WALL ST. PLANS

FOR NEXT WAR

Arthur, chief-of-staff, to the War Poli-

actions of the imperialist governments in preparing for the inevitably coming next war shows exactly what these phrases

In the next war, which the imperial

ist powers are now plotting, it will be the sons of the workers and farmers of

co resist the danger of new world war,

and, in case war does come, to use their

Prominent Writers Send Telegram to Gov. Rolfe

The following was sent by thirty-three prominent authors to Governor Rolph

California, appealing for the release

"All the facts in the case as brough

out in the Supreme Court hearings convince us that Mooney and Billings were convicted on perjured testimony and are

as trial Judge Griffin states, innocent of

the crimes with which they were charged.
"We are at a loss to understand why
California still imprisons men of whose

innocence such clear proof has been brought out. The issue is a concern not

to Californians, but to those eager for the cause of justice throughout the country." Sinclair Lewis, Sherwood Anderson,

Mary Austin, Harry Elmer Barnes, Steph Vincent Benet, Konrad Berkovici,

nocent of the frame-up charges against

Mooney and Billings!

of Mooney and Billings:

power against their exploiters.

mean in fact.

WORKERS OF ALL

COUNTRIBS

UNITE

PRICE 5 CENTS

VOL. II. - No. 25.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 23, 1931.

Boost and Build the Weekly Age!

### Philadelphia Moves Up

THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS

To Mobilize 4,000,000 Men THE subscription drive is getting un- sending in one dollar for the Revolution-for World Slaughter For World Slaughter factories who are beginning to learn the first elements of the principles of the WASHINGTON - War Department class struggle, are answering our call.

A member of the New York District plans for the mobilization of an army of 4,000,000 thru conscription and for of the Communist Party writes: "I am un-employed for a long while. Anyhow I am the complete mobilization of the nation's industries in the next war were described on May 13 by General Douglas Mac-

### Artatin, chieforsian, to the wan for cies Commission. At a time when the politicians and diplomats are talking phrases about "peace" and "international goodwill", the TO EXPEL RADICAL STUDENTS IN N. Y.

#### Kiernan Makes Proposal Ir Board of Alderman; Oath ty in the United States, of Allegiance Included

this country that will be sent out to be slaughtered for the profit of Wall Street. The masses of the people, especially the workers and the farmers, should awaken to the grove menace of the situation The dismissal of any student in an lementary school, high school or college right now, should organize their forces maintained by New York City for par-ticipation in any Communist or militant labor demonstration ("any group . . opposed to the traditions and ideals o imerican citizenship") was advocated on 33 AUTHORS FOR May II in a resolution introduced in the Board of Aldermen by James F. Kier-nan of the Forty-first district in Brook-MOONEY RELEASE

Aldermen Kiernan grew very indigant over the large numbers of students hat had participated in the May Day demonstrations and meetings recently. These groups of students had borne ban-ners of their schools. The alderman declared that his proposal was endorsed by all sorts of veterans and patriotic organi-

ance in the public elementary schools, high schools, teachers training schools, or colleges of the city of New York an oath of allegiance to the United States and a renunciation of all and any alleg-iance to any other nation, flag, party or roup whatsoever."

Dr. George S. Counts, professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia, sharply criticized M. Kiernan's resolution Heywood Broun, Howard Brubaker, Blass a "denial of freedom of speech and mer Davis, Walter Prichard Eaton, Of thought". Other well-known educators Ferber, Dorothy C. Fisher, Lewis Gandal State of thought.

The proposal of Alderman Kiernannett, John Pahner Gavit, Rupert Hughes, Fannie Hurst, Inez Haynes Irwin, H. which does not have to be formally pas-L. Mencken, Edna St. Vincent Millay, sed by the Board of Alderman to be Albert Bigelow Paine, Cornelia Stratton actually carried out by the educational Parker, Elmer Rice, Felix Reisenberg, authorities—is the newest phase of the Edwin Arlington Robinson, Carl Sand systematic drive upon labor being con-Vincent Starrett, Mary Heaton ducted by the capitalist class and all its Vorse, Joshua Wanhope, Robinson Jef agencies in this country. The whole la-fers, Will Irwin, William Allen White, her movement must unite, regardless of rs, Will Irwin, William Allen White, bor movement must unite, regardless of the entire front against the leadership of the S. P. and against its anti-Socialist Mooney on a life-sentence at a time when of the working class from persecution | averybody in the country knows that and discrimination because of their pro-Mooney and Billings are absolutely in labor views and activities.

Izvestia Editor Changed them, is a dangerous menace to the whole labor movement. The American Comrade Krumin, editor-in-chief of Izworkers must wake up! Freedom for vestia, has been removed, and replaced by Comrade Iwan Gronsk.

der way in every district. Party ary Age."
members, sympathizers, workers in Philadelphia is getting into the drive

with all forces and real spirit. The comrades write:
"The comrades are taking up the campaign for the 'Age' quite enthusiastically . . . .

"A decision was made at the last meeting that every comrade contribute zations, expirations and open-air meetings, besides individual work, will circularize the comrades weekly with a report of the progress of the campaign and to spur them on."

Special interest in the premium offer of a splendid bronzoid bust of Ruthen-

From the western Pennsylvania coal fields subscriptions have already begun to come in ahead of the date set for the opening of the campaign,

The Needle Trades and Down Town unit of New York have set their machin-broken. The striking miners, affiliated cry into full motion in advance of the with the United Mine Workers of Amer-Opening date and are already running ica, are putting up a strong battle. The neck to neck.

n one week in advance of the drive, al. the population is unemployed, ready total more than 200 points. They | The state government working for the represent subscriptions from various see- coal companies is trying to smash the tions of the country. Old subscribers are strike with outright military terror and nastening to renew. Some of them are a drive to throw the best lighters into sking for extension of their subscriptions jail. n order to get the premium.

But most of the subscribers are new subscribers, workers who have either confederacy". One coal miner is charg-been getting the "Revolutionary Age" ed with murder, with some regularity or irregularity every W. B. Jones, secretary of the local with some regularity or irregularity every W. B. Jones, secretary of the local week. These new subscribers have in of the United Mine Workers of American reason indicated their real satisfaction with the "Revolutionary Age" as a fight-growing out of the death of three deputions are subscribed in the reason. lared that his proposal was engoised by lared that his proposal was engoised by lared that his proposal was engoised by lared the real satisfaction actions.

No action was taken on the resolution upon its introduction; it was referred to the committee on rules.

The resolution also provides that the being decided in the United States Sulvational lared that his being decided in the United States Sulvation lared the workers of America.

Week.

Week

#### Workers Fight Back System of Boss Guards; Militia Aids Employers

The miners in Harlan, Kentucky, are in open rebellion against the continued system of mine guards. The coal companies, in order to break the strike, have hired a band of notorious gun-men as 50 cents towards sending sympathizers guards of the mining property. The the 'Age' for 6 weeks. So far we striking coal miners are especially sore have only planned to cover organia at the double dealing of Governor Samp son, who in order to break the lighting morale of the coal diggers ranks, made manouvers by promising the workers that the brutal guards would be withdrawn. Nothing of the sort has happened. his open support of the King Harlan Coal Company owned by the Detroit Edison Company (Rockefeller-Morgan Corporation), the governor has rushed the national guards into the coal fields to back up the private gun-men.

The workers answered this by 450 more coal miners joining the strikers ranks. The "truce" has been completely The preliminary subscriptions, handed great distress because nearly 75% of

Already 29 workers have been indicted, charged with "robbery, banding and

# S. P. 'Militants' Collapse at City Meet; Fully Endorse Hillquit Stand

"Militants" Support Liberal Resolution On City Investigation; Virginia State Convention Adonts Left Wing Stand On Soviet Union

As was foreseen in the columns of the Revolutionary Age, the failure of the "militant" movement in the Socialist Party to make a vigorous struggle along policies and for a policy of revolutionary Socialism has led to a decided deterioration of this movement and to the success of the offorts of the clever Hillquit ourogracy to "kill it with kindness," This was shown at the last City Convention of the S. P. in New York, at which the 'militants" had nothing better to offer than some minor differences on party centralization and a mild amendment to the city investigation resolution. The convenook place on May 9 and 10, 1931.

The value of these "militant" proposals can best be illustrated when it is noted that Morris Hillquit found it possible to support them on the first proposition and that their amendment on the city resolution was adopted by a large majority. The resolution, which is a pure Thomas liberal one and contains not a vestige of militancy and class struggle (which the leaders of the "militants" are so ready to talk about. nut not to act upon) says that the S.P. will continue to study the vital problems of rity administration and functions (and) endeavor to evolve a plan of far-reaching reform designed to provide lasting foundations for a government that will be operited honestly, efficiently, and democratically for the benefit, protection and well-

being of the people" (Our emphasis).

Not only did the "militants" place upon themselves the stigma of voting for such a resolution; they have become the instrument thru which the provisions of the resolution will be carried out For, out of nine members of a committee elected to carry out the resolution, live are "militants". Perhaps now it will be clear to the rank and file of the "militant" movement that the "militants' must either follow out the logic of their ight and come over to Communism or else capitulate to Hillquit

Here are a few more gems from this uilitant" resolution;

"Lasting reform in the city government will come only when a party of clean political and rocial ideals, such as the S. P. organically opposed to the morals and methods of the old parts ies, and representing the interests of the large masses of workers, will secure substantial representation in the administration of the city with the op-

portunity to scrutinize and power to check its policies and conduct 'Corruption and inefficiency are, however, not our sole or principal grievance against the administration of the city. We are even more concerned about its total failure as an

agency of social welfare." These two paragraphs, with the one reviously quoted, are the kernel of the esolution. It is clear that there is not a word of Socialism in it. Literally, the word Socialism is not even mentioned! The government is characterized not as an instrument of rule of the capitalist class, but as an "agency of social wel-The resolution wants, not the

abolition of the capitalist system, but the institution of "lasting reforms". Changes can be made not thru the organized might of the workers, not thru the overthrow of the capitalist class, but thru securing representation for some reformist party, the S. P. or some party like" it!

The fact that the same individuals who toted for this resolution only a few nonths ago introduced a resolution criicizing the reformist character of the Socialist party's election campaign, that they openly spoke of the proletarian dictatorship, of the development of Socialsm in the Soviet Union and of the neessity of ending the reformist role of the Socialist party, indicates the truth of the contention of the Revolutionary Age: Either a consistent and logical struggle against the reformist theories and pracices as a whole and thus an approach to Communism, or back to the swamp of (Continued on page 2)

# HARLAN MINERS Spanish Masses Attack Church, Drive Out Priests; Zamora Turns Guns on People

Popular Hatred Against Church Flares Up All Over Spain As Bulwark of Monarchy and Exploiter of Peasantry; Civil Guard Aids Reaction

the overthrow of Alfonso was supposed ter does not prevent it from being the

(Majority Group)

MADRID.—Four days of uninterrupt.—The immediate object of the revolutionary mass activity of the tionary resentment of the masses is to is the symbol of all they had hoped to workers and lower middle classes in the day the Catholic Church which has earn aholish once and for all with the abooig cities of Spain during the last week ed the bitter haired of the people as the signalized the beginning of the end of most vicious exploiter of the peasantry the "honeymoon period" of the republic and as the bulwark of political and culcan revolution, the period of widespread tural reaction. The Spanish Church is rejoicings over the "new era" of "peace reputed to own about one-third of the and happiness and social harmony" that land in Spain and its "spiritual" charac-

lition of the monarchy.

During the days of May 10, 11, 12 and

13, hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of Spanish people engaged in powerful demonstrations against the Church in eight of the biggest cities of Spain and n many smaller towns, in the course of which several dozens of churches, monasteries, convents, jesuit houses, etc. were burned down and demolished. The center of these demonstrations

was Madrid, with Saragossa, Cordova, Cadiz, Bilbao, Seville, and Malaga not far behind. Huge masses milled the streets, shouting: "Down with the mon-archists!", "Down with the Jesuits!", "Long live the Republic!" The Civil Guard (police), who attempted to come to the rescue of the hated priests, were easily brushed aside and the firemen either refused or were prevented from putting out the flames.

The outhurst of resentment against the Church was fired by the recent brazen public declaration of the primate of Spain, Cardinal Segura, urging the restoration of the monarchy. Cardinal Segura is now reported in flight to France for a conference with Alfonso.

The demand is being raised everywhere oday for the expulsion of the religious orders (monks, nuns, Jesuits) from Spain. Fifty thousand of the members of the religious orders are reported in light or hiding.

The government "attributed" the disorbances to "monarchist and Communist intrigues" and immediately proceeded of suppress the Communists (not the onarchists!)

The anti-Church mass demonstrations were finally suppressed by the republi-can government which declared a state of stege (martial law) in all most im-portant centers of Spain and sent out eliable" troops into the provinces. But t is everywhere recognized that the suppression is no more than temporary and that a new outburst of mass activity is certain to come.

Another object of the mass hatred of the people is the Civil Guard (the police) which has audaciously flaunted its pro-monarchist sympathies in the face of the cople: Big-demonstrations before the Ministry of Interior, which is in charge of the police, raised the demand: "Reorganization of the Civil Guard!"

In Madrid and Barcelona hig strikes have broken out among the workers. On a number of battleships, especially the Don Jaime I, mutinies of sailors have broken out against the pro-monarchist naval officers and against the miserable food and living conditions,

### The Popular Revolution Begins

The Spanish revolution is now at a

urning point. The "honeymoon period"

is beginning to end. The masses of the workers, farmers and lower middle class are beginning to ask: Who is benefitting "The policy pursued by certain by the republican overthrow? The bourgeois-republican coalition government that has held the reins of Spain for the tions in wages constitutes a public vio- last month has arrogantly failed to keep lation of the understanding reached at its rosy promises to the masses; It has not suppressed the monarchists; on the contrary, it has allowed the monarchists to organize openly, to store arms, to prefrom an ethical and economic point pare their counterrevolution. But it has suppressed the revolutionary labor organizations! It has refused to take the least step in land, reform and in break. ing up the vast estates. It has done absolutely nothing to help the proletarian masses. It has maintained the system of national domination over Catalonia and the Basque provinces and of colonial domination over Morocco. It has taken no serious step in separating the Church from the state and in tearing off the dead hand of the Church from the life of the When the A. F. of L. burocrats are country. And now, when the masses are showing increasing signs of disillusionment, the provisional government, in the approved style, is answering with mar-

The present Zamora government cannot last. It will give way very soon in one of two directions: either to the right, Mr. Green now cries about "public vio- restoration of the monarchy or some sort some of the more reactionary ministers sia in 1917). On the shoulders of the Socialist party falls the counter-revoluised"-and immediately began to slash ary mass activity of the workers and peas-

(Continued on Page 2)

## A. F. L. COUNCIL "PROTESTS" AGAINST WAGE-CUTS, BUT - - NO STRIKES

THE FLOWER OF CAPITALIST CIVILIZATION

Green Declares Wage-Cut Drive "Violation" of Understanding" with Hoover; Silent On Own Sell-Out Pact And On Need For Striking Against Wage-Cuts

WASHINGTON -- The Executive eral wage-cutting campaign and goes on: Council of the American Federation of Labor issued a "challenge", May 13 "de-onuncing wage-cutting policies as contributing to a continuation of unemplayment" and calling upon "all workers, organized or unorganized, to resist to the fullest extent."

"Obviously the situation is serious," reads the statement. "Unemployment has steadily increased. The stress of almost two years of increasing unemployment is being more keenly felt. Suffering and distress prevail, while social unrest is steadily increasing. There are strong in dications that we are facing a third Win ter of distressing unemployment.

The statement then refers to recent wage-cuts launched by the Goodyear and Goodrich tire companies and to the gen-

banking interests and employers of labor in attempting to enforce reducthe President's conference. The coun-seil holds that the action of these employing interests is indefensible both "The executive council proposes to

appeal to the workers to stand firmin opposition to wage reductions, The council will urge working men and women, both organized and unorganized, to resist to the fullest extent any and all attempts to reduce wages and lower American living standards."

forced to speak such militant words the unrest and discontent among the A. F. of L. membership must be great indeed and mounting rapidly!

But not one word about-striking! suppression of the Communist and the General phrases about "resistance" but radical labor organizations! nothing about the only effective way of resisting wage-cuts, by striking against

lation, of the understanding reached at of militarist dictatorship; or to the left, the President's conference." He refers a more "left" coalition government, with to the "no-strike pact" that Green entered into in the name of labor in the fall out and with some more Socialists in of 1929 to the effect that the A. F. of L. (like the Kerensky government in Ruswould stop all strikes during the crisis if the capitalists would "promise" not to reduce wages. Well, the capitalists "prom- tionary task of repressing the revolution-

(Continued on Page 2)

### "AGE"; NOW TO SUPREME COURT Decision Big Blow To Civil Liberties And Working Class Rights; Judge Hand Makes Decision The New York (Federal) Circuit Court overthrow the government."

FEDERAL COURT SUSTAINS BAN ON

of Appeals fully sustained the decision of j the Federal District Court John M. Woolcourts and that is to appeal to the Unitis being made by the Revolutionary Age in cooperation with the Civil Liberties

Commenting on the decision, Mr. Arthur Garfield Hays, the lawyer who represented the Revolutionary Age, emphasized the great significance and menace of this decision to the entire labor movement. He said:

"This decision is a dangerous precedent of which any reactionary and

outlawing was approved by the Federal The indictment by the Post Office Department and the action of the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals in which there sits the well known so-called "Liberal", by an assemblage of persons in force to gress!

What should interest all labor is the fact that the same Judge, John M. Wool sey in supporting the Post Office ban on the Revolutionary Age. The decision of this court against the Revolutionary Age now leaves only one recourse left in the leaves only one recourse left in the leaves only one recourse left in the leaves of Marie Le nam's Sons, publishers of Married Love ed States Supreme Court. This appeal and threw back the charge of the government that this book is obscene.

> Judge Woolsey declared that this book by Dr. Marie C. Stopes should "be welcoined within our borders". Some lib-erals are greeting this decision as a "valuable victory" for the freedom of the It is interesting that this same judge bans the Revolutionary Age and repells the attack on the Stopes book.

The reason is simple. The judge fears revolutionary working class propaganda fearful government will make full and, therefore, backs up the Post Office Department in its suppression of the Rev The Revolutionary Age was outlawed olutionary Age. The same judge only by the Post Office Department and this corrects the lower officials of the government when they try to restrict the pub Circuit Court of Appeals of New York, lishers who do not harm in the least the interests of the capitalist class.

The National budget in 1914 was one Judge Hand, charges the Revolutionary billion dollars. In 1931, the deficit alone Age with advocating the "levying of war will be one billion dollars. That's pro-

### WATCH FOR IT!

THE NEXT ISSUE OF THE "REVOLUTIONARY AGE" WILL BE THE

### COMMUNIST UNITY ISSUE

Articles and material on the situation in the Communist movement today and on how the unity of the Communist ranks, in the U. S. A.

and internationally, may be obtained

Every Party member - Y O U - Every revolutionary worker MUST - READ - AND - SPREAD - THIS - ISSUE!

COLLAPSE

But Virginia Convention

Takes Left Stand

In marked contrast to the abject capi-tulation of the "militants" in New York City was the resolution adopted by the

Virginia State Convention of the S. P.

last week. By a vote of 19 to 5 a state-

ment was adopted on the Soviet Union

greeting the progress in Socialist con-struction, hailing the Soviet government

ist party of America and the Labor So-

cialist International give no aid or com-

fort to professional anti-Soviet lecturers,

writers, or hirelings of the capitalist class. "The convention also decid-

ed to send congratulations to the U.S.S.R.

shows that the "militant" movement is not the creation of a few "leaders" to

shows that the excuse of the "militant"

leaders that they cannot go "too fast", for fear of losing their following is only

cover for their own political cowardice

and actual subservience to Hillquit. Only

determined and principled struggle call

win the solid and enthusiastic support of the leftward moving rank and filers in

A. F. L. COUNCIL "HITS"

WAGE-CUT DRIVE

(continued from page 1)

wages! Mr. Green pretended not to no-

tice what was happening-but kept his

part of the sell-out agreement by ham-

stringing labor and suppressing all at-

The capitalists are now making a con-

The stand of the Virginia convention

way. There is no middle road.

# STRIKE IN OHIO

1,500 Workers Fight Wage Cuts in Empire Steel

MANSFIELD, Ohio—Over 1,500 steel workers employed by the Empire Steel Corporation voted on May 13 to reject the company's wage-cut and to go on strike. The strikers also voted to join the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. The company had been operating on an open shop

Steel have been cut 30%.

### STEEL WORKERS | Left Wing Needle Groups Form Center in N.Y. City

"United Progressive League of Needle Workers" Is Organized At Conference of Groups

One of the most significant trade, Dressmakers Progressive League (7), time in New York City took place on Saturday, May 9, 1931 at Grand Opera House, 309 West 23 Street. It was the conference of left wing groups in the needle trade unions of ternational (2 each). the city. Called upon the initiative Since last year wages in the Empire of the United Cloakmakers Progres-Steel have been cut 30%.

\* \* \*

ALBANY. — Factory employment in New York state in April declined nearly eight left wing needle trade groups one percent from the March level, the embracing every section of the needle report of the State Industrial Commissioner Indicates. trade in the city. These were: United Cloakmakers Progressive League (7),

union conferences held for a long Millinery Workers Unity Committee (3), Furriers Progressive League (5),

> For the last few years there has been practically no left wing in the mass right wing needle trades unions. The sectarian policy of the T.U.U.L. practically prohibited any work in the direction of forming such a left as "the first Red republic of the prolewing. The task, however, was taken areat", and demanding that "the Social up by groups of workers in the various ist party of America and the labor Sounions who fully realized the menace of abandoning the masses of the workers to the right wing burocrats and began the mobilization of the work-ers against the class collaboration policies of the officialdom and for cal militant unionism in the industry After six months of more or less separate activity, these groups came to realize the necessity of some sort of coordination and of the establishment

The conference was opened by A. Gladstein, organizer of the United Cloakmakers Progressive League. After a few words of introduction a chairman (M. Rogers) and a secretary (L. Kleimnan) were elected. Two committees—a program and plat-form committee and an organization committee—were chosen. Thereupon Chas S. Zimmerman delivered the main report, reviewing the intolerable conditions dominating the needle trades today in every section of the industry and the class collaboration policies of the union officialdom. He stressed the chief task of the moment: the building up of a strong left wing movement for the purpose of transforming the mass unions into militant weapons of the workers. The policies of such a left wing must be aimed at winning the unions and not detroying them. This report was followed by a lively and vigorous discussion in which the bulk of the delegates and some visitors participated. The spirit dominating the conference was the spirit of the pioneer: everyone realized the great significance of

After the noon adjournment, the committees reported. The platform committee brought in a declaration on program, which was adopted unan-mously. (This declaration is printed elsewhere on this page). It also proposed the issuance of an appeal to all needle trade workers thruout the country to take up the left wing struggle, to build groups where there are none and to join those in existence. The organization committee then reported, recommending: (1) to set up a central organization for the left wing groups in the city under the name of "The United Progressive League of Needle Trades Workers"; (2) to elect an executive of fifteen; (3) to issue a monthly bulletin. These

ers and on the docks amounted to it marked the conclusion of one stage in the struggle, it prepared the way and laid the basis for the speedy and vigorous revival of the left wing in the needle trades. The success of this movement, Zimmerman emphasized, would depend upon the activ ity of each and every left wing worker.

proposals were adopted unanimously.

### "You Belong in Russia. . .

It seems a custom in this fair land, Whenever one takes an original stand, And speaks the contents of his mind, All the listeners he will find Will most certainly disapproval show And tell him just where he should go.

You belong in Russia

Ten million dollars seems a lot to spend

For a place of worship where a few will attend; But do unto others regardless of creed As you would like done if you were

in need, Not to expend predigal sums For magnificent edifices overlooking

the slums, But to elevate the slums to a higher To alleviate hunger and sorrow and

pain.
But, say, that reminds me again, The answer I'll get-that sweet

You belong in Russia

It seemed I had died a pleasant death, And applied at the pearly gates with

Now, I've never had the remotest

To shovel coal or play with fire. So upon my arrival, I started to tell The Devil, what I thought was wrong with Hell.

Leaning on his pitch-fork, and with Stuart Chase correctly points out in malevolent eye, He gave the regular stereotyped reply

### Tasks and Tactics of the Left DISCUSS NEGROES S. P. "MILITANTS" Wing in the Needle Trades

Adopted At The Conference of Left Wing Groups Held In New York City On May 9

(Continued from page 1)

Hillquit-Thomas reformism. For honest workers in the S. P. there is no other the Conference of Left Wing Groups in New York). In all of the other branching the New York is the New York. in the Needle Trades that took place es of the needle trades, the Industrial on Saturday, May 9, 1931, in New Union has only a few individual mem-York City. We urge all workers to bers and functions only as a propaganda read this platform very carefully.

-THE EDITORS

The Conditions In the Industry 1. The situation in the needle trades oday is nothing short of frightful. The conditions of the workers are at a lower

truggle and sacrifice are being undernined and lost. The misery of unemployment among the needle workers can hardly be imagined. Yet, hours of labor are being increased, speed-up intensified, standards of production instituted, the re- smashed. The 40-hour 5-day week was organization of shops forced, wage-cuts

nd piece work put thru. The large proportion of unorganized shops in the industry is a serious factor be disposed of as they will. It also depressing the conditions of the workers. 2. The officials of the reactionary

needle trades unions bear direct responsibility in helping to bring about these intolerable conditions. The policies of these reactionary officials are policies of have resulted, on the one hand, in the building up of a burocratic regime in the unions, and, on the other, in the ham-stringing of the workers who are left to the mercy of the bosses. The policy of union burocracy is making the unions into agencies of the bosses to help put over their newest schemes for more effective exploitation of the workers.

3. These conditions give rise to bitter tempts at striking. It is Green and the zation of the needle trades there are mul. ganizations. A. F. of L. burocracy who are directly restriplying signs of the unrest of the masssponsible for the weakness of labor to- es of the workers and willingness to fight day in the face of the attacks of capi- against the bosses as well as against the pro-boss policies of the officialdom.

4. There are over 500,000 needle certed drive to permanently lower the trade workers in the industry. About 200, standard of living of the American work. ers. The workers must answer this drive unions under the control of the reactionwith the slogans: A united from of labor ary officialdom. The membership of the against the capitalist offensive! Strike Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union is today insignificant. Only in the dress

The Situation of the Left Wing

5. Nowhere did the left wing in the trace umons have so many achievements evel than they have been for years, to its cream in defending the interests of Inion standards won thru years of bitter the workers and improving their conditions as in the needle trades. In the needle trages there was once a mighty test wing. At militarit right was made for umon democracy, Gangacerism was wiped out. The labor injunction was effectively caused into a national issue in the entire tanor movement. The needle trades workers, under the leadership of the sett wing, became the spearness of the lett. wing movement in American labor. 6. During the last two years, the left

wing was budly split. The split took place over serious differences in policy. One section was opposed to all constructive out wing and progressive activities among class collaboration, of cooperation and the masses of workers organized in the oint action with the bosses against the unions controlled by reactionary officials interests of the workers. These policies it branded these unions as "company unions" and denounced any needte work er who joined these unions or proposed one organization of a genuine left wing movement therein. It continually acvocated the destruction of these unions Thus, it tully isolated itself from the Thus, it fully isolated itself from the Socialist party representative stated masses, stood aside as a sect, merely call that the Socialist party was a poling upon the workers to join it and tical organization and that the policonsequently abandoned thousands of tical field must be left entirely to the workers to the influence and domination resentment and discontent among the of the reactionary borocracy by drawing resented an economic organization and workers. In every branch and organic the best lighting blood out of these or

the destruction of the unions, systematic no business to "interfere" in the atwork in the ranks of the membership of fairs of the trade unions. the union dominated by reactionary of ticiatdom with a view of winning the workers of these unions for militant struggle against the bosses and the burocrats and for the unification of the ranks of the and for the unification of the ranks of the needle trades workers into one union in their approval with the position industry. For advocating this policy these workers were denounced and slandered, thus splitting the ranks of the left Norman Studer took the floor to state

new manouvers. The slogan now became: out of India. the destruction of the mass unions from belt' can be taught all he needs to for left wingers to join the reactionary ing at a discount, stamina takes its workers. Whatever other manouvers and Every available authority or presenta- less the fundamental error of making the ion of facts clashes in the most diamet- basic aim of all work the destruction and ric fashion with Morgan's theory. In splitting of the mass unions will be aban-

sions and manouvers, we declare: It conworkers with great rapidity. As it scraps not be the purpose of the left wing to machinery, so it scraps human beings, destroy the mass unions of the workers; The young, the vigorous the adaptable, our putpose must be to win the unions the supple of linds, the alert of mind, are in ouse the busicerats, to turn the unions back again into militant organs of strugwhat these experts have to say that we gle in the interests of the workers, to ing the old man in industry. In An are convinced. Every factory worker un unite the ranks of the needle trade workderstands this process as well as the ex- ers into one strong industrial union. Not the destruction, but the winning of the We offer the following from Middle mass unions-must be our aim and ob-

### What Is To Be Done?

9. Never was the necessity for buildpersonnel (both male and female) ing up a strong left wing in the needle wing to lead our fight to victory. We from the 16 to 19 year group, or near trades more urgent than today. Such a must work for the unity of the left wing left wing---having as its objective the winning of the unions-bases its program on the following points:

> b. For a militant class struggle policy their struggles for one powerful union against the employers! 🕟 c Against class collaboration policies and leadership!

d. For democracy in the unions! No xpulsions or persecution of members for political opinions! For the right to recall

of officers! e. Wages of officers not to exceed the verage union wages in the industry! f. For proportional representation to

oint boards and conventions! g. For the shop delegates system,

### The Center Groups

10. In most needle trades unions there xists so-called "center" or progressive groups. These groups differ from the left wing primarily on the following points;

a. The "center" groups manifest a tendency to replace militant action of the rank and file by patching-up and by manouvers with the burocrats, which comes as a result of their lack of confidence in the power of the workers.

b. The "center" groups do not fight

or industrial unionism or for the shop delegates system, while many of their adherents have even come out against it. c. There are big differences in general outlook, in political and social viewpoints between the left wingers and the "cen-

Nevertheless, on the basic of specific issues, blocs can be formed between the left wing and the center groups for a struggle against the burocrats and the

For the Unity of the Left Wing 11. The split in the left wing forces is a serious obstacle in the way of the mobilization of the workers for militant

# AND POLITICS

S. P. Speaker Defends Race Slavery; Gitlow Speaks: for Communists

The Frederick Douglas Inter-racial 'orum closed its season with a symposition on the question of what the parties offer the Negroes.

The chairman of the symposium cialist Party. Benjamin Gitlow spoke for the Communist Party (Majority

Group). Comrade Gitlow brought out very sharply the anti-working class position of the Socialist party on the Ne gro and race questions, particularly pointing out the role of the MacDo-nald government in India. The rep-resentative of the Socialist party, in trying to refute the condemnation of the Socialist position on the Negro question and on the colonial question, stated that the Socialists were not in "power" in England but only "holding office," that their policy in India was correct because the Indian question is not an "economic" question but only a "cultural" and "religious" one, that the policy of Great Britain

in India is correct because the Indian masses are not sufficiently developed to be permitted to run the country themselves. On the question raised by Comrade Gitlow that the Socialist party was supporting the burocracy of the trade unions in their policy of discriminating and excluding Negroes from the trade unions the politicians. That the trade unions repthat affairs of the trade unions must be left to trade union officials and The other section advocated, instead of that the Socialist party has absolutely

> Needless to say that the audience present, particularly the Negroes, resented the position of the Socialist party representative and condemned During the course of the meeting,

that while his organization has not 7. But under the pressure of continu yet formulated its policy on Indian ed serious losses, the sharp criticism of question, he was nevertheless in thore those left wingers in opposition to this disagreement with the representative narrow policy and the beginnings of a of the Socialist party, that he agrees crystallization of an organized left wing with the position taken by Gitlow that in the reactionary unions, the N. T. W. the Indian masses are entitled to free-1. U. was recently compelled to make a dom and that the English should get

> ction. The unity of the left wing is a prime necessity for the present movement.

Conclusion

12. The needle trades workers are low at a turning point. In the last two years the burocracy has carried thru a member of fake strikes and has forced upon the workers agreements serving the interests of the bosses, not the interests of the workers. These agreements are soon to expire. But the workers today are not prepared for the new situation which will arise when the agree-ments expire. The workers must now begin to prepare for real struggles, for geaume strikes. Workers hiust now betotal more militant in the shops and in the locals to fight for the immediate improvement of their conditions.

We should not repeat the 1929 strike. Already manouvers are going on to bring back piece work in the cloak industry. In the Amalgamated Clothing Workers piece work has already been brought in.

Needle trades workers! We must be on goard! We must fight for our interests against the bosses and their agents, the reactionary burocrats now dominating our unions. We must build a powerful left Today more than ever before the need of the hour is a mighty united left wing with correct tactics to insure a victory a. For amalgamation! Against craft of the workers in their struggles for deunionism! For one union in the industry! cent working and living conditions in in the industry

### SPANISH MASSES RISE AGAINST CHURCH

(Continued from page 1) ants and the leadership of the party has

cagerly grasped at this task, At the present stage of the revolution the workers and farmers must demand: the fulfilment of the revolutionary-democratic promises of the revolution. The monarchist forces (including the Civil Guard) must be suppressed and disarmed-the masses must be armed! Separation of the Church and state and the dissolution of the religious orders! Confiscation of the big landed estates, especially the Church lands, and the distribution of the land by poor peasant committees. Complete self-determination with the right of separation for the Moroceans, Basques, Catalans! Complete separation of Church and state! The 8-hour day, full social legislation and unabridged rights of trade union and political organization of the

workers! Full civil and political rights

for the Communists and other radical la-

bor organizations!

A PROGRAM OF MILITANT STRUGGLE FOR THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT FRIDAY MAY 22-7 P. M. LABOR TEMPLE

CIVIL GUARD ATTACKS THE SPANISH PEOPLE

### International News

### Factory Council Elections in Germany

The official Communist Party press | (a fall of from 333,513 to 248,044thruout the world is full of reports which indicates that the disillusionand articles jubilating over the ment of the masses has driven tens the occasion and the great tasks "glorious success" of the Communist of thousands into passivity. Party of Germany in the 1931 factory council elections-which is supposed to prove the correctness of its policy of putting up separate "Red" lists "free" trade union lists in the factories. But the "victories" of the "Red" lists. In 112 of the the factories reports speak are largely that it could not put up its "Red" list. imaginary and the real lessons of the list! recent factory council elections are just the contrary.

Altho all 1931 factory council elections are not yet over, sufficient material, covering the bulk of German industry, is already at hand to enable us to pass judgment on the re-

In 1930, according to the official reports, the results of the factory

In other words, the C.P., thru its "Red" list policy, succeeded in getting about one percent of the factory council mandates! Under the old policy of participating in the elec-tions thru the mass trade unions, more than ten times that many Communist factory councillors were elect-

For 1931 such figures are not yet less significant. In the Ruhr min-

And now in the chemical industry. In Mannheim, in 156 factories, there were elected 622 councillors on the

In the metal industry of Chemnitz the "free" union list won 193 man-dates in 41 factories, the "Red" lists 28. Among the Cheminitz street our workers the "Red" list vote fell from 880 to 50 (!) and the trade union list rose from 497 to 777. In the municipal concerns of Solingen the "Red" list lost 50% in the year. In the Solingen metal industry the R. G. O. (German T.U.U.L.) was able to put up "Red" lists in only onecouncil elections were as follows:

"Free" trade unions 86.9% Christian trade unions 7.2% or than the S.P.G. In Hamburg the Communists, syndicalists, etc.

"Gradudium "Rad" lists" 15% in the factory council elections! Of merman who pointed out very clearly in the factory which elign. (including "Red" lists) 1.5% in the factory council elections! Of merman who pointed out very clearly Hirsch-Duncker unions 1.0% the 14 big metal factories a "Red" what the conference would mean in Others 3.4% list could be put up in only one. The losses among the transportation work- struggle and emphasized that while

> The lesson is clear: No Ludendorf reports can hide the catastrophic de-feats that the C.P.G. has suffered as result of its sectarian splitting policy in the trade unions. Its isolation

available. But we have others, no in the mass organizations of the workers is growing, in spite of all the ing area the results are as follows: successes it can point to in parliamen-Votes 1931 Votes 1930

more than 40%.

"Free" unions ... "Red" lists ...... ...54,165... Christian .... Yellow and Fascist ....18,185..... 8,835

(under control of the Social-demo-

crats) and the Communists lost heav-

ily—the former because of their per-

sistent and shameful betrayals (the

recent Ruhr strike) the latter be-

cause of their official policy of divi-

sion and split in the working class.

It should be noted that the total vote

in 1931 was much less than in 1930

In the Upper Silesian mining area: "Free" unions \_\_\_\_\_12,780\_\_\_\_

"Red" lists 8,700 13,276 Christian 6,000 8,300 Yellow and Fascist ..... were the worst and most dangerous Fascists! enemies of the workers; the "yellows" (like company unions) and the Fascists! Both the "free" trade unions

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New York City.

and cream, I recalled I had a peculiar dream.

gin on my breath, Needless to say, as all such souls, I was sent to the region of firy coals.

You belong in Russia Jan. 30, 1931 —William Keil.

### Youth and Industry

The Youth Movement

by Saul Held

against wage-cuts!

There are two basic causes that account for the influx of youth into industry: (1) the constant impoverishment of the broad strata of the workingclass, and (2) the constant rationalization of indusrry, which in the fast decade has forged forward with seven-league boots in the most advanced capitalist countries and nowhere with such speed as in the Unitmine the effects of machines which eliminate jobs." The conclusion arrived at by this bourgeois professor deserves at-

tention and refutation. tioch, we have been making a survey as to who is climinated by technological unemployment and we find that, contrary to general belief, it is not the old man, but the young man'. The census returns show that in the last twenty years there is a constantly increasing proportion of younger

It must be said at the outset that staistics concerning the number of young persons on a national scale have never seen assembled in any intelligent fashion. The National Industrial Conference Board issued, in 1925 a book entitled The Employment of Young Persons in The United States but since its material mainly concerns the period from 1910 to 1920, and mainly refers to the 10 to 16 year group of child workers, we feel it inadequate for the discussion. Besides this there have been numerous local studies only a few of which have any significance. It is important to note that information on the subject under investigation confronts the investigator with a host of obstacles that are not easily overcome. We shall resort to one study, which, altho limited in its scope, is highly significant. Middletown by the Lynds examines the same question as the pro-fessor investigated. In Middletown "an industrial culture with high-speed machine production" is found and "... glass metal, and automobile industries predominate." Here then is an opportunity of examining the youth in a city of basic industries. First of all, does the development of the productive machine tend The morning after a night of pickles to draw younger or older men into industry? Let the managers and superintendents speak on this matter:

The general manager of a prominent machine shop: "Only about 25 percent of our workers are over forty-speed and specialization tend to bring us younger men." (our emphasis),

The superintendent of a small foundry: "After a man reaches forty to forty-five he begins to slow down . . . In the machine shops , . . A man is harnessed to a machine and he can't slow. down. If he does, his machine runs away with him."

his Prosperity—Fact or Myth: "A craft apprentice took years to master his vocation; a worker on (the know in a few days. Other things being equal the mass production plant and especially the new one, will hire strong, healthy youngsters. Skill beplace. Jobs for the skilled artisans, changes of phrase may be made by the particularly the older men, shrink in such establishments." (pp. 158-159). with amount to nothing in substance unit amount in the substance unit amount in

1923, Professor E. T. Devine in his Miss doned. country printed a report concerning the ery and its Causes wrote: "It is notorious Against all these turns and twists, eva-

"One of the leading machine shops producing steel products, reports that "draws 16 percent of its total personnel (both male and female) ly half of its entire personnel (46 per cent) from that section of the population under twenty-five years, while only 11 per cent of all its workers are forty-five or over . . . these plants are typical of current condition although it should be borne in mind that these large industrial plants represent the trend in its most advanced form," (p. 32),

And finally: "For the state (one of the middlewestern states . . , and wherein Middle-town is located-S. H.) as a whole, which has undergone a heavy industrial development since 1890, the percentage of increase between 1890 and 1920 in the male population of fifteen to 24 age group engaged in man-ufacturing and mechanical industries was roughly seventeen times greater than the percentage of increase in the total male population of this age ..." (our emphasis). The new industrial machine demands

outh; the industrial machine is constanty being perfected—it shall demand more youth! Has youth in industry been on progressive increase since the beginning of large-scale industry in the United States? No! it has not. But there are other factors besides industrial development which one must consider if one vishes to know why at certain times (1910 to 1920) a certain age group of young persons declined in industry, standard of living of the working-class must also be one of the cardinal factors in such an analysis.

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Another "Good Argument" Gone Wrong!

One of the newly-discovered argu ments of the Party burocrats to justify their sectarian and splitting trade

union course is that "Lenin himself

justified dual unionism when he ap roved of the formation of the C.C

I'.U. in France!" This "argument" is

being heard everywhere today; Foster

used it in his recent dehate with A.

### Norman Thomas Discovers America! II.

## Mr. Thomas Fears Socialism

by Ben Gitlow

Socialist. But that does not make him a the united thinking and agreement of Socialist or a champion of Socialisms the workers. Then if you will ask Nor-Nor does one who shouts pacifist phrase man Thomas: How about the glorificaes and coins good-sounding slogans tion of capitalist mass control of the against war guarantee peace. Woodrow workers minds that leads them by the against war guarantee peace. Woodrow workers minds that leads them by the ers. Norman Thomas is for a program Wilson was lar more radical in his phrase millions to slaughter on the battlefields of democracy for the workers and for the es than Norman Thomas. He called big of imperialist war? Is that costly, Mr. business, capitalism and imperialism very Norman Thomas? Perhaps he will anugly names in his New Freedom. /Nor-swer: Oh, that's an emergency! man Thomas treats big business and capitalism politely, with soft, soothing words and apologetic phrases. lorget Professor Woodrow Wilson when he thundered against war, as the cham-pion who "kept us out of war"—and then sent us into war?

This the late Woodrow Wilson did in the name of "democracy", as the champion of "peace."

The Program of Norman Thomas Now along comes Norman Thomas with his appeal. The Socialist Thomas has nothing in common with Socialism. His program is not a Socialist program. It is a program for "democracy", says Norman Thomas, Let us examine his program. In his book, he writes:

"If the cost of harnessing the billion wild horses to our service is a dictatorship like Communism, with the glorification of the mass mind and soul, we need have no illusions that our children's children will not have a heavy price to pay before this old world is governed by a fellowship of free

The "billion wild horses" Norman Thomas refers to are the machines, the means of production and distribution. If the billion wild horses are to be harnessed for service and not for profit, thru "a dictatorship like Communism" then Norman Thomas is opposed to it. Norman Thomas considers Communism synanimous, identical with dictatorship -because Norman Thomas is anti-Socialist, anti-Communist.

The Role of the Working Class The whole crux to the attainment of

Socialism is the recognition of the revolutionary significance of the working class as a class in capitalist society. Socialists recognize that capitalism brings into being a large working class, necessary for capitalist production, and subjected to capitalist exploitation. As a result of this division between the work ers and the capitalists, capitalist society is divided into two main classes—the working class and the capitalist class. The interests of these two classes clash. As a result of the clash between the workers and capitalists, we have raging in capitalist society a war of the classes, a class struggle. True Socialists, Communists recognize this class struggle Accognize its historical significance in that class struggle in capitalist society brings holdly to the fore the fact that the only way in which industry can be harnessed for service to society and not for profit is by the working class destroying the power of the capitalists, expro priating the capitalists of their property, and, thru a working class government, taking over the wealth and industries of the country in the interests of producers, the workers and the farmers.

But Norman Thomas is emphatically opposed to a class appeal. He is for a "general appeal" to the goodness of all men and the "virtues" of democracy. He is in mortal fear lest the workers take could. Because of their yelling the over industry and run it to suit them-That would be a dictatorship, It would be too "costly", says Norman Thomas, because it involves the "glorifi-cation of the mass mind and soul."

Norman Thomas is opposed to the "glorification of the mass mind" of the working class in the attainment of Socialism. Norman Thomas, prefers the socalled freedom of the individual mind under capitalism to the glorification of the mass mind of the working class under Socialism or Communism. words, Norman Thomas prefers the present day capitalist mind. Let us take America. Surely Norman Thomas claims to be a native, one rooted in the American soil. Let us try to see what is so wonderful about the mind under American capitalism that Norman Thomas is afraid Socialism will destroy.

The "Free Mind" Under Capitalism

The New York Graphic is an excellent example of how the free mind is being developed under capitalism. The enticing, suggestive, pornographic poses of the nude and semi-nude chorus girls, the blood curdling gang and murder stories, those bed-time stories, filth, and family smut that is presented for the glorification and edification of the mind. The editorials, the ads, the silly cartoons, the wise-cracks, the advice on beauty, advice on how to capture a husband, and how to keep his love, the sports, etc. are all parts of the capitalist mind. The Graphic represents the freedom of the capitalists to pollute, poison, deaden and ossify the mind of the workers, to the end that their minds should be a sordid mess of those matters injected into them. making the workers unable to think except in the manner in which the capitalist want them to think. The capitalist are molding a mass mind of the workers that will prevent them from thinking effective ly in their own interests. From infancy their minds are deliberately being molded. thru the schools, churches, newspaper magazines, movies, colleges and every available means of cultural enterprise.

Unblushingly Norman Thomas prefers this to Communism because the latter glorifies the mass mind of the masses for collective efforts under Socialism for the common good of the workers. Don't think together as workers! Don't have a mass mind! Don't act in unison-that is anathema! It is so much "cheaper" to continue capitalism with its rich and poor, its unemployment, its low wages, poverty, destitution starvation and mis-

Norman Thomas may call himself a "costly" to have Socialism based upon

The "Fellowship of Free Men"

And the "fellowship of free men?" What does that mean, which Norman Thomas prefers to Communist dictator ship? Is that a fellowship of workers and capitalists? Is it a fellowship under capitalism with its class divisions and class conflicts?

Norman Thomas gives the answer his book. His fellowship sees a continuation of capitalism and capitalist society His appeal is to all classes, generally like he two parties of capitalism, to the people regardless of their class interests. Socialist appeal to the working class is gone. The call: Workers of the world, united is gone from the message of Norman Thomas. Instead this is the clarion

men's interests as consumers as well capitalism!

as producers, to their desire for justice and brotherhood even more than to more resentment against class

But the capitalists are also consum-This is not Socialism, it is The democracy of Woodrow Wilson was more bold. He stated in his book New Freedom:

Politics in America is in a case which sadly requires attention. The system set up by our law and our usage doesn't work- or at least it can't be depended on; it is made to work only by a most unreasonable expenditure of labor and pains. The government, which was designed for the people, has got into the hands of hosses and their employers, the special interests. An invisible empire has been set up above the forms of democracy.

We know what Wilsonian democracy gave the workers. Imperialist war and the Paimer regime. It did not change capitalism or rout the capitalists from nower. And the democracy of the "So-Thomas, if given the opportuni-"Its appeal will be many sided to tain American "democracy", American

The Wrecking Course Proceeds

### THE CRISIS IN THE "LAISVE"

From Statement of Lithuanian Opposition

(Concluded from last issue) Bimba decided to seize Laisve, post-Bimba decided to seize Laisve, post-pone the conference, suspend many emics of the working class and exshareholders and thus get a majority pelled. Bimba and Amter stated, that in the conference. In order to achieve if they failed to get control of the this, he instructed his chairman of conference, then the Party would the board of directors, Weiss, to call (on February 4) a special meeting ter-revolutionary paper and the Buro of the board of directors and here would publish its own paper. Bimba demanded that the board suspend three directors. Then three directors supporting Bimba would have been "drafted," making a majority for them and they would have arranged the conferencea to suit themselves. But they failed, seven votes against Bimba's proposition and four,

Bimba demanded that the directors give him (he now says—"to the Party") the addresses of Laisne's readers. The directors decided not to give these to him as they knew that they would be used to send out all of Bimba's scandalous attacks. Next morning we found the addresses stolen and several thousand envelopes gone.

The Conference

When the shareholders' conference opened, Weiss, as the chairman of the board of directors, began in every way possible to slander Butkus and his supporters. Uproars! Nearly two-thirds of the shareholdes demanded that Butkus be given the opportunity to answer Weiss' slanders. The Bimmajority of the conference became so angered that they did not let Amter speak when he, instead of speaking of activities of the C.P., began to repeat the slanders of Weiss. The uproar lasted the whole forenoon. Then began the circus. The editors, instead of reporting on the paper, confessed their misdeeds and

capitulated to Bimba and his clique.

The New "Directors" It must be clear to every one, that such a conference was not legal and authorized, was contrary to the constitution of the Laisve Cooperative; it trampled upon all decencies and mocked the shareholders, who had built up Luisve. There are no directors now. Just a fig-leaf, covered with which, Bimba, can now cook

another mess.

The new "board of directors" consists of the worst elements who in the past were either inactive or had dropped out of the movement. But so long as they are with Bimba now, they become 100% Communists overnight. (We will publish more about

this later-Editor).
Since Bimba took control of the Laisve, his regime has driven the best be sent to the address given below so workers out of the shop, and they that we would know how many readhave been replaced with anti-Communist elements.

Then the "election" of directors. A positive demand was made that the directors be nominated in the ordinary manner, and voted on by secret ballot as is always done in the Laisve's stockholders conference. Buivydas disregarded such demands, read the "state" proposed by the Bimbaites and demanded that we vote "for Com- the forces of the revolutionary movemunism" for this slate or-against the Communist Party! Again an uproar! For the Bimba slate, the Bimba committee "counted" 136 votes (286 delegates officially registered at the conference). But still there was no majority. Against that Bimba no majority. slate 64 votes—the others rose in protest and left the hall. And this is how the conference broke up. These are the methods used in a non-Party workers organization!

The Saturday before the conference

conference the caucus of February smash Laisve, denounce it as a counwould publish its own paper.

Thus pushed to the wall, certain weak comrades, especially the Luisve editors, agreed to surrender. But they surrendered, not because they had changed their opinions or were con-vinced that the Bimba Buro's threat was "Communist work," but because they feared the threat. We, of course. did not know of the dishonorable role forced upon them, and even if we had known, we would not have believed that "revolutionaries" would sell their conscience for a few crumbs from the Bimha table. Many of these comrades agree with us today, no matter what they say openly.

What's the Solution?

Comrades, shareholders and readers! From the above-stated facts you can see that dictator Bimba's Central Buro and its followers really want to destroy Laisve.

What is it to them if with their continual attacks, slanders and provocations they will drive out a large portion of the members of the Lithuanian Workers Literary Society and the Lithuanian Working Womens Alliance, Proletarian Art Society, Li-(huaninan Workers Alliance? What is it to them if the majority of Luisne's shareholders and readers be come passive, leave our movement Are we going to permit them to do their detestable work? Every real revolutionary worker must immediately answer: No, and again, Not

What Must We Do Now?

Let us all earry out the following measures, if we want to save our organizations and institutions, and the whole movement from general demor-

1. Send urgent demands, even to the Bimbaite directors, that Anthony Bimba, head of the present disintegrating clique, be immediately removed from the editorship of Laisve.

2. At the same time make a statement that we do not recognize the present directors as authorized and demand that a new Laisve cooperative shareholders conference be held and new directors elected-in the way that was always done up till this conference: open nominations and secret

3. Copies of all demands should ers and shareholders have performed ment in this country.

their duties. Only the general protest of the shareholders and readers will force the Bimbaites to give up their destructive work. Only by breaking their destructive plans will Laisue regain the confidence of the masses and will be able to strengthen our movement in its entirety and to consolidate

I. Muste. Is there any validity to this rgument? It is indeed true that in 1922 the

General Federation of Labor in France (C.G.T.) was split and that the Communists and the revolutionary trade unionists found themselves in a new dual organization, the Unitary Federation (C.G.T.U.). But who brought about this split? Who wished it? And who resisted it? Did Lenin 'justify" dual unionism, did he "approve" the split?

On December 18, 1921, the Executive Committee of the Communist In-ternational issued the first "Theses on the United Front of Labor." These theses are reputed to have been writ ten by Lenin. In these theses the question of the imminent split in France is taken up. It is declared:

"The revolutionary part of the French trade unionists is quite right in struggling against the splitting up of the trade unions and for the unity of the working class in the economic struggle against the bourgeoisie . The policy of the reformists and the

centrists is now threatening the unity of the trade union movement. The slogan of the unity of the proletariat in the economic strug-gle against the bourgeoisic is the best way of upsetting these plans for a split."

That means: that the reformists and not the Communists were striving to split the trade union movement that Lenin hold it to be the great objective of the Communists to fight for unity, to upset the plans of the re-formists, of a split!

Does it seem as if Lenin "justified" dual unionism and "approved" of the formation of the C.G.T.U.?

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HODGE KIRNON - JIM CORK LLA, has an agreement that did not

### Three Gornered Debate CAPITALISM?

SOCIALISM?

For Capitalism: DR. JOSEPH P. CHAMBERLAIN Columbia University

NORMAN THOMAS

For Communism: JAY LOVESTONE Editor of Revolutionary Age

8:30 P. M. Bergen and Belmont Avenues

Jersey City, N. J. Auspices Jewish Community Center

Heavy Communist Election Defeat in

In the municipal elections just held in Stuttgart, one of the most important cities of Germany, the C. P. suffered a heavy defeat; polling 24,247 votes, That was something they could under In the September 1930 elections the C. P. stand. But when it came to the Par had cast 37,566 votes. In the short period the Party lost 13,319. The Party burocrats had heralded great expectations from this election and promised at least 70.000 votes.

At the same time the Pascists increased their votes to a total of 25,814

With comradely greetings, Authorized Committee of the Majority of the Laisve Conference. B. JOKUBONIS

E. BUTKUS.

J. KUODIS

About the Workmen's Circle Convention

ment.

## Acts of Desperation

by Ben Lifshitz

3. In his article of May 9, Salzman

put an attack on the Soviet Union on

It is worth while noting here that this

line of argument fully agrees with that

ists themselves are primarily responsible

This "intelligent" argument is now being

peddled around by the champions of the

Does the Preiheit really believe that

stoneites" who have been dead and buried so many times in the columns of the Preiheit. It seems that the "dead Lovestoneites" are rather disturbing the peace of the crusaders of the "new line"

n the field of fraternal organizations. their order of business, so the Lovestone Why the sudden hysteria? What hapites came and gave them the golden oppened at the recent Workmen's Circle portunity to carry thru such an attack." convention that has made the chiefs of the International Workers Order, the Freiheit (the spokesmen of the C. C. of Communist Party) suddenly launch such reckless attacks against the committee of left wing branches that appeared commutee, declared that the Communistics of the Communistic Communistic Communities, declared that the Communication of the Commu tee of left wing branches that appeared, at the convention and against the left wing delegate, Comrade Silber. Let us for the activities of the Fish committee." "arguments" at close

The Freiheit's Line of Argument i. In its report of May 7, the Freiheit W. C. would have forgotten all about declares; that "thru the appearance of the Soviet Union if the "Lovestoneites" this committee at the convention, these had not "reminded" them? Doesn't the

2. In the same article we read: "The International and as such is in duty statements of the so-called Communists bound to take up the attack on the Sov-

Problems of the Marine Workers.

'new line"!

### WHAT ABOUT THE MARINE UNION?

by "Lookout"

(Continued from the last issue) This was something that the Party of the union were again sent away had not experienced before in Phila- from Philadelphia over the protest of delphia. They must have thought the rank and file in Philadelphia as that the revolution was at hand! The well as nationally following events will show what we are driving at. That evening a meet ing was held by the District Secretariat and the organizers of the union were asked to attend. Johansen and Soderberg knowing the temperament of these workers realized that opportunities were here for a strike. is June 27, 1930. The workers asked for strike. But the Party said: NO

The Party leadership had different plans. The workers had showed fight They must therefore he ready to join -the Party. Not the union and in strike! The time to strike would be -in the opinion of Gardos and others three months later because the expire till then. Here we find that the agreement is more holy to certain caders of the party than is the sentiment of the workers. However, the longshoremen had shown fight and therefore we must right away do nothing else but insist that they sign up in the Party. The organizers of the union had no objection to some COMMUNISM? one going there and speak to them of the Party but the organizers, being known to the workers as union organ izers, insisted on being allowed to continue primarily in that capacity. especially in the field where they won the greatest influence. When this was a hangover of old "wobblyism When this and that they were not "politically developed." They were ordered a week later to go down there and speak from the Party platform and not the union platform. They were forced to tel these workers all about the revolution Monday Eve. May 25, 1931 should join the Party. They were forced to hold back the workers that wanted to strike, and what was the JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER result? Confusion in its worst form! The longshoremen that had learned to look at these comrade as unjor organizers suddenly found that the main idea was not to join the union but the Party. The result can be imagined. At a meeting a couple of weeks later it took exactly three cops to arrest Soderberg and the longshoremen stood by looking at it, taking no interest in the proceedings. The damage had been done. The longshoremen could see the union, ty and the double role of the organizers as such, then they could not as yet understand and therefore they were not ready to put up a hattle for Confusion and suspicion set in and

with it disillusion and demoralization The comrades could see this and again appealed to the Party at least to compromise a little with the organizers. Nothing doing! They were threatened with expulsion and what not if lied himself with the Party leadership. he changes his shirt, also allied him-

I that opposed this policy of ruination

well as nationally.

'The "Desperation Strike" In the middle of November the organizers previously sent out from Philadelphia was again called back there. Now the Party wanted a strike and the duty of these organizers would be to organize a "conference" and see to, it that the delegates\_attending should "vote for strike." The effects of the previous mistakes in July, how-ever, were plain. Out of the 1000 members about 100 still remained. The rest had either gone back to the LLA. or dropped out entirely. Neverthe-less, it was decided that a desperation strike must be called. John Schmies, facts. then national secretary of the TUUL, came down from New York and laid lown the law. STRIKE! We must strike. There were no preparations bers to support the strike. And then it of any kind made. The leadership closed its eyes to the very painful fact hopelessly divided and fighting be-that hundreds of members of the LWO. tween themselves. Every decision was not only did not respond to the call of arrived at in the most outrageous me- the Industrial Union in shops controlled chanical form. For instance, such a by the I.L.G.W.U. but even remained at

ter does about office workers—or iess). And besides: "If we do call a mass meeting on the dock and put it to the longshoremen, the police will the branches of the I. W. O. for confind out when we are going to strike centration of attention on technical quesand they will be there in full force." tions (insurance, etc.) and neglect of (I am quoting this verbatim). It the broader aspects of the movement.

would do so, police or no police. Meeting after meeting was held night after night with the Secretariat. However, the Party line this and the Party line that prevented sanity from

prevailing. Came the famous (or infamous) first of October. Sufficient workers willing to distribute the strike call among the longshoremen themselves could not be found so the usual crowd of needle trades workers, etc., was gotten from uptown to go down on the waterfront to ask the longshore men to come out and strike. It should be clearly stated that the marine workers and especially the longshoremen do not listen so very enthusiastically when a needle trades worker comes down asking them to strike and at the same time shouting: "Long live the Soviet Union!". The radical ization of the masses, I am afraid has not as yet hit the Philadelphia waterfront to that extent. To make the whole miserable matter short, everybody was chased off the waterfront and received a beating on top of it from these very men that had came down from New York and al- the police and soldiers to pretet these very men they were now chasing off icy. P. S. Send all copies of your demands to this address: E. Kreivenas, 741 to change his opinion far oftener than the Party leadership in Philadelphia McConough St., Brooklyn, N. Y. the Party leadership in Philadelphia succeeded in breaking the influence self with the Party leadership. Those of the union. Shortly after that, of course an "investigation "took place dividual members as possible from the and everybody "self-criticized" them- W. C., without regard to the fact that selves with the exception of the two that had from the beginning fought of any left wing movement within the this policy of stark betrayal. The organization. Their position is that only two (Scderberg and Johansen) were those who are in the I. W. O. can be speedily sent out of Philadelphia and

(Continued in the next issue)

gotten rid of.

And that is war in a nutshell. The master class has always declared the wars; the subject class has always fought the battles. The master class has had all to gain and nothing to lose, while the subject class has had nothing to gain and all to lose—especially their lives.

-EUGENE DEBS.

The Freiheit is in a frenzy. For a full gave the hosses of the W. C. the proper jet. Union and the revolutionary labor week, the Freiheit, in its news columns, opportunity to make a lynch attack on the movement at every opportunity? Didn't its editorials and its special articles, kept revolutionary movement and on Com the Freiheit notice the special conven-up a barrage against the "dead Love munist leadership in" the labor move tion issue of the Wecker where the convention action on the Soviet Union is outlined? This argument reminds us of the argument advanced against the revostates that: "The reactionary leaders of W. C. somehow had no opportunity to lutionists in Russia by the Jewish bour-"geoisie and "liberals", that the revolufionists thru their attacks on Czarism were responsible for the massacres and pogroms on the Jews and the revolution-

What Are The Issues Involved?

ed workers are still in the Workmen's

Thus we have the established fact: At the present time there are thousands of workers in the Workmen's Circle. What then must Communists and left wingers do? Shall they remain silent on the rethis committee at the convention, these had not "reminded" them? Doesn't the actionary activities of the W. C. office Lovestonettes gave recognition to the W. C. leadership chais? Shall they remain silent when the C. as a labor organization."

2. In the same article we read: "The Union is being attacked? If they had been acted to the Socialist of the Socialist Control of the Con followed the course of the Freiheit and of Salzman, then the W. C. officials vould be given a free hand in mobilizing all the reactionary forces in the labor

> Taking this into consideration, those crystallize the sentiment of the progres-sive and left wing workers within the Workmen's Circle. The appearance of the committee of left wing branches at the W. C. convention, therefore, had as the reactionaries of the W. C.

Salamon and the Freiheit have a very imple solution of the problem. "Yes," C. and become members of the J.W.O.'

support for the revolutionary movement. In his ectasy Salaman "forgets" a few

In the recent dress strike of the Needle Trades Industrial Union, the I.W.O. came out in the Freiheit calling upon its memlittle matter as to calling the workers work in open shops. What did the lead together asking them to decide when ership of the LWO. do to enforce its to strike, was considered unnecessary widely advertised principle that the memby Betty Gannet (the organization bers of the I.W.O. "must support the secretary, and a girl that knew as unions of the class struggle." Not one much about longshoremen as the wri- single word of Salaman or any other

We need not press this point and re-

The I. W. O. is at present the concentration point of the Communists and left

The measureless confusion of the pres-

Just Before the Conference

there took place a caucus of the Party members. At that caucus those Par ty members who disagreed with the Central Buro were threatened that ery. The capitalist system may be a if they did not betray their convic-competitive hell but it would be too tions and openly denounce at the

## The Economic Week

THE downward trend is deepening and is now general. Wholesale and retail trade, output of electric power, the stock market and bank clearings are continuing to decline. The very cheap credit set by the Federal Reserve is helping only the highest grade bonds. The Bank of England has dropped its discount rate to 2½ %, the first time in nearly a quarter of a century. But these stimulants aren't helping one bit. Even the blue-

chips on the Stock Exchange, like U. S. Steel are repeatedly touching new lows. Steel is operating at 47%. The increase in car loadings is slight and extremely sub-seasonal. Auto production has declined slightly. The April exports are the lowest reached since November 1914. Wheat and corn continue depressed and newcrop cotton has touched the lowest since 1915. The fall of commodity prices, continuing at an even pace, is

considered a very grave factor. The increasing complications of European antagonisms and the complete bankruptcy of the conferences of the U. S. and International Chambers of Commerce-in so far as any hope or 'solution" is concerned-is causing the most authoritative Wall Street and foreign opinion to conclude that "business sentiment here and abroad seems to have assumed an ultra-marine shade of pessimism."

If we clear the smoke of this "attack", hen the real issues become clear. In is article of May 7 Saltzinan states: "It is true-thousands of misguid-

Communists and left wingers, who had refused to follow the splitting policies of the C. P., realized it was their duty to ts purpose to awaken the progressive elements, to issue a clarion call to renew and sharpen their struggle against

they say, "there are many thousands of workers in the W. C. But these workers must immediately withdraw from the W. How simple! But don't these "political leaders" realize that official manifestoes for workers to leave the W. C. will not mobilize any sentiment for the left wing and for the Soviet Union?

The International Workers Order—the New Place of Worship

In his article of May 9 Salzman speaks of "the great achievements (of the I. W.O.), that it has already in the first year of its existence shown itself a strong

mind Salaman of his own criticisms of never occurred to her that the police The question that every Communist and would be there anyway and that if the left winger should ask himself is: Where longshoremen wanted to strike they is it possible to develop a broader movement involving greater non-Party masses on the burning issues of the class strug-

> singers isolated from the large masses of the workers who are to be found in the reformist labor fraternal societies. Those members of the I. W. O. who are numbers of the reformist unions have the feeling that while they must remain in these unions for the job, they can look to the I. W. O. as a place of worship where they can explate their "sin" of belonging to reformist unions! They come to the I. W. O. as a place where it is no longer necessary to fight the reactionaries, as a place where they can rest in, peace.

Fraternal Organizations and Unions

ent Party leadership in questions of mass work is well shown in its attitude to unions and fraternal organizations. In line with the present twist in the "new turn" of Party policy, the Freiheit makes the pretence- it is no more than that! -of continuing the work in the reacthey did not listen to "reason." Hynes only three months previously fought tionary unions; in the field of fraternal organizations it has quite a different pol-In this field they designate every work

er in the reformist organizations as a scab". Their policy is that of political shopkeepers, to withdraw as many in they are thereby crushing the possibility for the Soviet Union and that any pro-Soviet movement in reformist organizations is actually "dangerous" would lend them a progressive character! Is it not obvious that such a viewpoint actually strengthens the anti-Soviet front?

Political Blackmail

Because of the growing bankruptcy of the sectarian line of the Party and the slow but sure headway of the left wing in the W. C., the Freiheit and the I. W. O. have initiated a new cam-(Continued on Page 4)

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#### SLAVERY IN HONGKONG

THE more one sees of the "Socialist" Labor government, the more one sions: The present acute unemployment is convinced that it is a strikebreaking, anti-labor machine of the on the minds, on the ideology, of the most dangerous kind. In fact, in its zeal to serve the interests of the im- working masses. The continued worsenperialists, it often oversteps the bounds set for its services to the boss mg of the unemployment crisis tends to class by outspoken reactionaries.

Take the case of Hongkong. This mighty trading center is a pre- ed with things as they are and makes clous jewel in the crown of the British empire in the Far East. For many them begin to ask questions as to why years, under British inspiration and organization, there has been flourish-things are as they are and how long they ing here one of the most damnable slave-trafficking institutions in the fient bang with which the prosperity illuworld. Thousands of little girls are being sold every year in this British colony into virtual slavery, under the notorious "Muitsai system." The average price for a nine year old girl is a hundred dollars. This practice has proved so obnoxious that even Sir John Simon, infamous for his policies in India, has been forced to lodge a protest in the House of Commons-very much to the displeasure and consternation of the "Socialist" cabinet led by that peace-loving Christian soldier, MacDonald!

And it is precisely the "Socialists" and liberty-lovers of this ilk who have been hypocritically howling about "forced" labor, "convict" labor and what not in the Soviet Union. This slavery-actual slavery-in Hongkong is administered by the British Colonial department of which the dynamic possibilities of the work the secretary is none other than Lord Passfield, the well-known Sidney ers savings" (Wm. Z. Foster, July 1926 Webb, for decades an authority on the Socialism of the brand of Thomas, MacDonald and the whole Second (Socialist) International.

Yes! That is how imperialism beings civilization to the "backward" countries! Wherever imperialism now plants its banners, it sows the seeds of exploitation and oppression. It becomes a force for buttressing and perpetuating all backward, reactionary, and degrading forces. Thus, wherever slavery exists—or can be developed and maintained AT A PROFIT—especially on a more profitable basis than thru the introduction of more modern methods of exploitation there the imperialists become the main slave agents. Harvey Firestone in Liberia is doing nothing ration scheme. Mr. Willard did not mince more for Wall Street imperialism than "Contrade" Sidney Webb is doing words in pointing out the grave dangers for Lombard Street imperialism in Hongkong and elsewhere—introducing, in the continued existence of a huge arextending, or perpetuating slavery as a social and economic institution. my of unemployed.

Perhaps the Prince of Wales will not object to a little "vulgarity" in advertising this highly-profitable business venture flourishing under the relations: The existence of a vast army British imperial flag unfurled by MacDonald!

It is up to the British workers to wipe out this damnable shame. bridging the gap between these two sec-History has shown that the only way to wipe out such shames is by tions of the working class, tends to prowiping out the system which breeds them and the class which maintains them and flourishes thru them. Our Russian brothers have shown the way. Let the British and American workers follow suit. Then the breadlines of New York and London and the slave lives of Hongkong and of the industrialization of agriculture, Liberia will be no more.

#### A "FRIEND" OF THE NEGROES!

TULIUS ROSENWALD is well known as a "friend" of the Negroes. The Negro papers fall over themselves in their ecstasy over his "lavish philantrophy" in Negro education, hospitals, and Y. M. C. A.'s. It is not equally clear unfortunately that this philanthropy of his is one of the most effective ways of maintaining the masses, for the increased resistance the cursed jim-crowism yoke on the necks of the Negroes. But everybody ought by the workers who are now compelled to be able to understand the following simple facts:

1. The benevolent Julius Rosenwald owns and operates the Rosenwald Apartments in Chicago, so-called "model apartments" for Negroes. Rents for Negroes in Chicago are very high, far out of proportion as compared even with the burdens the white workers have to bear. But the philantrophic Mr. Rosenwald absolutely refuses to reduce rents on his apartments, even the the rents on apartments in the neighborhood are falling.

2. The benevolent Julius Rosenwald is the guiding force of the big mail order house, Sears-Roebuck and Company, in Chicago. Unemployment has hit the Negroes very hard in Chicago. But the philantrophic Mr. Rosenwald absolute- class struggle in which the workers, with ly refuses to employ any Negroes in the big mail order house.

Such is the charity of philantropic Mr. Rosenwald. . . .

About the Workmen's Circle Convention

### ACTS OF DESPERATION

(continued from page 3)

mail which outdoes in its methods the infamous practises of the A. F. of L. bu-

On May 7 we were attacked as "renegades" for appearing at the W. C. convention. On May 8, the Freiheit remarked editorially that the "Lovestone-9. Salzman asks: "Did the Lovestoneites try to mobilize the membership of the W. C. in a protest against the active participation of the W. C. in the preparations for the attack on the U.S.S.R.?" On May 12, we read in a news item: "It would be interesting to know if the members of the W. C. Branches 417, members,
386,637 really gave a mandate to Lift
shitz and Guss to defame the Soviet the dues payments of a few hundred new Union in their name."

Party leaders know very well indeed that can act in the manner of the Freiheit and den of the economic crisis, the main burden of the speeches and der the I. W. O. chiefs. clarations of the left wing committee and of Comrade Silber at the W. C. bor fraternal organizations; we will conconvention was precisely exposure of the tinue to mobilize the membership for the pretence of "tolerance" of the W. C. revolutionary, class struggle, for Combendership, attack on the support it is munism.

giving to the reactionary forces in the paign of lies, slander and political blackti-Soviet position of the W. C., and a ringing call to the membership of the organization to rolly unitedly in support of the left wing in the American labor movement and in defense of the Soviet Union. We carried on this fight not only at the convention but at ites" went to the Abramoviches and the two nominating conferences (1930, Bessadovskies to ask "justice" for the 1931) and at many inidivdual branch Soviet Union ("recognition"!). On May meetings. But what are facts anyway?... meetings. But what are facts anyway? Of course the progressive and left wing forces in the W. C. are still weak but the blame for this weakness lies primarily with the present leadership of the C. P. which makes effective left wing work very difficult by its policy of splitting away small groups and individual

members mean more than the develop-Of course the Freiheit writers and the ment of a left wing in mass organizations

AND CONTROL OF THE PROPERTY 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 AGE. Subscribe now!

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The Crisis and the Workers

## The Social and Economic Consequences of the Crisis

by Jay Lovestone

(Concluded from last issue)

10. Tendency to shatter prosperity illucrists is having an important influence make even the most politically under developed workers dissatisfied, discontent are going to continue this way. The viosion, the Hoover bubble, burst, has already gone a long way towards undermining the influence and prestige of Wall Street abroad. The the great mass of American workers still have faith in the capitalist system to the extent of not wanting to overthrow it, to the extent even of believing that prosperity is returning soon, yet the damage done to the bosses' propaganda about stock-own ership, about the workers becoming capi talists, is great. Nowadays, one does not hear so much talk by Communists about Workers Monthly) and about workers becoming capitalists a la Carver and Catchings. The rising tide of unemployment ings. The rising tide of unemployment will help much in shattering the prosperity Musions of the workers. ;

The ontinous repercussions of this developing feeling amongst the masses is evident to many of the more conscious for instance, in the recent speech of Daniel Willard, father of the notorious Baltimore and Ohio Railroad class collaboto the entire capitalist system inherent

11. Tendency towards sharpening class of unemployed by weakening the divi-sions between skilled and unskilled, by ognize frankly that in the United States mote workingclass homogeneity. The trend towards the concentration of wealth, the tendency towards the wiping out of the middle class, the accelerated tempoere forces making for the working class becoming a still more decisive section of

At the same time the organic chronic unemployment, brings about a pauperization of considerable sections of the working class. This pauperization lays the objective basis for a radicalization of to light not only for certain conditions of employment but even for the very right to any kind of a place at all in the productive system. The contradiction of permanent unemployment is thus developed to a deeper and higher stage, is trans formed into the contradictoin showing millions of workers, the same millions, being permanently unemployed. Here in lies the basis of the sharpening of the proper Communist leadership, with effect revolutionary inspiration and pocies, can deal mortal blows to the entire

12.Tendencies generating war: Uncmployment causes a severe narrowing of the domestic market. This compels the bourgeoisie to put up higher and higher hotels, marvelous walks and drivesbarriers to defend their home markets for the "Summer resident." Workers from competition by the capitalists of paid barely enough to live upon and other countries. Hence, the recent many out of work. Cafes, gilded and marked trend towards higher tariffs. This powerful influence of unemployment is admitted by Professor Donham when he | Wine is good and it is cheap. To

"The world-wide tariff situation represents a real effort in country after country to deal constructively with major elements of change, threatening the stability of each nation. Of these, memployment is one of the most important and every contarty will seek to build up new industries to take the place of old industries which are no longer capable of competing."

The increasing commercial competition expressing itself in the rising tariff walls, affords a most fertile soil in which flourish the germs of war. Imperialist war is, after all, only the logical, the culminating, the highest and most intense form of capitalist competition.

Again, the bourgeoisie of each country, now and then sis compelled to resort to open armed conflict with its competitors in the world market in order to stifle the rising revolutionary protest by the workers at home upon whose shoulders the capitalists always try to place the full bur-

### The Bankruptcy of Capitalism

The present unemployment crisis brings into bold relief the bankruptcy of capitalism as a social system. The develop-ment of productive forces, the develop-SUBSCRIBE!

The REVOLUTIONARY AGE brings you weekly information of the conditions of the masses but has ment of machinery, which is supposed to become a means of their degradation. Capitalism is now looking for a way out of its crisis, is trying to 1go forward by retrogression rather than advance—by stifling the processes of technical growth. Capitalism now more and more tends to become a fetter on and a hindrance to the development of the productive forces." ization proceeds, the efficiency in one in dustry or another is advanced,

The capitalist system is wholly anti-social. Horse-power is today not the servant of the masses but is only a tool in the hands of the exploiters, a means for

creased unemployment for the masses, there is but one real remedy for unem Thus, increased output under capitalism ployment and that this remedy is to be means decreased input for the workers- lound in genuinely social, in genuinel nass underconsumption. The unemploy planned economy-as applied in the Sov ment crisis painfully illustrates the tormenting uncertainty which is a source under capitalism. Genuine social econoof the worst agony and disruption in the lives of the workers. Marx put the quest throw of the capitalist system and the

"Since, therefore, muchinery considered in, and by itself, shortens the working ed in, and by itself, shortens the working day, whereas its capitatist use longthens the working day; since machinery, by itself, lightens labor, whereas its capitatist use intensifies labor; by itself, it is a victory of man over the forces of nature, but, in its capitalist use, it subordinates man to the lorces of nature; by itself, it increases the wealth of the producer, but in its capitalist use, it innoventeers. ducer, but in its capitalist use, it impoverishes him . . . ."

In fact the capitalist system, more than itself today are becoming daily more evimy other system which preceded it, has dent particularly thru the grave unembrought extreme uncertainty into the ployment crisis and the rapid progress of

There is no way out of this mess for International capitalism is in its epoch of capitalism. That is why its economists decay, in its final, decadent stage. There and experts always talk of many remedies can be short-lived spurts of prosperity for the unemployment crisis but never ind one effective remedy. This bankruptcy is dawning upon even the most optimistic and faithful of the bourgeois apologists. The growing consciousness the ranks of the so-called statesmen bourgeois industry that there is something fatally wrong with a social system. in which increased productivity brings increased misery and not enhanced happiness is especially reflected in the colapse of the "eternity" complex. There capitalist leaders. This is to be seen, are an increasing number of bourgeois thinkers and teachers who are beginning to doubt that the capitalist system in the worried over the challenge to capital-

ism by the Soviet Union.

Prior to the present economic crisis very few capitalist economists and leaders would even speak of capitalism as a social system in the United States. Nowadays even railroad presidents and college professors have learned enough to recwe have a capitalist system. They are cutting out a lot of shallow talk about "Americanism" and "rugged" individualism" which has become in the face of ever-increasing breadlines, merely lengthcoing and multiplying, "ragged individ-ualism". The bourgeoisie as well as the great masses of workers, willy nilly, by he very force of objective circumstances are developing a wider outlook, a more worldly viewpoint. In the country as a whole there likewise tends to develop an understanding of the intimate and inherent connection between the breadlines in the economic crisis and the deathlines

A Significant Historical Contrast-Socialist Construction

There is a growing consciousness mong large sections of the workers that ]

by R. A. MacNamee

Thru A Sailor's Eyes

Labor in Spain

iet Union. But this cannot be achieved

my, first of all, presupposes the over-

torship. It is in Russia, and only in Rus-

sia, where these prerequisite conditions

genuinely planned economy, especially

the world we find today no unemploy-

The death throes in which the capital-

here and there. In some countries there

can and will be momentary upward trends in economy. The errand of capi-

talist development-downward as well as

upward -- is uneven and does not pro-

ceed in a straight line at the same pace

and to the same extent simultaneously

in all countries. This condition does not

change the indisputable fact that world

capitalism is decaying and that no capi-

talist country is immune from this pro

Today, when so many of the inherent

contradictions of capitalism have been

so enlarged, have been enlarged to inter-

national dimensions, deepened and mag-

nified to a world scale, the very upward

trends of production and exchange in

particular countries themselves serve as

forces preparing the ground for a series

of successive crises, each increasing in

intensity, and culminating in the final

crisis of capitalism. Under these condi-

tions the peaks of economy reached in

the strongest capitalist countries can them-

selves—as was shown in the outbreak of

the present crisis-serve as the precipi-

tating factor for a crisis which today can-

not but be international, world-wide in

All the hopes, all the illusions, all the

empty talk about returning prosperity

thru the Five-Year plan.

trends in economy.

cess of decay.

ment.

And in the

many out of work. Cafes, gilded and resplendent for the boss class—dingy the Spanish worker it is a food as well as a drink. He seldom gets drunk. He uses his wine instead of

abusing it. Labor unions? "Si Senor, a fewnot too much. Unions not too good. Company controls them and thru them rob the workers more than

 ${
m ever.}^{n}$ Communism? "No Senor! Quiet I beg of you! Communism is of the devil. It would take away the cork factories. It would remove those men of great wealth who pay our wage, then what would become of us? How

"But no Senor! It is of the impossible! If the workers took over the factories and the farms what could they do? They would have no money there would be no wages and then their arms carrying an old tin can down to the wharf, begging we should starve. No, Senor, it is from foreign ships the scraps from better to have a little than nothing the tables. and now, at least, we live.

This was the sentiment of every an elementary idea of Communism. Many were questioned but almost every one showed fear, distrust and ignorance.
In Barcelona it was different. While

no actual Communistic organization America (the U.S.A.) was on the was really discovered by the writer, verge of a proletarian revolt, that I was told that there is a "minority" the workers of the U.S. A. had or-I was told that there is a "minority" the workers of the U. S. A. had or-Communistic movement there that is ganized under the new line tactics well defined and active. I found the of the Communist Party and were spirit of revolt well developed but ready to form a new and powerful since it was upon the eye of a repub- Soviet of the U.S. A.

Spain—picturesque Santa Filieu lican uprising it was hard to deter-Narrow streets of workers—palatial mine the exact status of the revolutionary feeling.

> · A Russian ship, I am told, came into Barcelona harbor. The authorities, fearing the spread of proletarian propaganda posted armed soldiers about the ship, forbidding the Russians to tand. The populace, enraged at this in-

justice demanded that the sailors be allowed to land. When this request was denied several hundred of them stormed the ship and brought the Russian sailors ashore despite the order. Then they held a parade. The soldiers were withdrawn.

Seville, Spain-the prettiest, most picturesque town I have ever seen. A big bustling city of beautiful buildings, magnificent parks, glittering cafes, wild women and potent liquor —for those with money.

For the worker—the same old story.

Poor squalid houses, few jobs and

"Yes, there is a Communistic move-This was the sentiment of every ment in Seville, in Barcelona and a man talked to in Santa Filicu, in few other of the larger cities," said Malaga and Alicante. Few indeed the worker who professed himself a were the workers found who had even Communist. "But," he added, "the smaller towns and the country districts of Spain are not of the Communists', and even in the large towns they are weak and poorly organized.

This same man had been told that

### SPRING DANCE SATURDAY MAY 23RD 1931

63 Madison Avenue—New York City

Auspices: DOWN TOWN UNIT C.P.-U.S.A. (Majority Group) DMISSION—35 CENTS -\* NEGRO JAZZ BAND so fiercely denounce the I.W.W.



AMERICAN LITERATURE AT THE CROSSROADS, by V. F. Calverton University of Washington Chapbooks No. 48. U. of W. Press, Seattle, Wash ington, 1931.

A NEW APPROACH TO THE PROB LEM OF INDIVIDUALISM, by V F. Calverton, Reprinted in pamphle form from Social Forces, March, 1931

The brief essay on American literature epresents Calverton at his best as a pene camp commentator on current American culture. He wields the analytical in strument of historical materialism with dest sureness and precision that render startlingty sample the most involved probtems of American cultural development establishment of the proletarian dictaic is only necessary to compare these lev pages with the standard product of liter ary history in this country to grasp the have been fulfilled that we have today tremendous superiority of the Marxist method in the hands of one who is able to master M.

Soviet Union atone of all the countries in "American literature today is at th rossroads," declares Calverion in th pening sentence of his book. In Amerist system as a world social system finds ican literature, as in American cultural spiritual values." tife in general, he points out, the period from 1914 to 1920 was the age of revolt. The period of the nincteen-twenties saw a marked change; the age of cyn decay, in its final, decadent stage. There icism set in. Continues Calverton;

"The altar of cynicism became the meeting place of the distillusioned. . . . Cyhicism became a cuit, characterized by the exaltation of the sneer. Nothing could be done but sneer—sneer at values, sneer at men. . . . But such an escape . . . could not last. Cynicism can only precould not list. Cynicism can only pre-vail during a period of transition, when values are in a state of chaos, the old ones too bankrupt to inspire and the new ones too unformed to challenge or com-pet. As soon as the old ones have been definitely forsaken, however, and the new-ones have managed so crystallize, cyni-cisms are succeeded by convictions, and a fresh era is begun.

"We are today at the beginning of such an era. The decay of the old spirit such an era. The decay of the old spirit of the Twenties is prisent on every side, and the early signs of a new era are to be seen in various forms and along many monts. The development of the new but manish, the new regionalism, and the new proletarianism are evidences of this new era in its critical form. Each of these new approaches has one element in common; the desire for a tradition. The new luminalists would have us go The new humanists would have us go back to the classics for our transition; the new regionalists . . would have us go back to the land, for one inspiration, denying thus the supremacy of an industrial to an agrarian civilization; the new preferences, on the class land, remains professionests, on the other hand, rerust turn back either to the classies or to the rand for their tradition, but seek to create a new literature out of the yast, energy-giving resources of the projectariat, in other words, would look forward in stead of backward for their inspiration. The new limitationary to their followings. thus, are reactionary in their philosophy the new proletarianists are revolutionary.

cannot today hide the historical truth of This striking outline of the main roads the significant' conclusion of Friedrich of nevelopment in current interature and Engels in 1886 about the future for world of their roots in the past is explained and apitalism;

"The siglied-for period of prospecity will not come; as often as we seem to perceive its hecalding symptoms, so often do they again vanish into air. Mean while, each succeeding winter brings as afresh the great question: What to do with the unemployed; but while the manber of unemployed keeps swelling from year to year, there is nobody to answer that question; and we can admost calculate the moment when the unemployed, losing patience, will take their own fate into their own hands...." dustrated in a very convincing manner at this pamphiet. But Calverton goes arther; he uncovers the basic social-economic roots of the cultural phenomena, the social forces underlying the literary Catverton does his best analytical work: elective use of the powerful instrument of Marxism.

The contrast between the spirit of aimiess revolt and consequent cynicism of the last two decades on the one hand and the new search for convictions and standards on the other, is of significance not merely in literature but in the whole of American social life. A new spirit is in the air. A short time ago a Yale senior deplored in The New Republic the passing of college "insurgency". Conformism is back in the saddle in the universities: the college man is now a "gentle-man", the cored again a "lady"! The "revolt" seems to be over. And the bour-The geois observers glibly explain this very significant development by trite referen ces to the "swing of the pendulum", to action and reaction." But it seems much more to the point to correlate the hange of tone in the universities with the shifting of fushion in bourgeois in-tellectual life from the wise-cracking cynicism of Mencken to the classical humanism of Professor Babbit,

In this sense Calverton's analysis may well serve as the key to much that is new in modern American cultural life . . . .

The inquiry into the nature of indiv

idualism undertaken by Calverton in the article in Social Forces is as different as can be in tone and content from the pamphlet on literature; yet the underlying method is the same; historical materialism. Calverton makes the absolute ly appropriate point that the term "in dividualism" as currently used is scientifically very vague and almost meaning altar is God. Therefore the Vatican windividualisms", each corresponding to Council has been able to proclaim that a different stage in social (economic) desthere is no contradiction between faith velopment, to a different configuration of and science."—Pope Pius XI. social forces. Calverton examines the individualism that arose with the beginnings of merchant capitalism and shows its specific characteristics, its distinction from the types of individualism that fol-lowed it. The birth period of "modern" individualism is traced to the altogether too little studied period of the transition from merchant to industrial capitalism. It is to the particular conditions, especially to the duration of this transition pertod as it has occurred in various countries that are to be traced back the specific peculiarities of the various types of indi-The essay as a whole is marked by

striking originality of thought and lucid

War makes possible all such crimes and The title is too conservative. It should outrages. And war comes in spite of the people. When Wall Street says war the press says war and the pulpit promptly follows with its "Amen." In every age the pulpit has been on the side of the That is one reason why the preachers

-EUGENE DEBS.



America First

Another figure which has risen with the depression is the suicide rate. 1930 it reached its highest level since 1908 (after the panic of 1907). Few countries have a suicide rate even approaching that of the United States. Compare the American rate of 15 per 100, 000 with the Greek of 1.7 per 100,000. In New York the climb has been steady;

> 1920—676 sucides recorded. 1922---791.

1924 - 8291926-904 1928-1,183 1929-1,255

1930--1,402 America hold's 'the world's record in romicides, gangsters, maternity death rate, suicides, bank failures, battionaires, swindle schemes, the world's biggest national deficit, graft scandals, increase in lunacy, and callous starving of the producers of its collosal wealth. These are the famous American institutions which Hoover calls "ragged individualism-fine Think of them when you listen to the Fourth of July orator.

#### England Gives In

Every one knows that British made lothes and other goods last many years while American goods are made to wear out as soon as possible.

Now comes the Prince of Wates with elf-criticism:

"We used to sell our goods", says His Nibs, "mainly on their quality and durability. Today the majority of the people desire goods that won't last so long... They have gotten the habit of looking forware to replacements as immediate improvements and new invention come . There is no reason why we along . should not turn out such goods . . . A resoluting victory for Americanism ind capitalist shoday!

#### The New Spanish Ambassador

Salvador De Madanaga, the new Spanish Ambassador to the United States, the author of several memorable retarks on the Monroe Doctrine;

"Some one has said of Liberty that it dwindles down from precedent to precedent. The Monroe Doctrine broadens out from President to Pres-

"The Monroe Doctrine is a dogma. Like all dogmas, you get punished for questioning it. It is based on the theory of the infallibility of the president and the immuculate conception of America's foreign policies.

If Madariaga has any more of the same to say, he will soon be persona non

### A Rose By Any Other Name

In British-controlled Hongkong little Chinese girls are sold into slavery at \$100 each. When reported in the House mistory of the epoch. It is here that of Commons, Lord Passfield (Sidney Webb), "Labor" colonial minister, deit is here that he shows his ability to make fended it as: "A chinese system of adoption of young girls!"

Now if Sir Sidney will call wage-slavcry "the British system of adoption" and unemployment "the West European system of dieting", the Labor government will have accomplished something.

### A Perfect Alibi

Pity the poor business man. Rome C. Stephenson, President, American Bankers Association, declares bankers and bus-iness men are not in favor of wage-cuts but "economic forces" overpower them and make them out wages. Sounds like a good excise for a second-story man to try on a judge: "I couldn't help it, Judge, economic forces overpowered me.

### Reducing the Acmy

Hoover is out to cut down expenses in the army. He plans to "dispense with the cavalry by mechanizing it!" Sell the horses and buy tanks! After that he'll save shoe leather by buying airplanes, Ain't engineering grand?

### Our Deducational System

Tests administered to graduates of city dementary schools reveal that more than sall cannot read, spell or compute. Then Alderman Kiernan proposes to kick al Communists kids out, believing that the schools are powerless to kick Communism out of them. It seems the schools can neither put knowledge in nor knock sense out. "The finest school system in the world", says Mayor Walker!

A Bargain

A Formula For Proving Anything

America is the land of apportunity! Permanent Unemployment No Emergency The New York Times takes comfort

#### for the present unemployment figures in New York out of the fact that about one half is "permanent" unemployment. Funny what a well-paid editorial writer can

find comfort in! Thomas's Way Out Rev. Norman Thomas has shown Amrica the "Way Out" in a new book.

#### be "Way, Way Out." An Innocent Question

How come that William Zebulon Foster read his debate with Muste? He never read a speech on any subject before. Ask Stachel, he knows.

The U. S. government bought land from Marshall Field for a new post office worth \$4.55 a square foot at \$17.50 a square foot. And knockers deny that