.

Director Henderson dares not tackle what he calls "the implications for theory and for policy of these facts," because it involves issues "too controversial." What Henderson means is obvious on the surface. The issues involve the whole class structure of capitalist society. Higher taxes on the rich, even when coupled with a consistent reduction of taxes on the income payer in the lower brackets, at best scratch only the surface of the whole problem. This "remedy" does not really alter the fundamental class relations of the exploiter and exploited. Worse than that, the Government constantly resorts to practices which more than counteract the effects of higher taxation. For instance, the government, as indicated in the report of Mr. Henderson "doled out by the billion, funds in order to keep inflated structures from being put thru the wringer at a time when payrolls had come down to less than half."

AGAIN, crushing evidence of the inability of the capitalist government in the U. S. to meet the basic problems of the crisis is afforded us by the latest statistics on unemployment just made public by the National Industrial Conference Boards, an employer organization.

According to the NICB, the total unemployed in May is 5.5 per cent above the same period of last year. This aggregation of open-shop statisticians confesses that there are in the U. S. today at least 9,711,000 jobless, that is, full-time unemployed workers. It is clear from this report that there are actually several million more unemployed in the U. S., even after three years of "recovery" and after all the numerous and hectic efforts of the New Deal.

No one should waste a moment taking seriously the "radical" character of the administration's schemes. Mr. Sibley, head of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, has just come out in favor of the "Utility Control Bill" now before the House. At the Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce, just closed in Paris, the American delegates, such outstanding industrialists and bankers as Thomas J. Watson and Rudolph S. Hecht, President of the American Bankers Association, heaped lavish praise on and paid the warmest "tribute to the President's efforts and achievements" in improving conditions at home and stabilizing world economic relations in general.

It is high time that the working class and poor farmers of this country should cease relying on the "radical" measures of Roosevelt and his Democratic Party; it is more than about time that the working masses in the urban and rural areas should join hands and form a political party of their own, completely distinct from and entirely opposed to the parties of big capital—the Democratic and Republican Parties. This is the first and most important lesson that American Labor must learn from all the President's maneuvers, from all the efforts of the administration—in fact, from the entire economic crisis.

EUROPE TODAY

(Continued from Page 1)

going to Paris in order to pacify France. Italy sees eye to eye with France on this problem. Japan has declared that it has no objections against the German demands but wished to maintain fully its own demands for equality with the English and American fleet.

Why does England seem to meet Germany half way? The reason for this is to be found in the Far Eastern situation. England is attempting to disrupt the



Books of the Age

by Bertram D. Wolfe

THE DOCTOR'S BILL, by Doctor Hugh Cabot. Columbia University Press. 313 pp. \$3.00.

(Reviewed by Dr. Harry Bail)
There are in the U.S.A. 500,000 physicians, dentists, nurses, druggists and probably another 500,000 employed in the hospitals, medical colleges, boards of health, sanitation etc. There are 7,000 hospitals whose maintenance per year costs one billion dollars (1931). Capital investment is over 3 billion dollars making this industry fifth in the list of capital investment (Iron and Steel, textiles, chemical and allied industries, food, have higher capital investments). Over three and a half billion dollars were spent for medical care in the U.S. in 1931. The subject of this book is an important one!

The name of the book "The Doctor's Bill" is a misnomer. "The Tragedy of Medicine Under Capitalism" would have been a far more appropriate name since the main portion of the book is devoted to a study of forms of medical care best suited to the needs of the population.

One must admit that Dr. Cabot did not follow the footsteps of his prominent colleagues who write solely from the point of view of their narrow economic interests dressed up in such altruistic phrases as "service to suffering humanity", "personal relation between doctor and patient" and "medical ethics", which will supposedly be destroyed under new arrangements for medical care.

Dr. Cabot fearlessly blasts all this talk as false and pretentious. I fully agree with the author when he maintains that the ordinary general practitioner has neither the ability nor the equipment for a good periodic health examination which in most cases involves a complete blood examination, urinalysis, X-rays and the opinion of a consultant. This involves an expense which only the rich can meet. Any other examination is practically worthless and perhaps even dangerous since it gives the patient a sense of false security.

The author exposes the reactionary character of the American Medical Association—the mouthpiece of organized medicine—when it cries out against "Sovietized Medicine" to scare into silence the defenders of socialized medicine. He points out that many doctors' organization actually work against any extension of child health service in the schools because it deprives them of their fees. Actually this amounts to undermining the health of the nation, for the masses cannot pay for private care.

What is the trouble with the present system of "Rugged Individualism" in

medicine? Dr. Cabot has the right answer when he says that we have in the U.S. a medical personnel capable of delivering medical service superior to that of any other country, but the tragedy lies in the fact that it is not obtainable for the masses since only 10% of our population has a sufficient income to pay for proper medical care.

What should be done about it? Here Dr. Cabot is severely disappointing. It is undoubtedly the weakest part of the book. He analyzes the merits of various plans for medical care—voluntary insurance, compulsory insurance and others practiced in Germany, Denmark and Great Britain—but completely ignores the Soviet Union where socialized medicine exists long enough to have proved its superiority over all other plans.

To the intelligent reader the solution is very simple: only socialized medicine can serve the needs of the people. This Dr. Cabot does not choose to see, thereby marred what would otherwise be a distinct contribution in the discussion of socialized medicine.

REHOUSING URBAN AMERICA, by Henry Wright. Columbia University. 173 pp. Profusely illustrated.

"How all occasions do inform against me," capitalism might say with Hamlet; for here is a study of the housing problem by one of America's outstanding architects, which, without intending it, presents an indictment of the present social order.

Wright approaches his subject as a technical expert interested in the practical problem of explaining what's wrong with bad dwellings, and offering plans, budget costs, and structural and community requirements for good housing. But a realistic sense of the problems involved compels him to see that they are not individual and local but general and social in character.

"Our slums," he declares, "are among the world's worst." They have grown up as a result of the lack of social planning, the wholesale erection of buildings of a grossly inferior type, the speculation in dwellings and real estate, the poverty of great numbers of our people.

He tries in vain, to believe his own theory that the solution awaits "only correct analysis and good planning." But his realism and his practical experiences get the better of his thesis.

As research worker for the New York Housing Board in 1928 and the President's Housing Conference in 1931 he discovered that "correct analysis and good planning" are blocked by "an investment" attitude toward the problem. "They (the Housing Boards and Authorities—B.D.W.) have been more concerned with 'saving' the slums as a form of property investment than with eradicating them . . ." The housing reform he dreams of "is held back chiefly because our foolish timidity in placing property rights above the public welfare makes it possible for a few owners to hold up the agency attempting the assembly of the adequate sites."

The book is richly and informatively illustrated with charts of slum growth, studies of group projects like Sunnyside Gardens (of which Wright was one of the planners) Radburn, Chatham Village, German and Swiss group dwellings, etc. But such garden cities can neither become general nor accessible to the masses as long as there is private property in land, speculation, poverty that requires "an increased income or city subsidy" to supplement its rental capacity, lack of social conscience and social planning. The slum-planner and slum-builder and the persistent and powerful obstructor of slum-clearance is capitalism itself.

REBELLIOUS FRASER'S, by Miriam Thrall. Columbia University Press. 332pp. \$3.00.

A study of the British magazine known as Fraser's, its editor and contributors, its crusades and criticism literary, political and social.

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By GEORGE F. MILES

Now that the Fur Workers Industrial Union is liquidated by official decree, signed by Ben Gold and distributed in the fur market on June 17, we cannot refrain from citing a number of leaflets of the Industrial Union to show the marvellous "consistency" and brilliant "foresight" which these leaders—God's gift to the furriers—showed in the course of the last few months.

"You will not fight the bosses and the gangsters—because you will not bite the hand that feeds you", says the Industrial Union to the Joint Council in Bulletin No. 3, January 1935.

"Demonstrate YOUR loyalty to YOUR Joint Council and to YOUR A. F. of L. International Fur Workers Union . . ." says the leaflet of June 17.

The choice between the Industrial Union and the Joint Council means to take a stand "For the workers, or for the bosses" and "For a workers union, or a gangsters' and grafters' union". Bulletin No. 4, January, 1935.

The Joint Council "is your union and your only furriers union, which we must build and strengthen . . ." Leaflet of June 17.

And when the Joint Council pressed for unity in the fur industry it received the following answer: "The Council leaders are aware of the fact that the furriers will never agree to join the Council individually". Bulletin No. 7, March, 1935.

Three months later Ben Gold calls upon the furriers to do precisely that—register individually. The leaflet of June 17 says: "The employed fur workers will go to the Joint Council after working hours to take out union books. . . . Become members of the Joint Council. Let not a single fur worker postpone joining the union. Fulfill your duty as loyal union workers."

In Bulletin No. 8, April 1935, the Industrial Union rejects any further talk of unity and tells the fur workers that "NOW MORE THAN EVER WE CALL UPON ALL FUR WORKERS TO HELP STRENGTHEN AND SUPPORT THE INDUSTRIAL UNION."

In the leaflet of June 17, two months later, we read: "THE FUR WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO LONGER FUNCTIONS. ALL FUR WORKERS WITHOUT ANY EXCEPTIONS ARE CALLED UPON TO BECOME MEMBERS OF THE JOINT COUNCIL AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE". And the leaflet closes with the slogan: "Forward to victories under the banner of our only furriers' union, the International Fur Workers Union of the United States and Canada of the A. F. of L."

S. P.-ers Go Left

Tom A., of Detroit, writes in to tell us that at a recent conference of members of the Socialist Party in the automobile industry, there was strong sentiment for a proposal providing that if Dillon is elected to head the national union of auto workers, all locals controlled by the Socialist Party secede and organize a new union.

Proving what we have constantly maintained, that ultra-left insanities are not specific C.P. diseases. The S.P. has committed mad-cap leftist ventures before and will again unless the constructive revolutionary forces see to it that a new trade union policy is worked out, breaking sharply with the bureaucracy, which the S.P. has supported so consistently for years, and drawing the line against dual unionism. The progressives in the trade unions would welcome such a course.

Waiting For "Lefty"

Everybody in the S. P. is talking Labor Party. Everybody is for a Labor Party and yet there is greatest opposition precisely there. We know that a number of outstanding trade union leaders, members of the Socialist Party, have told the S.P. in so many words that it better go slow on the Labor Party. They want to see what Franklin D. Roosevelt is going to do.

Now we begin to understand what Norman Thomas meant when he said that the S.P. appears to be no more than an appendage to the Roosevelt kite.

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friendly relationship between Japan and Germany which is hampering England in its commercial transactions in Europe as well as in the Far East. This also accounts for the gesture of sending members of the British legion to Germany.

BENES GOES TO MOSCOW

The trip of Benes, Foreign minister of Czechoslovakia, to Moscow has had

the following important results:

1. Benes is taking the initiative in promoting the conclusion of a pact between the Soviet Union and the other two states of the Little Entente (Roumania, and Jugoslavia). The most important thing is the conclusion of a treaty with Roumania which would render the Czecho-Soviet treaty effective in the military sense since the military forces of the Soviet Union cannot otherwise gain access to Czechoslovakian territory.

2. The Soviet Union has declared itself ready to support the position of the Little Entente on the question of the Danube pact (conclusion of mutual assistance pacts to guarantee the independence of Austria).

It is important to state what Benes did not get in Moscow. The Czechoslovakian press had announced previous to Benes' trip to Moscow that he would demand the same guarantees in reference to national defense that Laval had gotten from Stalin. Such a statement was not given. We believe that this was not accidental.