COUNTRIES

PRICE 5 CENTS

WORKERS OF ALL

UNITE

Vol. II. - No. 32.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 11, 1931.

Hillquit Anti-Labor Acts

Right Wingers Under Bitter Attack at Bronx Meeting; More Y.P.S.L. Circles Take Stand; Hillquit Goes To Socialist International Congress

The "Hillquit issue" could not be downed at the general, mombership New Leader) reports:
meeting of the Socialist party organ"Several Bronx circles have passed resomeeting of the Socialist party organization in the Bronx, held on Monday, June 29. A little over a hundred members were present. The Bronx ment in the New Leader and his comment in the New Leader and his comsection is well known as a stronghold for the "militants" and, scenting trouble, a whole squad of "big shots," right wing leaders came down, Jacob

Louis Weil as alderman for one of the districts. Then the barrage opened. Weil was attacked by the right wingers as "not a Socialist" and as prac-

Louis Weil, introduced a resolution, sharply condemning the conduct of Morris Hillquit, chairman of the Socialist party and delegate to the So-Congress trading with the Soviet Union. The "militant" resolution actually demand-

lently against Hillquit and his shame- itants" must realize and on this basis and technology to the general interless anti-Soviet and anti-Socialist they must act. meet the attack of the "militarists" squarely. They attempted, thru a series of tricky manouvers, to head off the attack. They finally succeeded in getting the resolution referred to the Bronx Executive Committee by a vote of about 50 to 40. In addition to the minority of forty, which was ready to vote right on the spot against Hillquit's conduct, there were dozens of other members who, the voting to refer the matter to the executive, were quite outspoken in their opposi-tion to Hillquit

tral Committee of the Young Peoples Socialist League of New York at-tempted to see Morris Hillquit and to

Circle 1, as published in the last is- Here it is: sue of the Revolutionary Age.

After a week's postponement, the Some S.P. members were present at the circle meeting in order to influence the discussion and voting in the direction of Hillquit's defence. In spite of their efquit's conduct, a majority voting for a somewhat conciliatory but distinctly condemnatory resolution while the minority for demnatory resolution while the minority fend. supported the clear-cut resolution of

USSR SCIENTISTS AT LONDON MEET

Bukharin Heads Delegation To Technology Congress

LONDON-A delegation of five Seinvestigation was present at the International Congress of Science and Technology that began here on June 30. The head of the delegation was Rukhanin the Rukhanin the Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin, the the history of science and technique, world-famous Marxist theoretician. Among the Soviet delegates are also Professor E. Coleman of Moscow and Professor M. Rubenstein of the Moscow and Cow Institute of Economics cow Institute of Economies.

The Soviet delegation declared their the Congress on the basis of the Marx

The Free Youth (youth section of the

ment in the New Leader and his complaint (on file at the Supreme Court) as counsel for the pre-war Baku oil owners, the members requested Local N. Y. Socialist Party to form a grievance community of the metter, "

Inud. The next stop was Chester, visionists and by the delegations from Poland and Rumania. The Poale Zionists, the British Zionist groups, and a portion of the German delegations from Court (June 24), Moscow (June 25), Nonline and a portion of the German delegations from Poland and Rumania. The Poale Zionists, the British Zionist groups, and a portion of the German delegations from Poland and Rumania. The Poale Zionists, the British Zionist groups, and a portion of the German delegations from Poland and Rumania. The Poale Zionists, the British Zionists, the British Zionists and by the delegations from Poland and Rumania. The Poale Zionists, the British Zionists, the British Zionists and by the delegations from Poland and Rumania. The Poale Zionists, the British Zionists and by the delegations from Poland and Rumania. The Poale Zionists, the British Zionists and By the delegations from Poland and Rumania. The Poale Zionists, the British Zionists and By the delegations from Poland and Rumania. The Poale Zionists, the British Zionists and By the delegations from Poland and Rumania.

accidental-altho, it must be admit- York. ted, that it is certainly about the most shameless and flagrant anti-Socialist action yet indulged in by and Gatty in a period just about one-any self-styled "Socialist." It is not tenth of Jules Verne's imaginative tically everything else under the sun, any self-styled "Socialist." It is not tenth of Jules Verne's imaginative On a vote Weil came very close to accidental; it is a logical consequence "Round the World in Eighty Days," On a vote Weil came very close to accidental; it is a logical consequence "Round the World in Eighty Days," and American Interest lous action there is no difference. That Hillquit's action is quite in consonance with the policy of the S.P. is everything into a source of profit and shown by the tacit support given to class power, the breath-taking exploit Hillquit by the official party commit-Vienna, for becoming the lawyer of tees, by the party leaders, and by the little to the general welfare of human-the exprepriated monarchist oil capitalists against American companies quit, the lawyer for monarchist Rus-render more efficient the weapons of sians, is sent as delegate to the Somass murder and destruction, the cialist International congress! The weapons of world war. Only a so-It may be intagined what a fight against Hillquit's shameless ciety whose activities are directed tostarted on this issue. The right wing leaders present saw clearly that the sentiment of the membership was violeaders present saw clearly that the sentiment of the membership was violeaders present saw clearly that the sentiment of the membership was violeaders litteriational congress: The weapons of world war. Only a society whose activities are directed towards the welfare of the producers and not towards the enrichment of a
has become of the very flesh and blood narrow caste of parasites, will be able
of the Socialist party. This the "milto turn every step forward in science
itsute?" must realize and on this braid and to turn every step forward in science
itsutes.

Boost and Build the Weekly Age

Tell It to Sweeney!

never-ending appeal for money for dobroke." Of course we're also sick of ask. But as we have said time and again, our ing for money, but we're going to keep shock troops haven't fought hard enough Two special delegations of the Con- on doing it until we get enough money not only to keep going but until we get stronger than we are today .

If every worker who reads our paper question him on his anti-Soviet activities but Hillquit twice refused to see would get some subscribers, we would be REVOLUTIONARY AGE is to conon Easy Street today.

Circle 4, Bronx, of the Y.P.S.L., We have one suggestion which, if cartook a stand on the Hillquit issue by ried out by our readers and friends would endorsing the resolution of Bronx end our appeal for quite a long time.

Every one of our readers should immediately get his or her friend whether "Hillquit issue" came up in Circle 8, it be Sweeney or Cohen or Huna or what-Manhattan, of the Y.P.S.L. on July 4, ever the worker's name be to buy a paever the worker's name be to buy a paper regularly or else to subscribe immediately. This would solve our crisis. Tell Comrade Sweeny or Comrade Cohen forts the entire circle condemned Hill-guit's conduct a majority weight for doing and why it is a necessary paper for the workers to have, read and de-

> rated from that of the world movenent which surrounded the scientists during their lifetime, and gave as an still a chance. Our quota must be filled, instance the letter from Charles Dar- What do you say? We've said enough. win to Karl Marx, in which the former refused to make more explicit you going to do about it? his agnostic views, as one case in which scientific thought has been so

Professor Rubinstein took the line

that the development of science and technique had always proceeded under the conditions of a definite social sysviet leaders in the field of scientific tem and during the last century under

The presence of Bukharin at the intention to contribute to the work of scientific congres was made the occasion for a bitter attack upon him, Marxism and the Soviet Union on the Professor Coleman declared that the part of the Daily Mail, reactionary history of science could not be sepa- London newspaper.

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING

THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS

Flight in Record Time

Eight days, 15 hours and 51 min-ates for a complete round-the-world

flight was the record set by Wiley Post and Harold Gatty, American

aviators, when they arrived at Roose-

at 4:56 A. M. on June 23 and pro-

The round-the-world flight of Post

E bet our readers must be say-ing: "Gee-whiz we're tired of this very practical about it. To double out subscribers means to quadruple our vinations. What do these guys think any- tality. Our present army of subscribers way, we're loaded with dough? We're must be the shock troops in this drive.

> Here is a letter from a worker which shows what can be done, what should be done and what must be done if our sub-

and haven't done nearly enough work.

Dear Comrade: I never knew that I would remain so long out of work. After a long time of being out of work about three weeks ago I got a job. Now this is the most important to do. That is to renew my subscription to the REVO. LUTIONARY AGE. The additional money I am sending you can go at a contribution. And please send me copies of the AGE of the last three

Also I can use some literature for agitation.

Your comrade, A. SANDRIN

Our subscription campaign is at an end, Just another week or two. There's We've done all we could. Now what are

POPE ISSUES LETTER AGAINST FASCISM

Defends Catholic Action Society and Denounces Fascist Oath of Allegiance As "Illicit"

VATICAN CITY.—In an encyclical but it has actually plunged the letter issued on July 4 Pope Pius XI try into the depths of reaction. Catholic Action Society and an equally

which broke out several months ago."

Post and Gatty Make World Rabbi Wise Leads Attack On British, Weizmann at 17th World Congress

BASLE—A bitter attack upon British policy in Palestine, upon the Labor government, and upon the proaviators, when they arrived at Roose-velt Field, New York, at 8:47 P. M., Wednesday, July I. A huge crowd of 10,000 people greeted them at the field.

Post and Gatty left New York City

Recomplete the leadership of delegates, under the leadership of cceded to Harbor Grace, Newfound- Stephen A. Wise, by the Zionist-Re-Panken, Samuel Orr, etc.

The first question that agitated the meeting was the selection of Socialist and Candidates for the coming municipal the "militants" many important lesselections. The "militants" nominated sons. The action of Hillquit is not leveland (June 30-July 1), elections. The "militants" nominated sons. The action of Hillquit is not leveland (July 1) and back to New Weizmann.

> The struggle at the World Zionist Congress is fundamentally a reflec-tion of the struggle between British and American imperialism for hegesupported by a good section of the Zionist groups in other countries, is equally eager for the interests of Wall Street. In Palestine, the Labor group of Zionists, tied up with the British Labor party, stands zealously with British interests, while the Faseist Zionist-Revisionists, under the leader-ship of Vladimir Jabotinsky, are fiercely anti-British and operate under the patronage of the United

> During the first post-war years British influence in the Zionist movement was dominant. Later, with the growing importance of the United States internationally, and especially with the recent diplomatic manouver of Great Britain (the Passfield declaration), American hegemony in the Zionist movement began to be definitely established and the demand was loudly voiced: "Weizmann must go!" The present congress has thus become the battle-field of the various factions of the Zionist movement, reflecting the relations and interrelations of in-

ITALY RESTORED

Cultural Reaction Sweeps Country; Code Protects Religious Dope

ROME-Death as a penalty for jurder will be restored in Italy on May I when the new penal code goes my first chance to draw money of this into effect. The death penaly for murboss and one thing that I consider der was abolished in 1890 and hitherto only political offenses against the State and its chiefs have been so punished.

The new code also provides for icavy penalties against those who publicly offend the religion of the State" (i.e., the Catholic religion) and somewhat reduced penalties for 'offenses". against other religions. Attempts against the King, the Queen, the Crown Prince and Mussolini are made punishable by death. In addition, whoever "offends the honor or prestige" of the Duce, Mussolini, is to be punished with imprisonment from one to five years,

The character of the new Italian penal code is an index to the black cultural reaction that is sweeping the land of Fascism today. The death penalty for nurder is restored—a relic of the murderous penciogy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Attempts to free the masses from religious superstition are rigorously punished. Every live political and social idea is under a severe ban. The Fascist regime boasts that it has brought about an Italian "rebirth"but it has actually plunged the coun-

LIMA, Peru.—All of Southern Peru Pope especially condemns the oath of all legiance required by the Fascists as "ill licit as it stands."

In part of southern reru Hoover Plan should fail thru French replacement Junta here. Although postponable reparations on the part of the news from the rebellion in the Germany as provided for its the result of the news from the rebellion in the Germany as provided for its the result of the news from the rebellion in the Germany as provided for its the result of the resul South is being suppressed by the censor, sufficient information has reach-The encyclical of the Pope opens the ed this city to indicate that the resecond act in the Fascist-Papal struggle bellion has assumed formidable pro-

U. S. S. R. to Produce Its

ISSUED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY

(Majority Group)

Own Motors: Pravda Announces Plans

MOSCOW-This year will be a big pense with foreign aid and go ahead under its own steam. According to official figures, in 1930 there were 17,000 miles of passenger

lines, carrying 11,700 passengers and 550,000 pounds of freight. This year the Soviet Union intends to have 20,000 miles of passenger lines, which are expected to carry upward of 30,000 passengers and about 4,000,000 pounds of freight.

The Soviet Union has an outstanding aircraft designer, Kalinin, who has developed many of their present types. He seems a born designer, for he has had practically no technical training. It is told of him that dur-ing the Russian civil war, White Russians captured him and ordered him to fly one of their planes to another point. A White officer got in the rear cockpit with a pistol at Kalinin's head. Kalinin looped the loop, droped his unwelcome passenger and flew

Protests Grow in S. P. Against CIRCLE EARTH IN ATTACK BRITAIN NEW ADVANCES IN Strikes, Mass Outbreaks in Spain Socialists Score in Cortes Vote

S. P. Biggest Party in Cortes, Right Republicans Next Voting Shows Left Move but Also Lack of Maturity of Masses; Socialists Make "Left" Gesture

A new wave of mass revolt on the lace and the Civil Guard, often supportpart of the workers has broken out in ed by "reliable" troops. Spain in connection with the elections to the Constituent Cortes. The number of times. Telephone and telegraph workers, considerable number of these actions are taking place under the leadership of the Sindicato Unico, the syndicalist union federation with headquarters in Barcelona. The provisional government has established martial law in the strike regions and troops and additional contingents of Civil Guards have been dispatched.

All over Spain the revolt of the masses is again taking on the form of an anticlerical movement-so hated are the Catholic Church and its institutions among the people. In the town of Corunna and in triumphantly to the Red lines.

The Soviet Union is now developing a number of other towns and cities, practically the entire population, led by the agiant thirty-two-passenger airplane workers, arose to prevent the return of with five 450 horsepower motors. If the clergy and the monks. As was to be it turns out successfully it hopes to expected the latter came carefully proposed to the latter came carefully produce it in mass quantities. It is tected by the provisional government and also experimenting with an autogiro, pitched battles raged between the popu-

MADRID. -The Socialist party has strikes has doubled within two weeks come out the greatest victor in the and the number of strikers increased three elections to the Constituent Cortes that took place on June 28. The second large railwaymen, miners, and general laborest party in the Cortes will be the Right ers are involved in the movement. A Wing Republicans headed by Alejandro Wing Republicans headed by Alejandro Lerroux, the present Minister of State. The Liberal Republican party (moderate republicans), the party of Alcala Zamora will also occupy an important place, The autonomist party of Colonel Macia, supported by the syndicalist Sindicato Unico, swept Catalonia, and, together with the autonomists from the Basque provinces and Galicia, will be able to put up a strong light in the Cortes. The open monarchists—for the Right Wing Republicans are really disguised monarchistsmade no serious showing. The various disunited and mutually antagonistic Communist groups were able to obtain about half a dozen seats in the Cortes. It is reported that the Madrid Federation of the Communist Party, which recently split from the Party, ran no ticket in the elec-tions. So much of the results of the Cortes elections is available already, arthe returns are far from complete,

The Socialist Minister of Finance, Indalecio Prieto, declared that his party could have gained many more seats had it run independent candidates in more dis-tricts in opposition to other parties of the republican-Socialist bloc. Pricto also declared that the Socialist Party would "categorically refuse" to take part in any coalition government in which Lerroux or his party would participate. On July 10, there will take place a congress of the Socialist party at which the attitude of the party to the coming government and to tactics in the Cortes will be adopt-

The government issued on June 29 a draft, constitution for Spain that will be presented to the Cortes when it meets on July 14. The constitution is modeled on the American and French organic laws and, is fully in line with the conservative bourgeois regime that the present coalition government, including the Socialists, intends to force upon the country.

The results of the Cortes elections indicate, at one and the same time, a pro-(Continued on Page 2)

HILLMAN'S FAKE DRIVE BLOWS UP

A.C.W. Head Gets Cold Feet After Talk With Mayor; Beckerman Triumphs

All is quiet on the Hillman racketeer front. Sidney Hillman, the president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, suddenly got very cold feet when Mayor Walker intimated that in coming before him, together with the New York macketeers, that he (Hillman) did not come with clean hands, Hillman began to hesitate. He got very frightened and was afraid any genuine move against racketeering would involve his administration as well as that of the Abe Beckerman-Philip Orlofsky combination. So Sidney Hillman gave up his bravado and rushed in to make a peacepact with the very racketeer outfit he was supposed to be fighting. It is stated in reliable quarters that Charles E. Erwin, prominent Socialist, served as the intermediary for Hillman in bringing about reunion and peace between Or-lofsky—the manager of Cutters Local 4, the target of the racketeers drive of Hillman and Hillman himself. Orlofsky is a Beckerman man, notorious for his corruption, graft and racketeering. Orlofsky, for the first time, held open house in the headquarters of the cutters local and sarcastically remarked to the crowd that shook his hands in congratulation that: "Well, boys, now there will be plenty of jobs since we got rid of racketcering in the Amalgamated. Orlofsky is a strong Tammany Hall-Walker man and it is well known that

the pressure of Mayor Walker and Tam-(Continued on Page 2)

FRANCE GIVES IN ON WAR DEBT PLAN AS RESULT OF U. S. THREATS

OUR "CHRISTIAN" COUNTRY

U. S. Notes Makes Minor Concessions but It Insists On Main Points; Roger Babson Exposes Reasons for Change of American Debt Policy

An "agreement on all but minor, the Honver proposal, and would be cerpoints" has been reached between the tain to take place were the Hoover pro-United States and France on one-year posal to fail United States and France on one-year posal to fail.

Description on proposal of President Hoover, it was announced in Paris on July 4. The United States, however, would be "satisfied with a shorter period of relication and the men's clothing industry of the control of the men's clothing industry of the men's No indication as to the features of this payment of Germany's suspended obliga-"agreement" is yet public but a practical complete victory for the United States

is everywhere expected. In an official memorandum presented by Ambassador Edge to Premier Laval on July 1, the American government makes clear its attitude towards the respoints of the American memorandum

1. Washington categorically insists upon the chief features of the Hoover Plan, upon an all-around one-year moratorium of inter-governmental debts (reparations and war debts), the suspended debts to be paid after a long interval of time. The memorandum contains a sharp and hardly veiled threat to France in case the Hoover Plan should fail thru French re-Plan, with the consequently necessary payments by France of the guarantee sum? and the war debt to England and the United States-the memorandum asserts -would be a far greater burden than

tions than twenty-five years." 3. The United States is also ready to agree that during the debt suspension period Germany should be required to

pay its non-postponable annuities into the World Bank to be immediately reloaned to Germany.
4. The United States declines to ac-

the French government to President Hoover's debt-holiday plan. The high noints of the American other Central European countries except Germany. The U. S. A. has no objection the memorandum asserts, for loans to be extended to such countries—but not from the German annuities.

The incinorandum emphasizes the necessity of putting thru the Hoover Plan in order to save German capitalism from economic collapse. The suggestion is clearly indicated that political collapse is in the offing as well.

WASHINGTON---Poland and Czechoslovakia have announced their acceptance of the Hoover debt-holiday plan Since Yugoslavia had already taken this step, this action means that the whole (Continued on Page 2)

Picnic and Dance, Saturday, July 25, Clinton Park, Maspeth, L. I.

From Sectarianism to Opportunism!

A NEW TWIST IN TRADE UNION LINE

A Letter from a Furrier

New York. | be open to all workers, no matter what On Wednesday, June 24, there took their political beliefs may be. Trade place a well-attended furriers meeting unions must be centers of mobilization in Cooper Union called by the Needle of the working class as a whole on Trades Workers Industrial Union. The importance of this meeting was something very special, since Ben Gold, just returned from the Soviet Union, was to be a speaker.

This furriers meeting was of great significance for it exposed in the class conscious workers must fight to clearest manner the new "twist" in win the more backward workers to

the Party trade union course.

Potash was chairman of the meetagainst the reactionary boss politics as against the reactionary boss politics which turns the masses into voting cattle for the ruling class. crats, Republicans, all furriers-unite them under the Rank and File Fur-riers United Front Committee'" (the

T.U.U.L. cover organization).
The same theme was emphasized and reemphasized by all speakers. But of course the main speaker was Ben Gold, "Yes," declared Ben Gold, "we must organize left wings in the right wing unions. But for what pur-pose? To expose the reactionary leaders and to break up the 'company unions'! We must wipe out the un-tagonisms between the left wing and right wing workers. Let those who want remain in the right wing unions -let those who want remain in the Industrial Union. But let all work-ers unite under the United Front Committee. We stand for no politics in the union, no Communist politics, no Socialist politics, no politics."

It was announced that soon a shop delegates conference would be called the racketeers would call it.
under the auspices of the "United On July 1 he announced
Front Committee." At every turn At a special closed meeting "United Front Committee" appeared on the scene as the force proposed to lead the furriers in their economic struggles against the bosses.

The new "twist" in policies of the T.U.U.L. became clear to all workers at this meeting. The old line of dual unionism, of attempting to break up within and without, is maintained in full force. The old line of dual unionism, of attempting to set up new "revolutionary" unions, is maintained in full force. Only the Party leaders are beginning to realize that the leaders the reactionary mass unions, from ard beginning to realize that the Industrial Union is bankrupt, is no longer a union in any sense of the word. Therefore Ben Gold and the T.U.U.L. leaders propose to set up a "third union," under the name of "United Front Committee," a new dual "rev-olutionary" union. The newest new course is the old course all over again in a more dangerous form then ever —just as far away from a real Communist trade union policy as ever.

And then—"No polities in the union!" From the sectarian extreme of making the T.U.U.L.-unions into mere departments of the Party, the Party has now jumped to the oppor-tunist extreme of: "No politics in the unions!" Both are equally far from the line of Communism. The Communist line is: The trade unions must

S.P. SCORES IN CORTES VOTE

(Continued from Page 1) notinced leftward movement of the masses and the state of great political immaturity in which the workers, peasants and urban poor find themselves. The left-ward movement is indicated by the considerable victory of the Socialists and by the breaking away of large sections of conservative workers and even peasants from the bourgeois parties in favor of the Socialists. The Socialists, who saw the temper and direction of movement of the masses, entered the campaign with extremely left-sounding and demagogic slogans in order to utilize this sentiment have succeeded in doing.

The political immaturity of the work-

ing masses is shown not only in their inability to see thru the demagogic phrases of the Socialists but also in the fact that the Right Wing Republicans, headed by Lerroux, received such a large These people are not really republicans at all; they are monarchists by class work twelve to fourteen hours daily sentiment and conviction, parading as republicans to avoid popular resentment. They resemble the Cadets in Russia im mediately after the February 1917 gevolu-In spite of all its radical phrases, the

Socialist party policy is still based upon the course of a coalition with the bourgeois parties in order to turn the Span-ish revolution into conservative channels and to stifle any attempt of the masses to convert it into a real revolutionary democratic movement. The success of this policy the Socialist leaders believe is endangered by the outspoken anti-popular and anti-democratic line of the Right Wing Republicans—which is certain to drive the masses further to the left. The Socialists therefore demand the exclusion of these elements from the coalition much as the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionists in the middle of 1917 in Russia demanded the exclusion of the Cadet Milyukoff and his extremely reaction

ary friends from the government. The process of political maturity of the workers is greatly hindered by the absence of a Communist Party worthy of the name in Spain, by the continual wrangling and dissension among the Communist groups, and by the unbelievably sectarian policies of the official Commun-iat faction. The absence of an organized vanguard of the proletariat is at the present time the gigantic obstacle to the proletariat taking its rightful place as the leader of the Spanish revolution and to the transformation of this revolution into a revolutionary-democratic mass up-

sues of the economic struggle. Trade unions most have their autonomy as organizations and must not be mechanically controlled by political groups. But in the trade union movement, the

As against the waverings to the left and to the right, we, the Communist Opposition hold fast to our Leninist policy: Win the reactionary trade unions! Oust the burocrats! Build up

HILLMAN'S FAKE DRIVE BLOWS UP

the left wing!

(Continued from Page 1) many Hall forced Hillman to get cold feet and give up. At the first conference with Mayor Walker, Sidney Hillman promised the Mayor that there would be no strike of men's clothing workers in New York and that if it would be called

On July 1 he announced a stoppage At a special closed meeting of selected in this country, especially in relation boys held at Labor Temple Brooklyn on to the present crisis in the Commu-Wednesday July 1, it was definitely made clear that the only activity would be to prevent the lefts from interfering and

making the stoppage effective.

Mayor Walker, however, held Hillman to his promise. He was called before the Mayor on July 2 and there explained the strike would be called only against "bad" manufacturers who did not live up to the strike was a pre-arranged, friendly move of the bosses and the union acting together, he nevertheless promised the Mayor that no strike would take place.

Four gangsters who assaulted two business agents of the Amalgamated were found guilty of second degree assault be-fore Judge George L. Donnellan in Gen-eral Sessions Court on July 2. They will

be sentenced on July 8.

It is already rumored that while this conviction of four significant gangsters is hailed as a victory against racketeering in the men's clothing industry, there is every likelihood that they will soon put out an appeal and will never see the inside of prison.

Hillman today is the biggest joke in the industry. The racketeer out to of Beckerman Orlofsky have been considerably strengthened and, as it is said around union headquarters, they are "playing

TELL SUFFERINGS OF INDIA LABOR

Royal Commission's Report Cannot Hide Horrors of **British Rule**

LONDON-The most horrible conditions of life and labor of the industrial workers of India are revealed in the report of the Royal Commission handed in to the House of Commons on July 1. The report of the Com-mission, while it tries to exonerate to broaden their support which they for the conditions it describes, conthe British Raj from responsibility tains enough material to condemn the rule of British imperialism without appeal.

The wage statistics gathered by the Commission indicate that in some industries wages are as low as 5c a day for adults. In the cigarette industry, children from 6 to 10 years of age, seven days a week for 4c a day. The same conditions are to be found in mining and in the woolen industry, slaves of the bosses and their agents. where child labor abounds.

CAMP SOLIDARITY

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DIRECTIONS:-Trains leave N. Y. Susquehanna R.R. at Eric Ferries, 23rd

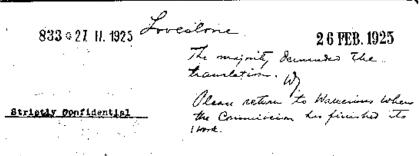
Street and Chambers Street, New York, to Campgaw Station.

Call Wyckoff 302 for taxi

Return Sunday 8 p. m. to 125th St. Ferry-Round Trip \$1.50

Party History

Material on the History of the Communist Movement in the United States



SPECIAL REPORT

PARTY FRACTIONS AND PARTY DIFFERENCES IN THE WORKERS PARTY

Cover of the Confidential Report from Which Extracts Below Are Taken

A Forecast Come True!

In the section "Party History" we ferences in the Workers Party" (the important documents illuminating the history of the Communist movement in this country, especially in relation graphs concisely characterize the po nist Party.

tern made at the beginning of 1925 on ization—it almost seems as if it were the "Party Fractions and Party Dif-written toda;

We maintain against the majority (Foster group) that it isolates itself from the general political movement of the masses of farmers and workers and issues slogans for them which are insuf-

ficient and at times unfitting (thus "affiliation to the Workers Party" for non-political labor or fraternal organizations . . .). Furthermore, we maintain against

he majority (Foster group) that

1. it already manifests secta-

intend to publish from time to time Communist Party was then called the Workers Party). These paralitical complexion of the then majority ist Party.

(Foster group), the basis of the present paragraphs reproduced below ent leadership of the Communist Parare extracts from a report of the In-formation Department of the Comin-startling accuracy of this character-

> riun symptoms in its train of thought (Dunne amongst others) 2. it manifests a certain tendency to become a sort of political

2. it has fallen victim to the il-lusion that the Worker's Party can take over and eventually organize the leadership of masses of the workingclass OVER THE HEADS of the existing tabor organizations, primarity the trade unions.

COMMUNIST CASE JOHN SIMON BOLTS UP IN FALL LIBERAL PARTY

Up Again in November

According to the decision of Judge White of the Superior Court of the State of Michigan, the nine-year old Bridgeman case, involving a number of outstanding leaders of the Communist will come un Ernest Brown and other right-wing inovement in this country will come up for trial in November. The case arose in connection with arrests made by the police at a Communist convention in 1922. In 1923 the trials of William Z. Foster and C. E. Ruthenberg were held; act as independent Liberals. A step the former was released because the jury such as this comes very close to bolt-could not reach an agreement, while the ing the party altogether.

ed in the case.

Matthew Woll Urges Revolt? throw of the government in the Bankers Club! Listen to him! "The government is starving the people, de-priving them of necessary clothing, food and shelter, while there is abundant grain, lumber, coal, iron, flax and other raw materials. There are bread lines in the cities. Misery on the farms. Millions are starving."
Oh, I forgot to tell you, Matthew

Woll was speaking about Russia.

paid \$4-\$6 monthly. The report also discloses the despotism of the regime in Indian factories where the workers are literally Housing conditions are described as The wages of skilled craftsmen, "horrible" and as largely responsible such as carpenters, range from \$12- for the huge death rate—250 per \$15 monthly. Unskilled workers are 1,000.

Bridgeman Case to Come Right Wing Liberals Break With Lloyd George; To Join Conservatives

latter was convicted.

The break came upon the issue of Jay Lovestone, Robert Minor, Alex the Labor government's land bill Bail, Max Bedacht and others are involve which the Lloyd George Liberals are The break came upon the issue of supporting but to which the right wing Liberals are bitterly opposed. So far only Sir John Simon, Ernest Would you believe it? Matthew Brown and Sir Robert Hutchinson Woll, vice president of the A. F. of have severed their connections but a L., urging revolution and the over- further extension of the rift is expected.

The Conservatives are circulating the rumor that the Simon bolt is only the preliminary for the whole group joining the Tories.

The decisive step taken by Sir John Simon and his friends is certain to weaken greatly the chances of the Labor Government remaining in office for a considerable time,

SPLENDID WORK IN DETROIT

Detroit, Mich.
The meetings we are holding in front of the City Hall are getting larger all the time. At one of the meetings a roughly estimated crowd amounted to over 3000. On this par-ticular night we sold 78 papers, a to-tal of 131 in three night meetings.

With the coming of I. Zimmerman, he will be able to intensify our activity and also the sale of the Revolu-tionary Age. You can rest assured that he will be put to work every night that he will be here.

The Party demonstration on June 19 as protest at the registration and finger printing of foreign-torn workers, with Foster and Bob Minor as the main attractions, was a complete failure when the seriousness of the situation is taken into consideration. An effort has been made to organize a united front of practically all organizations and has been turned down by the Party burocrats. Their main idea was here to run the whole show themselves to the exclusion of everyone else and as a result, at the very most about 2000 were at the meeting in Grand Circus Park in the afternoon and in the evening they held their meeting in the Olympia Arena, with a seating capacity of 14,000, the maximum present was 3500. It sure BUSSES leave from 25 E. 27th St., every Saturday at 1:30 p. m. on the dot. was a discouraging affair, because on many occasions we had had crowds of that size in front of the City Hall.

IS THE NEGRO PRESS TURNING RED? In the C. I.

Some Facts and Some Causes

One of the most significant features League. of the fundamental change taking place in American social life, the result of forces working beneath the surface and only occasionally making themselves manifest, is a pronuonced leftward swing in the Negro press of this country, a press otherwise ex-

"The National Security League, headed by white United States Army headed by white United States Army officers who are dedicated to the prop- Johns Hopkins Hospital or attend the osition that Negroes shall not get army commissions, had an address broadcast May 26 on the subject of the 'Menace of Communism.'

"But Communism is no menace to Negroes. Fact is, we prefer the Communists to the National Security

REACH COMPACT ON DEBTS

(Continued from Page 1)

of Little Entente has been lined up for the Hoover Plan. The countries of the Little Entente are among France's most debt moratorium matter is considered more samitary conditions.

very significant. "Time will tell whether he will convery significant.

son has just come out with a frank state. ment as to what's it all about. His confidential report for June 29 lets the cat face of criticism from colored leaders out of the bag. Under the title "What's are wiping out color lines socially It All About?", Babson says:

| It All About?", Babson says:

was right in the firm stand which he instite but they would be fools if they based their hope for ultimate salvation in any system that permits the common commodities of life to be controlled and manipulated by a handful of shrewd, selfish, scheming men."

To the seared conservatives—white and view for the united states; and (2) the growth of Communism in Germany it being:

The colored people are not commit and privileges to farmers, to make right in the they would be fools if they based their hope for ultimate salvation in the lumiton that permits the common commodities of life to be controlled and manipulated by a handful of shrewd, selfish, scheming men."

To the seared conservatives—white and Negro—who scan the horizon for the "mysterious" sources of "Red into the United States; and (2) the growth of Communism in Germany it being the colored people are not commit and privileges to farmers, to the they would be fools if they based their hope for ultimate salvation in dustry—especially in the lumitor, the saved their hope for ultimate salvation in dustries and on the State farms.

Confronted by the growing shortage of labor in industry and by the increasing mechanization of farms, which reduces the amount of manipulated states; and (2) the growth of the would suggest the following: of Communism in Germany, it being lowing:

- as it is -next door neighbor to Rus sia. So long as the bankers of the United States were getting along all right, they did not worry about for eigh conditions. Hence they lauded masters.

Tuence" we would suggest the following:

I. The helpless confusion and chaos into which the capitalist system has fallen, thus exposing the contemptible masters.

The government is resorting to this means as a step to further the completion of 518 industrial plants in 1931 under the five-year plan.

The government offers to free such workers from various fees, including the agricultural tax. The government of this means as a step to further the completion of 518 industrial plants in 1931 under the five-year plan.

sudden interest in the fisfortunes of Europe! (If Europe should now gu blow to business here at home). Added to this is the threat of Hitler and Communistic leaders in Germany for complete repudiation of all debts including the German 7's, due 1949, and the Reparation 51/2's due 1965. As a result, the United States bankers have recently changed their position and are now saying that Coolidge's reparations policy should be amended and are making a drive arrainst President Hoover to cancel the war debts altogether. TO HELP EUROPE?—NO—BUT TO BRING BACK PROSPERITY IN THE UNITED STATES AND TO CHECK COMMUNISM.

posal in the French Chamber of Deputies, Finance Minister, P. E. Flandin speaking for the government had a hard job in answering Henry Franklin-Bouillon when the latter said:

"You tell me this is a great operation

"If the Communists ran Baltimore, tremely conservative and hide-bound in its bourgeois prejudices. We quote:

From the Baltimore Afro-American:

The Communists ran Baltimore, for example, Negroes could get jobs on the police force or drive city garbage carts, at least. Shields Alley would be paved.

Maryland University Law School, which they are taxed to support. They could even attend the nearest church, whether it happened to be prodominantly black or white.

"The Reds are no menace to Negroes. In fact, it is very comforting to find groups of such people as Com-munists in this color-mad Western

From the Florida Sentinel:

"While we do not approve of the Communist type of demonstrations, there is something about the fundamental appeal of the organization which is becoming very attractive to Negro cars.

"The Negro wants a fairer and more equal opportunity to earn a liying, a chance to demonstrate his political fitness at the polls, a right to reliable pawns and their action on the self-determination, better streets and

tinue to listen to the stern words of the masters who command and de-While the entire employing class press is feverishly lauding to the heavens the Hoover administration's "humanitarian" policies on debts and reparations, Bab upward avenues of life." mune with him on equal planes and stand with him in his march to the apward avenues of life." From the Chicago Whip:
"The Communists or Reds, in the

"When we feel healthy, we have little use for the advice of doctors even tho they warn us that trouble is arbitrarily that they are making no arbitrarily that they are making no arbitrarily that they are making no ahead if we continue to run in high headway and progress within our speed. Moreover, it was then good midst is actually shutting the eyes of speed. Moreover, it was then good midst is actually shutting the eyes of policy of the administration at Washington to keep all things as they were in order not to rock the boat", althout how the people are beginning to feel that the boat must be rocked to get it appalling ignorance. The colored man in leading on in the haight of his own

Soviet Union.

Soviet Union.
5. the rising struggle of the oppressed colonial peoples in India, Chi
Russia is divided into three parts, inna, etc.
6. the heroic devotion of the Am-

erican Communists in fighting, under ers who produce on a co-operative the most difficult and dangerous con- basis and State farmers who work litions, every manifestation of racial on government land on an industrial oppression and race prejudice, in de- basis. fending the interests of the Negro people.

That Per Capita Wealth

America is the richest country in lions of farmers are starving because the world but 4% of its people own 80% of its wealth and 96% of its to eat. In the Soviet Union, the land people own 20% of its wealth-that of Socialist construction, no unem-The American government is not successful is. when they don't happen to be out ceeding in fooling anybody in Europe of a job. But if you add Rockefel-either. In the debate on the Hoover proy ler's 30 billions and my 30 cents and dustry! divide by two we have an average wealth of \$15,000,000,000 .15 each.

Real Fireworks

bration of the First American Revolution of American generosity. I tell you it is on the Fourth of July till "the fireworks" on operation of Wall Street."

THE C.L 'UNITY' MANOUMER IN GERMANY

That the fraudulent "unity" manouver which the representatives of the Comintern in this country, upon instruction to the E.C.C.I. attempted to put over recently is "really a part of an international "unity" drive initiated by the E.C.C.I. to hide the disastrous results of their policies and to head off the real desire of the militant workers for Communist unity, is evidenced by the following news from Germany (Gegen den Strom, No. 13, June 20, 1921):

ing with new methods. It approaches our comrades and tells them that they will be readmitted into the C.P.G. without any conditions. The putting up of demands for daily struggles; it is declared, has removed all differences. To the objections of our comrades that no real policy of the united front is possible as long as the pseudorndical phrase-policy and the R.G. O. (German T.U.U.L.—Editor) course are maintained, they tell us that the Party cannot all at once and completely recognize our policy . . . They call upon us to return to the Party to stimulate the new

"The Party burocracy is operat-

turn. These methods are not only employed in Wuerttemberg, but also in Altenburg and the same re-ports come from a whole series of other districts." To these rotten manuovers, the Gernan Communists answer as we'do': "For real Communist unity on the basis of Party democracy and the rights of membership!"

BIG PROGRESS SOVIET INDUSTRY

Means to Overcome Labor Shortage Show Advances Under 5-Year Plan

MOSCOW-The tremendous progress made in the industrial development under the 5-Year Plan is indi-"Two new factors: Under former conditions it was good business for the United States to insist the reparations payments. President Coolidge was right in the firm stand which he then took. If he had done otherwise, the funds would have been used by the control of proper are not Communistic but they would be fools if they based their hope for ultimate salvation. cated in the joint decree, issued on

coolidge and urged Hoover to insist on prompt payment of interest and principal by Germany.

". . . Seeing their own banks threatened by falling prices has made our United States bankers develop a serious description of the Negro people in America.

". . . the sensational economic promote is willing to pay railroad fare to and from the places of new occupation, to supply proper housing, to give families that leave the farm the same privileges now enjoyed by the families of industrial workers and to the convolute fragedon and county. of the Negro people in America.

4. the complete freedom and equal-cutitle the farmer to return to the ity of all races and nations and peo- land on the same basis on which he bankrupt it would be a very serious Soviet Union

dividual farmers, the number of whom is dwindling rapidly; collective farm-

In America, the model country of capitalism, millions of people ready and anxious to work, are in misery because they can find no work, mil-lions of farmers are starving because

Dear Professors Van Dyke's idea of a real insult is the awarding of the Nobel Real Fireworks

We won't be satisfied with the celehis idea of a real calamity, to wit:

"I think it would be a real disaster, if Latin and Greek should drop out of our American universities."

Are you a casual reader of the REVOLUTIONARY AGE? Ate you a regular reader of the REVOLUTIONARY AGE?

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One year's subscription to the "Age" \$2.50 "Short Stories Out of Soviet Russia" 2.50

More About **Books**

THE ROAD BACK, by Erich Maria Ro marque. Translated from the German by G. W. Wheen, 1931. Little, Brown

All Quiet on the Western Front was a

fine picture of the last war and left no

doubt in the reader's mind that the ar-

From The Road Back by this same au-

His colors are now muddy-no

He finds hopeless emptiness,

thor, we get the impression of a blurred

high lights of life. It is a picture of

war-weary men, seeking solace individ-

Had Remarque himself come out of

the war, hating more the betrayers of

youth, the fatted bellies who stayed home,

while a generation of believing men

died, he would have given us a post-

war book much more complete. He

would have included the articulate as well

pressed against the injustice, the star

vation, the war of their betrayers has left in its wake. With words like tongues of

wearily and passing on to look for in-

And the inspiration, the workers of the

in human history, the Russian Revolu-

tion. These are the high lights missing

And so Remarque has still to learn that

decaying order. They can still fight,

fellow workers in other countries but

against their oppressor—capitalism in

10W BERT MILLER NOW

DOES "MASS WORK"

We have before us a leaflet issued

Brooklyn Edison Employees, which

vorks under the direction of the Con-

ference for Progressive Labor Action (C.P.L.A.). This leaflet includes "An

Open Letter to Matthew S. Sloan,

President of the Brooklyn Edison

Company" in which an appeal is made for the "immediate installation of the

5-day 40-hour (maximum) week with-

out reduction in pay." Here are some

The plan has been tried and

It would serve to establish bet-

of the reasons given in this letter:

found successful by a number of lead-

ter relations between the company

Edison Company in a favorable light before the public."

by S. W. Levich who, only a short time ago, called himself a "Commu-

This remarkable document is signed

It is clear enough where Miller and Levich have landed. But we would

ike to ask: Is it really necessary for

Muste and Budenz to go along with

the opportunist rottenness of the right

What they'll get according to Herbert

Clark Hoover's "twenty-year plan" for

America is 20,000,000 babies—and he

didn't say anything about homes to put

them in, food to feed them with or jobs

I state the following reason for my vote

on today's measure: This war, which was desired by none of the participating na-

tions, did not break out for the good of

the German or of any other people. It

is an imperialist war, a war for capitalist

domination of the world market, for the

political control of important colonial re-

gions by industrial and financial capital.

It is a war hatched in the dark of a se-

We must demand peace, but only a peace arising from the soil of the inter-

national solidarity of the working class

and the freedom of nations can be a sure

peace. Therefore, the proletariat of all

lands has again, today, in the war, to perform a joint Socialist labor for peace

is one faint hope that I can have, and

real Socialists in the party will supply

the necessary stimulant, the adren-

alin, to resuscitate the party. The

recent history of the German party

seems to be shouting to us our les

son. Before the storm comes, when yet the sun shines, we must carefully

-KARL LIEBKNECHT.

for them when they grow up!

cret diplomacy.

"3. It would place the Brooklyn

and its employees.

the Organization Committee,

on his canvas!

every land.

and Company, Boston.

tist knew his colors.

ually. He finds hop-weariness and loneliness.

The Sectarian TradeUnion Line Continues

The Soft-Coal Miners Strike

by I. Zimmerman

Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virgi- The only meetings that were held in for day-men in the Frick mines is nia, involving thousands of workers. brought a fresh wind of struggle into the atmosphere of the American labor movement in recent years. The cont ditions of the workers in these regions are indeed such as to drive them to desperate resistance and struggle. On every side the grip of the companies is felt. The miners must trade in company stores at prices set by the companies. The workers must live in company "houses," in tumble-down shacks, at rents set by the companies. Wages range between \$1.50 and \$3.00 a day and even this miserable wage is greatly_reduced_thru_unemploy ment. In Fayette County, for example, out of the sixty Frick Company mines only seven are working. Under the "clean-up system" miners are frequently compelled to work beyond even ten hours a day. Starvation reigns over the mining camps. Meat is abfrom the miners tables for months at a time. And above all crouches the Coal and Iron Policethe bosses terror—to crush every sign of unrest and resistance in the ranks of the working masses.

The Strike Wave Breaks Out

The strike wave broke out practical ly simultaneously in Western Pennsylvania, in Ohio, and in West Virginja-a real spontaneous movement In West Virginia about 1,200 workers went out on strike on May 12 at the Gilchrist and Rosedale mines. At approximately the same time about 500 workers struck at the Avella mine in Pennsylvania. In East Ohio a series strikes began, centering around Bellaire. These strikes spread like wildfire. In a very short time, a week, the strike in Western Pennsylvania spread thru Greene, Alleghany, Westmoreland, and Washington coun ties and embraced about 12,000 workers. Similar movement were immean increase in the ranks of the strik-

The Organization of the Workers

None of these workers were organ ized. Once they had been members of the U.M.W.A. but as a consequence of the offensive of operators and the repeated treachery of the Lewis machine, unionism had been destroyed in these very important fields. Mere skeletons of the United Mine Workers of America and of the National Miners Union (T.U.U.L.-union) remained and in West Virginia there was the recently organized independent West Virginia Mine Workers Union. Practically all of the first strikes broke out spontaneously upon the call and under the direction of no organization at all. Only in the Avella mine did there exist an N.M.U. mine committee which called the strike.

In the West Virginia field the new W.V.M.W.U. played no really signif-icant part in the events that followed. The U.M.W.A. International office im mediately sent the notorious Van Bittner into the territory. The machine set up by Bittner succeeded in taking strike leadership and was soo of the miners in the West Virginia strike field was strongly in favor of the N.M.U. (because of the black record of the Lamis of the Lamis of the Lamis of the lack record of the Lamis of the lack record of the Lamis of the lack record record of the lack record reco in that region. Altho the sentiment ord of the Lewis officialdom), the N.M.U. completely failed to take advantage of the situation. Not only had they had no organizers in the field for over a year but it took sevweeks before organizers were sent in even after the strike broke ness and confusion of the "militants" out. By that time Van Bittner was already negotiating for a settlement which came soon after and under which 4,000 miners returned to work as members of the U.M.W.A. This took the ground away from under the feet of the N.M.U.

In Pennsylvania both the U.M.W.A and the N.M.U. came in at about the same time. At the beginning control was about equally divided between the two unions, except at the Pitts burgh Terminal where the U.M.W.A had the upper hand. At about this time Governor Pinchot called a conference of the operators and the U. M.W.A. officials to reach an agreement. The N.M.U. immediately issued a declaration condemning this conference. Nevertheless the N.M.U. sent a delegation of forty to Governor Pinchot during the time of his conferences with the U.M.W.A. officials. Th delegation obtained the opportunity of making a statement but instead of using the chance to popularize its demands, it launched into a general agitational blast which was hardly of

Finally a settlement was reached at the Pinchot conferences according to) ers went back to work at slightly improved conditions. The effect of this quite likely, but they had no better upon the strike in Western Pennsylvania was similar to the Van Bittner settlement in West Virginia.

The Line of Policy of the N. M. U. In a situation where the opportunities for real revolutionary leadership were so splendid, what was the line of policy of the National Miners Union under Communist Party direct cabinet were reduced to a minority tion? Let us examine the work and The Socialists became terror-stricken policies of the N.M.U. from various at the possibility of the Bruching

1. Strike preparations. The preparations of the N.M.U. in a situation which fairly cried out for determined organization work, were nil. In only one mine was there a functioning cialists, instead of coming to grips

The miners' strikes in Western strike committee (the Avella mine), tance in the situation. The wage rate this region before the strike were: three meetings some time in March and April for organizing unmployed councils, attendance about 250; one meeting to arrange a hunger march which did not materialize; three meetings in Masontown, Republic and Brownsville to elect delegates to the N.M.U. "district convention" (mass meetings to elect delegates to a union convention!). Outside of these meetings absolutely nothing, not even leaf-

> 2. Strike activity. Not only were 2. Strike activity. Not only were But the most fundamental error in would have included the atticulate as well there no real strike preparations but the tactics of the N.M.U. is one that out, the conduct of the strike was disgracefully passive. During the time did not take long, once the strike was in the strike field (six days) I was in the strike field (six days) I under way, for the jurisdictional consaw only two picket lines and heard flict between the N.M.U. and the U. of a third. As far as I could find out there was only one strike meeting feature in the situation. This juris-thrucut that period. No strike leaf-dictional fight proved very conve-

3. The "Red" issue. It was the strategy of the reactionary forces to convert the whole struggle into a Communist machination. The "Red" issue was injected into the strike from he very beginning and the conscious attempt was made to diverst attention from the misery of the miners to the "Reds," Soviets, Moscow, etc. The N.M.U., thru its stupid tactics, helped this scheme of the reactionaries along. Instead of discussing the miners issues, the N.M.U. representatives talk-ed about the Party, R.I.L.U., etc.— and the Party leaders helped them by issuing the central appeal to the mi-"Minera! Join the Communist

4. Daily Worker exaggerations. The wild exaggerations and phantastic stories published in the Daily Worker hurt the strike, and revolution emphasizing the divisions in the tionary influence in it, a whole lot ranks of the workers to the point Mines were declared on strike where diately noticeable in the Ohio and the workers were working (Clyde West Virginia fields. Every day saw mines of the Rainy Company), the number of strikers was frequently doubled or tripled. "Struggles" were invented right out of hand. And so on. Of course, such stuff did not do the strike any good. Miners shook their heads doubtfully and dolefully when they saw these reports in the

> 5. Demands in the Frick mines. Stupidity, unmatched and unmatchable, was exhibited by the N.M.U. in connection with the Frick mines in Fayette county. The seven Frick mines that are working employ 10,000 are again to become "staunch leaders miners and are of tremendous impor- of the workers in fierce class battles.

\$6.05. But what could the N.M.U. call upon the Frick miners to strike \$5.55 a day! Of course, the N.M.U. demand of \$5.55 a day was quite appropriate for miners in other parts of the field. But the failure of the N.M.U. to issue special demands for the Frick mines effectually ex-cluded the workers of these mines from the movement and these mines are the largest in Western Pennsyl-

6. The question of united action. even after the wave of strikes broke grew inevitably out of the sectarian the millions of men and women in all ient to John L. Lewis who was thereby able to divert the struggle of the miners under the influence of the U. M.W.A. from the bosses to the N.M.U. And we may be sure the operators were not sorry that the miners supporting the various organizations were fighting among themselves. And the left wing leaders, who should have been the champions of unity and united action, played right into the hands of Lewis and the operators by making the fight against the U.M. W.A. the center of their activities and by insisting upon affiliation to the V.M.U. as the basis of their strike leadership. Instead of issuing the slogan of joint strike committees made up of representatives of the various organizations involved and of the unorganized workers, and thus withdrawing attention from the jrisdic tional fights, the N.M.U. officials kept where the struggle against the bosses sank into the background. This false approach was absolutely fatal.

> The wave of strikes in Pennsylvania-Ohio-West Virginia regions is far from over and so the final lessons of the struggles and their full significance in the present situation annot yet be fully estimated. But believe that the points to which I have called attention above show the directions in which the Communist Party and T.U.U.L. policy must be radically corrected if the Communists ing corporations thruout the country.
>
> "2. It would serve to establish bet-

A Y.P.S.L. "Militant" Writes:

GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY DEAD

by Gadiel Smith

We publish below a very intersting with it, retreated before it. Instead by Miller and Levich?

We publish below a very intersting with it, retreated before it. Instead by Miller and Levich?

We publish below a very intersting with it, retreated before it. Instead by Miller and Levich?

We publish below a very intersting with it, retreated before it. Instead by Miller and Levich?

Hower's Twenty-Year Plan which appeared in the June 1931 issue the Hilleritan and its Transfer by both directing the struggle of 8,000 miners which appeared in the June 1981 issue of the "Young Socialist Call," a bulof the capitulation policies of the German Social-democracy coupled with his naive illusions as to the potentialities of the "left" opposition led by Paul Loebe (!), are indeed characteristic of the ideological indecisivein the American S. P.

> I approach this subject with reverence, with the reverence of one who first Socialist party in the world died. uscless cruiser. Here was an excel-The German Socialist party died when lent opportunity to win the gratitude decrees of Chancellor Bruening. Any election if necessary. Instead, party which permits the meager in-surance to the unemployed workers to risk defeating Bruening and therefore steps leading up to the tragedy.

The last election to the Reichstag vas fought around the issue of repa rations. The reparations which Germany pays to the Allied powers are based upon the supposition that Ger many was responsible for the war, and must therefore pay its entire cost. Every reputable historian now brands this supposition as a lie. To pay this tribute the German workers have been bled for over ten years. In this election, the Hitlerites and the Commu nists stood for a policy of immediate repudiation of war debts. The Socialists pointed out that repudiation tinuing to pay them until the creditor nations would agree to abolish the debts. As a result of the election, the Socialist delegation to the Reichstag dropped from 153 to 143 while the Hitlerites rose to second place and the Communists rose to third place. The bourgeois parties of the center, which were the support of the Bruening overnment being defeated and the

Titlerites coming in. They decided to keep Bruening in office. I have no doubt that the menace of Fascism was a grave onc, but the So-

the Hitlerites and the Bruening gov ernment, thus rallying the workers behind them, they compromised their principles at each emergency.

eruiser bill" first showed that Socialism in the Social-democratic party is dying. As Socialists, they should have defeated the bill merely because it was a naval expenditure. But this was a more special case. The entire German working class was enraged over the bill. When the workers were seing threatened with insurance cuts because the government was facing bankruptcy, it was criminal for them writes an epitaph. Yesterday the to throw away about \$50,000,000 on a t refused to compel a meeting of the of the workers by freeing them of this Reichstag to revoke the emergency uscless burden and then to face an be slashed in this time of need is no would abstain from the vote. It is Socialist party! The death was not significant that delegates violated the a sudden one, so we ought to trace the party's orders, voting against the steps leading up to the tragedy. . cruiser bill. The party did not dare punish this breach of discipline.

> nual convention of the Social-demoeratic party took place in Leipzig. It tried to save its face by roughly de | that is that the militant minority of nouncing the Bruening government Yet it excused its cowardly support of Bruening as an emergency measure. There was at the convention a very militant minority, led by Paul Loebe, the speaker of the Reichstag, chances of a dictatorship and stand true to its principles. I said before that the party was dead. Yet there who demanded that the party take the

The action of the party on the

In the first week in June, the an

Marxism and the Crisis of Capitalism

The Marxian Theory of Crises

by Eugene Varga

(Continued from the last issue) The Agrarian Crisis

The agrarian crisis forms part of the general crisis of capitalism. Its essence ies in the contradiction between increasing production and the insufficient consumptive capacity of capitalist society in view of the proletarian situation of the working masses. It finds expression in a risis of over-production of all agrarian products, apparent in a more or less pronounced degree thruout the last ten years. The reason of the crisis lies in the rapid progress of certain new means of production (tractors, combines), accompanied by a marked extension of the cultivated area, especially oversea, at very low initial

The process of differentiation of the middle class of peasants constantly taking place under capitalism (a very small portion of this class becoming agrarian apitalists and a far greater number proletarians) has given place, in the period of general crisis, to the wholesale ruin of the middle peasant class and in many cases; also of the upper peasant class. fire he would have depicted the class struggle. Instead of touching it lightly, Economically, it is the same process as dividual solace, he could have given us the ruin of the artisan class by capitalist more adequate picture, had he depicted production. the betrayers of the German revolution.

The over-production of grain is en hanced by the tendency towards a smallworld get out of the most glorious event or consumption of bread among the industrial population, by the ousting from agriculture of beasts of draught by machnery and the consequent release of tremendous areas formerly serving as pasthe returned soldiers cannot fit into a turage, and by the very great preponderance of such elements in the initial costs of agriculture (lease, taxes, interest, reend fight they must, not against their demption of fixed capital, fodder of striction thereof unprofitable.

In many countries (China, parts of India, Rumania, Poland) the misery of the peasantry in the agrarian crisis has led to a regular degradation of agriculture, seeing that the peasants, exploited by high rents on the part of the landowners, by the cost of industrial products on the part of finance capital, by the exorbitant taxes on the part of the bourgeois state, and by high rates of interest on the part of the usurers, are no longer able to keep ly pronounced in the present instance. up even the simplest form of reproduction. The tremendous agrarian overproduction leads to a degradation of agriculture, especially in such regions in which feudal and capitalist exploiters to operate o despoil the peasantry.

The agrarian crisis hits the colonial erritories very hard, since they have to great part been specialized by finance

And how far along this road are they at

present? To answer this, we will first

have to glance at a system of produc-

tion that is genuinely efficient, so as to

have a standard with which to compare.

Imagine a completely self-sustaining

country, producing whatever its inhabi-tants consume, exporting nothing and

importing nothing. In this country, everyhody should do some useful work

and work approximately the same num-

ber of hours a day. The management of all agriculture, industry and transpor-

tation should be carried out by one sin

gle board that should apply exactly the

same principles that are now applied to

a single factory . . . A thoro standardiza-tion should have been carried thru, re-

ducing the number of tools and mach-

ines to a minimum. A planning depart-

ment should see to it that no machines

were ever idle and that nothing was produced that could not be consumed

within a short time. (We disregard things

that, for seasonal reasons, would have to

he stored for a while, between produc-

tion and consumption). No goods should

be produced that are useless luxuries,

i.e., luxuries in the sense that only a

few can enjoy them without sacrificing

vital necessities. Finally, all transporta-

tion should be organized according to

the gainciple of straight-line motion;

transportation should be reduced to

Everybody will realize that such

minimum for the country as a whole.

nvested in plantations, robbing it of its super profits.

Special Characteristics of the Present

Economic Crisis We now propose briefly to outline the special features of the present crisis as a result of the general crisis of capitalism and of its highly developed monopor list character.

(a) Contrary to former crises, the presnt economic crisis is absolutely general; it comprises all branches of production and all countries of the bourgeois world. (b) Measured by the recession of inlustrial output, the crisis may be considred particularly acute; it is more serious

han any of the preceding crises. (c) The crisis is of particularly long uration, surpassing in this respect all ormer crises.

(d) In a number of countries, such as Great Britain, the crisis follows not on a ise hut on a period of chronic depres-

(e) In a number of industries (coal, hipbuilding, textiles) the crisis was not preceded by a boom but by years of de-

f. A peculiar feature of the present crisis is the tremendous extent of unrisis of capitalism and even during the boom phase, there has always existed an army of millions of unemployed; it likewise results from the tactics of the war-of counteracting over-production draught-cattle) as are independent of the less by a reduction of prices than by a size of the cuttivated area and render a recurtailment of production, i.e., at the tier capital, etc. expense of the workers rather than of the capitalist, thus shifting the burden of the crisis onto the proletariat in the first

Nevertheless, the average price-drop in wholesale trade is far more pronounced than during former crises...

The circumstance that retail prices follow the fall of wholesale prices much later and in a relatively smaller degree-a fact observable in every crisis-is particular-

(g) The superabundance of loan capial and the low rates of interest at the beginning of the crisis, symptoms in type of crisis, are likewise consequences of the general crisis and of the monopor listic degeneration of capitalism. (h) The unusually pronounced shrink-

age of foreign trade. This is an outcome capital for the production of one partie of the general crisis and of the endeavors cular raw material (monocultural count of the hourgeoisie in individual countries tries). This year, the over-production of to gain control of the home market, sugar, coffee, rubber, cotton, and so on, Hence the accelerated increase of cushas been more pronounced than for years toms duties, establishment of import quo-

From a technical point of view, it is entirely possible. We have during the

last hundred years witnessed a tremendous

increase in the size of plants and factor-

ies-and the management of large plants

works just as smoothly as that of the

smaller ones. The mergers and the for-

mation of trusts and monopolies have fur-

ther brought lots of plants under one cen-

tralized management, and this also works

without shortcomings. The same tech-

nical laws could apply to an eventual

merger involving all the corporations,

While fifteen years ago, this was only

prediction, it has since been borne out

by the Russian Revolution. The Bol-

shevik leaders in Russia endeavored from

the very beginning to coordinate the in-

dustries so as to attain a high degree of

efficiency. And they have gotten results that once for all establish the superiority

of a centralized management for coun-

tries at large. While the highest rate

of development ever attained by industry

production of 5.8% a year, the Soviet Union, has, ruled by the workers, in-

creased her production by as much as

The capitalists, however, can not put

thru similar schemes. While they agree

readily enough on keeping the workers

down and deriving huge profits from

their toil, they can't agree on how to

share these profits with each other. There

is a strong inherent gambling, get-rich-

quick element in the capitalist, which

thrives upon the anarchy in production.

The present depression shows how dis-

organized American industry is and just

this has made it possible for the Wall

Street linanciers to pocket scores of mil-

ions in the stock market crash of Octo-

per planning" measures in America dur-

25% a year, and this rate again, is in-

creasing from year to year,

in capitalist countries is an increase in

all the factories in the country,

Rationalization and the Workers

CAPITALIST "SUPER-PLANNING"

by Hal Long

it likely that the capitalists will get? brain of a dreamer?

It affects not only the colonial tas, import prohibitions, etc. whereby the peasantry but also the colonial capital volume of foreign trade is restricted. All these things ultimately arise from the general crisis of capitalism.

> Economic Crisis and Revolutionary Crisis

Roughly outlined, the general connection between the economic crisis and the revolutionary crisis appears to us as to be

(a) The bourgeoisie shifts the burden of the crisis to a great extent onto the shoulders of the proletariat in the form of gigantic unemployment and of a refuction of wages to a far greater degree

than the fall of the cost of living. (b) The crisis also greatly affects the abor aristocracy, great numbers of which suffer unemployment.

(d) The crisis spells ruin for the artians and weighs heavily on the clerks and other employees, who are either discharged wholesale or else see their meager alaries further reduced.

(c) The agrarian crisis endangers the egemony of the hourgeoisie over the

working peasantry.

(e) The crisis represents a shrinkage of the surplus value total-seeing that the great reduction in the number of exploited workers is not compensated for fact that, in the period of the general by the rate of exploitation. This means a great reduction in the total of profit. Hence there is an accentuated struggle among the different groups of the ruling class for their share in the total promonopolies-observable even before the ceeds: industrial capital against agrarian capital, finishing industries against heavy industries, industrial capital against ren-

> The widest circle of the population are involved and drawn into political life. A political crisis and hence also the possibility of a successful struggle for power, may rapidly come to a head in certain

The Aggravation of Imperialist Antagonisms and the Danger of Intervention

The crisis has led to a multiplication and aggravation of differences among the imperialist powers. During the crisis the struggle for markets is of prime imof raw materials temporarily recedes inthemselves contradictory to the classical to the background. Capital exportation. encounters serious obstacles (in the economic crisis itself, in currency depreciation in various countries, and above all in political uncertainty). The bourgeoisie of each country endeavors in the first place to control the home market; hence the rapid growth of protectionism. There is tendency towards a splitting up of the conomic area of capitalism into separate owerful states. The bourgeoiste of each country replies to the ippelectionist measures of the other countries by an increase in dumping, seeing that none of them can do without foreign markets. There is thus a fight of all against each. (Concluded in the next issue)

> power was busy with the war, the output of the ordinary "peace" industries actually increased.

However, even could a super-planning We have seen, that the main object of system is the only one that would be real brought about by the capitalists it would Hoover's Twenty-Year Plan

the technical processes that have been ly efficient. Why then, don't the bosses must bring about all efficiency attainable:

What 20,000,000 women want, according to make get together and organize their industries. The exploitation of the workers would ing to Anna Steese Richardson, is "good clothes, cigarettes and culture."

production as efficient as possible. The along these lines, since efficiency is what make it impossible for them to work clothes, cigarettes and culture."

What they'll get according to Herbert road to a really efficient production is system only something that arises in the talists would let some workers go nersystem only something that arises in the talists would let some workers go permanently unemployed, while the rest would work an unnecessary number of Fatigue studies have revealed, that the workers slow up considerably during the latter half of the day, and a shortening of hours always tends to increase their efficiency. Thus, on great number of jobs that were investigated, the output per day rose when the hours were cut from 10 to 8:

Further, due to improper nourishment, clothing and dwelling conditions, consequences of exploitation, the poor health of the workers would add to the tiresome effect of the long hours. Even the supporters of capitalism have to admit that most of the time lost due to sickness and accidents is due to unsafe and unhealthy conditions in the shops and unsanitary homes and lack of medical help caused by poverty. This is accentuated by all the luxuries that exist under capitalism in which the rich indulge and many workers try to imitate, wasting their meager wages. The production of these luxuries is of course, to he regarded as wasted work. The great army of unemployed, that

would be bigger than ever before, under a system of capitalist super-planning, would give rise to crime and prostitution, sources of waste of first order. The Social Hygiene Association has determe ined the expenditures on prostitution to be more than half a billion dollars and nually. The statistician, L. F. Bower, figures the people living by crime to be close to a million.

As shown by B. D. Wolfe in his articles on "The Next War", wars are inevitable under capitalism. A great part of the industrial work would therefore be spent on the production of things that" don't add to the well-being of people, but on the contrary are aimed at killing and destroying. Not only direct labor, but plenty of machinery and inventive, and technical work would thus be wast-

to expect production to become efficient We had a sample of emergency "su under capitalism. Only with the worker as the roling class, with the factories owning the war. While the government put ed by the workers themselves, and the invarious industrial boards saw to it that the working class solidarity, can real rational factories and plants in the country all ization be put thru. To wipe out the worked for the common purpose of make wastes of human work and human lives, ing the world safe for Wall Street. And of raw material as well as of finished this so increased efficiency that despite products, is the historic mission of the the fact that one-quarter of the man workers on the technical field.

The Economic Week

THO the price of commodities has again risen somewhat, certain basic commodities, like copper, are still falling. The stock market gains of the previous week in response to the Hoover Plan have been reduced during the week. The volume of cor-

porate stock and bond financing is still falling sharply. Steel continues to decline and has reached an operating level of only 35%. Bank clearings are still very much below the level of last year. The railway situation is causing the bankers and rail magnates consid-

crable concern. The freight situation is serious. All hopes in Wall Street are now centered on France and U. S. reaching a debt. and reparations agreement to serve as a stimulus to turn the tide. The optimism first occasioned by the Hoover announcement is already visibly weakened.

Revolutionary Age Assn., 63 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.

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Subscription rates: Foreign \$3.50 a year—\$2.00 six mos.—Domestic \$2.50 a year; \$1.50 six mos.; 5 cents a copy.

VOL. II. — No. 32.

July 11, 1931

THE POST-GATTY WORLD FLIGHT

THE whole world, if we are to believe the press, is in an ecstasy of enthusiasm over the tremendous achievement of Post and Gatty, world fliers. And indeed the huge crowds that greeted these aviators at nists. Vague formulations and "revevery step of their journey, the monster welcome that awaited them at Roosevelt Field, the pages and pages of every conceivable sort of publicity in the press, are all evidence of the striking, even if not very deep, inpression the exploit of the fliers of the Winnie Mae has made upon the masses of the people.

Of course, to a very considerable extent, these outbursts of popular enthusiasm are very deliberately and very cold-bloodedly stimulated by the bourgeois press and other formative organs of "public opinion" which rightfully regard such "harmless" demonstrations as a sort of safety valve thru which the rapidly accumulating unrest and dissatisfaction of the masses, largely unconscious as yet, can be "worked off" without any "serious" consequences. Yet, taking this factor fully into account, it must nevertheless be recognized that there is something really significant in the Post-Gatty feat which sets it apart in a class by itself far above all of the other so-called "exploits" of aviation since the memorable flight of Lindbergh tween races. four years ago.

There can hardly be any question that the eight-day round-the-world flight will go down in the history of technical progress as one of its bright. Economic competition is responsible est achievements. The problem of rapid locomotion and, since Magellan, tace prejudice. The white workers find the problem of the circumnavigation of the globe, have always appealed to themselves in competitive struggle with the problem of the circumnavigation of the globe, have always appeared to the Negro workers and so develop a pre-the imagination of mankind and have indeed been of the most serious judice against them. Being more numerconsequence in man's age-long struggle with nature. And now Jules ous and socially more powerful, the whites Verne's eighty days of feverish fiction have become the eight days, 15 are able to keep the Negroes in racial subhours, 51 minutes of astonishing reality! Another gigantic step forward in jection. (c) Racial prejudice is a hangmankind's mastery of the forces of nature!

But it is precisely the curse of the system of society under which we live that every victory of the human race over the forces of its environ- flex of the economic relations. Slavery ment becomes inevitably transformed into a means of exploitation and de- has indeed been abolished but the sostruction! The steam engine, the astonishing development of "labor-saving" machinery, the whole system of electric power and electro-technique thru the power of tradition. (d) Racial -incredible achievements of the human genius-what have they meant prejudice is consciously fostered by the for mankind? Under the system of capitalism, in which every advance of science is immediately converted into a source of profit and class power, the multiplication of human productive powers has meant unprecedented wealth and power for the small oligarchy of the owners of the means of production and increasing misery and slavery for the vast masses of constitute an important point of support the people. Under the reign of imperialism, in which every technical in for the whole structure of the class domi vention is immediately converted into a means of mass murder and anni-hilation, the multiplication of human productive powers has meant the multiplication of the power of the wretched cliques of war-mongers to into its class ideology, race prejudice beunleash the most horrible forms of destruction upon the human race. Un- comes an integral element of official bourder the dark shadow of capitalism, every blessing becomes a curse, every of bourgeois society advance a veritable boomerang.

And just so will it be with the breath-taking exploit of Post and Gatty. For what indeed is the direct social consequence of this exploit? It will render aviation, the most deadly weapon of modern warfare, even more deadly than ever. It will facilitate the annihilation of cities, the murder of millions, the destruction of what has taken decades to build up. To the tens of thousands who are cheering it today, it will yet become a nightmare

Capitalism poisons the very springs of the well of human progress. The fruits of the inventiveness of the human genius, of the penetration of gro-which is reflected in the ideology far as the South was concerned. To ferior status of the Negro as a wagefor the best interests of mankind when the nightmare of capitalism, with the secrets of nature of the human mind, will only then become available for the best interests of mankind when the nightmare of capitaism, with economic status is essentially a distorted geois military dictatorship in the South, its profit-making and war mongering, is left far behind and humanity reaching between the semi-feudal the wide confiscation of plantations and es its maturity and its freedom under Communism.

THE LOGIC OF SECTARIANISM

THEODORE DREISER, the distinguished novelist, begins his United Press gro. story on the wave of miners strikes, as follows:

"I came to Western Pennsylvanian coal strike field because I am interested in anything that looks to the dis-establishment of the American Federation of Labor, with which the United Mine Workers of America is affiliated, struggle between the industrial capitalist "I am interested in dis-establishment of the A. F. of L. because there is system in the North (personified in the ample evidence that it simply is a closed corporation operated for little groups industrial and commercial bourgeoisie) who get all the money they can for themselves at the expense of the rest of hon-unionized labor.

"Further I know for a positive fact that there was proposed and now is being out into effect a close union between the chief corporations . . . and the A. F. of L. to put a quietus, in so far as possible, on strike and labor (the territorial distribution of class for modeling and being about the general poverty of the rest of the people."

(the territorial distribution of class for cos). The aims of the North in the troubles and bring about the general poverty of the rest of the people."

Every revolutionary worker knows that this is the purest petty bourgeois pseudo-radicalism. It exposes a complete contempt for the three million workersyes, workers-in the A. F. of L. and for the hundreds of thousands of minersyes, miners-in the U.M.W. of A. It exposes a complete inability to make any distinction between the millions of honest, tho backward, workers, and the corrupt and venal leaders. The leaders are corrupt—so let us smash up ("dis-establish") the organizations of the workers.

Now such a position is quite intelligible as coming from the radicalized bourgeois intellectual, Theodore Dreiser. It is the natural expression of his rapid movement to the left. But what shall we say to the fact that the DAILY WORKER, the official Communist spokesmen in America, reprints with favorable comment and endorsement these remarks of Dreiser. The DAILY WORKER endorses the gross sectarianism of the petty bourgeis radical!

What better commentary on the new course of the Communist Party!



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Marxism and the "Negro Question"

Roots of Negro Subjection

by Will Herberg

cant field of investigation for the Am- refuses to face. the part of those who should be the more with the purpose of provoking cager exponents of living Marxism in some productive thought on the questhis country—the American Commuolutionary"—sounding phrases have all too often served as the easiest way out of a real study of complex problems while today, in the official Iommunist Party, ideological perversion and sterility have reached such a point that shameless demagogy and adequate substitutes for serious dis- sources of the race prejudice of the white cussion (see Haywood Hall's article people towards the Negroies? (The second Opposition to carry out, as best it jection).

No question offers a more signifi- can, the tasks which the Party even | The period after the Civil War was the

rican Marxist than the so-called rade Herberg makes the attempt to tion than of providing a final and definitive solution.

The Problem

1. The question. The question is: What rantic standers are considered quite of the Negro people? What are the in the June Communist). In this field phenomenon (race prejudice) is the ideoloo it will remain for the Communist logical reflection of the first (racial sub-

pletely discredited from a scientific view

point. (b) The "economic competition"

theory is thoroly inadequate. It does not

explain why social strata of the white

population which never come into econ-

ty bourgeoisie) are just as much (and

more!) afflicted with race prejudice as

white workers. "Economic competition"

exercises its effects in many cases, of

source of race prejudice. (c) The "slave

radition" theory is also inadequate. For,

of race prejudice, why does not the slave

dition is certainly of great importance

but, by itself, it cannot account for a

shenomenon of such continuous vitality

and in some cases even increasing vi-

tality!) as race projudice. (d) The "conscious fostering" theory is even more in-adequate. Unquestionably deliberate sow-

ing of race prejudice by the capitalists

does exist and is a fact (especially in

surely cannot account for so wide-spread

estations of race prejudice? Have they

consciously fostered this attitude among

naterial basis which the mechanism of

concrete class struggle situations) but it

Some Explanations

2. Various explanations. Numerous ex-, "natural antipathy" theory is not only opplanations have been advanced to answer posed to the obvious facts but is come this question. The most important are: (a) There is a "natural antipathy" be-This theory is shared by the ideologists of "white supremacy" and by the Garveyites, the former insisting that the Negroes are racially "inferior" and hence "naturally" a subject race. (b) when the Negroes as a race were the slaves of the whites as a race, race prejudice was an immediate and inevitable recial-ideological attitude of the whites to capitalists in order to sow inner dissenion in the ranks of the toiling masses. (e) Racial (and national) divisionswhere these do not seriously affect the dominant circles of the ruling class—

CRITIQUE OF EXPLANATIONS
3. Critique of explanations, (a) The domination.

A Social-Historical Explanation

4. A suggested social-historical explana- | eradication of all signs of the slave econo tion. I suggest the following social-his iny and of all semi-feudal relations, the torical explanation of the roots of racial transformation of the former slaves into subjection and race prejudice.

a. The subject racial status of the Ne were the main aims of the Radicals as

of race prejudice-is tooted in the pe- accomplish these purposes the Radicals worker in industry is the extension or reslave status and the status of "free" pro- the distribution of the land to the freed letarian or "independent" peasant pro- men, the rapid extension of popular edu prictor in bourgeois society. The fact cation, the enfranchisement of the freed-that the bourgeois-democratic liquidation men and the disfranchisement of the of the pro-capitalist slave relations halted at (or rather was diverted to) this arrested stage lies at the root of the per-

THE CIVIL WAR.

b. The Civil War was essentially the and the semi-foudal slave-plantation sys tem in the South (personified in the slave-owning aristocracy). In this sense, the Civil War was essentially a bourgeoisdemocratic revolution in a unique forma-Civil War were, in general, the classical, aims of the bourgeois revolution; unification and consolidation of national territory, destruction of all forms and remnants of pre-capitalist economic institu tions, emancipation of the masses from all sorts of pre-capitalist bonds (slavery, etc.) and their transformation into wage-labor ers on the one hand and into "independent" peasants on the other (cp. the French Revolution), the establishment of political democracy, etc. The consistent and thoro completion of the bourgeis revolution (in so far as if was possible) would, it is extremely likely, have eliminated racial subjection and race prejudice since racial (and national) subjection and, prejudice are essentially pre-capitalist social manifestations.

TWO COURSES OF RECONSTRUC-TION

c. With the Civil War over i.e., with and the Southern slave-owning aristocracy defeated, two courses of "reconstruction" were put forward—two policies for the prosecution and consolidation of the bourgebis revolution.

The first of these was the "Rudicul" (Stevens-Sumner) course. The main fear tures of this course was the determination to push the bourgeoisification of the South thru with the greatest determinal grain correspond with the long-range his tion and ruthlessness, to complete the torical interests of the bourgeoisie? And bourgeis-democratic revolution. The complete the main body of the Northern War) failed to do. But the proletarian plete destruction of the economic and bourgeoisie, certainly its most decisive revolution in America will do more than

The fact cation, the enfranchisement of the freed-"rebels" (i.e. the defenders of the old regime), and the elevation of the freed non to political power as tools of the Northern bourgeoisie.

> The second course of "reconstruction" was the "moderate" course (Andrew Johnson). It was thoroly opposed to carrying the bourgeois revolution thru to its logical culmination. It proposed to "reconstruct" the South by a compromise with and conciliation of—the old to political power as soon as possible. It but it was far from championing the full emancipation (either economic or politior permanent) for the freedom would omy. have to be a sort of modified chattel slavery, an intermediate stage between slavery and full (bourgeois) freedom.

ADVANCE AND REACTION

d. At the very first, the Radical course of "reconstruction" was carried out. The Freedmen's Buro, the military governorship of the South, the distribution of lands to the freedmen, the elevation of the freedmen into political power, werein spite of all abuses and corruntionphases of the attempt to carry thru the bourgeois revolution by means of a revolutionary (bourgeois) dictatorship. The triumph of the Radicals proved to be shortlived. Their defeat by the "moder the other classes of the population to the ate" forces, symbolized in the failure to impeach Johnson, came tapidly enough. The Freedmen's Buro was done away with, the confiscation and distribution of lands was drastically checked and even reversed, the political freedom of the Ne-Northern hourgeoisie triumphant the Southern slave-owning austocraconstruction policy triumph in the end but a period of reaction set in in which much of the work of the Radicals was

> e. Here we may ask parenthtically: Why were the Radicals ultimately defeated? Were they not the vanguard of their class, the bourgeoisie? Did not their pro-

period of the "opening of the West", The decisive sections of the Northern bourgeoisie fixed their orientation upon the Aztec villages in Mexico to his apart and buried in a \$20,000 solid-silver cof-Negro question," i.e., the status and provide an adequate Marxist explana- the West (and not upon the South) as relations of the Negro in American tion for the racial subjection of the main direction for the expansion of social life. And yet, of all important Negro in American society. The main direction for the expansion of problems, this has received the least terial is presented in an extremely and unhampered exploitation of the West serious and scientific consideration on concise and somewhat abstract form, a compromise with the old ruling class in the capitalist economy. For the thoro had to clear the way thru a line six deep that put him on the spot, and unhampered exploitation of the West for him to get into his apartment. He long period of social disturbance in the no unemployment or visible economic sub-South should be allowed to interefere fering; the other, in the richest, with such with the expansion westwards. Moreover unemployment and terrible human sufthe consistently bourgeois-democratic fering, course of Radicals in the South (agrarianism, extension of political power to the masses of the poor, etc.) was thoroly unwelcome to the ruling elements of the Northern bourgeoisie which had the proletarian and farming masses in the North to deal with.) For these reasons the main body of the Northern bourgeoisie threw its weight against the Radicals and in favor of the "moderate" course of "re-construction." Significantly enough, it was not until the first great post-war wave of western expansion was over (1885-80) that the (economic) attention of the bourgeoisie was again turned to the South and the real industrialization of that region began.

f. What were the historical consequeces of the "moderate" course of reconstruction? Fundamentally, the emancipation of the Negro slaves was rendered incomplete-even from the consistently bouromic conflict with the Nugrous (white goods standpoint. Economically, the Ner bourgeoisie, but especially the white pet peasant-proprietor. He was transformed into a peon, share-cropper, etc. in agriculture and (later) into an "inferior" la-borer in industrys. The arrested or discourse; but it cannot be the underlying torted development of the bourgeois revo-Jution brought about a situation in which the new economic status of the Negro if there is no contemporary social source was, to a considerable extent, essentially a continuation of his old status, considtradition die out—as many other outworn traditions have died out? The slave tracrably modified, of course, but still not radically transformed (at least not as radically as a complete bourgeois revolution would imply.) The Negro in the beck and call of the business man, the South was therefore left in an economic poor fellow can hardly be said to have a status intermediate between that of the slave and that of the "free" peasant proprietor, a status in many respects semicudal and pre-capitalist. Politically, the Negro was consequently completely dis-franchised and robbed of every vestige of democratic rights.

THE ROOT OF THE MATTER

and deep-rooted an ideology as tace preju-dice. Why, for example, do the white capitalists themselves exhibit all manig. Under slavery there was an obvious material basis for racial subjection and race prejudice-the enslaved condition themselves? (e) The "class ideology" theory is absolutely correct and of the highest significance but it seems to me of Negroes as a race. Since the Civil War and "reconstruction" did not completely eradicate the slave status of the Negro that there must exist some contemporary but, on the contrary, transformed it into material (economic) basis of racial subjection likewise did not disappear but continued in a modified form. HENCE THE SURVIVAL OF RACE PREJUDICE. The uncompleted and distorted bourgeois revolution in the South (the consequence of the "moderate" reconstruction policy)

is the historical basis for the persistence of the racial subjection of the Negro and of race prejudice to this day.

h. It is my opinion also that the "inferior" status of the Negro as a wage worker in industry is the extension or relection of the popularly arrested economic status of the Negro peasantry in the South-from which the Negro proletarian largely originates.

THE IMPERIALIST BOURGEOISIE AND FEUDAL REMNANTS

i. It is a specific characteristic of the bourgeoisie in the present imperialist (decaying) stage of capitalism that it no longer attempts to destroy the pre-capitalisi relations in the spheres of its influence On the contrary, it fosters and protects them and utilizes them as auxiliaries in its system of economic and political domina

The American bourgeoisie has thus stave-owners whom it proposed to restore found it quite advantageous to utilize the to political power as soon as possible. It essentially pre-capitalist status of the Ne-recognized that chattel slavery had to go gro peasant and the "inferior" status of the Negro worker as a source of superprofits. The social subjection of the cal) of the Negro; indeed it conceived Negro as a race thus becomes an integral that the "next stage" (whether temporary element of the bourgeois imperialist econ-

THE ROOTS OF RACE PREJUDICE

j. Upon the material basis described in the above paragraphs operates the social mechanism (also described above) whereby the class interests of the bourgeoisie (to keep the Negro in an especially depressed position) is transformed into the corresponding class ideology—the racial "inferiority" of the Negro. Race prejudice thus becomes an integral part of official bourgeois ideology. But "the rul ing ideas of any age are the ideas of its ruling class" (Marx). Race prejudice becomes an element of the currently acdegree that they are "bourgeois-minded" It is because the American working class is so backward, i.e., bourgeois-minded, that it is so filled with race prejudice.

And What Now?

5. This social-historical explanation of racial subjection and race prejudice leads to this conclusion: The racial, political and social emancipation of the Negro can only take place on the basis, and as a consequence, of his economic emancipation Of a bourgeois revolution there can today no longer be any question in the United States. Only the proletarian revolution can make up for what the second political power of the old slave-owning sections, were opposed to the Radical polithat: It will transform the sections aristocracy as a class, the most thoro icy. I venture the following explanation: Negro peasants and "inferior" Negro pro-



THE NEMESIS OF AMERICAN BUSINESS, by Stuart Chase. The Macmillan Company, 1931. New York

'The book is a collection of "essays" the subjects of which are interrelated. Mr. Chase returns home from a visit among ment in New York where he finds the fin under an avalanche of gigantic florbread line so crowded that a policeman al offerings, many from the rival gang. a compromise with the old ruling class in had come from one of the poorest lands the South would be helpful; certainly no to the richest under the sun. In one,

In analyzing unemployment he finds six types: seasonal, technological, cyclical, residual, stop-watch, consolidation unemployment. The logical, sensible and only final answer to technological unemployment is the shorter working day, "Remedies" are regularization of industry, long-swing construction, nation-wide system of public labor exchanges, collection of better statistics, raising the age at which children are permitted to enter industry, the "dismissal wage" and unemployment insurance.

Mr. Chase states he knows of no industry in which the blight of over-production is not endemic, from motor cars are flashy fakes. quently in excess of consumption require unin; "But it had a swell funeral." ments, granted unlimited purchasing power. Planned production is the only possible solution

He talks with a gloomy editor who believes this depression marks the "end of an epoch" but after taking stock but after taking stock of the nation's assets and liabilities derides he does not believe the epoth is ending--but admits it might be. To prevent the shattering of our existing order he suggests a "plan"

Great confidence is placed in the enincering mind to solve our problems. I speak of the engineering mind. This is not to be confused, alas, with the aver-

It the last essay he outlines the life he believes a worthy goal for society to

The book is very well written and makes interesting reading. Like some others Mr. Chase thinks labor should have "larger share" of the national income and shorter hours, without apparently realizing that capitalism, "planned" or not, must of necessity mean a larger share of income to capital and increasing unemployment.

See "More About Books" on page 3, olumn 4.

letarians into the free workers of a Socialist society.

1. The specific form of the American Civil War as a bourgeois revolution is not as underested in may seem. The Swiss "War of the Cantone" in which the progressive, industrial,

"In Eastern Europe strong me-dieval remnants have remained. These remnants include . . . the oppression of nationalies" (A New Chapter of World History, 1912).

the maintenance of fendal privi-leges. national oppression" (The So-cial Significance of the Serbian-Bulgarian Victory, 1912).

In the latter article, as well as in the fam-ous article "Critical Notes on the National Question" (1943), Lenin makes it clear that national (and racial) emancipation are es-sentially phases of the bourgeois-democratic

revolution.

3. In this connection compare the article "The Freedmen's Buro" by W. E. B. Du-Bois, in "The Souls of Black Folk". DuBois here vividly pictures the work of the Freedmen's Buro as well as its final liquidation by the forces of reaction. "In the work of establishing the Negroes as peasant proprietors, the Buro was from the first handicapped and at last absolutely checked." Compare also, Thomas Dabney, "Dominant Forces in Race Relations":

"The hostility of the old master class to the ouward sweep of capitalism and the movement to liberate the slaves is exemplified in the formidable movement of the former to end the autocratic rule established by Northern inflictary authorities. The adherents of fendalism hated alike the dictatorship of the bourgeoiste and the enfranchisement of the new emancipated shaves."

The Ghosts Go In for Real Estate

4. Cp. Letter of Henry Cooke to Jay Cooke firm in Partington, vol. iii, p. 42. 5. Compare DuBols in the article quoted

above:
"Despite compromise, war and struggle,
to the backwoods Despite compromise, war and stringgie, the Negro is not free. In the backwoods of the Gulf States, for miles and miles, he may not leave the plantation of his birth; in web-aigh the whole irralSouth the black farmers are peous, bound by law and easton to an economic slavery, from which the only eccape is death or the pendication. tentiary. In the most cultured sections and cities of the South the Negroes are a segregated, servile caste, with restricted rights and privileges."

6. Declares Lenin in his article "Backward Europe and Progresive Asia":

"Civilized and progressive Europe . . . has reached such a pass that it supports everything that is backward, dying and medieval. The declining bourgeoisle unites with all obsolete and decaying powers of the past

Published Monthly by the CONFERENCE FOR 25 cents a copy

104 FIFTH AVENUE



Muscling In On Dead Gangsters

"But he had a swell funeral"-so reads the epitaph of many a gangster whose bullet riddled body is followed to the grave by a long procession of high powered cars (with shatter-proof windshields)

But now it develops that the funeral racket, ghoul that preys upon the ignorance and heedlessness of grief and despair, has been gypping the gyppers. The \$20,000 solid-silver coffans, according to Pairchild's, the undertaker whose phone never sleeps", are cast iron covered by a silver case which is slipped off just before the final interment! Still O'Bannion had twenty-six auto loads of floral offerings, Joe the Baker, forty; Jamascia, thirty-five; Joe the Boss, sixteen, and Jamascia, after putting Joe the Baker on the spot, made handsome amends with a floral monstrosity thirteen feet high bearing the legend "Our Pal." All of which can be taken as a fitting symbol of the racketeering age of declining capitalism which gives the noblest funerals to gangsters, turns burial of the human carcass into a racket in which "the beggar is taxed for a corner to die in" and even solid silver coffins to agriculture. Not only is production be able to say of decaying capitalism will in excess of purchasing power but free be said the day we can write in this col-

The Wickersham report includes a section "The Lawlessness of the Law" exemplified by such matters as the Mooney case and the Doak deportations. This part of the report has so far been suppressed. The "Lawlessness of the Law" should be supplemented by a report on "The Law of Lawlessness" as a description of the capitalist system which legalizes robbery in the form of exploitation, graft in the form of "politics", mass murder in the form of imperialist war, brutai starvation in the form of unemployment, corruption of the human mind in the form of the prostitute press, pulpit and radio, and of the human body in the form of slums, starvation, child labor, prostitu-tion and back breaking toil. Capitalist law of tooth and claw and fang. Yet the comparison is unjust to the beasts for they lack the fiendish ingenuity of man. Nowhere in the animal kingdom do we find heasts that make war on their own species comparable to the slaughter of imperialist war, nor claw and fang equal to machine gun, poison gas and Big Ber-

Uncle Sam Wants A Rake-Off

Well, the government has decided rack eteers and gangsters are here to stay and from now on will collect income tax from them just as from other business men. The government calls it "curbing racketeering". To me it looks like "mus-

Unemployment Hits Sing Sing :... Unemployment has hit Sing Sing according to Warden Lewis E. Lawes, because during the depression so many men have been sent to jail that there aren't jobs enough to go around. Anyhow they have a kind of dole there-you get food and lodging whether you work or not.

Britannia Rules Nature "Race prejudice," Sir Arthur Keith,

'anthropologist," told a British university audience, "nature has im-planted in you for her own ends . . . " Nature, it appears, is a British imperialist, for Sir Arthur Keith has created nature in his own image. "Nature keeps her human orchard

healthy by pruning and war is her pruning hook." Of course, it is only the weeds that are cut off. Strong, healthy, brave and intelligent men are never cut off by nature's pruning hook. No higher civilization was ever destroyed by a lower. To fight war is to fight against the pruning of the veak, against nature, against science, against the British empire.

To fight war, race prejudice, imperialist exploitation, used to be against God. Now God has lost his

Spooks have enlarged their reper-

tory of occupations. They used to flit around rapping on tables, upsetting chairs and writing on mirrors with ghostly soap. But according to Sir Oliver Lodge they have now gone into the real estate business. When his wife was running her poor feet off looking for rooms, the ghost of their dead son Raymond suddenly gave up furniture-moving and sent the mes-

In the article "The Social Significance of the Bulgarian Victory" Lenin characterizes to push it to you."

In the article "The Social Significance of the Bulgarian Victory" Lenin characterizes to push it to you." "Tell mother to stop house-hunting.

Then he led her by the nose, which she felt irresistibly moved to follow, right to the spot. If he had only pitched in and moved the furniture over also, he would have been a perfect son of a ghost (or should I say, ghost of a son?)

Unemployment And The Way Out The Y. M. C. A. is taking a hand in

giving advice to the unemployed. "Pre-pare now for prosperity." To aid the campaign, they have proclaimed a Na-Thrift Week, and issued a 32tional PROGRESSIVE LABOR ACTION page booklet which will tell you "how to plan your financial affairs for the coming The booklet will be mailed nn u year. 10c. There are no suggestions as to how to raise the 10¢.