THE HEVOLUTIONARY AGE

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS

ISSUED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY (Majority Group)

COUNTRIES

WORKERS OF ALL

UNITE

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LEGAL BARBARITY IS EXPOSED

Wickersham Report Bares Police Terror Methods In New York

WASHINGTON-A hair-raising record of complete lawlessness in law "en-forcement" on the part of the police department of the larger American cities, with methods approaching "barbarities" that are unprintable by their very na-ture", was laid bare by the tenth Wick-ersham Commission report made public at the White House on August 10.

The report singled out New York City for the most attention, as one of the worst spots where brutal police methods have been used relentlessly with the silent, if not the expressed, sanction of the highest city authorities. In Chicago, it said, the apparent diminution of such practices is due to the retaliation of gangs and gangsters for brutal treatment of their companions.

In New York City the brutal methods used by the police departments are of every known kind, including every vac-iety of the "third degree", the report declares. The report goes on to quote from the speeches of Mayor Walker and form-er Police Commissioner Whalen showing

their evident approval of such methods.
The factual material for the report was prepared by Zechariah Chafee, Jr. of the Harvard Law School and Walter H. Pollack and Carl Stern of the New York Bar. A section of the report dealing with the shameful frameup against Mooney and Billings was omitted in publication on the pretext that the scope of the commission did not extend to the case!

The tenth Wickersham Commission teport exposes the revolting hypocrisy and vicious brutality of "law enforce-ment" under capitalism. None of the recommendations proposed by the com-mission can alter this situation a whit. It is necessary to realize that the system of capitalism is built on the exploitation of millions, on brutality and on hypoerisy and that every institution of capitalism is shot thru with this poison. Only the destruction of the capitalist system and its replacement by a system wherein the exploitation of man by man can find no place, can fundamentally change

IN COTTON CROP

Farm Board Urges Ruin of Third Part of Cotton As Mass Need Mounts

WASHINGTON.--The Federal Farm Board took another drastic step to "stabilize" cotton prices, when it wired, on August 12, the governors of fourteen cotton producing states and urged them to do all they could to cut down the

production of cotton.

The "hope" was expressed that by such means 4,000,000 bales of an estimated production of 15,584,000 might be destroyed! In return for such "coop-eration" the Parm Board offered a "pledge" not to sell the 1,300,000 bales owned by it before July 1932 and to urge cotton cooperatives under its dominance not to sell their stocks in that period. By such means 7,000,000 bales, nearly half of American production, would be taken out of the 1931 markets and so cotton prices would rise.

The appeal of the Farm Board to cut down the production of cotton at this time of acute crisis throws a sensational light upon the incredible contradictions upon which the capitalist system is built. Here we have millions of people who haven't a shirt on their backs, who sufsame time the government urges the farmers to cut down on cotton production, because cotton might get too cheap! Misery in the midst of plenty—and all because production in this country is not to supply the needs of the people but to increase the profits of the capitalists!

CATHOLIC TEACHERS ARE OUSTED IN VERA CRUZ

State Government in Drive Against Church; Peasants Demonstrate, Expel Clergy, Burn Churches

MEXICO CITY.—All teachers in the primary and higher schools of the State of Vera Cruz who are Catholics have been dismissed at the order of the State Direc-

tor General of Education. All thru the state crowds of peasants are attacking churches, expelling the clergy and setting fire to the buildings.

Thru Firm Unity Forward To Victory in Paterson

Appeal of the Communist Party (Majority Group)

and the "United Front General Strike Committee" (the same as the N.T.W. U.) are circulating a leaflet headed: "Urgent Call for Unity!" The very words of the leaflet, its very proposals, expose it as nothing more than a last-minute act of desperation, as merely a phase of the long campaign of disruption and disorganization to which the entire efforts of the N.T.W.U. have been confined in the

Several months ago when the preliminary preparations were first made for the silk strike in Paterson, the C. P. Majority Group issued more than one appeal to the National Textile Workers Union urging it to drop its sectarian policies and join in with the growing unity movement that was developing among the Paterson silk workers. To these ap-Paterson silk workers. To these ap-peals the N.T.W.U. answered either with contemptuous silence or with shameful When the amalgamated unions of the A. F. of L. were completing preparations and had issued a strike call for a certain date, the N.T.W.U. suddenly stepped in and, without preparations, without membership, without influence, without a base in the industry, "called" a strike for a previous date with the obvious purpose of attempting to disorganize the strike of the amalgamated unions of the A. P. of L. From that moment on, the entire energies of the N.T.W.U. were concentrated almost entirely upon demoralizing and sabotaging the splendid struggle of the silk workers under the leadership of the amalgam-ated unions. Unity was furthest from the thought and actions of the leaders of the N.T.W.U.

Fortunately the disorganizing activities of the N.T.W.U. met with well deserved failure. The overwhelming majority of the silk workers rallied enthusiastically to the strike call of the amalgamated unions and the disruptive N.T.W.U. was soon left in the isolation it merited. The N.T.W.U. forgot all about the fact that strike is a struggle against the bosses;

The National Textile Workers Union, it turned its activities to the most intolerable abuse and mud-slinging against the workers and their organizations, to the provocation of internecine struggles within the ranks of the workers, and, finally, to the actual picketing of shops already settled at very favorable terms by the amalgamated unions. Every one of these anti-working class acts discredited the N.T.W.U. more and more in the eyes of the silk workers! Finally, in the ranks of the N.T.W.U. itself an irrepressible demand for unity began to make itself heard. In desperation, the N.T. W.U. decided upon a "elever" manouver

As if to expose the fraudulent nature of its "offer", the N.T.W.U. fills its "unity" leaflet with its customary slander and abuse of the workers and their organizations. In the most shameful manner, it pretends to a record of championship of unity, at a time when every worker knows that for months it has sabotaged every unity offer made. It makes no advances to the official and recognized organizations of the silk workers but atheads of and against their organizations Instead of unity, it really aims at further disruption!

If the National Textile Workers workers that it has abandoned its disruptive policies and turned towards uni-

---put an immediate stop to it campaign of slander, abuse and mudslinging against the amalgamated unions of the A. F. of L. and the workers following them.

- put an immediate stop to its provo cative actions in stimulating con-flicts between the workers of the two organizations, which can only prove of benefit to the bosses. -put an immediate stop to the crimi-

nal act of picketing shops already (Continued on Page 2)

GANDHI BOYCOTTS LONDON MEET

All-India Congress Will Not Be Represented at the Round Table Meet

BOMBAY.—Mahatma Gandhi will not go to London for the coming Round Table Conference and the All-India Na-Congress will not be represented there. This is the gist of the statement made by Gaudhi himself on August 13 in the name of the Congress Working Committee. The decision of the Congress committee is due, he said, to the refusal of the Viceroy, Earl Willingdon to appoint an impartial committee to investigate the violations by the government of the Delhi compact." At the same time Candhi made it clear the Congress leaders have no intention whatever of eviving the civil disobedience and non-

cooperation campaigns. Reports from London declare that the second Round Table Conference will proceed as scheduled anyway, without the participation of the Congress party.

The full bankruptcy of the tactics of Mahatma Candhi and his followers in the leadership of the National Congress is now made clear for even the blind to sec. Thru the personal prestige of Gandempts to appeal to the workers over the hi, the splendid mass national revolutionary movement that had developed after the Lahore Congress was deliberately stifled in return for some vague promises on the part of the British Viceroy. The Union really wants to convince the silk ink was not yet dry on the Delhi Pact when the British government began violating every promise it had made—in-deed, the promises had been made only to be violated. Gandhi appealed to the "justice" and "humanity" of the Viceroy and received nothing but some contemptuously polite phrases. A frontal attack on the Indian nationalist movement was undertaken by the government, and still Gandhi counselled "patience and prayer"! Now it has become clear that the British imperialists do not intend to loosen a whit their bloody hold on India and what does Candhi say? "The fact that the Congress will not be repre-sented (at the Round Table Conference), however," he declares, "does not mean the termination of the Delhi settlement. Every endeavor will be made by the Congress to work for an honorable settlement until the government makes the situation

> their rent and taxes, until more workers are shot for daring to strike! The capitulation policy of Gandhi and of the native bourgeoisic whom he represents has now reached the extreme o

ntolerable, which at present it is not."

In other words, the British have admitted-ly broken the Delhi compact (as a mat-ter of fact, they broke it before they made it!) but the Indian people are to

abide by the compact anyway—until things become "intolerable", until more heroic nationalist fighters are arrested

WILLIAMSTOWN, Mass.—The position of German Fascism in regard to Herbert Von Beckerath, professor of political science at Bonn University, on a speech before the Insitute of Politics here

Prof. Beckerath openly proposed a united front of all European countries against the Soviet Union as preparatory to an armed offensive. For such a move, the German Pascist professor declared.

Union by the U. S. government.

Silk Workers Break Police Terror in Clifton; Paterson Strikers Fight on to Victory

Strikers Win Big Picket Battle at Doherty Mill - 16 Strike Leaders Arrested - 4,000 in Grand Parade - Settlements Begin - N. T. W. U. in New Disruptive Move

During the week of August 10-15 the Paterson textile strikers led by the analysis gamated unions of the A. F. of L. dec. when they attempted to attend a meeting arbitrary procedure of the police. The militancy and activity.

The main activity centered around the fight to picket the Doherty silk mill in Clitton. Henry Doherty had served notice thru the press that an old injunction mittee decided to break thru the police issued in 1922 against the United Text lines and thus establish the right to pickissued in 1922 against the United Tex-tile Workers would be enforced. The police of Clifton, acting as Doberty's formed into many lines, converging from

monstrated their determination to light of the workers of the Doherty mill. The on till victory, by a wonderful display of Paterson-Clifton boundary line became a real battle ground, with the police of Clifton armed to the hilt on the Clifton side and the striking textile workers on the Paterson side.

On Tuesday, Agust 11, the picket contools, used the pretext of the 1922 injune different points of the Doherty mill, tion to prevent pickets entering Clifton and to deport union organizers out of Clifton whenever they discovered them.

arbitrary procedure of the police. sixteen were augmented by picketers coming from all directions. The police became frantic and clubs began to fly. Heads of men, women and children were smashed. The cops, tho very nervous, acted in the most brutal manner, One woman running across the street for her child was punched by a heavy bully of a policeman and knocked clear across the street.

But in spite of the police clubbing the strikers pressed on determined to picket the mill. Then the police under orders of the chief arrested sixteen leaders of the picket demonstration, including Chas. S. Zimmerman, in charge of the picket committee and organizer of the march on the Doherty mill, I. Freedman, chairman of the picket committee, and Louis P. Budenz, the leader of the strike. Those arrested included the following: Louis F. Budenz, Armand Girard, Eli Keller, Warren Montross, Edward Wright, George H. Anthony, John Courtney, Isidore Freedman, Louis Cooper, David Weinberg, Bella Engels, Thos. Morgan, Jr.

They were kept in the Clifton jail incommunicado. No one was allowed to see them. Finally towards late in the evening information was received that they were charged with loitering and Budenz, with assault and battery upon an officer, by the name of Sullivan, The charges against Budenz are an outright frame-up. They were held on \$200 cash bail apiece. Later thru pressure of the attornies the bail was reduced to \$25 cash bail on the loitering charge and \$500 cash bail for Budenz.

The cases were transferred to the judicial court in Paterson and will be tried on Friday, August 21.

However, the general strike committee did not stop in its fight against Henry Doberty and the Clifton authorities. On Wednesday, the police backed down and permitted the striking Doherty workers to picket. These workers had, on Monday, after hearing Budenz for the amalgamated A. B. of L. unions and Bienden-kapp for the National Textile Workers Union, decided to join the A. F. of L. However, the police stopped all picketing 15 minutes before six o'clock (the closing hour of the mill) so that the pickets could not incet the few workers still working in the mill.

On Thursday, the union, t he American Civil Liberties Union and others held a meeting in Ploggs Grove, Clifon. Speakers included Budenz, Citlow, Keller, for the general strike committee, Hyman Nemser and a number of church representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The grove was packed. Enthusiasm ranhigh. The arrested picketers of the day before were introduced and received a tremendous ovation. Bli Keller started the songs sung by the prisoners in juil. The strikers sang them. After that with cheers, a picket line of 2,000 went out (Continued on Page 2)

NEW UPRISING **PHILIPPINES**

Peasant Unrest Threatens Yankee Rule and Rich Landlords, Usurers

MANILA. -- The rumors of an uprising of large sections of the Filipino peasantry, especially the Colorums on August 14, "Occupation Day", has caused and Mendiera have been made prisoners the American authorities in these islands to take claborate military measures. The Philippine Constabulary has been greatly enlarged. Reports from al parts of the area of disturbance indicate that the unrest of the peasantry is directed as much against the rich Pilipino landowners and userers as against the American occupa-

> MOSCOW -- According to the reports of the Commissariat of Education there were 500,000,000 copies of books published in the U.S.S.R. in the year 1930 as against 120,000,000, the highest prewar record. About half of the titles dealt with economic and social questions as against 5% before the war. About 30% weer devoted to technical subjects.

U. S. ORDERS CUT A. F. of L. Council Talks Against Wage-Cuts And Unemployment, But Paralyzes Action

Labor "Leaders" Urge Stagger Plan and Reject All into starvation because they cannot pay Government Relief to Jobless; Mellon Concerns Put Thru Ten Percent Wage Slashes

ATLANTIC CITY. - A declaration as a cure for unemployment, were the two most important actions of the Ex-ecutive Council of the American Fedoffered absolutely no plan of action on how wage-cuts are to be prevented and the 5-day week achieved. No mention was made of the compact concluded in the Fall of 1929 between William Green, president of the A. F. of L. claiming to act for labor, and Herbert Hoover, president of the United States, actually acting for capital, according to which the A. F. of L. leaders promised to stifle all strike movement on the "pledge" of the bosses "not to allow wage-cuts"at a time when wage slashes were begin ning to rain down on the workers.

The demonstrative declaration of the A. F. of L. council bears testimony to fer for lack of cotton goods-and at the the growing dissatisfaction of the masses of the workers, organized and unorgan ized, and the growing mood of struggle The spontaneous strikes that have broken out in the last several months in a number of most important industries of the country, show that the workers have about reached the limit of endurance and re beginning to hit back. In order not to lose their contact with these advancing workers the A. F. of L. leaders are forced to make a few radical gestures and say a few militant sounding words. But the contradictions involved in their own words as well as the glaring discrepancy between words and action ,show that the policy of the A. F. of L. leaders has not really changed one bit: it is still a policy of service to capital, a policy of paralyzing the efforts of labor to better its con-

Wage-cuts are "deeply deplored" by the A. F. of L. council but the workers are not told to resist wage-cuts in the only effective way-by striking against wage-cuts. If the workers strike anyway it will be the big A.F. of L. leaders who will sabotage their struggles, openly or ed by the peasants of Vera Cruz as the devoted defender of the usurers and land. —which is the best areas and sands. -which is the best entering wedge pos-sible for wage-cuts generally.

In all essential points what is proagainst wage-cuts as "postponing the re-turn of prosperity" and the proposal of the 5-day week with reduction in pay ers. Not one word is mentioned as to ers. Not one word is mentioned as to any form of government unemployment telief, which is becoming a more and

> only the conversion of the conservative unions into militant fighting bodies, can stop wage-cuts and can win reduction of hours without reduction in pay.

Kopper Company subsidiaries, controlled by the Mellon interests of Pittsburgh, have cut the wages of their workers by 10%. Andrew W. Mellon, who dominates these interests, is the secretary of the Treasury in the Hoover administrations which has made many vociferous "statements" against wage-cutting "at

companies, and similar organizations,

on August 11.

a Franco-German rapproachment would be absolutely necessary. Concessions on the part of France would be needed, he went on, but the "price would not be ex-

REVOLT SPREADS THRUOUT CUBA: MENOCAL HEADS INSURGENTS

THE SKYLINE OF NEW YORK

Deep Misery of Masses and Terror Regime of Machado Unleash Popular Revolt Led by Corrupt Clique Wall Street in "Watchful Waiting"

HAVANA, Cuba.-In spite of the tive forces against the insurgents but

strictest censorship, it is already clear that has also called to the colors all retired the entire interior of the island is seeth- officers and men all reserves. Several im-Dr. George S. Counts, professor of ing with armed revolt against the govern- portant clashes have already taken place, Education at Columbia University, count ment of President Machado and that in most of which the rebels have been vicgovernment has not only mobilized all ac- arms.

The Mellon subsidiaries include coak and coal companies, gas plea for the recognition of the Soviet against this government. The Machado hesty" to all insurgents laying down their The actual leadership of the revolt in Cuba is supposed to be in the hands of the former president, General Menocal, and of Col. Mendieta, a well known leader of the Nationalist party. The forcign headquarters is at Hotel Biltmore in New York, under the direction of Dr. Domingo Mendez Capote, who has

been designated as provisional president if, the revolt succeeds. According to latest reports, Menocal but the revolt continues.

The armed insurrection under General Menocal has come as the inevitable result of rapidly mounting dissatisfaction of the masses of the Cuban people with the murderous Machado regime. _ The economic crisis has hit Cuba very hard. On the countryside the misery of the peasantry and farm laborers is indescripble, with actual famine stalking the land. In the cities the capitalist concerns, either wholly or partly American financed, started many months ago a vicious offensive against the workers, especially in the matter of wage-cuts. And added to all,

(Continued on Page 2)

FOR A SOLID LABOR FRONT AGAINST THE BOSSES!

Rush Relief for the Paterson Silk Strikers!

Appeal of the Amalgamated A. F. of L. Unions in Paterson

economic crisis to drive the living stand, bery of part of the workers pay. ards of the workers far below the level of subsistence. The skilled and semiskilled average from \$16 to \$20 per week. Unskilled workers, such as winders, and conditions. auxiliory workers, earn as low as \$5.00

For the last five weeks the textile work nights. The workers are also be bettered and a strong union built up workers in the silk mills of Paterson and forced to work as 14, 15 and 16 hours to maintain decent working conditions vicinity have been out on a general strike, a day. The speed-up is terrific, breaking The strike is directly due to the about down the vitality and health of the worknable working conditions which prevail ers. In the shops the bosses are tyranin the industry. The manufacturers have nical, despotic and most savagely ex- Workers of America and the Paterson repeatedly cut wages and lengthened ploit the workers. In addition a system of hours. They have taken advantage of the fines is in vogue which is outright rob-

The general strike is an answer of the textile workers of Paterson that they will no longer tolerate such inhuman slave

In preparing for the general strike the a week. The workers, many of whom workers realized that the unity of their are women and children, are forced to ranks was essential if conditions were to

and living standards. This necessary unity was achieved in the amalgamation before the strike of the Associated Silk silk workers locals of the United Textile Workers of America into one organization under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

The success of amalgamation assured a strike of all crafts for the demands of the silk workers.

The main demands of the general strike are for the 8-hour day, increased unemployment has been growing more (Continued on Page 2)

Past Traditions and Future Deeds

WHAT IS THE N.A.A.C.P. HEADING FOR?

Tactics in the Scottsboro Case

"According to the secretary of the Nar | ored workers cannot assemble without tional Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the N.A.A.C.P. is no less militant today than it has ever bama are greater than the lives of the been. We suppose that these words are eight boys. The N.A.A.C.P. is shortnot mere words. We hope that the record of twenty two years, of which we are as proud as the secretary, will continue to stand unblemished.

"However, we reiterate that in the handling of the situation in Alabama the present administration of the N.A. A.C.P. has made many mistakes, mistakes that have given us cause to question the militancy of the association and the wisdom of its policy. And this policy, according to the letter from the secretary, seems to be first that the eight boys sentenced to electrocution must be saved at all costs, and secondly, that because the tactics of the Communists are unorthodox and maddening to those who have already condemned these boys to a "legal lynching", these Communists must be fought as enemies of the race.

"We do not believe that either of these Cases that have been carried to the Su-preme Court of the United States by the N.A.A.C.P. and won were not important because the individuals around which the cases revolved were incidentally aided, but because the race as a whole gained ground in its fight against injustice and prejudice.

And so in the Scottsboro cases, as important as it may be to save the lives of these eight innocent boys, it is more important to let Alabama know well that the spirit, of which the conviction of the eight boys is but evidence, cannot go on indefinitely unchallenged by the race and nation. It is fallacious for the N.A.A. C.P. to feel that to save the boys at any cost will be a victory for the race. If these eight boys are saved and next week sixteen other boys are similarly lynched, what has been gained? If the price to be paid for the lives of these eight boys is an understanding that col-

STRIKERS BREAK POLICE TERROR

(Continued from Page 1) singing, cheering and shouting in defiance of the police orders and picketed the Henry Doherty mill, When the police wanted to prevent the picket line, headed by Chas. Zimmerman and I. Preedman, they found the workers so Freedman, they found the workers so delegation to the Cortes and former legal insistent that they backed down. It was a tremendous victory for militancy and out in support of the new civil governous to the part of the fighting determination on the part of the

On Friday, August 14, the grand parade took place. It was an inspiring had hitherto worked closely with the leadparade took place. It was an important placards turnout. Hundreds of militant placards were carried by the strikers. Smith, national organizer of the U.T. W., and position and break the syndicalists. Holderman, of the Pull Pashioned Hosiery Workers Union, were the grand iery Workers Union, were the grand ments among the Catalonian nationalists marshalls. Before the parade there was in supporting the Madrid reactionaries in a mass meeting at Roseland Dance Hall their attack on the revolutionary workwith Budenz chairman, and Gitlow and ers, exposes completely the fundamental Muste, speakers.

There were over 4,000 men and wo leaders. Under the cloak of "no polimen in the line of march. The Com tics" the chiefs of the Sindicato Unico munist Party (Majority Group) under its have been persecuting the Communists own banner, was also in the line of in the ranks of the organization only to march. The streets on the line of march throw its whole weight "unofficially" in were jammed with workers who cheered support the petty bourgeois nationalists. the strikers. The parade gave a demon Now these nationalist elements, in order stration of working class solidarity and to win the favor of the reactionary respirit that brings results and victory. It publican-Socialist coalition in Madrid. was a fitting climax to a week of bril have paid back in the usual coin of beliant activity.

The John Hand mill was also picketed on Thursday. The mill attempted to reopen but has now decided to keep definitely closed during the course of the The capitalist papers are trying to help frame up the leaders of the strike by holding them responsible for the smashing of windows and machinery in the John Hand will.

Settlements are also proceeding. About 800 workers are back on settlements. A number of shops that signed agreements were pulled out on strike again because the bosses failed to live up to the agree-

The National Textile Workers Union continues its disruptive activities. It has announced its policy of picketing all settled shops. It has come forward with a fake "unity" proposal as follows: That the National Textile Union elect a "rank and file committee" and then, that in-dependent of the A. F. of L. unions, a rank and file committee be constituted to make unity against the A. F. of L. unions and their strike leaders. The "unity" proposal contains the most vi-cious, outright lies and slander against the strike and its leadership.

The Paterson workers will not fall for such disruptive proposals. They are welding together a united front based upon militancy, struggle and courage that is bound to succeed in winning the strike and building a union.

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bama are greater than the lives of the sighted when it refrains from protesting against a massacre of colored workers, because it may endanger further the

lives of the eight boys. "In the second place the N.A.A.C.P seems to be working on a definite theory that the tactics and strategy of the Communists are absolutely wrong. We are not so sure that this is true. not so sure that the "threats" of the Communists are "futile" or "empty". Some day the colored man is going to be brave and sensible enough to fight in the way he is fought."

The above paragraphs are from an editorial in the Washington World, reprinted also in the Cleveland Call-Post, both

The Washington World is correct, a thousand times so! The N.A.A.C.P. is indeed losing sight of the fundamental is-sues involved in the Scottsboro case, in policies is fundamentally sound. A suce involved in the Scottsboro case, in lies. The workers defend themselves great organization working for a great the share-croppers revolt in Alabana, in the ground, clubbed and kicked and the Chicago events. Under the impact to the ground, clubbed and kicked and matter how sorry their plight, above the of the increasing pressure of the conserva- his arch broken. Another picketer has interests of the race as a whole. The tive bourgeois forces within it, the N.A. several ribs smashed. N.A.A.C.P. has never before done this. A.C.P. is in great danger of forgetting. Fifteen leaders of its great militant traditions of twenty,

The issue is clear: If the N.A.A.C.F eaders persist in attempting to subordinate the deepest interests of the masses

IN SPAIN

Madrid to Crush the

Labor Movement

Troops were also rushed to Cordoba

Luis Campanys, head of the Catalonian

nor, de Sojo, who has undertaken an

intensive drive against the militant la-bor movement. This step represents a

break in the Catalonian delegation which

The action of some of the leading ele

ly false political course of the syndicalist

The government has decided to "re

duce" the army and navy by cutting the

food allowance for enlisted men from 50

to 40 tents for three "squares" a day.

Now the pacifists can rejoice. They have won a great victory. There can be

no more war for the soldiers and sailors

"Can the financiers and wealthy feel

secure in their homes when millions are hungry?" asked William Green in a

speech to the Massachusetts Federation of

Labor. Green is right. The government should do something to relieve the anx-

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Silk Strike Snapshots

A white line marks the boundary be-tween Paterson and Clifton, where the Doherty mill is located. It is Tuesday morning, August 11. On one side of the line is marshalled the Clifton police force. On the other, the huge picket line of the

The police chief has forbidden any trikers from Paterson to enter Clifton. Who said this is a free country? Clifton wants no "foreign agitators" from Paterson, he announces. Where have we heard those words before?

The strikers hold a meeting on th Paterson side and Butlenz and the other speakers tell the police just where they can go to, to the greatest delight of the strikers. Inspired by the meeting, the

The police then make the most furous and brotal attack on the picket line. The strikers have committed a terrible crime; they have broken some mysterious "immigration laws" that prevent Paterson workers from entering Clifton. The police beat the strikers with clubs and The workers defend themselves

man, I. Zimmerman and Edward Wright.

besses and enemies of the workers.

U. T. W. LEADS DOHERTY WORKERS

On Wednesday, the Doherty workers led by Carl Holderman and other members of the U. T. W., definitely smast the injunction against picketing and 600 successfully picketed the Doherty Mill The Doherty Mill is completely shot down, for the first time since 1913. The hesitation is gone from the ranks of the Doherty workers. Despite police threats, despite numerous spies and company agents, despite police terror, the work ers have determined to organize themselves within the ranks of the A. P. of picket line bursts across the white line L. The stories of the N.T.W.U. broad-

into the "foreign country" of Clifton cast through the country that they "have without stopping to show their passports! pulled Doherty", and that they "were leading the Doherty workers" are exposed for what they are-as deliberate de-

WEISBORD LEARNS HOW A "FIGHTING" UNION FIGHTS

They are dragged to jail and held on but also from the National Textile Work-framed-up charges. Budenz is charged ers Union. The N.T.W.U. has announce of the Negro people to the narrow clique aims of the Negro bourgeoisie, then the organization is bound to disappear as positive factor in the Negro struggle for emancipation!

Trained-up charges. Bouch; is charged ers Union. The N.T.W.U. has announce newspapers, and led to this judge's regular to the Negro bourgeoisie, then the Stop bail, and the others \$200 bail.

The prosecutor is none other than positive factor in the Negro struggle for emancipation!

The N.T.W.U. has announce newspapers, and led to this judge's regular to publicly that if Weisbord should at the property to speak again, they would have on hand a well prepared strong-arm on hand a well prepared strong-arm on hand a well property to speak again, they would have on hand a well property to on hand a well property to speak again.

The N.T.W.U. has announce newspapers, and led to this judge's regular to prove the bench.

Let the workers organize an independ on hand a well property to speak again, they would have on hand a well property to speak again, they would have on hand a well property to speak again, they would have on hand a well property to speak again, they would have on hand a well property to speak again, they would have on hand a well property to speak again, they would have on hand a well property to speak again, they would have on hand a well property to speak again, they would have on hand a well property to speak again, they would have on hand a well property to speak again, they would have on hand a well property to speak again, they would have on hand a well property to speak again, they would have on hand a well property to speak again, they would have on hand a well property to speak again, they would have on hand a well property to speak again, they would have on hand a well property to speak again, they would have on hand a well property to speak again, they would have on hand a well property to speak again, they would have on hand a well property to speak again, they would have on hand a well property to speak again, they wo

CLIFTON A FOREIGN COUNTRY | ernment, with police court, prosecutors, can learn an interesting lesson from this A white line marks the boundary be judges, and police the servants of the If membership in the N. T. W. U. is dependent on complete endorsument of all the policies of the Communist Party leadership, then the membership of the union can never grow much beyond the textile workers who are members of the Communist Party. The N.T.W.U. is a sect, and will remain a sect, with such narrow and splitting and sectarian methods and policies.

"WHY?" Between the strike songs with which

the 15 arrested picketers make the cell walls resound, Fellow-worker Freedman, one of the best fighters on the picket line, tells of a previous experience of his in the 1913 Paterson strike. Happening to pass the picket line, he was pulled in with other picketers, and haled before the newspapers, and led to this judge's re-moval from the bench.

The American Civil Liberties Union Report

THE TRUTH ABOUT SCOTTSBORD

by Hollace Ransdell

(Continued from last issue) times when they can.

Ruby's mother, Mrs. Emma Bates, dean and neat in a cheap cotton dress, drunk, and took men for money whenever she got the chance.

Neither mother nor daughter showed judge. The judge sentenced him to five signs of regarding the experience Ruby judge. The judge sentenced him to five days. Freedman in astonishment asked: "Ten days". Again Freedman asked: "Why?"

Again the judge answered: "Fifteen."
Again the judge answered: "Fifteen."
Undaunted Freedman again asked: Undaunted Freedman again asked: "Why?" which at once resulted in a limit to the publicity which the case has brought to them, however, has impressed with the prosecuting officials at such the case has brought to them, however, has impressed with the prosecuting officials at such them. twenty day sentence. After the sentence brought to them, however, has impressed A most significant sight was the membership meeting of the N.T.W.U. in
which Albert Weisbord, one of the
which Albert Weisbord, one of the
founders of the National Taytile Workers. to the ground, clubbed and kicked and his arch broken. Another picketer has several ribs smashed.

Fifteen leaders of the picket line are arrested, including Louis Budenz, Chas. Zimmerman, Eli Kelber, Montross, Freedman, Eli Kelber, Montross, Eli K ership of the Communist Party brought currence as to go unnoticed by the capic course as part of the common and inesership of the Communist Party brought currence as to go unnoticed by the capitalist newspapers, in this case resolted in but also from the National Textile Works widespread publicity in the metropolitan ers Union. The N.T.W.U. has announced newspapers, and led to this judge's residence of the subject of intimate residence of the subject of the subject of intimate residence of the subject of intimate residence of the subject of intimate residence of the subject of the subje lations between whites and blacks. They have just fallen in with "respectable" opinion because that seems to be what is expected of them, and they want to do the proper thing. There are so few

ing standards and decent wages.

in the United States.

We dierefore appeal:

To all trade unions—

RELIEF FUND. -

re victorious.

are fighting not only to prevent the smashing of labor unions but also to or-

ganize the unorganized thus helping make

unionism a mighty working class power

To all workers and their organiza-

To all individuals and friends of la-

TO GIVE GENEROUSLY TO OUR

To give so that we can get food for

enable us to carry on our fight until we

Fellow workers and friends! Our fight

Give in this most urgent hour of need

to end slavery in the silk mills and help

your fight! Help us to win!

erful union of of textile workers.

201 Market Street, Paterson, N. J.

REBELLION SPREADS

THRUOUT CUBA

(Continued from page 1)

reign of terror over the country, destroy-

with revolt for many months past. The

working class has been too weak, politi-

ship to the revolutionary energies of the

usurped by the upper circles of the pet-

ty bourgeoisie and by the most corrupt

pified by General Menocal.

lique of bourgeois politicians, well ty-

The United States has been the main

support of the Machado regime in the

past; indeed, had he not received the fir-

nancial and armed support of Wall St.,

Machado could not have lasted more than

a few weeks. However, all indications point to the probability that Wall Street

is now ready to dump Machado, in view

arrange a working alliance with the Men-

The only strong feeling that Ruby talked with a mixture of embarrassment against the Negroes. It was against Vicand off-handed disregard for her visitors toria Price that Ruby expressed deep attitude toward her. She has worked in and bitter resentment. For Victoria capthe mills for many years. She was can ployed by the Lincoln textile mill, the largest one in ffuntsville, some time believed the show for herself and pushed Ruby into the background causing people at the trial to say that Victoria was fore the trial. When I saw her she was a quick, clever girl, but Ruby was slow out of a job, but neighbors reported and stupid. It was easier for Victoria to that she had a "boarder" who was living talk than to breathe. Words came hard with her, a man named Maynard. They to Ruby, Victoria identified the six also gossiped that she frequently got Negroes she claimed attacked her with a cock-sure, emphatic manner that impressed the jurors and the trial spectators very much. She caught on at once to what was wanted of her-widentifications

> slightest notion of the seriousness of what sentence at once or be lynched. Never having met any other attitude on the Negro question, they both assumed that this was my attitude also, and therefore spoke to me as they thought all respectable white people speak.

Victoria Price And Her Mother

Victoria Price was born in Fayettsville, Tennessee. She has been married but says she is separated from her husband She left him because he "lay around on me drunk with canned heat", she said. She was known at the telal as Mrs. Price, tho this is her mother's name, not her husband's. Her age was variously teported in Scottsboro as 19, 20, and 21. Her mother gave it as 24, and neighbors

and social workers said she was 27, Victoria lives in a little, unpainted shack at 313 Arms Street, Huntsville with her old decrepit mother, Mrs. Ella Price, for whom she insistently professes so much flamboyant devotion, that one immediately distrusts her sincerity This impression is strengthened by little side looks her mother gives her. Mrs. Price fell down the steps while washing clothes, and injured her arm, which ourselves and our families which will now stiff and of little use. Victoria says her mother is entirely dependent upon her for support.

Miss Price is a lively, talkative wonan, cocky in manner and not bad to look at. She appears to be in very good health. The attention which has come us win better conditions and build a pow- to her from the case has clearly delighted her. She talks of it with zest, slipping in many vivid and earthy phrases. De-PATERSON STRIKERS RELIEF tails spoken of in the local press as "uncommittee of the A. F. of printable" she gives off-hand in her

turin argument on the subject, agreed finally to the number of years that Victoria had worked in the mills as being ten. Eight of these years were spent doing night work, they said, on a twelve hour shift. Victoria is a spinner, and used to run from 12 to 14 sides, she severe every day. At the same time, the said with pride. "Yeh, I used to make Machado government has unleashed a good money. I've made as high as \$2.25 reign of terror over the country, destroy a day workin' the night shift before ing every right or privilege of the people hard times come". Now nobody is alple, and ruling by sheer violence alone, lowed to have more than 8 sides to run, As a result the masses of the peasants, and the average is 6, Victoria says. She of the workers in the cities and of the gets 18 cents a side now, where she used city petty bourgeoisie have been seething to get 22 cents. "I make on an average of \$1.20 a day now, workin' two, sometimes three days a week. Every other cally and organizationally, to give leader week we are laid off altogether. You

Altho Victoria with a sly eye on me to see if I had heard of her record and would scoff, assured me that in spite of her low wages she never made a cent outside the walls of the mill, her reputation as a prostitute is widely established in Huntsville, and according to inves-tigation of the International Labor Defense, also in Chattanooga. One of the social workers reported that Walter Sanders, chief deputy sheriff in Huntsville, said that he didn't bother Victoria, alof his tremendous unpopularity, and to the he knew her trade, because she was "quiet prostitute, and didn't go rarin' around cuttin' up in public and walkin' the streets solicitin', but just took men

OUTING TO

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Side) at 9:00 A, M, Sharp

ATTACK JOBLESS PATERSON SILK STRIKERS IN ACTION Catalonian Leaders Aiding MADRID. - Heavy detachments of roops were ordered into the city of Saragossa on August 12 to suppress the ris ing movement of the unemployed there inder the leadership of the Sindicate Unico, the syndicalist union. Demon strations of masses of unemployed had

THRU FIRM UNITY RISE OF REVOLT TO VICTORY!

(Continued from Page 1) settled by the amalgamated unions of the A. F. of L.

Picketing the Henry

Doherty Mill in Clifton

If the N.T.W.U. really wants to conince the silk workers that it has changed its policy of disunity and disruption, let it issue a frank public statment along the above lines. Only then will the workers have any reason to put any trust in its

The question of unity in the silk strike implies the amalgamation of all existing textile workers unions in Paterson into one union in the A. F. of L. The most important steps in this direction have already been taken in the fusion of the Associated Silk Workers and the United Textile Workers. The work must be completed. Is the National Textile Workers Unoin ready to help build one union in Paterson or is it going to con-tinue to fight every effort at unity as it has done hitherto?

The N.T.W.U. must either show thru deeds that it is sincere in its unity phrases or it must be completely exposed for what it has been up to now—a disruptive factor in the Paterson strike. Above all, the silk strikers must not allow their anks to be shaken or their militant spirit to be demoralized by the tricky manouvers of the N.T.W.U. leaders. With united ranks they must go forward to

COMMUNIST PARTY of the U.S.A. (Majority Group) Benj. Gitlow, secretary

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104 FIFTH AVENUE

IN IRELAND

Movement "Disturbs" Free State

LONDON.—The growth of the Irish causing grave concern to the British authorities and to their Irish agents of the rs have any reason to put any trust in its order. "Free State" government. Fitzgerald Kenney, Minister of Justice of the Free State, recently declared that the government was greatly "disturbed" at the is not exhausted by joint strike action, increase of republican sentiment and at the "bodies of men engaged in drilling, calling themselves the Irish Republican

> The Free State government is taking "grave view of the situation", it is reported; it intends to recommend to the Dail Eireann (Irish parliament) the passage of new repressive measures against the republican movement. The estabishment of a special tribunal with the power to mete out the death sentence is

> The sharp rise of the republican move-ment in Ireland, which is essentially a movement of the Irish peasantry against landfordism, is to be associated with the growing acuteness of the economic crisis, especially the agrarian crisis, in Ireland.

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RUSH RELIEF FOR PATERSON STRIKE!

(Continued from page 1) wages and 100% unionization of all the workers employed in the mills.

The workers of Paterson have most splendidly responded to the strike call. Over 7,000 workers are out on strike. Their militancy, courage, determination and sacrifices have won for them the admiration of the entire working class.

The bosses have refused to consider the demands of the strikers. They have lodged a most vicious attack upon the strikers and especially upon their mili-tant picket lines. They have also resorted to police attacks, injunctions, frame-ups, acrests, intimidations and jailings to smash the strike. But the strike lines hold firm. The workers are determined to fight on until victory has been won and unionism established in the silk industry.

The strike is now entering the sixth week. The strikers have no accumulated savings to depend upon to tide them over he period of the strike because of the starvation wages they have been receiving before the strike. They live in abject poverty, from hand to mouth. The miserable shacks in which they live attest to their poverty and expose the greed and avariciousness of the exploiting

We are today destitute and most urgently in need of all possible assistance Big Growth of Republican which can be given to us at this most crucial period of our fight for human conditions and labor unionism.

Our general strike is the first concerted, determined stand taken by workers to fight back the attacks of the employers revolutionary republican inovement is who are utiliting the economic crisis to cut wages and lengthen hours, thus creating greater misery and poverty for the workers. We, the striking textile workers of Paterson, with our fellow workers in Allentown and elsewhere, are today bearing the brunt of the fight of the working class to stop these vicious at-tacks of the employers, to maintain liv-

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for taxi to camp call Oakland 67 BUSSES leave from 25 E. 27th St., every Saturday at 1:30 p. m. on the dot. Return Sunday 8 p. m. to 125th St. Ferry-Round Trip \$1.50

Street or Chambers Street, New York to Campgaw Station.

L. AMALGAMATED UNIONS. usual chatty manner, quite unabased by their significance. Like Ruby, Victoria Send all funds to above committee, spits snuff with wonderful aim. Victoria and her mother, after some

know nobody can't live on wages like masses and so the leadership has been that."

(Concluded in the next issue)

CAMP SOLIDARITY

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for SUNDAY, AUGUST 30TH

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Building Socialism in U.S.S.R.

by Jay Lovestone

The question of the construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union is far more than an ordinary tactical problem confronting the proletarian republic. It is a vital problem facing, in its many ramifications, the entire international working class and the many millions of oppressed colonial masses. It is precisely for this reason that this question has been the core of more than one bitter factional controversy in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the Comintern. And just because it has become so much of a factional butt, have so much confusion and bitterness crept into the consideration of this vital problem.

Of course, the bourgeois critics of the Soviet Union-friendly or hostile-have not been free from this confusion. Thus of the Soviet proletariat to defeat dewe find Duranty repeating a thread-bare accusation against the Soviet Union and hiding it behind that great concoction "Stalinism":

"The essential feature of "Stalinism" which sharply defines its advance and difference from Leminism and is the key to the comprehension of the whole five year plan is that it frankly aims at the successful establishment of Socialism in one comtry without waiting for world revolution.
"The importance of this dogma, which

played a predominant role in the bitter controversy with Leon Trotsky and later with the 'Rights' (Right-wing Russian Communists) cannot be exaggerated. It is the Stalinist 'slogan' par excellence, and it brands as heretics or 'defeatists' all Communists who refuse to accept it in Russia or outside." (New York Times, June 18, 1931).

The Problem Defined

In order to avoid the pitfalls of such sweeping confusion as Duranty shows above, it is necessary to begin with sime ple questions and some fundamental deinitions. The Russian workers have seized political power. They now rule Russia, one-sixth of the earth. What shall they do with their power within the Soviet Union? This is no abstract question. To play with the state power is to play with fire. The question of constructing Socialism in the Soviet Union should never be treated abstractly. What shall the Soviet proletariat do in the Soviet Union except build Socialism? For what other purpose shall they use their state power in the Soviet Union except for constructing Socialism there? Let the critics o the Soviet Union-bourgeois and otherwise-tell us what should the Soviet workers build in the Soviet Union except Socialism.

What do we mean by the question: Can the proletariat build Socialism in the Soviet Union? The construction of So-cialism in the Soviet Union means the overcoming by the Soviet workers with their own forces of all capitalist elements in the Soviet Union. Hence, we ask the question: Is the proletariat of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics capable of overcoming its own bourgeoisie (in the mill, in the store, and on the land)?.

Some Communist Party of the Soviet Union History

For years, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has answered this question with an emphatic yes. Duranty should know that there never were any differences between Bukharin and Stalin on the answer to this question. Quite the contrary. It was at the Fifteenth Party Congress, in December 1927, that Bukharin, speaking for the Congress, administered the most crushing ideological defeat to Trotskyisin on this viewpoint. the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were not correct in concluding that the Soviet proletariat was capable of overcoming fully all bourgeois elements within its country, that is, of building a Socialist society, then, it would really have no reason for maintaining power We should then stop fooling the working class in the U. S. S. R. or else where and give up power to another Despite tremendous difficultiestechnical backwardness, slowing down of proletarian revolution in Western Europe and America, bitter imperialist opposition— the proletariat of the Soviet Union has remained in power and has splendidly utilized its power for achieving remarkable progress in building Social

The very establishment of the prole tarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R. laid the political basis for the process of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union. Can the Soviet proletariat thru its own forces now develop the necessary economic basis as well for Socialist construction? The great economic progress made by the Soviet Union, especially under the Five Year Plan, shows how true it is that the Soviet proletariat can develop the economic foundation of Socialism within its country. At the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet The overwhelming majority preferred Union Stalin very correctly defined this to cling to what remained of their past the Communist Party of the Soviet task of laying the economic foundation of Socialism:

"To lay down the economic basis o Socialism means to combine agriculture West, with Socialist industry into an economic And whole; to subordinate agriculture to the guidance of Socialist industry; to establish relations between town and country on the basis of a direct exchange of the products of agriculture with the products of industry; to close and abolish the channels thru which classes arise and primarily capital, and in the last resort to distribution as will lead directly to the

This policy has been the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for years. The fate of the Kulaks and the rapid progress of collectivization in the villages only beat out forcibly the number of emigres became what may be correctness of this policy. That's why we called "National Bolsheviks" can now see very clearly how correct Bukharin was when he pointed out that:

"The question of the possibility of con-

merely "one country" in the abstract; the from Stalin: Saviet Union and not Luxembourg, for example—J. L.) is nothing more or less than the question of the character of our

We have seen that the Soviet proletar-

iat has been able to score great successes in laying both the political and economic foundations of Socialism in the Soviet Union. Yet, one would be foolhardy to maintain that this fight within the Soviet Union is so fully victorious that its successes in Socialist construction are free from the dangers of attack, intervention and destruction by world imper ialism. Hence, the question of the final, complete and unbreakable victory of Socialism. To repeat, constructing Socialism in the Soviet Union involves the ability cisively its own (national) bourgeoisie; the final, complete and unbreakable victory of Socialism involves the Soviet Union's ability of overcoming the inter-

national, the world bourgeoisie. And Duranty who is so interested in inventing "Stalinism" and then halling his invention as an "advance and difference from Leninism", might be interested to learn that at the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. it was none other than Stahn himself who emphasized this distinction by very properly saving:

"The Party says that the proletariat of a single country is incumable of overconting the world bourgeoisie by its own efforts. The Party says that in order to achieve the final victory of Sociatism in a single country it is necessary to overcome, or at least to neutralize the world bourgeoisie. The Party says that this is a task that can be fulfilled only by the proletariat of several countries. Therefore final victory in one country or another means the victory of the proletarian revo-lution at least in several countries." (our

Merely to supplement, and bring into bold relief the falsity of Duranty's concoctions about certain phases of the struggle in the C. P. S. U. let me cite the following explanation by Bukharin, made simultaneously with the one just cited

"It would be absurd to commence an a gument that the question as to whethe we have guarantees for the constructing o Socialism under any international situa-tion, in the event say of intervention or the port of the capitalist countries. It is clear that the sole guarantee against dangers from without is international revo-

Lenin and the Question of Socialist Construction

No one who is acquainted with history and grasps the fundamental problems of the Soviet revolution could come to Duranty's conclusion. Not only is the present general economic policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union not "Stalinism", not only is the "construction of Socialism" in the U.S.S.R. not "Stalinism" (an "advance and difference from Leninism") but the whole question

The question of building Socialist economy in a single country was brought up by none other than Lenin in 1915. And it was in this year that Trotsky made the charge of "narrow nationalism" -against Lenin and not against Bukharin

In 1915 in an article in the Social Democrat, then the central organ of the Bolsheviks, Lenin stated:

"Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. From this it follows that the victory of Socialism at first in a few, or even in a single country taken separately, is possible. The victorious proletariat of this country (where the proletarian dictator-ship is in force, J. L.) having expropriated the capitalists and organized Socialist production in its own country would rise against the rest of the capitalist world, at-tract to its side the oppressed classes of other countries, raise revolt against the capitalists of those countries and, if neces-sary, take up arms against the exploiting classes in those states." (our emphasis). To this blast of Lenin, Trotsky replied

his organ Nash Golos (Our Voice) (Continued on Page 4)

On the Road to Bolshevism

HOW I BECAME A COMMUNIST

by D. S. Mirsky

D. S. Mirsky is the son of General | Prince Mirsky, a well-known Czarist statesman and soldier. He was an enomy of the Soviet power upon its inception and fought in the Denikin counter-revolutionary armies. His conversion to the cause of the proleta-riat is described in the paragraphs

Mirsky is now teaching the Russian language and literature at the University of London. He is the author of an excellent book on Lenin, reviewed in a recent issue of the Revolutionary Age.

It is not quite the normal thing for a bourgeois intellectual who is no long-er very young and who has never been in touch with the working class movement to develop into a Marxist and a Leninist, but when such a thing happens to him, it, incidentally, becomes his duty as a Marxist to analyze the reasons that made it possible.

For those of us who had eyes to see and minds to think with, the great Russian Revolution offered many a lesson.

The realities of the class struggle in 1917 were so palpable that it was diffi cult not to become a Marxist at least in the sense of realizing that the war between classes was indeed the bed-rock of

The White Army too, taught me thing or two. To see at close quarters that band of robbers and torturers was to become very uneasy about the cause that was that of my class.

But the real change came when we became emigres and exiles. From the position of a governing class at home we had been brought down to the position of servants and dependents of alien masters, of the European and American bourgeoisie.

We were able to see Western capi talism from below, to see it as those who had turned us out had seen us in Rus

Few of us were able to profit by this new point of view.

Hopes of Intervention

privileges, to trade on memories and to make the best use of personal relations, with the governing class of the

And, of course, the overwhelming maj ority placed all their hope in a more or less prompt return to Russia and to the property that had been theirs, a return which, it was very well realized, could only be the outcome of foreign inter-

It was this idea of intervention and o alliance with foreign capitalists against Russian workmen and peasants that proved the principal starting point for a re vision of our counter-revolutionary attitude.

Still, from 1921 onwards an increasing

Their attitude may be roughly sumned up as follows: Whatever one thought of Communism, the Communists had structing Socialism in our country (the shown themselves better patriots than Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, not the Whites.

The Whites had allied thomselves with the foreigner; the Communists had turned the foreigner out and established a Workers' and Peasants' State which was more genuinely and completely independent that even the Tsarist government-the debtor of French and English capitalists —had been.

The "National-Bolshevik" attitude was made speciously plausible by the Nep (New Economic Policy). To any but the trained Leninist eye, what was going on in Russia in the years

following 1921 seemed to be a gradual transformation of the Communist state into a bourgeois democracy of peasants. For myself, who had always been rather innocent of political knowledge, the principal object of interest and attraction was the young Soviet literature which came into such prominence in the early years of the Nep.

It was itself unpolotical (the proletarian writers were as yet grouping for expression) and seemed to reflect the same ideal of a Russia which, tho rejuvenated by the Revolution, was still the same "eternal" Russia.

Towards Communism

It was my favorable attitude as a literary critic to some of these Soviet writers that first made the guardians of the 100% counter-revolutionary, mentality suspicious on my account.

And tho my attitude then was a vague did turn out to be a stage on the way towards Communism. Non-political acstheticism is as a general rule counterrevolutionary, but if it is a protest may become the reverse.

between the capitalists a nd the workmen of the West I must take sides with the workmen, was the British General Strike of 1926.

I saw little or nothing of the strikers and what impressed me was not the behavior of the workmen, but that of the bourgeoisie. It was the swarms of black-legs from Oxford and Cambridge that impressed me most.

It went home to the very depth of my consciousness that this united front of the English bourgeoisie was as much my enemy as the enemy of the English workmen. If there was one single moment in my life which made me a Communist it

But the my emotional "conversion" was now almost complete, it took some time for the intellect to follow the emotions, and it was not till much later that came to Marxism.

The idealist education which I have already alluded to was in the way. The idealism that flourished among the Russian bourgeoisie after 1905 was a particularly fantastic and irresponsible form of idealism, heavily mixed with the most shamelessly absurd forms of religious orthodoxy and trained to talk a language admirably suited to express nothing at

This idealism was one of the most apparent symptoms of the rottenness of class doomed to a quick and inglorious

Out of the Jungle

To emerge out of this jungle into the Break it!

Movies

"THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN"
RKO CAMEO THEATRE

An actual photographic record of the vital changes which are taking place in the Soviet Union today, is now playing at the RKO Cameo Theotre with the Amkino presentation of "The "Five-Year Plan: Russia's Remaking," a full-length feature film. Performances are continnous and at popular prices for the first

time on Broadway.
"The Five Year Plan" is a vivid por-trayal of the economic and cultural advancement being affected under the system of Socialist state planning. It shows the development of industry, where many of the largest plants in Europe are being built, and a modern, industrialized na-tion being hewn out of one of the most backward agrarian lands in Europe. In agriculture one may see on the screen the organization of huge state and collective farms which have made more progress in the last few years than in the preceding two hundred years.

The film is accompanied by a lecture in English which gives the background and significance of the various phases of the Five-Year plan shown on the screen.

An added attraction on the program is the showing of the first Russian cartoon with sound and music entitled "Mail."

clear sunlight of Marxism required time and help.

Help came to me from three principal quarters. One was again Soviet literature, where the proletarian novel was beginning to oust the semi-bourgeois writers of the early Nep years.

A book that was particularly helpful was The Nineteen, by Fadeyev. It was for me a revelation of the mind and ethical standards of the Communist fighter. Personal acquaintance with Maxim Gorky, whom I visited in Italy early in 1928,

also had a powerful influence on me, The second quarter from which help ame to me was by historical studies.

In the course of writing a Social History of Russia I came to study the work of the great Bolshevik historian, M. N. Pokrovsky, who made me see that history was a science and that if it was to he a science it could only take its stand on materialism.

Pokrovsky was the higgest single broom to clean out the idealist rubbish from my head.

The third source of help was an increasing acquaintance with Soviet realities—especially with the great economic achievement of the period of recovery. Maurice Dobb's Economic Developments in Soviet Russia was of particular assist ance. It made me finally understand that the Nep was not transforming Russia into a peasant bourgeois community, but was indeed heading towards Socialism.

When in the summer of 1929 I was asked by an English publisher (the Holme Press) to write a life of Lenin, I undertook the work knowing already in what spirit I was going to write it. Emotionally and politically, I was entirely on the side of Communism.

But my knowledge of Lenin, of Lennism and of Marxism, was exceedingly slight.

It was only in the course of my work for the book that I read for the first time the works of Lenin. The months devoted to this were the most significant months of my life.

All that which had been growing up

in me, gradually and chaotically, was now, as it were, rushed into order. The idealist cobwebs were swept away.

son penetrated everywhere. I felt as I had never felt before. Idealism had always been against my grain and had meant the enslavement of my better intellectual self to classconditioned prejudice. One idealist sys-

tem had seemed to me as good as anoth-

er. It was a toss-up which to choose.

On Firm Ground

Now I was at last on firm material ground, on the firm ground of facts analyzed and coordinated by dialectical materialism.

I was against hard, tough reality, reality that was absolute and independent from my tastes and whitns and inherited class values, reality which I had always and sloppy non-political aestheticism, it dimly felt, but never been able to grasp. And all this was being absorbed by me against an historical background of immense significance.

These months during which I was "disagainst counter-revolutionary politics it covering" Lenin were the months that saw the successful completion of the first For myself, what made me realize that year of the Five-Year Plan and the completion of the Communist revolution by the collectivization of the farmsand on the other side of the barricade the crash of American prosperity and the beginning of the world economic crisis.

If it was the general strike that made me, emotionally, a Communist, it was the autumn of 1929, the autumn of capialist crisis and Bolshevik achievement, that made me certain of the ultimate victory of Communism.

THREE MEXICAN PROLETARIAN POEMS

(Translated from Spanish) The Embrace

Toiling men of field and city, men whom freedom does disown stronger bind the bond of pity and of struggle, you have known; till the fruitful earth shall nourish an embrace of love and power. Once that firm embrace shall you shall see that in that hour no more tribute you'll be paying. Toilers all shall have their due. Machine and farmland man obeying will give up all their fruits to you.

A Favor

When from your boss A favor you get, He kindly returns you One drop of your sweat.

Does a rope bind your hands? With your fect, with your teeth, with your life,

Revolutionary Perspectives in Germany

Revolution and Referendum

from the "Gegen den Strom"

Gegen den Strom, theoretical organ learned nothing from Marx and Lenin of the German Communist Opposition. The situation in Germany is very pecu-

of Germany, Thaelmann attacked the Communist Opposition with an argument that we had never expected to hear er, are both absent. But on the other from a Party burocrat. The "Brandlers hand, the situation in Germany does not ites"—he declared—are showing them-selves to be "anarcho-syndicalists". They maintain-he asserted-that the presen situation in Germany is revolutionary and that the G. P. G. acts as a brake on it. The situation is really, however-Thaelmann concluded-not at all so revolu tionary after all. This is surely a new tune for people

to sing who have been shouting for years about the "immediately approaching revolutionary situation", about "oncoming revolutionary wave." A few months ago the XI Plenum of the E.C.C.I. held that the prerequisites for a revolutionary situation in Germany were "rapidly ripenng"; today the stalwart Bolsheviks" in the leadership of the C.P.G. permit themselves to rave about the "anarchosyndicalism" of the Communist Opposition and to try to convince the work ers that their welfare depends upon common front with the Pascists in the sarliamentary action for new elections in Prussia. The estimation of the present situa-

tion in Germany on the part of the leadership of the C. P. G. and its participation in the Pascist referendum are a complete confirmation of what the Communist Opposition has more than once foretold: The policy of revolutionary phrases occomes transformed, at precisely the noment that the situation demands of the Communists maximum readiness for revolutionary action, into the grossest, the rottenest and the most cowardly op-

The Situation in Germany The situation in Germany today is not

liar, very novel. It is not acutely revolu-At a recent meeting of the Berlin tionary masmuch as the shattering of functionaries of the Communist Party the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie and the revolutionary activity of the masses, their appearance in the struggle for pow merely manifest the signs of a generally revolutionary situation, signs char-acteristic of the period of decline of capitalism as a whole. The objective situation, the sharpening of the economic crisis, the difficulties for the bourgeoisie emerging therefrom, the contradictions that arise in its own camp, have reached a level to be found only in acutely revolutionary situations. The characteristic that Lenin attributed to an acutely rev olutionary situation—that the bourgeoisie can no longer maintain its rule in the old way—has already "matured" in Germany today. Only thru the radical decline of the standard of living of the workers, only thru a series of unprocedented wage cuts, only thru a sharp diminution of social benefits, can the bour-geoisic open up the capitalist way out of the crisis. And these measures can only be put thru by a Fascist dictatorship.

But at the same time the capitalist h juidation of the crisis, i.e., the reestab-ishment of capitalist profit and the possibility for the expansion of profit, siguifies at the present time not only unexampled exploitation of the masses but reorganization in the camp of the capir-talists. A fight breaks out among the various capitalist groups as to who should survive and who should be sacrificed on the altar of "cleansing". The very car-rying thru of the capitalist liquidation of the crisis will cause a further sharpening of the economic situation, a further intensification of the chaos in the ranks of the bourgeoisie.

As far as the objective aggravation of the class antagonisms is concerned, Ger- for, and that meanwhile it is necessary many needs no more "maturing". To to organize a purely parliamentary ac"wait" for the economic crisis to "grow tion side by side with the Fascists!

Rationalization and the Workers

THE DEAD WASTES OF CAPITALISM

by Hal Long

in a case of emergency would try to put the industries of the country on a basis of organization and planning, the situation that prevails now is one of disorganization and chaos. When a bird's eye view is taken at the production of the country at large, there is so much waste and inefficiency that the endeavor of the individual manufacturers to become more efficient appears petty and ridiculous. Nor is that all: rationalization that goes on inside the different plants often tends to increase the wastes of the industries as a whole.

Overequipment

With competition existing in branches of industry each firm must try to grasp a greater share of the market that what it gets. This leads to overequipment. Moreover, during booms, he profit chasing and short-sighted bosses wil expand their plants still more, making matters worse. Particularly during 1928 and 1929 did heavy expansion take place, as can be seen from the increase in building contracts for industrial pur-

The money spent on these unnecessary xpansions brings about a shortage of funds with which to meet the daily expenses of industry. The workers feel hat when they are laid off, or their wages are cut.

Further, overequipment maturally leads to overproduction. It is a common occurrence during depressions to have goods dumped in the rivers or the sea in order to keep prices high. And in most cases this is foodstuffs that millions of hungry workers need but cap't afford to buy. But high prices are more important to the capitalists than welfare of the work-

Overequipment brings about a fierce struggle between the capitalists for mar-kets. They are forced to spend a lot of money on sales. The statistician Sidney Reeve has figured out that while in 1850 80 out of every 100 workers were en gaged in production and only 20 in commercial work, the figures in 1920 were 50-50. The Joint Commission for Agricultural Inquiry, appointed by Congress in 1922, stated that out of every dollar paid for bread, 50 cents were absorbed in distribution.

Advertising

Advertising plays a prominent part in the competition for markets. And not only do advertisements fail to inform people about what they ought to buy but they make people, particularly the poor, spend their money on things that are no good. It is significant that it was the patent medicine racket hat developed the

modern technique of advertising. In 1926, E. Book figured that \$120, 000,000 were spent every year on sales ads. A single page in Saturday Evening Post costs \$1,100. The Wrigley Gum sign on Times Square in New York consumes electric current of \$108,000 a

The capitalists have also other methods to gain the favor of the public. It has been proven that some manufacturers make defective goods, so-called "knockers", and sell them as coming from a development of dondradictions. competitor, to his discredit.

The presence of several firms in the technical field as in the last decade.

While it may be that the capitalists | different branches also makes it impos sible to maintain the same technical standards all over. Thus the "Waste Commission" in 1921 pointed out that if the methods of brick-making, employed by some firms in Chicago, were used all over, the industry could lay off 80% of

In Transportation

The same lack of planned managepears in transportation. In a factory material moves in the straight line of least istance between points. Compare this with the fact, that, as Stuart Chase points out in The Tragedy of Waste, a freight car, going from Undercliffe to But, at all events, a parliamentary ac-Bayonne, N. J., a distance of 13.5 miles, tion side by side with the Fascists is actually travels 179 miles so as to make it run on the rails of the same company all the time.

Chase hits the mark when he says: The whole philosophy of privately own ed railroads is to divert te maximum o traffic over its own lines, regardless i the route be an S or around a circle. Further, he points out that for instance in Boston, people eat lettuce from California, fruits and vegetables from Argentine, eggs from China and peaches from Africa. All this can be grown in New England. Ohio manufacturers buy Illinois coal, and vice versa, and only 5% of the food consumed in New York City is grown in the state.

Such unnecessary transportation may also be a result of a conscious policy on the part of some imperialist power. instance, England prohibits or hampers local production in India in order that Party leadership. the country may be a market for English made goods. Cotton is shipped from India to England, spun and woven there, and sold back to India.

Waste in Natural Resources

natural consequence of production for ened to this menace. The nationalist profit and of competition. Some years ago two experts made the following statement that speaks for itself: "For every ton of coal produced, our methods of mass influence but who tomorrow will mining have placed another ton beyond be the first to conclude an alliance with recovery. For every 100 cubic feet of French imperialism against the Soviet natural gas turned out, an equal quantity Union. Agitation shot thru with "revhas escaped into the air. For every bar, anche" against France a la Scheringer, rel of petroleum that has seen useful service, nine barrels have been wasted. Our best and most convenient coal resources have already been depleted, half of our petroleum, and half of our natural gas are already gone.

Such are the blessings that are paraded to justify capitalism with its enslavement and exploitation of workers. And when workers hear that speed-up and rationalization represent progress and betterment, they should bear in mind that it is very often a speed-up of unnecessary work, a rationalization of waste. The founder of the Communist movement. Karl Marx, pointed out seventy years ago course of ultra-leftism leads to the rotthat the development of capitalism is a has never been so obvious on the ary determination and decisiveness are re-

We publish below the most import simple. But revolutionaries who expect worse", means to allow the bourgeoisie tant paragraphs of the leading arti- that events will follow a fixed scheme time to overcome its immediate difficult-cle in the August, 1, 1931 issue of on the basis of the past have certainly ies and to make it easier for the conflicting capitalist groups to iron out their differences at the expense of the toiling masses. To wait for the "ripening" of the objective situation today, means to wait for a l'ascist coup!

> The peculiarity of the present situation in Germany lies in the fact that the passivity of the working class stands in striking contradiction to the otherwise revolutionary character of the situation. The action of the masses is the only thing and the most important thing that is lacking today for the situation to become acutely revolutionary. For Communists to wait for the action of the masses to "ripen" by itself is political bankruptcy. It is the task of the revolutionary party to raise the spontaneous forces of the masses and to organize and guide these forces. A revolutionary party that does not understand how to lead the masses really hampers the activity of the masses

> What, then, must be done today? Revolutionary readiness, revolutionary leadership does not mean to call the Communists to putsches and to unconsidered and inappropriate actions. It means to tell the masses that it is now a question of revolutionary decision, that only their own activities against capitalism can save them from Pascism, that the present difficulties of the bourgeoisie must be utilized in order to bring about, by mass action, the shaking up of the bourgeois state apparatus, i.e., the creation of a situation in which this apparatus can be smashed and removed. Such a revolutionary program implies a clear indi-cation of the concrete immediate steps in the struggle for power, i.e., the raising of a program of revolutionary partial and transition slogans.

But what does the leadership of the C. P. G. do? In this situation it declares that "things are not so revolutionary" that further "ripening" must be waited

The Prussian Referendum

When the referendum of Hitler-Hug-enberg was in its first stages, the C. P. G. leadership declared that it was a parliamentary manouver of the Fascists to distract the masses from their misery. Now suddenly, because the C. P. G. has decided to support it, it has become an "extra parliamentary action of the first rank." It is of course an old story that the Communists must utilize all parliamentary actions in order to mobilize the masses for extra parliamentary struggle. But when the C. P. G. leadership today, in the period of sharpest crisis and unexampled decay of parliamentarisem in Germany, makes a parliamentary action the very center of its activities, then it does not mobilize the masses for extra-parliamentary struggle; it draws them away from it. For the C. P. G. leadership today, at a time when every moment brings with it decisive events, to tell the masses that the Prussian elections in the Fall will be "a decisive turn" and a "point nent that prevails in the industries ap of departure for extra parliamentary struggle", is to deceive the masses in the grossest manner about the character of gain an opportunity to recuperate.

> But, at all events, a parliamentary acunder no circumstances a means of stimulating the extra parliamentary action of the workers but is on the contrary the best means of destroying the prerequisites for such a struggle. Such extra-parliamentary action of the masses is impossible unless the Social-democratic and trade union workers are won for it. Thru the practical united front that has been established between the C. P. G. and the fascists these workers are again being violently thrust into the arms of the reformist leaders. Whatever the C. P. leaders may say will not prevent the broad masses form identifying Communism with Fascism. In the factories the gulf between the Communist and Social-democratic workers will grow and become deeper. In the unions and in the labor organizations the same will be true. Such are to be the results of the nationalist deviations of the Communist

The International Situation Internationally the situation is the

came. There exists today the threatening danger of an understanding being reached between the German and the French bourgeoisie for an attack on the Finally, waste of natural resources is Soviet Union. The masses must be awakphrases in the agitation of the C. P. G help only the Fascists, who rave against France today in order to increase their with concessions to the Versailles treaty revision program of the new German imperialism, can never help realize the joint struggle of the workers of all countries, and, what is most important today, the joint struggle of the French and German workers. A joint interna-tional struggle of the proletariat requires above all the sharpest differentiation from nationalistic demands and sentiments!

> The whole policy of the C. P. G. lead ership in the Prussian referendum shows in the most striking manner how the tenest opportunism, precisely in a situation in which the maximum revolution-

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IAY LOVESTONE, Editor

WILL HERBERG, Managing Editor

ALBERT BELL, Business Myr.

Organ of the National Council of the COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A. (Majority Group)
BEN GITLOW, Secretary

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THE RESULTS OF THE PRUSSIAN REFERENDUM

Vol. II, No. 38.

Saturday, August 22, 1931.

BUT 37% of the eligible electorate of Prussia voted for the immediate dis-solution of the Diet. The life of Prussian coalition government (Socialist) with which our group is immediately con-Center-Democrat) is thus prolonged a few months. The best base of German Social-democracy, is for the moment secure, if not even a bit strengthened. Still for lious import not only to our group as a the coalition government the victory is largely negative. It is based much more on Communist unity but also to the entire of a number of our contrades and symmetric contrades the Fascist failure to achieve their goal than on the Socialist-Cotholic bloc being left wing movement and to the work pathizers to important posts in local able to strike a decisive blow for itself.

For German Fascism the referendum results are a heavy defeat. Barring the unforeseen, it will take the Nazis months to overcome the setback. Very likely it will slow down their forward march at least till mid-winter, the end of the year.

Yet, Fascism in Germany is already far too strong to experience in this a decisive defeat. Numerically, the Fascists have even gained support. It is interly wrong to conducting the strike struggles of the struggle of the N.M.U. in Western Penns compare the referendum result with a general election showing in which everybody turns out, where interest is generally much greater and more inclusive.

The strength of the Fascists in this referendum should be compared only with the results in other referendums. In this referendum the reactionary "Steel Flelmet" outfit polled a greater total vote and even a larger proportion than the high water- the fur industry. mark reached by the Communist Party in its splendid campaign in 1926 for the confiscation of Hohenzollern property! The present Fascist vote is more than three times the vote polled in the referendum engineered by the Hugenberg wing of Fascism in December 1929 for putting over the so-called "Liberty Bill" for the abrogation of the Young Plan.

More than that. In this campaign the Fascists succeeded in bringing Hindenberg, honorary president of the "Steel Helmet" organization, out in the open much closer to them. Hindenberg actually protested against the dictatorial methods employed by the Socialist-Catholic coalition in resisting the Fascist drive in this refer-

It is very interesting to note the role of the Prussian government (Social-democratic majority) in this referendum. Frantically beating his breast in expressing loyalty to "democracy", the Social-democratic premier of Prussia, Herr Otto Braun, promulgated a press decree unheard of in the blackest days of Bismarckian reaction. Even large sections of the bourgeoisie couldn't stomach the order to force all opposition papers in Prussia to print the government manifesto against the referendum. What is more important is that the the referendum was primarly a Fascist ing them and paralyzing all efforts at attack on the "Socialistic" Prussian government, yet the "Socialist" police of Prussia shot down only Communists and militant workers in the streets of Berlin while the balloting was going on. What tried and true hangmen of the working class the Social-democratic burocrats are!

In itself, the referendum result is no defeat for the Communist movement. It was NOT a Communist compaign. For months the Communist Party even fought energetically against it. It was only at the eleventh hour that the Communist Party leaders jumped into the fray. And the masses followed only half-heartedly. The Communist Party's participation in the balloting was "only in a desultory manner" as can be clearly seen from the fact that the turnout for the plebiscite in the urban centers was very much smaller than in the rural areas. Yet, in
spite of this, the referendum fixed a deep black mark against the tactical policies of
the official Communist leaders resorted to netty manneyers. floundered from energetthe official Communist leaders resorted to petty manouvers, floundered from energetwhole situation. Basing themselves on their fundamentally false and sectarian line, the official Communist leaders resorted to petty manouvers, floundered from energetic opposition to vigorous enthusiasm and endorsement, and then surrendered all initiative to the Fascists.

Had the Communist Party itself and not the Fascists initiated the move for ending the life of the Prussian Diet, the referendum would not have appearedas it really did to the millions of workers—a contest between Fascism and the old Hohenzollern interests on the one hand and a Social-democratic Republican bloc on the other. Under these conditions the Communist Party leadership naturally could never arouse the membership and the workers to support the referendum. If the Communist Party itself had taken the initiative, the referendum would have assumed to millions of workers the character of a contest between the working class and its enemies, between Sovietism and a Socialist-Catholic coalition based on hunger, terror, and exploitation. A telling blow against the Social-democracy can be struck only by genuine united front tactics aiming to win the Social-democratic masses and not by "clever" manouvers alienating the workers. This entire situation only brings out into painful relief the bankruptcy of the whole ultra-left, adventurist line of the official Communist Party in the present crisis in which the Communist Party's tactical policies bear all too many earmarks of dancing to the tune of Hitler and Hugenberg.

Of course, so-called "democratic-republican" opinion, especially in the United utilizing a more favorable opportunity for policy energetically and clearly or even States, hails the referendum result as a decisive victory for "liberalism" over Fascism, as a sort of "Battle of the Marne" in the present crisis of world capitalism. Thus the New York Herald-Tribune" goes into ecstasy:

"Yesterday's vote in Prussia is the most cheering news that has reached this gloom-beset universe in a long while. For many reasons it will strengthen every force working for order, peace and the economic recovery of Europe and indirectly the whole world."

Only the politically purblind or the deliberately dishonest observer could see in the momentarily heavy defeat of Fascism a victory for genuine socially progresgive forces in Germany or anywhere else. Going into the root of things, one cannot but see, after all superficialities are banned, a substantial victory for reaction, for the enemies of the working class in Germany and elsewhere. First, the Fascists mustered a staggering vote anyhow. Approximiately ten million votes are not to be sneezed at in a state of virtual military siege now prevailing in all of Germany. Secondly, the fact that in the midst of such a severe crisis, in the midst of such acute suffering of the masses, the monarchist bands, the whole damnable coterie of Prussian militarism and Hohenzollern princes (the crown prince and his brothers Eitel, Fritz and Oscar) could dare come forward so boldly in German political life to direct openly this Fascist campaign only shows how badly shattered are the fighting ranks of the German working class. Thirdly, this referendum strengthens the hands of the most powerful, the most dangerous, and the worst reactoinary capitalist force in the world-United States imperialism. Wall Street, today the gendarme of world capitalist reaction, will thereby strengthen its position in its fight with French imperialism for begemony in Europe. The German Social-democracy, which always points to American capitalism as against the Socialist Soviet Union, as the model for the international working class, will also momentarily tighten its grip on millions of workers. On the morrow after the referendum the vile mouth-piece of American finance and monopoly capital, the New York "Herald-Tribune," braz-

"If the result brightens greatly the internal picture of Germany, it ing preparations for a general strike. The enlarges not less the hope of German aid from without. Here is precisely such a sign as foreign bankers have been waiting for upon which to base reasonable expectations of German stability. No better measure could Textile Workers Union) came upon the have been taken toward the regaining of foreign confidence."

Just imagine how powerful a force for peace and economic recovery of capital and without prestige, altho no preparaism will be, the ensuing increased tension between French and U. S. imperialism T. W. U. in the most irresponsible manfor the upper hand in Germany's financial affairs after the Prussian plebiscite! Need- ner "called" a general strike for July 22, less to say, the German masses won't be helped an iota by the strengthening of the with the obvious purpose of forestalling Bruening "Hunger Regime".

Germany remains in chaos—the chaos of capitalism. Only the destruction of German capitalism with its Socialist and Fascist henchmen and hooligans can help the German masses, can bring real peace and economic recovery for the German masses, can bring real peace and economic recovery for the German Report."

| Author of the first says and the union scale and script of the first says are the says and the union scale and script of the says. "Yuh see, the see of the conomic progress even help the strike. It was largely our activity for a great the same larger than the union scale and script of the says. "Yuh see, the says are the says are the says are the says are the says." Yuh see, the says are the says are the says are the says are the says. "Yuh see, the says are the says are the says are the says are the says." Yuh see, the says are the says. "Yuh see, the says are the says." Yuh see, the says are and international proletariatl

For A Leninist Trade Union Policy!

Recent New Union Developments

Statement of the Communist Party (Majority Group)

Party (Majority Group).

July 28, 1931.

Recent months have seen certain nev developments in the trade union field Communist force in our struggle for unions, trade union conventions.

developments are:

I. Certain signs of revival of life on the part of some of the new unions. II. An intensification of the sectarian and splitting activities of the Party in the trade union field.

III. The development of the united front strike movement in Paterson. IV., Progress towards the development of a left wing expressed in the election

1. Recent Signs in the TUUL Unions

centers, and the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union in the dogskin line in

These struggles were conducted in the typical sectarian fashion; this does not alter the fact that the new T.U.U.L. unions played more of a role as unions in the last few months than they have played in many months before.

Why these increasing signs of life Are they signs of a permanent revival? What is their significance for the trade what is their significance for the that union tactics of the Communist Party? preparation, thru lighting against genulated by the communist party? preparation, thru lighting against genulated by the community of the community o What effect will these developments have on the left wing movement and the ganizations, etc. workers in general?

These strike struggles conducted under the banner of the T.U.U.L. unions grow out of the present objective conditions in which the workers find themselves. The workers are literally desperate, starving. The burocrats are betraystruggle against the bosses offensive. Under these circumstances, spontaneous revolts of the workers are on the order of the day and will increase to large dimensions in the coming months. der such conditions it can be easily seen how any organization, with some stand ing on account of previous struggles, can inject itself as a forceful leadership in

n the Kanwaha coal fields of West Virginia, in Harlan, Ky., in the brewing re volt of the miners in the U.M.W. of A. in Illinois, the T.U.U.L. unions have

mobilizing the workers for struggle, within instead of the original method of They show that the new unions are bank. trying to destroy them from without. rupt in so far as positive, lasting, con | 2. Because the unemployment crisis has structive work among the organized and lasted so long and will continue for unorganized workers is concerned. The T.U.U.I., unions must be reckoned with acute problem in all strikes occurring as a force fundamentally disruptive, showing their real character thru precipitating strike struggles prematurely and without

It would appear that the signs of momentary revival of the new unions might lend a certain prestige to the Party burocracy and promote faith on the part of the left wing masses in the new unions. But our experiences with the Southern Illinois miners movement, the Philadelphia longshoremen's strike, and the Lawrence strike show us that these reactions are only fleeting. Yet they serve momentarily to hinder the fight for the development of a broad general left wing movement in the trade unions.

The ultra-left course of the Party is extremely wasteful of the splendid opportunities for mass struggle today. Had the Party pursued the policy of building Not in all such instances, but only in a broad left wing movement in the trade unions, there could have been develop-

The extremely narrow, and in some The extremely narrow, and which the gle.
cases non-existent, basis on which the gle.
4. In every united front move that

2. And More Splitting Tactics

Precisely the signs of revival of life great mass of fur workers by pursuing in the new trade dialons are serving to expose completely the manouvers of the Party burocrats in regard to the much heralded "change of trade union line" both unions now in the field. But the T. Precisely to the extent that the T.U.U.L. U.U.L. as usual followed a suicidal see unions are showing any life at all, are tarian course while our own comrade their energies being mobilized not for failed to put forward our independent trade union unity but rather for intensilying splitting activities. Thus, in the mining fields of Western Pennsylvania and Ohio, where the Party should have

ving really had a chance to win the labor officials.

An integral feature of this intensified

splitting and dual union policy is the new utilized the recently won prestige of the practice of the Party leadership of recog-National Miners Union for a policy of nizing only T.U.U.L. strikes as "gen-unity, for the program of building one unite" and branding all other strikes and powerful miners union in the industry struggles which the T.U.U.L. does not thru amalgamation of the various ex- dominate as "fake strikes", as "manouvisting organizations and thru organizar ers" against the workers, even as acts tion of the unorganized, there is, instead, of scabbery. This policy is anti-Leninist being pursued an adventurist, splitting in its very essence and the objective logic policy which has brought about a very of it is to be seen today in Paterson bad turn in the struggle, a bitter inter-where the main activity of the T. U. necine war with the U. M. W. of A. U. L. union is to attack the A. F. of L. The splitting tactics are brought into organization for calling out its members bold relief by the developments in the and followers on strike. Such a policy furriers union where both Gold and Stet- also leads inevitably to physical encountsky are making a factional football out ers between workers of the different orof the unity issue which is the burning ganizations which directly play into the question for the workers. Here the left hands of the bosses and the reactionary

3. Developments in Paterson

character of the sectarian trade union the initiative and driving power of our the A. F. of L. unions and branding the group, a joint action committee was set up made up of representatives of the United Textile Workers, the Associated Silk Workers, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, and the Communist Party (Majority Group), with the double objective of amalgamating the existing textile workers unions and make first objective was accomplished and a date (August 3rd) set for the second. Then the T.U.U.L. union (the National scene. Althy it was without membership and without influence, without base and hindering the strike already called by the amalgamated unions. As representative of the group, Comrade Gitlow insisted in the joint action committee the strike. It was largely our activity tory of progressives in Carpenters Local Five Year Plan—have answered Trotsky honor that goes with working for a great and influence that overcame the original No. 2090, New York. 4. Election of sec-

The developments in Paterson drama | vaciliation of the joint action committee tize most clearly the utterly disruptive and brought about the call for a general In his famous speech before the Mosstrike for July 28th. Since then almost the entire energies of the N.T.W.U. course of the Party. In Paterson, thru have been concentrated upon attacking thousands of workers who have come out on strike as "scabs". Disruption has been the keynote of all the activities of the N.T.W.U. from the very begin-

4. In the Unions

Our comrades and sympathizers are slowly gaining influence in the unions. The opportunities at hand for our comrades in the trade union field are countess as shown by the fact that, even without any energetic systematic effort by the Buro, an increasing number of our comrades and sympathizers have recently won important posts in the conservative anions and thus enabled us to work more effectively for transforming the union nto militant class struggle agencies. We might cite as examples the following:

1. Building trades local in California,

We publish below a circular recent-ly sent out by the National Buro to the organizations of the Communist

We must evaluate these developments, retary of the Independent Tidewater examine our role therein, and outline out Boatmens Union, New York. 5. Elec-the organizations of the Communist important building trades locals in New York. 6. Election of executive committee members in various needle trades unions, New York, etc.

5. Our Tasks

1. In all our trade union work we must put in the foreground agitation, propaganda, and activity for trade union unity against splitting tinde unions, one union in an industry, etc. Amalgaminto which we must breathe a militant, revolutionary spirit. We must put forward in the sharpest way our slogan for trade workers in Western Pennsylvania and Ohio, the National Textile Workers Union in certain Rhode Island textile U. M. W. of A. in the sharpest way our slogan for trade union unity—against the present splitting, destructive policy of the Party. We must fully expose the new Party policy the against the U. M. W. of A.

All of the recent experiences of the T.U.U.L. unions show clearly the splen show that it means entering the unions unleashed within every Protestant denomdid opportunities there are today for for the purpose of destroying them from

> some time yet, relief will be a much more nowadays than before, in the so-called "prosperity" period. Hence, the organization of strike relief on as broad as possible basis must be one of the main objectives in our trade union work. In cases where there are several unions simultaneously conducting strikes and where in the same field several relief committees are organized, we should first of all, seek to secure a merger of the various relief bodies into one. Until such time as such unity of relief organiza-tions may be secured, we should call upon the workers to support all relief bodies in the field. It is absolutely necessary to back to the last with food and shelter any workers on strike regardless of union affiliation for the moment.

3. The decision of the Plenum to take very possible measure to have all our numbers eligible for joining a union do so without delay must be immediately pushed with the maximum vigor. But joining the union is not enough. comrades should make every effort, thru hard work and thru winning of the conorgans of militant working class strug-

their discredit among the workers are we enter we must at all time see to it brought into bold relief by the fact that the masses involved are kept in

BUILDING SOCIALISM IN THE U.S.S.R.

(Continued from Page 3) 1915, by raising the issue of "na row nationalism":

"Uneven economic and political develop ment is an absolute law of capitalism From this Social Democrat draws the con clusion that the victory of Socialism in a single country is possible . . . To regard the perspectives of the social revolution from the national outlook is to fall a need narrow nationalism which in fact i social patriotism."

In 1919, in his article "Economics and Politics in the Epoch of the Proletarian Dictatorship". Lenin further emphasized:

"From the point of view of fundamental economic problems, the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, the victory of Communism over capitalism, is assured. It is precisely for this world is furious and raves against Bolshevism and is organizing military crusades ispiracies, etc., against the Bolsheviks: it is because they perfectly well understand that our success in the work of re constructing social economy is assured indees they crush us by military force and to crush us in this manner they will fail

Again in his pamphlet on the "Agri-Socialist foundation for our economy" munist Party's having "brought Socialism helpful in many respects. The increasing into everyday life" and that "NEP Rus ly acute antagonisms among the imper sia will become Socialist Russia". Duranty, as a sort of bourgeois professor emeritus of world history, can only persist in saying; "Lenin's new economic policy was a flagrant retreat from orthodox Marxism" and that "Stalin has had | the will and strength to correct that Soviet ship back to the Marxist course We wonder how Stalin welcomes this "compliment". We are not now speaking of his blotters in the other sections of the Communist International

In Trotsky's repeated polemics against this viewpoint of Lenin, he always harped on "the impossibility of isolated construction within national state boundar struggle for revolutionary political selfpreservation during this period has resulted in the extreme diminution of productive forces" and that "Socialism, however, is conceivable only on the basis of flourishing growth." (Addendum to the Peace Program, 1922).

Well, the results of the Five Year Plan



THE HISTORY OF FUNDAMENT ALISM, by Stewart G. Cole. Richard Smith, New York, 1931.

In spite of the somewhat confusing wealth of detail and the peculiarly technical vocabulary, Professor Cole's book is certain to be of great interest to any reader interested in the recent cultural nistory of this country. For the reactionary fundamentalist movement in ory bound with the whole complex of conemporary American civilization.

Professor Cole finds the historical roots of fundamentalism in the social conditions of the American frontier. With the transformation of the social relations in against competing unions, against "spite this country, produced by the expansivikes" of the type seen in Paterson, for sion of industrial capitalism, a profound sion of industrial capitalism, a profound fermentation began to manifest itself in ation of the existing unions, is a slogan the various religious organizations, eswhich must be restored to efficacy and pecially the Protestant communions; modernist tendencies began to emerge and by back from Palm Springs and the Holfundamentalism declined into a cultural survival of a past age. (Professor Cole. however, does not fail also to mention the contemporary conditions that make alist cause today. A sharp struggle was ination, a struggle that has not always moved on the plane of "Christian char-Indeed, as Professor Cole pictures it, Tammany leaders could very well learn a thing or two in their trade from saintly Baptists or Methodists.

The issues around which the funda mentalist-modernist struggle rages are generally the same for all the Protestant denominations, with the emphasis changng from case to case: the challenge of modern science to the Christian dogma, the question of democratic church gov ernment, and the attitude of the church to the social problems of the day. author describes this cultural conflict in church and out, in great detail. The book is written from an avowed-

ly modernist standpoint. Modernism, like bourgeois liberalism of which it is the theological aspect, represents no selfconsistent point of view. It is, to use our author's peculiar terminology, a halfhearted renunciation of the old, a halfhearted witness to the new. It is the attempted reconciliation of the irreconcil able. The strength of modernism lies in its annihilating criticism of theological orthodoxy; its weakness lies in the fact that it does not see what becomes clearer every day that, in destroying the orthodox supernaturalist dogma, it destroys the foundations of religion as such.

Modernism is only a phenomenon of transition. It is a striking symptom of the inner ideological collapse of the religious superstition today and of its ultimate dissipation tomorrow.

-X Y Z.

not get any. It is only in those fields where the new unions still have some capital left from the good traditions in the old days of struggle that they were able to meet with some success.

The gains won by the new unions are not at all deep-going or permanent, despite favorable conditions. This is prising the solution of the success of the construction of the construction of the construction of socialist solutions. This is prising formed of developments and that our position is constantly placed clearly and openly before them. We should not heavy the construction of complete Socialist solutions and all missing the favorable conditions. This is prising formed of developments and that our position is constantly placed clearly and openly before them. We should not heavy the construction of complete Socialist solution and all missing the favorable conditions. This is prising formed of developments and that our position is constantly placed clearly and openly before them. We should not heavy the construction of complete Socialist solutions and all missing the favorable conditions. This is prising formed of developments and that our position is constantly placed clearly and openly before them. We should not heavy the favorable or criticize sharply, in a construction of complete Socialist society and that althour the solutions of the construction of complete Socialist society and that althour the solutions of the construction of socialist society and that the masses involved are kept in the construction of developments and that our position is constantly placed clearly and openly before them. We should not heavy the social state to criticize sharply, in a construction of complete Socialist society and that the masses involved are kept in the solution and that our position is constantly placed clearly and openly before them. We should not heavy the solution and all missing t ed . . . it is all that is necessary and sufficient for this construction." (Lenin: trades unions. The building of steel win-On Cooperation),

Certainly Lenin did not see the build. Union because they are window frames ing of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. merely and by the Bridge and Structural Iron as a matter of formal decrees or mechanic Workers Union because they are steel cal orders, and without difficulties, mis Elevator fronts and doors are claimed takes, or retreats. Meeting Trotsky's ob- by carpenters, iron workers and elevajections and showing how the building of tor workers. Wooden veneers pasted on Socialism is a process, comes in stages, the walls are claimed by painters, paper-Lenin time and again declared that "the hangers and decorators, and by the carone and only real basis for stabilizing re- penters. Once more we have a convincsources for the establishment of Socialist society is large scale industry." With all the brilliant logic at his command, durity and unity against the bosses. Lenin told the Party and the Comintern: "We know that only an understanding

with the peasantry can save the social revolution until the revolution is ready to break out in other countries. We must speak practically on this matter in all meetings, and in our press. The forward march of collectivization

of Soviet agriculture and the rapid upbuilding of largerscale heavy industries in the U.S.S.R. have proven to the hilt that the success of the Soviet Union reason that the bourgeoisie of the whole is precisely because the Soviet government is led by a Leninist Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with policies firmly founded on Leninism and despotic, tyrannic and oppressive acts." not on some "theories" evolved in the brains of ingenious bourgeois journalists report covers a period prior to my be-("Stalinism" by Duranty) or in the lique strategy of factionalists.

Of course, the Union of Socialist Sovlet Republics, the whole world proletarcultural Tax" Lenin insisted that the jat and all the oppressed colonial masses Soviet proletariat can and must build "a have had the good fortune to have a sort of a "respite" afforded the Soviet Union. The present great world-wideconomic crisis of capitalism is especially ialist powers, the sharpening class struggle in the capitalist countries, the rising tide of colonial revolt, the very example and inspiration of daily Soviet successes, al have served as tremendous forces for give ing the Soviet Union the necessary "breathing spell" and are objectively prechange of the compass and bring the paring the ground for the final victory of out the world

For Hoover in 1932

The effort to humanize Herbert Hoover is progressing famously. The other day the entire nation was thrilled and re-Trotsky's argument was that "the lieved to learn from newspaper front pages that the great prosperity-dispenser does not like guindrops as much as good

Money Isn't Everything It is revealed that Harvard pays brick-

layers less than the union scale and scrub-



Stopping a Cuban Revolution

New York's police have stopped a revolution in Cuba. When Captain Me-Dermott got "a tip from an amateur detective that five busloads of men armed to the teeth were leaving Times Square on their way to Cuba via the Holland ganized religion in this country is not at Tunnel he guarded the tunnel so well that all peculiarly theological in content; it is not one man with arms in his teeth even essentially a cultural tendency organical got to the tunnel. The Cuban government is planning to reward Captain Mc-Dermott by giving him a big piece of sugar cane to suck on.

P. S. The Cuban Revolution doesn't seem to know it was stopped.

A Flighty Mayor

New York's greatest Mayor (at this time) is off on a vacation again. Scarce lywood (dumb) belles, he's off for Eutope, leaving New York's dust and dirt (and what dirt!), its gangaters and gonmen, its racketeers and exposures, the noisome stench of City Hall and the breadlines and park benches where park the starving unemployed, to return to Europe's night clubs and gambling joints where he can take care of his delicate health and sensitive feelings. Mayor Walker's administration seems to be one continuous non-stop flight.

Tattycorum Stops a War

Ex-Secretary of War Baker offered the Institute of Politics as a measure to prevent war, the following:

"Tattycorum was a serving maid with a bad temper. When she was about to break out, her wise employer would say: 'Count five and twenty, Tattycorum'. We should acquire the international habit of counting five and twenty."
After that Tattycorum's passion hav-

ing evaporated, she slaps herself on the wrist and says: "You bad girl, you nearly went to war."

A Strange Bird of Prey Ex-Senator Goff of West Virginia en tertained on July 4 with an oration in which he said:

"Tonight we think of the United States as a bursting dawn; a rainbow adorning the world; an eagle that never has and never will harm a dove." Nicaraguan papers please copy!

Music Hath Charms

The "vast poor house" known as the Virgin Islands is being properly taken care of by the country that reduced it to To relieve the depression a community director has been appointed at \$4800 a year with a band of 100 pieces to play Gilbert and Sullivan operattas to the starving islanders.

In Union There is Strength

Modern building methods have precipidow frames is claimed by the Carpenters hangers and decorators, and by the car ing proof of the virtues of craft unionism as a method of promoting labor soli-

Feeding the Jobless

At last the government of Hartford has offered aid to the unemployed. They have promised men who "wont' work, but will be arrested. If the city makes good it will at least mean shelter and food for Hartford's jobless. But we're sceptical.

Doak Defends Deportations The Wickersham report charges "dark age cruelty in deportations, violation of the plainest dictates of humanity . . But Secretary Doak has an alibi. "The

coming secretary of labor. A great alibi, especially since Doak has made the whole deportation process in-finitely more flagrant, shameful and brutal since coming into office and so celipsed his predecessors as to earn the nick-name "Deportation Doak."

The Word "Some" Should be Deleted The courts know that some of the prosecutors are crooked and the prosecutors know that some of the courts are crooked, and both know that some of the police are crooked, and the police are equally well informed as to

Such is the Wickersham Report de-scription of "Justice" as it is practised in the land of the free!

An Innocent Police Commissioner Police Commissioner Mulrooney says he didn't even know what the third degree was until he read the Wickersham report. And Acting District Attorney Thomas F. Kane asks: "What are we to do-give 'em ice cream?"

SONG OF MULROONEY They rapped the prisoner on the shin And then they caved his belly in; They hit him with a rubber hose The blood flowed crimson from his nose, They stripped him bare in zero air And tread with hobnails on his toes. "He fell down stairs" they told the court But Mulrooney, he, Just says, "Yuh see,

—B. D, ₩.