

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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## RED FORCES MAKE BIG GAINS

### Collapse of Nanking Anti-Red Drive Admitted; 2 Divisions Desert

SHANGHAI—The complete collapse of the much advertised anti-Red campaign of the Nanking government is practically admitted here in view of the fact that the revolutionary peasant forces are probably stronger today than before the "punitive expeditions" while the territory under their control embraces an even bigger area.

It is reported that more than 200 miles on both sides of the Yangtze River are firmly held by the Red forces who have practically a complete hold on this very important river and a large part of its valley.

The Red forces have already succeeded in penetrating to within seven miles of Hankow and have cut the Peiping-Hankow railway at that distance north of the city.

The recent mutiny of 13,000 men of Nanking's Twelfth Division, sent against the Red forces, has given the revolutionary armies a considerable reinforcement. When the Hankow authorities ordered the Twenty-fifth Division to proceed on a "punitive expedition" this division simply refused to entrain for the front and the official report declares that "the present attitude of the troops is very dubious."

SHANGHAI — Szechwan province, with a population of 60,000,000, and with armed forces amounting to 250,000 men, is about to become the scene of another general war. There are six military cliques in Szechwan, only one (Liu Hsiang) nominally loyal to Nanking. The six groups are fighting for hegemony and for the control of Szechwan's lucrative opium trade. It is regarded as inevitable that the clique war starting in Szechwan will spread to the other provinces.

## WALKER CLIQUE IN LEWIS SELL-OUT

### Illinois Leaders Give Up To Lewis and Get Good Jobs

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—What amounts to complete capitulation by the leaders of the "insurgent" (Springfield) "reorganized United Mine Workers of America" to the corrupt John L. Lewis clique took place here last week in connection with a decision of Judge Harry Edwards on the various matters in litigation before him involving the "reorganized" and "regular" U.M.W.A.

According to the decision of Judge Edwards, the national organization of John L. Lewis is recognized as "legitimate" and the "reorganized U.M.W.A." is recognized as the "illegitimate" District 12 (Illinois) of the Lewis organization. This decision is of course only the reflection of a previous deal between Lewis on the one hand and the Walker-Germier-Fishwick clique in Illinois, on the other. The negotiations which led to the deal

## STIMSON ORDERS "STUDY" OF SOVIET UNION, PREPARING ATTACK

### Joint Imperialist Action Rumored; Senator Borah For Recognition As Aid to Capitalism; Labor Must Defend Workers Country

WASHINGTON—Secretary of State Stimson ordered, on March 8, that a "special study" of Russian affairs be made. It is probable that this "study" will be placed in the hands of an Assistant Secretary of State.

Also some slight rumors of the possibility of recognition are heard, the overwhelming opinion seems to be that this "investigation" was ordered by the State Department as a step towards the initiation of a vigorous official anti-Soviet drive by the United States. There is great probability that this move of the United States is being taken in close association with other imperialist powers, especially France. It is also hinted that negotiations for a "strong" policy against the USSR may have taken place during the discussions of the five naval powers in connection with the Franco-Italian naval treaty.

The probability that the United States government is planning an official offensive against the Soviet Union is increased by the statement of the State Department on March 10 that "no change of policy... on Soviet recognition is being contemplated."

PARIS—The board of directors of the Bank of International Settlements (World

## 1,000 Hear Lovestone in Detroit

Speaks on Germany; Good Ruthenberg Meeting Held

DETROIT, Mar. 8.—Over a thousand workers gathered in the big hall of the Detroit Peoples Forum, despite the winter's worst snowstorm, to hear Jay Lovestone speak on "Germany at the Crossroads." Morris Sugar was chairman.

The workers listened in rapt attention to Lovestone's analysis of the class war in Germany, of the rising menace of Fascism, of the treacherous role of the Social-democratic party, and of the position and tactics of the Communist Party. Lovestone emphasized that the way to smash Fascism was to form a united front of the working class against the capitalist reaction on the basis of the plan proposed by the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition). "The fate of capitalist Europe and, therefore, to a large measure of the capitalist world, will be decided this year in Germany. Every American worker is vitally interested in this decision. A Fascist victory in Germany will mean a disastrous defeat not only in the German working class but also for the international working class, for the American working class, and a very severe blow to the Soviet Union. A Communist victory in Germany will go a long way in hastening the birth of a new classless society in the U. S. A. and throughout the world," declared Lovestone.

The report and proposals of the speaker were very well received, as could be seen by the repeated spontaneous applause. The question and discussion period was particularly interesting. Many official Communist Party members were present and asked questions. They were much surprised to hear of the extraordinary policies of the German Communist Party. Among the many questions asked were also some involving basic issues in the American Communist Party controversy and in the crisis in the Communist International. Thus the largest number of Party members since the split in the Party about two years ago, had a chance to listen to a discussion of the political differences within the Party—a right which the present bureaucratic leaders of the Communist Party have tried to deprive them of.

After the meeting quite a number of workers came over to Comrade William Miller, the Detroit organizer of the Com-

unist Party (Majority Group) and expressed full agreement with the speaker, as well as a desire to become members of an organization which "has at last given us some hope and shown us constructively what is to be done."

DETROIT, March 11.—Over two hundred workers turned out to the meeting held here to commemorate the death of Comrade Ruthenberg, founder and leader of the American Communist Party. Jay Lovestone was the speaker. William Miller presided.

In his talk Lovestone pointed out how the line of policies which Ruthenberg stood for and which helped the Communist Party of the United States to grow have now been dropped and its advocates expelled. His talk to a large extent dealt with the great political fermentation in Europe. In his talk Comrade Lovestone emphasized the close relation between the problems and tasks facing the European workers and those confronting the American workers. He outlined the main tasks of the Communists at the present time as: (1) Communist unity; (2) united front against capitalist reaction; (3) recognition and defense of the Soviet Union; (4) unemployment relief campaign; (5) rebuilding the left wing in the trade unions; (6) struggle against imperialist war; (7) struggle for the complete political and social equality for the Negro masses; (8) support of the revolutionary struggle in the colonies.

Questions and discussion followed. The workers were especially interested in the International Opposition Conference and its work.

ALBANY.—Under the slogan of "equal rights for women", representatives of the reactionary feminist National Woman's party, at a hearing before the Senate and Assembly Labor committees here on March 8, gave ardent support to the Kirkland-Jenks bill which would repeal the present prohibition of night work for women in restaurants between the hours of 10 P. M. and 6 A. M.

"To deny woman the right to work in a restaurant at night is unjust and discriminatory and is contrary to the ideals of our country," declared Mrs. Lieber Whittis, speaking in the name of the feminists.

The real significance of the attempt at repeal of the night work act was made clear by the plea of Frank Boland, representing a group of hotels and restaurants, who declared that it was an unconstitutional invasion of the "rights" of the employers (to make profits).

That Pay in Payrollism  
We reprint without comment and without charge two Washington's Birthday ads:

1. Macy's;  
"Holidays are nice but our furniture sale is so extra special that we regret shortening the week by even one day."

2. Irving Savings Bank;  
"Follow citizens! Geo. Washington fought for the future of his country. You owe it to yourself to save for your future. It's patriotic duty—START TODAY!"

## DEMAND REMOVAL OF WALKER

### Governor Asked to "Investigate" N. Y. Mayor; Also Investigate Crain

NEW YORK—In a letter to Governor Roosevelt and the individual members of the State Legislature, the Society for the Prevention of Crime makes a vigorous attack upon Mayor Walker's official conduct and urges Mr. Roosevelt to commission Samuel Seabury to investigate the Mayor.

The letter asks for a city-wide investigation with the object of removing Walker. A number of other civic bodies have already announced their support of the demand for investigation.

This demand follows the action of Governor Roosevelt in appointing Seabury to investigate District Attorney Thomas C. Crain after the City Club passed a resolution demanding his removal.

A "citizens committee of 1,000" is being formed under the auspices of the Citizens Union to push the proposal for a city-wide investigation of the connections between the Tammany administration on the one hand and crime, corruption, vice and graft on the other.

The rumor is also that Mayor Walker intends to resign, he himself, of course, vigorously "denies" it.

The trail of rottenness, corruption, vice and graft being uncovered in New York City is leading to the most "unexpected" places, from the lowly stool-pigeon up to the vandyke comic who occupies the Mayor's chair in the biggest city in the world. The Republicans and the "clean government" racket, like the Citizens Union, are making the maximum capital out of this situation. But the workers should realize that "clean government" under capitalism is moonshine because capitalism itself is a racket, a system whereby a small group of parasites fatten upon the toil of millions. For "clean government" the rotten system of capitalism must be wiped out!

## 1200 WORKERS AT "AGE" BENEFIT

### Big Crowd Shows Growing Influence Among the New York Workers

NEW YORK CITY.—Over 1,200 workers attended the theatre benefit given by the Revolutionary Age and the Arbeiterkampf, organs of the Communist Party (Majority Group) on March 11 at the Jersey Art Theatre here. The affair was a tremendous political success as well as a financial one and made a big impression on the militant workers of New York.

The success of the theater benefit—exceeding even the expectations of the promoters—is a good indication of the growing influence of the Communist Party (Majority Group) in New York City. The bulk of the audience at the show was composed of needle trades workers, shoe workers, and other groups of workers among whom the Communist Opposition movement has rooted itself.

NEW YORK.—Nearly two hundred aliens are being held in Ellis Island for deportation, immigration officers here announced. These arrests are the results of two weeks of activities of the immigration inspectors in this region.

## "PROGRESSIVES" MEET IN CAPITAL; FRAME WEAK PROGRAM; NO NEW PARTY

### Evasive on Unemployment, Tariff and Farm Relief; Against Nationalisation of Railways and Electric Power; But Conference Foreshadows End of Two-Party System

WASHINGTON—About 175 persons from all over the country and from every avenue of activity attended the two-day "Progressive" conference begun here on March 11 at the Carlton Hotel. There were present about 15 Senators, as many Representatives,

a number of ex-Congressmen, members of various State governments, farmer and trade union "leaders", professors, representatives of welfare organizations, publicists, etc.

The five State governors who had been invited (Roosevelt, Dem., N. Y.; Meier, Dem., Ore.; Pinchot, Rep., Pa.; LaFollette, Rep., Wis.; Olson, Rep., Minn.) sent "regrets" but did not make their appearance.

The conference was called as a "bipartisan" conference because it included members of both capitalist parties. Its official purpose was "to decide the legislative program to be advocated by Progressive Senators and Representatives in the next Congress." It specifically repudiated any purpose of forming a third party; for that reason, it is declared, Professor John Dewey had not been invited.

On these points short resolutions were later adopted. Prohibition was not included on the agenda. Nor were foreign relations, so that the viewpoint of the "Progressives" on the predatory policy of American imperialism and on the recognition of the Soviet Union found no official expression.

Senators Borah, Norris, LaFollette, and others spent most of the time in extended criticism of the Hoover administration, especially in connection with the tariff, the economic crisis, the farmers situation and the state of "representative government."

Commissioner Osias of the Philippines spoke for immediate independence and was mildly applauded. Two outstanding "representatives of labor" spoke—the conservative William Green and the "liberal" Sidney Hillman. Mr. Green urged the 5-day week, which even Mr. Raskob has now proposed for the Democratic party program. He also launched into a bitter attack upon the U.S.S.R.—which was not to the pleasure of the conference at all. Mr. Hillman advocated a scheme of unemployment insurance which would involve the reduction of the workers wages.

After the conference there took place some informal discussion of the 1932 presidential elections. Senator Norris declared that the "Progressives" would probably support the Democratic candidate, if he will not be too reactionary—a candidate like Governor Roosevelt would certainly get "Progressive" support. Other "Progressives" were "doubtful" fearing Tammany and Raskob. The Democrats, thru Senator Hull, immediately made a gesture of welcome to "Progressive" support.

The Program of the "Progressives"  
This conference brought to expression the various social streams which in America are generally grouped under the head of "Progressives". The main class foundations of "Progressivism" are: non-monopoly capital which is being crushed by big trust capital, the rich and middle strata of the farmers, certain elements of the labor officialdom and certain upper sections of the workers, and other miscellaneous elements.

"The resolutions (of the conference) were much milder than expected," declares the New York Times—and quite correctly. An analysis of the resolutions passed as well as of the answers given by Professor Charles Beard to the question asked by Senator Watson, Republican floor leader in the Senate, indicate this. It should be remembered that Professor Beard specifically declared that his answers were "not my own personal opinions but the answers as I find them written in the progressive opinion of the country."

In the resolution on unemployment the great discovery is made that "the distress arising out of unemployment still persists..." It declares that the "emergency" cannot be met "without the full use of the resources of the Federal, State and local governments"—but does not say how these resources should be used. Hoover and Secretary Daugherty would agree to this! It urges the "substitution of some semblance of order for the present chaotic and irresponsible conduct of industry"—but it wants this under a system whose basis is private property, whose exclusive economic motive power is the thirst for profit, whose fundamental law is anarchy and irresponsibility! Then, finally it elects a "sub-committee" to consider the question—in the approved Hoover style!

Portland, Ore. — Ben Roloff, Young Communist League organizer, was sentenced to ten years in prison here on March 3 on the charge of criminal syndicalism. The maximum term was imposed by the court.

Fred Walker, district organizer of the Young Communist League, is next on the list to be tried on the same charge.

The wave of terror spreading over the country—expressing itself in "legal" persecution and in "illegal" mob attacks—is part of the planned

## MAYOR WALKER TAKES THE AIR!



## WORKERS MURDEROUSLY BEATEN IN TEXAS; 10 YEARS FOR COMMUNIST

### Coder and Hurst Kidnapped by Dallas Mob and Left For Dead; Police Help in Attack; Portland Youth Convicted for "Syndicalism"

DALLAS, Tex.—Charles Coder and Lewis Hurst, militant Texas workers, were murderously beaten by a mob which kidnapped them from the steps of the jail from which they had been "released". Charles Coder, 30 years old is acting Trade Union Unity League organizer in Dallas and Lewis Hurst 18 years old, is a member of the Young Communist League and Dallas secretary of the Communist

Party. These two workers had been arrested in connection with the unemployment demonstrations of February 10 and February 25. They were held on vagrancy charges. In the jail "bull pen" they were mercilessly beaten by the police. Finally, on March 5, they, together with their lawyer, Edwards, were released.

As they left the jail they were met by a mob on the jail steps. It was quite obvious that the mob acted in cooperation with the police. The three were seized, the lawyer was released with a warning that he should never "have anything to do with damned Communists", and the two militant workers were dragged away to Hutchins, 18 miles into the country. Here they were flung into insensibility and then thrown into a river to die. Fortunately they were saved by some Negro tenant farmers.

The district attorney of Dallas and the other authorities openly promise immunity to the kidnapers of Coder and Hurst and express public approval of the attack.

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## Quick Aid Needed to Save the "Age"

The call for help we issued to save our REVOLUTIONARY AGE did not fall on deaf ears. The long list of contributions below shows that the workers and readers of our paper have decided not to let it die.

This money has saved us so far. But we cannot live on money already spent! The REVOLUTIONARY AGE still needs your support and needs it URGENTLY, as urgently, MORE urgently than ever! Have you sent in your contribution?

Comrade X, Troy, N.Y. \$ 1.00

Have you circulated your list? If you are a member of the CP-Majority Group, have you contributed your day's pay? Has your name appeared on the Honor Roll? Do your duty to yourself, your class, and your paper! Help save the REVOLUTIONARY AGE!

Days Wage Drive  
Nellie Edwards, balance 2.00  
William Yablon 3.00  
Celia Wadowsky 2.00  
Joe Mangner 9.00  
Fannie Levin 5.00  
Sarah Gillis 5.00  
Mae Stone 2.00  
Anna Fox 3.60  
Len Richman 5.00  
I. Zimmerman 2.00  
F. Goldberg 1.00  
G. Chibka 1.00  
S. Nehama 3.00  
N. Forman 5.00

General Fund \$ 112.40  
Days Wage 237.20  
Previously listed 2361.67  
Total \$2711.27

### MONARCHIST HEAD OF FRENCH ARMY

#### Bitter Enemy of USSR Made Chief of French Armies

PARIS—The appointment of General Max Weygand as commander-in-chief of the French Army has created a stir in the country.

Weygand is the "military genius" of the Polish imperialist attack against the Soviet Union in 1920. Weygand is today a confidential member of the "general staff" of the monarchist Russian Army quartered in France and Yugoslavia. He is the first monarchist to be the head of the French Army since the Republic.

Even the "Socialist" paper *Le Populaire* has been compelled to say: "The most odious reactionaries ordered this appointment." At no moment in the history of the Third Republic, not even at the time of the Dreyfus affair, has any general so hostile to the Republic been elevated to this post. General Weygand is ready for a coup d'etat as the head of the Army.

The paper *L'Ouvrier* (Radical) says: "Weygand is a dangerous man, capable in moments of crisis of going far. He is sunk in the priests, naturally, to the neck." Even so notorious a reactionary as Clemenceau could not restrain himself from denouncing Weygand as a "Jesus."

Authoritative opinion recognizes that Weygand's appointment is a big victory for reaction and a special blow at the Soviet Union. Weygand's attitude is shown in his declaration after the Polish onslaught in the Soviet Union: "Bolshevism is an atrocious system. Its tyranny is ten times worse than that of the Tsar. I hear now that certain persons are wishing to conclude French recognition of Russia. . . . It is a shameful thing to make a pact with crime. . . . I see that Bolshevism constitutes a grave military danger to my country. That is enough for me."

### WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE M. T. W. I. U.

by A New York Marine Worker

The M. T. W. I. U. has been in existence one year. It started out with the best organizers on the coast; who have since then all dropped away, thru the inability of the national office to lay out a proper program of action.

In the meantime, the union with both the Communist Party district and national school at its disposal has failed to develop one organizer.

We also find that besides the loose check-up in bookkeeping system the national office has failed to put out a financial report. A hand-picked national committee met at the Communist Party center last December to take up the problems of Marine Workers' Union. The expulsion case of Morgan and Anderson was brought to the front. They agreed to repudiate any thing that was not in line with the R.I.L.U. principles but were railroaded anyway, for the simple reason that they would not repudiate the first charges they brought against Mink. Anderson was expelled from the union at a meeting where he was not present. The first meeting he attended, he requested the floor to explain his case, but he was refused. When minutes of the national committee were read at the following membership meeting there was no mention made of a \$225 debt that the union owed. Comrade Anderson—a right which the national chairman acknowledged—that the national committee would meet.

Our national committee has only five rank and file members. The rest are made up of members holding executive positions in both local and national offices and also two representatives of the T.U.U.L. Why?

A few months ago Comrade Soderberg was very active in the strike in Philadelphia. Thru the shroud mystery which still hangs over Philadelphia affair we find that Soderberg is recalled to New York. He was not in New York at any time before he was sent in the field on a tour for the I.L.D. While he was in the field he was viciously attacked by members of the national office at a membership meeting. He returns to New York and attempts to repudiate the attacks and is again sent in the field for the I. L. D. He is halfway thru his tour when he is recalled to New York from Buffalo and is not active either in the I.L.D. or the union now. Why?

The strike has just been settled in the Gulf where our national organizer has been for the last six weeks or more. We have received no news whatsoever in regards to this strike. Why?

A hunger march was started from New York to Albany wherein several marine workers participated. In the meantime six seamen were taken to the hospital from the seamen's church institute. Three of them we can prove actually died from starvation. The M.W.I.U., who helped to make up this hunger march and who claims to be the leader of the seamen in struggle has not even held a mass meeting or put out a leaflet to protest against these seamen being left to starve. Why?

On the waterfront today we are facing a grave danger thru the inability of a few bureaucrats to lead the seamen in struggle. We find the seamen getting more disillusioned every day and harder to line up. The main danger lays in the fact that instead of the union making these workers revolutionary, the present union policies have a tendency to make them anti-revolutionary.

We also find that besides the loose check-up in bookkeeping system the national office has failed to put out a financial report. A hand-picked national committee met at the Communist Party center last December to take up the problems of Marine Workers' Union. The expulsion case of Morgan and Anderson was brought to the front. They agreed to repudiate any thing that was not in line with the R.I.L.U. principles but were railroaded anyway, for the simple reason that they would not repudiate the first charges they brought against Mink. Anderson was expelled from the union at a meeting where he was not present. The first meeting he attended, he requested the floor to explain his case, but he was refused. When minutes of the national committee were read at the following membership meeting there was no mention made of a \$225 debt that the union owed. Comrade Anderson—a right which the national chairman acknowledged—that the national committee would meet.

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The Economic Life of Soviet Russia by CALVIN B. HOOVER Duke University PRICE \$3.00 THE MACMILLAN COMPANY 60 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C. Order thru the *Revolutionary Age*, 63 Madison Ave., New York

### The Question Box

#### What is the "Lovestone Group"?

South Bend, Washington February 28, 1931.  
I would appreciate it very much if you would give me details of the split in the Party? What is meant by the Lovestone group? I have written this question to the *"Daily Worker"* but it has been ignored. I have asked them the question a second time but still no answer. —H.

1. What is meant by the Lovestone Group? The "Lovestone group" is a popular name for that section of the Communist Party of the United States which was expelled from the C.P. during the course of the latter part of 1929 because of a number of serious political differences. Up to that time, since the year 1925, the C.P. had been under the Ruthenberg-Lovestone-Gitlow leadership and in this period the strength and influence of the Party among the workers increased very greatly and the Communist Party became, as the Communist International declared, the "staunch leader" of the workers in fierce class battles. At the Party Convention in March 1929 the Lovestone-Gitlow leadership of the C.P. was endorsed by a 10 to 1 majority.

But during the preceding year a slow change had been taking place in the policies of the Communist International (the federation of all the Communist Parties of the world), a movement away from the Leninist tactics of winning the majority of the working class to Communism. As a result attempts were made, as early as 1928, to change the well-tried policies of our Party but with little success. Towards the middle of 1929 (in connection with the factional situation in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the Communist International) the leaders of the Communist International made a frontal attack with the determination to change our Party policies right-about-face. The Lovestone-Gitlow-Wolfe leadership

did not agree to this proposed change and therefore they, along with hundreds of Party members, were expelled under the instructions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. (E.C.C.I.) Note that these comrades did not at all refuse to obey the wrong decision—they merely refused to declare that they agreed with something with which they could not agree—and for this they were all expelled.

As soon as they were expelled they organized a faction called the Communist Party (Majority Group)—the Lovestone leadership had been known as the Majority—in order to fight for the restoration of the old policies that had been tested in the struggle with such good results. The group now consists of comrades expelled from the Party and supporters still within the Party.

Exactly what happened in the U. S. A. with the "Lovestone group" happened in most other Communist Parties as well. In Germany, in France, in Sweden, in Finland, in Czechoslovakia, everywhere, the E.C.C.I. tried to force its new disastrous policies upon the Parties and everywhere opposition arose and larger mass expulsions took place and Opposition groups were born.

The main points of political difference between us and the official Party leadership (the points around which the expulsions took place) are: (a) As opposed to the high-sounding "revolutionary" phrases of the Party leadership, which sound big but mean nothing, we stand for a careful, realistic examination of the objective conditions and the framing of tactics upon such an examination. (This the Party denounces as "exceptionalism.") (b) As against the official policy of deserting the mass organizations of the workers and everywhere founding new spick-and-span, "pure", paper "revolutionary unions" without any members, we propose the old and well-tried policy, championed by Lenin, of Communists working within the mass reactionary trade unions and other organizations (the "boring from within" policy). (c) We stand for the well-known tactics of the united front according to which revolutionary organizations make blocs with non-Communist workers organizations on the basis of certain concrete programs fighting for certain immediate demands. The official Party leaders today reject these Leninist tactics and call all non-Communist workers "fascists" or "social-fascists." (d) We stand for democratic centralism and Party democracy as against the bureaucratic autocracy of the Party officials. We declare that all Communists must have the right to freely express their opinions in the Party with no fear of any disciplinary consequences and that, after a decision has been arrived at on the basis of a free discussion, this decision is binding upon all comrades. The official Party leaders today allow no questioning or discussion of their policies and have expelled members from the Party for merely hesitating to say that Lovestone is an "agent of the Department of Justice!"

### WORKERS BEATEN IN TEXAS

(Continued from page 1)

offensive being conducted by the bosses of the United States against the working class and its organizations. The bosses are making this attack on the workers in order to intimidate them and prevent the expression of the growing unrest and dissatisfaction in their ranks. They are making this attack as a cover for their wage-cutting and union-smashing drive. They are making this attack in order to crush the signs of revolt among the millions of unemployed. They are making this attack in order to prepare the ground for sending millions of American workers to be slaughtered in the next war for the benefit of Wall Street.

The general platform of the bosses' attack on the labor movement is the Fish Committee report. Altho the Fish Committee report has not yet been considered by Congress and received its "sanction," it is already being carried out in fact! Thousands of militant foreign-born workers have been arrested and held for deportation. Nearly a dozen militant working class papers have already been attacked by the Post Office Department and their mailing rights refused. An official attack on the Soviet Union is being prepared by the United States government. Hundreds of workers are now in prison for their devotion to the working class. And now the attack on Coder and Hurst shows that the ruling class is ready to go to any extreme to break down the fighting spirit of the workers.

The American workers must realize that this offensive is not aimed at the Communists alone. As the *Tolito Union Leader* of January 21 says: "The recommendations offered by this outfit (the Fish committee) are loaded with T.N.T. as it is only a step once the Communists are somewhat suppressed to make all laws of suppression apply to the union movement."

Every worker and every workers organization—no matter of what political or religious views, no matter how conservative—is threatened by the bosses' offensive! The only way this offensive can be beaten back is by a united front of labor!

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NEW YORK CITY

### MILLION FOR IDLE RICH SPORTS

#### \$1,050,000 For Ice Sports But Not One Cent For Starving Jobless

At a time when hundreds of thousands, and even millions of unemployed workers and their families in the State of New York are in actual starvation, at a time when mass misery stalks the streets of every city and town in the State—at a time when neither the State nor municipal authorities have not lifted a finger to relieve the desperate situation of the masses—a sum of \$1,050,000 is being raised to provide winter sports for the rich parasites at Lak Placid, N. Y., in the form of the third Olympic Winter games to be held in February 1932.

To this fund the State Legislature with the approval of Governor Roosevelt, whose heart "bleeds" for the unemployed, has made a second appropriation of \$375,000. Essex County is booked for an appropriation of \$50,000. The town of North Elba, where Lake Placid is located, has floated a bond issue of \$200,000. But not one cent have either the State or the county or the city authorities given to help the unemployed!

This is what capitalism means: millions for the rich parasites to waste in their idleness—starvation and misery for the workers who produce all the wealth.

### NEW NAVY PACT ADDS TO WAR STEPS

#### Aims At Anti-Soviet Bloc; No Hindrance to Armament

MOSCOW.—The recent Anglo-French-Italian naval agreement, the terms of which have just been announced is recognized here as a bold move of France to form an anti-Soviet European bloc as well a step in advance in its drive for hegemony on the continent as against Great Britain. The significance of this move in the sense of a European bloc against the United States is also indicated.

Altho the terms of the pact are not fully known it is announced that nothing in the pact will have any effect in decreasing the naval armament plans of any of the countries involved.

Oh Mr. Fish! Representative "Naval Affairs" Britten has delivered himself of the following:

"The American Congress is being dominated by Socialists and Bolsheviks, by Communists and pacifists of butterfly ideals. . . ."

A man who can write like that is wasting his time; he should be running a colym or competing with Will Rogers, Cal Coolidge and Jorge.

### The Youth Movement STUDENTS AGAINST MILITARISM

Students of nine universities and colleges, including Yale, Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, University of Maryland, Swarthmore and Georgetown, voted members of the S. U. Senate bearing a petition, signed by 10,000 students in fifty-five colleges and universities, asking Congress to put an end to the appropriation of money to educational institutions in which military training is compulsory.

The helplessness of petitions merely against compulsory military training can be seen from the fact that military officials are now resorting to optional military training in the schools. By making physical training very difficult and in some, students are driven to accept military drill instead. Such is the case in Boston University. And besides, military training in the schools is only a small part of the military training apparatus in the United States and only a phase of its military structure. The students seem to forget that there are such things as an army and navy and marines, that the C.M.T.C. and National Guard still exist. They appear unaware of the fact that the war department is planning the conscription of practically the whole population either in active service or for service in "war industries"—which means all industries.

Mr. Weyl of Columbia University made an eloquent gesture when he declared: "Intelligent college men will refuse to fight in any war, unless every member of both branches who votes for war, and every member of the administration who favors war goes into active service, and until every last dollar of wealth needed is conscripted to pay for the war, and to cancel the hangover debts from the World War."

### The Economic Week

The first half of March has not strengthened the position of those who have pushed the idea that "a major turn has already begun." But deficits, car loadings, and commercial failures indicate no improvement. The decisive statistics for the month of February are either discouraging or in spots, at best, not encouraging to the official prosperity drummers. Whatever improvement there was in the unemployment situation was not general but very slight and in a limited number of industries occasioned by seasonal factors. February automobile production rose to 230,364 as compared with 178,300 in January but compared with 245,955 in February 1930 when the present crisis was already getting into full swing. Unfilled orders of the U. S. Steel Corporation fell 167,167 tons in February, to a total of 3,965,194 tons on March 1st.

### USSR GIVES LIFE TO PLOTTERS

#### Soviet Court Imposes Short Terms on Impotent Mensheviks

MOSCOW—None of the fourteen Mensheviks who had confessed counter-revolutionary activity and connections with foreign interventionist circles received the death penalty to which they were liable in the trial that ended here on March 9. Instead, their sentences included terms of imprisonment for periods of from 5 to 10 years. It is expected that the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Congress will make some commutation of sentence if an appeal is addressed to it.

The relatively mild sentences imposed upon those who had broken their trust with the Soviet government and had given aid and assistance to its enemies, proves—just as did the commutation of the death sentences of the recently convicted saboteurs—that the Workers Republic of the Soviet Union is not out for revenge but for the protection of the Workers State against capitalism. They stand in striking contrast with the murderously brutal conduct of the bosses government all over the world in suppressing every attempt of the working masses to improve their conditions and fight for their rights. In the USSR self-confessed saboteurs and saboteurs are not sent to the death they so richly deserve because they are no longer a menace to the workers rule. But in the U.S.A. Sacco and Vanzetti were murdered on frame-up charges because of their championship of the interests of the workers while Moorey and Billings are still languishing in jail on charges that everybody, including the judge and jury that convicted them, know are absolutely false. Capitalist "justice" is the desperate ferocity of a class that is trying to hold off the inevitable. Proletarian justice is social defense against the forces of reaction and exploitation.

### International Conference

#### Continuation of Reports

(Continued from the last issue) FLYG (Sweden) continues reporting: "At this conference—at which there were 175 trade unions, 150 syndicalist local organizations, 31 unemployed leagues and a mutual aid league—we issued a manifesto calling upon the workers to fight, thru extra-parliamentary action, for regular relief to the unemployed by the municipality. (In Sweden there is no legal support for the unemployed at all) Either work, we said, or else regular government support!

"In comparison with Germany unemployment in Sweden may not seem so great but for Sweden it is very great. Out of 500,000 workers in the trade unions about 100,000 are unemployed. Today unemployment exists primarily in the export industry which is in a very serious crisis.

Another question with which we had to deal was the Trade Union Unity Committee. We organized this committee upon the suggestion of the Comintern and it began to function as an organization for revolutionary propaganda within the trade unions. At first we decided that trade unions sympathetic with the Unity Committee should vote regular monthly subsidies for it. The reformist trade union leaders then declared that the Unity Committee was really a dual trade union executive and ordered that all trade unions must cease their financial connections with the Unity Committee or else be expelled from the trade union federation. We decided at that time, that since we did not have the support of the majority of the trade union workers, that we should put an end to the official monetary support of the Unity Committee by the trade unions so as to avoid expulsions. But the Comintern insisted that we must continue with the official dues no matter what happens. This happened just before we were expelled from the Comintern.

Another big issue that arose as we were being expelled was the character of Swedish capitalism. The E.C.C.I. tried to show that the Swedish Party leadership did not understand or would not understand that "Sweden is an imperialist country" and that therefore its policy on domestic matters but especially on the war question, was necessarily wrong. It was said that we insisted that "there was no war danger for Sweden since it was under the control of British and American capital and had no independent policy." All this was a complete fiction. Just because Sweden stands under the influence of the U. S. A. and Great Britain, does not mean that the war danger is diminished; on the contrary it is intensified. Sweden's interest in a war against the Soviet Union and in the Baltic bloc is closely connected with its relations to the U. S. A. The whole question became a matter of hair-splitting after a while, in which the Comintern representatives found

### "PROGRESSIVES" MEET; ADOPT A WEAK PROGRAM

(Continued from page 1)  
It does not even come out for unemployment insurance!

On the tariff, the conference adopted a resolution that is utterly evasive; it calls for a "scientific revision" of the Smoot-Hawley tariff and for the appointment of a "genuinely impartial, non-partisan and efficient tariff commission"—in exactly the same manner as Raskob did at the recent Democratic National Committee session!

The resolution on "representative government" deplores the increasing power of the Executive, the corrupt practices in elections, etc., etc. and puts forward a series of trivial measures and the pious wish that "liberty be restored to the American people."

Professor Beard might have told the conference what he has pointed out more than once in his historical writings that real democracy is quite impossible in a society in which economically the vast masses of the people are exploited by a small class of the owners of the means of production. However, it should be noted that the conference did go on record against injunctions and the restriction of civil liberty.

On agriculture Senator Doish's committee brought in the recommendations—to hold a series of conferences in the Summer and Fall. Again it might have been Hoover speaking.

In his reply to the questions of Senator Watson, Professor Beard gave the attitude of the "Progressives" as follows: on prohibition; on government ownership and operation of the railroads and of electric power—distinctly against, in favor of only "coordination and regulation"; on unemployment insurance—generally in favor; on immigration—against free immigration; on the U.S.S.R.—in favor of recognition.

With all its confusion, inconsistencies, hesitations and contradictions—this about sums up the program of the "Progressives" and the class forces they represent.

The Significance of the Conference  
The significant thing about the conference is not the utterly harmless program adopted but rather the fact

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For Men and Young Men  
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New York City.

**LABOR AGE**  
The Voice of Progressive Labor  
Points to the Next Steps in the  
American Radical Labor Struggle  
\$2.50 a year 25c a copy  
104—5th Ave., New York City

that—for the first time since the Bull Moose party of 1912 and the LaFollette party of 1924—members of the two big capitalist parties have gotten together to adopt a political program different from the programs of either of the parties on many points. This is a clear sign of the maturing of the forces making for the disintegration of the two-party system in this country. In spite of the fervid assurances of the "Progressives" that they "are not out for" a third party, the conference represents an objective step in the direction of a third party.

### PLAN STUDY "NEGRO IN U. S. HISTORY"

Cork and Kirton To Give Eight Lectures, Starting Mar. 22; Workers Should Attend

A course of eight lectures on "The Contribution of the Negro to American History" to begin on March 22, 1931 and to continue for eight Sundays thereafter is announced by the New Workers School and the John Brown Labor Defense Club under whose auspices the course is to be given. The course begins with a discussion of the African social and cultural background and the slave trade (Lesson I), the story of the slave insurrections and the civil war (Lesson II), the status of the Negro in the reconstruction period (Lesson III), the Negro as a laborer (Lesson IV), some miscellaneous questions relating to the Negro and industry (Lesson V), the world war and the Negro (Lesson VI), and finally the problems of capitalism, imperialism and the Negro (Lesson VIII).

The instructors of the course are Jim Cork, of the New Workers School, and Hodge Kirton, well-known lecturer. The fee for the entire eight lectures is only \$2.00—single lectures 25c. The course will take place at 254 West 135 Street to which inquiries are to be addressed under the name of Harlem Open Forum.

A Capitalist Drama

We reprint herewith complete, the shortest play ever written. It is by a French writer, Tristan Bernard and is called "The Exile."  
Scene: A mountaineer sits in his hut near the frontier. A knock is heard, he opens and in steps a political refugee, the "exile."  
"Exile: "Whoever you are, have pity pity on a hunted man. There is a price on my head."  
Mountaineer: "How much?"  
The exile turns on his heel and walks off, as the curtain falls.

READ!  
Revolutionary Age

The Logic of a Wrong Line  
**The New York Dress Strike**

by Ben Gitlow

Now the story can be told. The New York dressmakers strike called on February 17 by the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union is practically over. We can now soberly review the strike and draw the necessary lessons for the working class. We can determine how the trade union policy of the Communist Party and the T.U.U.L. works out in fact.

The Party leadership hailed the strike as an historic event of the greatest importance to the working class. They claimed that it would inspire other sections of the working class to struggle. The outstanding feature of the dressmakers strike, however, was its failure to inspire the needle trades workers to struggle. Even the Party members were not enthused and failed to respond with the militancy and heroism that marked the former struggles of the needle workers led by the left wing and the Communists.

**A Few Preliminary Facts**

It is necessary therefore to note a few facts before an estimate of the whole situation is made.

*Fact Number 1:* On October 7, 1930 the Shop Delegates Council adopted the original demands for the strike. The Daily Worker of Oct. 8 reports this as follows:

"The demands proposed by the Executive of the Shop Delegates Council were adopted unanimously except for the six votes of the Lovestonites. The principal demands are for minimum wage scales in the various crafts, week work, 5-day week and 7-hour day, no speed-up and unemployment insurance."

Adam's rib was turned into a woman and Eve was born to tempt and torment him. Now the Daily Worker performs so-called Communist miracles, by making "anonymous" a proposition against which six votes were registered.

The six votes registered against the recommendation of demands for the dress strike were recorded because the demands were not based upon actual situation in the industry. They could not serve to mobilize the workers and were therefore unrealistic and adventurist demands. The basis for opposition to these demands were to the General Executive Board of very clearly stated in the letter sent the union at its sessions of December 25-28 by Chas. S. Zimmerman, L. Nelson and I. Steiner, on behalf of the Needle Trades Workers Unity League. Briefly they were the following:

- The demands will not lead to the best possible mobilization of the workers. The demands for week work and the 35-hour week, while they would be valuable acquisitions, cannot be put forward as practical immediate demands when the dressmakers are working on the average fifty hours a week, and when they are of the opinion these demands are unattainable at the present time. Therefore we propose the demands which are popular with the workers and attainable at the present time, that is, the 40-hour, 5-day week, guaranteed minimum wage scales, no discharge, unemployment insurance, fund, etc.
- The N.T.W.I.U. invite the New York Joint Board of the Dressmakers of the I.L.G.W.U. to a conference for the purpose of establishing a united front of all dressmakers against the bosses.
- That the N.T.W.I.U. change its policy towards the right wing unions and take steps to build up left wing movements in these unions.
- That a fight be made for trade union unity in the needle trades, and that the organization of left wings develop a struggle for uniting the needle trades workers in one industrial union.
- That the unorganized be organized—branding as a fundamental mistake the giving up of organization drives by the N.T.W.I.U.
- That union democracy be restored: That the General Executive Board go on record publicly against the expulsion policy in the union and in the T.U.U.L. and against practices of discrimination or persecution against workers for varying opinions.

The General Executive Board rejected this appeal. The original demands were given the O.K. of the G.E.B. and plans were worked out for the mobilization of the workers on the basis of the adopted demands. At the meeting of the G.E.B., W. Z. Foster was present as Secretary of the T.U.U.L. and leader of the Communist Party. The demands therefore received the official endorsement and approval of the T.U.U.L. and the Communist Party leadership. Those who resisted the adventurist proposals were called "right wing," "company union" agents and "strike-breakers," so it was a well-known secret that many of the most prominent and influential members of the G.E.B. opposed the demands and would have spoken and resisted their adoption if it were not for the fact that the present Party regime is based upon a demand for blind submission and mechanical execution of all decisions. To fight for one's con-

victions, for one's viewpoint in opposition to the accepted and handed-down decisions of the Party bureaucracy is to commit "Communist" heresy and to suffer damnation and humiliation as a "right winger."

**Facts and Fancies**

The advocates of the new trade union policies however soon found out that it is one thing to draw up a set of demands on paper but quite a different thing to carry it out in life and action. On paper it is easy to parade as an extreme left winger and a revolutionist. But to lead the workers in struggle is a different story. The masses cannot be led by phrases and pretty words. Try as much as they could the leaders of the Party the T.U.U.L. and the union could not inspire the workers with enthusiasm and a readiness for struggle with the demands. The conditions in the industry were bad enough. Speed-up, long hours, unemployment, low wages, prevailed. The workers were dissatisfied. They, however, were not responsive. Not even the Communist Party members were enthusiastic over the prospect of the coming strike. The Communist Party fraction refused to accept any positions of responsibility for the strike they did not dare to speak against or oppose the demands.

**A Right-About Face**

The present Communist Party regime is responsible for an inner Party situation that prevents free open discussion within the Party. The fact that Party members fear to express their opinions is of the most dangerous consequences to a Communist party. In the needle trades the Party leadership from October 8 till February, the eve of the strike, had no way of determining the attitude of the masses towards its proposals. Faced with a complete debacle they made a complete right-about turn and changed their original demands, accepting some of the proposals recommended by those who had been branded as "right-wing agents" and "snobs" just the day previous. The proposals, however for the united front and trade union unity, for building the left wing in the right wing unions and for union democracy and unity of all the forces for the strike, were not included in the changes made. The belated change in the demands saved the union from a complete debacle; that is the best that can be said for the change.

The revised demands were as follows:

- Recognition of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, price committee and shop chairman.

**Problems of the Negro Masses**

**WHICH WAY: LABOR OR CAPITAL?**

by Will Herberg

The economic crisis and the tremendous growth of unemployment have given a new emphasis to a number of very serious questions of concern to the Negro worker. None of these is more pressing than the problem of coping with unemployment, for to the Negro worker unemployment is an even worse scourge than to the white worker. However incredible may be the levels to which the general unemployment figures are shooting, the percentage of unemployment among the Negroes is still higher! It is calculated that unemployment has hit the Negro worker at least twice as hard as the white worker. In the city of Pittsburgh (1), for example, a city where Negroes are but 8% of the total population, 40% of the applicants for the municipal relief fund were Negroes. In Buffalo, a survey of the National Urban League showed that "in March 1930 17.7% of the Negroes were unemployed as compared with 10.8% among the whites. In Philadelphia, in one district 29.2% of the Negroes are unemployed and 6.7% of the white." (2) With all necessary secondary modifications, it remains true that the inferior status, economically and socially, of the Negro in American society, condemns him to be "the first to be fired and the last to be hired."

It must be recognized that it is often the white worker himself who helps condemn his colored fellow-worker to this position. The A. F. of L. in practice rejects any idea of the economic equality of Negro and white workers. As a rule it refuses to organize the Negro and, in the rare cases that it does, it segregates him in Jim-crow unions. Cases are notorious in which conservative labor unions have ordered strikes because a Negro worker was employed while white workers were out of a job!

By and large, the situation is the same in "normal" times as far as the relations of the Negro to industry are concerned. It is a commonplace, yet it is an aching truth, that the access of the Negro worker to industry is barred by numberless obstacles even in normal times, that he can only find a place in industry in inferior and low-standard positions, that all too frequently his entry into industry is gained through strike-breaking and scabbery. The problem of the Negro and unemployment in this crisis is an aggravation of the more general problems of the Negro and industry in normal times.

Hounded from every side, discriminated against and spurned by those to whom he has a right to look for fraternal assistance,

"2. Guaranteed minimum wage scales on the basis of which piece work prices shall be settled—operators, \$44; pressers, \$50; cutters, \$50 (week work); drapers, \$32 (week work); finishers, \$28; examiners, \$28 (week work) floor girls (pinkers and cleaners); \$20 (week work).

"3. Immediate 20 per cent increase for all underpaid workers in every section of the city, and additional gradual increases until the union scale is reached.

"4. The 40-hour, 5-day week.

"5. Abolition of all discrimination and the right of Negro workers to every shop and every craft on the basis of equal pay for equal work.

"6. The right to the job—no discharge; equal division of work.

"7. Unemployment insurance."

The leadership refused to carry out any unity proposal to the workers in the right wing unions. At the same time they pursued a policy of the rankst discrimination. Tried and capable needle trades militants, who had always been in the forefront of the needle trades workers struggle, were excluded from all strike committees, because in their disagreements with the leadership of the Communist Party and the T.U.U.L. they insisted upon a policy of unity and not division in the ranks of the working class. The very militants who, in October, had realized the situation in the dress industry for what it actually was and introduced the correct set of demands, were eliminated from all active leadership of the strike. This discrimination was not a blow against these comrades but against the strike and the workers.

**Attitude Towards I.L.G.W.U. Shops**

The Communist Party, union and the T.U.U.L. leadership, in addition to the ruinous policies already noted in their preparations for the dress strike, ignored or carried out a wrong and costly policy towards the dressmakers in the shops controlled by the International Ladies' Guild Workers' Union and on the question of the organization of the unorganized.

No serious attempt was made to organize the unorganized. There are approximately 25,000 unorganized dress makers in New York and vicinity. The organization of these should have been the main drive of the strike.

In the I.L.G.W.U. dress shops there are approximately 10,000-15,000 workers. The united front with their union for a common struggle was rejected and instead, a policy of attempting to tear away shops was made the central main drive of the strike.

(Continued on Page 4)

**While the Jobless Starve....**

**DOG LIES IN STATE IN FUNERAL CHAPEL**  
*Special to The New York Times*  
 GREAT NECK, L.I., Feb. 4.—The body of Douglas, a 7-year-old German Schnauzer owned by Princess Xenia—the former Mrs. William B. Leeds Jr.—has been lying in state since Thursday in a funeral chapel here, it was learned tonight. The dog is in a gray coffin with white satin lining, about which floral pieces have been ranked. Douglas, which was one of Princess Xenia's 100 pets, died last Thursday at her Syosset (L.I.) estate. The Princess called in the undertakers and they consented to attend to the funeral arrangements. Most of the floral decorations were sent by the Princess. It was intimated the dog would be buried at the pet's cemetery at Hartdale, N. Y.

**THE "NEW TURN" IN CALIFORNIA**

**Has Darcy His Own Line In The Unions and on the S. P.?**

We have received the following letter from Los Angeles:

February 23, 1931.

Last night, February 22, there took place a private meeting under the auspices of the Free Speech Committee against the break-up of the meetings scheduled for Comrade Foster last week. Those participating in the protest meeting were: the Civil Liberties Union, the Socialist Party, the I. W. W. and the Communist Party. It was a real united front. It seems that only the police was in a position to convince the Party as to the necessity of making united fronts with the "social fascists."

**Our correspondent is correct. It was a real united front meeting. But such a united front is entirely and absolutely against the official course of the Party.**

What is the solution to the mystery? How is it that the California district carries on its own (correct) line on the free speech fight directly against the official policy of the Party? Is it because the district organizer, Sam Darcy, always had his "doubts" about the ultra-left Party line?

**"New Line" Science**

The Greek Communist paper in New York, *Empros*, is quite up-to-date. It has decided to initiate a "Science Column" to give the Greek workers the benefit of the treasures of human knowledge and culture. And so in the March 14 issue they began with:

"*Chiropractic Science*, by Dr. G. N. Kazvins, Dr. of Chiropractic, is thoroughly consistent! The "political science" to be found in its columns bears the same relation to Marxism and Leninism as chiropractic does to medical science!

see everything not from the viewpoint of Negro workers (the great mass of the Negro people), but rather from that of the Negro small business man.

**2. Building a "Negro Economy"**

The second proposal is more pretentious but hardly more realistic. Do the stampings of this plan seriously propose the establishment of a "Negro" coal or iron or steel or packing industry side by side with the existing giant trusts and competing with them? For it is precisely in these industries that the overwhelming bulk of the Negro proletariat are found—and not in the small shops in Harlem or on the South Side of Chicago. Could a more visionary, more utopian proposal be imagined? Is it not clear that the only tangible benefits of the attempts to build a "Negro economy" would be limited at best to the Negro small capitalists?

Is it not obvious that:

"The success of a Negro petty-capitalism will give economic reality merely to our contemporary Negro middle class which is temporarily detached from the realities of working class life?" (4)

Or that:

"... however successful Negro business enterprise may be... it must in the nature of the case remain a diminutive force in modern industrialism—which is to say, that its heralded power for meeting the problem of Negro unemployment will be of small importance?" (5)

And suppose, merely for the sake of argument, that "Negro economy" is developed. Of what substantial benefit could this be to the Negro industrial worker? The Negro who has become a capitalist is more of a capitalist than a Negro. Is it not conceivable that a Negro employer may exploit and oppress and even discriminate against Negro workers just as do white capitalists—and for the same reasons? Have we not heard of Jewish capitalists who refuse to hire Jewish clerks? Is it not notorious that the ultra-Zionist capitalists are precisely among the worst exploiters of their dear fellow-Jews? Capitalists first—Jews afterwards, very much afterwards! The Negro workers should learn this lesson.

(1) "Work," by H. A. Lett, Opportunity, March, 1931.  
 (2) "International Frontiers," by Eugene Kinwilt Jones, Opportunity, March, 1931.  
 (3) This, of course, does not exclude the possibility of individual Negro bourgeois intellectuals adopting the point of view of the Negro toiling masses, and it excludes, however, the possibility of the various strata of the Negro petty-bourgeoisie and even bourgeois playing their part in the emancipatory struggle of the Negro people. What it excludes, however, is their leading role in this struggle as a class.  
 (4) Abraham L. Harris: *The Negro Worker* (5) Ibid.

**Raskob at the Democratic Nat'l Committee**  
**Democrats Bid for Power**

by Spectator

Declarations on principle and program by bourgeois parties—and by American bourgeois parties in particular—are generally indicative not so much of what they actually stand for as what they would like to have believed they stand for and should, therefore, be examined in this light. The speech of Mr. John J. Raskob at the recent session of the Democratic National Committee in Washington is very significant from this standpoint. Not only are its political implications very definite in regard to the present situation but it actually signals a new stage in the completion of the evolution of the Democratic party into a party of trustified capital, with the correspondingly thorough liquidation of the petty bourgeois liberal traditions of the Bryan and Wilson eras.

**Objects of Mr. Raskob's Policy**

In his address of March 5, Mr. Raskob continued the vigorous championing of the policy that has characterized his leadership of the Democratic party for the last three years. The essential content of his policy as outlined in his report is:

- To convince Big Business that the Democratic party is perfectly "reliable" and has completely outlived the petty bourgeois "excesses" of its past.
- To head off and to prevent the formation of a third bourgeois liberal party—which would absorb large sections of the liberal following of the Democratic party ("Smith-liberals," etc.)
- To make the prohibition issue the central issue of the 1932 election campaign and to commit the Democratic party to a pronounced wet stand.

It must be conceded that these tasks are by no means unworthy of General Motors Raskob, the high-powered executives.

**1. Convincing Big Business**

Let us see how Mr. Raskob proceeds to convince Big Business of the "soundness" of the Democratic party.

Whence the present crisis? Mr. Raskob asks. And he answers: "From lack of faith in business and in government." But a Democratic administration would soon restore this "faith" and thereby prosperity!

This is followed by a most vigorous repudiation of the slightest intention of the Democratic party's "attacking business."

"It is not the duty of the party to engage in any attacks upon business."

... the foolhardiness of attacking the rich or capital in the hope of aiding the poor and weak. . . . Any attempt to induce labor to shake or to destroy capital or to cause capital to fear labor tends to destroy that faith in each other

**Unemployment and the Party**

**A "NEW TURN"-TO OPPORTUNISM!**

by B. G. Kalfides

In the face of defeat piled on defeat, in the face of constantly deepening isolation, which they have to explain away, the Party leaders have developed into first class sophists and schemers. They present defeats as victories, black as white, sectarianism as Leninism; they can exaggerate and he again exaggerations at the same time, and, best of all, they can find scapegoats galore.

One of the best examples of the bankruptcy of the Party bureaucracy is the unemployment campaign. Comrade Browder, the official lamenter of the new line, in an article in the Daily Worker entitled "One Year of Unemployment Struggles," gives us a picture of tremendous "progress" and "success." A year ago, March 6, we are told 1,625,000 demonstrated on the streets throughout the U. S.—according to Labor Unity 3,000,000. This year according to the "figures" of the Daily Worker, only 400,000 demonstrated. Therefore a big victory for the Party! How is this miracle performed? How is it then, when the actual number of participating unemployed workers in the Party demonstrations decreases that the Party registers victory and success? Very simple—by sophistry and demagoguery.

Comrade Browder continues enumerating the successes of the unemployment campaign without any criticism of any mistakes and then all of a sudden he discovers that unemployment has reached the hunger stage! Therefore the workers, having been refused relief from the government (evidently Browder expected relief from the government), they must "organize their own relief."

Well! Well! Where did we hear this before? Wasn't it Bedenkapp who demanded at the last Party convention that the W.I.R. organize relief for the workers, and wasn't it Browder who condemned this as "opportunism" and "Lovestonism"? Wasn't it Browder who said that "we cannot compete with the Salvation Army and the Little Church Around the Corner"? Comrade Amter at that time said that relief even during the strikes is opportunism and the miners strike in Ohio was lost because the miners had too much relief!

Of course today the things change; perhaps there is a secret cable from the Comintern ordering the new turn or perhaps the isolation of the Party from the unemployed forces the bureaucrats to make a half turn from sectarianism. But why make such a radical almost programmatic change without even a word of explanation?

But in order to do this the sectarian Party line must be discarded and this only the membership can do by throwing the bureaucrats on the scrapheap.

so necessary to keep the machine in balance and running smoothly." "If there is a general attack on our business corporations, . . . there follows stagnation and widespread unemployment."

"Abolition of privilege does not mean the denial of the right to be rich nor the right to success and the enjoyment of the full benefit of one's labor."

Mr. Raskob did not explain from the benefit of whose labor Mr. Rockefeller draws his millions of income a year or Mr. Grace (chairman of the Board of Trustees of Bethlehem Steel) drew his \$1,015,000 bonus in 1930!

Not only no "attack" on Big Business but the greatest assistance in the process of merger and consolidation and capitalist accumulation.

"We should encourage and not hamper . . . consolidations . . ." (We must) free business from unnecessary handicap and thus enable it to expand and occupy a stronger position in the world market."

Certainly these words are strong enough to constitute a decisive repudiation of the tactic "bust-the-trust" days of the Democratic party. On the question of the tariff Mr. Raskob makes a remarkable pronouncement:

"Therefore many of our industries . . . must and should have protection in order that competitive articles made with cheap foreign labor shall not flood our markets and bankrupt our own manufacturers."

You must remember that the Democratic party was once the party of free trade and "tariff for revenue only." Mr. Raskob now vigorously champions trust capital's system of protective tariffs—only he would like that "the tariff should be taken out of politics."

**Raskob and Roosevelt**

From the viewpoint of inner relations within the Democratic party it is impossible not to regard Mr. Raskob's vigorous and open championing of the interests of Big Business as a definite rebuke to and even repudiation of the demagogic campaign Governor Roosevelt is going to make (with the good help of Mr. Untermyer) for the Democratic presidential candidacy on the issue of "curbing the Power Trust."

**Where the Difference**

In what way is this policy outlined by Mr. Raskob to be told apart from the policy of the Republican party? Indeed, as Sen. Robinson (Ark.) who comes from the agrarian regions, so plaintively remarked, Mr. Raskob is in fact

**Jefferson's Ghost**

Mr. Raskob's vigorous solicitation of Big Business is carried out under the auspices of the ghost of Thomas Jefferson! Jefferson, the firm believer in agrarian democracy, the enemy of industrial capitalism, the man who hoped that it would never develop in the U. S. A., is made to sponsor mergers and trustification! Jefferson, whose whole hope for democracy was based upon the utopia of an equal distribution of wealth, is made to champion unrestricted capitalist accumulation at one pole of society and unrestricted mass impoverishment at the other! Jefferson, who preached the necessity of violent revolution every generation or so to keep alive the spirit of liberty is made to warn against the "radical or destructive!"

**Our Lessons**

The workers and farmers of this country should learn the lessons of Mr. Raskob's speech. Mr. Raskob plainly teaches us: first, that political parties represent class interests, and, secondly, that the Democratic as well as the Republican party represents the class interests of Big Business, of the capitalist class. The interests of the workers and the farmers are directly and permanently opposed to the interests of the capitalist class. Therefore, every bit of political common sense dictates that the workers and farmers should cease supporting the twin parties of capitalism and should organize a party that will fight for their own interests—a Labor-Farmer party.

**Famous Gangster Fall Out**

General Smedley Butler captured two goats in one week—Scarface Al Capone's and Scarce-Face Benito Mussolini's. But, after all, it's only a family quarrel.

"proposing a policy which cannot be distinguished from the policy of the party now in power."

**2. Winning the Liberals**

But the Democratic party must not only win the confidence of Big Business; it must also retain the support of the urban masses (petty bourgeois and workers). It must therefore polish up its "liberal" front. This is absolutely essential, Mr. Raskob insists, if there is to be

"the slightest hope of avoiding the creation of a third party in the country for which many people are crying."

Mr. Raskob is therefore quite free with phrases about a "liberal party," "abolition of privilege," etc. But, as we have seen, the "abolition of privilege" does not in the least imply the abolition of the privilege of Mr. Morgan, Mr. Rockefeller or Mr. Raskob himself to coin millions out of the unpaid labor of the masses; it merely means the abolition of the privilege of the workers to "cause capital to fear labor!"

Mr. Raskob supplements his generous phrases by generous promises. He devotes a whole paragraph to "social welfare":

"Too much care cannot be given to the plans that will promote the development of old age and unemployment insurance based upon cooperative effort between labor and capital . . ."

Promises of "study" have never yet hurt any political party.

But Mr. Raskob is no man of half measures. He comes out for the "five-day week for working men without diminution of the weekly wage"! He says nothing, however, about the hours per day or the total number of hours per week.

Again promises are cheap. The "generous" promises of a five-day week cannot blot out the fact that in States under Democratic rule, at a time when millions are idle and starving, hundreds of thousands work seven days a week and 10, 12 and 14 hours a day—and nothing is said!

**3. Prohibition**

Mr. Raskob's proposal that the Democratic party go on record for what amounts to the repeal of the 18th amendment thru "supplementing" it by a State option scheme, caused an uproar in the Committee session with the Southern men putting up a vigorous resistance, with Smith defending Raskob, and with the New York Tammany delegation "holding over." Of course the whole question is inextricably intertwined with the inner chique politics of the party, but the advantages of prohibition as an "issue" are fairly clear: (a) Prohibition must be pushed to forefront of the campaign so as to distract from the economic issues and from the fact that on these basic questions there is hardly a hair's breadth of difference between the two big parties. (b) The prohibition issue, as it appears in politics today, is not directly a class issue. The bourgeoisie itself is deeply divided over it. A vigorous campaign on this issue cannot possibly damage the hard-won "sound" and "reliable" reputation of the Democratic party. (3) A vigorous wet stand will help rally to the Democratic party the masses of the urban population, large sections of "labor" (i. e. of the labor bureaucracy), the liberals, etc.

Mr. Raskob's strategy is quite well conceived—only it does not take into account the "peculiar" social character of the Democratic support in the South.

Mr. Raskob's vigorous solicitation of Big Business is carried out under the auspices of the ghost of Thomas Jefferson! Jefferson, the firm believer in agrarian democracy, the enemy of industrial capitalism, the man who hoped that it would never develop in the U. S. A., is made to sponsor mergers and trustification! Jefferson, whose whole hope for democracy was based upon the utopia of an equal distribution of wealth, is made to champion unrestricted capitalist accumulation at one pole of society and unrestricted mass impoverishment at the other! Jefferson, who preached the necessity of violent revolution every generation or so to keep alive the spirit of liberty is made to warn against the "radical or destructive!"

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Revolutionary Age

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March 21, 1931.

A BOTTOMLESS SINK OF CORRUPTION

NOWADAYS the average American will meet any graft or corruption exposure with a shrug of the shoulders or a "Well, if he can get away with it, what of it?" The small shop-keeper and petty manufacturer individualist morality of excitement and indignation at "unclean politics and dishonest government" has given way to the morality of the "rugged individualism" of all-powerful trust and bank capitalists—a morality of brutal cynicism and hard-boiledness. Hence, the day of the muck-raker is over. The day of the racketeer is here.

Still, the condition of "democracy" in the cities of this country has recently been shown to be so degrading and disgusting that the most conscious defenders of the present form of government and the economic system it rests upon are now forced to sit up and take notice. For fear that the whole system might be exposed and discredited, some of the more class-conscious capitalists and some of the more hopeful reformers, like Heywood Brown, are beginning again to play the game of moral crusading, making sundry fantastic proposals for municipal purification. We can only advise these self-appointed guardians of the "public" morals—Republicans, Democrats and Socialists—that they are tackling a job comparable only to the task of purifying putrefaction, of bringing life to a stinking corpse. The whole capitalist system is reeking with decay. The bottomless corruption in its municipal and national politics is only a surface indication of the hopeless condition of its insides.

Take the situation in New York and Chicago—the two wealthiest, biggest, and therefore greatest cities in the United States. Here are the mightiest seats of the filthiest corruption of capitalist "democracy" the world over. The tragedy of the situation was particularly evidenced in the recent farcical election contest between "Al Capone", Bill Thompson and "Justice" Lyle. But it is the recent New York exposures which afford the most complete picture of capitalist "democracy"—government of, by, and for the owning class and against the working class.

What an indictment! A "clever" lawyer-politician (Kresel) makes a grand show at exposing the vice ring and its magistrates. A "cleverer" lawyer (Steuer) soon exposes this exposé as the legal brains of the gang which pulled the biggest bank robbery in the United States (Marcus, Singer and Co.) This knockout to Kresel comes just at the moment when he is dealing the heaviest blows at the magistrates. Then U. S. Attorney Tuttle, who defends the government against the REVOLUTIONARY AGE, is hired to defend the hold-up artists who robbed several hundred thousand workers in the Bank of United States. The New York State Attorney General fights against the release of poor girls framed up by his judges and the vice ring which helped him in his present office. The same Attorney General Bennett at the same time serves as the wire-puller in the move to "prosecute the dishonest" in the big bank scandal. The government detective service is found too unreliable and unclear to be allowed to delve into the murder of Vivian Gordon, vice witness. A real remedy is then found in the hiring of the notorious Pinkerton Detective Agency which gets its best recruits from the blackest bottoms of gangdom and the underworld.

And finally the New York State Superintendent of Banking, under whose "watchful" eyes the robbery by the Bank of the U. S. was committed, has the brazen effrontery to tell the world that the crooked stunts of these bank directors perpetrated in 1929 were quite all right then because "we measure transactions which we term legitimate with a new yardstick of values which places a misconception on these deals." In other words, if it were not for the economic crisis of 1930-31, it would be perfectly proper for the crooked bank directors to do what they did in 1929 and it would be perfectly wrong for the robbed depositors to "misconstruct" such legitimate, everyday banking practices!

But even the best "New Republic" liberal can breathe a sigh of relief. Under the newest oath those who are sworn in as New York magistrates publicly tell their lord and master (in heaven) that they have "not given money or any other consideration for their position and that they have not promised to use their influence in behalf of anyone who might have assisted them in obtaining the post." Let's close the juls! There will be no more dishonest judges! No more will judges (Magistrate Rosenbluth) who has repeatedly imposed the most cruel sentences on strike pickets take their pictures at the bedsides of the wounded gunmen ("Legs" Diamond)! While administering this new oath, Mayor Walker turned to one of his newest and purest magistrates and said: "I expect you to be an ornament and a credit to the bench."

Such are the "ornaments" of capitalist democracy! And the champions of this boss class government talk of the "immorality and horrors of Sovietism"! And they appoint themselves to "civilize" the so-called backward peoples, the colonial masses! We have long ago said that the emblem of United States imperialism is the sewer.

Only the iron broom of the working class revolution can and will really clean house in the United States. The American proletariat will make a clean sweep of the whole disease-ridden capitalist system with its fake democracy and genuine corruption.

THE NEW YORK DRESS STRIKE

by Ben Gitlow

(Continued from Page 3)

Headlines such as this one appeared continually in the Daily Worker: "Scores of I.L.G.W.U. Shops Join Walk Out." The union issued a special leaflet headed as follows: "TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL (ILGWU) Company Union." It contained the following appeal to split away from the International: "We, dressmakers, appeal to you, sisters and brothers. Join the great army of the striking dressmakers; you are suffering just as much as we are. Let us organize into a real fighting union."

The Daily Worker on the day of the strike, carried the following editorial: "So utterly rotten has the I.L.G.W. become, that in an effort to save its reputation with the workers who have every reason to want to strike, fake 'strikes' have been called, with no intention of even trying to lead the strikers to victory, and always with the end result of leaving the workers worse off than before."

"For this reason the workers, the unorganized as well as those

organized in the I.L.G.W., are rallying with the members of the fighting union, the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, to the present strike, rank and file members of the I.L.G.W. now holding responsible posts on all strike committees and on all picket lines."

It is clear that instead of carrying out a policy of unity and organization of the unorganized, the central issue of the strike. Had there been a mighty left wing in the I.L.G.W.U., then there could have been achieved a united front of the dressmakers against the bosses. The sectarian DeLeonist policy is very strikingly brought out by the tactics used in the dress strike.

The Monroe Doctrine was described the other day by Salvador de Madariaga as consisting of two mystical dogmas: the one, the infallibility of the President of the United States; the other, the immaculate conception of American foreign policy.

Sceptics are ministered to by the American marines who endeavor to win them to all the truth of the two dogmas.

The Next War

What It Will Be Like

The Wholesale Point of View - Death From the Skies - Burning Cities Alive - 3000 Degrees of Heat - No Immunity - Civil Population Will be Annihilated

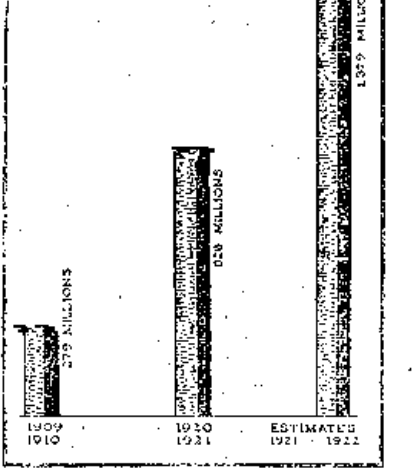
by Bertram D. Wolfe

EDITORS NOTE: With this issue we begin a second series by Comrade Wolfe on the next war. In the previous series he showed the nearness of the war, revealed the astounding extent of war preparations, and analyzed the causes which are rushing humanity headlong towards a new world war. In the present series is given a stirring portrayal of what the next war will be like, as gleaned from the writings of military experts, and suggestions as to what the working class should do about it.

The next article is entitled: "HOW IT WILL BEGIN."

The ripe fruit of overripe capitalism is "bigger and better" wars. At the end of the great series of wars with England during the eighteenth century, France's war strength was

Money appropriated by the United States for Military Preparedness before and after the World War.



210,000 or about one in 100 of the population. In 1918, France had mobilized one in eight of the population. In the Franco-Prussian war only 184,000 soldier lives were lost. In the World War the loss was 10,000,000. The cost of the World War in its last year was \$10,000,000 per hour; \$240,000,000 per 24-hour day, exclusive of the indirect costs such as loss of lives and destruction of civil property.

All the wars of capitalism put together beginning with the Napoleonic Wars in 1793 and ending on the eve of the World War did not cost 1/10 of the war of 1914-18. Ten million died horrible deaths on the field of battle in those few years, and famine and disease and the war and post-war miseries account for 30,000,000 more "who might have been living today." Yet Major-General E. D. Swinton of the British Army in 1921 declared:

"It has been rather our tendency up to the present to look upon warfare from the retail point of view—of killing men by fifties or hundreds or thousands. But when you speak of gas... you must remember that you are discussing a weapon which must be considered from the wholesale point of view and if you use it... you may kill hundreds of thousands of men."

Sowing Death From the Skies The first world war directly involved only the lives of healthy young men chiefly between the ages of 18 and 40. Yet the death toll was 10,000,000 of men and boys in the prime of life.

The coming world war will involve, to quote Will Irwin, the war correspondent, "not only armies but citizens of towns, not only soldiers but the weakest girl baby." It is a commonplace in military circles that in the next war "there will be no difference between the front and the rear. Poisonous gases were never released from aircraft during the last war. But henceforth, writes Francis P. Garvan, president of the Chemical Foundation, "flying fleets will manufacture behind the lines, over cities, industrial centers or any habitat that may be accused of aiding the enemy. Airplanes with a long cruising range will carry bomb loads of 2,000 pounds, a crew of six and mountings for ten machine guns. The explosive impact of these bombs will constitute but a fraction of total lethal effect, for each will carry a charge of liquid gas that will vaporize with the wind."

"As a sower of death," declares Garvan, "a bombing plane is more effective than a 50,000-ton battleship... Chemistry carries its threat everywhere. The intimidation and slaughter of non-combatants, the razing of cities and destruction of crops, crippling of transportation and sinking of ships will go on simultaneously... "One manufacturing plant could produce enough poison in one day to stifle the life in a city like London."

The Dew of Death Bombing of cities in the last war was merely a "play-toy" for "moral

effect". But if the war had lasted another year there would have been a different tale to tell. "The bombs dropped on Paris in 1914 were not much bigger than a grape fruit; the bombs prepared for Berlin in 1919 in a projected attack which never came off, were eight feet high and carried half a ton of explosive or gas-generating chemicals."

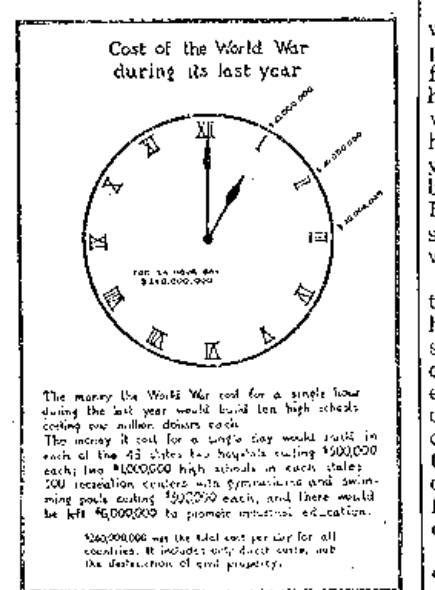
In preparation for the intended giant air raids of 1919, American chemists posited a new gas, Lewisite—invisible, heavier than air so as to penetrate cellars, dugouts and subways, fatal if breathed thru the lungs, poisonous if it settled on the skin, inimical not only to human life but to all cell life, animal or vegetable, with fifty-five times the "spread" of any poison gas hitherto used in the war (Irwin) and intended to choke out all life, animal or vegetable, in the Berlin area. The "dew of death" was the poetic name general Fries suggested for it.

Burning Cities Alive

Nor was that the only weapon being prepared for wiping out all life in London, Paris and Berlin when the Russian and German revolutions put a sudden end to the organized madness. There was the incendiary bomb. A first wave of airplanes would have dropped on the city roofs tons of small bombs which release burning phosphorus—the flame of which cannot be extinguished by water. Fires would start in a hundred places at once and the fire department would be powerless to cope with it. Then, by the light furnished by the "grand bonfire", would come the second wave of airplanes dropping the "dew of death". And both Will Irwin and Captain Ferdinand Tuohy, formerly of the British Intelligence Service, declare that both sides in 1918 had created "bacteriological sections" to spread artificially-created epidemics. "The British," writes Irwin, "began loading air-bombs with anthrax bacilli, and notified the Germans" that they had heard of the preparations of the German bacteriological section at Nurnberg and "had prepared a 'reprisal'."

Progress in Mass Destruction

"Progress" in each of the above methods of "wholesale" destruction of civilian life has been made since the



3,000 Degrees of Heat

As to "improvement" in incendiary bombs, Captain Will Meyer, German officer, is quoted in the Paris Tribune of February 27, 1920 as follows: "The new incendiary bomb develops 3,000 degrees of heat. That is enough to destroy not only any metal but even cement and granite. One bomb weighs only a kilo (2 1/2 lbs). That allows each plane to carry a thousand bombs. Experience shows an average of about 22% of hits on buildings during air bombardment of a city. Fleets of a hundred planes will be in common use in the next war."

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Next Week: HOW IT WILL BEGIN

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BOOKS



VOLTAIRE, by Georg Brandes, in two volumes. Albert and Charles Boni, New York, 1930.

As long as the story of the long struggle for the liberation of humanity—which will reach its triumph in the victory of the proletariat—will continue to evoke the enthusiasm of mankind, the name of Voltaire will remain immortal. For Voltaire was the very personification of this struggle, with all its inadequacies and inner contradictions, at a certain stage of its development. Voltaire was the very spirit of the eighteenth century—the century of the "Enlightenment."

Of the seventy-odd volumes of his collected works, only a few fragments (most exclusively his shorter prose works) are still read today. Voltaire himself once remarked that he knew he "could not carry all that ballast with him to the other world!... But the man himself remains deathless, still the object of unbounded admiration and bitter detestation. And this is the immortality that Voltaire craved!

Voltaire was the invincible champion of the cause of Reason, of Enlightenment, against the "Infernal" spiritual darkness and superstition. He was the universally acknowledged patriarch of the philosophes, of Diderot, Helvetius, d'Alembert and Holbach, of that group of men whose work is an imperishable page in the intellectual history of mankind. Voltaire's many hesitations and remnants of old prejudices may have seemed unworthy to many of them (compare: Holbach's controversy with Voltaire on atheism versus deism) but they all recognized that the great man's matches pen and inexhaustible devotion to their cause was worthy of an admiration that bordered on worship.

From the social-historical viewpoint, Voltaire and the philosophes were the ideological champions of the cause of the bourgeoisie in the period of the preparation of its final struggle with the forces of absolutism and aristocratic-clerical reaction. Voltaire's life was precisely the spiritual essence of the outlook and optimistic social conditions which the bourgeoisie was determined to destroy. In this sense the Great French Revolution was the historical justification of Voltaire's life and work.

Voltaire himself partly realized the historical role of his work and its relation to the social processes of his time. He certainly saw—and greeted with joy—the coming collapse of the old society and the inevitable rise of the new. In characteristic intellectualist terms, he foretold what was to come thirty years later. In a letter dated April 2, 1764, he wrote:

"Everywhere I see the seeds of an inevitable revolution, which, however, I shall not live to enjoy. The French come late to enjoy things, but finally they do come. Enlightenment has become so widespread that at the first opportunity everything is ready to explode. The young are very fortunate; they shall see great things come to pass."

The two-volume biography of Voltaire by Brandes is a masterpiece of brilliant depiction and what might be called dramatic biography—but it is not the biography that Voltaire needs and deserves. It is not a social biography. No man suffers more than Voltaire from being torn away from the economic, social and political conditions in which he lived and worked. And yet Brandes' description of these conditions and his correlation of them with Voltaire's creative life is so perfunctory as to be altogether unworthy of the author of the biography or of its subject. From reading this book one could not tell what sort of economic and social relations existed in the France of Voltaire. Of course we have a thro and vivid characterization of the unbelievably corrupt atmosphere of high society but the social conditions of the vast mass of the people of Voltaire's time are left almost entirely untouched. There is no connected description of the social views of Voltaire and no attempt to trace their historical roots and significance. Most unbelievable of all, there is no open recognition of the role of Voltaire as the ideological champion of the militant bourgeoisie—altogether unworthy of the subject.

"Civil Population Will be Annihilated" The last word on the "wholesale" nature of murder in the next world war, we leave to M. Cailleaux, former war premier of France, who declared in August 1930: "Away with illusions. The last war was a war of heavy artillery, machine guns and submarines. The next war, if mankind is so insane as to agree to it, will be a chemical war, a gas war. In 1914-18 the combatants perished in millions. In the year X, which I hope will never get into the calendar, the civil population will be annihilated. There are no means of protecting the civil population. At the present time there are gases which penetrate through the skin without any wounds, unnoticed by the victims, which in a short time cause violent convulsions and then lead to a chronic and incurable idiocy. Henceforth, these tortures are intended not only for the fighting ranks, but chiefly for the civil population."

How to Tell a Good Book Literary criticism as it is practised in our great American universities: Professor Rollo L. Lyman of the University of Chicago, President of the National Council of Teachers of English "criticized the award of the Nobel Prize to Sinclair Lewis," and carried his attack to Poe as "un-American," because he used narcotics. Poe's works should be taken out of schools, the Chicagoan declared." N. Y. Times 2-13-31).

Yes and Homer was a wandering beggar, Shakespeare a reputed deer-stealer, Marlowe died in a drunken tavern-brawl over a prostitute, King David carried on in highly immoral fashion with certain Jewish maidens, Goethe and Byron had more loves than they could keep track of, while Shelley... but if we keep up there'll be nothing left for English teachers to "teach."

BETWEEN HAMMER AND ANVIL



The Wisdom of the Captains of Industry

Reporter: Do you believe it is possible to end the cycle of business depression and prosperity by human endeavors? Mr. Edison: No, we will always have them. It lies in the very nature of man.

Only an economic ignoramus or charlatan could fail to know that business cycles were unknown to man until capitalism began, and will end with the introduction of Socialism and planned economy. But the great inventor-patenter (and invention-stealer) is solemnly interrogated by reporters on things that a parrot could give better answer to.

Then there is Henry Ford, speed-up maniac. He told the interviewer: "Prosperity is nothing more than the passing of goods from one fellow to another."

Then the country would be truly prosperous if we formed a big ring and kept passing things around—like the famous Chinese who lived by taking in each others washing. With such captains no wonder the old ship is foundering!

Curbing Hollywood's "Reds"

The Grant-Hudson motion picture censorship bill provides among other things that no license shall be granted to pictures—

"Of stories or scenes which ridicule or depreciate public officials, officers of the law, or the United States army, or the United States navy, or other governmental authority, or which tend to weaken the authority of the law."

The sacred cow is becoming so sacred that it is forbidden to crack a smile in its presence. No doubt, the next step in the preservation of our free institutions will be the deportation of all cartoonists, all columnists and Charlie Chaplin.

Deportation Desk

You gotta admit we've got a great Secretary of Labor. All he has done since taking office is round up militant workers of foreign birth for deportation. Which proves that the Department of Labor is as helpful to labor as the rest of the capitalist government.

Bargains in Post Offices

Now it is corruption in the Post Office Department that is being aired. Leases signed at \$120,000 a year for property assessed at \$34,000—annual rental of over 1 1/3 total value of the property, and on 20 year non-cancelable leases! The property was leased to the government by Jacob Kulp of Chicago, an "operator" in Post Office leases, who was represented in the deal by Hoover's Western campaign manager and war-secretary, James R. Good. Campaign gifts to the Republican Party from "persons interested in Post Office leases" totalled \$1,250,000. There is no department of the government, national or local, that doesn't stink with corruption. It needs more than airing of a scandal here and a scandal there. It will take the storms of proletarian revolution to clean out the mess.

Senatorial Tombstoner Maker Funny! The rock-ribbed State of Vermont had its senatorship contested by Senator Frank C. Partridge, president of the Vermont Marble Company, and Warren R. Austin, counsel for the Rock-of-Ages Granite Company. Looks as if Vermont wanted to be sure to send a man capable of building a monument to Hoover prosperity.

One of Britain's Untouchables

"The Prince of Wales," reports the Times, "appeared to be greatly bored and showed interest only when shaking hands with former service men. He chatted at great length with one on crutches... but this man made the great mistake of putting his hand affectionately on the Prince's arm, a gesture which particularly annoys him."

The Prince made a half turn impatiently, which released him of the aged veteran's grasp and turned to the next in line. "A cat may look at a king—but mustn't touch him!"

Pity the Poor Phone Company

The poor telephone company, that had to raise its rates last year to survive, now confesses that it made only \$30,000,000 more than in 1929 before the rate rise and the highest profit in the history of the company! "The line is busy."

Divisions of a Sunday School Teacher Russel Noble, Haverhill Sunday School teacher, invaded the boudoir of Mrs. Clara E. C. Ellis last week and proceeded to rob her jewelry. When she woke up he hit her on the head with a hammer. She is near death in a hospital.

We propose a Sunday School motto: "Send your children to Sunday School where they will learn a good trade!"

Don't Feed or Annoy the Jobless Miss Annie Brown of Stoneham, Mass. left over \$1,000,000 of her \$2,000,000 estate to avert suffering among birds and animals. Now if jobless men can find some legal way of proving that they are really animals....

—B. D. W.