

FOR COMMUNIST
UNITY IN THE
REVOLUTIONARY
CLASS STRUGGLE!

THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING
THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS

ISSUED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY
(Majority Group)

WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES
UNITE!

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HOOVER PROPOSES DEBT DELAY

Issues Proposal for a Year Suspension of War Debts and Reparations

WASHINGTON—After a series of conferences with the Congressional leaders of both parties, President Hoover announced, on June 20, his advocacy of the suspension for one year of interest and principal payments on the war debts of the former Allied powers to the U. S. A. provided a similar arrangement is made in regard to German reparation payments to the Allied powers. President Hoover's statement suggests July 1 as the beginning of this one-year moratorium. It is understood that nothing in this arrangement would affect private debts.

In order to have validity as an official program President Hoover's proposal must be approved by Congress when it meets in December. But the official statement of the President is specifically endorsed by over twenty Senators and a similar number of Representatives of both parties as well as by Charles G. Dawes and Owen D. Young. The reported demand of some Democratic Senators for an extra session of Congress was definitely rejected by the President.

In his official statement Hoover declares that: "The purpose of this action is to give the forthcoming year to the economic recovery of the world and to help free the recuperative forces already in motion in the United States from retarding influences from abroad."

Early reactions indicate that Germany welcomes Hoover's proposals while France is bitterly opposed to it.

That the proposal for a one-year moratorium does not in the least imply any movement in the direction of an all-around cancellation of war debts and reparations, is made explicitly clear in the Hoover declaration.

(New turn to page 3 and read the article "Reparations and the Crisis" for an analysis of the situation which evoked the President's action and of its significance for world politics and economics.)

For a Communist Campaign In the Boro Elections

Appeal of the Communist Party (Majority Group)

To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.:

The special election for the Boro Presidency of Manhattan is of special importance to the workers of New York. The economic crisis has hit New York City very severely. There are close to 1,000,000 unemployed in the city. The privation, the acute misery, the starvation which prevails among the unemployed workers and their families is no longer denied. Nevertheless all demands for adequate unemployment relief are brutally resisted by the Tammany capitalist administration of Mayor Walker.

In New York City an intensive wage-cut drive is on. The reactionary bureaucrats in control of the trade unions are openly in league with the bosses in forcing drastic wage-cuts upon the workers. These trade union bureaucrats are steeped in corruption and busily engaged in raketeeing on the one hand and terrorizing those members of the trade unions who are opposed to the conditions which exist in their organizations, on the other.

The government of New York City is a vicious strike breaking Wall Street capitalist agency. It brutally smashes all labor demonstrations and uses its power to break up picket lines and smash strikes. It is reeking with corruption. It grants all kinds of special privileges to the big corporations and bankers, especially to the so-called public service and power corporations.

The capitalist government of New York is energetically behind the growing capitalist reaction. Its suppression of strikes, its raids upon radical and labor organizations, its support to deportations, its treatment of the unemployed, its decision to introduce religious training in the public schools, its whole reactionary course in public education are some of the proofs of this fact.

New York City is the center of finance capital, of U. S. imperialism. The plans of attacking the living standards of

the workers, the preparations for imperialist war, and for war against the Soviet Union find their inception in New York.

The Socialist party recognizes the importance of the special election and has nominated Norman Thomas to make the campaign. The Socialist party will use the "liberalism" of Norman Thomas to befuddle the workers and to turn the growing discontent of the masses into channels of petty bourgeois reformism and liberalism.

A Communist campaign can effectively combat the reformism, liberalism and the anti-working class, anti-Soviet Union program of the Socialist party, at the same time exposing the whole role of Norman Thomas in the labor movement. An effective Communist campaign will be able to arouse a large number of workers to register their opposition to the anti-labor corrupt, racketeering Wall Street capitalist regime of Tammany Hall.

Through effective Communist agitation and propaganda in the special elections the Communist Party can rally the workers in a fight against wage-cuts, in a fight for unemployment relief, in a fight against the capitalist reaction, in a fight against the reactionary bureaucrats, in a fight against lynching, for social, racial and political equality for the Negroes, for the defense of the Scottsboro victims, for the freedom of Mooney and all other class prisoners and for working class unity against capitalism.

The special election campaign gives the Communists a splendid opportunity to combat the Hoover plan, the Matthew Woll plan, the imperialist war preparations and the whole counter-revolutionary campaign against the Soviet Union.

The special election gives the Communists an opportunity to enlist support for the Soviet Union and for the great Five-Year Plan for the building of Socialism, for the Soviet Union and for the overthrow of American capitalism.

We therefore demand in the interests of the Communist, revolutionary and militant working class sections of the labor movement that the Communist Party awake from its lethargy and immediately nominate a candidate and participate in the election campaign.

The strikes taking place among the textile workers and miners indicate that the working class discontent is beginning to translate itself into action. Let us use every opportunity to stimulate and broaden the fight against capitalism.

For a Communist campaign in the special elections.

Comradely yours,

BENJ. GITLOW

Sec'y C.P.-Majority Group.

HUGE WAGE-CUTS IN YEAR 1930

Labor Bureau Reports Big Drop in Wages and Jobs

Average per capita wages fell one percent from March to April 1931 and were 10% below the level of April a year ago, according to the report of the Labor Bureau, Inc. in its publication, *Paets for Workers*. The heaviest losses for the twelve-month period, the report continues, were felt by workers in the machinery and the iron and steel industries.

Employment in April remained at 16% below the April 1930 level. The 10% drop in per capita wages (not in payrolls for which the drop is much lower!) indicates the successes that the bosses have already achieved in their wage-cutting offensive. But the employers are not going to stop with this average 10% cut—they are now only beginning to talk of "deflating labor," i.e., of wage-cuts. Bigger and more extensive wage-slashes are coming. The workers, organized and unorganized, must prepare. *Strike against wage-cuts!* must be the slogan.

MR. HILLOUT DEFENDS ANTI-SOVIET CLAIMS

Morris Hillquit, chairman of the Socialist party, has just filed suit against the Vacuum Oil and Standard Oil Companies of New York on the ground that they are dealing with the Soviet government which has taken away property from the Czarist government and is thus "not the rightful owner" of this property.

This suit is a direct attack on Soviet-American trade and probably will be the central point in the recently sharpened drive against the Soviet Union in the United States.

Mr. Hillquit, in taking leadership in this Czarist drive, charges that his clients, notorious monarchists, were "destituted of their property." Mr. Hillquit's main contention is that the Soviet government, the workers and peasants Soviet Republic of Russia, "stole" the property from the Romanoffs, the family of the Czars, from whom these reactionaries secured the concession in the Baku fields. The high point of the Socialist party chairman's argument is that "the Standard Oil of New York and the Vacuum Company received oil from the Soviet government with the full knowledge that the latter was not the rightful owner."

It is now to be seen what the workers who are still in the Socialist party will say to this attempt of their chairman and leader, Morris Hillquit, to have a Wall Street court pass judgment on what the workers and peasants of Russia have won in the greatest revolution in the world's history.

HAITI TO DEMAND ITS FREEDOM

Resolution Calling for End of Occupation in Chamber Of Deputies

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti—A demonstration of the wide-spread demand in this country for the ending of American domination of the island will come up in the next few days in the Chamber of Deputies when a resolution, calling for an immediate end of the occupation on the ground that the treaty under which this occupation is taking place is null and void, will be called up for debate.

The resolution has been favorably reported and was to have come up for debate on June 15 but was carefully sidetracked.

All observers here are convinced that the resolution is intended by its sponsors, the bourgeois professional politicians, to capitalize the strong sentiment for the overthrow of Yankee domination that has been growing rapidly among the masses of the population here.

Hoover Issues Program of Reaction For 1932 Election Drive

Opens the Campaign With Indianapolis Speech, Urging Continuation of Reactionary, Anti-Labor Program; Counters 5-Year Plan with Vague Demagoguery

Hoover opened his campaign for presidential renomination with an address before the Indiana Republican Editorial Association at Indianapolis. The President dealt at length with the international economic crisis and with the position of the United States in the world today. He came out flatly against all measures of social insurance and of unemployment insurance and instead offered a continuation of private individual charity.

The chief executive of the greatest capitalist country in the world boasted that his administration has resorted to a bigger scale than ever to deportation of the foreign-born work-

ers. He cited this as one of the most effective steps taken by the government to help the workers in the serious unemployment crisis. Throughout his address the President resorted to spread-eagle talk and demagoguery about the prowess of the capitalist system in the United States and its capacity to give everyone a chance. Forced into a corner by the economic crisis, Hoover indicated that his main tactics in the coming elections would be to raise the bogey of Communism as against so-called American "rugged individualism." As was to be expected in the situation, the President didn't say a word about the direct responsibility of the government administration either in precipitating the crisis or in its absolute failure to make the slightest attempt to give any relief whatsoever to the many millions of unemployed workers and their dependents. The nearest Hoover came to referring to the policy of the Federal Reserve Bank in deliberately drawing in many millions of middle-class people and upper sections of the working class in the stock market where they were shorn like lambs by the big bankers and speculators was to talk in general about "mistakes" which were made. In so far as the government's failure to do anything or to plan anything to alleviate the acute suffering of the working (and farming) masses in the crisis all the President could do was to make an attack against the Soviet Union and to offer as against the Five-Year Plan a vague promise and prophecy as to what would happen in the United States within the next twenty years.

"We have many citizens insisting that we produce an advance plan for future development of the United States. They demand that we produce it right now. I presume the 'plan' idea is an effect from the slogan of the 'Five-Year Plan' thru which Russia is struggling to redeem herself from ten years of starvation and misery. I am able to propose an American Plan for you. We plan to take care of twenty million more of the population in the next twenty years. We plan to build for them four million new and better homes . . . thousands of factories . . . to grow twenty percent more farm products. We plan more leisure for new and more and better opportunities for its enjoyment."

This recalls the tone of Hoover's address, promising the abolition of poverty, in Boston just before his election in 1928.

Hoover made a vigorous attack on any ideas of revolution in the United States and energetically defended all the reactionary policies of the Republican party beginning with the tariff.

The President continued his campaign tour by delivering a speech in dedication of the Harding tomb in Marion. He said that Harding had been betrayed by his friends without mentioning the exact names of the friends who did the "betraying." However, he didn't say one word about his own role in the Teapot Dome scandal, as a member of the Harding-Coolidge cabinet.

Hoover proceeded to Springfield, Illinois to dedicate a new Lincoln monument. The theme of Hoover's address here was law obedience. Apparently the President was proud of the deal made between Al Capone and the Treasury Department whereby Capone, the kingpin of gangdom in America, has come to a satisfactory arrangement with the income tax bureau, Prohibition department and Federal Judge Wilkerson.

National Civic Federation Proposes 'Ten-Year' Plan for Capitalist Chaos

Under Woll's Direction It Urges Calling an "Industrial Congress" for Economic "Planning" in Futile Effort to Save Capitalism

In a letter sent out over the signature of James W. Gerard, the chairman of its commission on industrial inquiry, and addressed to over 600 leading manufacturers, A. F. of L. officials and economic bodies, the National Civic Federation urged the calling of a "national industrial congress" to discuss and formulate a plan for permanent industrial adjustment and to create machinery for this purpose.

This plan, it is announced, grew out of a proposal addressed to Mr. Gerard by Matthew Woll, acting president of the Civic Federation and vice-president of the A. F. of L. The draft of the Woll proposal accompanied the National Civic Federation's letter.

"The great depression now upon us," declares the letter, "has forced us to the conclusion that the time for action has arrived. . . . If lack of industrial balance continues, we shall continue in our failure to feed our people, we shall continue in our failure to use our industrial capacity, we shall continue to have on the one hand enormous wealth and on the other hand great valleys of want."

The communication declares that the purpose of the "industrial congress" to be called will be to "establish a balance between production, distribution and consumption, and end the chaos and misapplication of energy in American industrial life which from time to time results in dislocation of the industrial machine, unemployment and distress." The initial task of this conference will be to make an "exhaustive examination of the resources, needs, lines of development, etc. of American industry and on that basis to set up a five-year or ten-year plan."

The declaration of the National Civic Federation concludes with a bitter attack upon the Soviet Union and upon the Soviet Five-Year Plan which, it is discovered, "is proving a

hopeless failure!"

The frantic appeal of the National Civic Federation, an organization deliberately established by the capitalists to protect, defend and maintain the capitalist system, to save American capitalism by "organizing" it before its inherent chaos proves fatal, is a direct result of the profound disturbance in the ranks of the American bourgeoisie in the face of the sharp and long-continued economic crisis of capitalism as contrasted with the tremendous success of planned Socialist construction in the Soviet Union. It is characteristic that the lead in attempting to salvage the system of exploitation and misery of the working class is being taken by the reactionary labor bureaucrat, Matthew Woll.

But all of these efforts to "organize" capitalism and to establish it on a "planned" basis are certain to prove miserable failures. For capitalism is built on a system of contradictions which condemn it to chaos and anarchy as long as it exists. The chief of these contradictions, and the source of all the rest, is the contradiction between the social character of capitalist production and the private character of capitalist appropriation. This contradiction remains altogether unaltered by the change of form of capitalist private property (individual property, corporations, trusts, mergers, super-trusts). As a result of this contradiction we have the two outstanding facts: (1) the main spring of capitalist production is the thirst for profit and its main feature is accumulation (the reconversion of surplus-value into capital); and (2) production takes place for an unknown market. Disproportion and disharmony are the characteristic features of capitalism. Furthermore the system of wage-labor and the exploitation of the working class by

(Continued on page 2)

Non-Party Workers Demand Communist Unity! Reunite the Communist Movement!

The *Revolutionary Age* is glad to print the following document addressed to the Communist Party of the U.S.A. and to the C.P.-Majority Group. This appeal for unity is

years by workers who have for years been active in the building of a militant left wing movement in the trade unions deserves the most earnest consideration of every working

man and working woman who has the interests of the workingclass at heart. The answer of the National Council of the C.P.-Majority Group is also herewith presented by us.

Appeal of the Militant Workers

To the Communist Party of the U.S.A.:

To the Communist Party (Majority Group):

We, a group of workers for years sympathizers and close supporters of the Communist Party, always active in the revolutionary movement, wish to make the following appeal:

In the last two years we saw much destroyed of what took us years to build because of the fights in the Communist Party. Instead of uniting our forces to be able to lead a successful struggle against the reactionaries and the capitalist class, instead of concentrating all efforts for a struggle against our common enemy, you fight each other.

The reactionaries are making big headway, for they are united against us in the labor movement while our own ranks are split with dissension. We feel the need of unity more urgently than ever, among the Communists because of the crisis, war danger against the U.S.S.R., unemployment, and the splendid opportunities we have for the building of the revolutionary movement. All enemies of the working class are making capital of the divisions and fighting amongst the Communists, and it tends to paralyze the work of the left wingers.

the militants in the trade unions.

A way must be found to unity! The tactical differences can be overcome thru general discussion and willingness to understand that we must have unity to win.

The importance of unity today means the rebuilding of the left wing movement in the trade unions. It will unite all for the defense of the U.S.S.R. It means the building of a mass movement and the Communist Party.

We are addressing ourselves to representatives and members of the Communist Party and the Communist Party (Majority Group) to heed our call! We hope that the leadership will likewise take note and help! We ask for a broad discussion that will clarify matters and bring unity. We hope that you will take our appeal in the same spirit that prompted us to send you the appeal.

Comradely yours,

MAX GLASSMAN
Member Local 22 I.L.G.W.U.

L. BERLINSKY
Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union

MINERS STRIKE IN OHIO SPREADS

4,000 Settle in W. Virginia; Labor Disunity Hurts Strikers Cause

BULLETIN
As we go to press, we receive the following telegram from Morgantown, West Virginia:

Four thousand miners in West Virginia return to work under a United Mine Workers of America agreement with the companies. The main terms are: formerly 20¢-38¢ a ton, settled for 30¢; day men, formerly \$4 a day now 45¢ an hour. Altho there is sentiment for the National Miners Union, no National Miners Union organizers have been here since the beginning. Van Bitter is conducting the negotiations for the U.M.W.A.

Three thousand miners from six mines are still on strike, picketing daily.

The mine strike in Western Pennsylvania and Ohio has assumed an intense bitterness. In Ohio the strike has been extended, taking in several hundred more strikers.

There is great determination and militancy among the miners. To counteract the heroic spirit of the coal diggers, the Consolidated Coal Company has secured a sweeping injunction against the National Miners Union. The injunction is considered "the most drastic and far-reaching in any labor controversy in the history of Western Pennsylvania."

The miners have been organizing mass

IN THE NEXT ISSUE!

There Will Begin a Series of
Articles
DURANTY, THE SOVIET
UNION AND THE
COMINTERN

by Jay Lovestone

— Don't Miss Them! —

Bert Wolfe Speaks on 5-Year Plan, Labor Temple, June 25, 7.30

Letters from Workers

The "New Line" Among the Ukrainians

by Frank Kisula

Jersey City, N. J. Before the split in the Communist Party, the *Ukrainian Daily News* was a very effective Communist organ among the workers here. But what do we see now? The new line and the bureaucrats of the Ukrainian National Bureau have been doing things in such a way as to smash almost everything so that it gives every class-conscious worker, every old member of the Communist Party a headache.

The administration of the Ukrainian Toilers Organization is now in the hands of Nastas. When you get the *Ukrainian Daily News* nowadays you wonder where they get the lies with which they fill the paper. This is a shame. Did we workers pay for the newspaper so that the editor should permit pages upon pages of lies? We workers know that the *Ukrainian Daily News* does not belong to the bureaucrats but belongs to us workers. With the newspaper smashed and everything turned upside down, we ask ourselves what's going to be the end of it all. Our revolutionary faith tells us that there is going to be an end to this tragedy.

We say to the bureaucrats: You may be able to fool some Ukrainian workers outside New York but you cannot fool them everywhere because we know how things were before the split and the new line. The workers now know who you are and what you stand for. We know that formerly we had more than 1200 members in the Ukrainian fraction of the Party. After Nastas, Dmytryshyn and Knezevitch broke up everything there were only about 300 workers left following the new line under the leadership of Foster. Nastas, Dmytryshyn and Knezevitch were formerly with the "Majority Group" in the Party for years but when they saw that they would lose their jobs they went over to Foster. These comrades know to day that the C.P.-Majority Group has had and still has the correct position and policies for the American labor movement. It is most shameful that these bureaucrats stick to their jobs in an absolutely unprincipled way.

Who's responsible for the first Ukrainian laborers' opposition? Who brought about an opposition in the Ukrainian Labor House in 1930? Whose fault was it that the majority of the stockholders of the Ukrainian Labor House have asked for their money back and why don't the bureaucrats dare return the money to the workers who were told that their money is just as good as in a bank? Now these workers can ask the Ukrainian Labor House for their funds a hundred times and get nothing.

Among the Ukrainian workers there's a lot of talk and suspicion why Nastas, Dmytryshyn and Knezevitch are not giving back these funds taken from the workers. The workers are even wondering what happened to the \$6000 which were collected for publishing a special paper for the West Ukraine. The workers have time and again asked to see an account but to date no statement has been prepared for them. So disturbed and aroused are the Ukrainian workers over the bureaucratic manner in which the leaders are working that many are even beginning to ask how many thousands of dollars the Ukrainian Pashchuk pulled with him to Poland and what became of the money since he left for Poland. The workers are very much concerned as to where the money for the concert "Stenchenka" and the money from the shares of the Ukrainian Labor House which were taken to Lvova, East Galicia, from Hamtramck in the Detroit branches. Was this money used as it should have been for prisoners starving in Polish jails in East Galicia? The Party bureaucrats ought to be asked to answer these questions since they were the ones who took this money.

We workers who have donated, who have given our all, are entitled to know what's being done with the money which we have given. But it is useless to ask for justice and responsibility from the Party bureaucrats. The moment you ask a question you

are denounced with all kinds of names. For us Ukrainian Communists, for those of us who are members of the Party, for all the workers, it is impossible to stand it any longer and we must rebel. Every Ukrainian Communist should join the Communist Party (Majority Group) and should help build up a constructive opposition in the Ukrainian Toilers Organization. All Ukrainian Communists and workers sympathetic to Communism should join the Communist Party (Majority Group), build it and help unify the Communist movement in the United States so as to build in this country a mass Communist Party.

—Frank Kisula.

Elections Among the L. A. Carpenters

Ocean Park, Cal. June 12, 1931.

On June 11 elections were held for officers of the Carpenters Local Union 1976 in Los Angeles. Comrade Cox, a member of our group was elected vice-chairman, receiving 36 votes against 24 cast for the right wing candidate. Comrade Cox did not run for president as was originally planned because the T.U.U.L. placed a candidate on the ballot for that office and we did not want to run against the T.U.U.L. At the nominations meeting Comrade Cox declared that he withdrew in favor of Comrade Freedman of the T.U.U.L. and urged the members to vote for him. Neither Freedman nor any other T.U.U.L. candidate was elected. Freedman received 27 votes and the right wingers 41.

The rights managed to make a good showing at this election because the left forces were hopelessly divided against themselves. Even the T.U.U.L. members were split, some voting for Comrade Cox and some for the right wingers. Naturally they were instructed by the T.U.U.L. leaders not to vote for our comrade because he is "worse" than the reactionaries. Nevertheless about half of them are not yet convinced after the two years of slander.

In spite of the slander from both sides, Comrade Cox could have gotten the biggest vote for any office because of his correct policies and activity. Unfortunately he has been ill for the last two months and was not able to be among the carpenters during the campaign, while the rights and the T.U.U.L. were very active. It is evident from how the vote stood that if our proposal for a united front against the rights had been accepted by the T.U.U.L. the left wing stood a good chance to regain control of this local union. This union had at one time a left wing administration with Comrade Cox as president, but with the arrival of the "new line" in the Party it went the way many organizations went: it was lost to the right wing.

—P. Berg.

How a Loyalty Defends The Soviet Union

New York City.

In the early part of Spring, the lumber interests in Mississippi introduced a resolution in the Mississippi State Federation of Labor demanding an embargo against Soviet timber. This resolution was also endorsed by the Carpenters District Council of that State.

A representative of the timber interests toured the country for the purpose of raising sentiment in favor of the embargo, with the credentials of the Mississippi A. F. of L. and District Carpenters Union organizations. This representative also came to the New York District Council and proposed the same resolution. Hallett's District Council endorsed the embargo against Soviet timber. In this District Council there is a delegate of Carpenters Union 2090, S. Freedman, a "loyalist." When this resolution was introduced there and adopted, this supporter of the Party

New York District

June Jamboree & Outing

at

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A rollicking good time in the famous Ramapo Hills

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The Buses will leave the headquarters of the C.P. Majority Group,

63 Madison Ave. SUNDAY, JUNE 28 at 9 a.m. sharp

Come and Have a Good Time! Don't forget the date!

Boost and Build the Weekly Age! A Little Better This Week -- But....

In the last weeks things have improved a bit—but we are just up against it. From various sections of the country we have gotten a good response. A worker in Fort Wayne, Indiana, writes us: "I have been working part-time in a big plant here. In the best of days, I hardly made a living. Now things are even worse. But I'll never let the REVOLUTIONARY AGE break down. I am sorry that I can't help you much. Here's the best I can do. I am sending you \$25. I hope this will help a bit. I ask, I beg all workers to make the sacrifice and save our paper. It's our duty."

Come, workers and comrades. Let's all get together and make one big pull to save the REVOLUTIONARY AGE. We need this militant fighter for our class. Will send you more when things pick up."

Philadelphia is continuing its drive on trial suits. The striking miners in the soft coal fields are also falling in line and getting the REVOLUTIONARY AGE. A Negro worker from North Carolina writes us: "I haven't enough money for a yearly sub. But I want to receive your paper every week. I wish it were coming out every day. In the meanwhile

send the paper for three months, and to any unemployed worker you want for three months. May be in the coming weeks I can manage to get another \$1.00 and get the paper for a whole year."

What this Negro worker has done, every worker should do. This is real class solidarity. If you are a subscriber, get another subscriber. If you can possibly afford it, send some funds to help pay for a sub for a jobless worker. Treat an unemployed worker to the REVOLUTIONARY AGE. This will be a treat all around.

Save the REVOLUTIONARY AGE!

MINE STRIKE SPREADS IN OHIO AND PENN.

(Continued from page 1)
picket lines and marches. An especially successful march was organized from Tyndale to the Washington County Court House demanding relief from starvation. In Ohio the state militia is being mobilized to crush the strike. Belmont and Jefferson counties may be placed under martial law.

In Pennsylvania, Governor Pinchot is conducting secret negotiations with officials of the C.M.W. of A. to end the strike. These negotiations have been denounced by the National Miners Union whom Pinchot refuses to recognize.

The solidarity of the strikers' ranks is being undermined by the confusion in conflicts over jurisdiction between the N. M. U. and the U. M. W. of A. John L. Lewis is working overtime to betray his hands by insisting on affiliation first instead of organizing the miners for a show down fight against the wage-cuts and unbearable conditions on the basis of a united front of the organizations involved—the U. M. W. of A. and the N. M. U. and the District Rank and File organization. By emphasizing the divisions among the workers instead of striving to unify them, the N. M. U. officials are making it easier for the Lewis machine to proceed with its steps of betrayal. No effort has been made by the N. M. U. to work together with the locals of the U. M. W. of A. for a common struggle against the bosses, the sheriffs, the courts and the Lewis bureaucracy.

line and brave fighter against the "right wing Lovestone Group" had not the courage to speak against this resolution and refrained from voting against it. Yet this "loyalist" fights the Majority Group in his local as "non-Communist" and "enemies of the Soviet Union."

—A Party Member.

About the Lithuanian Communist Opposition

Dear Comrade:

Thanks for your letter of the 12th. Yes, I received the Bulletin of the Lithuanian Communist Opposition.

Why on earth do we workers require a civil war in our ranks, when we need every worker to help defeat our hereditary foe, capitalism? Still we have to defend ourselves from the bitter attacks of the present Party leaders! In the *Lithuanian Literary Organization* (A.L.D.L.D.) executive board declares that any member who is in sympathy with the Opposition is breaking the laws of the A.L.D.L.D. constitution and will not be "tolerated in the organization." That is an ultimatum, either submit meekly or get out! The expulsion of many members will be a mortal blow to the A. L. D. L. D. It is already hard hit by the depression and many are in the ranks of the unemployed and cannot pay their dues. The A. L. D. L. D. is the bulkwork of the Lithuanian workers progressive movement and it is imperative to the workers to fight and protect their individual work and experience of long years. Also the new Lithuanian Fraternal Alliance (L. D. S.), which broke away from the Fascist controlled S. L. A., is not attacked yet by the "purity league." It is only a matter of time. Why? Because many of the members, and even members of the executive board are Opposition sympathizers and members. They will not be tolerated, if we are to judge by the present situation in all the organizations under the jurisdiction of the present Party leaders. If the expulsion method will be used in the L. D. S. it will be a tragedy to the members who are old in years and depend on the fraternal Alliance for sick benefit and to save themselves from a pauper's grave. Workers have to be on guard to protect their organizations. The slogan of the Party seems to be: "The great split in our ranks!"

With Communist greetings,
—M.G.

A SHAMEFUL 'UNITED FRONT' MEETING

A Letter of Protest to the I. W. W.

Dear Comrades:

I wish to protest most emphatically at the way in which the demonstration at Union Square on behalf of the Centralia prisoners was conducted by those in charge of the demonstration.

Without informing the participants of the deliberate intention of the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W. to exclude the Communist Party by not inviting it to send speakers, organizations were invited to send speakers to a demonstration on a united front basis. The deliberate exclusion of the Communist Party is to be severely condemned. There is surely no excuse for it. The fact that a year ago the Communist Party leadership saw fit for factional considerations to reject the invitation to send speakers to a similar united front demonstration is no excuse for not inviting them this year. The action of the Communist Party leadership then was a criminal act against the Centralia prisoners and the entire working class. I characterized it so then and again at the Union Square demonstration. However to sacrifice working class unity which today is so badly needed on behalf of the Centralia prisoners and against capitalist reaction is not justifiable. It is to be condemned very severely. If the Communist Party leadership would have again rejected an invitation then they also would bear the full responsibility and condemnation for their criminal opposition to a united front move to free the Centralia prisoners. The factional narrow attitude of the I.W.W. leaders organizing the meeting gives every excuse to worm out of the bad situation in which they were in as a result of their former act of disunity.

I also want to protest at the loose, unorganized manner in which the meeting was conducted. Speakers who were favored were allowed to speak on any topic under the sun and not required to confine themselves to the subject for which the meeting was called. There was no definite allotted time, some speakers rambling three-quarters of an hour. After such anarchy the chairman insisted that I speak only ten minutes. This was an example of rank discrimination as was the deliberate action, after agreeing when I was to speak, of showing in speakers one after the other.

I want to protest at the factional, clique attitude of the committee in charge in expressing hostility to all other comrades in the audience who were there on behalf of the striking starving min-

ers and the nice framed-up Negro boys in Scottsboro prison awaiting execution at the electric chair. This kind of an attitude does not help working class solidarity.

I want to protest against the action of the chairman and the committee in allowing the meeting to degenerate into polemics on I.W.W.ism and Communism, thus perverting the issue of the Centralia to be lost completely.

I want to protest against the apparent and expressed anti-Communist attitude of the chairman and the allowing of the meeting to degenerate into an anti-Communist, anti-Soviet Union affair as was done in the speech of Starret, which was given wide publicity in the capitalist press. Those responsible for turning the Union Square demonstration into such a shameful affair, sacrificing the interests of Centralia to their own clique attitudes and political opinion are to be criticized and condemned and held responsible for their disruptive acts.

Our organization, the Communist Party (Majority Group), will be careful in the future not to become a party to such shameful distortions of united front activities. It holds that the most urgent need in America today is united front working class action on the broadest possible basis against the iniquities of capitalism.

Fraternally yours,
BENJ. GITLOW
Sec'y, C.P.-Majority Group.

CIVIC FEDERATION TO TRY "PLANNING"

(Continued from page 1)
the owners of capital throws production and consumption into a permanent dislocation since the workers can never consume what they produce.

None of these basic features can be overcome without eliminating the fundamental basis of capitalism: private property in the means of production.

Only in the Soviet Union, where capitalist private property has been abolished, is economic planning a possibility and a reality!

Plain Words from the Pulpit
"Economic law is our god and his business is his prophet," said the Rev. Dr. S. R. Meyer-Bakes in the Fourth Lutheran Brotherhood Church last Sunday. What the Reverend Doctor calls "economic law" is really what used to be called Mamonism.

An Unemployed Council Member Writes:

THE PARTY AND THE COUNCILS

by "Unemployed"

(Concluded from last issue)

The United Unemployment Conference
A few Party members were there. These were only delegates. Nothing was done or organized but the next day they came out with the statement that "the unemployed branches have been formed."

We became so disgusted that we went to see Browder, Hathaway and Anster. When we introduced ourselves, Browder said with a wisecrack look on his face: "I've heard of you fellows." We told him the big three that we would like to have union in all the organizations under the jurisdiction of the present Party leaders. If the expulsion method will be used in the L. D. S. it will be a tragedy to the members who are old in years and depend on the fraternal Alliance for sick benefit and to save themselves from a pauper's grave. Workers have to be on guard to protect their organizations. The slogan of the Party seems to be: "The great split in our ranks!"

With Communist greetings,
—M.G.

members who can talk. They rejected our proposal with the disastrous result that some of the workers who volunteered for this membership getting job didn't come around again—for they found out that they couldn't do this work.

How Members are Taken into the Party
The note of a sap you are the quicker you are taken into the Party. You fill out an application card and the next week you are called to a meeting of the unit given a card and asked to say "yes." The main thing asked of you is to say "yes" to whatever you are told. On those of us who are old Party members this is rather hard. We were not brought up that way in the days before the split. That's new stuff to us and we find it hard to stomach this. One day a certain worker came in from the West. He happened to belong to the International Brotherhood of Welfare Association (Hobo Brotherhood). This worker didn't know the difference between Communism and brick-laying but he was immediately made a "Red Builder" and a member of the Red Builders News Club the morning after he made out an application to the Communist Party. He waited a few days after this. In the meantime the question came up of the collection of funds for the hunger march. Tag Days were to be held. This hobo member was called in and placed in charge of the collection boxes. Here this new Party member became a real militant. He started his own little expropriation business right away. He collected money all right but he put the money in his own pocket. He left the office to go to the Workers International Relief, he told us, and what do you think happened? No one ever saw him again or the \$35 he took with him.

This is how our Party is now growing. This is the new blood that we have been getting. It is tragic.

The Youth Movement

Official Organ
"FOKED WORKERS"

YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE, U. S. A.

Section of the Young Communist International
National Office
41 EAST 124th STREET
NEW YORK CITY

June 4, 1931.

Elmer Smith,
New York, N. Y.

This is to officially inform you that you have been expelled from the Young Communist League by the Central Control Commission as a degenerate element who has aligned himself with the Lovestone renegades.

The above decision was based on your activity in Philadelphia and New York.

For the Secretariat.

How Y. C. L. Members Are Being Expelled

An Appeal to the League Convention

by Elmer Smith

Dear comrades,
It is now two years since the Fifth Convention of our League. In these two years great changes have come over both our Party and League. Our movement has been split wide open, our best leaders expelled, iron bands when in the early part of the year (Sixth World Congress of the Comintern) the Party now finds that it has "lost considerable position in the ranks of the American workers" (R.L.L.U. Letter to the T.U.U.L.—*Daily Worker*, May 18th). The situation in our League is no better—it is worse. Our Convention must examine the situation of our League, must find the reason for the crisis in our League and must take steps to improve the situation.

The pre-convention discussion was not raised in a manner of seriously examining the situation in our League and taking steps to correct it. There was no discussion of any basic political problems. All Communist democracy was thrown to the winds. I presented an article in which I tried to analyze the present weaknesses of our League. I was immediately met with attacks and slander, my article was not published despite the fact that the columns of the *Daily Worker* and of the *Young Worker* would have been open to any replies which any leading comrade would have made. Following this I came to New York. Here my transfer was held up for a period of a month, and under date of June 4, I received a communication telling me that I was expelled as a degenerate element who has aligned himself with the Lovestone renegades (copy of this communication is attached). I was given no hearing of any sort before this action was taken!

What is the situation of our League today? In the end of 1928 a census of the League membership showed 3,479 members. At the present time the call for the Sixth Convention of the League told us that we have 2,000 members. On the same printed call there are the quotas for the Three Months Plan, which were supposed to double the League membership. These quotas showed 1,515 members. However, we are told that

we have "fewer but better League members. Therefore we should examine the League work from all standpoints.

We should start with anti-militarist work since that is the most important League work today. The EC YCI in its Open Letter to the American League in 1928 specifically commended the Philadelphia District for its anti-militarist work. This year not a single comrade from the Philadelphia district was assigned to the C.M.T.C. The only comrade who is in the National Guard was assigned to this work when Clarence Miller was district organizer back in 1928.

Trade union and shop work was always a weak link in the League, but today it is worse than ever. The few economic youth organizations that we did have are non-existent (Plumbers Helpers, etc.) Shop work is nil.

The new Pioneer line has transformed Pioneer work from Communist children's work into just children's work. The Pioneer face is removed and in its place we have a program of "lighter features" to the nth degree. As a result of this line there is no Pioneer movement today.

The same can be said of every phase of League and Party work. This situation cannot be remedied by and new twists and turns. We must have a genuine change of line nothing short of that will help. The immediate task now is the restoration of inner League democracy. Unity is the burning issue before the Communist movement today. This can only be accomplished on the basis of:

1. Readmission into the ranks of the League of all those expelled for fighting the ultra-left line.

2. A discussion through the ranks of the League to be followed by a convention.

On the basis of Communist unity I, therefore, demand my immediate unconditional reinstatement into the ranks of the Young Communist League of the U. S. A.

Elmer Smith



PICNIC and DANCE

SATURDAY, July 25, 1931
at CLINTON PARK
MASPETH, L. I.

(30 Minutes from Union Square)

EXCELLENT DANCE ORCHESTRA

Sports — Games — Contests — Entertainment

TICKET: 35 CENTS 50 Cents at Gate

Auspices: REVOLUTIONARY AGE

DIRECTORS:—E.M.T. 14th St. Line to Grand St. Sta. Change to Grand St. car for Maspeth, L. I. Stop at RUST STREET.

Rationalization and the Workers

RATIONALIZATION AND PSYCHOLOGY

by Hal Long

(Concluded from last issue)

Another author gives the bosses the following advice: when having conferences with representatives of the workers, don't put them on one side of the table, and those of the management on the other. Mix them in between each other, and pat the workers on the back once in a while.

And lots of employers have followed this advice and succeeded in creating "good will" among their employees. Many of our large industrial plants have their "workers council", where the workers are taught the "brotherhood of labor and capital" and have chicken dinners with the management after each meeting, so as to emphasize this theory. Significant is a report given to the National Manufacturers Association stating that: "Our workers council has grown to be mainly an educational institution for the workers." And how much benefit the workers really get from these institutions can be seen from what happened at the plant of the General Electric in Schenectady last year when 8,000 out of 25,000 were laid off. After the management had "regretted" it and said it done "every thing possible to avoid it" and so on, the workers council was promised that no

outside workers would be taken on until all those laid off were reemployed. I wonder how long they could feed themselves on that.

Most large plants have also their papers, social and athletic clubs, which pretend to be controlled by the workers themselves, but are actually controlled by the management. Through these organizations, the bosses secure information about "undesirable" workers, and see to it that no dangerous seed is sown. Through talks and movies at club meetings and articles in company papers, they try to impress on the minds of the workers what a blessed social system we have. Again, the G. E. plant in Schenectady is a typical example.

When the head of that company, Owen D. Young, was in France fixing up the "Young Plan", the Works News carried a long article about him, telling the workers how proud they should be, working for such a big fellow. Shortly afterwards, they had an article by Owen D. Young himself, telling how important it was that the stockholders get a "fair return" on their investments, and how nice they were raking their money to create jobs and happiness for the workers!

Not only are the workers fed with lies about our social system, but they are

Norman Thomas Discovers America IV.

Mr. Thomas and Communism

by Ben Gitlow

(Concluded from last issue) Norman Thomas must admit the Socialist progress of the Soviet Union. Here are items from his book: "The experience among other things seems to have strengthened Bolshevik determination to equalize or surpass America in the use of machinery but of machinery socially but not privately controlled."

snare of capitalist liberalism. He casts aside all the achievements, the working class significance, the lessons, the Socialist success of the proletarian revolution in Russia for capitalist liberalism. No wonder the capitalists embrace him so fondly. Like an innocent, unskissed virgin, he blushing accepts the warm embraces.

there is a tragic by-product, it is Norman Thomas, the by-product of yellow "Socialism." Norman Thomas offers America not Socialism, not working class action for the attainment of Socialism, not revolution but abstract, illusive, American capitalist democracy. This is the gist of Thomasonian philosophy.

For the Defense Of Labor Press

"Class Struggle" Is Banned; Must Join Labor Press Conference

The following letter was sent to Albert Weisbord, editor of the Class Struggle, by Benj. Gitlow, Majority Leader of the Communist Party (Majority Group) in connection with the former's appeal for support in the struggle against the attempt of the Post Office authorities to suppress the Class Struggle.—The Editor.

Dear Comrade: Your letter on the suppression of the Class Struggle indicates that the suppression of the Revolutionary Age was only the forerunner of a premeditated action on the part of the capitalist authorities to suppress the Communist and militant labor press. Six papers have now been denied second class mailing privileges.

The brunt of the fight so far against the postal authorities and the capitalist government has been borne by the Revolutionary Age. The case of the Revolutionary Age is now before the United States Supreme Court. The Communist Party (Majority Group) realized early the march of capitalist reaction in the United States and the great need of a united front of the Communist forces to combat it effectively.

When the Revolutionary Age was suppressed we endeavored to form a united front of all labor organizations to fight the suppression and for the freedom of the press. The Communist Party and the Communist League of America refused to participate in the conference which was called, a considerable number of labor organizations participated, and a committee was chosen to carry on the fight against the suppression of the Revolutionary Age and other Communist and labor papers.

In considering your letter we have come to the conclusion that the best interests of the movement will be served by your organization, then whomsoever you designate, joining this committee and in that way continuing and furthering the united move already started on behalf of the freedom of the Communist and labor press.

I trust that you will see the necessity for such united action. As soon as I hear from you favorably I can take steps thru our representative on the committee to have a meeting of the committee called at which your delegation can be present and be added as members of the committee.

Comradely yours, Benj. Gitlow

The Leipzig Congress of the German Social-Democracy Communists and Reformists

by August Thalheimer (Berlin)

We publish below the most important paragraphs of the article "The Lessons of Leipzig for the Communist Party" appearing in the theoretical organ of the German Communist Opposition, Gegen den Strom, No. 12, June 8, 1931. The author of this article is August Thalheimer, the outstanding Communist theoretician in Germany today. For years Comrade Thalheimer was recognized as one of the theoretical leaders of the Communist Party, sharing with Bukharin leadership in working out the program of the Communist International.

Everybody on Germany already knows the main features of the new "emergency legislation" of the Reich government which is only waiting for a few finishing touches preparatory to publication. In only one place in Germany today is the content of the emergency decree still a profound mystery—at least if we are to judge by actions. This is the Leipzig Party Congress of the Social-democratic party of Germany.

The Emergency Decree That the emergency decree involves a

further reduction in unemployment insurance is clear. That it also involves a further burden on the consumption of the masses is equally obvious. Sugar and salt are under discussion and there is to be a change in the taxation of tobacco so as to make it "more effective." A further reduction of the wages of officials is also on the order of business. The advent of a "crisis tax" to extend also to capitalist incomes is indicated, very probably as bait for the Social-democratic fish. Chancellor Brüning has prepared a whole set of such tricks for the exclusive benefit of the Leipzig show. He desires to reduce the price of bread for "psychological reasons." The armament budget is of course, not to be reduced but Herr Brüning permits himself to promise the Social-democrats that Herr Groener will promise not to spend this year a few dozen millions of what he has at his disposal. But the "children" lap it up. The bourgeoisie, in any case, well served by the renewed declaration and official announcement that the Social-democracy is ready for further service to the Brüning government under the most degrading circumstances.

To London on the Way to Paris And now Uncle Brüning and Curtius

are travelling to London, there to get a letter of recommendation to Paris and to Washington to help them in their debt casement plan. The adventurous attempt to isolate France by surprise, by means of the Austro-German Customs Union, has collapsed. The immediate consequence, quite obvious to the German bourgeoisie, is that the opposite method must be tried—an attempt at a direct understanding with French imperialism. The pilgrimage to Chequers is only a detour to Paris. And the waving of the red shirt, the Bolshevik danger in Germany, is intended more for Paris than for London.

These maneuvers of domestic and foreign policy of the Brüning government, which become more unsteady and short-lived as the situation continues, have greatly dissipated the fiction of Brüning as the Strong Man, the Suldner of Anarchy and the Guardian of Order. The intrigues and the pressure of heavy industry against the Brüning regime are becoming more vigorous. This is shown by the attacks, coming from this camp, against Curtius and against Finance Minister Dietrich, by the brutal language of the Langenverner and by the rich subsidies which heavy industry is extending to the National-Socialists. At the same time the press campaign against the Communist Party is greatly intensified and step by step a tradition of joint Fascist-police terror against the workers is being built up.

The resistance and the indignation of the workers bursts out locally—but that's where it remains. The Social-democratic party machine has other things, more important, to do than to bother about such things and the Communist Party, because of its ultra-left tactics, cannot get beyond individual actions.

The "Left" Social-Democrats Even those who did not have a very high estimation of the strength and fighting power of such "lefts" as Seydewitz must be astonished at their complete nullity in Leipzig and the ease with which the right wingers—who, according to Weis, are non-existent—stuffed them. But the strength of the opposition in the S. P. D. was always only a reflex of the correct tactics of the Communist Party, of the strength and the skill with which the Communist Party was able to influence the Social-democratic masses. In truth, Leipzig is a judgment, and an enlightening judgment, of the policy of the Communist Party, the living witness of the great negligence, the monstrous errors of the C.P.G. in the struggle against reformism. This is the basic lesson of Leipzig for the Communists.

Compare the situation within the Social-democracy in 1923 and today! The situation is no less favorable today for Communism in Germany than it was in 1923. And, however fantastic may be Party legends about 1923, the facts speak for themselves. At that time, in 1923, there was a stormy opposition in the S.P.G. which threw the Social-democratic bureaucrats on the defensive and made it advisable for the bourgeoisie to put a halt to Fascism and to withdraw to the basis of "democracy" in order to divide the revolutionary stream, to split the working class itself and to attract the hesitating petty bourgeois strata. Today the "lefts" in the S. P. G. are on the miserable defensive, the right wing on the brutal, deliberate offensive, and the big bourgeoisie not only does not have to restrain Fascism but is even in a position to put it into harness.

The Task of the Opposition Under these conditions a tremendous task rests upon the shoulders of the Communist Opposition. However correct and energetic our work as an organization of cadres (which the Communist Opposition is) may be, it cannot make up for the lack of a Communist Party with correct Communist tactics.

The Communist Opposition is today the only force in Germany which is in a position to accomplish the basic and complete liquidation of the ultra-left course and therewith the convalescence, reunification and the strengthening of the Communist Party. As long as proletarian mass organizations exist, the existence of a Communist mass Party as the bearer of a true Communist policy is a prerequisite for a broad effectiveness, for mass influence among the Social-democratic workers. The present situation in the S.P.G. is conditioned by the paradox: on the one side, a Communist mass organization which is carrying on an ultra-left sectarian policy; on the other hand, a Communist mass policy which is represented only by a cadre-organization. Nor the size of the organization determines its sectarian character but the content of its policy. And that is why there arises the apparent paradox: why the small C. P. Opposition, brand the "great" C. P. G., with its present policy, as a sect and place against it the Communist Opposition as the cadre and kernel of a real Communist mass Party.

The logic of things, carried thru by careful, intensive, conscious work, is a pledge that this paradox will be overcome! Either the C. P. G. will give up its sectarian policy or else it will be reduced to a sect as far even as external appearance is concerned. It will collapse under the blows of the class enemy. It is the mission of the Communist Opposition to win back the C. P. to a Communist mass policy and at the same time to attract to itself the best cadres of the workers in the S. P. G. who are finding their way to Communism. History works almost invisibly for whole periods of time and does not come to the surface until the heaped-up results of months and years manifest themselves in tremendous results in days and weeks.

The Economic Crisis and World Politics REPARATIONS AND THE WORLD CRISIS

by A. P.

The whole system of reparation payments and war debts is a direct heritage of the World War and has become an integral part of the post-war economic and political situation of the capitalist world. The profound economic crisis gripping capitalism today only emphasizes its outstanding significance. A general grasp of the elementary facts involved in the situation, an appreciation of the intimate connections between the reparation and war debt question on the one hand, and the economic crisis on the other, and an understanding of the attitude of the working class to the war debt situation, appear essential to any Communist analysis of the present state and prospects of world capitalism.

most two billion was added, making the total \$11,565,000,000. The largest single sum is owing from Great Britain (\$4,600,000,000) with France a close second (\$4,025,000,000) and Italy trailing behind (\$2,042,000,000). Most of the other countries of Europe are included for relatively smaller sums. The debt settlements made by the Allied powers with the U.S.A. involve annual payments for sixty-two years after date of settlement. The Treasury Department has calculated that in the period covered by the war debt settlements this country is supposed to receive a total of over twenty-two billion dollars (including the interest rapidly piling up). In the year 1931 the U.S.A. is supposed to receive on the war debt account about \$240,000,000.

1. THE FACTS OF THE SITUATION

The whole war debt-reparations question hinges about two main axes: Germany—the former Allies, and the Allies—the United States. When Germany suffered a smashing political defeat in the fall of 1918 (it was never defeated in a military sense), the Allied powers determined to reap the "fruits of victory", to put heavy economic burdens upon Germany, i.e., upon the German masses. A complicated system of "reparation" and other payments was elaborated and constantly readjusted, from Versailles to the Young Plan. What is the essence of this system as it stands today?

But the Allied powers have no intention whatever of bearing the burdens of their own national economies. They pass what they owe to the United States on to Germany for the German masses to bear. Between 60% to 75% of what Germany pays in reparations (depending upon the year) is marked directly to go to the United States on the Allied war debt account and so it is supposed to be transferred by the World Bank. A very neat little scheme at that! No wonder that Uncle Sam's initials are interpreted in Europe as standing for Uncle Shylock!

The German Reparation System

Under the Young Plan, put into effect in May 1930, Germany is pledged to a series of annual payments continuing to 1938. The annual payments begin with about 1,641,600,000 gold marks, rising to about 2,300,000,000 gold marks in 1931 and falling off again by 1937. The total amount of these payments from 1920 to 1938 thus amounts to well over \$27,000,000,000 (This figure includes not only the reparation payments but also the payments on the Dawes loan of 1924 as well as a few other minor miscellaneous items.) The payments of Germany, for 1931, for example, amount to \$385,574,340 on the Young Plan annuity, plus \$15,745,020 to the United States on the Army of Occupation item, plus \$20,723,400 on the Dawes loan, plus \$5,121,300 special payments to Belgium, or a total of \$427,164,060. For the sake of simplicity we may regard the German payments as amounting to about \$325,000,000 annually on the average.

Now all this is calculated to work very smoothly as long as Germany continues to pay. But if the German masses were to cease, for one reason or another, to pour out their sweat and blood into a golden stream the greater portion of which flows thru a direct pipe line to Wall Street, what would happen to the Allied debts to America? And such a contingency is here today, as we shall see later.

2. REPARATIONS AND THE CRISIS

The reparations and debt questions are integrally bound up with the present world crisis in three ways. First of all, as a powerful precipitating factor for bringing about the crisis. Secondly, as an aggravating factor once the crisis set in. Thirdly, as a factor for sharpening the antagonisms among the various imperialist powers, particularly during a moment of crisis, thus serving as a decisive force in hindering even the slightest recovery from the crisis.

Nothing shows so dramatically the new historical role of the United States as the center of gravity of world capitalism since the war as an analysis of the bare facts of the reparation and war debts situation!

The Inter-Allied War Debts The victorious powers emerged from the world war owing hundreds of millions to the United States on debts contracted during the war. In 1919 these debts reached the staggering total of nearly ten billion dollars but by the time a settlement was made an interest charge of almost

ance by the victorious powers, particularly the United States, for the building up of German industries and for the development of technique and rationalization in German competitive economy. Consequently, Germany is strengthened as a competitor in the world market, at least on paper. This is an important factor making for the development of elements of crisis in international capitalism.

At the same time, the continuation of this rapid development of rationalization in Germany sharpens the inherent contradictions in German capitalism which is an important sector of the international capitalist front and this further helps to precipitate a crisis.

2. With the crisis, German industry finds itself in a desperate position. The workers must be so speeded up and so intensely exploited as not only to turn out a handsome profit for the German bourgeoisie itself but also to turn out sufficient surplus-value from which the German ruling class can extract funds to meet the reparation payments as well as to meet the payments of loans contracted by private manufacturers for the development of their plants and extension of their facilities. Thus German capitalist industry is under additional burdens which the industries in the victorious capitalist countries do not face today.

The Economic Week

STAGNATION in industry and dullness in finance characterize the economic situation. The Hoover proposal for a one year moratorium in debt and reparation payments has served as a fleeting oxygen-inhaler on the New York and Berlin bourses, but no real vigor in the stock movements is visible. Steel is operating at 38%

The Crisis in the Communist Movement LET NOT OUR MOVEMENT BE WRECKED!

Appeal of the Lithuanian Communist Opposition

The manifesto published below is taken from the Bulletin published by the Lithuanian Communist Opposition.

Comrades! Our movement is living thru a great crisis. Organizations were seized by the Bimbaite usurpers. They claim the press for their own. They have conspired to expel many of the members of the Opposition from the Lithuanian Workers Literary Society, from the Laivise Cooperative Society and other organizations and institutions which we have built up. The right of expression is closed to the rank and file in the press; the most ordinary rights of criticism are taken away in our organizations. Everywhere the most complete factional dictatorship of the Central Büro has been introduced.

But this crisis exists not only among the Lithuanian workers. It affects the whole Communist movement of the United States. The Jewish organizations are wrecked; two daily newspapers, which in their time were very influential, have been dealt a death blow. The Ukrainians are split. The Hungarians are split. The Russian Communist forces in this country are dying out. Hardly any organized Communist forces have been left among the Polish and Lettish workers in this country.

The Communist Party itself has dropped in membership for the last several months (from last November to April this year) and there is not half left of what there was last year. The Trade Union Unity League remains on paper only. The Needle Trades Workers Union is wrecked, only one or two discussion clubs remain. The National Miners Union has made no progress but has rapidly declined. The Shoe Workers Union no longer exists. The Marine Workers Union is practically destroyed.

These facts are the direct result of the splitting policy which the present leadership of the Communist Party has directed. And thanks to this policy, the Lithuanian Bimbaism is again raising its head which in 1922 had been driven into a forgotten past.

We, the Lithuanian Communist Opposition, are a part of the Communist movement. Despite the fact that the standard-bearers of Bimbaism in every way possible denounce and slander us, nevertheless they will not be able to separate us from that movement which is dear to us, in which we participate and in whose ideals we believe. However, in the present crisis unspcakably great responsibilities fall upon us: The Opposition must do all in its power to prevent the Bimbaites from wrecking our movement.

What will happen with those Lithuanian working masses which have been set to fighting amongst themselves, with the organizations which the Bimbaites wrecked, demoralized

and left in great confusion? What will happen if the leftist element, which now has the reins in all our organizations and institutions, will lead with its tactics to the logical end—completely wreck our organizations, completely turning the masses against our movement?

If we remain passive then the domineering of the Bimbaites will become much greater and drive to the enemy, into the ranks of the Fascists, a large section of the workers who are now following the Communist movement.

What revolutionary worker can desire such consequences? Not only must we not desire it but we must in every way try to head off the ruinous tactics of the Central Büro, must, as the other workers have done, throw ourselves into work with organized forces.

Our Tasks How? First, in all colonies, we must immediately organize ourselves into Opposition Groups. These groups must have as their first duty—to struggle with all possible means against the wrecking of our organizations and institutions, against expulsions of all persons who are in sympathy with the Opposition.

Second, all effort must be made to prevent any elements of our movement, which the Bimbaites have already driven out, from going over to the ranks of the class enemy. All decent, sympathetic, class-conscious workers should be drawn into the Opposition Groups.

Third, everywhere possible we must raise the main slogan of the Opposition: Save the unity of the Communist-sympathetic organizations and strengthen them! We must fight relentlessly the slander of Bimbaites that we are organizing a new Party of that we are opposed to the Communist Party as such. We must point out everywhere that we recognize only the Communist Party as the leader of our movement—but at the same time show to the workers the fact that the present Opposition is nothing but the result of the ruinous tactics of the leftist element, which at this time is in control of the Party.

Fourth, we must always remember that there will be elements who will attempt to ally themselves with the Opposition, who previously had no place in our ranks. Guard against them! Our movement must be purely class-conscious, purely working class, Communist.

Our position and activities must be: For the unity of the Communist forces! For the preservation and building up of our organizations!

For a mass Communist Party! For the utilization of all sympathetic, decent elements, who can be of aid to our movement! Against the violent control of our institutions!

Against the factional dictatorship in our movement! Against the wrecking of our organizations and expulsion of our members! Against lies, slanders and campaigns of terror which are led by the Bimba clique against those who are opposed to it! This is our program. This is the guide for our work, which every active element of our movement who is in sympathy with the Opposition and all members of the Opposition Groups should abide by. Comrades of the Opposition, all united, to the aid of the Communist movement!

With Communist greetings, Lithuanian Communist Opposition Central Committee.

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also mentally pressed to work harder, to speed up. Those who work hard are given publicity, awarded prizes and so on. Contests are staged, "efficiency slogans" are raised, and all over the plants are posted signs urging the workers to work harder. Thus we can see signs: "You haven't done your best, until you can do no more." "There is always a better way of doing things." "The idea is to get it done." Examples like these could fill the columns of this paper. However, there is no necessity of telling tales from the shops. What the bosses and their servile scientists write and say tells enough. A couple of years ago one of our captains of industry expressed himself as follows: "In fitting the worker into his place in an organization, you have to begin with his mind. He will not be a loyal and effective part of the organization until this condition has been met." To make the workers non-thinking and hard-working slaves, that is the main purpose of the bosses' psychology!

Revolutionary Age

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HOOVER'S NEW DAY—1928-1932

WHEN Hoover was being boomed for the Presidency he was promising the country a "New Day"—if his policies were endorsed by the electorate and his seat in the White House assured. It is a different Hoover, talking in a different tone, the speaking the same language and for the same class, who spoke at Indianapolis the other day. In 1928 Hoover bluffed the workers with loud talk about the "abolition of poverty." In 1931 Hoover says that the worst of the worst economic crisis is over.

Hoover's Indianapolis speech is more than the opening gun of his bid for re-election in 1932. It is even more than the Republican platform in the coming presidential elections. It is the most reactionary platform ever put forward by any capitalist party in the country. It lays down the fundamental line of strategy of the decisive section of the ruling class in the class struggle in the United States.

Mr. Hoover's fright and panic are symbolic of the present mood of American and world capitalism regarding the economic situation. Hoover boasted his utmost about the great inherent qualities of his ruling class citizenry but in reality he was on the defensive against the tremendous progress of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union. This means that world capitalism, as a system, is today on the defensive, for Hoover is the spokesman of the most powerful capitalist country. Against the astounding achievements of Socialist, of genuinely planned economy, all the much-heralded "engineer" could offer were prophecies about the growth of population in the United States in the next twenty years and the remarkable discovery that the addition of twenty million people to the country's population would entail an increase in the number of houses occupied! Mr. Hoover's prophecies could be discounted at less than the price of a peddled rotten apple—the symbol of all capitalist relief measures in the crisis today. We haven't yet forgotten how more than a year ago Hoover prophesied and promised that "the crisis would be over in sixty days."

Neither Mr. Hoover nor any other spokesman of the ruling class, whether it be of the stripe of Matthew Woll, acting president of the anti-labor Civic Federation, or of the "Socialist"-liberal apologist of capitalism of the type of Stuart Chase, has any solution for the crisis or any program of social planning. All of these experts base themselves on the continuation and perpetuation of capitalism, which is an anti-social system replete with inherent unsolvable contradictions bringing terrible suffering, hunger and misery in their train.

Woll speaks of "a democratic industrial structure comparable to our democratic political structure." Here you have it. The "democratic political structure"—injunctions, strikebreaking, criminal syndicalist laws, deportations, filling the jails with militant workers, lynching of Negroes and murdering of militant workers like Sacco and Vanzetti. The "democratic industrial structure" of Hoover and Woll will at best be parallel to and the counterpart of the fraudulent capitalist democracy now oppressing the working and farming masses of the country. The utter bankruptcy of the American capitalist class in the present economic crisis is perhaps most clearly illustrated in the note of despair struck by Hoover when he compared the possibilities of legislative alleviation of the disastrous results of the crisis with "the belief that we can exercise a Caribbean hurricane by statutory law."

Hoover's speech was a declaration of war upon the American working class. Deportations and corrupt charity, the relief of the breadlines and the flop house, the sloppy bowl of soup were hailed as true American "relief" measures as against unemployment insurance. And all of this under the guise of the defense of "rugged individualism" against Communism!

This will be the line of the coming presidential campaign—a drive against the millions of jobless workers, a ruthless attack on the standards of the American working class. Hoover's promise of a "New Day" in 1932 will bring at best what his 1928 promise of a "New Day" has brought us so far—starvation amidst plenty, hunger amidst abundance, collapse as a fruit of efficiency, misery as the reward of toil.

No flag-waving, no empty phrases, no capitalist threats, no flourishing demagoguery can offer the slightest relief to the workers in the crisis. The workers must help themselves—as a class—if they would be helped. Militant struggle against joblessness and wage-cuts, building powerful industrial unions, developing a mighty mass Communist Party—this is the road to a real "New Day," to a better day for the working masses, to a day of the Socialist society.

THE STARR FAITHFULL CASE

THE Starr Faithfull case, upon which the American newspaper reading public has been greedily feeding for several weeks, is well worth the attention of those who are interested in the present state of capitalist civilization and in an indication of the direction in which it is travelling.

There is surely no necessity of repeating the sordid features of the story. For the significance of the case lies not in its individual events, however sensational, but in its symptomatic character as the vivid indicator of the spiritual degradation of contemporary bourgeois society. The Starr Faithfull case brings to the surface and presents to our astonished gaze the murky undercurrents of decaying capitalist civilization.

Starr Faithfull was representative of the youth of America's upper middle classes. The wretched social parasitism of the class to which she belonged transformed itself with this apparently sensitive girl into a spiritual hollowness and moral decay which led to the systematic disintegration of the whole personality and to violent death, whether suicide or murder, as the only logical conclusion. The cynical sophistication of her whole life, faithfully reflecting the hopeless degeneracy of the society of which she was the fine flower, are vividly pictured in her startling letters.

And more. Starr Faithfull came from the ultra-respectable elements of our society. And yet, at the age of sixteen or seventeen, she became the victim of a middle-aged man, also ultra-respectable, described as "rich, refined and influential," who is alleged to have ruined her physically and mentally, and then absolved his responsibility with the payment of \$25,000 which the parents of the girl apparently accepted in the same business-like spirit in which it was offered. A former mayor of Boston is all but officially involved in the case, as are a whole string of other pillars of society. What stinking, hypocritical rottenness has again been revealed beneath the thin veneer of bourgeois respectability! A putrid indecency, poles apart from the healthy and unconcealed expression of human passions and impulses and recalling the vilest degeneracy of imperial Rome before the barbarian invasions or of aristocratic France on the eve of the Great Revolution.

Barbarism or Revolution—such is the historical alternative of today! Bourgeois society has long outlived itself; its decay is now manifest on every side and not least in the horrible filth of "respectable society." A society whose very foundations are eaten away by its own inner corruption cannot lay any historical claim to existence. If the hard-earned fruits of thousands of years of social evolution are not to be destroyed in the disastrous collapse of civilized society about our very ears, the whole stinking mess must be swept clean from the stage of history with the iron broom of the proletarian revolution.

Marxism and the Crisis of Capitalism

The Marxian Theory of Crises

by Eugene Varga

The striking contrast between the two fundamentally opposed sectors of the world economy today—the capitalist world in crisis and chaos and the Soviet Union in the most outstanding feature in world politics and economics today. For the revolutionary workers and for all those who are interested in the perspectives of the present-day world an understanding of the causes and the implications of the economic crisis in which the whole capitalist world finds itself and of the fundamental principles of Socialist planning is of incalculable importance. For this reason we publish below the most important sections of Eugene Varga's pamphlet "Marx's Theory of Crises and the Problems of the Present Crisis." Only lack of space prevents us from printing the work entire. We urge our readers to read the whole article in the International Press Correspondence, May 23, 1931, Vol. 11, No. 27. This introduction to a series of articles by Jay Lovestone on "Marxism and Planning."

—THE EDITOR

So as to demonstrate the connection between the general crisis of capitalism and the present economic crisis, we shall attempt to show how the inherent laws of capitalism must necessarily and inevitably bring about a series of periodically recurring crises, lead successively to imperialism and to the general crisis of capitalism and to the social revolution. Only on this broad theoretical basis will it be possible clearly to recognize the connection between the general crisis of capitalism and the peculiarities of the present critical phase of the industrial cycle. In keeping with the Marxian method of description, we shall start from the highest stage of the theoretically abstract, subsequently approaching, by an inclusion of concrete elements, more and more the historically given form of capitalism, and thus finally arriving at its present critical phase.

Marx's Theory of Crises

We shall start on the assumption of a uniform and purely capitalistic order of society, consisting solely of workers and capitalists. The most prominent characteristics of such an order of society are the facts:

1. that the means of production are solely the property of the capitalists, the proletariat being deprived of all means of production;
2. that the object of production lies not in satisfying the needs of society but in utilizing capital, which, in its turn entails the exploitation of the working class;
3. that production means the production of commodities for an unknown market.

It follows that the capitalist order of society is full of internal contradictions, the most fundamental of these being the contradiction between social production and private appropriation.

Social production with private appropriation means competition among the individual capitalists. This competition necessitates the concentration of production and the accumulation of capital.

Concentration is effected not only by means of an accumulation of part of the profit (conversion into capital) but also by means of centralization. Through concentration and centralization, free competition must needs lead to a system of monopoly.

Parallel with concentration, there is a raising of the organic composition of capital. A relatively increasing portion of all capital is represented by constant capital (building, machinery, raw materials, finished goods), while an ever smaller part consists of variable capital (wages).

The capitalist system of production is constantly revolutionizing technique. As the organic composition of capital increases, the rate of profit has a downward tendency. The fall in the rate of profit is a new motive inducing the big capitalist industry to proceed to the formation of monopoly organizations (trusts, cartels) which is a further step forward in monopolistic capitalism.

Parallel with concentration, there is an increasing centralization of the control of capital in the hands of a few leading banks. Industrial and bank capital merge to form financial capital.

The necessary development from industrial capitalism to imperialism, however, is no more than the general line of evolution. It assumes in the first place the form of industrial cycles, and secondly, that of an irregular spasmodic development. The basis of crises is to be sought in the fundamental contradiction between social production and private appropriation. Private appropriation and the quest for profit lead to accumulation. Accumulation, however, i.e., employment of part of the profit not for individual consumption but for the enlargement of capital, implies a constant relative over-production—at times acute, at others latent. The contradiction between the unlimited desire of the capitalists to increase production and the limited consumptive capacity of capitalist society, must needs lead to periodical crises.

In his work Capital Marx presented formulas for the course of the capitalist system of production in the case of simple reproduction (i.e., under the actually non-existent presumption of a complete absorption by the capitalists for personal purposes of the surplus-value acquired by them) or of enlarged reproduction (i.e., if, as is always the case, the capitalists employ part of the surplus-value for the purchase of additional labor-power and means of production, thus enlarging the output).

Under capitalism, there can be no proportional distribution, no equilibrium be-

tween the forces of production and consumption. The very process of accumulation must needs entail such disproportion.

The process of accumulation thus amounts to a constant relative over-production.

A crisis is a momentary, forcible adjustment of the productive and consumptive forces of society placed in acute contradiction to one another by reason of accumulation, the main factors of this readjustment being:

1. that part of the superfluous commodities must materially perish;
2. that output is restricted; and
3. that the price of the entire mass of commodities is reduced by a price-cut to the level of social requirements. (In this process some of the producers, obviously the smaller and more poorly equipped among them, are utterly ruined. Each crisis makes for a wholesale centralization of capital.)

We must thus set forth the following rough generalizations:

The crisis means a general over-production of commodities. It is an unavoidable phase of the industrial cycle governing the capitalist system of production.

The presumption of the crisis is the production of commodities for an unknown market, i.e., "planlessness."

The fundamental cause of the crisis lies in the contradiction between social production and private appropriation, one form of which is the contradiction between the capitalist striving for unlimited extension of production and the strictly limited consumptive capacity of capitalist society. This is the immediate cause of the crisis.

Accumulation shapes the course of the cycle and calls forth both the boom and the crisis.

The recurrence of the cycles, however, does not mean a procession of quantitatively similar events. The new cycle is not merely a repetition of the one preceding it, each cycle is at the same time a step in the history of capitalism bringing it nearer to its termination. Each crisis ruins a great number of small capitalists and represents a further advance of centralization. Each successive boom entails an extensive new investment of fixed capital and the rapid raising of the organic composition of capital, tending to promote the conditions for a renewed crisis.

...

The Law of Unequal Development — Unequal development is, as Lenin so often pointed out, a law of capitalism.

"The unequal and spasmodic nature of the development of individual enterprises, individual industries, and individual countries, is inevitable under capitalism."

Unequal development not only entails a relative backwardness of some elements in comparison with those of a more rapid growth; the speedier development of certain industries and certain countries is effected at the cost of the others.

In the period of imperialism unequal and spasmodic development becomes still more pronounced. Political subjugation in particular has led to the inordinately rapid advance of certain imperialist states at the expense of the exploited colonies and semi-colonial areas.

Cyclical movements and unequal development overlap and intertwine. The unequal development deforms the cyclical course in the case of certain industries and certain areas. Thus, on the basis of the anarchy of the capitalist system of production, unequal development results in special antagonisms, which acquire particular importance at the time of a general crisis of capitalism.

Monopoly Capitalism and the Crisis — We have already outlined the way in which free competition must needs lead to monopoly. Monopoly capitalism can naturally not eliminate the crisis, as the apologists assert; it merely causes further modifications in the course of the cycle.

The big monopolies are quicker to observe a falling off in the sale of their product than are individual capitalists in the period of industrial capitalism. The big monopolies have a certain possibility of restricting output before great unsalable stocks have accumulated.

The monopolies offer resistance to price depreciation, thus impeding and retarding the forcible adaptation of the price total of goods to social requirements. This serves to prolong the crisis, the burden of which is shifted to an enhanced degree onto the shoulders of the proletariat in the form of lengthy unemployment and onto the small capitalists, i.e., those who are not united in monopoly formations, in the form of a pronounced price-drop for their special commodities. The credit, bank and money crisis assumes a more virulent form and principally affects the small capitalists. But even in the case of monopolized capital all essential characteristics of the cyclical development continue to obtain. (Continued in next issue)

Militant Workers Ask Unity

- (Continued from page 1)
- LOUIS KLEINMAN Local 1, I.L.G.W.U.
 - SAM NAYORSHNER Local 1, I.L.G.W.U.
 - HARRY SEID Local 1, I.L.G.W.U.
 - JOSEPH FRIEDMAN Local 22, I.L.G.W.U.

- BARNETT COOPER Local 9, I.L.G.W.U.
- B. MILLER Local 35, I.L.G.W.U.
- JULIUS GINSBERG N.T.W.U.
- H. KUTLER Local 1, I.L.G.W.U.

Reply of the C.P. Majority Group

The serious difficulties in which the international Communist movement is now steeped are the vital concern not only of the members of the Communist Party or its various groups but also of all class-conscious workers. The Communist Party (Majority Group), therefore, welcomes the earnest interest of these revolutionary workers in speedily overcoming the present crisis in the Communist movement.

We greet this effort for Communist unity made by workers who have been coming constantly closer to the organized Communist movement and who have, for years, proven their mettle in the every-day struggles of the workers. We can only reaffirm our position for Communist unity in the revolutionary class struggle.

That we firmly believe in the correctness of our general line and that we more than ever reject the false, sectarian, ultra-left official line of the Communist Party today, we do not lay down the acceptance of our line of policies and tactics as a prerequisite to unity. All we ask for is: the

unconditional, immediate reinstatement of all comrades expelled for resisting the present non-Marxist tactical line, the restoration of Party democracy, the opening of a free discussion in the Party, and the holding of a convention to decide upon the tactical line of the Party. Realizing fully the gravity of the international crisis, the growing seriousness of the danger of a concerted imperialist attack against our Socialist Fatherland, the U.S.S.R., and being fully aware of splendid opportunities for building a mass Communist Party in the United States, we are prepared to leave no stone unturned to hasten the unification of the Communist movement.

At the same time we desire to point out to you workers that unless Communist unity is achieved very soon and that if the present ruinous sectarian course of today continues, even what is today left of the once increasingly influential Communist Party will be destroyed.

Comrades! We heartily agree with

CAMP SOLIDARITY

RAMSEY, N. J. Foot of Ramapo Hills LAKE FOR BATHING AND ROWING Rooms or Tents, Modern Improvements, Best Food \$14 a Week - \$2.50 a Day Organized Entertainment — Sports — Lectures PROLETARIAN ENVIRONMENT Registration and further information at 25 EAST 27th STREET, TELEPHONE: BOGAROUS 4-9399 Camp Solidarity Telephone. Ramsey 1086-25c from New York DIRECTIONS:—Trains leave N. Y. Susquehanna R.R. at Erie Ferries, 23rd Street and Chambers Street, New York, to Campgaw Station. Call Wyckoff 302 for taxi. BUSES leave from 25 E. 27th St., every Saturday at 1:30 p. m. on the dot. Return Sunday 8 p. m. to 125th St. Ferry—Round Trip \$1.50



BOOKS

STOUT CORTEZ, by Henry Morton Robinson. The Century Company, New York, 1931.

Robinson's biography of Hernando Cortez brings the Spanish Conquest closer to us than any other recent work in this field. He gives us an unusually vivid picture of Aztec civilization in terms available to the average reader. But the aureole Cortez wears is much too luminous. He gets too much credit for the conquest of Mexico.

The great gold hunger is the prime mover of events in Mexico during the early years of the 16th century. Cortez tells the messengers from Montezuma—the great Aztec monarch—that his officers and he "are afflicted with the disease of the heart which only the dust of fine gold can cure." Montezuma sends him gold in astonishing quantities with a moving message bidding the evil Spaniards to take all this gold "and sail away." But the Aztec "ambassadors" might as well have expostulated with a lion that had tasted blood. Cortez refused to "relinquish the golden prospects now lying before him."

Among other features of Aztec civilization, Robinson describes their regular fairs: "A hundred thousands persons a day patronized the booths of the market—trying everything from livestock to all pens from brass hatchets to coconuts, dressed furs, cosmetics, surgical instruments, adding machines, slaves, white paper and tobacco. The market was extremely neat, orderly and efficiently policed and only rarely was anything stolen."

The Spaniards marvelled at their water system which consisted of "a double line of earthenware conduits supplying to the 300,000 citizens of Mexico City a million gallons of fresh water daily from a reservoir seven miles away." The Spaniards had seen nothing to surpass this in the capitals of Europe.

All this which had taken centuries to build, the Spaniards destroyed in a few turbulent weeks. The fundamental totes of conquest have not altered appreciably during the past five centuries. Cortez's slogan was "divide and conquer." He split the Indian forces and used the Tlascalans to fight the Aztecs. His siege of Mexico is told movingly:

"Conditions within the Aztec metropolis were sinking to levels of horror unparalleled in the history of any European siege. Food, in the commonly understood sense of the word, was non-existent. Months had elapsed since corn, fish, or flesh of any kind had been smuggled into the city. Lizards, toads, rats and decaying human bodies were eagerly devoured by the starving inhabitants. Nearly one-quarter of a million Aztecs had perished in battle or died of illness or starvation," during the brief period of Spain's conquest of Mexico.

Despite the superior military equipment of the Spaniards—ammunition, horses, armor, duplicity and treachery—the Aztecs made a brave fight against the invaders. But the fate of the Indians was sealed. Their land was taken away, their civilization destroyed, and many of their people enslaved. The Indian hate of the Spaniard has travelled down the centuries. Robinson's simple, straightforward narrative goes far to explain the reasons for this hatred.

I am unable to vouch for the accuracy of all the details of this book, but it is certainly a dramatic and moving narrative and the lay reader can learn much from it about Aztec civilization and the Spanish conquest of Mexico.

Tenaj

you that "the need of unity is more urgent than ever"! Yes! "A way must be found to unity!" as you say. You can count on us to hasten the achievement of the genuine unity you are seeking. Toward this end, we are energetically at work trying to rebuild the once powerful left wing movement in the trade unions.

We hope that the membership of the Communist Party will itself bring to bear the necessary pressure to speed the unification of all Communist forces.

The best interests of the working class demand Communist unity, demand unity in the revolutionary working class struggle, unity of the workers against the bosses, the labor bureaucrats, and the strike-breaking government.

We understand the great need of the hour. We are ready to answer your call.

Yours for Communist unity,
 National Council, Communist Party U.S.A. (Majority Group)

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BETWEEN HAMMER AND ANVIL

The Naked Truth

The Riga life factory is exporting its annual spring crop once more. It has manufactured broad riots in Moscow in which Cossacks, forgetting that the Czar is dead and that mounted police no longer exist, rode into the crowd using horse-mounted machine guns and the good old fashioned knout, and killed fifty and wounded hundreds. The riots in Riga may be expected to get worse and worse and spread to Helsinki, Paris and London. Meanwhile the lady who pretends that she and her gent were kicked out because she invented a funny story about Stalin has told the whole truth in a new book. Mrs. Grady's real crime was violation of the Bolshevik prohibition against the use of soap anywhere in Russia (An act entitled: Regulations forbidding use of soap, razor or bath tub within the proletarian domain, as bourgeois deviations). The lady was soaping herself in her bathroom when an OGPU peered through the keyhole, battered down the door, dragged her out on the street and removed all the soap suds with a horse blanket. When she regained consciousness she was in Helsinki wrapped up in a White-guard overcoat and surrounded by admiring reporters. Too ladylike to tell the naked truth she invented the Stalin story as a soap substitute. Now she tells all in her new book Seeing Red.

Bishop Potter's New Commandments

Charles Francis Potter, who wants us to adopt a religion without God, offered a recipe for relief from the evils of modern life in his sermon last Sunday:

- "Read a poem every day.
- "View a picture every day.
- "Hear some good music every day.
- "Look for the sunset every day.
- "Study the stars every night."

At last, the unemployed, the hungry, the exploited and the oppressed have relief from all their woes. And if you're hungry you can always look in a delicatessen window three times a day and at night look at the windows of the Hotel Pennsylvania.

All We Need Is Faith

"We need faith in our institutions. There is nothing wrong with the principles of our government. It is the soundest, fairest most honest form of government ever devised by the mind of man." Rep. Ham Fish, before New York Board of Trade.

Foiled by God!

If the hunches of the man on the street are really from God, as Canon K. A. Stimpson maintained in his Sermon last Sunday at the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Transfiguration, then God must have lied like sin to a lot of his defense lawyers prior to the last stock market crash.

Quick Joe, the Whitewash Brush!

When the mess in our public schools smells to heaven the Tammany gangster machine at the head of the New York Central Trades and Labor Council rushes to the rescue with praise "for the high state of efficiency attained by the N. Y. public schools." Now what will the Teachers' Union affiliated with the Central Trades do? Writing its hands in private, and publicly grin and bear it, if we know our Letkowitz and Linville.

Who's Who on the Box Car Pullman

Those who have ridden the rods, clung to the bumpers or tried the box-car pullmans will be interested in the statement of Walter Butler McHenry, publisher of the North American Review, who says of the 20th Century Limited: "The new private bedrooms fulfill my idea of Supreme Comfort in travel." Funny, we didn't think of that before!

Clock-Winder Has a Sprained Thumb

Sir Oliver Lodge, physicist, table-topper and spook-meller, celebrates the eightieth year of his dotage by the following:

"The universe is said to be running down. It may be but I believe at the same time there is something which keeps constantly winding it up."

Isn't science grand?

It's Written in English

As the sign of the degeneration of bourgeois culture in its dotage, we call these elegant examples of clarity from the latest prose of James Joyce:

"It is most cruelly a moroseome entertainment. Colt's tooth! I will give tandel to it. I protest there is utterly not one teaspoonful of evidence at bottom to my babad as you shall see, as this is."

I made prechafest upon acorpopus

and fastbroke near in Neendertorp. I let fairviews in on Slobodens but ranked rothgrades round wrathminders: I bar-mandbattered on mendacity and I corecured off the unaculated."

Fordizing The Jungle

The blessing of American capitalism have come to the Brazilian forests. Henry Ford is developing plantation on the Tapajos River. With the aid of government troops he is driving men, women and children off of 6,000,000 acres of land. Even an orphan asylum is being wrecked and its inmates driven off. The Brazilian peasants, driven from home, land and right to life, are in revolt. The Ford Motor Company has announced that it is establishing "American standards" among its workmen in Brazil. The whip and the bayonet, the prohibition of any women in the "homes" (barracks) of the workmen, the dispossession of men, women, children, orphans, of land and life, if all goes well, within ten years will produce 6,000,000 pounds of rubber a year. With trees mixed with blood and tears, American auto owners should ride soft.