

FOR COMMUNIST
UNITY IN THE
REVOLUTIONARY
CLASS STRUGGLE!

THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE

WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES
UNITE!

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING
THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS

ISSUED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY
(Majority Group)

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Big China Loan To Tighten U. S. Grip

Senate Committee Scheme To Stabilize The Nanking Clique and Win China Market for Wall Street

PLAN TO BRING OPPRESSION AND WAR DANGER

WASHINGTON.—The proposal for a huge silver loan to the Nanking government in China, about which semi-official rumors were current here some weeks ago, was presented on February 11 to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations by a special subcommittee of five, two Democrats, two Republicans and one Farmer-Laborite. The report was unanimous. The chief proposal of the report is that "a silver pool or fund be established by governments having important relations with China, from the proceeds of which the Nationalist government of China would obtain loans of silver for coinage, the coinage to be spent chiefly on an ambitious road building program of the Nationalist authorities." It is provided that "the distribution of the money would be supervised by representatives of the pool." It is proposed that a part of the half-billion silver fund in the U. S. treasury be loaned to China for coinage purposes.

China were 27% down from the same period in 1929 and U. S. imports from China were 36% less. The Senatorial sub-committee declares that the silver loan would have the effect of restoring political, social and economic stability in China. "There must be work provided in China," the report declares, "for there will be continuous war." The Nationalist government comes in for high praise which is endorsed "as a good government and satisfactory to American citizens engaged in commercial relations with China."

The proposal for a huge silver loan to Chiang Kai-shek by the United States is the principal part of a planned offensive of Wall Street for complete hegemony in China. It is a plan, on the one hand, to strengthen the Nanking government (which is the chosen agent of American imperialism) and make its influence dominant throughout China, and, on the other hand, to make Chiang Kai-shek completely subservient to Wall Street.

From an economic viewpoint the plan is to seize a tight hold of the incalculably valuable Chinese market for the United States and so help overcome the discrepancy between productive capacity and marketing possibilities that lies at the root of the present economic crisis. Of course such a solution of the crisis would be made at the expense of the Chinese workers and farmers who would be surrendered even more thoroughly than today to the tender mercies of the huge American banks and financial houses, than whom no more ruthless exploiters exist in the whole world.

Finally the proposal of the Senate sub-committee is aimed at the revolutionary movement in town and country which all of the murderous brutalities of Chiang Kai-shek have not succeeded in repressing.

It is clear that the plan of the Senate sub-committee will meet with great response on the part of Great Britain and Japan since it is aimed to a large extent in destroying the influence of these powers in China and in establishing the undisputed hegemony of Yankee imperialism. The U. S. government is planning to meet this resistance by proposing to "invite" other powers to participate in the loan—playing second fiddle, of course to the United States.

LIBERAL, LABOR IN COMMONS PACT

Premier In Empty Move To Meet Liberals; Lloyd George Reciprocates

MASS MISERY GROWS

LONDON.—A liberal resolution calling on the government to adopt "far-reaching measures of national development to alleviate unemployment" carried in the House of Commons on February 12 without a division. Specifically the resolution mentions "housing improvements, high-way construction, reclamation of lands, development of electric and telephone systems and other similar projects". The expense incurred by such measures, it is proposed, should be met "by inviting subscriptions to public loans from capital sources, which now await investment, service of such loans to be provided partly out of economies in national expenditures, partly from the road fund and partly by taxes on increased land values created by improvements carried out under the schemes of national development."

In supporting this motion Premier MacDonald executed the remarkable parliamentary feat of adopting a friendly attitude towards the Liberal schemes for large public expenditures without running counter to the "economy ultimatum" laid down by Philip Snowden, Chancellor of the Exchequer, the day before. For that reason the passage of the Liberal measure was a mere political gesture intended to cement closer the ties of the Labor government and the Labor party. It is not expected to have the least effect on the unemployment situation. David Lloyd George, leader of the Liberals, did his share in strengthening the Liberal-Labor bloc by declaring that the Liberal and Labor unemployment programs were practically "identical." Indeed Mr. Lloyd George's enthusiasm for the Labor government was so great that the rumor was passed around that he was thinking of declaring himself a socialist and winning away the leadership of the Labor forces from MacDonald!

In the meantime, while MacDonald and Lloyd George are manœvering in parliamentary strategy, unemployment is mounting by leaps and bounds in England. In the short period of the rule of the Labor government it has doubled! And now, Chancellor of the Exchequer Snowden in his programmatic speech threatens the cutting down, perhaps even the abolition, of the unemployment doles.

LONDON.—The Earl of Bessborough, leading figure in the British business world, has been appointed Governor General of Canada in succession of Earl Willington, the new Viceroy of India.

SOVIETS START SOWING DRIVE

All Agricultural Experts Mobilized for Campaign of Spring Sowing

MOSCOW, Feb. 12.—A vigorous step was taken today in the mobilization of labor in the Soviet Union and in preparations for the spring sowing campaign with the announcement that all State administrations, factories and other enterprises, except those engaged in agricultural machine production, must within three days make a list of all agricultural technicians—agronomists, veterinarians, agrarian co-operators and engineers—and place at least 60 per cent of them at the State's disposal for two months' work on the Spring-sowing campaign.

Only elderly men and women and invalids with physicians' certificates are exempt under the order. Further the decree speaks of "mobilization points" to which the specialists will be directed for work on State and collective farms. The order applies to students of both sexes in agricultural colleges, engineering courses and the like.

"Service" will last two months or longer if required, but not beyond the first of May, and delinquents, whether administrations or individuals, will be held responsible.

Those concerned, will receive their full existing salaries or students' allowances, plus traveling and living expenses on quite a generous scale. Such workers will be paid by the administration, factory or educational department where they are now engaged and, of course, their job or class seniority will be assured them when their service ends.

JOBLESS GROW 2.5% IN N. Y.

Factory employment in New York State showed a drop of 2.5% in January, lowering the employment index to 75.5, according to the report of State Industrial Commissioner Frances Perkins. The growth of unemployment was described as general in nearly all lines. In October 1929 the index stood 100. The New York City drop in factory employment was greater than that of the average for the State, decreasing 4 per cent. Utica showed a reduction of 8 per cent, due mainly to the poor textile business, while the Albany-Troy-Schenectady district and Syracuse each showed a decline of 3 per cent in employment for the month.

You Must Help The AGE

The United States Post Office Department is again on the war-path against the Revolutionary Age. It deliberately holds up and delays the mailing of our paper in order to destroy us. Papers mailed on Tuesday or Wednesday are being held up and not mailed to the subscribers, even in New York City, before Monday of the following week.

This follows upon the heels of its decision, sustained by the Federal Court, to deny the Revolutionary Age second class mailing rights and to bar certain issues entirely from the mail.

We cannot stress too much to our readers and supporters what serious damage this sabotage of the United States Government is to us. In order to help our readers get the Revolutionary Age in time we are now compelled to consider ways and means of delivery which will insure our readers getting the paper without delay. This will mean more expenses to us.

Of course, this only adds to our difficulties. We are urgently imploring all our readers, supporters, and friends to stand by us. Back up your paper to the limit. We are in a very critical situation—facing more hardships than we have had in many a month. This is no "Wolf, wolf" cry. We are in dead earnest. There is only one way we can overcome all the obstacles put in our path by the Post Office Department, all the difficulties which are hindering the development of a mass Communist Party, of a victorious working class in the United States.

We need more subs. We need more donations. Rush us the donation lists we have given you. We need more money and need it badly.

The Revolutionary Age is absolutely broke. You can't get along without it. And the Revolutionary Age can't get along without you. What are you going to say in answer to our appeal? What are you going to do about it?

Act quickly. Give now. And give until it saves your paper and beats back the reactionary capitalist attack on the working class and its fighting press.

HOOVER APPROVES WAGNER BILL

Calls Measure "Admirable" Because It Provides No Jobless Relief

WASHINGTON.—On February 10 President Hoover signed the Wagner bill which provides for "preparations for a reserve for public construction . . . to counteract unemployment in business depressions." President Hoover characterized it as an "admirable piece of legislation."

No wonder President Hoover thinks the Wagner bill is "admirable." It does not destroy the "rugged individualism" of the starving unemployed and their families by offering them relief! That would be undermining the foundations of Americanism. The "American" way, according to President Hoover, is to pass all sorts of laws about "planning" and "commissions" and then, when millions of men and women and children are starving, to refer them to private charity.

Embargo Ordered on Soviet Pulp, Lumber

Mellon Bars U.S.S.R. Goods On "Convict Made" Grounds; Senator Oddie Launches Attack on Soviet Union

U. S. WORKERS MUST DEFEND SOVIET UNION

The months of feverish agitation against the Soviet Union have begun to bear fruit. United States Secretary of Treasury Department, Mellon, has issued an embargo order against the importation of Soviet pulp and lumber. This is exactly what we, in our previous issue, said he would do.

The essence of Mellon's decision forces the importers of Soviet pulp and lumber to show proof that these products are not produced by "convict-labor." The ruling bars the importation of lumber and pulp unless it can be proved by evidence satisfactory to the United States Treasury Department that only "free-labor"

has been in their production, loading, and transportation.

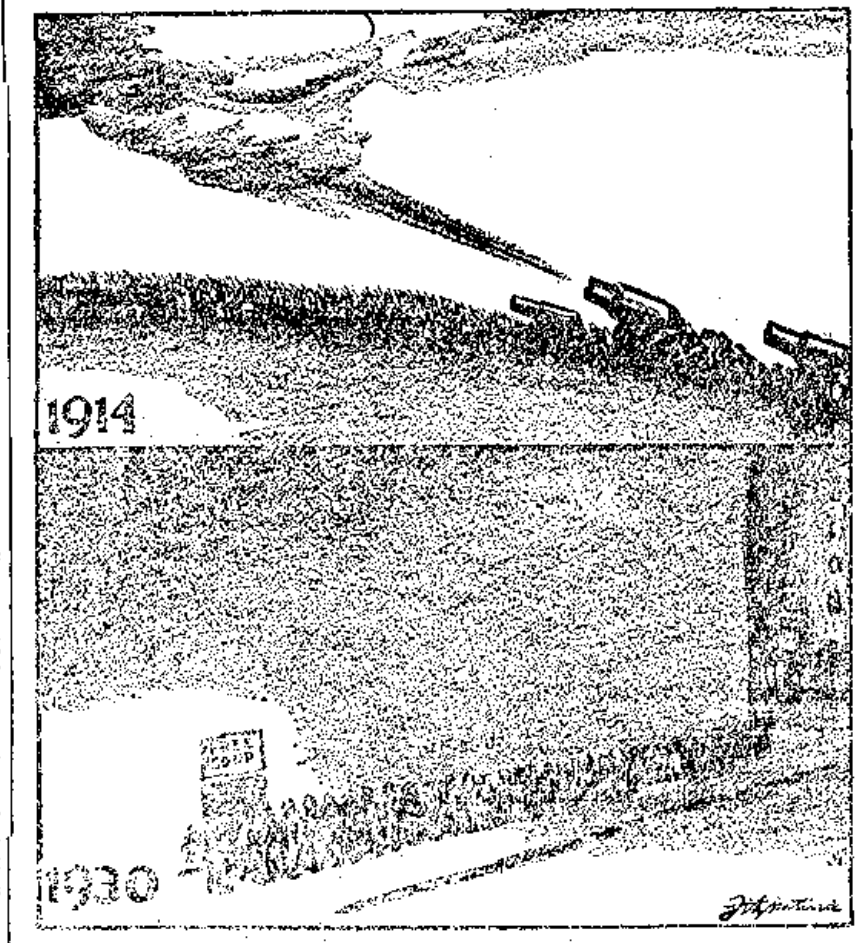
This decision made especially against the Soviet Union runs counter even to the so-called "sacred principles" of American law. It assumes that the importers are guilty of bringing in articles produced by "convict-labor." The whole issue will be taken to court to test the right of the Treasury Department to hand down such decisions.

The blow at the U.S.S.R. by Hoover Administration is being followed up with vigor by other enemies of the Soviet Union. The attacks against the Russian Workers and Farmers Republic are being hidden under cover and pretense of opposition to importation of "convict-made" goods, of articles produced by "forced labor." The House Ways and Means Committee has just approved a bill aiming to restrict still further the importation of "convict" made goods. This Kendall bill defines forced labor as "all work of service which is exacted from any person under menace of any penalty for its non-performance and for which the worker does not offer himself voluntarily." Obviously in this category would fall the labor of certain kulaks (rich peasants) who had never before worked in their life and who are now working much against their will for the first time in their existence. The action of the Treasury Department as well as the object of the Kendall bill aims definitely to aid the Russian kulaks in their resistance to the collectivization program now being pursued so vigorously by the Soviet Government.

Senator Oddie of Nevada, addressing a Lincoln Day meeting in Philadelphia along with Hamilton Fish, Major General Fried, formerly of the Chemical Section of the War Department and Quaker City Mayor Mackey, denounced the working class republic as "organized slavery." He said in part: "There is but one employer, the Soviet Government, which sets the terms and conditions of employment. . . . The central objective of Communism is world revolution and dominance of the world by the establishment of Soviet community monopolies. . . . The Soviet attack on the present economic system has been and is now being intelligently directed against its foundation—the gold standard in the Occident and the Silver standard in the Orient."

Senator Oddie has for years been known as the champion American silver interests in the upper house. He is notorious as a tool of the Western metal interests.

TWO ACTS OF ONE GREAT DRAMA



NAZIS LEAVE REICHSTAG AS BIG FASCIST DRIVE OPENS

Bruening Defeats No-Confidence Moves; Rejects Communist Anti-Young Plan Proposal

BERLIN, Feb. 11.—A tremendous sensation was caused throughout Germany yesterday by the demonstrative walk-out from the Reichstag of the entire Nazi fraction (the National-Socialists, Fascists) accompanied by the members of the German Nationalist party (followers of Hugenburg).

In close formation, (one after the other, the Nazis and their allies left the Reichstag hall a few minutes after opening and before Dr. Curtius, who was to make the foreign policy report, could reach the speaker's platform.

The demonstrative exit of the Fascist forces took place as a result of the Reichstag's adoption of new rules of order the night before calculated to fasten the Bruening dictatorship upon the Reichstag more firmly than ever and to stifle every move of a minority party that may not be pleasing to the Chancellor. These new rules of order had been passed against the votes of the Nazis, the Nationalists, and the Communists.

The real reason for the demonstrative action of the Nazis—the Nationalists say that they will return after the foreign policy debate is over—seems to be the determination of the Fascists to initiate a vigorous nationalist drive outside of parliamentary bounds and to use their sensational exit as a dramatization of this campaign. The morning after they left the Reichstag the Nazis deputies returned to their electoral districts to begin a huge agitation campaign for a national initiative and referendum demanding that President von Hindenburg dissolve the Reichstag on the ground that it has become a dictatorship. The *Voelkische Beobachter*, Hitler's own organ, declared:

"It is clear that the retirement of our deputies is no temporary matter, but the beginning of a new chapter in the history of our campaign for German freedom. A gigantic wave of mass meetings will now sweep over the land."

GITLOW SPEAKS AT I.W.W. FORUM

Communist Leader Calls For Unity of Workers

Ben Gitlow lectured at the I.W.W. Forum at 90 East 10 St. on Sunday night before a packed hall on the subject of the growing capitalist reaction and a program of labor unity to fight against reaction.

In his talk Gitlow attacked recommendations of the Fascist Committee and showed how the capitalists are preparing to take away whatever little rights the workers are permitted in the United States. He linked up the growing capitalist reaction with the war preparations, the drive against every condition of the workers, of which the wage cutting campaign plays such a big role and the schemes of the capitalists for a war against the Soviet Union. He pointed out how the reactionary officialdom of the A. F. of L. were part and parcel of the capitalist reaction and indicated that the present division in the labor movement must be ended (continued on page 2)

THE POPE BROADCASTS ANTI-LABOR MESSAGE TO "ALL CREATION"

Tells Subjects To Be Obedient To Rulers, Poor To Be Content, Workers To Submit To Bosses

VATICAN CITY.—Over the vastest radio hook-up ever made, Pope Pius XI, on February 12, sent a message "to all creation" on the occasion of the ninth anniversary of his enthronement as Supreme Pontiff.

The message, delivered in Latin, was very brief. The Pope addressed himself "to all created things, to God, to the Catholic hierarchy, members of religious orders, to missionaries, to the faithful, to all infidels and dissidents, to rulers and subjects, to rich and poor, to workers and employers, to all afflicted and persecuted persons."

What did the Pope have to say in his Address? What message did the "vicar of Christ on earth" bring to the "subjects", to the "poor", to the "workers"?

"To Subjects: To those who are subjects, we say, be obedient, not as to men, but as to God knowing that he who resisted the power resisted the ordinance of God, and that they who resist, win for themselves damnation."

In other words: Oppressed masses of the world! Obey your rulers and your masters or you will be sent to hell! Don't even dream of winning freedom for yourselves, of ruling yourselves, or you will win for yourselves eternal damnation!

"To the Poor: We earnestly exhort the poor to think of the poverty of Jesus Christ, Our Lord and Savior. We ask them not to neglect what is easier for them, the acquisition of spiritual wealth. . . . Let them not stretch forth their hands to impurity."

HOOVER PREACHES "SELF HELP"

Declares Government Will Deny Relief To Masses

WASHINGTON.—That "individuals and communities should meet this (economic) crisis by their own initiative and by the assumption of their own responsibilities," was the theme of President Hoover's Lincoln Day Address. "The Federal government," he declared, "has sought. . . to avoid the onerous of government charity and the stifling of our national spirit of mutual self-help."

Thus spoke the apostle of "rugged individualism", the champion of the exploiters and oppressors of the American people! "The Federal government has sought to avoid the onerous of government charity!" Yes, it has refused to relieve the desperate starvation of tens of millions of workers and farmers in this country for that would be "un-American government charity." But with the big corporations it has been quite otherwise; here Hoover did not feel that he would undermine the foundations of American life by presenting the big trusts with scores of millions of dollars in tax refunds. In fact that's "mutual self-help"—the big trusts, thyo handy-man, Andy Mellon, help themselves to the public funds!

In the brilliant and devastating article in the Daily Worker of February 10, 1931 Harry Gaines announces to the world:

"What was the situation in 1918-19 in the socialist party? Tens of thousands of workers in the socialist party at that time expressed their solidarity with the Russian revolution, with the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the 21 points of admission into the Communist International. . . . Will some Lenin School student inform our enthusiastic theoretician that the '21 points of admission' were not formulated until the Second Congress of the Comintern which took place in 1920."

USSR WILL BE PRESENT AT PAN-EUROPE MEET

MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.—The Soviet government has notified the League of Nations that it would participate in the work of the commission studying plans for a European federation but that it fully reserves the right to define its attitude towards the commission at a later date.

NAVY SEC'Y URGES NAVAL EXPENSE

Says Hoover for Immediate Passage of \$100,000,000 Big Navy Plan

BUT NO AID TO MASSES

WASHINGTON.—Secretary of the Navy Adams made a special trip to the Capitol on February 12 to "assure" Speaker Longworth that the Hoover Administration wants the \$74,000,000 naval construction bill and the \$30,000,000 modernization program for three battleships enacted before Congress ends its session on March 4.

Arrangements are now being made by the Administration agents to get these two pieces of legislation thru Congress without any delay.

It should be noted that this hundred million dollars naval construction program is the substantial result of the recent London Naval "Disarmament" Conference. It is a good index to what "disarmament" conferences bring—greater armaments, more preparations for war!

The astonishing hurry of the Hoover Administration in getting the \$100,000,000 naval armament appropriation thru Congress should be compared with the Administration's bitter opposition to appropriating a mere \$20,000,000 to save the drought-stricken farmers from starvation. The government has plenty of money, apparently, to build battleships and prepare for war but it cannot afford one cent to aid the starving unemployed and famine-stricken farmers. The workers and farmers of this country ought to learn a lesson from this.

BIG CROWD ATTENDS BRAIN MEET

400 At Meeting of B. P. Youth Club on "Jews in Russia"

Some 400 workers attended the lecture on Friday, February 6, 1931, at Crystal Palace, by Rubin Brainin on "How the Jews Live in Soviet Russia," arranged by the Boro Park Workers Youth Club.

In addition over 100 workers had to be turned away because it was impossible for the speaker on account of his old age to speak loud enough for a bigger crowd. Many of those present, misled "Zionist" workers, for the first time heard a sharp refutation of the lies concerning the "persecution" of Jews in Soviet Russia. When asked for instance why "there is no freedom" in Russia, the speaker answered that it depends on "freedom for whom." Certainly, he said, "there is no freedom to make programs in Russia."

This successful meeting was arranged in spite of the "loyalty" club. They arranged a counter-lecture on the same night and on the same subject with Mr. Epstein as speaker, but to no avail.

The next lecture will be held on Friday, Feb. 27, on "The Near War," by Bertram D. Wolfe, at the Boro Park Workers Youth Club, 4109 13 Avenue, Brooklyn, New York. On Sunday, Feb. 15, at 7 p.m. there will be an entertainment and dance in the club rooms. There will be two bands of music, one jazz band and one for revolutionary songs and Russian dances.

Upholstery Weavers Strike In Kensington, Pa. Mills

A Letter from a Striker

On the second of December, the upholstery manufacturers issued a thirty-day notice to the Upholstery Weavers Local of a 25% reduction in the wages of all their employees. In the following thirty days the conference committee of the local union had many discussions with the bosses but the bosses stood pat on the reduction.

When the weavers received this report they decided to fight the wage-cut. The conference committee proposed that the weavers select an arbitration board but that was voted down. Thru the opposition of the weavers the situation was left in the hands of the conference committee.

At a special meeting of the union local, which was called for the purpose of rescinding the last motion, the union officials proposed that we leave the matter in the hands of an arbitration committee. This the weavers decided to let stand, but they did so quite unwillingly.

The arbitration board that came together consisted of three representatives of the weavers and three of the bosses. Dr. Willits, director of the Industrial Department of the University of Pennsylvania, was to preside as judge and arbitrator.

The result of this arbitration was that a 17% wage cut was to be imposed upon all employees. This agreement was to continue for six months during which a survey of the trade would be made.

When this report was given, Kelly, the vice-president of the United Textile Workers Union tried to induce the workers to accept this proposition. But the workers revolted against this and raised the International as well as the arbitration committee. Vice-president Kelly was unable to influence the weavers to accept this reduction.

The weavers rejected the proposal of the arbitrations committee and a few days later held a meeting to take a strike vote. During this meeting President McMahon, of the International, was asked whether or not the International would endorse the strike. He replied that he would wait until the strike vote was taken. The result of the strike vote was that a two-thirds majority were in favor of striking. When McMahon saw this he warned the workers to think before they moved and asked them to leave the situation in the hands of the International.

They decided to give the International another chance to meet the manufacturers and went back to work under protest. After two weeks a special meeting was called to hear the report of the International. The report was that the bosses stood pat on the reduction and McMahon tried to make the weavers think that they were bound by the arbitration and that the International would not support them on strike.

Then the weavers set the date for a strike which was February 2, at 11 A. M. The International refused to support the weavers and when the bosses were notified of the action decided on a few made a lock-out while the remaining shops went out on strike on the date set. Of twenty-eight shops represented in the union local, seven are still running under the old agreement while the rest are closed. There are pickets, before every shop, up to the present time no scabs have been hired.

The Communists have been quite active in this labor battle and have often snuggled a few of their comrades into the hands of the International.

local meetings. They have already organized a number of shop groups and attempted one mass meeting before the Orinoco Mills where one of them was arrested.

Mark Brake.

SILK STRIKE IN LINDEN MILLS

On February 5, at 10 o'clock, all workers in their Linden silk mills stopped their looms and walked out on strike. The immediate cause of the walk-out was an order by the boss that all weavers must work eleven hours a day—which all the workers refused to do. There had been much dissatisfaction before that with the other conditions in the mills but the workers waited patiently for a proper opportunity to strike. But the fact that one of the workers who refused to work the extra hours was beaten up by the boss's son right inside the mill was the last straw that broke the camel's back.

The militant spirit shown by the workers thruout the strike is a good indication of the spirit of the Paterson silk workers in general and of their readiness to struggle.

Fellow-worker Keller was elected chairman of the strike committee. Two members of the National Textile Workers Union and they followed Keller in all activities.

A list of demands was drawn up: (1) Against the 11-hour day. (2) For a cash yard raise. (3) For a helper and seamstresses in the shop. (4) Against discrimination against union members and active workers.

All of the workers responded in the best of spirits to picketing from 7 o'clock in the morning to 3 o'clock in the afternoon. On Saturday morning the strike was settled after the boss gave in on almost all of the demands. At one of the N.T.W.U. meetings the organizer of the union was present and he was introduced by fellow-worker Keller with an appeal to the workers to join the union.

E. Paterson, N. J.

FACTORY COUNCIL VOTES IN GERMANY SHOW BIG RED LOSS

The ADGB (German AF of L.) has just made public the final and corrected results on the factory council elections in Germany in 1930. These results point to the real depth of the suicidal policy of the Communist Party in boycotting the trade union lists and running separate "Red" lists. The results are:

Councillors	%
Free trade unions	135,689 86.5
Christian trade union	11,232 7.2
Liberal unions	1,561 1.0
"Red" unions, syndicalists	2,347 1.5
Other unions	1,025 0.7
Miscellaneous	4,163 2.7

Of course, among the 135,689 factory councillors elected on the "free" trade union lists there are plenty of Communists, loyalists as well as oppositionists. But these Communists were elected as factory councillors because they violated the instructions of the Communist Party Central Committee not to run on trade union lists but to run on separate "Red" lists.

In the metal industry in which the Communist Party once had just powerful influence the figures are: German Metal Workers Union—22,667 (78.6%), "Red" lists—720 (2.6%)!

"If this means an extra session," shouted Borel, pounding his desk, "let us have it. Let us stay here until every starving child and woman has been taken care of by the government."

We didn't know the government was opening a cemetery!

of masses, mass work, work in the reformist trade unions, fight against "left" phrase-mongering, etc., etc. But all this is merely talk. They still have the slogan of smashing the old trade unions. They propose, for instance, a united front which is in reality a united front with themselves.

The plenum is taking place on Feb. 7 and 8. I will write you again about it. — I. B.

ENGLAND AMERICA SOVIET UNION Britain in 1931

FORUM LECTURE

JAY LOVESTONE

at the New Workers School 63 MADISON AVE.—Cor. 27 St. This Sun. Night at 8 P. M.

Next Sunday: "THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST OPPOSITION"

FARMER DIES OF HUNGER "FOOD"

Texas Family Dead of Poison in Miserable "Food," But No Aid for Farmers

BROWNWOOD, Texas.—A poverty-stricken tenant farmer and two of his children are dead and his wife and three other children are critically ill as a result of poison contained in the miserable "food" to which they had to resort to keep body and soul together.

The dead are H. A. Jones, 40 and two children 8 and 6 years old.

Mr. Jones and his children had died in a "good cause". They died to preserve grand principle of "rugged individualism" and "voluntary charity" as enunciated by President Hoover as primary principles of Americanism. Their lives might have been saved had the government extended public relief to the famine-stricken farmers of this country.

But this—as President Hoover can assure us—would have destroyed the "morale" of Mr. Jones and his family and would have undermined the foundations of this country. Well, Mr. Jones is dead—but the country is saved!

The Youth Movement UNEMPLOYMENT AND CHILD LABOR

by J. L.

In times of crisis and distress, all political tendencies are forced to seek remedies for the difficulties. The most pressing problem today is certainly unemployment. Capitalism finds itself unable and unwilling to alleviate the sufferings of the unemployed. Thousands of futile proposals are made for the solution of the unemployment problem—ranging from selling apples to displacing the snow-clearing machines by the unemployed.

As is usually the case with capitalism, it is unable to take the seemingly most logical and obvious course. What could be more simple than partly to solve the unemployment problem by abolishing child labor? Or why can't the hours of labor of all workers be reduced, and thus tremendously diminish unemployment? The answer is to be found in the very nature of capitalism itself. The bosses are in business for profit and nothing else. They will not sacrifice their dividends to relieve the jobless. The capitalists intend to give only enough relief to prevent the workers from riot and revolt, if even that much. Outside of that, they will utilize the crisis to attack the conditions of the working class.

In this connection is significant the renewal of agitation for the bill in the New York Legislature to raise the age at which children may leave school from 14 to 15 years. This proposal is defended by none other than Miss Sarah Schuyler Butler, vice-chairman of the New York Republican State Committee and daughter of the reactionary "scholar"-politician, Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University. She declared that from 10,000 to 11,000 jobs in the state now filled by 14-year old children would be made available for the older workers, and to that extent employment would be improved. Aside from the fact that the figure of 10 to 11,000 children is much too low, the whole plan is an attempt to deceive the workers with false phrases of relief.

Let us see what it would actually mean. Even if we suppose that the children could be replaced immediately by adult workers we must ask: "What are the children to do without jobs?" Don't be so kind to us. Don't rob Peter to pay Paul. Don't rob the children of their meager wages, and then pay the adult workers this same low pay. We know your generosity with wage-cuts. It is "to be understood" that the adult worker who is to take the child-laborer's place will receive no increase in wages. The scheme is obviously a wage-cutting scheme.

Certainly, the more than 3,000,000 child-laborers in this country should be in school. But it is not doing them

A Spy Led the Expulsion Drive in the Philadelphia District

A Letter From Philadelphia

The expulsion of the spy Jacob Rentz from the Philadelphia district of the Communist Party has caused considerable discussion here. The *Daily Worker*, in reporting his expulsion, "forgot" to mention that Jacob Rentz, the spy, was the secretary of the District Control Commission and also a member of the District Political Committee. These are posts, which in the past had been reserved for comrades who were for many years tested in the revolutionary movement. The *Daily Worker* also forgot to mention that the same spy was also the head of various other important Party committees and even took charge of the finances of very big affairs of the Party and of auxiliary organizations.

Comrade Betty Gannett, on a tour of the District, once encountered considerable opposition in Baltimore against her proposal to place in a leading position a comrade who had been in the Party only a couple of months. She pointed to Philadelphia as an example and cited Jacob Rentz who had been placed on leading committees at a time when he was only a short time in the Party because

he is a splendid comrade—made from material of which leaders are made."

Comrade Harry Bail, the previous secretary of the District Control Commission, who was expelled as a "Love-stoneite", remains a Communist. Jacob Rentz, who condemned the "Love-stoneites" and pronounced himself a true Stalinite, turns out to be an ordinary policeman in plain clothes.

Rentz caused very serious damage in our district. When expelled he was found to have complete lists of all Party and League comrades in the various leading committees and a full list of all the comrades organized in various shop nuclei. Of these most have been fired from their places of work.

Since the expulsion of Rentz, a few more have been expelled as spies and three more are under investigation.

In a word—our Party is growing and thriving on "real proletarian elements."

MARINES DO WORK OF WALL STREET

So Says Repres. Ayres of Kansas; Proposes to Remove "Portion"

WASHINGTON.—That the United States Marines are in Nicaragua principally for "aiding the State Department in carrying on a collection and 'paw-shop' business", was charged by Representative Ayres of Kansas, ranking Democrat on the Naval Appropriations Subcommittee. He declared that American policy in Nicaragua is being dictated by Wall Street for the benefit of U. S. financial interests and the Marines are in Nicaragua to protect these interests against the protests of the Nicaraguan people.

And then—Representative Ayres gave notice that he would offer an amendment to the naval supply bill for withdrawing a "portion" of the marine forces from the Central American Republic. Apparently the "liberal" Mr. Ayres wants that Wall Street interests be only "partly" protected, and that the Nicaraguan people be only "partly" suppressed and murdered.

THE PARTY AND THE COOPERATIVES

The "Pyramid Builder" Issues a Declaration

The Cooperative Pyramid Builder, English organ of the Cooperative Central Exchange of Superior, Wis., publishes in its recent issue a letter to the members of the Party entitled "What's It All About—A Message to All Members of the Co-operative States of Our District." This letter is intended to explain to the members of the cooperatives in the district the origin and nature of the recent struggle within the cooperative movement, the reasons for the expulsions of the leading cooperative officials and members from the Communist Party, the attempt of the Communist Party bureaucrats to get hold over the cooperatives, their unprincipled campaign against the cooperative movement, and finally the steps taken by these bureaucrats to split the movement and found a dual "co-operative alliance". This letter is also published separately as a pamphlet.

This pamphlet correctly traces the crisis in the cooperative movement to the change of course in mass work initiated by the Communist Party about two years ago. It describes the growing influence of the CP under the old policies, the sed-

den right-about-face, and the consequent catastrophe on all fields. It then proceeds to an examination of the attempts of the Party bureaucrats to turn the Central Co-operative Exchange into a Party auxiliary, or even a Party department; it describes the sudden demand for a \$3,000 "loan", for \$1,000 donation to be kept secret from the membership, and for a 1% rake-off on the profits of the cooperative, also to be kept secret!

Of course the struggle only began on these money questions. The political issues soon became clear. The Party bureaucrats deliberately attempted to destroy the non-partisan character of the Central Co-operative Exchange and convert it into an open Party auxiliary.

The masses of the Communists in the cooperatives revolted; the Party bureaucrats answered with expulsions and disruption. But fortunately the destructive attempts failed. The cooperatives were saved. Thereupon the loyalists split and proceeded to organize a dual cooperative movement, "The Workers and Farmers Cooperative Alliance", which, however, is only a paper organization. This new dual "cooperative" hesitates at nothing, not even at the support of capitalist chain stores, in order to injure the cooperative movement.

However, it is necessary for us to point out a false note struck in the Message. There is a tendency to identify too much (not the slightest identification at all is permissible!) the false line and bureaucratic leadership of the CP today with Communism as such. This gives an anti-political color to the whole declaration which is very dangerous. It is necessary to make clear to all workers that what the Party bureaucrats are doing today is NOT Communism but is a distortion of and an insult to Communism.

IF PEACE PACTS COME

A most ironically serious remark was recently made by Admiral William V. Pratt, chief of naval operations, in urging more peace pacts as the surest path to peace. In his same speech before the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War at Washington he declared:

"To be frank with you, it is my opinion that, so long as the world is what it is, there is no cure for war."

"There is, it is trusted, some possibility of this hope being accomplished, but so far as the rest of the world goes, the hope seems faint of eliminating war completely."

He took issue with the contention of the pacifist Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt that competition in armaments was the chief cause of wars. Another speaker expressed the same idea thus:

"It is not because people are armed that they fight, it is because they fight that they are armed."

And we might add: "They fight because each robber nation is out for the spoils of world exploitation."

Our conclusion can best be summed up by the parody of a famous line: "If peace pacts come, can war be far behind?"

GITLOW SPEAKS AT I.W.W. MEETING

(continued from page 1)

and the workers united to fight against suppression of the labor papers, in defense of the foreign born, against Negro discrimination, for the organization of the unorganized, against wage cutting, against militaristic imperialist war, and for the defense of the Soviet Union.

A good discussion followed in which many members of the I. W. W. advocated the program of the Syndicalists as the way out for the working class. Comrade Gitlow showed the shortcomings of syndicalism and the necessity of the working class following the revolutionary program advocated by the Communists for proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only solution for the liberation of the workers from capitalist exploitation and suppression.

Notice! Notice!

The District Conference

of the New York Organization of the C.P.—MAJORITY GROUP will be held on Sunday, March 8, 1931 at 63 MADISON AVENUE Unit Executives will be informed by the District Office as to arrangements for discussion, the election of delegates, etc. Bureau of the District Committee

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FUNCTIONARIES MEETING
in New York
The Bureau of the District Committee announces that there will be a **Functionaries Meeting** on February 20, 1931, 8 P. M. at 63 Madison Avenue, N. Y. C.
Reporters: Ben Gitlow and Alex Bail
All members of Executive Committees and all officials in the district are to be present.

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Editor "Revolutionary Age"
EDWARD WELSH
Prominent Negro Organizer and Speaker
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IT'S A STARTLING NEW SOVIET PLAY
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UNEMPLOYMENT AND LABOR

American Labor and the Crisis—The Government, A. F. of L. and Unemployment—Three Lines

by Will Herberg

The United States is now in a deep economic crisis the lowest point of which is not yet in sight. The economic crisis in this country is part of a world economic situation that marks a most significant stage in the development of post-war capitalism. The chief consequences of this crisis for the workers are: a gigantic wave of unemployment, reaching about 8,000,000 in this country and at least 20,000,000 in the world; a systematic wage-cutting campaign, under the direction of the biggest banks in the country, with the purpose of effecting a permanent "deflation" in the living standards of the workers; an equally systematic offensive against the organizations of labor with the object of utilizing the opportunity of the crisis to destroy all centers of resistance of the workers against the bosses. The crisis and unemployment have hit the organized workers very hard. The A. F. of L. reports nearly 30% of its membership unemployed while in certain branches of the industry (e.g., building trades) the proportion is much higher. Wages are reported to have fallen at least 10%. The trade union organizations are showing the tragic results of the bosses' attacks and the policies of surrender of their leaders. The situation of the workers as a whole is today worse than it has been for many years past.

LABOR AND THE CRISIS

And yet the working class as a whole is passive. There is not a single bourgeois commentator who has not called attention to the "surprising absence of labor disturbances in the present depression." In the past, periods of "prosperity" were always marked by waves of offensive wage-struggles in which the trade unions tried to take advantage of the upward movement in economic development. Periods of depression were characterized by defensive struggles and by a rise in independent labor political action in some form or other. Especially noteworthy are the struggles American labor carried on in the past against unemployment (1894, 1907, 1921).

Today things are quite different. It is indeed true that in the prosperous years 1926-27 a considerable number of important labor struggles took place (miners' strikes, Passaic and other textile struggles, shoe workers, etc.) But precisely in 1929-30, the years of economic depression and crisis, there have been no important economic struggles of the workers; there are practically no signs of political stirring of labor; there are no real manifestations of mass struggle against unemployment!

THE GOVERNMENT, THE A. F. OF L. AND THE CRISIS

The attitude of the government to the unemployed workers and to the workers in general on the question of unemployment is insolent enough, it seems, to arouse revolt. At a time when millions of workers and their families in this country are facing starvation, the government absolutely refuses to grant any relief at all—even emergency relief. At a time when famine and misery haunt the land—and record profits are reaped by the big corporations—Hoover preaches of "suggled individualism" and "the American method of voluntary charity!" And the leaders of the American Federation of Labor follow obediently in Hoover's way. They oppose even the mildest form of unemployment insurance or social legislation of any kind. The limit of their "radicalism" is their tentative support of some tricky sort of "job insurance" scheme which would tie the worker hand and foot at the mercy of the bosses. Mr. Green is opposed in principle to unemployment relief but he is enthusiastically in favor of hamstringing labor by concluding a "no-strike" (wage-cut) pact with Hoover. The leaders of the organized trade union movement, to whom the workers still look for leadership in the struggle, openly suppress the slightest signs of militant action of the workers against unemployment, for unemployment relief.

Where should the workers, employed and unemployed, look for leadership in the struggle against unemployment? There are three organizations, each with its own program and line of action, that make a bid for leadership: the Socialist Party, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action (the progressives), and the Communist Party. What has each to offer?

A PROLETARIAN UNEMPLOYMENT POLICY

What should a revolutionary proletarian policy on unemployment include in the present situation? (1) The fight for immediate relief should be a primary object of the unemployment struggle. The situation is so acute that it is literally a matter of life and death for millions. (2) The struggle for immediate relief should be supplemented by a campaign for unemployment insurance as part of a whole system of social legislation. In America an essential part of this campaign must be to explain to the American working masses what social legislation is and to convince them of its desirability—because in this country the tradition of social legislation is practically nonexistent and bourgeois individualist traditions especially strong. (3) A phase of the unemployment struggle must be a program of concrete economic and political demands closely related with the unemployment question: the 6-hour day with no wage reductions, the abolition of child labor, big long-term government loans to the Soviet Union, etc. (4) It must be clearly understood that an effective movement against unemployment must be especially rooted in the organizations of labor (trade unions, fraternal societies, etc.). Unemployment has hit the organized workers very hard; there is tremendous potential dissatisfaction which can be converted into a powerful force. (5) The movement of the unemployed and against unemployment must

find a strong support among the employed workers in order to be at all effective. (6) The movement of the unemployed must be intimately bound up with the organizations of labor and must be in the closest contact with the employed workers. Organizations even slightly resembling "unions of the unemployed"—that is, segregating the unemployed into special organizations separate from the employed, can lead to no good results. Organizations of the unemployed must be particularly broad organizations, aiming to include all workers without regard to political or other differences. (7) In the unemployment struggle, mass actions (demonstrations, etc.) play a leading role. But these actions must be mass actions, that is, they must be the expression of organized mass movement, must involve broad masses, etc. Otherwise such "actions" become a mere farce. (8) In connection with all other forms of activity, there must go on an unceasing propaganda about the fundamental causes of unemployment aiming to prove that unemployment is inseparable from capitalism and that the revolutionary reconstruction of the economic system alone can abolish unemployment.

THREE LINES

The "unemployment bill" of the Socialist Party, itself a mild and vague enough document, is used to hide the complete passivity of the SP in the face of the unemployment crisis and its complete servitude to the reactionary labor bureaucrats. There is not even the pretense of aiding the development of a mass rank and file unemployment movement. No attempt is made to conduct any revolutionary Socialist propaganda on unemployment. As a result the S. P. is no factor at all in the unemployment struggle.

The C. P. L. A. (progressives) have a "better" unemployment bill than the S. P. and they carry on some anti-capitalist unemployment propaganda. But one gets the impression that their main reliance is on "convincing" some "reasonable" legislator on the merits of their proposals. The orientation of the CPLA is not at all in the direction of a mass movement based on the rank and file workers in the labor organizations. The CPLA is also no serious factor in the situation.

The line of the Communist Party in the unemployment situation is confused and self-contradictory. On the one hand it is marked by the most extreme ultra-left sectarianism and on the other hand it provides examples of the worst opportunistic excesses (in connection with the "Unemployment Relief Bill"). The Party course seems to be directed along two different lines kept sharply distinct in Party practice: (1) collecting signatures for the Party Unemployment Bill, and (2) holding "demonstrations" of Party members and close sympathizers. The collection of signatures is conducted in a purely reformist spirit along the lines of the famous slogan (actually printed in the Daily Worker): "Up with unemployment relief! In with the signatures." On the other hand, the demonstrations are conducted in a purely sectarian spirit. These demonstrations have no unifying consciousness; they are not the reflection or culmination of any mass movement or organization at all; the slogans under which they are conducted practically disconnect them from the unemployed; in fact these demonstrations deliberately replace the action of masses by the action of the Party membership and sympathizers. That is why, after the spontaneous mass outbreak on March 6, 1930, the Party "demonstrations" have been summing down to practically nothing but open air meetings attracting curiosity seekers and those who expect fights advertised in advance.

The Party policy today is in principle opposed to mobilizing a movement with organized labor and among the employed. The organized workers and the employed are of course "social-fascists." At the same time the "unemployment councils" of the Party are not only disconnected from the labor movement but they are even narrower than the Trade Union Unity League to which they are formally subordinated. The program of the T.U.U.L. is the program of Communism. Subordinating the "unemployment councils" to the T.U.U.L. means attempting to reach the unemployed thru Communism!

The Party conducts no campaigns whatever on the basis of any concrete program of demands. It hardly mentions the 6-hour day; it says practically nothing about child labor and its abolition; it does not raise any struggle for big credits

PROGRESS IN SWEDEN

The Communist Party of Sweden, expelled from the Communist International and affiliated to the International Communist Opposition, has very encouraging progress to report. In the year 1931 it gained 3,600 new members—and this in face of the constant barrage of misrepresentation and attack from the Comintern. Meanwhile the loyalist clique, parading under the name of the C.P. of Sweden, is disintegrating into nothing, according to its reports.

BRINGOLF SECRETARY OF THE SWISS OPPOSITION

At the recent session of the national leadership of the Communist Party of Sweden (Opposition), the final constitution of the leadership was accomplished. F. Bringolf was elected secretary. The Schaffhausen Arbeiter-Zeitung (daily) was named as central organ. Comrade M. Mandel reported on the International Opposition Conference. His report and the decisions of the International Conference were unanimously approved.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE HALLE COOPERATIVE

A great sensation has been caused among the workers of Germany by the announcement of the collapse of AKV (continued on col. 6)

Sec'y Stimson on Latin American Policy

Hypocrisy and Machine Guns

By Bertram D. Wolfe

There is no country in the world where the banks have so much direct influence over foreign policy, where the State Department and the armed forces are so openly used in the interests of the bankers, or which intervenes more openly and brutally in the affairs of its supposedly sovereign neighbors, than the United States. At the same time there is no country in the world that is as hypocritical, as smug and pharisaical, in the covering of its spurred and booted brutality with high-sounding honey-dripping phrases.

The government of the United States is always doing unwanted "favors" for the nations of Latin America. While it is unable to clean up gangsterism in New York and Chicago, it is unselfishly "lending" its Marines to unwilling and unhappy neighbors. It is always ready to lend a hand in administering a country on a house or a railroad, providing a military naval or fiscal "adviser," "super-vising" an election, overthrowing or setting up a government, "giving" a loan, mortgaging a country, "restoring" order, safeguarding property, suppressing "banditry," "developing" natural resources, spreading civilization and Christianity.

In occupying the Haitian Republic the American Marines killed over 3,000 badly armed and unarmed Haitians (see U.S. Senate Investigation of Haitian Occupation), but of course they were killed for their own good. The Wall Street government at Washington is always ready to do

7,000 words on American foreign policy in Latin America in which he asserted that:

"The general policy of the United States during the past century toward the republics of Latin America has been characterized by a regard for their rights as independent nations which, when compared with current international morality in the other hemisphere, has been as unusual as it has been praiseworthy."

On the same day that this statement of fulsome self-praise and holier-than-thou hypocrisy was issued, the State Department also made a public announcement that the Marines would stay in Nicaragua at least for another year or two and are

"to be distributed at such strategic points as Managua, Ocotul, Leon, Chinandega, Matagalpa and Bluefields. This situation is expected to continue at least until a definite decision is reached concerning the building of the projected Nicaraguan canal."

"As a result of Mr. Stimson's recent conference, Nicaragua is to offer a contract of approximately \$1,000,000 in New York which will be used for the guard (Nicaraguan National Guard) controlled and officered by officers of the United States Marines—(BW) and for the construction of public works" (military roads and railroads needed incidentally to building the Canal, developing American

the War of Independence. Many Negroes, attracted by promises of freedom, joined the British forces. Others, inspired by phrases of liberty current at the time, developed illusions as to the future of their own lot and joined the revolutionary forces. They were reluctantly accepted out of necessity. The war ended with the triumph of the revolution. Some were awarded their freedom for their services. But the great mass of Negro slaves, soon saw that for them emancipation and liberty was nothing but a hopeless illusion.

After the American Revolution, chattel slavery played its role under a new set of conditions. The separate colonies became a single nation. The lusty young capitalist forces demanded expansion and fertile conditions for growth. The slave system was reactionary, an historical throw-back. One of the basic conditions for capitalist economy is a class of workers free to compete on the labor market. It needs greater centralization in government as against a loose federation of states with its various "rights." All this expressed itself ideologically in a growing anti-slavery sentiment. Already a step to international slave trade was effected; smuggling only could be resorted to.

On the other hand, the Southern slave oligarchy resisted desperately. It fought hard for national political control. It intensified its campaign to prove the Negroes unfit for anything but slavery. "Scientific" works appeared, endeavoring to show the Negro as physically, mentally and spiritually unfit to be called a human being. Slave laws became harsher, crueler. "State rights" were fiercely defended. The clash of semi-feudal and capitalist forces developed apace and finally culminated in the Civil War.

In his next article, Comrade Macklin will discuss the most outstanding Negro slave insurrections after the Revolution, culminating in the immortal John Brown's Raid.

Then came the American Revolution, which necessarily rebelled and uncoordinated. Many of them were still-born, usually because of the betrayal by a renegade slave, and the leaders tortured and executed. Such was the case in various parts of Virginia in 1687, in 1710, and again in 1722; in New York in 1712, and in Savannah in 1728.

Many, however, did materialize and were put down in a bloody fashion. In 1771 a large group of slaves still held together by tribal ties, rebelled, armed with guns and knives. They were driven into the woods. Many committed suicide, 18 or more were hung or burned alive. Other rebellions, occurring in South Carolina in 1720 and in 1730 and in Boston in 1723, were suppressed in like manner.

The 1730 plot in South Carolina must be especially noted because it was the first openly planned rebellion, with definite strategy worked out. In 1739 there were no less than three formidable uprisings in South Carolina in which over fifty Negroes were killed or executed. One of them, in September at Stono, South Carolina, was the most successful. It was responsible for the Slave Act of 1740, which was to be the basic Negro law for the next 125 years. Twenty-one whites died and at least forty-four Negroes were killed and executed.

In 1741, a plot was discovered in the town of New York which, had it materialized would have had serious results. Four whites who were involved were executed; 154 Negroes were arrested, of whom thirteen were burned, eighteen hung, and 75 banished.

industrial activity and invading and controlling the country).

A news dispatch from Managua in the same issue of the *New York Times* that reported Stimson's speech in New York announced new offensive operations of the United States Marines against the "bandits" of the National Revolutionary Army. Thus Stimson's words, measured up against the deeds of the State Department and the Navy.

WHY THE FLOW OF WORDS?

"The deeds are nothing new. But why so many words? Why is the 'colossus of the North' so anxious to 'explain itself'? Why the self-praise? the Pecksniffian hypocrisy? the denunciation of 'current international morality in the other hemisphere'? the 'declaration of the United States versus Europe'?"

The secret of the sudden garrulousness of the Secretary of State is to be found in the fact that that prince of salesmen, the super-drummer of Britain, Edward Albert, Prince of Wales, is now on a tour of Latin America, receiving and giving decorations, making and listening to speeches, protesting friendship for Latin America, opening a British Embassy exhibit, not somewhere in the British Empire but in Buenos Aires, cornering markets and spheres of investment arranging trade treaties and agreements and creating a backfire against American imperialism in the interests of British Industries Limited.

Hence it is that Stimson suddenly feels the urge to justify America's ruthless policy of corruption and invasion, with 7,000 words of broadcasted hypocrisy. But words are at best thin covering for a mailed fist and the gavellet shows thru at every point.

America's "policy, in its general conception, has been a noble one." The Monroe doctrine "was an assertion of their individual rights as independent nations. . . . a declaration of the United States versus Europe. . . . I do not close my eyes to the occasional dark spots. . . . seventy-five or eighty years ago. . . . but the most serious of these changes were directly attributable to the influence of slavery."

It's queer how the Secretary can see the "dark spots" occasioned by the drive of the slave power for more land (Texas, the Mexican War) but is incurably myopic about the dollar-drive of the money power of Wall Street. None so blind as those who will not see!

"Between the republics," continue the words of the Secretary, "our in-

PRESENT PERSPECTIVES IN INDIA

The Situation in the Labor Movement—A New Peasant Upheaval—Problem of the Party

by S. K. Vidyarthi

Bombay, Jan. 7, 1931.

Half a year ago the official Communist press of Europe announced the establishment of "Soviets" in several places in India—Sholapur, Peshwar, etc. Still earlier, already in the spring of 1929, there were published reports regarding street fights in Bombay "under the red flag of Communism and with the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat." In short, it was maintained that an acute revolutionary crisis had matured in India and that the working class was quite prepared for the situation. A revolutionary crisis does indeed exist now but it is not so acute that it cannot be overcome by British imperialism with the willing aid of the Indian bourgeoisie. What is more remarkable, however, is the political immaturity of the working class, even of its most advanced sections. This negative factor seriously affects the objective possibilities of the situation.

THE SITUATION IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Since the local outbreaks, interpreted by the official Communist press as signs of the maturing proletarian revolution, there has been a lull in the situation. The tendency was in the direction for the proletariat, even its most advanced section, to relapse under reactionary nationalist influence. This tendency might have developed into a positive danger but for the timely intervention of "the agents of renegade Roy." The workers, who a year ago had been reported as standing on the verge of armed insurrection to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, were demonstrating under nationalist leadership, with reactionary slogans. They were appealing the nationalists when the latter preached the boycott of foreign goods in order to help native industry (sign of very low class-consciousness). Many were found even plying the spinning-wheel! Fortunately, the tide of bourgeois nationalist influence upon the working class has been stemmed. But one must have a very fertile imagination, stimulated by

influence has constantly been exerted for a friendly solution of controversies." But the facts cry out against him as one remembers constant intervention to prevent the few little Central American powers from uniting into a single republic.

The "locality where the progress of those republics has been most slow," purs the Secretary—he is speaking of Central America and the Caribbean, of Haiti and Santo Domingo, of Nicaragua and Honduras, of lands thru which the cat claws are thrust even now as the cat purrs—he is speaking of the lands where the Marines were landed more than thirty times in the first generation of the twentieth century—of lands where the Marines are upholding "civilization" on their bayonets at the present moment.

MUCH MISUNDERSTOOD

"Temporary intrusions into the domestic affairs of some of those countries which our hostile critics have not hesitated to characterize as the manifestation of selfish American imperialism."

I an itching palm? you wrong me, every way, complains poor Cassius.

"We were only assisting. . . in securing free uncontrolled elections. . . basing recognition on default capacity to fulfill its obligation as a member of the family of nations."

When revolutions occur against the tyrannical governments that the United States supports and uses as instruments in its wholesale robbery schemes, then the State Department gives arms to the dictator and prevents their sale to the revolutionists, not to crush the revolution—an act—but to check "the activities by which some of our munitions manufacturers for sordid gain (!) become a veritable curse to the stability of our neighboring republics."

Fine words butter no parsnips. Not 7,000 nor 700,000 words can drown the rattle of machine guns in the Nicaragua hills. Government after government topples over. Palace revolutions. Peasant risings. University demonstrations. Strikes. "Outlaws" arming in the hills. There are no words wonder-working enough to hold back the slow rising tide of Latin American resentment and resistance. Hypocrisy and machine guns! Such is American diplomacy. It has bigger guns and greater hypocrisy than British imperialism. But its days are numbered. And along with the American working class the oppressed peoples of Latin America will be grave diggers of American imperialism.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE HALLE COOPERATIVE

(continued from col. 2)

(Workers Consumers Cooperative) of Halle. This very important cooperative organization was under Communist Party control. In the last few years it developed in a very successful manner. Now it is in a state of collapse as a result of the unprincipled attacks of the Social-democrats and the false policies and methods of the Communist Party bureaucrats. The sectarian Party policy within the last two years and more had alienated large masses of sympathetic elements. At the same time the Party bureaucrats began to install all sorts of shady and incompetent elements in the important positions of the cooperative. The result was inevitable. The collapse of the Halle cooperative is a serious blow to the Communist movement in Germany.

senseless theses, to find a very high degree of class-consciousness even among the "red" wickers of Bombay. There are very few even among their leaders who possess anything but a very vague notion about Communism, and are not remarkably cool when the question of a Communist Party is raised. Indeed, we must fight hard and be extremely tactful to overcome the anti-Communist tendency among the leaders of the "Red Flag" Union itself.

There is a definite depression in the labor movement. Nearly 25% of the textile workers of Bombay are unemployed. In this situation, the workers cannot be induced to put up even a defensive fight. Wages are going down under systematic capitalist attack. There is hardly any inclination to struggle even for immediate economic demands, not to mention broad political issues.

A MATURING PEASANT UPHEAVAL

This deplorable depression in the urban labor movement, however, coincides with the signs of maturing peasant upheaval. The awakening of the peasantry is of supreme importance at this stage of the Indian revolution; at the same time, its coincidence with the depression in urban labor movement raises very fundamental problems regarding the character of the revolution and puts a stamp upon its perspectives.

THE PROBLEM OF REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

It is very probable that the events in Central India and Burma will give the official Communist press abroad occasion for reporting the news about the establishment of "Soviets" in those regions. But these peasants' revolts are really extremely primitive in character. The general weak point of the movement everywhere is the complete lack of political leadership. Not only is there none at present; it is not very likely to be available in the near future. The leadership cannot come from the bourgeoisie. Indian capitalism being rather loosely connected with the semi-feudal landowning and drawing benefit from the largely pre-capitalist mode of agrarian production. This paradox is the feature of colonial economy. Precisely for this reason, the Indian national revolution cannot take place under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, in spite of the essentially historical bourgeois-democratic character of the revolution. The maturing peasant revolt can and eventually will develop into an agrarian revolution only under the leadership of the proletariat. But for the present this leadership remains a rather far cry. This is the basic fact of the situation, in the light of which all the tactical problems of the revolution should be approached.

THE FORMATION OF A COMMUNIST PARTY

With complete disregard for facts, Trotsky blames Stalin for having ruined the Indian revolution by having "prohibited" the formation of the Communist Party. The C.I. bureaucracy, taking their cue from Trotsky, today charges Roy with "treacherous sabotage of the organization of the C.P." This is a very admirable zeal. But can simple zeal, however ardent and however backed up by the resources of a mighty bureaucratic machine, force the pace of history?

Can a Communist Party be manufactured, as it were, by hattrick, out of zeal and imagination? And if we find that the delay in the rise of the C.P. in India has been caused by insurmountable objective difficulties and that these difficulties are still there to be faced, what should we do with the revolution in the meantime? For obvious reasons, the success of the revolution is conditional upon the rise of a functioning Communist Party. But meanwhile the revolutionary struggle goes on, the crisis matures. What should the handful of Communists do? Should they completely imagine that they are leading the struggle, when in reality they are completely isolated from it? Should they confine their activities to the organization of a party indifferent to the exigencies of the struggle actually going on? What is the way for the C.P. of India to grow? How can the basic task of organizing the C.P. be combined with the immediate task of providing revolutionary leadership to the actual struggle in process?

These are the problems of the Indian revolution in the present stage. Stalin could not prohibit the formation of the C.P. of India any more than Trotsky can thunder it into being. Nor did Roy sabotage its growth. There must be at least two factors to make the organization of a C.P. possible. (1) an industrial proletariat with a certain level of class-consciousness, and (2) a leading intellectual cadre with a fair knowledge of the theories of the proletarian revolution. The growth of the C.P. has been a rather slow process in India because of the weakness of both these factors. Finally, when both the factors attain a fair level of development, the objective possibilities were miscalculated. The result was serious tactical blunders which have greatly retarded the growth of the party and confused the situation. The primitive class-consciousness of the young proletariat, expressing itself in the will to fight, but for no clear purpose, has been so misused that apathy and despondency have taken its place. This unfortunate situation breeds not Communism, but reformism. On the other hand, owing to its immaturity and youthfulness, the intellectual cadre was susceptible to the fatal "infantile sickness of leftism". This regrettable tendency received the sanction of the C.I. The consequence has been the growth of the pernicious habit of phrase-mongering, which causes ideological stultification. This being the case, the problems brought about by the urgent necessity for the organization of the C.P. have become more difficult to tackle. (Concluded in Next Issue)

The Negro Slave Revolts

I. Before the American Revolution

by R. Macklin

The Negro under slavery is usually depicted by the bourgeois historians of the ruling race as a docile, obedient creature, "contented" with his conditions of slavery, hardly daring to dream of striking out to win emancipation with his own life and blood. No worse historical slander could be perpetrated. The Negro slave insurrections are glorious chapters in the history of the struggle for liberty; chapters which white bourgeois historians and Negro misleaders of their race would willingly forget, and have done their best to suppress; chapters that must take their place in the traditions of struggles against oppression and exploitation and serve as a mighty inspiration for the future not only for the awakened Negro, but also for the American white worker, and, for that matter, for the workers and oppressed peoples of the whole world.

The history of slave uprisings in America may be divided into two periods; the colonial period culminating in the American Revolution, and the period from the American Revolution up to the Civil War. The colonial period was one of unrestricted international slave trade. By the end of the 17th century there were already a considerable number of slaves in the colonies. Most of them had fresh memories of their African homes and the horrible sufferings they had experienced. Hence resentment burned in them. For the most part, they were still distinguished by their tribal origins and their own language. Under such conditions, their attempts at revolt were more or less sporadic, unorganized—direct desperate reactions against the cruelties inflicted upon them. But already the ever imminent dangers of organized rebellion were recognized by the masters. Plantation quarters were frequently searched for concealed weapons. One of the very first laws on slavery was enacted in 1690, providing the death penalty for those guilty of instigating an uprising.

Whatever rebellions took place were necessarily isolated and uncoordinated. Many of them were still-born, usually because of the betrayal by a renegade slave, and the leaders tortured and executed. Such was the case in various parts of Virginia in 1687, in 1710, and again in 1722; in New York in 1712, and in Savannah in 1728.

Many, however, did materialize and were put down in a bloody fashion. In 1771 a large group of slaves still held together by tribal ties, rebelled, armed with guns and knives. They were driven into the woods. Many committed suicide, 18 or more were hung or burned alive. Other rebellions, occurring in South Carolina in 1720 and in 1730 and in Boston in 1723, were suppressed in like manner.

The 1730 plot in South Carolina must be especially noted because it was the first openly planned rebellion, with definite strategy worked out. In 1739 there were no less than three formidable uprisings in South Carolina in which over fifty Negroes were killed or executed. One of them, in September at Stono, South Carolina, was the most successful. It was responsible for the Slave Act of 1740, which was to be the basic Negro law for the next 125 years. Twenty-one whites died and at least forty-four Negroes were killed and executed.

In 1741, a plot was discovered in the town of New York which, had it materialized would have had serious results. Four whites who were involved were executed; 154 Negroes were arrested, of whom thirteen were burned, eighteen hung, and 75 banished.

Then came the American Revolution,

The Economic Week

THE feature of the week was rise on the stock exchange. This was followed by a quick reaction, so that all in all the average gain was only 2%. The rise is to be viewed rather as a flush of speculation and a sign of the general feverish condition in the security market rather than evidence of recovery. The Hoover victory in Congress against hunger relief was the main stimulant for the momentary increased buying in the Stock Market. Steel production

also showed some increase, but the much-heralded rise in steel prices has not materialized and prices are continuing downward. The Annalist index declined from 112.3 the previous week to 111.8 this week. All production records for January and the first two weeks in February still show a sharp fall from the figures of the corresponding period of last year which was already in the throes of the economic crisis. Thus, electric power output for the week fell 5.9% from the same week

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SNOWDEN'S CONFESSION

ONE of the most significant speeches ever made in a capitalist parliament has just been made by Philip Snowden, British Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The protest of Snowden against the debt terms imposed upon England by the United States, the important, pales into insignificance in comparison with the new drive his speech launched on the British working class. And the reactionary benches sensed it fully as can be seen from their vigorous approval and applause of the poisoned arrows the Labor Party minister shot at the working masses. Said the "Socialist" guardian of the British imperialist treasury:

"With all the seriousness I can command I say that the national position is so grave that drastic and disagreeable measures have to be taken if the budget equilibrium is to be maintained and industrial progress made. . . Schemes involving heavy expenditures, however desirable, will have to wait."

This speech marks a still further decisive step on the road of anti-labor development by the Socialist parties of the world, by the Second International. One day the German Social-democracy joins hands with the Catholic Centre Party to put over the "Notverordning" legislation, providing for wage-cuts and reduction of standards. The next day Snowden brutally comes forward with the idea that wages must be cut to the bone, that conditions must be worsened, in order to save the capitalists from further taxation. What Snowden is concerned about is not the welfare of the toiling masses but the wealth of the exploiters, the dividends of the bond-holders. Snowden wants the workers to tighten their belts. This means tightening the noose of misery around the workers.

"Balancing the budget" is Snowden's ideal. But "balancing the budget" means cutting down unemployment insurance. It means mobilization of all the resources of the Labor Party government to crush all strikes against wage reductions. It means less taxes paid by the coupon clippers but more money spent by MacDonald on supporting textile magnates locking out their workers.

It was the voice of Snowden but the hand of Lombard Street, of the Bank of England, of the "City of London"—Britain's mightiest bankers. Winston Churchill could not put down a more deadly poison gas barrage against the workers. When Snowden spoke of "drastic and disagreeable" measures, Churchill, whom even Baldwin had to muzzle as too frankly reactionary, led the applause. Apparently this anti-labor fire-eater knows whom Snowden proposes to lash. Right on the heels of this Snowden trade against labor, the exploiters followed up their advantage in a statement by the National Federation of Employers Organizations demanding immediate reduction of the unemployment benefits by one-third, a general slashing of wages, and considerable reduction of expenditures on "social services". No wonder that there is being proposed, in all seriousness that Lloyd George should displace MacDonald as leader of the Labor Party and thus give it a more left leadership.

British capitalism is heading swiftly to bankruptcy. Snowden's confession is only further evidence of this. But the present mouthpiece of British imperialism, the Labor Party, is already bankrupt as a working class organization. Today it is the last ditch of defense for a dying imperialist empire. The workers in England, handicapped by lack of virile Communist inspiration and leadership, have not yet seen this clearly enough to kick out their misleaders. But a few more such speeches by Snowden, a few more "rescues" by Lloyd George, some more applause by Churchill and Baldwin, and labor will be rudely awakened to clean house in its own ranks. Watch England! We say: Keep your eye on the British workers! The limit of their patience is nearing.

PARADING OUR DEGRADATION

THE MOST backward big country in the world in the care of the aged, the unemployed, the victims of industrial accident, is the United States. This country is the only one which leaves the producers of its wealth to the revolting, haphazard degrading devices of private charity, bullying, prying "social" workers, to doing favors in place of giving the producers of wealth some portion of what is owing to them, to gospel missions, slop bowls, flop houses, park benches, begging, humiliation, starvation, disease and death.

On February 3 Hoover issued a new defiance against the proposal that the government appropriate a few paltry millions (\$25,000,000 for 10,000,000 starving workers and farmers and their dependents, to last thru 1931!) He calls upon "the American people to maintain the spirit of charity and mutual self-help thru voluntary giving . . . if we start federal appropriations we have impaired something infinitely valuable in the life of the American people!"

When the workers and farmers get control of America, the most fitting punishment they can mete out to multi-millionaire Hoover and the exploiting money-kings that support and direct him in this crime, is to confiscate their wealth and compel them to subsist on mission slop, sleep in a crummy flop house and taste the rotted "fruits" of this charity which is so "infinitely fine and valuable in the life of the American people!"

SOCIALIST OFFICIALS KNOW THE LAW

IN Reading, Pennsylvania, the mayor and the city council are Socialists. When a procession of several hundred starving men and women marched to the Reading City Hall, Socialist Mayor J. Henry Stump answered their demand for \$15 for each unemployed worker, \$2 additional for each dependent, free rent, gas and electricity and unemployment insurance to be paid by a municipal tax on all incomes over \$5,000 with the following words:

"I'll tell you boys, nobody's more sympathetic with you than the mayor and the Council of Reading. We are no noVICES. We know what capitalism does to the workers and hope capitalism will be overthrown. But how can we tax the rich. We would if we could; and you boys don't know the law!"

No other servant of capitalism could have made a better speech! What the workers need are representatives who "don't know the law"—representatives who do know the capitalist law of profits for the idle rich and starvation for the toiling poor, and, knowing this law, are determined to violate and smash it.

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Great Britain in the World Crisis

An Empire in Its Death Throes

by Jay Lovestone



MR. MACDONALD GOES BOLDLY FORWARD—another "Bep" cartoon.

IT would be worst of folly to think that British imperialism is already down and out, merely because it has lost its dominant world position to the United States. It will take more than one major disaster to send the still-powerful British ruling class to the scrap heap of history. Britain, as an imperialist empire, is in its death throes, but it is far from dead yet. It will take some time before its grave, now being dug, will be filled with its ruins.

ENGLAND IN DISTRESS

"Great Britain is now in the deepest economic abyss in living memory. I have never known trade to be so bad as during the past few months," said Lord Inchcape, great shipping magnate, the other day. A glimpse at British trade statistics is enough to show that the Lord is telling the truth this time. The Board of Trade statistics show that in 1930 the volume of Great Britain's overseas trade was much lower than in 1924. Allowing for the fall in prices, the value of world exports increased over 30% while the proportion of the United Kingdom has markedly declined.

England, proud home of the Industrial Revolution, is today suffering considerably from inadequate machinery and organization of industry. But improvement in this direction is no hope. We need but turn to the United States and Germany where the present crisis grows out of and was actually precipitated by the huge development of technique, machinery and mass production. The American and the German capitalists are hopeless before the problem of finding work and wages for the great mass of workers. But the British exploiters are still helpless before the pro-

MACDONALD POLICE PROTECTING SCABS



blem of first getting adequate machinery and then worrying how it should be used and about the displacement resulting from machinery displacing labor.

The crisis of British capitalist economy is rooted in the changed world situation after the war. Great Britain fought Germany for primacy in the world market and lost her supremacy to American imperialism. Instead, today, England, once the world's banker, manufacturer, and shopkeeper, is in acute difficulties over the problem of gold reserve readjustments, the question of war debts, and over an ever-worsening industrial and trade position.

The world price collapse has hit Britain especially hard—22% from 1924 to September 1929 and heading downward since. For this there are two reasons. First of all, the huge international debt flowing from the war. Secondly, the British industrial organization is inelastic and, in comparison with such competitors as the United States and Germany, is technically backward. Thus, 1930 saw a record number of bankruptcies in Great Britain—8900.

Here we have the cancerous curse of unemployment. Mass unemployment is not only chronic but it is constantly growing. In the Christmas-New Year's week the jobless army rose by 234,756. Since the Labor Party took office unemployment has more than doubled. The weekly increase in this period is about 20,000. At this moment the total number of jobless workers is admitted to be 2,643,127. This is the worst in the history of England and compares with 2,580,429, the previous peak reached in the 1921 crisis. To ward off immediate starvation, the workers are granted a pittance of \$7.30 a week for a family of four. The annual total cost of this miserable assistance is constantly rising and has already passed \$520 million—or about four times the yearly British war debt payments to the United States. And this despite the fact that no benefits are received by a worker during the first six weeks of unemployment, the "waiting period."

THE ONSLAUGHT AGAINST THE WORKERS

Worst in the world market and faced with growing revolts in India, Egypt, and Palestine, British imperialism has intensified its attacks on the workers at home. Mountainous waves of wage cuts are engulfing the toiling masses in the British Isles. Even the author-

itative and restrained London Economist insists on a minimum 10% wage cut all-round. The miners, the weavers, the textile workers are among those who have already suffered worst. 600,000 railroad workers are now facing a severe cut and the abolition of the guaranteed day and week work which they won in the heroic struggles of 1919-1920. 800,000 builders are in the same boat. 200,000 workers were recently locked out in the Lancashire mills. Everywhere the exploiters are desperately trying to rob the workers of conditions won thru years of bitter and costly struggle.

The main engine of the bosses' onslaught against the workers is the government—today, a so-called Labor Government. When 150,000 Welsh coal diggers rebelled, it was the MacDonald government which pulled the chestnuts out of the fire for the employers and cleverly put over a wage cut. The Coal Mines Act is no longer to run in South Wales and the protection of wage guaranteed by the Act is ended.

Of course the most miserable fiasco of the MacDonald government is in its bankruptcy in the unemployment field. Not only has unemployment been increasing by leaps and bounds since May 1929, the advent of the Labor Party Government, but the Unemployment Insurance Act has been so revised as to deprive over 300,000 jobless of benefits. Today, the



LIB. and LAB-LIB.

Public Assistance Committee, is working overtime to cut down relief and to impose task work on the unemployed. All of Snowden's economies are at the expense of the workers. Next to unemployment, the Labor Party, before its election victory, bragged most about what it would do to repeal the Conservative Party's Trade Dispute Bill or anti-strike law. The new bill pushed thru by MacDonald is unimportant and confusing. And the Liberals are sure that it will be mauling and completely castrated in the committee.

In its foreign policy, the Labor Government has been as sturdy a champion of the ruling class as at home. Here, however, it has been more successful in camouflaging its mailed fist. Take the recent Round Table Conference on India. Under cover of loose talk about friendship and freedom for India, MacDonald has arranged satisfactory "safeguards" for British imperialism. The Viceroy is to control defense, finances, foreign relations "as well as emergency powers to insure the tranquility of the State." Egypt, Palestine, South Africa, Australia, Europe, the Naval Conference, all tell the same story of the tireless efforts of the MacDonalds, the Hendersons, the Snowdens in behalf of the British Empire reared and built on the blood and misery of the working and colonial masses.

THE OUTLOOK

The Labor Party is still in power only because the Liberals are not yet ready for a new election and the Conservatives are not yet finished sharpening their knives against the workers. The Liberals have been acting as a sort of a lightning rod for Tory thunderbolts. The Labor Party as the spokesman of British imperialism today is a symbol of the decline of this once world's mightiest capitalist empire. Actually, MacDonald is carrying out an anemic Liberal policy—the price for being kept in office.

But, of course, the majority of the working class does not see this yet. Then, the policies of the official Communist Party which have reduced its membership to 1000-1500 at the outside, are playing into the hands of the MacDonalds and Hendersons. The crop of new revolutionary unions in England presents an even more pitiful picture than in the United States. The once-powerful Minority Movement is paralyzed and is a very faint shadow of its former self. This under conditions where the Soviet Union and Communism are drawing more attention and interest and are more popular than in many a year in the ranks of British labor!

In its period of decline, especially because it is so hard hit in the present world economic crisis, England is soon to enter a period of great and sharp class struggles. The recent strike of 92,000 Scotch miners, 150,000 Welsh miners, and 20,000 weavers in Burnley are only petty ripples compared with the strike wave that is now being prepared—primarily by the critical conditions themselves. In their first stage the new struggles will be defensive. There are good chances of the railroad workers and builders firing the opening gun of working-class resistance to the present capitalist offensive. Once the class war breaks out on a wide front in England, we can look forward to powerful hammer blows being struck against the British exploiters.

Decisive days are approaching in England. Deep-going political changes are in the making. For us who are fighting against that monstrous imperialism which has taken the place of Great Britain, the coming events in England will be of extraordinary significance.

Discussion Meeting

ON THE
COMING DRESSMAKERS STRIKE

Speaker:
 LOUIS ROSENTHAL,
 of the Needle Trades Workers Unity League
 Wednesday, Feb. 18, 8 P. M.
 BORO PARK WORKERS YOUTH CLUB
 4109a 13 Avenue. Brooklyn, N. Y.

Jay Lovestone

Will Speak On

THE WORLD CRISIS
 Friday Night, Feb. 20,—8:30 P. M.

at
 ROYAL MANSIONS
 Boston Road and 169 Street, New York
 Auspices:
 Bassarabier—Podolier Social and Cultural Club



BOOKS

THE MYSTERIOUS UNIVERSE, by Sir James Jeans. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1930.

Idealism, indeterminism and anti-causality characterize modern science. Its face is different from 18th century science. Science was then young and confident. It was strong and growing. Materialism was its base; determinism its methodology. The "rule of natural law" was not questioned. This confidence and sureness of science was an ideological reflection of a conquering bourgeoisie. At the same time science was one of the chief weapons in its advance. Between then and now lies the history of an epoch. The life cycle of a class has almost completely run thru its hour-glass. Today we have a decaying bourgeoisie. The signs are apparent even to the bourgeois themselves. Their confidence has disappeared. Natural law, determinism, inevitability now? Not to be thought of. The black future looms upon the horizon. The dread specter must be exorcised. So reason gives way to mysticism, materialism to idealism, determinism to indeterminism. This job of consolation is a fundamental historical function of modern science. In its service the best minds gird their loins. With this book Jeans joins the chorus!

On what basis does Jeans rest his arguments for the necessary changes in the structure and methodology of science? On a very simple one—the fact that in the light of our present knowledge, certain phenomena cannot be explained. For instance, the existence of quanta, or certain other features of the behavior of the electron; do electrons and light travel in waves or particles, etc? Because no synthesis has as yet been made embracing and explaining all the loose ends, we are to assume that no such synthesis is possible. Because at present, we cannot find the causes, we are to assume that there are no causes and that causality is destroyed. This is an old story, the confusing of the unknown with the unknowable and the non-existent. And on the basis of this fundamental confusion is proclaimed: "There is indeterminacy at the heart of nature."

With the "destruction" of determinism the objective universe ceases to have a meaning for us (i.e. in the sense of order, sequence of events, etc.). Jeans is forced to recognize this and draw the conclusions:

"... all too probable that any meaning that the universe as a whole may have, would entirely transcend our present experience and so be totally unintelligible to us. In this event we would have to withhold from which to start our exploration of the true meaning of the universe."

This is to commit intellectual suicide and to cut the ground away from under science altogether. The next step is logical and inevitable:

"If it is true that the real essence of 'substances' is beyond our knowledge, then the line of demarcation between realism and idealism becomes very blurred indeed."

The line of demarcation does not merely become blurred. It disappears and disappears altogether. And so, at the end, Jeans announces Berkeley who developed the most "perfect" and extreme system of subjective idealism.

With idealism firmly in the saddle the rest is easy. The old dualism of mind and matter disappears with mind becoming "the creator and governor of matter." The universe is a universe of thought; its creation must have been an act of thought of some great mind; and so to God! And because the laws of mathematics are the highest creation of the laws of thought, Jeans compliments God by giving him the title of mathematician.

The book has a positive side. Jeans writes with precision and lucidity. His account of the recent conquests of science, the problems solved, the problems remaining for solution, is fascinating in the extreme. I know of no better book to recommend to the scientific layman for as simple and precise an explanation for instance of the famous Michelson-Morley light experiment to measure the speed of the earth relative to the "ether", which paved the way for the theory of relativity.

I do not want to leave the impression that there is complete agreement in the camp of the scientists today. Uncertainty, even chaos is in the essence of modern science. New theories appear and disappear with bewildering rapidity. Even on the question of indeterminism there is no hundred percent agreement. Einstein, for instance, is on the "left". He apparently (at present) has not abandoned determinism and still believes that the apparent inconsistencies are only temporary and will be cleared up by a new synthesis which will be compatible with the "old" scientific structure. Eddington is on the "right". Jeans occupies a sort of "centrist" position, a little to the left of Eddington. For, although his conclusions are the same, he hasn't burned all his bridges behind him. He recognizes that:

"History of course may repeat itself and once again an apparent capriciousness in nature may be found, as the light of fuller knowledge to arise out of the tentative operation of the law of cause and effect—when we speak in terms of probabilities in ordinary life, we merely show that our knowledge is incomplete."

One is reminded, in viewing this spectacle of confusion and uncertainty, of Engels warning to the gentlemen with their noses to the empiric grindstone of the revenge philosophy might take upon them for their neglect of her. The present crisis in science is a case in point.



BETWEEN HAMMER and ANVIL

It's A Dog's Life

From the distinguished University of North Carolina comes the news that "Dixie", a terrier bitch with a Ph. D. degree, has just died in an auto accident. While Dixie is not the only dog with a Doctor of Philosophy degree, she is certainly the only four-legged one. She "sat silently through many lectures" and therefore did more to earn her degree than her mate colleague John Pierpont Morgan did to earn the honorary degree of LL.D. (Doctor of Laws) recently conferred upon him by Oxford University. "Every Dog has his day," Dixie's is over and Morgan's won't last much longer. Nor will the educational system that confers on dogs its highest honors.

Our Intellectuals

Dr. Frederick B. Robinson, president of the College of the City of New York, told the "boys" at the National Retail Dry Goods Convention at the Hotel Pennsylvania, how to prevent business depressions.

"If there had been more thinkers in business," he told them, "we would not have suffered the present business depression."

"Business men should not waste their evenings playing pinocle. They should enlarge their point of view so that they will know something of the game of life."

Such are the words of wisdom of the president of the largest college in the world! For all the ability that business men have shown to run industry, they would do better to play pinocle.

And the Doc should stop lecturing on "the game of life" and join the pinocle game.

Mid-Victorian Chivalry!

The University of Pennsylvania has put down the mighty football from its throne. A coach is to receive no more wages than the common head professor from now on.

Making Monkeys Out of Kiwanians

The Perth Anby Superintendent of Schools Dr. McGinnis has announced the withdrawal of 16 classes of "The Child's History of the World" from the reference shelves of the public schools on complaint of a Lutheran minister and the local Kiwanis because the book says that primitive man was once a "wild beast that walked on his hind legs and had a body covered with hair." The Perth Anby children are to be taught, that men were always Kiwanians and Lutherans and bald-headed wild beasts that exterminated each other with big Berthas and poison gases.

What Would Unconstitutional Government Be Like?

The New York City Bar Association just voted, a half century after the first woman lawyer was admitted to practice in this state, not to admit women to its ranks. The winning argument was worthy of the profession—because the bar association was founded when there were no women lawyers it could not have been intended for them.

To this was added the crusher that it would cost money to remodel the establishment by the adding of ladies' rooms. Hence the manliness and integrity of the City Bar is preserved.

Butcher Machado, President and Dictator of Cuba and Wall Street Puppet, has announced:

"I have resolved to suspend over all national territory, and as long as worst conditions, all the guarantees specified in Articles XV, XVI, XVII, XIX, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, and XXVIII of the Constitution." (P.S. If I omitted anything please let me know.)

He has also closed all universities, colleges and high schools, for an indefinite period in the interests of culture and civilized government. The United States is maintaining him in power because his is "the constitutional government of Cuba."

Where Hoover Worships

The sacred American institutions that Herbert Hoover seems most anxious to preserve are the poor house, the charity organization, the soup kitchen and the breadline. Hoover is last-ditch defender of all that is most degrading in wealthy capitalist America.

We'll Have To Change It

"So long as the world is what it is," says Admiral Pratt to the Senate, "there is no cure for war."

Quick, call the Fish Commission! The navy is going red!

When Is A Monopoly?

The Standard-Vacuum Oil merger with over a billion of assets as a nation-wide and world-wide petroleum trust has been upheld by the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals as an un-ditching "without monopolistic intent . . . and is restrained by trade . . . wholly unconnected with any desire to create a monopoly." Which shows that trusts ain't what they used to be or that words don't have the same meanings any more.

Seven Is An Unlucky Number

For the sixth time since the war to end war, the imperialist powers have pledged themselves "that we are more resolutely determined than ever to use the machinery of the League of Nations to prevent any resort to violence." We are waiting breathless for the seventh declaration.