

doing the dirty work of the bosses

Drive for Leadership

of Continent

PARIS.-What is regarded as a

perfectly plain warning was handed out on March 17 by the French pa-

pers recognized as semi-official spokes-

men of the Foreign Office that "there

must be no outside intereference in

the relations between France and

This warning is taken to aim di-

rectly af England in view of Foreign

Secretary Arthur Henderson's recent

remark that Great Britain might

"help in solving the Franco-Italian deadlock."

The semi-official warning of the

French Government to Great Britain

shows how far advanced already is

France's drive for hegemony on the

continent and the displacement of

to Poland; Rumania and Yugoslavia,

enable Musselini to effect a temporary

Italy.

ganization-no matter of what political or igious views, no matter how conservative-is threatened by the bosses offen sive. The only way this offensive can be beaten is by a united front of labor! Workers! Trade unionists! The danger is great and imminent! We must unite our ranks against the bosses and against their reactionary offensivel

of a new German militarism and nav-alism and are agreeing to spend mil- ciousness of the drive against the labor lions of marks for war purposes at press. In May 1930, the first step was a time when hundreds of thousands taken when the Post Office declared the of workers are literally starving. The "Revolutionary Age" to be "immailable" pretext for thus lining up with the reactionaries is that "otherwise the Bruening government would fall and have suffered the same fate: the "Young in new elections the Fascists might Worker", the "Vida Obrera", the "Lib A fine pretext for doing the erator", the Anarchist "Cultura Prole work of the Fascists now, for demor- taria," etc. It is quite clear that the gov alizing the labor movement, and for ernment has initiated a systematic drive to root out all fighting labor papers. helping the bourgeoisie! 4. The drive against the Soviet Unior

ð, As the Berlin papers point out the j is sharpening. Secretary Mellon has al leaders of the Social-democratic par- ready ordered an embargo on Soviet pulp ty are "making it into a thoroly bour- and humber. An embargo on manganes geois party as far as its policies on is coming. A complete embargo on all domestic and foreign questions are Soviet imports is being discussed. concerned---a liheral party, it is true, but a bourgeois party nevertheless." What does all this mean? It mean

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MINERS PROTEST ILLINOIS SELL-OUT DEMAND NEW CONVENTION

Big Resentment Rising In Soft-Coal Field; West Virginia Miners Form Independent Union

10,000 miners have answered the sell- out of John Walker and the other leaders of the former "Reorganized United Mine Workers of America" by forming an independent organization in the Kanawha field under the lead- ership of Frank Mooney and Fred Keency. They declare they will "fight TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (Majority Group) New York City AN OPEN MEETING will be held on FRIDAY EVE., APRIL 3, 1931 at 63 Madison Avenue Subjeot; THE REACTIONARY OFFEN- SIVE AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNISTS	SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—The wave of protest of the miners in the Illinois mining towns over the sell-out "peace pact" recently concluded by the Fish- wick-Walker-Germer-Hindmarsh for- ces with the Lewis machine in the United Mine Workers, is growing very fast. It is reported that as a re- sult of the sell-out20,000 coal miners in this field are withholding dues from both the International and the district organization. Both Alex Howat and Oscar Amer- inger have already come out against the "peace pact." In the March 14 issue of the American Miner (former- ly the Himois Miner—the official or- gan of the former "Reorganized U.M.L.A.") Ameringer came out with a front page blast against the Walk- er-Lewis "agreement". A conven- tion of the Illinois district is demand- ed to let the rank-and-file have their say. The Conference for Progressive La- for Action has issued a declaration
Bring Sympathizers	condemning the Fishwick-Walker sell-

OPEN MEET CALLED ON BOSSES OFFENSIVE

died on Friday March 20, after many "The Reactionary Offfensive and the Tasks of the Communists" will be subject of the Open Discussion Meet ing being arranged by the New York

months of illness and suffering from a cancer in the throat.

organization of the Communist Party (Majority Group) for Friday even-ing, April 3, at 63 Madison Avenue. A. Jakira was active for many years in the revolutionary labor movement. He was active in the left wing The attacks of the government against of the Socialist party before the split he working class and its organizaand he helped to form the Commun tions and press have been growing ist Party in 1919. He was secretary by leaps and bounds in the last few of the illegal Communist Party in of the illegal Communist Party in a period of great difficulty. Afternonths. Yet the workers find themselves divided and powerless in the wards he was district organizer in face of these bitter attacks of the the Philadelphia and Pittsburgh dishosses. Thru its sectarian and split- tricts and played an important part in ting policy the official Communist the miners strike. He was arrested has been prevented from play- many times as a result of his activi-

To the last his thoughts and interers are in this difficult period will ests were entirely with the Communbe thoroly discussed at this meeting, ist movement. All comrades are urged to attend

the ranks of the nationalist move-ment against Gandhi's "truce" with British imperialism is growing very

fast and is spreading widely in the National Congress itself. It is everywhere expected here that at the next

This Is Your Paper -- Save It

Communist Leader Dies

After Many Months

Of Illness

Abram Jakira, assistant secretary

of the International Labor Defense,

We are at the end of our wits. We our family. It's just you poor wage-are at the end of the rope-UN- slaves in these United States that a re- LESS you come across generously must help and help plenty and right to the devoted, loyal revolutionary Amer- to keep your paper going. This is few cents, or anybody's to this emer-

and bring sympathizers with them.

no empty call. We are in dead gency fund. Unless we get help carnest. There is no need of telling you ment will lose its cleanest and hardanized that you can't keep going a vigor- est-hitting battler. This would be ous, clear-cut, fighting Communist a major disaster for the whole weekly without subsidies, without American working class. advertisements, and without money: We are not kicking. We are not There are no wealthy liberals ready complaining. So far the support for The REVOLUTIONARY AGE

now there are no generous uncles in porters.

and promptly. This will be the last weekly REVOLUTIONARY AGE cross. We are asking you to chip in weekly REVOLUTIONARY AGE cross. We are asking you to chip in weekly REVOLUTIONARY AGE cross. We are asking you to chip in that marks the growing collapse of that ma weekly REVOLUTIONARY AGE cross. We are asking you to chip in -UNLESS you send on something your last few cents, your friend's last votion, sacrifice and energy are within a week, the Communist move-That's the spirit we need to save

REVOLUTIONARY AGE. Just more support-and many more sup-OLUTIONARY AGE. We are

more sacrifice. This is nothing new doing to rebuild the Soviet Union greatly to the astonishment of the and speed up Socialist construction. pro-British press. At one meeting

counting on you.



The parasites of today, like the old French aristocrats, revel in riotous orgies, while millions starve. But their day of reckoning is coming!



Bombay Local Congress Split; All-India Congress **Coming; Betrayal Arouses Terrorist Threats**

NEW DELHI .- The revolt within | All-India National Congress (Karachi, March 1931) a split will be prac-tically inevitable.

The real significance of the "peace pact" concluded by Gandhi became clear when the Mahatma stated that the "swaraj" ("self-rule") he had in England from that position. It will be recalled that several months ago French banks extended gigantic loans mind was something quite different from complete independence from Great Britain but was quite compatible with India remaining a part of the British Empire: This helped The next objective of the French campaign was Italy, the relations to which had been very strained recentto make it clear to the workers, peasants and city petty bourgeoisie ad ly. After prolonged negotiations, a hering to the Congress that Gandhi's deal was made: France extended a Sacrifice. More sacrifice, Still ants and city petty margeorant the hering to the Congress that Gandhi's "truce" was really a surrender of the huge loan (\$100,000,000) to Italy to national cause in favor of sonie con-

few weeks ago he was met by one hos- | ceded French naval supremacy in the Mediterranean in the recent Frenchtile demonstration after another, Italian naval pact: Other outstanding issues in the deal were matters relating to Italian colonial possessions in the demonstration against him was and build the REVOLUTIONARY so serious that it took considerable time before he could get the chance Λfrica.

, (Continued on page 2)

AGE, the clearest Communist voice time before he could get the standard sents a tremendous political victory in the American capitalist wilder with shouts of "Independence" and of France over Great Britain and, "Free political prisoners!" It will be to some extent at least over the Unitrecalled that according to Gandhi's ed States. Henderson's intense desire

In Bombay the split in the local All- the next great explosion of world War.



ganized ourselves, bringing together the individual voices of rebellion into a strong group, so that, with united trolling the entire party apparatus propagate the idea that 'trade unions' forces, we will be able to achieve bet-ter conditions for the tailors and or the parliamentary fraction. These they say, have been dissolved by the again build up the union of long ago two tendencies are fighting each other police and the workers should now or-

ganized. "We will fight for the following fun damental demands: (1) A fundament-al change of policy in our union so that is ball some the interval and in this way carry forward the that is shall some the interval and in this way carry forward the social-democracy afal change of policy in our union so ter the 1932 elections, perhaps even that it shall serve the interests of the before." workers. (2) The immediate inaugu-ration of the 40-hour week in the industry. (3) Weck-work instead of piece-work. (4) Our union shall make comrade "Unfortunately Comrade W— (of use only of the weapon of the workserved our union so well in the past: the strike instead of peace with the bosses. (5) A minimum scale of



SHANGHAL-The Nanking gov-

rument reports "extensive prepara-

tutes) to keep all Communists out Our comrades of course are penetrat ing this federation and helping t Finnish revolutionary workers who are being persecuted by the reaction.

9. Agreements for the N. Y. shops shall be placed before the member-"Our comrades naturally are for the rebuilding of the trade union movement. But here the biggest force are the Social-democrats who are profiting of the scandalous behavior of the Comintern-people. They are rebuilding the trade union feder-ation and are attempting (by the sta-LABOR GOV'T HIT IN COMMONS VOTE

tions.

8. Full democracy in the union. No

discrimination, suspension or expul-

sion for expressing differences of

opinion on economic or political ques-

tory of the League that comrades were assigned for special activity at shops? The writer has in mind a noongate meeting arranged by himself and another League member. About 800 young workers listened to our speak-ers. Over 25 Young Workers (all

"1.—Shock Troop composed of six comrades employing the chain brigade method of work." We are studied by

this occult teminology. What is this "chain brigade method of work?" But

we are soon set aright by the prosaic explanation. It "calls for the divi-

function to perform in a specified period of time according to the aim placed by the troop as a whole." Why these fancy names for simple func-

ions? Is it the first time in the his

A-B).

Thurs. Jan. 22, noon-Investi-gate opponents. Make contact (P. and R.) AKRON, Ohio .-- What appears to be an obvious government plot to pro-Thurs. Jan. 22, 2 P. M.—inves- vide a basis for a vicious drive tigate territory for gym quarters against the radical labor movement (Q). (Q). "Thurs. Jan. 22, 6. P.M.-House to house for recruits to L.S.U. (A-March 19 here in the announcement that a "confession" has been obtained from Paul F. Kassay, "reputed Com-munist", that he "had planned to see to it that the navy dirigible Akron What came out of these wonderful

IN AKRON

Of "Sabotage" As Scheme

to Hit Labor Movement

Accuse Alleged Communist 🛛 🖈

plans?, Exactly what was to be ex-pected. Nothing! At the factory would nover take the air," i.e., had MacDonald Defeated On that we had on hand) were sold. Con-tacts were made with twenty-five gates, they made contact with a girl planned to injure it in the course of construction. who turned out to be a stoolpigeon. While they were basy propounding the above schemes, they forgot or were anable to hold a Liebknecht save house was searched "Commun-An attempt is also being made to

say's house was searched "Commun-ist literature was discovered" as well

as "letters in a foreign language." Soon it will be "discovered" that the

"foreign language" is Russian and that "letters" are "instructions from

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(Continued from page 1)

India National Congress is already an einal subjects to be considered at the accomplished fact. While details are first session of the Central European first session of the Central European not yet available, it seems that the the Gandhi.surrender and along class durated muter the attack was conlines-the workers, peasant, and lower petty bourgeois elements against Gandhi and the native bourgeoisie and other upper class elements for him and his policies.

The official Communist Party is in a state of complete impotence, with-out members and without influence. The Communist Opposition, on the other hand, following the line of Commande M. N. Roy, has already established an organization and developed extensive contacts among the organized workers. The influence of the Communst Opposition will be a significant factor in mobilizing the masses in the nationalist movement against the Gandhi surrender.

BOMBAY.--The betrayal of the in-terests of the national movement by Gandhi thru his surrender pact with Lord Irwin has aroused the indignation of the terrorist elements of the radical petty hourgeoisie. Gandhi has received numerous threats of violence from various sources while he was in New Delhi, with scathing de-nunciations of his shameful conduct in washing his hands of tens of thousands of political prisoners in prison on changes of "violence" for whom Gandhi's "peace pact" makes no provision whatever for amnesty. Pos-ters were distributed thruout New Delhi on the evening of March 20 threatening terror if all political prisoners, including the heroic Bhagat Singh, were not released.

The heroism of these terrorists and their devotion to the cause of national liberation can only be admired but their tactics must be rejected. They do not see the power of the masses nor the necessity for mass organization; they place all their trust in the heroic act of the individual. In the laid by the speaker on the menace of Fascism and of the "Socialist" parcase of Gandhi, it is even possible that a terroristic act against him may help him pose as a "martyr" and even increase his prestige among backward masses. What is necessary now is to continue the work of enlighten-Conference was presented to the workers in detail by Lovestone. ment and organization of the work-A lively discussion and interesting ors, peasants and city poor for a questions and answers followed. Derevolutionary struggle against Bri- spite the terrorism of the Party butish imperialism, against the native recrats a number of Party members tandlords and big bourgeoisie. I came to the meeting.

entral European Economic Conference Raises Cry **Over "Dumping"** VIENNA .- A bitter attack against the Soviet Union was one of the prin-

Report on FINLAND by a Swedish

VIENNA MEET

economic conference that opened here mittee, including syndicalists, repre-sentatives of reformist trade unions, "anti-dumping" campaign. "When one sees how all the great

etc." (Continued in the next issue) industrial exporting States of Europe

and America are running their feet off under the pressure of the unem-NANKING IN NEW ployment problem to get orders in connection with the Russian five-year plan," said Count Max Hoyos, president of the Budapest Chamber of Agriculture, "and when one thinks that another 64,000,000 rubles (about \$32,000,000) is soon to be invested in the plan, it sends a cold shiver down one's back."

Strength of Red Forces Former President Michael Hach-isch of Austria and Richard Ricdl joined in the attacks. Admitted; Nanking **Revolts** Grow

LOVESTONE SPEAKS IN CHICAGO ON EUROPE tions being completed in Kiangsi prov-Discusses Crisis and Tasks of the

munists under the leadership of Hoy Communists Ing-ching." But great scepticism is expressed oven in official circles as to CHICAGO .- "Europe in 1931" was

prospects for the drive, in view of the admitted failure of all previous antithe subject of Jay Lovestone's ad-Red drives and the unquestioned growth of the revolutionary forces. dress at the meeting arranged by the Chicago organization of the Commun-ist Party (Majority.Group) in Mirror It is estimated that the Red armies in Kiangsi already total about 200, 000 men, with a rifle for every four Hall on Friday Evening, March 13. Lovestone showed the grave crisis men. In Hupeh the Red, forces alconfronting the international working ready amount to 100,000 men. class because of the chaos and disruption brought into the Comintern CANTON .- In a futile effort to put by the false policies of its leadership. "This was especially costly to the a stop to the mutinies in the Nanking armies and to the descritons to the revolutionary movement because the working class is thus denied effective Red forces, seventy-three officers of

the Nationalist 'army were' put to death here on March 17 on the charge Communist leadership just at a time when it needs leadership most, when of "plotting to stir mutiny in the troops at Swatow." Over a hundred its opportunities are so great and when the captalist system is fighting for its very life."...Great stress was other officers and soldiers are awaiting trial.

Ten days ago a division of govern nient troops stationed on the Pekingties in the present world crisis. The Hankow Railroad mutinied. They program of working class unity and militant action laid down by the In-ternational Communist Opposition tore the tracks up in the neighborhood and joined the Red forces in the surrounding country.

> READ! **Revolutionary** Age

At first we invited the Comintern-LONDON .-- By a vole of 246 to people to the defense committee but thy came down with the Red Aid and 242; 'the MacDonald Labor governiment suffered another defeat in the the International Workers Relief and House of Commons on March 16 in connection with a clause in the new all other organizations and said that without these organizations no de-fense is possible. So they left, We have established a good defense comelectoral bill abolishing the representation of the universities in Parliament. This defeat was made possible by the absence of a considerable num-ber of Laborites, by the anti-govern-

ment votes of some others, but especially by the deep split in the Lib-beral party group. The Liberals in caucus had decided to support the

government measure but on the floor the House a good section, under Sir John Simon, voted against, others abstained, and less than half stood ANTI.RED MOVE

by the MacDonald government, Altho the issue itself is not of any importance, the defeat of the govern-

ment brought to a head the crisis in party relations that had been developing for a long time. Caucuses of the Labor and Liberal parties were

immediately hold. At the Labor, par-ty caucus MacDonald called attention to the "laxity" and "lack of disci-pline" of the Labor members and de-

manded better "cooperation". He was answered by a number of members that he "would get co-operation when

ince for a new drive against the Comhe made a beginning in carrying thru the Socialist pledges upon which he had been raised to power-and not before."

At the Liberal meeting, which bore "private" character, the anti-Lloyd ton St., Brooklyn, Sunday, February 15. After clearly explaining the var-ious steps in the chain of imperialist penetration of the colonies Comrade George faction was not even present. Lloyd George pointed out that its divided action the Liberals were making themselves "absurd" in the Zimmerman went on to give con- ization. crete illustrations in the case of China, India. etc. The role of Amer-House when, "were they compact and disciplified", they "might be a force". At this meeting the Liberal whip (floor leader) in the House of Comican imperialism in the Philippines, Cuba, Haiti, and the Virgin Islands,

mons resigned his post as a protest was exhaustively outlined. The role against the lack of unity in the Liberof the revolting colonial masses as the al group. Meanwhile rumors are current that natural allies of American workers, black and white, in a struggle against MacDonald is contemplating a coalitheir common oppressor, world imtion government together with the perialism, was the lesson that was Liberals. It is thought that Lloyd George would then be offered the post drawn and clearly placed. There was an interesting and lively discussion of trying to "solve" the anemployment by the Negro and white workers presproblem in which the Labor governcut. A specially interesting feature of ment has had one miscrable failure the discussion was the declaration in after the other to record. Lloyd George's much-heralded plan is to borfavor of Communism as the only solution for the problem on the part of row huge amounts and use it for one Negro worker, of a letter receiv-

public works! ed by him from a friend telling of the The more the Labor government imperialism in the West Indies. At continues in office the more does it the next meeting of the Forum on lose all pretense at "labor" character Sunday, March 29, Elmer A. Carter, and become a completely capitalist editor of the Negro magazine Opporgovernment, hardly to be distinguish- tunity will speak on "Migration and ed from the Liberals. and Adjustment."

Election Bill; Chaos in Liberal Ranks voung workers. And yet, no "shock plans" had to be manufactured, no trumpets blown. That was part of our daily task.

> In the next paragraph we find: 'Our plan calls for the 'storming' of the shop, from every possible angle! Again the explanation that follows shows that "storning" consists of ordinary activity. But in the "third period" making contact with young successes. successes. workers becomes "storming" the shop.

More amusing (if the tragic conequences are omitted) than the preliminary instructions are the tasks set for the individual comrades. We anote one case: "Alm at the end of wo weeks: Labor Sports Union Club Following links in chain brigade, 1. Brigade of two (Comrade Y and I Z)

ZIMMERMAN TALKS ON "COLONIAL REVOLT"

Next Subject At Interracial Forum

To Be "Migration And Adjustment" by Carter

I. Zimmerman, active for years in the All-America Anti-Imperialist League delivered an interesting and

Instructive talk on "The Revolt of the Colonial Masses" at the Frederick Douglas Interracial Forum, 1660 Ful-league when real accomplishments possible. A period which should meant a League organization gro in influence membership, turns to be a period of decay and dem

meeting! And Gil Green, N. E. C. representative, was in Chicago for weeks assisting in making plans for calling "conferences" on every con-ceivable issue. No conferences were

nstructions need no commont. They

If you think that the plan so far

nas been ridiculous, you are mistaken.

They have a day-to-day schedule

"Thurs. Jan. 22, S A. - Q. & Q. Scouting in (name of shop) ter-ritory for soup kitchen. Report back at once.

peak for themselves.

which goes as follows:

What is the root of such elaborate stupidity? The responsibility cannot be placed upon the backs of individual comrades. The causes for these ridiculous plans are to be traced to the policies introduced in the Amer-ican league by the Y.C.I. two years ago. There was ushered in a new set of policies completely at variance with every bit of common sense and

experience. There was introduced the mechanical transference of methods of the Soviet Union into the U.S. Chicago League must have a "six-weeks plan" for its activity! If the plan of the Chicago League were carried to its logical conclusion, it would

It appears quite clear that the case is probably a plain frame-up against Kassay so as to "create" a "plot!". The purpose of the whole thing is to stir up public feeling in Ohio against Communism and against radical labor as a cover for proceeding with the fullest brutality on the basis of Ohio's vicious "criminal syndicalism" law or perhaps for even passing more strongent legislation.

the Soviet government."

Garvey Urges Imperialism The Negro is a long-suffering victim of white racial chauvinism and of the Soviet Union into the U. S. Our Russian commades have develop-ed a five-year plan for the develop-ment of Socialism. Therefore the Chicago Lagono must have a "six imitate and admire the very evils that oppress them. "When it is considered there are 400 million African souls in the world. We can find no set the date for the revolution. If reason why they should not be linked precisely at the end of six weeks we in one universal Imperialism . . . her precisely at the end of six weeks we in one universal imperialism . . . ner can have "shop nucleus of no less than five members", why should we not set the date which the Red Army country."

Such arc the "successes" of the ague when real accomplishments arc ossible. A period which should have leant a League organization growing a influence membership, turns out ble a period of decay and demoral- ation.	CORRECT CLOTHES
The Economic Life of	For Men and Young Men
Soviet Russia	101-103 Stanton St., cor. Ludlow St.
by CALVIN B. HOOVER	New York City.
Duke University PRICE \$3.00 THE MACMILLAN COMPANY 60 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C. Order thru the <i>Revolutionary Age</i> , 63. Madison Ave., New York	LABOR AGE The Voice of Progressive Labor Points to the Next Steps in the
Tel. BOgardus 4-8873	American Radical Labor
B. & S. CAFETERIA	Struggle
26 EAST 28th STREET	\$2.50 a year 25c a copy
NEW YORK CITY	104 5th Ave., New York City

Can We Believe

Our Eyes?

Communist-Socialist Bloc Formed

In Braunschweig City Council;

What About Social-Fascism?



by Ben Gitlow

(Concluded from last issue) The General Trade Union Line

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When applied to the trade unions as a whole we are now able to see how ridiculous, how suicidal, the sectarian trade union line of the Party is. The statement of the C.C. published on Feb. 28 contains the following:

"The main lever by which the Communist Party organizes the basic mass of the proletariat is the trade unions. Our Party has not yet learned how to use this lever. In the United States there are 35,000,000 hired workers. Of them not more than a 2/2 million are organized in the A. F. of L. and other trade union alliances and only about 15,000 are organized in the revolutionary trade unions under the leadership of the Trade Union Unity League.

Only 15,000 claimed for all the TUUL unions and the actual memberships is even less! It is clear there can be no genuine mass revolutionary trade union movement without a powerful left wing in the A. P. of L. and other mass unions totalling 3½ million members.

* * * Our Line

Before the strike was actually called the Communist Party U. S. A. (Majority Group) formulated its position towards the same in a document issued to its memhership on February 10.

This document gave full approval to the appeal of Zimmerman, Nelson and Stenzor to the G.E.B. meeting of Decemher 25-28 and concluded as follows:

"We are not neutral on any strug gle involving the workers against the bosses. We can't determine our attitude by the number of workers in-volved in the strike. As far as the workers are concerned, for them it will be a genuine strike. The calling of the strike makes it important for us to give it our full support and to do everything in our power to bring the strike to a successful conclusion. This means that our comrades must participate in the strike, must be active in the strike and must do everything to inspire the workers to struggle militantly for their demands, against the ed. bosses. This does not mean that during the course of the strike we give up our right to criticize the leader ship whenever it acts against the in tcrests of the striking workers. All our comrades who are dressmakers and members of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union must go out on strike, whether they may be working in union or non-union shops. If our comrades are working in non-union shops then they must do everything in their power to pull the shops down on strike 100%. We should insist in this strike that special efforts should be made to organize the unorganized workers and to pull down on strike all open dress shops! We must insist that the strike must be directed mainly to the organization of the unorganized workers in the open dress shops.

The question therefore of our attitude to the dress shops of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union is important. We realized this when we put forward our proposals. for a united front. We are opposed to such a strike strategy which will bring to the fore a war between the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union on which union has jurisdiction over the workers of a particular shop. Such strike strategy will only help to develop a war between the workers, which will serve the interests of the bosses and not the workers. "We will fight most bitterly against 3. "Collaborating With the White Bosses" But the most insidious, the most danevery effort which will be made by the right wing officialdom of the Intergerous proposal is at the same time the national Ladies Garment Workers most wide-spread; the idea that the Negro Union to take over shops of the workers should adopt a conciliatory atti-Needle Trades Workers Industrial tude to the white capitalists, should make Union oc open shops called out on "concessions," in order to acquire a bet-strike by the Needle Trades Workers ter and firmer position in industry. This Industrial Union. At the same time attitude is common to practically all for the same reason, we will oppose all trends of Negro hourgeois social thought, for the same reason, we win oppose in trends of ryegro nourgeois social inoughe, moves on the part of the Needle from the Urban League to Garveyism, as Trades Workers Industrial Union, to the following illuminating quotations in-call out on strike dress shops of the dicate: International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Such action is bound to develop into an inter-union struggle that will divide the workers, dissipate the strike and help the bosses. "We call upon all members of our group to actively support the strike and to help win the strike. We must not forget that our policy is a policy for the development of unity among the workers and for a united workers class front against the bosses." * * *

were being made. The Daily Worker of Peb. 12 reports: "The settlement committee of the

union started yesterday to draw up agreements with the dozens of needle trades bosses who have applied for settlements to end the strike.

On February 22 the strike was prac-tically over. The item in the Daily Worker of February 23 proves this:

"In both cities the strike committees have begun to draw up settlements with the needle trade employers and asis, dress makers have gone back to work after winning the following demands: Recognition of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, affiliated with the T.U.U.L., an increase in wage, the 40-hour 5-day week, recognition of the shop committees, equal pay for equal work for young workers, women, and Negroes, abolition of all discrimination against

Negro dressmakers and unemployment insurance. "The Dress Contractors Protective Association in New York as well as independent shops have already signwork. ed agreements with the Industrial

Union to this effect." Note carefully that the actual agreenent with the Association is not quoted only the drafts of the strike committees. The Daily Worker of February 25 who went back to the settied shops were gives the actual details of the strike settlements, I quote:

"The answer of the Needle Trades] Workers Industrial Union to the contention that the present is a had time to strike is that more than 1,000 dress makers in New York City have gone back to work with increased wages, a 40-hour 5-day week, and recognition of the shep committees and of their fighting Industrial Union-the strike mass battles, marked by solidarity and has been in progress only a week."

Note here no statement of what the increase actually amounted to. No mininum wage scales worked out and no un whatsoever gained! A virtual debacle! employment insurance fund. The Daily Worker editorial on February 17 consider ed the unemployment insurance demand one of the most important when it stat-

"The enthusiastic action of whole What a tragedy for the left wing in shops walking out in recent days, shows the response of the workers to

the needle trades! A left wing that led the demands formulated. Not the masses in heroic struggles, the militancy least important of these is the demand for Unemployment Insurance, and heroism of which were an inspire a demand for which every worker should struggle and one for which all tion to the entire labor movement. The lesson of the dress strike dehack workers are urged to demonstrate on s: Into the mass organizations of the February 25, International Fighting Day Against Unemployment." workers, the trade unions! Organize new and build the left wing! Fight for What are the facts? Workers have all

a program of unity against the bosses, gone back on the old basis which is no conditions speed-up and long hours. Some against the reactionary officials in the inshops have actually consented to reducterests of the workers. Only by building tion in wages and prices for piece work. The failure of the strike is bound to rethe left wing in the needle trades, by organizing the unorganized, by a fighting sult in a worsening instead of an improvement of conditoins program based upon the realities of the

The Daily Worker of March 6 gives class struggle, will a mightly industrial added proof to the actual kind of settleunion of all the needle trades workers be ments made when it reports: achieved and victory won.

Problems of the Negro Masses

"Three More Shops Join Dress The Inprecorr cable published in Strike. 1800 Back at Higher Wages. he Daily Worker of March 20, 1931 More Than 1,800 Dressmakers Have leclares: Won Improved Conditions Since the Strike Began. These gains include 40-hour 5-day week, increases in wages, recognition of shop committees; and the Union. When it is consider ed that before the strike these 1,800 dressmakers worked 60-70 hours a week for starvation wages, the gains of the strike so far are obvious."

Shops were settled on an individual No definite understanding on elected by the Council." terms! Some shops were settled by the settlement committee, others by the shop We can hardly believe our eyes! Vhat is happening anyway? committees so that "special conditions"

could he granted to the hosses. There was complete demoralization. Workers fascism"? Are we to believe that with jobs at stake clamored for immediate the Communists have united the "sosettlements and a chance to get back on cial-fascists" to fight the Fascists? And what has happened to the "unitheir jobs regardless of the strike. Even the few Party members and sympathizers ed front from below only" according who came from open shops were given to which the Communists must never releases early and permitted to go back make a bloc with the Social-demo to work. The unemployed were kept in crats-which would be "betrayal"the halls to keep up the semblance of a strike while all the others went back to but must limit themselves to "calling

The strike settlements are very well characterized by the boss who said. "I settled with the Industrial Union because it is the weaker one and I am therefore

ence. The settlements, the conditions imposed upon the workers on their return to the shops, have aroused deep resent-ment and disgust. Workers are express-ing themselves bitterly against the left wing and the Communists. Such is the actual state of affairs among workers who only a few years ago were the spearhead we to assume that the "labor majoriof the militant workers in the American trade union movement and whose heroic-

determination, were an inspiration to the entire working class. What a settlement! No conditions

These are the fruits of the wrop: trade union policy of the Communist Party, "Red" union and TUUL leadership.

parliamentary body, the Communists must make an appeal to the Socialdemocrats for a bloc to form a "work-ers majority." This was repeatedly denounced as the rankest "opportunism" by the German Party leaders and the Comintern. Now-look what has happened in Braunschweig! Are

ty" tactics are readopted? Another question! If a Communist-Socialist bloc is permissible in

Braunschweig, why is it not permis-sible in the Reich? Today, with the Fascists boycotting the Reichstag, the Communists and Social-democrats have a majority. What about the ap-plication of the "labor majority" tac-tics here? What will the German Party do?

domination) in the breasts of the backward American white workers - And in this way too the Negro hourgeoisie is unwittingly playing the game of the worst enemics of the Negro race, the lily white capitalist lynch autocracy,

Not only does the "concessions" propaganda of the Negro bourgeoisie stimu ate the anti-Negro prejudices of the backward white workers; it also has an extremely deleterious influence upon the growing signs of class-consciousness in the ranks of the Negro workers, hindering and suppressing its development And here too the beneficiaries are simply and solely the capitalists.

But as against all of these arguments the contention is often raised that Negro worker-white-capitalist collaboration rep resents the "racial interests" of the Ne ro! The Negro worker, we are told, should subordinate his "lower" class in terests as a worker to his "higher" inter ests as a Negro. But this is a more deluion. In helping the white capitalists, th Negro workers would help precisely that element in modern American society un der whose inspiration, direction and protection the most shameful excesses against the Negro people are perpetrated. What the attitude of the Negro hourgeoisie in this respect really represents is a surrender of both the racial and the class interests of the Negro worker in favor of the class interests of the white capitalists! Between the class and racial interests of the Negro proletarian there is no conflict; both call him to struggle against and not you will very soon admit that worse collaboration with the white bourgeoisie, conditions exist when you take a

The propaganda campaign of the capitriving sections of the working class The Soviets are abandoning Commun-

day. The New York Times of March 16 arcies a dispatch bearing the headline SOVIET ABANDONS EQUALITY IN WAGES-Turns to the Capitalist Priniple of Pay According to the Prduction.

Unfortunately we have not the space here to examine the law of wages in all its "Under the new scheme the Commissar of Agriculture said the most complications which Marx so carefully difficult question - equalization of la-bor-was expected to be answered by and so brillianuly traces in his great work. One thing is clear: the value of the introduction of the piece work systhe labor-power which the worker sells tem in more than 85,000 collectives. for his wages represents the value of the The standard of wages would be fixed means of subsistence" for the workereither in money or in commodities, so out the means of subsistence at an histhat the man who worked hard would torically given standard of life. "The concept 'means of subsistence'

This question gives rise to a numbe f problems:(1) What is the law of wage nder capitalism? Do workers under canialism receive "pay according to the production"? (2) What is the law of disribution that replaces the capitalist law York Times makes out and as many Comnunists (with whom vague sentiment replaces thought) seem to believe?

How Wages Are Determined Under Capitalism

No greater piece of hypocrisy can be magined than the brazen assertion that permanently reduced)

under capitalism workers receive "pay ac-cording to the production"-no "cruder The money expression (the price) of the value of the worker's labor power is piece of vulgar apologetics parading as his, wages. The movements, of wages (that is: the oscillations above and below conomics! Under capitalism, as is well known "what the capitalist obtains by value) are determined by the factors that paying wages, consequently what he purdetermine the prices of commodities in hases from the laborer, is the latter's general-the interaction of supply and sower of working, his labor-power". (1) demand---in the case of labor-power: pri-Now, when the worker selis his labor marily the contraction and expansion of power to the boss, what determines how the industrial reserve army. much he gets for it? The amount of production (or the pro-

"The value of labor-power, is deductivity of the worker) has therefore termined, as in the case of every others, nothing directly to do with the determicommodity, by the labor-time neces pration of wages: about as much as the amount of production has to do with the sary for the production, and consequently for the reproduction, of this price of the coal used as fuel. Under capitalism production and wages represent two entirely different categories: the former may well, and frequently does inthe means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of the laborer crease, while the latter decreases.

His means of subsistence must there But, some one will say, this is all very fore he sufficient to maintain him in well for week-wages; what about piecewages where the worker gets for "what he produces?" But it his normal state as a laboring individpaid ual: His natural wants, such as food, But this is clothing; fuel, and housing vary acmore illusion! "Wages by piece are nothcording to the climatic and other phying else than a converted form of wages sical conditions of his country. On the by time." (4), Any worker knows this, other hand, the number and extent of knows that the price per picce is syshis so-called necessary wants, as she trinatically, cut as the number of pieces

The Struggle of the Textile Workers

HOW ARE THINGS IN PATERSON?

by Eli Keller

the modes of satisfying then, are produced in a given time-interval increasthemselves the product of historical de- es. In substance, place-wages are the velopment, and depend therefore to a same as week-wages, their advant-great extent on the degree of civiliza- age to the employer is that they provide tion of a country, more particularly on a mechanism for speed-up and for the the conditions under which, and consefrequent depression of wages below the quently, on the habits and degree of value of the labor-power. coinfort in which, the class of free laborers has been formed. In contra-distinction, therefore, to the case of What a monumental swindle it is in-

Problems of Socialism

Socialism and Wages

is a very changeable and flexible one.

"The high-standard English worker of

by Spectator

deed to claim that under capitalism workers get paid "according to the producother commodities, there enters into the determination of the value of la-

• • • • • bor-power a historical and moral ele-And Under Socialism? ment. Nevertheless, in a given coun-

try, at a given period; the average What happens then upon a successful quantity, of the means of subsistence projetarian revolution? The state power necessary for the laborer is practically known." (2). comes into the hands of the proletariat and is immediately turned to the task of

transforming the capitalist economic relations into the economic relations' of Communism, But the Communist society is not born over-night! It takes a whole historical epoch to produce it. What we have, in the transition period after the evolution, is a society

. . which has just issued actually from capitalist society, and which in consequence, in all respects-econo-mic, moral and intellectual-still bears the stimp of the old society from the womb of which it came." (5).

What we have in the transition period today regards the daily consumption of beef-steak, as necessary for life; the Chinese coolie lives on a handful o Communism is: the socialization of the neans of production and therefore the of rice. The flexibility of the means complete abolition of the possibility of of subsistence makes possible a simp the exploitation of the workers. alar struggle between capitalist and

After deductions from the fotal store worker over wages as over the length of the working day." (3). It is the consuming object of the capiof social products are made for the extension of industry, public welfare expenditures (education, etc.), the rest is divided up among the workers. But now-divided alisticmployer to utilize every turn in the economic situation, every chance and p equaliy?

possibility, to drive down the standard of Not at all! In the transition period to fle of the workers so as to diminish the complete Communism the law of distri-"necessary means of subsistence" and thin ower the value of labor power. (This bution is naturally a transition form beby the way, is what is happening in the ween the law of distribution of capital-ism and that of Communism. It is in U. S. A. today, where the old relative-ly high standard is being ruthlessly and fact the law which the bourgeois apologies absurdly claim as the law of capialism: wages according to production!

Such is the law in the transition period o Communism (Socialism).

"'He who does not work, neither shall he eat"-this Socialist principle is already realized. 'For an equal quan-'tity of labor, an equal quantity of products'-this Socialist principles is al-ready realized." (6).

Bot- finally:

"In the highest phase of Communist society, after the disappearance of the enslavement of man caused by his subjection to the principle of the division of labor, when, together with this, the opposition between brain and mannal work will have disappeared, when labor will have ceased to be a mere means of supporting life and will itself have become one of the first ne-cessities of life, when, with the allaround development of the individual, the productive forces, too, will have grown to maturity, and all the forces of social wealth will be pouring an tininterrupted torrent---only then . . will society be able to inscribe on its banner: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his need." (7).

So we see: what the bourgeoisie tries to make out is the law of distribution un-der the capitalist system ("wages accord-

ng to production") has never existed and

never, can exist under capitalism; it first

finds its realization in the period of Socialist transition to Communism. Only

when complete Communism is reached

will this law of distribution he replaced

by law which breaks entirely the mis-

1. N. 1984, 1997 1 talist world against the Soviet Unior takes on curious forms indeed but none is more curious than the charge by which the bourgeoisic hopes to sow disillusion and demoralization among the forward-

"Recent elections resulted in a Communist and Socialist majority in the Braunschweig Town Council. The two fractions have now agreed to cooperate in the fight sing they are returning to capitalism!" We against the bourgeois minority. The Socialists accepted the Comheard this cry in 1921 upon the introduction of the New Economic Policy, and munist conditions for the joint acwe hear it in almost the shme form totion. A Socialist chairman and a Communist vice chairman were

1. What has happened to "socialthe text explains:

receive more than the man who did

of wages once the rule of capital has been worthrown and society is engaged in miding Socialism? Are piece-wages incompatible with Socialism, as the New

upon the Social-domocratic workers to follow the Communist Party"? 2. For over two years now the * * * ferman Communist Opposition has Some Problems

been fighting against the scrapping of the old Communist tactics of the "Jabor majority"—according to which, wherever the Communists and Socialiemocrats form a majority in any

The Course of the Strike

The strike was called on February 17 The idea of a general strike was abandoned. It was called just "strike" to contrast it with the practice of right wing burderats of calling stoppages. The best that could be said for the strike was that ic was a very poor stoppage. The re-sponse was very poor. The Daily Worker avoided giving actual figures. Be tween 2 and 3,90 workers, employed and unemployed responded. Picketing was poor and ineffectual. On the second day of the strike the Daily Worker carried an appeal for the necessity of swelling picketing in order to win. Party mem bers and close sympathizers did not re spond and many, in stopping work, made no attempt to pull down other workers in order to have a possibility to return to work when given permission by the union to do so. Revolutionary phrases do not necessarily result in revolutionary ac-tion during a period of struggle. The line of the leadership sowed pessimism, defeatism, and the rankest opportunism in the ranks of the Party membership 2. and their close sympathizers,

Then-Settlements!

Three days after the strike settlements judice as such is an integral part of white



by Will Herberg

(Concluded from last issue)

capitalist ideology and it is precisely because the American working class is so ourgeois-minded (i.e., is so backward in class-consciousness) that it has allowed itself to be corrupted, in the most devious and subtle ways, by these "cultured" knights of the rope and faggot. Is not hiding this fact objectively almost the some as defending the lynchers and their protectors?

Is it not obvious that by "collaborating" with the white capitalist the Negro worker would be helping the oppressor play his old, old game: "Divide and rule!" By

"I believe that the interest of my making himself the tool of the white boss, people lies with the wealth of the na- the Negro worker would merely strengthtion and with the class of white pro- en the force that would beat him down ple who control it." (Bishop Castill further. Certain sections of the white rey). (6) employing class might quite conceivably welcome the "offer of collaboration"

"It seems strange and a paradox, hut the only convenent friend the Negro worker or laborer has in Amermade in the name of the Negro workers by the Negro bourgeoisie with the obica at the present time is the white capitalist. The capitalist being selfish ious purpose of playing off one section of the labor movement against the other: , is willing and glad to use Negro out what possible advantage---of other labor wherever possible on a scale than merely temporary, illusory character --- such maneuvers can bring the Negro reasonably below the standard union vorkers themselves not even the persuawage

sive tongue of Professor Miller can make "If the Negro takes my advice he will . . . always keep his scale of wages ut,

a little lower than the whites by doing so he will keep the good will of the white employer . . . " (Marcus One of the most serious aspects of the Negro bourgeoisie's propaganda of class Garvey). (7)

"There is every indication that it fa the intention of the great industries to loster and favor the Negro workman . . . For the Negro wantonly to flout their generous advances by joining the restless ranks which threaten industrial ruin would be fatuous suicide.

"At present the capitalist class possess the culture and conscience which hold even the malignity of race pas-sion in restraint . . . Whatever good or evil the future may hold in store for him, today's wisdom heedless of logical consistency demands that he stand shoulder to shoulder with the captains of industry." (Prof. Kelly, Miller), (8)

Is it necessary to undertake a serious refutation of Prof. Miller's remarks about the absence of race passion among the "cultured" white bourgeoisie? Race pre-

The course proposed by the Negro ourgeoisic for the workers is a course of futility and collective group suicide for the Negro proletariat, both as Negroes and proletarians. It is a course that com-

pletely subordinates the interests of the Negro workers and the Negro people as whole to the interests of the dominant white bourgeoisie (and; to a certain ex-

tent, to the interests of the upper strata of the Negro bourgeoisic closely bound up with the white capitalists). As against this course, the Negro workers and all elements of the Negro people who are

live to the real interests of their race nust offer another courses a course of awakening class-consciousness and growog racial militancy, a course of firm labor olidarity with the white workers (in spite of the hateful anti/Negro prejudices of the more backward sections), a course of united struggle against the white capitalist masters of this country whose rule

of ruthless exploitation rests upon the racial subjection of the Negro as well as upon the class subjection of the worker.

(6) Bishop Carey, in the Chicago Whia, March 29, 1924. collaboration between the Negro workers

and the white bosses is the fact that it (2) Amy Jacques-Garvey: Philosophy and adds fuel to the horrible flames of race Opinions of Marcus Garvey (1926), Vol. II, prejudice which the white bourgeoisie is pp. 69-70. lanning (not only deliberately but primari-ly thru the objective mechanics of class 1925.

Economic Week The WITH March practically gone peak of figures of 1929, show the and no tangible evidence of sharpest drop in many years. The

improvement at hand or in sight, the atmosphere is being prepared for postponing fully all hopes of a beginning of recovery until the Fall. The Department of Agriculture report that farm prices have reached the lowest level in twenty years has chilled the ardor of even the most fantastic optimists. All figures still indicate huge declines from the corresponding week of a year ago already seriously depres-sed and, when compared with the

car loadings increase for the week is below seasonal. There was a slight decline in automobile pro-duction last week. Steel is ending its very weak seasonal rise. A sharp zigzag movement still grips the stock market. The latest Fedcral Reserve report shows the U. S. capitalists to be in possession today of the largest gold supply ever held in any country-more than two and a half times the prewar size and over twice the amount U. S.

now held by France; the second wealthiest country. This acutely unhalanced relationship is worrying Wall Street and all other capitalist financial centres. At the, same time the U. S. capitalists, worried about political developments in Europe, are still wary of huge capital export. That is one reason why European money markets have recently assumed a more pessimistic attitude about the economic situation and outlook in the

Almost everybody has heard of the eral places, so that the whole thing dividual produces for society and what ad conditions in the Southern textile looks as if the building were sitting in mills-the long working hours, small a dirty black mudhole. Well, you go pay and bad working conditions. But inside. These places are always needing help because a worker can not remain very long in these pest holes trip thru Paterson silk mills. without getting rheumatism or some-* * * . thing of the sort." Before you start

Youn first impression is that the working the boss tells you that you 650 silk shops in the city were thrown together helter-skelter, heaped up on "are lucky to get a good job." You can work as many hours as you likemeaning: 16 to 16 every day-for which you will carn about \$40 a week. a pile. Once upon a time every huilding was one mill--several adjoining buildings even used to comprise one Such are the conditions all over the mill-and the various operations on city, the silk were done in different parts In

In the building where I am now of the building. But Paterson is no working there are no less than sixmore what it used to be. The big teen companies, altho it is only a three silk manufacturers have almost all story building of moderate size. In left. Paterson for Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, New York and Cona word, what exists in Paterson is the well-known sweat-shop system on a big scale. necticut. Today each building houses

several shops and these are partitioned off in various ways. So that when you go looking for a job you have to enter one and the same building from various sides to reach all of the shops. time and we talk. Some of the entrances are by the way of the fire escape or by way of specially built stairs to what was nce a window. Many of the silk shops never get a single ray of sunlight all day long shop."

You go around looking for a job on Van Houlen, Street at what is known as the "hatchery" because that block is known to hatch silk bosses us a chicken hatches eggs. The block is surrounded by a foul-smelling can-al, running thru, the building in sev-

he gets from society, * * * For the benefit of the "innocent" bourgeois writers it should be made clear that a system of "equality of wages" never existed in the Soviet Union-no, not even suder "war Communism"!

There always were greatly varying scales of wages in accordance with the special role of the class of workers in production, i.e., how much it contributed to the fund of social products. "Wages according to production" has been essentially the for-"Wages according to

mula of distribution in the Soviet Union since the October revolution. Whether these wages, are in the form of weekwages or piecewages is an altogether immaterial question: the form may vary, the character remains the same.

Two Worlds We start to work and pretty soon Why then piece-wages in the Soviet we get acquainted with the workers Union? asks the worker to whom the in the shop. We get together dinner idea of piece-work is quite justifiably as-"I only made \$36 sociated with the lash of the speed-up. läst pay," says one girl. "Well what do you want?" says a fellow. "You And here we come to the fundamental fact that the same external form hides see that Jewish man who works alongquite different contents in the U.S.S.R. and in the U.S.A. In the U.S.A. raside of me? Well, he gets \$60 a pay and he is the best worker in the tionalization (including "scientific man-"I remember when we went agement", the "Taylor system", etc.) rehome with \$110 every two weeks, broke in Dominick, an old Italian weaver, "and we only worked on two. presents forms for the intensive exploitations and inhuman destruction of labor. But in the Soviet Union-where exploilooms, eight hours a day. Now we tation of man by man has been wiped off work on four looms, ten hours a day, the face of the land---rationalization repreand Point make \$60 a pay if you sents a disciplined effort of the victorious kill me." "Does anybody belong to the union?" I ask in a lowered tone. working class to speed the building of Socialism.) And so with piece-wages. In They all look sheepishly. Quiet for a capitalist society, it is a horrible mechanfew seconds-then Dominick begins ism for speed up in order to pile even to talk to me confidentially in his huger profits at the feet of the boss. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, where capitalist exploiters are only a had long time ago. I was chairman in the memory, piece wages is (where necessary) a self-imposed incentive to mobilize all afraid of boss. That time we had lots the forces of the working class for the great historical mission which history has flicker. "But after a short time union given the Soviet proletariat the privi-broke—everything go to hell. After lege of initiating: the establishment of a that I belong to Associated and after free Communist society.

Marx: Capital, I. p. 189.
Marx: Capital; I. p. 190.
Rosa Luxemburg: Introduction to Economics (German), p. 257.
Marx: Capital, I. p. 602.
Marx: Critique of the Gotha Program.
Marx: Critique of the Gotha Program.
Marx: Critique of the Gotha Program.

broken: English. "We got no good union now. I belong to I. W. W. a shop. We make more money. We no of members," and his eyes show a flicker. "But after a short time union

that I belong to new union, National Textile Workers Union. But what's a matter he no got same fight? Workers no belong to union 'cause union no do something for him . . ." An this is the situation in Pater-



THE POOREST RICH COUNTRY IN THE WORLD

S LUMP or no slump, crisis or no crisis, the army of millionaires grows rapidly in the United States. In the world's poorest rich country the ranks of no-occupation at the top-coupon-clippers-mount as quickly as does the army of no-occupation at the bottom- the disemployed, jobpauperized workers. Crushing evidence of the correctness of the Marxian analysis of the foundations of American consists is the analysis of the less pauperized workers.

class foundations of American society is thus revealed in the report of the Buro of Internal Revenue just issued. On the basis of income tax payments for the year preceding, it is evident that there are at least forty the other fellow in the wrong will to fifty thousand millionaires in the country. Even the income tax reports suddenly stop-silence, an iron cen-(carefully manipulated and skilfully distorted especially by the wealthiest) sorship, scarehead extras, "We have been attacked!" Or, if it is against Russia, the headlines: "Red Hordes show that 38,650 persons received, in 1929, annual incomes of \$50,000 Overrun Bleeding Poland, Finland, Roumania"!—And then the sky will be or more. And this in a year of the worst stock market crash in the history of the country! In the same year when over \$50,000,000,000 were burnt up on the stock exchange, the number of those who not only are darkened with clouds of airplanes, the burnt up on the stock exchange, the number of those who hot only are carthwill rumble with gigantle tanks, worth a million or more but whose income increases yearly by a million the land will resound with the tramp Unprecedented in the history of capitalism, and, for that matter in of any class society before the minute interiment. dollars or more, has risen to 504.

will be wiped out at once. that of any class society before the present system, is such a phenomenon!

From 21 in 1921 to 207 in 1925, 390 in 1927, and 496 in 1928 is the record of constant growth of the kingpins of multi-millionairedom in Uncle Shylock's domain. That's just why the United States is the world's telegrams, the strategical-military-inpoorest and richest country at the same time. Viewing the matter socially, hist/rically, it can be said that the gap between the top and the bottom in the American class society is greater than the gap in any previous system or in any cother country based on the exploitation and oppression of one class by another. The gap between the pyramid builders and rulers of Egypt was never as wide as it is today between the skyscraper builders and bankers in the United States.

Of special significance is the report of the Buro of Internal Revenue this year. The year 1929 was a decisive year in American economic and therefore in American class development. It was the year of the highest production peaks yet attained by any country under captitalism. Precisely for this reason was it the year of the beginning of the most deepgoing economic crisis which not only rocked this country's productive apparatus but also was the signal for and the start of a world crisis of the most gigantic dimensions. Obviously, the topmost layer of the ruling class was not so very hard hit by the stock market debacle. Obviously they had MORE to lose and yet lost LESS than most people believed.

It is clear that what we said a long time ago on this question was very true. First of all, the number of workers who owned stocks was grossly exaggerated and, at most, constituted an insignificant' fraction of the stock owners of the country. Then, even the middle class, which was so much sucked into the whirlpool of speculation, was harder hit than genenally believed. At the same time, we cannot emphasize too strongly the fact that the wealthier the income tax payer the more easily could he report big losses and the more actually could be recover real losses.

Prior to the last war, confesses Sh What does this mean for the country? For the class developments Arthur Nicolson, leading British diand struggles in the country? The middle class had been much impovplomatist, erished. It was compelled to sell its stocks and bonds for next to noth-"the mobilization scheme prepared in 1910, had worked from the ing. The big capitalists have bought them for a song. The richest have first moment . . . without a bitch. All that remained by 9 P. M. on Aug. 4, 1914, was to dispatch the grown still richer. The middle class has grown poorer. And the working class has been driven into the worst horrors of poverty! Thus have the gaps between the classes been widened by the very severity of the economic warning telegrams to every British consul on the face of the globe crisis. Digging beneath the surface of government statistics, we can truly The telegrams had already, been say that the country has become a land of a hundred thousand million printed in advance and had reposaires and a hundred million very poor-constantly exposed to the cruel ed for years in what was known as the War press. All that was lashes of poverty, hunger, and misery. The deadly speed with which wealth is being concentrated is furthermore shown in the latest financial required was to affix with the rubber stamp the one word 'Germany' reports of such giants of industry as the United States Steel Corporation, in the blank space.³ the General Electric Company and the American Telephone and Telegraph Corporation. But the social pyramid is inverted. It is standing on its head. As the base of the workers, poor farmers, and lower middle class layers wid- deess rehearsal for the second. On ens, the top, the point, of the pyramid (nulti-millionaires) narrows. The Jan. 13, 1931, Secretary of War Hurobjective basis for sharp class battles is thus being prepared. When the ley told reporters: day of reckoning does come it will be brutally decisive. The awakening of the American toiling masses is slow. Just for that reason it will be rapid and intense when it does comes. Today, the cloud of revolutionary working class struggle can be seen on the horizon no more than the size of a man's finger. However, the storm is brewing. The class lines are tightening. Tomorrow, this cloud will be the size of a hand. The day after, historically speaking, it will be a mighty sky-filling of a fist-the fist of the proletarian dictatorship beginning the building of a new, a classless society.

The Next War How It Will Begin

Everything Ready - Only A Dress Rehearsal - New York Wiped Out - Aircraft Destroy British Factories

by Bertram D. Wolfe

"Wars will no longer be declared", writes Colonel Fuller, winner of the gold medal of the Royal United Sermass attack." ening of the sky, and then the flood"

The anxious optimism-filled days

Everything Ready

Estimated Loss of Bolder Lives

in Becont Ward.

LAND BATTLESHIPS



shricks from 134 metal propellers ... as the aircraft squadrons of the battle fleet swooped down in "Led by the Martin bombers and flying low. . , close behind and

The British board of strategy reported after air raids on London that the city could not be defended. The attacking planes were able to fly too high for anti-aircraft guns (loaded planes have been making height records of over 25,000 feet) and were able to swoop down at a speed of four miles a minute. When struck instead of

done to others Inhabitants in

a few hours were subjected to for-

ty-six terrific attacks of high ex-

York Times, August 16, 1930.)

plosives and gas shells." (New

dropping their poisonous load a bomb at a time ,the whole load of 5 to 10,-000 lbs. of poisonous gas comes down at once! Again we recall the words of Fran-

cis Garvan:

"As a sower of death a bombing plane is more effective than a 50,000 ton battleship. "The intimidation and slaughter

of non-combattants, the razing of which never ceases for a moment and citics and destruction of crops, crippling of transportation and ist world, violence is absolutely inevitable. sinking of ships will go on simul-taneously. It is "morality"—is to be determined not

"One manufacturing plant can

Cost of World War compared with Cost of All Wars

19

only pertinent question is that of tacti-cal efficacy.

Mr. Adamie's labor sympathies are obviously in the direction of anarchorsyndicalism so that there is a tendency to exaggerate the heroic individual at the expense of the mass and to misconstrue omewhat the social role of violence. For violence is not in itself essentially or independently creative: its social efficacy depends entirely upon the historical direction in which it is used. Force may retard the development of a movement or a system for which there is an objective historical basis and necessity but produce enough poison in one day to stifle the life in a city like Lon-

it cannot destroy it or prevent its enter-gence. On the other hand, force may serve and very often has served to give Next Week: "SCIENCE GOES TO the fast quietus to an outlived and histori-WAR," ly, throot history force has always been the "midwife of every old society preg-nant with a new one" (Marx). But the

role of force is always strictly subordinat-ed to the course of social development.

The book makes it quite clear that class violence and class consciousness are not at all interchangeable terrors. The

* * *

The latter sections of this book

(dealing with racketeering, the prospects

for the future, etc.) are very weak in

comparison with the book as a whole-

Mr. Adamic even harbors some illusions about the "new capitalism?" The con-clusions reached, altho suggestive, are only very partially valid, and, as such-misteading. Mr. Adamic does not point

out the absolutely fundamental fact that,

altho gaugsterism (i.e., the use of hired

strongearm men not themselves in the

change: it became the weapon of con-servative official eliques in the unions to

terrorize the membership and to force i

BETWEEN HAMMER

PASSOVER NUMBER With a Side Glance at St. Patrick's Day)

God and the Matzoth Trust

of the history of class violence in the Two sets of praying rabbis got God all mixed up the other day. Rabbi Weinberger, Inc., manufacturer of "high grade" matzoth sued the Matz-United States -the classical land of violence. It is well done indeed and exerts a gripping interest upon the reader. It oth Trust which control 85% of the matzoth trade for injuring his boly makes a worker proud of his class to read the long rale of its heroism, martyrdom traffic in unloavened bread. (For the benefit of those readers who don't know what they are, matzoth are a

Whatever may be the secondary short-comings of this book, they must all be was out, Rabbi Weinberger prayed to God to give him a good decision with forgiven in favor of the trank and vigbig damages. When the Matzoth brous pro-labor bias of its author and the complete absence in it of any trace of the hypocritical "horror" of violence Trust saw this unfair attempt to influence the jury, they got a whole batparaded by bourgeois writers of all tery of rabbis busy praying in the shades. Mr. Adamic openly sympathiz-corridors of the Federal Court. God es with the working class and its striv- got all confused and the jury disagreed. ings and so refuses to condemn, from a

"moral" standpoint, any manifestation of working class violence. On the contrary, God and the 18th Assmendment he defends (as against capitalist society) Rabbis are praying to Hoover for special freedom to distribute wine working class violence as such and courdemns capitalist violence as such: much to the scandal of the Pecksmilian New unquestioned to pious worshippers of the god of Abraham and Isaac, A York Times reviewer. Mr. Adamic makes it quite clear that the class war is a war. Hoover. Why can't he ask God to which, as Bill Haywood used to say change sink water into wine! What's the matter, has God gotten out of practice in working miracles? Or doesn't he really care whether his chosen people drink wine on Passover or not?

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The Money Changers in the Temple Rev. Dr. Fulton J. Sheen preached sermon against the Soviet Union ccently at St. Patrick's Cathedral.

"Does it mean anything to you that the Soviet government committed outrages against the church. The Church is the body of Christ, so we should all feel what is going on."

A Church which preaches a crusade against the workers' government is the body of Mammon. And it keeps its belly round and fat with its shares of exploitation.

Millinery Economics Rev. W. A. Robbin rises to explain

apitalist depression. "It's not the cost of the hat, but of he feather Americans want to put nto it, that caused the depression." It's not the feather Rev. Robbins is talking thru-it's the hat.

"The Lord Will Provide" "Unemployment", reports the Unit-ed Lutheran Synod, "has now hit the Jutheran Cleryy?

Somebody should now tell them: "Take no thought for your life. chat ye shall caf, or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body more than raiment?

Blessed be ge poor: for gours is the kingdom of god.

"Blessed are ye that hunger now: for ye shall be filled. Blessed are ye that are now: for ye shall laugh."

Or don't Lutheran ministers believe in the Bible when they're unemployed?

Found on Tombstories in a City

* * * EAST SIDE EPITAPHS

Cracked Communist heads

l said



with gas, had demoralized the section with high explosive and were off on the same mission down-town. . . . "(New York Times, May 10, 1930).

At the same time that New York was being blown to atoms, its inhabitants toasted to a crisp by incendiary bombs and the whole area rendered uninhabitable for months by being drenched with poisonous gases:

Aircraft Destroy British Factories "In three full days of fighting, three of Redland's (northern England) important industrial towns and one great scaport were rendered unteriable and much damage was

Attack Renewed

THE SPIES MUST BE DRIVEN OUT!

A Letter from the Anthracite

From 1793 (beginning of Napoleonic Wars) to 1910 just as matter-of-course and as little open to "moral" lamenting as the use of violence in any war appears to a syne pathizer of one of the belligerents. The



Books

DYNAMITE, The Story of Class Violence in America, by Louis Adamic.

The Viking Press, New York, 1931.

and suffering.

This book presents a spirited account

Let no one grow impatient or lose his head and flee to the cover of high-sounding but meaningless "revolutionary" phrases. Let us remember the message of Lenin: "In the United States it will be harder for the working class to win power but it will be easier for our class to construct the Socialist society." and the second

"FIVE INCHES OF BANANA A DAY"

"Eight unemployed girls lived on five bananas'a day." The story of these girls is told by Miss Frances Perkins, State Industrial Commissioner of New York State. "They found that ten cents worth of bananas gave greter satisfaction than ten cents worth of any other food. Using a yardstick as a measure the girls cut the bananas into eight equal portions. About five inches of banana was each one's daily meal. Two dollars a week scraped up among them gave the girls enough money to rent a shabby room in an unpleasant neighborhood. n

And this is the richest country in the world, the richest country in all history!

These girls are no exceptions. Says Miss Perkins: "Distress from unemployment among single women is now unprecedented." As a matter of fact, the eight girls mentioned seem to have been rather fortunate: they had a few cents for the bananas and the two dollars for the weekly rent. What about the tens of thousands of girls who have neither?

And this in a country in which the number of men with a MILLION a declaration of war. "To dally over And this in a country in which the number of men with a MILLION a declaration of war. To daily over DOLLAR INCOME increased from 60 in 1914 to 504 in 19291 And this in a country in which the wealth of the rich grew tremendously during and as a result of, the economic crisis! Unemployed girls live on five inches of banana a day. But one spoiled plume hat—'Gentlemen of France, fire

Unemployed girls live on five inches of banana a day. But one spoiled and pampered brat of a robber-baron in Washington spends \$230,000 on one "coming-out" party! .

handful of blood-sucking parasites roll in luxury while the workers, who fleets will cross the oceans and re- 63 Madison Ave., New York City. produce all the good things in life, drag out their lives in poverty, insecuri-ty and misery.

Away with this crazy system which is driving the world to chaos and destruction. It must make way before Communism in which the vast masses of humanity for the first time in many, many centuries, will be able to win an existence worthy of human beings.

Only a Dress Rehearsal Yet the first world war was only a

This depends where an experiment of the equivalence of the end of the end of the many sectors are been with events of each on these back have been back.

blank to be filled out the last mo-

ment

"We have not failed to profit by the lessons we learned in 1917 and 1918. Our plans then for mobili-

The arrest of these two workers zation of man powers and of industry were vague and incomplete. "Tomorrow a different and brighter picture would be presented. With the declaration of war by The arrested workers made some suggestions as to who the spies might be Congress there would spring into immediate action elaborately and and there was an understanding then carefully conceived organizations that the Party and the International for the marshalling not only of Labor Defense would investigate the trained forces of soldiers but of in-

dustrial resources . "For ten years selected officers have been studying the situations under which our national sceurity On March 7, 1931 at 1 P. M., commight be jeopardized and have depany police seized the mine worker, N. K., and dragged him from the termined the kinds and amounts of supplies needed in such emergen-

mine, in which he was working to the company office where Federal detectives were waiting for him. There he

searching out and listing factories was kept a few hours, questioned, suitable for the production of guos, and then taken to his home for furairplanes and the many other items ther information. On March 17, at 4 on our list. We know just where P. M. the same Federal detective came these factories are located and just what they are capable of produc-of Nick Borich.

availability of raw materials have been made ... Eminent men in all branches of industry will be brought together to serve in a governmental agency for coordinating and unifying the industrial

effort we must put forth. "I intend to concentrate much will get to a place where you will of my effort while in office on the plans for industrial mobilization". Obviously, there will be no time for

and the second second

first!"" Without warning, wave upon wave AGE. Subscribe now!

New York Wiped Out "New Yorkers who were sleep-

ing late yesterday morning in the

cies . . . For years we have been

The Cat Is Out of the Bag The suspicion that there was a spy

at work again arose. Then the cat was let out of the bag! On March 17, at 9 P. M., in an argument between the worker N. K. and Mike Vran-jesh, Jr. the truth came out. Mike Vranjesh, Jr. shouled to N. K.: "You

SUBSCRIBE!

The REVOLUTIONARY AGE brings you weekly information of the most important political developments internationally and at home, news and reviews of the world of labor, articles on the most important problems facing the revolutionary movement in all countries. If you are a wide-awake worker you cannot do without the REVOLUTIONARY so Columnist) movement that a book of

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I want to subscribe to the Revolutionary Age. I am enclosing \$2.50 circumstance. But the whole American

ADDR#SS ______ ture of its own best trad. own bitterest sufferings. OTTY _____ STATE

mid-town area were awakened by the roar of many motors, the

Wilkes Barre, Pa. In the month of October, two South-Slavie workers were donounced to the Federal officials as "illegal" inunigrants and radicals. These two of work and put into the county jail. Some months after their arrest, they of work and put into the county jan. Some months after their arrest, they were sent to Jugoslavia where both of them will feel the heavy hand of re-action because they were both army demonstrate. And these people are internet agents. And these people are wither the demonstrate of sector than the transet and of the Wobblies was violence of the Chicago Anarchists and of the Wobblies was violence that came with a high degree of class conscious-action because they were both army either Party members or sympathiz- anything eise is that the conditions of ers with whom Mike is in contact. capitalist production are such as to give raised some suspicion that it was the Whatever may be true about himself, work of a spy in the Communist Par-ty or among the sympathetic workers. he knows something about the donumrise to working class violence at every

stage of the development of the class he knows something about the donun-ciation of these workers because of the struggle, from the lowest to the highest. In the United States, working class vioplain statement that he made. We put lence has not yet reached its supreme class

this up to the Party officials. Are they going to take action and investi- role—utilization by a thereby trained take gate and find the guilty ones? Or Marxist party as a revolutionary weapon Marxist party as a revolutionary weapon We have had no 1905's or Spartakus up matter immediately. But of course will they let things go on, let more the whole matter was soon forgotten. workers be victimized, and let the risings. But that should make us cherish our traditions all the more and dare spies go untouched?

to build upon them. -A Wilkes Barre Worker

INTERRACIAL DANCE

Saturday Eve. April 4, 1931

Howland Studio 1660 Fulton St. Brooklyn

auspices of

labor movement) may have made its apweapon against the bosses, it did not take long before it underwent a complete

to accede to the most brazen conces sions to the employers. In this lies the dangerous character of gaugsterism as a trade union method; it tends to make the officials independent of the membership

It is characteristic of the ideological backwardness of the American labor (al this sort should have to wait for one poorganically connected with labor move-(\$1.50) for a year's (6-months) sub. NAME working class owes a vote of thanks to Mr. Adamic for baving presented to it, in so skilful manner, so spirited a picworking class owes a vote of thanks to Mr. Adamic for having presented to it,

—XYZ

Churchyard I. James J. Walker In my pearl gray spats And pearl gray stetson, White boutoniere, And fifty-five natty changes of make-up, I put on some show! I wrote my own, songs And made my own wisecracks, When my blue-clad bullies

 ${\mathbb Z}^{\times}$

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"Laugh that off! When the unemployed crowded City Hall Park Asking for bread I asked: "When will the ice-cream be served?" When they didn't get the joke, I told the cops: "Let 'em have it!" That was some crack. When the flop-house, slop line funds ran out. I ran out. I went to Palm Springs 'Cause I hate to see people suffer. I put on some show! But there came an election year And hell broke loose with investigations

It raised an awful stink And spoiled the show. My gags didn't go over so hot.

I got tired of it! Those dumb eggs didn't know a good act when they saw one.

II. Rabbi Stephen Wise

Here lies a child of Isaac and Abraham

Who had a contract with God And knew how to use it And a "mike" and roof-shaking

voice. Silver tongue, golden tongue! How I loved to hear myself talk! In peace time I was for peace. war time I was for war. My reformed temple looked like a

And the greatest money-changers came to listen. Silver tongue, golden tongue!

Now the moss has grown over my mouth.

after my voice stopped Maybe I never said anything . .

-B, D. W.

bank How I loved to hear myself talk! Nobody ever thought of my words

ture of its own best traditions and of its But how I said it!

