THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS

ISSUED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY (Majority Group)

COUNTRIES

WORKERS OF ALL

UNITE

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HOOVER FIGHTS **JOBLESS AID**

Plots To Check Congress Action on Unemployed Relief Next Winter

WASHINGTON. - In view of the certainty that the next winter will see no improvement in the unemployment situation but will witness an intensification of the desperate misery of the masses President Hoover has just held a series of consultations with his closest economic advisors with the object of preventing the possible enactment of unemployment relief legislation by the next Congress!

Mr. Hoover held long conferences with
Julius H. Barnes and Silas H. Strawn,

chairman of the board and president, respectively, of the United States Chamber of Commerce. All agreed that the "danger" of the

enactment of some sort of unemployment relief legislation was very realeither as a factional political move of Congressional leaders or as a gesture of concession to a rising public demand. Mr. Hoover and his advisors were very much concerned over the fear that such legislation should pass for it would in augurate a "dole" system which would sap the self-respect and the rugged individualism of the American people!" Unemployment, the President declared, is a "local concern" and should be handled by "private initiative", that is, char-

ity.

Mr. Strawn, Hoover's closest economic advisor, said that he could not see any change for the better in the prospects for unemployment conditions next Winter, He stated that he expected to see more people unemployed than in the past cold

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J .-- While the leading economic authorities are predicting more severe unemployment and more acute suffering for the next Winter and while President Hoover is busy planning how to forestall the passage of relief leg-islation by the next Congress, the execu-tive council of the American Federation of Labor opened its quarterly meeting with the unemployment situation as a main order of business. No definite proposals have yet been made and no action taken but it should be remembered that the A. F. of L. executive council has gone on record more than once against any form of government unemployment relief, in exactly the same anti-labor spirit as President Hoover.

Bosses Propose Government whole demonstration. Should "Deflate" Labor And Slash Wages

PITTSBURGH,-The "regulation" of the bituminous coal industry as a "sick" industry by the Federal government has At that time the crowd already numberbeen proposed by J. D. A. Morrow, president of the Pittsburgh Coal Company, "Put that furniture back!" "We want ident of the Pittsburgh Coal Company, at a preliminary conference of operators something to eat! Then some workers with Secretaries Lamont and Doak in began to carry the furniture back into Washington. Other big operators in the the flat. The policemen immediately Pittsburgh and West Virginia regions sent for reinforcements and it did no are known to have voiced their approve take long before heavy reserves arrived al of this plan.

down and in other ways "deflate the over-production" in the industry. It is also planned to have the monstrating workers but the monstrating workers but it is also planned to have the monstrating workers but it is also planned to have the monstrating workers but it is also planned to have the monstrating workers but it is monstrating workers. take the lead in stimulating centraliza-tion of financial control in the industry. The "curtailing of excessive production' it is declared, would . "take care of the wage question and eliminate strikes."

All of these proposals are now to go to a joint conference of operators, offi-cials of the U.M.W.A. and the Federal In the evening M Department of Labor

The plans now being discussed for "intervention" in the soft coal industry are of the greatest danger of the miners and to the workers as a whole. Their objective is to have the governscores of thousands of men out of the industry altogether, for smashing the re- the present." mains of unionism in the coal mines and replacing it by some brand of government-patronized company unionism, for cutting wages to the bone ("taking care of the wage question") and, in general, lowering all standards of the min-ers. And if the miners resist, it will be "fighting the government", "offend-ing the public" and so on The miners must be on their guard!

of the Biblical Seminary of Manhattan, told his hearers that "since God breathed holds, has encouraged a campaign of evice of Wall Street than the American offithe breath of life into man, each of us tions in the South Side. Untest among cials were. Furthermore, the restoration is literally the word of God." The more the Negro masses began to grow very of the departments to Haitian control we know some of his chosen people, the rapidly and sympathy for the Communist

Paterson Silk Workers! Fight To Win the General Strike!

Appeal of the Communist Party (Majority Group)

termined struggle for human conditions be built up. and for the right to maintain these conditions thru trade union organization.

The bosses of Paterson have taken advantage of the division and lack of organization in your ranks, in order to lengthen hours, to speed-up production, to lower wages and to institute a most despotic and exploiting regime in the

From the highest wage-paying textile center in America, Paterson has become the lowest. You have decided that the limit of your patience has been reached and that you will no longer submit to the terrible conditions under which you

You have recognized that only united action, solidarity of the textile workers, militancy and effective trade union or ganization will make it possible for you to battle effectively against the bosses for better conditions, for a new day. You took the first big step forward

when you amalgamated your unions, the U. T. W. and the Associated, into one organization of the A. F. of L.
You took the second step by going out

on a general strike, recognizing that only thru the might of the workers can better conditions be wrung from the bosses, Paterson textile workers! Your mili-tancy, doubles and solidarity are the best guarantee for victory. Only thru the greatest participation of the rank and

file workers on the picket lines and in all

Silk workers of Paterson! You are the strike activities will the strike be won oday engaged in a momentous and de- and a mighty union of silk textile workers

To the Paterson textile workers who have responded to the strike call of the National Textile Workers Union, we make a special appeal in the interest of a common fighting front against the bosses, that they demand that the leaders of their union immediately put a stop to the slander, abuse, name-calling and all such shameful tactics they are today using in an effort to divide the workers. Such tactics of division and disruption play into the hands of the bosses and help to de-

feat the workers cause. Striking textile workers of Paterson! Your stand for better conditions, against wage-cuts, for the 8-hour day, for union organization, is bound to win the enthusiastic support of the entire labor move-

You are fighting not only for your solves, for your families; you are today the advance fighters for the entire working class. Keep up your strike! Stand shoulder to shoulder! Unify and consolidate your ranks! Keep up your fine example of militancy, determination and courage! Then all the bosses, with their police, injunctions and jails will not be able to stop you! You will march to victory, winning better conditions and build

COMMUNIST PARTY (Majority Group) Benj. Gitlow, Secretary.

3 Negroes Murdered, Many Hurt As Chicago Police Attack 3,000 Protesting Eviction

Police Make Brutal Attack On Huge Crowd On South Side: Mayor Begins Drive Again Negro Masses And Militant Workers As Terror Rules City

CHICAGO.—Three Negroes were kill | The massacre on August 4 only brought ed and many white and colored workers to a head and dramatized the forces that vere wounded here on the afternoon of had been gathering for several months. August 4 when police opened fire into a crowd of several thousand workers mostly Negrous, who were protesting against the Communist movement and against the eviction of an unemployed woman, has shown the Negro masses that their has shown the Negro masses that their Rose Warwick, and who were trying to interests lie in the same direction as those of the revolutionary labor movement. To murdered Negroes was a Communist, gether with the recent development in John Gay, and Communists and Commu Alabama, the Chicago events stand as nist sympathizers were prominent in the the harbingers of a new period in the

As soon as the bailiffs, armed with a

court order, began to evict Mrs. Warwick and remove her furniture to the street, a crowd of angry neighbors gathered which grew with astonishing rapidity. A squad of five policemen came upon the scene in motor cars. The new police forces It is proposed to give a "public utili- drew their riot guns and fired into the to the soft coal industry, to crowd-and shot to kill. Meanwhile a they were finally overcome and dispersed. t was then found that three Newroes had been killed, many wounded and an indefinite number, probably several score, arrested and hurried to prison. hours after the clash the police patrolled

> In the evening Mayor Cermak called a conference in City Hall, Among the decisions of this conference were:

> 1. To blame the massacre upon the "Reds" and to start an anti-Communist offensive.

2. To ask that Major General Kechan ment step in and serve as the agency for hold troops in readiness at Camp Grant "deflating" the industry, i.e., throwing to be brought into the city if necessary. United States Navy. 3. To hold up all eviction orders "for

Spontaneous demonstrations against eviction have been of frequent occurrence within the last few months in the South Side of Chicago. The economic risis has brought indescribable misery to the Chicago Negroes and the exactions of the blood-sucking landlords have been Rev. Dr. F. W. Lewis, vice president terrorize the Negro districts which have always been important Thompson strong.

emancipation struggle of the Negro peonle in America.

HAITI RETRIEVES **GOV'T BUROS**

U. S. Controlled Bodies Returned: Now Comes Fight for Freedom

PORT AU PRINCE; Haiti.-An important victory was scored for the constantly growing movement of the Haitian people to get rid of the American occupation when it was announced on August that Dana G. Munro, American Minister, and Abel Leger, Haitian Foreign Minister, had signed an agreement transferring the American controlled departments of the Haitian government to Haitian control. This transfer is to become effective on October 1. The departments affected are the Department of Public Works, the principal officers of and peasantry, are divided into many which are civil engineers of the United groups and grouplets, misled by sectarian States Navy; the Technical Service of Agriculture and Industrial Education, fusion. the principal officials of which are Amer ican civilians, and the Public Health Service, in which are officers and enlisted men of the Medical Department of the

This concession on the part of the Yankee imperialism to the demands of the Haitian people for self-rule was only won thru many years of obstinate struggle. But even this achievement will turn into nothing and into less than nothing if it gives rise to the general impression that the victory of Haitian independence has been already been won. On the contrary, the Haltian people must felt most severely. At the same time, the now fight harder than ever to see to it Democratic Mayor Cermak, in an effort that the Haitian officialdom in control to "deflate the Negro wards", that is, to of the newly won departments do not become mere puppets of Yankee imperialism and into even more zealous agents must be regarded not as an end in itthe more we are forced to conclude that slogans spread far and wide. In all of the self but as a step towards the complete the charge was a pure frame-up. The God must have breathed obscenity into eviction demonstatoins recently, Comousting of United States rule and in sheriff, Meadows, declared that he was God must have breathed obscenity into eviction demonstatoins recently, Compusting of United States rule and intheir ears.

GENERAL STRIKE

150,000 Workers Protest Against Wage-Cuts and Machado Regime

HAVANA.—At least 150,000 organized workers in the most various industries took part in the big twenty-four hours control strike called have in most of hour general strike called here in protest against the wage-cut threatened by he Habana Electric Railway Company and against the even more oppressive dicta-torship of the Machado regime. About thirty unions announced that they can record a 100% turn out, while other unions reported a partial participation. The electric light and power workers, the taxi chauffeurs, and the bus drivers did not participate at all.

The general strike was called to suport the strike of the Havana street car workers. It was clear that if the wages of these workers were allowed to be slashed, the wagecut drive in Cuba would gain tremendous momentum. At the same time, the indignation of the workers was greatly aroused by the suppressive measures undertaken by the Machado dictatorship against the street car workers.

As soon as the general strike began to take effect a few minutes after midnight of August 3, the police and special armed forces brought into the city began to raid workers meetings, make attacks on groups of strikers and to attempt to crush the strike in other ways. The only of fect of these measures was to increase the militancy of the strikers,

BAN CHURCH

Cortes Body Plans Ousting Church Orders, Taking Over Property

MADRID.—The political parliamentary committee, which is at work on the new constitution of Spain, decided on August 5 to present a bill to the National Assembly, now in session, call-ing for the expulsion of the religious or-ders from the country and the nationalization of all the property of the Church. The adoption of this radical proposal by the political commission is everywhere recognized as a concession to the irresist-ible pressure of the masses to whom the Catholic Church is the worst hated institution in Spain.

Catholic monarchist organizations are preparing to resist whatever attempts will be taken to dissolve the religious orders and to confiscate their property. Radical democratic organizations as

well as the Communists have issued public declarations to the effect that the action of the political commission is no more than an attempt to head off the dissatisfaction of the masses by an empty gesture and that no serious action against the Church is even contemplated.

The longer the deliberations of the National Assembly continue the clearer it becomes that it is almost entirely domin ated by those class elements whose objective it is to liquidate the revolution as quickly as possible and to establish a conservative bourgeois republic on the model of France or the U. S. A. Every attempt at the amelioration of the condition of the masses of the workers and peasants meets with bitter resistance and even violent repression on the part of the new ulers of Spain. And in all this infamy the Spanish Socialist party is an acquies-cent partner! The Communists, who might and should serve as the unifier and leader of the workers and peasants and city poor for the struggle against the anti-democratic provisional government and for the establishment of a real revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat

LYNCH NEGRO BOY IN ALABAMA

With Bullets on Frame Up Charge of Rape

HAYNESVILLE, Ala .-- A Negro boy, age 16, was lynched here on August 5 by a frantic mob of whites. His body was riddled thru with bullets, thirty-

two having entered his body.

The "charge" against the boy was "attempted rape" but in this case even the sheriff has been forced to admit that "unable to make an arrest."

Large Mills Closed Down in Paterson As 7,000 Silk Strikers Answer Union Call

Doherty Mill Pulled by A. F. of L. Picket Lines - Police Terror Grows - Big Parade on August 14 - C. P. Majority Group in Front Ranks of Strike

As we go to press we learn that the workers of the Doherty mill have decided to affiliate to the amalgamated A, F. of L. unions, On Monday, August 10, they held a mill meeting in Paterson. After hearing Budenz and Holderman for the A. F. of L. unions and Biedenkapp for the National Textile Workers Union, the workers decided to affiliate to the former. There are 1,300 workers on strike in the Doherty mill. The decision of the Doherty workers constitutes a great victory for the struggle of the silk workers in Paterson.

Paterson in the third week of the strike of the silk workers, is the scene of a growing and most determined fight to end the slave conditions and starvation | Chifton border line Monday afternoon.

The Donetty Mill Closed Down All the large shops are closed down tight. The Doherty mill, the largest single silk textile mill employing 1,300 workers, is shut down completely. The use of an injunction issued in 1922 against injunctions and the Clifton police the the United Textile Workers and the strikers would fight on until they established the right to picket in Clifton has failed to break the determination of Benj. Citiow stated that the pickets were the A. F. of L. picket lines. The mill already victorious in closing down the closed down Monday, August 3, and has remained shut since. The picket line Monday morning was broken up by the police but it was too late. The work was determined to picket militantly until a complete victorious in closing down the Henry Doherty Mill, that as far as the workers were concerned the Clifton police but it was too late. The work was done. The workers left the looms. Another picket line was thrown on the

wages prevailing. Over 7,000 workers Over 600 men and women were in line.

ONLY MURDER AND MISERY ARE LEGAL!

FASCISTS IN BIG DRIVE TO DISSOLVE

PRUSSIAN DIET AS CRISIS GROWS

Referendum Vote on August 9; Victory Means Great

Advance for Fascism in Reich; Communist

have already responded to the strike call The police were mobilized full force, on foot, on motor cycles, in automobiles, filiated with the A. F. of L. fully equipped and armed. The workfully equipped and armed. The workers booed the police and cheered their cause. After the picket demonstration an open air meeting was held. Louis P. Budenz and Benj. Citlow addressed the workers.

> Budenz served notice that in spite of injunctions and the Clifton police the strikers would fight on until they estab complete victory was won and the workers organized into the union.

There was tremendous enthusiasm. A speaker of the National Textile Union, after the meeting was adjourned, jumped on the improvised platform, calling upon the workers not to follow the "strike breakers", renegades" and "betrayers". The workers laughed at him. He saw the futility of his disruptive tactics and had to jump off as quickly as he jumped

The John Hand Mill From that meeting the workers went to the John Hand Mill under a blazing hos

sun and picketed the mill. From a lot across the way, Eli Keller, Montrose and others addressed the workers to come out on strike. On Tuesday the John Hand Mill, one of the largest jacquard mills, lighted the strike. foined the strike.

The militant enthusiastic picket lines of the amalgamated unions is the talk of

The authorities have served notice that they want no spirit, no militancy, no noise on the picket lines. But the picket lines are well organized and well captained and prepared to stand their ground for the right to picket, win the strike and organize the workers. The bosses too have become worried. threw a gas bomb at the picket line, a heavy lead pipe and a long heavy plank from a lifth story window. The answer of the picket line was to picket there next morning and close the mills down completely in that building.

The mass meetings held are very en husiastic and very well attended. Among the speakers last week were Thomas, Holderman, Soderberg, Moriarty, Gitlow, Muste and others.

Chas S. Zimmerman is now in charge of the picket lines. He, together with Preedman, the chairman of the picket committee, are preparing for a stremuous week of picketing.

On Wednesday, at twelve noon, the American Civil Liberties Union will hold a meeting against the injunction and for the right to picket in Clifton. The meet ing will take place in Clifton. The strikers will attend and after the meeting will picket en masse.

Big Parade Coming

On Friday, August 14, at 11 a. m. starting from Roseland Dance Hall a gigantic parade will take place thru Paterson's main thorofares. All unions and workers organizations will participate. It of the referendum in Prussia, which has strike, against the intolerable conditions will be a gigantic parade for a victorious in the industry, for the 8-hour day, better pay and for trade union organization.

The best feature of the present strike recognize the amalgamation of the U. T. W. locals and the Associated into one organization as a step in the right direction. Not only are the workers coming out on strike but they hold shop meetings, decide to pay initiation fees of \$1.50 per member and join the amalgamated unions. The office of the Associated is taxed to capacity in registering the workers and issuing them union membership books.

The Paterson strikers are marking for ward. Victory is assured.
The Communist Party (Majority Group) is helping in every way to develop the militancy of the workers, strengthen the picket lines, to establish that unity and solidarity which will win

on all committees and in the front ranks

BENTON, III. - Police officials oi Franklin County, in cooperation with immigration authorities, have started a move to run Communists and militant trade unionists out of the country. Three arrests have already taken place and more than 300 workers are under police

Party Leaders in Disastrous Move

As we go to press it is reported Peoples party, the Agrarians, etc. that the Prussian referendum has For the referendum to go then failed, receiving no more than 10,000,Prussian Diet to be dissolved it is necesfailed, receiving no more than 10,000, 000 affirmative votes, whereas a minimum of 13,500,000 was needed. It is also reported that the bulk of the polled in the affirmative, an absolute majority of the Prussian electorate. Negaring the polled in the affirmative is a polled in the affirmative. pathizers openly refused to obey the anti-proletarian directives of their leaders and not only did not agitate for the referendum but took no part

of all Europe, indeed, are turned to Prusthe referendum campaign of the Fascists for the dissolution of the Prussian diet. The referendum will come for a vote on Sunday, August 9.

in it at all.

For the referendum to go thru and the tive votes are of no importance. The referendum campaign is in its very essence and in all its phases a

straight Fascist offensive. The victory The eyes of all Germany, the eyes Reich and an even greater specific iro-60% of the population of the German sia, watching the course and outcome of portance, would be a tremendous triumph for Pascism. The main slogan of the drive is: "Down with Marxism!" The whole German labor movement was there whole German labor movement was there fore astonished and shocked when it was announced that the plenary session of The Prussian government is under the the Central Committee of the Communist control of the Social-democrats who are Party of Germany had unanimously de-enabled to maintain their hold thru a bloc cided to call upon the Prussian workers with the Catholic Center party. This bloc is maintained in Prussia thru the strender of the school system and publie cultural work to the Catholies and incredible course proposed by the Com-on a Reich scale thru the "toleration" munist Party leadership, which would insupport given by the Social-democrats to evitably strengthen the Pascist fighting the Bruening regime. The Pryssian So- front and demoralize the proletarian anti-16 Year Old Lad Riddled cial-democratic government has for a long time been the special object of attack of Opposition has issued a public declarathe Fascist-Nationalist elements, who tion completely dissociating itself from rightly conjecture that if the Prussian the shameful policy of the Communist Diet could be dissolved and new electrons held, a temendous victory for the ers under no circumstances to vote for Fascists and the other ultra-right parties the Stalhelin proposal in the referendum the strike. Its members are to be seen would be registered. Therefore, some The Communist Opposition has also is time ago, the Stalhelm (a Fascist armed sued an open letter to the Communist of the strikers. auxiliary, consisting of World War very erans) initiated a drive for a referendum. What depths the false policies of the Par-Its signature dollection was successful ty leadership has already dragged the and, according to law, the referendum Party and urging them not only to refuse was set for August 9. In support of the to obey the instructions of the Party lead-Stalhelm manouver have come out the following parties—The National Social tion to oust these irresponsible leaders ists (Nazis, Fascists), the Nationalists (Hugenberg's party, also Fascists), the Party today.

Lozovsky Makes an Inventory!

How the R. I. L. U. Looks Today

That Lozovsky sees everything having to do with the Red International of Labor Unions thru exceedingly rosy species of "independent leadership" and the tacles, is a fact only too well known. "new line"! But only a few years ago of exceptionally great significance, there what did we have? In the United States:

This in 1931!—After all the shouting and control. The Chief of Police of the criminal attacks on the picket lines that the meeting gets arrested." Such is freedom and democracy in the United States. This action of the dictatorial police is better and bigger and more enthusiastic picket lines. fore is the inventory of the R.I.L.U. movement that he, as head of the organigation, made at the recent XI Plenum of the Communist International. Lozovsky's speech has not yet been published in English (will it ever be?) but from No. 9 (May 1931) of the Russian Bolshevik we take the following extracts:

IN THE U. S. A. A REAL HEAP OF RUINS!

"Monstrous weaknesses and shortcomings show themselves in the (T.U.U.L.) unions in the U.S.A. What are the chief weaknesses of our American unions? Their inability to penetrate the economic struggle of the workers and their burocracy. There have been cases where the leadership of a union (marine workers), consisting of one person, proclaimed a strike without any preparations, without any attempt even to call a general membership meeting! In our unions there is no inner life; there is no trade union democracy... The members of the unions suddenly discover that overnight Y has replaced X as chairman or secretary of the union. The change of trade union officials takes place along. Party channels, as if it was no concern at all of the membership of the union. Is it then any wonder that the (T.U.U.L.) trade union movement has lost in members and influence, especially the miners and the marine workers unions?'

THE R. G. O. IN GERMANY "In Germany we have to deal with a very slow development, extraordinarily slow we might say, of the revolutionary trade union movement . . Within the last year the membership of the German Party doubled. In the elections it received 4,600,000 votes . . Now, how is it with the R.G.O. (the German T.U.U.L. -Editor)? Altogether it has about 150, 000 members-50,000 in independent unions, 30,000 in the unemployed groups and about 70,000 in the R.C.O. factory groups... The R.G.O. is numerically smaller than the Party—it includes only a thirtieth part of the Communist vot-

"Instead of becoming the center for the dissatisfaction of the masses the C.G.T.U. frequently pushes the workers away from it and builds up a wall between. work of the leading organs of the C.G. T.U. is largely agitational and propa-gandistic. During 1930 there was a serious loss of membership in a number of

to us and to the English comrades: the Bates worked before the trial and after-Minority Movement is the weakest link in the R.I.L.U. It would be insane to close: our eyes to this fact."

SELF-LIQUIDATION IN CHINA A peculiar situation arose in the (R.

I.L.U.) unions in China-that is, in non-Soviet China. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China discovered the following brilliant idea: Since China is in a revolutionary situation and the chief task is to prepare the insurrection, then trade unions are no longer needed. It was therefore decided to liquidate the trade unions and to replace them by so-called 'committees of action', which were in fact committees of inac-

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Silk Strike Snapshots

a powerful left wing movement, numlied chief doesn't intimidate the workbering tens of thousands of workers in ers. It convinces them that their place is in the union if they want to fight the dustries, under the leadership of the boss for better conditions. They elect Communists! In Germany: tremendous a committee to go up to the Associated Silk Workers Union. There they arrange a meeting of all the Doherty workers in Paterson until a Clifton meeting

can be arranged later. The workers answer to the chief of police is correct:

"Not only talk union but join the union."

A Gas Attack The picket line at Pilgrim and Meyer Mill on Thursday, August, 6. First a gas bomb is thrown from the fifth floor by a silk boss. Coughing and choking, the trade union congresses!

The striking contrast is only a measure of that colossal ruin that the new secpicket line continues its steady pace, determined not to be driven back: attack fails. Then with the police looktarian union tactics of the Comintern ing on, out of the window comes pieces of lead pipe and wood. Two pickets And what now? What does Lozovsky are hurt, a man and a woman. Two propose to remedy this intolerable situation? What But the continuation, the aggravation of the same sectarian line of the hospital later for inflamation of the policy that has driven the R.I.L.U. into this state in which it finds itself today!

Silk workers—write to policy that has driven the R.I.L.U. into things due to the gas. The bosses are the state in which it finds itself today!

When the rectang promotes what we need." Silk workers—write to prosperity". Against such "prosperity" Against such "prosperity" the Revolutionary Age—it is your paper. Help to write it, help to distribute it, help to build it.

The Doherty Workers Learn | The police make no arrests of those re-The Doherty mill workers hold a meet-ing in Clifton. The Chief of Police of up strikers, not bosses. The answer to

picket line. The police come down in force. There must be "law and order" 500 who have been fighting all day long A worker says "Strike!" He is grabbed, the bosses and the police, learn once A worker says "Strike!". He is grabbed, the bosses and the police, learn once put into the police bus and give a free ride to the police station. His crime is to say the word: "Strike!" In Clifton, it is a crime to say: "Union". But it is O. K. for the boss to say: "Take another wage-cut." Work 14 hours a day."

"That is "law and order". 700 workers had be the Class S. Zignegraph and shout. led by Chas, S. Zimmerman and shout-"Don't scab! Strike!" and singing "Solidarity Forever" soon put an end to the police muzzle.

Paterson "prospetity" "Paterson Promotes Prosperity." Wherever you go in Paterson this slogan meets you in store windows and on bill boards. The quill winders held a meeting last week. They reported receiving the magnificent wages of \$5.00 a week-for a full week. Paterson certainly promotes

Real "Solidarity"

The picket line of 500 marches by the headquarters of the National Textile Workers Union. The leader of the line calls for a cheer, to show the N. T. W. U. that, despite differences, we are all strikers together in a common struggle against the bosses. A dozen hangers on of the N. T. W. U. rush out, see the At the Rosen Mill, 700 workers in the splendid line, hear the cheer, and anicket line. The police come down in swer back: "Scabs! Strike breakers!" The 500 who have been fighting all day long

> agerly reading the Revolutionary Age. No wonder. The Paterson boss papers carry lie after lie in an attempt to demoralize the strikers, to discourage them, to break the strike. The Paterson Evening there more Revolutionary Agest Dinig more, we will distribute them. It is just what we need." Silk workers—write to ways), having powerful minorities thrubally benefit is your paper. Out the C. G. T. U. etc. help to build it.

POWER ENFORCES RESPECT!

Lozovsky and CGTUOpposition

An Invitation to a Conference in Moscow

time a big opposition movement began to arise and grow in the C. G. T. U. This opposition movement consisted and News, for instance writes: "The Doherty silk workers have returned to work"—
when they know damned well that it is (the Teachers Union) and small minorinot true. An active worker on the picket ty groups in other unions. The latter line comes over and says: "Why aren't (syndicalist) opposition is very strong, (syndicalist) opposition is very strong,

arose, in 1928. Immediately the chiefs

In France there have existed since of the Communist Party of France, of 1921 two trade union centers—the C. G. the C. G. T. U., of the Comintern and T. (reformist) and the C. G. T. U. (Red, affiliated to the R. I. L. U.) In the beginning the C. G. T. U. was considerably flarger than the C.G.T. but tionary", as "scub mongers", as "strike about three years ago, with the imposition of the new sectarian course upon the C. G. T. U. by the Party leadership, the membership of the Red federation becamp to dealing about the contract of the Red federation becamp to dealing about the imposition of the red federation becamp to dealing about the imposition of the red federation becamp to dealing about the imposition of the red federation becamp to dealing about the imposition of the red federation becamp to dealing about the imposition of the red federation becamp Losovsky positively refused to allow the opposition unions in the C. G. T. U. leaders of the opposition for conferences and unity negotiations were met with a scornful refusal or contemptuous silence. Communists would never negotiate with "renegades" or "social fascists!"

ently out of a clear sky, came an offi-cial letter signed, "A Lozovsky, general secretary of the R. I. L. U.," addressed to the opposition unions in the C. G. T. U. requesting them to appoint representatives to go to Moscow to "confer" with the R. I. L. U. heads about the burning problems of the French trade union movement with the objective of "achieving unity" !!!

mediately replied accepting the invitation to confer. The conference in Mos cow is certain to prove of great inter-est to the whole revolutionary labor movement.

Now what is the significance of this turn of events?

It shows that when an opposition movement in the C. I. or the R. I. L. U. obtains sufficient political and organizational strength, the leadership of the Comintern can no longer rely on slander and abuse but is forced to deal with it, to negotiate with it, to at least make a gesture for unity.

ilso shows the complete bankruptcy of the R. I. L. U., in France as everywhere else, but the most significant lesson is:

to force the Comintern to take up the question of unity, we must devel-op sufficient political and organizational strength to become a powerful factor in the American revolutionary and labor movement.

THE TRUTH ABOUT SCOTTSBORO JOBLESS WORKERS A FEW FINE DAYS AT CAMP SOLIDARITY

by Hollace Ransdell

(Continued from last issue)

the mining, textile, clothing and other in-

Communist influence in the most import-

ant unions (metal workers, building trades

etc.), constantly increasing number of

Communist i factory councillors, power-

ful Communist fractions at all trade union

congresses. In France: the C.G.T.U. env

braced the majority of the organized French workers and included the best

and most militant elements of the French proletariat! In England: a Minority

dovement with hundreds of thousands

of followers, a decisive force at British

CHARGES Mill Life in Huntsville, Alabama The first of these questions can be

ers, Victoria Price and Ruby Bates. Taking in the four mill villages which surround it, the population is about 32,-000. There are seven cotton mills in more than a thousand workers. The Mcr. drunkenness.

plants under the same management and tion and unemployment so long," unions."

THE CATASTROPHE IN ENGLAND
"We must declare with al determination, no matter how unpleasant it may be

ward.

Margaret and Helen especially, working will have to take care of their families, tied and three are living at home. Mr. conditions are very bad. The workers said one had to bear the brunt of the competition with the modern mills, backed by out-side capital and with outside connections to help them out, while the Margaret and

case, and had been for some months before. Most of them had cut down to two, three and four days a week. The Margaret had its workers on shifts employed only every other week, from two to lour days a week.

Mil! workers found it a dreary, hopeless enough struggle making some sort

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(Continued from last issue)
WHY THE TWO GIRLS MADE THE when the slump hit them, it did not take long for a large group to fall quickly below the self-sustaining line. Low standards of living were forced down still inswered only by some knowledge of the lower, and many were thrown upon the conditions of life in the mill town of charity organizations. It is from the Huntsville, as it affected the lives and charity workers of Huntsville that one development of the two young mill work- may get an appallingly truthful picture of what mill life in Huntsville in time of Huntsville, the town seat of Madison depression means to workers who are County in northern Alabama, has within its city limits some 12,00 inhabitants. meager and uncertain wages of "prosmeager and uncertain wages of "prosperity.

High standards of morality, of health, of sanitation, do not thrive under such ABOUT THE C. G. T. U. IN FRANCE

"Instead of becoming the center for the discounting of the masses the CGTI! It has its own mill village and employs tion, disease, prison, insane asylum and tion, disease, prison, insane asylum and drunkenness. That's the kind of thing rimac, the Lowe, and the Dallas, the these mill workers are mixed up with all next three largest mills, also have mill the time", complained one social service worker. "I'm beginning to forget how determined the time", complained one social service worker. "I'm beginning to forget how determined the time", complained one social service worker. "I'm beginning to forget how determined the time", complained one social service worker. "I'm beginning to forget how determined the time", complained one social service worker. The beginning to forget how determined the time. I've been messing cent people behave. West Huntsville, and two old-fashioned around with venereal disease and starva-

. Under the strain of life in Huntsville, the institution of the family does not stand up very well. Charity workers grumble that too many men are descri-ing their families. "If they get laid off, and can't get another job they seem to Wages were always low and hours long think the best thing for them to do is in all the Huntsville mills, but in the to leave town, because then the charities to leave town, because then the charities said one. . . Theer was no father in evidence in

either of the families of Victoria Price or Ruby Bates.

chance, as living is too precarious and but then I have only a Northern nose. money too scarce to miss any kind of a chance to get it. Promiscuity means little where economic oppression is great.

the niggers," said one social worker with life, oblivous of men's ways, gives so contempt. "They haven't any sense of often. If the nine youths on the freight morality at all. Why just lots of these car had been white, there would have women are nothing but prostitutes. They ust have to be, I reckon, for nobody stake was that of invincible separation of could live on the wages they make, and

than many another mill town in the about some places even worse things could be truthfully said.

Ruby Bares and Her Family

As has been said, it is from the most economically oppressed of the mill work ers of Huntsville that the two girls in the Scottsboro case come. Ruby Bates, the younger of the two, has a better reputation among the social workers of Huntsville than Victoria. They say that she was quiet and well-behaved until she got into bad company with Victoria Price.

Ruby is only seventeen. She is a large, fresh, good-looking girl,, shy, but a fluent enough talker when encouraged. She spits snuff juice on the floor continually while talking, holding one finger over half her mouth to keep the stream from missing aim. After each sport she carefully wipes her mouth with her arm and looks up again with soft, melancholy eyes, as resigned and moving as those of

a handsome truck horse.

Ruby lives in a bare but clean unpainted shack at 24 Depot Street, in a Negro section of the town, with her mo-ther, Mrs. Emma Bates. They are the only white family in the block. Of the five children in the family, two are mar-

TO BE ENSLAVED Conn. Commissioner Plans

workers who refuse the "jobs" offered the difference between the conventional and real life. So this year my comrade and relief wil be arrested and charged we've been glad of it. Very glad. A

with non-support, William J. Ryan, sup full week has only made us hungry for erintendent of the Public Welfare (!) more and it with regret we healize there Department, announced. Another "in are the last few days. It was not odd novation" introduced by Mr. Ryan is the payment of unemployed workers given struck up, almost always, without the work by the city in food, tent and other formality of the introduction. Now we essentials, thus doing away with a money are only hoping that most of our pic-Ryan has thought out a number of other permanent record of these new comradebright ideas on how to "solve" the unemployment crisis, all of them somehow setting and tent floors make for dry slave as possible. Mr Ryan is of course. bitterly opposed to government unemployment relief or insurance since that would be a "dole" and would undermine the And the swimining lake is dandy. Never 'rugged individualism" and "self-respect" of the workers! :

Bates is separated from his wife and lives in Tennessee, according to the report of neighbors, who say that he comes occasionally to see his children.

Husbands come and go in many cases, with marriage ceremonies or without. A woman who takes a male boarder to help out expenses is unquestionably assumed for mill worker would take a job in the Margaret and Helen mills.

All the mills were running on short time during the period of the Scottsboro in the during the period of t

Out in front while we talked, the younger Bates children were playing with the neighboring Negro youngsters. Here These mill workers are as bad as was another one of those ironic touches been no Scottsboro case. The issue at black men from white women. that's the only other way of making any chance to remind Negroes in terrible money open to them." fashion that white women are farther

ed, come from this group. It might also able White Woman, the whites held high be said, that Huntsville is not any worse -Ruby. The Ruby who lived among Negroes, whose family mixed with South. Conditions found here could be them; a daughter of what respectable seen in almost any textile center, and whites call "the lowest of the low", that is, a white whom ecoomic scarcity has forced across the great color barrier. All the things that made the respectable people of Scottsboro insist that the Negro boys must die, had meant nothing in the life of Ruby Bates.

Yet here was Ruby saying earnestly, as she sat in a Negro house, surrounded by Negro families, while the younger members of her family played in the street with Negro children, that the Scottsboro authorities had promised her she could see the execution of the "nig-gers"—the nine black lads who were to be killed merely for being Negroes. (continued in the next issue)

LABOR AGE

Published Monthly by the CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE LABOR ACTION 25 cents a copy

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MILLIONS FOR WAR amidst pleasant surroundings, comradely

JOBLESS STARVE

getting him, rather than from disapproval of her effort you, I smell them. You all of her conduct. The distinction between wife and "whore", as the alternative is commonly known in Huntsville, is not stictly, drawn. A mill woman is quite likely to be both if she gets the and orderly to me. I smelled nothing, and orderly to me. I smelled nothing, but then I have only a Northern nose. program for the fiscal year of 1933 wil call for the construction of two aircraft carriers, six fleet submarines, one flying deck 10,000-ton cruiser, one London treaty 6-inch gun 10,000-ton cruiser, one destroyer leader and complete aircraft equipment for the aircraft carrier, Ranger. The total construction will cost \$129,385,000, of which about \$80,000, 000 will be devoted to air armaments.

The United States, the richest country in the history of the world, is "too poor" It should perhaps be mentioned that away from them than the stars must be to appropriate a few millions to save families in Hontsville, to whom these things, just described do not apply, but it is also true that there is a large group of workers to whom the conditions do apply, and Ruby Bates and Victoria, with whom this part of the report is concern whom this part of the report is concern. All who will be a supposed to suppose the instruments of much considerable workers from actual starvation. These two things, just described do not apply, but it is also true that there is a large group of workers to whom life had forced down to "private initiative" (i.e., charity) for solution. But hundreds of millions can be spent to perfect the instruments of much considerable workers from actual starvation. These two the same than the same t murder and war . . .

BELMORE

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by W. Moriarty

From Toronto to Camp Solidarity is a the heat. I've seen a greater variety of Arrests and Forced Labor

For Inhiase Workers

far enough distance to travel to spend swimining strokes since I came note than a vacation. It savors something of "care ever before! And the diving! Some of the comrades must have cast-iron stometics." vacation lands aplenty in the Torasto re- achs! HARTFORD, Conn. — Unemployed that proletarian touch which makes all the difference between the conventional the difference between the conventional Yiddish and Jewish comrades singing in

English. Only working class loyalty would stand for this! But it all goes in Camp We've been glad of it. Very glad. A Solidarity. More songs-more recitations —the fire dies low and we adjourn to the dining hall. Dancing-solo and social. Refreshments-and so to bed. Sunday morning and I have to do my bit A talk on the Canadian labor movement, in which I speak of places with names that are strange to many present. wage altogether! It is rumored that Mr. tures turn out clear so that we will have But it's about the struggles of the workers and interest is keen and the ques tions pointed. A bunt or two at a foot

ships.
The layout of the camp is fine. Rocky ball -a swim in the lake, and we have rounded off a pleasant week, based on the idea that the unemployed quarters. Good supply of water for both worker must be turned into as near a washing and drinking. Nice country for forget the food. Described as Jewish. This hiking, and still better for "lazying" is a mistake. It's food-good plain whole Campgaw is a handy walk. Ramsey is a some "chuck". little further and a more pleasant walk. served, with the extra portion. cold and always an avenue of escape from

exercise and connections which will live for many a day. I'm sold on Camp Soli-

Seabury Demands Walker's Records Connected With Doyle Graft Case

These are my impressions. I shouldn't

We leave the Camp in a day or so for

Toronto. We both pull out with memor-

ics of a proletarian holiday, well-spent

cooperation, vigorous discussion, healthy

Well cooked-well

It is now-officially declared that the Holstadter commission investigating the New York City administration has subpoenaed the bank accounts of Mayor James J. Walker for examination. Samuel Seabury, counsel for the committee, has "refused" to confirm or to deny this cumor but its authenticity is regarded as well established.

It is supposed that the examination of there are undoubtedly very many mill allowed to slip past. The challenge flung drought stricken farmers or unemployed the Mayor's financial affairs will go back These to the time when Mr. Walker was practicing before the Board of Standards, ticing before the Board of Standards, telegraph between an inspector in the along with Dr. Doyle, now in prison for field and a buro in Washington, which contempt for refusing to divulge with whom he shared his "fees" (graft). The investigation will also extend to Mayor Walker's official career.

BANKS CLOSED IN NEW YORK

More Banks Shut Doors in City; One Bank Started As Labor Bank

NEW YORK CITY.-Three banks with deposits slightly over \$15,00,000 operating a total of ten offices in Manhattan, Brooklyn and the Bronx, were closed on August 5 by State Banking Superintendent Broderick. The institutions thus taken over by the Banking Department are the American Union Bank, the International-Madison Bank and Trust Company, and the Times Square Trust Company. The International-Madison Bank and Trust Company was established as the International Union Bank in 1924 and was sponsored by certain union officials. A considerable number of union workers were depositors in it.

gan to decline sharply and the reformist wing trade union groups. When the V. federation to gain members. At the same Congress of the R.I.L.U. came around, This opposition movement consisted and to be represented at the Congress so still consists of two streams: the Unitary that the problems of the French labor Opposition, under the control of the movement could be discussed. In the most approved burocratic manner, Lozov-sky test and the Committee for the Independence of Trade Unionism, under the sundicalist but t der the control of the syndicalist but tives" of these unions to the Congress, involving many opposition Communist The requests made repeatedly by the And then-on June 21, 1931, appar-

> Just imagine-inviting the "renegades" and "social fascists" to a conference in

The opposition unions in question im-

Of course, the advance of Lozovsky

To achieve unity in the Comintern,

This is the only road to unity.

SYSTEM DESPOTIC

Wickersham Body Hits At

WASHINGTON. - As "ruthlessly cruel and inhuman as the despotism of the dark ages" is the alien deportation system of the Labor Department, it is charged in the tenth report of the Wick-ersham Commission, issues at the White House on August 7. The report further characterizes the deportation system as 'unconstitutional tyrannical and oppressive.

The report, which is signed by nine out of the eleven commissioners, is based upon an exhaustive examination of the deportation system by Reuben Oppenheimer, a Baltimore attorney.

The deportation system, it is declared, keeps the foreign-born resident of this country, whether he has been naturalized or not, "in constant apprehension. "No foreign-born resident of the United States . . . ", says the report, "can ever be sure that he will not suddenly be made the subject of an administrative process, carried on without his knowledge by will find some irregularity in his entry or in his conduct, break the personal and property ties . . . and return him to the country from which he came where he

will not be welcome"

After the extended exposure of the horrible features of the deportation system the report concludes with a recomnendation that deportation proceedings in the future be conducted thru a "semi-judicial body"! a lot of good that will do!

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ary Age. I am enclosing \$2.50 (\$1.50) for a year's (6-months) sub. Name

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The Soviet Union and Its Bourgeois Critics

Marx - Lenin - Stalin

by Jay Lovestone

Marx on the Agriculture

Duranty gives the impression that the agrarian policies of the Soviet Union "Stalinism", meaning that they no only have nothing in common with but actually are hostile to and a revision of the Marxian teachings on the agricultural question. This is sheer nonsense. Lenin's distinct contribution to the agrarian question we will discuss later. But the essential Marxian features of the agracian policies of the Soviet Union can be clearly seen from the following analysis and estimate by Engels. The latter empha-

"When we soize the powers of the state, we shall never dream of forcibly expropriating the poorer peasants, the small holders (with or without compensation), as we shall have to expropriate the great landowners. Our business as regards the small holders will be to see to it that their individual production and individual ownership are transformed into communal production and communal ownership, but the change must not be effected forcibly. We must act on them by way of example, and by offering social help with this and in view . " (Engels: The Agrarian Problem in the West).

Duranty confuses the Kulak with the poor peasant. That we can understand More than one Communist-even in high positions in the Party-forgetting the teachings of Lenin on this decisive question, has, now and then, tended to look upon the entire peasantry as one homogeneous reactionary mass and even confused the poor peasant with the Kulak. But how strikingly true is the prophetic analysis of Engels is shown by the ap was that country sufficiently pregnant plication of its fundamentals in the with revolution to be able to solve these Soviet Union today, in the mistakes and successes of collectivization under the Bernard Shaw recently recognized the Five Year Plan,

Said Engels: "We are determinedly on the side of the small peasant. We will do all we can to make his life easier and to facilitate co-operation if he wants it. If he does not decide upon it, we will give him time to think the matter over on his bit of thand. We will act in this way not only because we think that the small independent peasant can quite well range himself on our side but also because it is in the direct interest of the party. The greater the number of peasants we will let become profetarians and will draw to our side even while they are still peasants, the more rapid and easy will be the social transformation. For this transformation it is futile to wait till the moment when capitalist production will everywhere be developed to its maximum extent, when the last artisan and the last peasant will (Engels: The Peasant Question).

An examination of Soviet agricultural policy from the October Revolution thru the Five Year Plan reveals with great clarity the effective, realistic application of the above principles by the Russian Bolsheviks. "Criticism" of Marx on the agrar-lian question has long been the sport of the descrets from Marxism, Kautsky, Baur, Hillquit etc. Duranty has mechanically repeated such criticism, has merely vulgarized the pseud of victorious Bolshevism. vulgarized the pseudo-Marxist critics

The Why and Wherefore of Leninism

It's an old trick of the enemies of Marxism to hide their attack of Lenin the technical intelligentsia, ism behind lip-service to Marxism, behind incessant repetition that Lenin was against Marx" Duranty concludes that Marxism is European, Leninism semi-Asiatic, and the practices and policies of the Union of Socialist Soviet Rev public today (for which he invents the name Stalinism) wholly Asiatic and therefore different from and opposed to Leninism and especially to Marrism The aim of such propaganda is to undermine the growing confidence of the workers in the Soviet Union as a land of Sociallist construction. Thru such propaganda the bourgeoisie hope to put over the fellowing illusion and bluff among the "Well, the Pive Year Plan may he good for Russia. It is not good for Western Europe and America because Russia is Aslatic and they are not." "Therefore", say the capitalist apologists, "there is no point in copying the Russians and their horrible Asiatic schemes. They won't work in Europe. They are based on the Asiatic doctrine of Stalinism and not on the European doctrine of Marxism or the semi-European theories

Again, we cannot emphasize too strongly that all attempts in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or the Comintern apparatus to create a Stalin cult only play into he hands of the enemies of the Soviet Union and the Committeen. The present policies of the U.S.S.R. are founded solely upon Marxistu and are deeply rooted in Leninism.

It is true Lenininsm is not merely a repetition of Marxism but is a development of Marxism. There are distinct contributions in the theories of Lenin. These contributions are much more than the concrete application of Marxism to the peculiar conditions of Russia. Stalin once said very well: "Lenin has indeed revived the revolutionary content in itself would mean that Leninism is fully international and not semi-Asiatic or European or what not else.

Leninism is the Marxism of the period of imperialism-the period of the decay of capitalism-and the period of proletarian revolution. Leninism is the theory and strategy of the proletarian revolution. especially the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the projectariat in realizar tion. We must not forget that Lenin livharin properly estimated this relation-

'Marx understood the epoch of mer-chant capitalism which was behind him. . . But the entire new stage of ideal of wrecking.

capitalist development with its great re-linternational significance of this when organization of productive relations in capitalism-what Lenin designated as monopolist capitalism—it is obvious that Marx could not know about all these phenomena since they were non-existent during his time, and it is just for that simple reason that he was unable to ex-

Lenin, the greatest follower of Marx and Engels, made distinct contributions in the development of Marxism by scientifically examining and generalizing first, the "phenomena arising from finance capital, from the imperialist policy of this finance capital"; second, the problems growing out of the World and the resulting accentuated "decline of capitalist relations (state capitalism, disruption of production and exchange, etc.); third, "a series of factor directly with workers' risings during connected the time of the collapse of capitalist relations"; fourth, a whole series of altogether New questions growing out of the period of the "commencement of the epoch of working class rule."

Leninism and Russia

We have seen the new epoch which has given birth to Leninism. But how come that Russia was the home, the birthe place of Leninism? Because Russia represented the concentration and synthesis of all the acute contradictions of imperialism. "Carism was the quintessence of the most negative sides of imperialism", said Stalin. Under Caurism Russia contradictions by means of revolution.

he hailed Lenin as pointing a way out of the impasse (into which capitalism ("western civilization") has been and is still traveling. Under these conditions the thorogoing destruction of Czarism could be achieved only thru an over-

victory in the Soviet Union and of the maintenance of the only workers' Soviet republic in the world are predicated upon Lenin's analysis and teaching on inperialism, on the national problem and the problem of the colonies, on the state, and on the peasantry (Lenin being "the most toutstanding agrarian theoretician existing among Marxists"). Leninism, orn in Russia, is international in content, in substance, in outlook. Leninism approaches the problem of the world separate, country, but from the point of [view of the condition of international capitalist world economy. Capitalism is now imperialism and its inherent basic contradictions have been enlarged to a world magnitude, to international dimen-

Leninism is International

On this basis one can no longer speak of the problem of proletarian or national revolution in one or the other country as a distinct problem. To Leninism the various national fronts of capitalism are (Continued on Page 4)

Naturally, these new circumstances

in one way or another, has now turned

This means that there should be a cor-

responding change in our policy towards

icy of smashing them now that the intel-

liventsia has turned to the side of the

Soviets, our attitude should be to attract

persist in the old policy under the new,

ing short of an uncaptured criminal and

wrecker. The "anti-specialist" psychol-

a pernicious and shameful mania.

ogy has always been considered by us as

attitude towards the engineering and tech-

nical forces of the old school, to accord

them the utmost attention and solicitude,

6.—COST ACCOUNTING AND

ACCUMULATION

sources of accumulation for industry, for

our national economy, and to accelerating

What is the new and outstanding feat-

ute in the development of our industry

from this point of view of accumulation

It is that the old sources of accumula-

tion are beginning to become already

inadequate for the further development of

industry. It becomes necessary to seek

he pace of this accumulation.

The picture would be incomplete if I

to more boldly draw them into work.

To sum up, our task is to change the

they are isolated,

Stalin to the Industrial Executives

ON THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM

by Joseph Stalin

(Continued from the last issue) SIGNS OF A CHANGE AMONG were bound to tell upon our old tech-THE OLD TECHNICAL

INTELLIGENTSIA

The question of the attitude to the old bourgeois industrial and technical intelligentsia arises now in a new way. A couple of years ago we had a situation when the more qualified section of the old technical intelligentsia was contaminated with the disease of "wreck' telligentsia, but even also definite wreck' Moreover, "wrecking" was some ers of yesterday, a considerable portion hands and maintained an attitude of neutrality, and there were those who oscillated between the Soviet government and the wreckers. Of course, the majority of the old technical intelligentsia, on the decomposition of the more or less loyally, but we are alluding here not to the majority, but to the more qualified section of the technical intelligentsia.

dicates the beginning of the change of the U.S.S.R. Naturally, the old sources of accumulation cannot be adequate for such grand undertakings.

There are alluding here not to the majority, but to the more qualified section of the technical intelligentsia.

But it does not mean that we have classes, as long as we are surrounded by capitalism. But it does mean that since a considerable section of the old technical intelligentsia, which formerly sympathized with the wreckers and commit organizations. It is a fact that in a number of enterprises and economic organizations they have

cation of the class struggle within the U.S.S.R.; the aggressive policy of the Soviet power towards the capitalistic elements of town and country, the resistance of the latter to the policy of the Soviets, complications in the international situat the old technical intelligentsia. Wheretion, the difficulties of state form and as the height of the "wrecking" period. collective farm construction. While the our attitude to the old technical intelliactivity of the militant section of the gentsia was chiefly expressed in the polwreckers was reinforced by the interventionist designs of the imperialists in the capitalists countries, and by the grain difficulties within the country, the wavering and assist the technical inelligentsia. It attitude of another section of the old technical intelligentsia was strengthened by the fashionable talk that "nothing would changed conditions. It would be stupid come of the Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes, and irrational to consider every specialanyway," that "the Soviets would soon ist and engineer of the old school as nothdegenerate, collapse," that "the Bolsheviks by their policy were stimulating in-

Naturally, in such a situation there could be but one practical policy for the Soviet government in regard to the old technical intelligentsia—the policy of smashing the active wreckers, of beginning a process of differentiating among those who were neutral, and attracting those who were loyal. It is quite a different situation today.

To begin with, we have smashed and we are successfully overcoming the capitalistic elements of town and country. Of course, this cannot give any joy to the old intelligentsia. It is quite probable that they still feel sympathy for their defeated friends. But none of these sympathizers, especially those who were neutral and who wavered, care to share the fate of their active friends, now that the latter have suffered a humiliating defeat. Furthermore, we have overcome the bread difficulties, so much so that we are now exporting grain in quantities unpreceof Marxism, suffocated by the opportune dented during the whole existence of ists of the Second International." That Soviet role. Even the blind can now see that upon the front of kolkhoz and Sovkhoz construction we have been definitely victorious, having attained tremendous successes. Consequently, the chief "weapon" of the old intelligentsia has dis-Consequently, the chief appeared into oblivion. As to the interventionist hopes of the bourgeois intelligentsia,, it ought to be admitted that they have proven-at least so far-to have been houses on sand. Indeed, for six years they were promised intervention, ed in a different epoch than did Marx and not a single attempt was made to and Engels, whose follower he was. Buk intervene. It is time to admit that our sagacious bourgeois intelligentsia was simply hoodwinked, not to speak of the fact that the very behavior of the active wreckers at the famous trial in Moscow Marx likewise knew industrial capital resulted in the utter discrediting of the

throw of imperialism—of the Czar as the watchdog of imperialism in Bastern Europe and the gendarme of Western imperialism in the Near and Far East. The strategy of the entire proletarian

We know from the history of the of long term credits or loans. The capi talists of the Western countries bluntly refused credits and loans to our country, presuming that the lack of credits and loans would assuredly curb the industrial ization of our country. They guessed wrong. They overlooked the fact that our country, as distinguished from the capitalist countries, has its special sour ces of accumulation that are quite adequate for the restoration and further deonly have we restored our industry, our agriculture, and our transport, but we have spent some tens of billions of rubles on this work. Whence were those bil-lions drawn? From light industry, from agriculture, from budgetary accumula-

was bound to create, and it did create new moods among the old technical in-telligentsia. This accounts for the fact that we now see definite signs of a change in the mood of a certain section of that intelligentsia, which formerly sympathized with the wreckers and now have turned to the side of the Soviets. The fact that not only this section of the old inthing like a fashion then. Some did the of them are beginning to work in a terial regions of the U.S.S.R. It is a wrecking, others shielded the wreckers, number of factories and workshops side question of creating a new network of while there were those who washed their by side with the working class, clearly in railways between the East and the West hands and maintained an attitude of dicates the beginning of the change of the U.S.S.R. Naturally, the old sour-

What originated the wrecking move, formerly sympathized with the wreckers and economic organizations they have long since ceased to calculate costs, to to the side of the Soviets, there is but a draw up detailed balance sheets of income small number of active wreckers left and and expenditure. It is a fact that in a number of enterprises and economic organizations the conceptions: "regime of sums anyway." . It is a fact that lately costs began to rise. They were given the task of cutting costs by 10% and more, while actually they are raising dalusia olive growing takes the first rented. Only one third of the total area them. What does the curtailing of costs place. On the Castillian plateau sheep has been registered, but this suffices to would be incorrect and non-dialectical to mulation of 150-200 million rubles within industry. Clearly, a rise in costs un-

The deduction from the foregoing is that we can no longer rely upon the revenues of our light industries, upon budgetary accumulations alone, upon agricultural income alone. Our light in differ however in accordance with the dustries represent an abundant source of part of the country and with technical accumulations, having all the chances of future development; this source is not per hectare were as follows: South East without limits. A no less abundant source provinces 7.1 double hundredweights per failed to touch upon yet another new of accumulation is our agriculture, but at hectare dry land, 20.3 double cwt. or circumstance. I am alluding to the this stage of reconsectruction, it needs fine irrigated land: Mancha, dry 7.9, irrigated this stage of reconsciruction, it needs fin irrigated land: Mancha, dry 7.9, irrigated ancial aid from the State. As regards 22.0; East Andalusia, dry 7.6, irrigated pudgetary accumulations, you know that [18.3. It is not the naturally most fer they cannot and should not be without tile districts which yield the largest crops imits. What remains? There remains the per hectare (Basque provinces, Galicia heavy industry, and primarily its machine Catalonia). The causes of the poor construction section, to yield accumular yields are the unfavorable ownership con-

To sum up, our task is to introduce extensive methods of cultivation still emand strengthen the principles of cost ac ployed on the great estates, the back counting, to increase accumulation in in- wardness of agrarian technique, especial new sources of accumulation and to in- dustry.

Menace of Labor Deportation.

Editorial from the "Locomotive Engineers Journal".

Threats of deportation as a strikebreaking factic were employed against 100 road construction workers in the vicinity of White Plains, N. Y., last month. The men struck against wage cuts averaging from 80 cents to \$1.00 a day and reducing their wages as low as \$3.20 a day. The strike was immediately met by raids of strikers homes and mass meetings. As many as 250 men were arrested, threatened with deportation, and advised to return to their jobs. actions of the White Plains police were described by the American Civil Liberties Union as "one of the most anazing and

by public officers in recent years." Deportation threats have also been used against textile and coal strikers recently. Seeing that strikers have no income and are therefore "likely to become public charges," they are treated as sub-ject to deportation. Workers who make themselves conspicuous by strike activity have been singled out for deportation proceedings, even when they claim to be revolution not merely from the angle of native born Americans. Even if the dethe economic condition in one or another portations do not go thru strike leaders are thru removed from the scene at a

unwarranted exhibition of strike-breaking

-Locomotive Engineers Journal

crease the old ones, if we really desire to maintain and develop the Bolshevik tempo of industrialization.

capitalist countries that not a single young state, which desired to raise its industry to a higher level, was able to manage without outside aid in the shape velopment of our industry. In fact, not

Now the situation is quite different The old sources of accumulation are already proving to be manifestly inadequate for the reconstruction of industry and transport. It is no longer a question of reconstructing the old industry, but of creating a new technically equipped industry in the Urals, in Siberia, in Kazakstan. It is a question of creating new latge-scale agricultural production in the grain growing, cattlerfaising, and raw material regions of the U.S.S.R. ' It is a

"curtailment of non-productive expenses," "rationalization of production," have long since gone out of fashion. They obviously expect that the State Bank will "advance them the necessary in a number of enterprises production mean? You know that each one pet cent reduction in costs means an accuder these circumstances means the loss of hundreds of millions of tubles to our industry and to our national economy as

Party Policy in the Paterson Strike

The Union Strike Demands

by Barney Herman

The National Textile Workers Union A. F. of L. unions, and the N.T.W.U. | thereby have the opportunity to adjust ushed into the strike in Paterson on simultaneously announced to the press their settlement in accordance with the peuly 22 with the roar of a lion insofar their price lists on which they would neas the magnitude if its demands was concerned, but with it's price list and demands announced in the press on August 6, two weeks later, the sound and

The Original "Left" Demands

On July 22 the National Textile Workers Union put forward demands like the 40-hour week, \$45 a week for weavers, \$35 a week for dyers and \$13 a week unemployment relief from the bosses and the government. In a situation in which the weavers were getting \$12-\$25 per week (\$25 being considered "high" wages), where the workers were working 10 to 14 hours a day, such demands were considered by the workers as unrealizable, as radical phrase-mongering, and this among many other things, contributed to the loss of con-fidence of the workers in the N.T.W.U. In the meantime, the N.T.W.U. kept

up a furious barrage of the most vicious slanders against the amalgamated A. F. of L. unions, the U. T. W. and the Asso-ciated Silk Workers, calling these unions "strike-breaking and scab organizations", leclaring that these unions "would not on ribbon and hatband, and on dychouse fight" for any improvement of conditions of the silk workers of Paterson, and that if the A. F. of L. unions did gain "certain concessions" for the workersthis was nothing but a "trick" to worsen the conditions of the workers later on.

The Shameful Retreat

agriculture. About one half of the na-

tional income—about 13 million pesetas

annually—flows from agrarian sources. About one half of the total value of

Acreage class

Under 1 hect.

1—5 5—10

10--50

50 - 100

100 - 500

500-1000

over 3000

Total

and fruit.

in 1000

146 115 19

The Spanish Revolution and the Peasants

AGRARIAN CONDITIONS IN SPAIN

by J. A.

Spain is a predominantly agrarian lack of means, the absence of irrigation country. Two thirds to thre quarters of the working population are employed in

mill, hect.

3.6 0.9 2.1 1.2

ed or-in Andalusia for instance--cultir ant farmers, and agricultural laborers of

vated as garden land, have been con- the Northern districts, who are unable to

verted by their owners into pasture for exist with their families on the small

for the bullfights. In the North and tenant faming system, especially the

grain growing districts are found. Vine 62% of the registered land is cultivated

and olive trees are also grown. In An by its owners, 32% is rented, 6% semi

pastures take up one half of the land, give a survey of the ownership condi-

the proceeds of agriculture accrue from 000 small holders own 2.9 million hec-

grain growing, about one quarter from hectares of land whilst 26,000 large land-

livestock breeding, and about 6 to 8% owners own 1-2 million hectares. A each from the cultivation of olives, grapes total of 2.1 million hectares of land

The methods of cultivation show little hectare each, winst over 3000 fall to 200 undertakings with over 3000

the rearing of the profitable animals used | yield of their plots of ground.

North West the livestock breeding and small tenant farm, is widespread.

Horned cattle breeding is confined to the tions: (see table).

Western provinces. About one third of

intensity. The yield of grain per hec-ture is the lowest in Europe. The crops

development. In 1926 the wheat yields

ditions, the widespread rent system, the

ly on the small farms, in consequence of

The causes of the poor

gottate settlements with the manufacture means nothing else than the surrender ets. The slightest glance at these lists of a fundamental aim of the strike, the and demands shows at once that the de- recognition of the union, and signifies, in mands of the A. F. of L. unions are the end, the formation of so many comthe smell is that of a different animal higher than the demands of the exceedingly "left" N. T. W. U. and that the list and the demands of the union will N. T. W. U. has beaten the most shame not be maintained because each shop will ful retreat from its unrealistic demands find certain "peculiar conditions" which of July 22 to a position fundamentally far worse and far to the right of the A. F. of L. demands. The N. T. W. U. now puts forward

and correctly so, the demand for a 44 hour week and not a 40-hour week. It frops the unemployment relief demand. But in its price list it is distinctly below that of the A. F. of L. For instance, on the time rate for weavers the N. T. W. U. demands 75¢ an hour. The A. F. of ... demands 80¢ an hour. On crepes and prices run approximately a cent a yard higher than the N. T. W. U. list. In the case of the loom fixers the demand of the A. F. of L. is and has been \$50 a week on a section of 36 looms. The N T. W. U. comes forward with a de-mand of \$47,50 for 44 looms, less pay for 25% more work! On jacquard work, work, the N.T.W.U. puts forward no

No Recognition of the Union! But the most shameful retreat of th N. T. W. U. was in its announcement The Shameful Retreat that the shops would settle directly with On August 6, both the amalgamated employers, and that these shops would

The System of Land Ownership

The system of land ownership is the

mill, heet.

1.6 1.0 3.3 1.6

3.4

0.6

As will be seen from this table, 1,106,-

fall to 5,000,000 farms under one

rectares each. The distribution of land

wnership is even worse in some of the

provinces. In Cordoba, for instance

here are landlords owning 8,000 to 10,-

ectares. Frequently the great landown-

ers possess halves of provinces, and there

are instances in which the large landown-

The Condition of the Toilers

The great estates are cultivated by

ouses and let. The poverty of the agri-

cultural workers is indescribable. Even

wages of the agricultural wage laborers

(numbering 6 to 8 millions) rose only

70 to 75% between 1914 and 1925, and

ets posses 73% of the whole land.

1279.0

culiar conditions in each shop. warrant changes-invariably for the worse. In line with this, the N.T.W.U. demands that no workers be discharged without the approval of the shop committee, without mentioning the approval of the union, as is done in the demands of the A. F. of L. unions. The A. F. of L. unions, demand full recognition of

> committee. On the basis of the N. T. W. U. demands, the A. F. of L. unions could make an immediate settlement of the strike without any difficulty, a settlement, however, that would result in no fundamental improvement for the Paterson silk workers, because the bosses are only too glad to deal directly with their own workers.

the union and no settlement without the

approval of the union as well as the shop

Better a Company Union!

This position of the N. T. W. U. is no accident. In the "Dye and Silk Striker" bulletin of August 6 issued by the N. T. W. U., it is reported with glee that the Doherty silk workers rejected affilia-tion to the Associated Silk Workers (which is contrary to the truth). "They have not been able to break away from their company union leadership and come to us," the bulletin declares. To these extremely confused leaders of the N. T. W. U. the rejection of the A. F. of L. in favor of the "company union leadership" is a forward step—a step in the direction of the N. T. W. U. Fortunately the Doherty mill workers have brokon with such a false position and are entering the ranks of the U. T. W. and fighting actively on our picket lines.

The Lessons of Experience

In the Lawrence strike, as Edith Berkman, one of the N. T. W. U. organizers, stated in articles in the Daily. Worker and Labor Unity, a fundamental error was made that the strike was settled on a mill basis. As a result, the outcome of About one half of the total value of gc ods exported falls to agricultural produce. Of the approximately 50 million hectares of land 16.2% are under wheat cultivation; olives 3.4%, vine 2.8%, 12% of the land is pasture, although livestock breeding lags behind tillage of the soil; 20.8% is barren fallow land.

The cause of these conditions is the fact that wide tracts of land formerly till-fact that wide tracts of land ownerstup is the dand ownerstup is the further and Cast in Andalussia and Cast the strike was a company union, the industrial unionism. In Paterson, this policy of the N. T. W. U. must be condemned and repudiated by the workers still following that organization.

For the Unity of Labor!

The workers in the N. T. W. U. must fight to put an end to the shameful slanders, to the splitting tactics of the N. T. W. U. leadership and must demand the unity of all the workers in struggle against the bosses. Calling the power-ful picket lines of the U. T. W. and Associeted workers "scabs" and breakers" will not help to win the strike. Unite the ranks of the workers. Fight to build one powerful united trade union movement in the textile industry that will be able to win better conditions for the workers, and that will be able to main tain these better conditions!

laborers are forced to be idle for 90 to 150 days in the year, if they are indeed not entirely out of work. At the present time the proportion of unemployient is frightfully high, 60%.

. In the face of all this, it is not to be wondered at that about 200,000 agricultural laborers, small holders, and small tenant farmers emigrate annually to Argentina and Cuba, where they seek work as agricultural laborers. The thinness of the population, in spite of the many birthe, is due too to the extreme povery of the workers. Spain has an area of 505,207 square kilometres, and is therefore somewhat larger than Germany, but it has only about 23 million inhabit tants, or a third of the population of Germany. There are only 44 inhabitants to the square kilometre. Of its agricultural products, Spain ex-

ports chiefly its gardening products. Grapes and olives, oranges, almonds, and other Southern fruits are exported in large quantities. Cork too is exported. Spain produces 12% to 15% of the wine of the world; about one sixth of its wine agricultural wage laborers; in some places is exported, chiefly to France-about they are sub-divided into farms and one half of the total wine exported-and to Germany, Great Britain, Belgium and Cuba. Of the olive oil, approximately the bourgeois statistics admit that the one fifth is exported, especially to Italy and the United States (one fifth each) 'Argentina and Cuba (one eighth each), France, Creat Britain and Brazil (3% each). About nine tenths of the oranges

> With regard to grain supplies, Spain is imported, as that grown in the country

hence lag far behind the increased costs of living whilst during this same period grown are exported chiefly to Great Bri-industrial wages rose by 116%. The two tain (one half), to France and Germany

figures are indubitably assessed too high, (one sixth each), to Belgium and Holand since this time conditions have greatland (7% to 8% each). ly worsened. When we remember that the wages just about covers its own requirements paid by the Spanish industries, whether and it is only in the case of bad crops calculated by their gold value or accord- that about one eighth of all the wheat ing to their buying powers, are among consumed must be imported. Much maize the lowest known (the data of the International Labor Office show that the real only meets about two thirds of the dewages paid in Spain 1930—the wages mand. Sugar is only imported when paid in Great Britain being taken at 100 crops fail. About one sixth of the rice -must be indexed at 40), it is possible crop is exported; there is no foreign

to gain an idea of the frightful mis trade in tye and oats, and only 3 to 4% ery of the Spanish agricultural laborers, barley is exported. The meat produc-The workers' wages vary between 3 to tion covers approximately the home conpesetas (37¢ to 62¢) for 12 to 14 sumption. The import of wood is behours work; deductions are made from coming increasingly necessary, chiefly this for taxes and keep. Even when the conditions are "normal" the agricultural (Continued on page 4)

The Economic Week

corn, cotton are constantly establishing new lows. Electric power output

fell during the week. Car loadings made the sharpest drop in weeksfar below the seasonal norm. Foreign trade for June maintained its downward course with exports declining to all countries but the Soviet Union and China. The July market value showed a drop of about three billion dollars on the New York Stock Exchange. Brokers loans are falling precipitately. The stock market continues its downward course—the latter being due entirely to the heavy

shipment of ammunition to the Nanking government backed by Wall St. Both domestic and foreign bonds reached new lows during the week. Railroad income is still falling sériously, being 27.5% below June of last year. The unemployment and wage-cut situations are worsening, with the winter outlook darker than at any time in years. A flood of state capitalist legislation may be expected in the winter on a state and federal scale.

HE momentary full in the international situation is but the calm before the storm. A particularly ominous sign is the fall of the pound sterling. The Prussian plebiscite results will play a decisive role in immediate European affairs. The American situation has taken a sharp turn for the worse. July steel production touched the lowest since December 1921-at about 33% capacity. Wheat,

Revolutionary Age

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August 15, 1931.

"THINGS ARE CHANGING "

few years ago we would have said it couldn't have happened!" Such Ais the note dominating the dazed comment of the conservative "race leaders" on the recent events in Chicago, on the fierce battle of over three thousand Negroes against the murderous assaults of the police. "Things are changing . . . " sagely remarks the "Pittsburgh Courier."

The clash in Chicago has turned a powerful searchlight upon the incredibly horrible conditions in which the Negro workers live in the great industrial cities of the North. The general report issued by the National Urban League early this year drew a picture of "The Negro in the Industrial | C.P.L.A. is the progressive movement in Depression" that is simply appalling in spite of deliberate understatement. the trade unions that at one time stood In Chicago the situation has reached an incredible stage. Negroes, who form about 5% of the city's population, constitute 16% of the total unemployed of the city. Every available dry spot on the ground and every bench | trade union policy in the direction of secon the west side of Washington Park from 51 Street to 61 Street is covered tarianism was accompanied by the alienaat night by men who have not even a roof over their heads. Over 25% of tion of the progressive elements and by the total relief cases are Negroes-five times in proportion to the Negro population. According to official figures at the bailiff's office, evictions executed within the year totaled 1,387, of which more than 500 were of Negro families-nearly 40% of the total. In the first six months of the year evictions increased about 25%. In the last few days of July there were about thirty such cases a week in the South Side!

Such conditions have their inevitable consequences. An elementary and unformed unrest has gripped the broad masses of the Negro workers, who even in the blessed days of "normalcy" groaned under the double burden of race and class. "The rottenness, the injustice, the grim brutality and cold er cooperation with left wing elements, unconcern of our present system has become too irksome to the man fartherest down to be longer endured in silence and in pacifism," the conservative "Chicago Whip" feels bound to admit. The electric tenseness of the atmosphere can be felt everywhere . . . on the order of the day are spontaneous demonstrations of mass protest, spontaneous outbursts edly reflected a leftward movement in the step pointing out that in essence it of mass revolt such as was witnessed in Chicago on August 4.

"The Communists have framed a program of social remedies which cannot fail to appeal to the hungering, jobless millions, who live in barren want, while everywhere about them is evidence of plenty in the greedy hands of the few," continues the "Chicago Whip. The bitterly reactionary "New York Herald Tribune" is more specific: "The Red appeal in the Negro community is to . . . two elements . . . , namely, the cabaret intelligentsia and the wretchedly poor and ignorant." The cheap sneers of this the last few months (e. g., Paterson). black sheet cannot hide the basic fact: a deep fermentation is going on in On the whole, therefore, the formation the ranks of the Negro workers and intellectuals, a profound ideological realignment, a slow but definite swing to the left. It is striking testimony indeed to the invincible strength of the Communist idea that its appeal has spread far and wide among the Negro masses in spite of the suicidally stupid tactics of the present leadership of the Communist Party.

The spokesmen of the N.A.A.C.P. in Chicago, business men and real estate agents, conducted themselves thruout the crisis as if the "advancement of the colored people" quite naturally meant the advancement of colored property owners. They participated in the preliminary secret meetings of real estate owners that planned the eviction drive against the men of their own race; they sided with the police during the clash; they are howling for repressions against the "Reds" now. The class struggle cannot be conjured away from within the sacred bounds of the N.A.A.C.P. by fiat or decree; the persistent attempt to subordinate the deepest interests of the Negro masses to the narrow clique aims of the Negro bourgeosie can variety, S. P. "militants" who always esonly lead to the inevitable destruction of the organization as a positive factor in the Negro's struggle for advancement.

Alabama and Chicago! A slave revolt in the heart of the black belt and an armed clash with the police on the South Side! Truly, "things are changing . . . "

Agrarian Conditions in Spain 4. We must reject as false and as dangerous the official Communist Party es-

(Continued from Page 3) eighth), Italy (one eighth), totalling and in the Cantabrian mountains. Cen-

The Agrarian Crisis and Revolution the result of the high protective duties many districts taken matters into their introduced by Primo de Rivera. Primo de Rivera's intention of maintaining ar land of the great landowners and have tificial vitality in the industries which had divided it among themselves. has brought about an unprecedented inand agricultural wage laborers.

The revolution in Spain on April 14 (one eighth), France (one in part a consequence of the agrarian crisis, was not brought about by shufthree quarters of the wood required. The fling voting ballots as the bourgeois par three quarters of the wood required. The string bottom of the control of the cont turies of forest devastation and neglected which the poor peasantry and agricultur forestry have rendered Spain very poor al laborers played a considerable part. The peasantry was not content with the fall of the monarchy, but advanced its The year 1931 brought Spain a severe followed in quick succession. The amination of the problem from a Lenington agrarian crisis, in part the result of the peasants demand not only the division ist viewpoint showed us the falsity of our of the weakest link in the international international agrarian crisis, but in part ing of the great estates, but have in position and led us toward the adoption own hands, and have seized upon the

shot up during the war, by means of the power of the large landowners and erecting protective tariff walls around of the clergy, the semi-feudal exploitathem, aroused the inevitable reply of tion of the small peasants and agricultcounter-tariffs on the part of the states ural laborers, continue to be maintained exporting goods to Spain. This checked in the Republic. The republican government and the bourgeois republicans The crisis arose out of the agrarian and are however well aware that the agrarian land conditions' above described, and question is one upon which their fate hangs, and is indeed decisive for the excrease of unemployment and poverty istence of the bourgeois capitalist regime. among the small farmers, small holders, The spectre of Communism haunts the

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Against Sectarianism and Reformism!

Communists and the C.P.L.A.

Statement of the Communist Party (Majority Group)

1. Recent developments in the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, especially the decision of this organization to take the initiative in the formation of a new reformist, centrist party in this country, necessitate a reestimation of the organization and a review of relations beween it and the C.P. Majority Group At the same time we are now in a posi tion to arrive at a more accurate estimate of the C.P.L.A. in its various stages of development and a more complete answer to the questions thus placed before

I.—The Character of the C. P. L. A. 2. The general background of the in very close working relations with the left wing under Communist influence. The veering of the Communist Party the independent crystallization of a separate labor organization of certain pro gressive elements, the formation of I.P.L.A. At the very beginning the C. P.L.A. had a distinct anti-Communist orientation and operated under the general belief that the collapse of the left wing created an "opportunity" for the progressives. The fallacy of this conception and its reactionary character in practise became clear soon enough and the C.P.L.A. tended to swing towards greatespecially after the appearance of the C. P. Majority Group as a force tending to correct the sectarian policies of the Communists in the trade unions.

3. The rise of the C.P.L.A. undoubtthe ranks of the organized workers and union officials. It therefore was a manipositive character of this manifestation could only be assured and serious confusion avoided thru close cooperation with munist group very correctly resigned from the left wing forces. Signs of such coo the C.P.L.A. operation have already begun to appear in 10. The of a center for the consolidation of the progressive forces in the trade unions constituted a positive constructive factor in the American class struggle.

4. At the same time the C.P.L.A. was never purely a trade union progressive center. It always had in it elements of a political character, elements of a false political orientation. The specific weight of the political character of the C.P.L.A has varied considerably thruout its exist ence. Now it comes definitely into the foreground with this new move.

3. The political aspect of the C.P.L.A was usually of a centrist, "left" reformis rather the struggle of various political forces: reformists of the Socialist party sentially defended the position of the S. P., centrists who wanted to be "in between" the S. P. and the C. P., some Communist-tending elements and, lately a group of Communists that had left the C.P. Majority Group. The general po-litical aspect of the C.P.L.A., however, was usually of a centrist, "left" reformist character.

timate of the C.P.L.A. as a reactionary manifestation and as merely an claborate

. . . .

Group and C. P. L. A. 5. In the first weeks of our independ ent existence as a Communist Opposition, our estimate of the C.P.L.A. did own demands. Peasant marches with red for essentially from the official C.P. esflags and peasant demonstrations have timate and was entirely false. A revexof the analysis outlined above.

6. On the basis of our analysis we immediately began efforts to establish work ing relations and a united front between our group and the left wing we had been helping to revive, on the one hand, and the C.P.L.A., on the other. The first important effort in this direction was our attempt to establish a united front for a general national campaign to revive the eft wing. The cooperation of the C.P. L.A. could not be obtained for this be-cause, as the C.P.L.A. leaders explained, there was insufficient preparation within ever, working united fronts on specific is sues have been established, the most important of which are the joint action committee of the Paterson textile unions and the joint May Day meeting.

III.-Some Differences in Our Ranks 7. At an early stage in our relations with the C.P.L.A. some differences began to manifest themselves in our ranks on the questions of: (a) the estimation of the C.P.L.A.; primarily as to its role in and as to the emphasis to be attributed to its political aspect, and (b) the tactical question of whether Communists should Join the C.P.L.A. The National Buro was of the opinion that for members of our group to join the C.P.L.A. at that time would hinder and not help our cooperation with the C.P.L.A. in the rebuilding of the left wing. The ques-

"The National Buro therefore decides to suspend Comrades Miller, Benjamin, etc., from all membership rights in our group until such time as they recognize the elementary Communist responsibility of carrying thru the decisions of the group and not

their private, contrary independent

course.

8. As soon as this group of comrades entered the C.P.L.A. and began to function, a differentiation began to take place: Bert Miller, Levich, and Lawrence began to move rapidly to the extreme right while the rest of the comrades, under the leadership of Comrade Benjamin, took up a sharp struggle against social reformism and against Miller and his friends as well. The struggle of the comrades fol-

good Communist service. III .- The New Reformist Sect of the

C. P. L. A. 19. Under the influence of Lore and Salutsky and with the vigorous assistance of Bert Miller, the C.P.L.A. recently decided to form (or rather to transform itself intod) a new political "party" to be "in between", the C.P. and the S.P., that is, a centrist party. The Socialists, with the "militants" in the fore, attacked this proposal as utterly unnecessary since the Socialist party already existed as an agency of reformist Socialism and the program of the new party as proposed by the C.P.L.A. leaders was essentially a program of reformist Socialism. showed decided objections to the formation of a competitive reformist party. The Communist group, following Benja min and Cibulsky bitterly condemned meant the creation of a new reformist among certain layers of the lower trade sect and the complete abandonment of the original avowed objective of the C.P.L. festation of positive significance, but the A., that of building a progressive labor movement. With the decision of the C. P.L.A. to form the new party, the Com-

> 10. The objective logic of the new party decision of the C.P.L.A. is the liquidation of that organization as a progressive labor center and a potential contributory force for rebuilding the left wing. The new party has no basis what ever in the labor movement of this country; it is condemned to vegetate as a ster ile reformist sect . At the same time such progressive unionists as follow the Socialist Party politically will be lost for the C.P.L.A. and other progressive trade union elements alienated by the new political orientation. Only the simon-pure run. Instead of a progressive labor center---a reformist sect.

IV.—Our New Relations to the C.P.L.A. that our united front cooperation with it nist organization.

will be considerably more limited and will take place at most on the basis of specific issues. The C.P.L.A. has put itelf out of the field as a national factor for the rebuilding of the left wing and of the left wing progressive bloc, the elements connected with it may and will be of value towards this end. At the same time, it will be more necessary than ever to differentiate ourselves politically in a clear manner, in all united front under-

takings. 12. The projected transformation of the C.P.L.A, must not be allowed to be the occasion for the growth of leftist sectarian tendencies in our own ranks, for scepticism as to the united front, etc. The Party burocrats will be certain to utilize these developments in an attempt. ed justification of their complete rejection of united front tactic. Yet the lowing Comrade Benjamin constituted very developments in the C.P.L.A. have fully demonstrated the correctness of our basic tactics of the united front,

V.—The Comrades Who Return to Our Group

13. In connection with the recent developinients in the C.P.L.A. the group of comrades following Comrade Benjamin have indicated their desire to return to our group. We wish to reiterate that the comrades had a full right to continue to try to convince the majority of the group for their position on the questions at issue, instead of concluding that be-cause of the atmosphere that had developed it was impossible for them any longer to exercise this right, therefore resorting to an infraction of discipline. They recognize their incorrectness in violating the decisions of the National Buro in action and therefore, on the basis of the above quoted decision of the National Buro, they have been fully restored to all membership rights. Furthermore, there now exists substantial agreement on the question of estimation of the C.P. L.A. and on the tactics to be pursued by the C.P. Majority group. The comrades must be welcomed and drawn into all activities and share fully in all responsible work. These comrades will constitute an additional force in our struggle against leftist sectarianism and social reformism and in our fight for Communist unity and the restoration of the Party to the Leninist path—a goal that can be achieved to the extent that our group can root itself in the masses and become a distinct constructive force in the labor move

NOTE:---As is shown in Bert Miller's book review article in LABOR AGE in which he speaks of the proletarian dictatorship as no longer existent and havcentrist sectarians will remain in the long ing to be "restored" and as is further demonstrated by Miller's agreement with and initiative in driving the C. P. L. A. towards the organization of a new re formist sect, Miller and his associates 11. The transformation of the C.P.L.A. have definitely departed from Communinto a centrist sect will, of course, mean ism and have no place in any Commu

MARX - LENIN - STALIN

by Jay Lovestone

(Continued from Page 3) but links in the chain of world imperialconspiracy of the labor burocras to "head off the discontent of the workers from the Communist Party."

but links in the chain of world imperial ism. Hence it is the duty of the revolutionary proletariat to break this chain of world imperialism at its weakest link. of world imperialism at its weakest link at any particular moment. The international proletarian revolution, starts pre-cisely in that country where the prole-tariat can first break thru. This break will come, said Lenin, as it has come, not necessarily in that country with the highest developed capitalist industry but rather on the weakest national sector of of the weakest link in the international imperialist chain. In 1917 it was Russia Perhaps Germany will be the next-as the weakest link in the world chain. Perhaps India or China. The unquestionably international-not Asiatic, not European, not North American, but

> "The capitalist countries of Western Europe will accomplish their evolution to wards Socialism not by the methodica but by means of the exploitation of co tain states by others, thru the exploitation of the first State that is defeated in the imperialist war . . . The East, on the other hand, definitely, entered into the revolutionary movement in consequence of this first imperialist war; it has been drawn into the whirlpool of the revolutionary world movement."

Lenin-Symbol of Revolutionary

It is especially because Leninism is incourse, the bourgeois intellects can never see this. They see individuals, personal ambitions, Tamerlanes, "Stalinism" the building of a left wing movement as the incarnation of the practical. They cannot understand that the revolution ary theories of Marxism, of Leninism are the very quintessence of the practical. conception."

"practicalism", to ponder the above. Lenin was so practical that he was able to survey a whole epoch and observe even the minutest details in it. Pinally, it was none other than Stalin

who understood and hailed Lenin as the symbol of revolutionary practise. Thus Stalin answers the question: What are the characteristics of the Leninist school of theory and practice? "There are two-Russian revolutionary

inspiration and the practical spirit of the American. Leninism is their harmonious union . . . The union of revolutionary in-spiration with the American practical spirit—this is the essence of practical Len-inism. Only this union will give us the perfect type of Leninist workers." Precisely here is the key to the great

Soviet Union today under the Five Year modern industrial society. Plan. The Central Committee of the world perspective of Lenin is strikingly Communist Party of the Soviet Union ture of Mr. Lytle and his friends cannot brought out in his analysis to the effect leading the Party, which is the inspirar hide the fact that these men are defend-that: gress in Socialist construction in the Soviet Union, is developing policies for the the cause of peonage and virtual serfdom country based on the full recognition of today. the following undying truths of Lenin "The Communist who imagines he can

"Fewer pompous phrases, and more

everyday work . . . less political trepida-tion and more attention to the simpler but more tangible facts of Communist con

What timely and significant truths these are-not only for bourgeois critic of our movement but also for member. ternational, is Marxism in the epoch of in our Party, in our whole movement imperialism that it is so practical. Of who have not yet learned to steer clear who have not yet learned to steer clear between the swamps of "revolutionary" phantasy and the morass of petty de

Ford Called In For Baby Crisis

One of the most characteristic qualities in 20 years is already breaking down, of Lenin was "his realization of the due to the depression. The Census Buro One of the most characteristic qualities of Lenin was "his realization of the practical sense of every theoretical construction and of any kind of theoretical of the during 1930. Unless maybe Hoover is getting revolutionary and will accept bab-Bukharin has pointed out that "Lenin ies born out of lawful wedlock on a par and purposefulness. It is sincere and tion was, of course, not a matter of fun- always approached the question in such with "married" babies. Or start a "capi straightforwnard. damental principle and differences on it a way as to obtain alliance with the talist competition" for twins or triplets. were fully compatible with membership greatest possible number of people who in our group as long as the decision of could play the role of known quantities the organization was carried out. Never of energy to hurl against the old regime."

It is realiably rumored that Henry Ford play while he was the organization was carried out. Never of energy to hurl against the old regime." on the Rapidan to outline a plan to protout the less a number of comrades decided to the would do well for those who so are duce babies on the belt system. They in the New Masse



NDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION, By N. S B. Gras, Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Mass. 1930.

The book is intended to be an histori-

cal sketch of the evolution of industry. The sketch is simple, clear and interesting up thru the Industrial Revolution, but becomes vague and diffused as the anthor approaches the present period, In fact the last half of the book shows a rather poor handling of the subject. Althothe author shows some appreciation of the sociological consequences of industrial and economic changes (he actually gives a few instances of earlier class struggles), he divorces the subject al most entirely from political and social development. Whenever he does casually connect them, his view is distorted as may be expected of a bourgeois proessor. A clear insight into Professor Gras's lack of basic understanding of historical forces can be had by quoting from his chapter on the Industrial Revo ution. He states there:

"If France had experienced an in dustrial revolution in the eighteenth century, it might never have had a political and social revolution."

The Marxist knows that it was this very political and social revolution in France which smashed the outworn social superstructure of feudalism (already accomplished in England by the civil wars in the 17th century), thus paving the way for further revolutionary industrial changes not only in France but also in the rest of the continent. But the professor is not a Marxist.

Altho the book is meant to be sketchy, "its brevity and incompleteness being its greatest merits", as the preface pretends yet in parts the author indulges in details, the subject matter of which could have been utilized to better advantage. For example, one of his longest chapters is on "The History of a Single Factory" Here was a chance to sketch the transformation of the earlier workshop into the centralized, integrated and rational ized industrial unit that it is today. Instead the author bothers hardly at all with the industrial history of the factory, but rather with its general business and linancial aspects and then at the end of the chapter he confesses that the managerial and business structure he described with some detail was not the typical and dominant organization of the present day. Ho simply conveniently picked a concern that happened to have kept a good record of its history over a long period. There are other shortcomings which are not necessary to dwell upon.

The book as a whole is interesting and should be read.. Its terminology, aftho somewhat original is nevertheless sim ple and understandable. From the author's treatment of the earlier industrial development one can draw a quite clear picture of the birth of the proletariat a a class. For this alone the book is worth

BEDFORD FORKEST AND HIS CRIT-TER COMPANY ,by Andrew Nelson Lyde. Minton, Balch and Company,

New York, 1931. In a recent article in the New Repub lic Edmund Wilson interestingly describes the younger generation of the Southern "agrarians" (white land owners):

". . . they come back (from Ox-ford, Paris or New York) to marry girls at home, to renovate family mansions, to do some farming with the aid of share-croppers, to write books about the Civil War. When they went away they may have been impatient with the eighteenth-century world, forever feeding itself on the past . (But now they think tenderly of the

South again,
"Now they blame the ills of industrialized America on the defeat of the

Confederacy in the War." Vanderbilt University is their spiritual center-Minton, Balch and Company of New York their chief publishers.

Mr. Lytle's Bedford Forrest is strictly in this tradition. In the form of a biography of one of the outstanding Confederate generals and leaders of the old Ku Klux Klan in the Reconstruction period, it is an apology for the old regime of slavery and an attack upon presuccess in Socialist construction in the cisely the most progressive features of

The polished suavity and classical culcause of chattel slavery in the past and

Mr. Lytle's book has no merit whatever except the fluency of its style. Its his succeed in every task by drawing up Communist decrees is guilty of Communist its bias distinctly reactionary.

X. Y. Z. tory is distorted; its judgments partial;

> "Wharf Nigger," a play by Paul Peters aimed against race prejudice, which is now in rehearsal at the Provincetown Playhouse, 133 MacDougal Street, will open on September 15.
>
> The play deals with the life of colored

> dock workers in New Orleans and ends in stirring scenes, which bear striking similarity to the circumstances of the Scottsboro Camp Hill, Alabama sharecropper cases.
> "Wharf Nigger" is the first work of a

white playright since Eugene O'Neill's 'All God's Chilluns Got Wings" which this new "Marxist" party, in its zeal The Hoover Plan of 20 million babies is written with deep, sympathetic under

basic issues involved with greater clarity

Peters gathered the material for his play while he was at work as a stevedore

Parts of the play have been published in the New Masses. Its production in New join the C.P.L.A. in spite of the dedently call themselves Stalinites, who will hop off the belt one every 14 sec. York will be the first attempt at the cision of the C.P. Majority Group. The drink of the non-existent fountain of onds with diaper, sofety pin, milk bottle presentation of a full-length proletarian National Buro, then took the following Stalinism and partake of the glory of and muffler complete.



A NEW BABY

We have just received an expiring document. It is published by the C. P. L. A., was fathered by Salutsky, mothered by Lore and midwifed by Bert Miller and taken to church to be baptized by A. J. Muste. It is entitled: Do we need a new political organization in the United States." Under this modest and hesitant-not to say vacillating-title is being deposited on the doorstep of an unexpectant world, a new party.

A Cold Reception

The baby was not entirely welcome. The Socialists threatened to secude because they think one reformist party is The Communists, leading an uneasy existence in the C. P. L. A. did secede, because they thought even one reformist party in America was too much. So the baby was left without godfathers or godinothers at the very baptismal

A Versatile Child

The modest baby, like the sole survivor of the ill-fated ship "Nancy Bell", wants to fill all posts at once. The document is a political platform, a discussion bulletin, an outline of a political and economic "theory", a manual of "Marxism" purged of its "defects" or "exof its guts and its common sense, a guide to action for the American proletariat, and another addition to the mounting pile of 5-and-10-year plans for American economy.

What Brookwood Did to Marx

As a typical sample of the diluted hogwash that the "platform" passes off as "Marxism" we offer our readers the folowing description of capitalism:

"... a system which is built on the idea of letting private individuals reap profits, i.e. surpluses, from industry. The innocent reader will ask: "If they

only take surpluses from industry, what's erong with that?" And the less innocent reader will say: "If you mean surplus value, why

don't you say so? If not, what do you mean?"

And Planned Economy

The new "party" is ready to introduce planned economy"

"The Plan must be made and put to work soon . . . Otherwise . . . in the next crisis . . . or a Fascist or Communist revolution (apparently, it's all the same which so far as its effect on America-B.D.W.) in some important industrial country, or an upheaval in China or India, or a war, American labor will be caught unprepared, and a Fascist dictatorship will fasten itself upon us."

But the workers need not worry. Bert Miller's patented card index system and Brookwood Labor College's universal planning and research department will come to the rescue. The new "party"

"an advisory board of experts in engineering, economics, linance, city planning, cooperation, etc. who would draw up plans as to how the resources of the U.S. would be used for the benefit of the masses under planned economy, and the technical steps which might be taken by labor if it achieved power in order to execute such concrete plans. Such a board might also give technical advice on in dustrial trends, the issues in political campaign, etc.

Anyhow, it sounds like a plan to keep Bert Miller busy!

Is It a Boy or a Girl?

Is it a revolutionary party of a reformist party? The poor thing can't make up it's mind. It would like to be "boyish, but not too boyish." A boy---if you don't look too close.

And if you do she will blush pink, but stay yellow behind the ears. "We do not think", reads the plat-

form, "of this labor struggle as a simple and exceedingly polite affair in which labor has only to form a political party, win more and more votes at each election, eventually get a parliamentary majority and then vote a new economic order into existence (Aha, so it is revolutionary!) What is needed is "struggle on every frontindustrial, political, cooperative and educational and with a realistic use of such methods as can accomplish their final emancipation. They must depend upon their own organized strength, rather than ("rather than" is good!) on the machinery of a capitalistic government". (Oho, so it ain't revolutionary!)
Such language! Such word slinging!

A marvel of use of words to conceal

Marx On The New Party "Communists scorn to hide their

views and aims. They openly declare that their purposes can only be achieved by the forcible overthrow of the whole existing social order." So wrote Marx and Engels in the

Communist Manifesto. But Marx recognized that the he had sown dragon's teeth, he sometimes reaped fleas. And for legality and its eagerness not to ed up its privilege without an armed

We leave the last words on these "Marxists" to Marx who surely had no worse (rather a far better) program in mind when he wrote in scorn:

"Even the most vulgar democratic movement which sees the millenium in the democratic republic , stands mountain high above such democracy inside the limits which the police allow and logic forbids."

--B. D. ₩.