

FOR COMMUNIST
UNITY IN THE
REVOLUTIONARY
CLASS STRUGGLE!

THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE

WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES
UNITE!

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING
THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS

ISSUED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY
(Majority Group)

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GANDHI SHAKY ON INDIA FREEDOM

Informal Discussions Of India Congress Heads Point to Compromise

ALLAHABAD, India. — Informal conversations are now proceeding here among the leaders of the All India Congress on the attitude towards the Round Table Conference Plan and on the question of continuing the civil disobedience campaign until final decision is reached. A formal meeting of the Congress leaders will take place very soon at which provisional conclusions will be reached and then there will be a week's adjournment. No official announcement of intentions will be made until the return of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and other delegates to the Round Table Conference, who are to consult with Gandhi.

So far as can be gathered, the Congress leaders hold that the offer made in Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald's statement cannot be adopted as it stands, but they may decide to call off the civil disobedience movement while the negotiations are proceeding. The rumor seems to be that the members of the All India National Congress working committee are "virtually opposed" to the Round Table Plan.

LONDON.—The Round Table Con-
(Continued on Page 2)

MELLON AGAINST VET PAYMENTS

Declares Immediate Grant to Ex-Servicemen Would Be Capital Levy

WASHINGTON, Jan. 28. — The most horrible consequences to the country's financial structure are foretold by Secretary of Treasury Mellon as the certain result of floating a \$3,400,000,000 bond issue to pay off immediately the adjusted service certificates held by World War veterans, which ordinarily will be due in four years. The predictions Mr. Mellon made in testimony before the Senate Finance Committee.

The real reason for Secretary Mellon's opposition to the proposal is that in effect it would amount to "a capital levy on the holders of all United States Government securities," that is a levy on the bankers to pay the ex-servicemen.

LABOR GOVERNMENT WINS ON UNION BILL; BUDGET NEXT TEST

Trades Disputes Bill Goes to Committee Where It Will Be Killed; Was Mere Gesture to Unions

LONDON.—After three days of bitter debate, the British Labor government succeeded on January 28, in passing its trades disputes bill on the second reading in the House of Commons by a majority of 27. The vote was 277 to 250.

New Subs Up 110% in Jan.!

But WEEKLY AGE Still in Danger! Save It!

Subscriptions for the REVOLUTIONARY AGE are coming in better than ever. Old subscribers are renewing their subs and more workers are becoming new subscribers.

In December there was an 80% increase in our subscriptions over the average for the preceding ten months. This was not an accidental increase. We are more than keeping our pace. In January the number of new subscribers and renewals increased 110% over December.

The REVOLUTIONARY AGE welcomes this fine response to our appeal. We value above all this splendid demonstration of working class loyalty. But we must impress upon all readers that this is a very good beginning, IT'S ONLY A BEGINNING. We have only started. We haven't even warmed up yet. We still have a long and very difficult road to travel before the REVOLUTIONARY AGE is insured against suspension.

When we started our Weekly the doubters and cynics gave us a couple of weeks. Already the sacrifices of the workers have given our supporters a horse laugh on these pessimists. The REVOLUTIONARY AGE is getting better and stronger with every issue. Features, new readers, new friends, new workingclass bases of support!

But we need now—and this means right now—much more money, many more donations, and very many more subscriptions. Our job is a big one. Our funds are low.

We appeal to you workers to come across. Do your bit and more than your bit. We are up against it. Our fight is your fight. Our job is your job. Our interests are your interests.

Give today. Give right way. Make your donation right now. If you are unemployed, borrow from some worker who has a job. If you are not a subscriber, become one at once. If you are, treat your shopmate to

a year's subscription. He will appreciate it. So will we. Rush the funds to insure the REVOLUTIONARY AGE—your paper—the untiring, fearless champion of your class.

Some Questions

The General Executive of the N.T.W.I.U. Changes Its Strike Demands

In the *Daily Worker* of February 2, 1931 there is a report of the recent session of the National Executive Board of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union which met to consider the coming dressmakers strike. The *Daily Worker* reports that the National Executive Board "proposes the modification of the demands to a program of immediate partial improvement in the working conditions which can and must be won in the coming strike." One of these modifications is the scrapping of the "week-work" and "7-hour day, 5-day week" demands and their replacement by the demand to enforce the 40-hour, 5-day week, the right to establish prices thru the shop committee, etc., etc. We will leave to a future article the question of the whole method in which the original demands were formulated and discussed and the strike prepared. Here we will merely note the following:

1. When the strike demands were originally proposed by the union leadership, Comrade Zimmerman and other comrades of the Needle Trades Unity League pointed out that the "week-work" and "7-hour day, 5-day week" demands, while certainly desirable and necessary, could not serve as realistic demands in the present situation and for the present strike. For this they were denounced by the Communist Party press and the union leaders as "right wingers", "agents of Schlessinger", "strike-breakers" and worse.
2. When the same comrades of the Needle Trades Unity League pointed out that the "preparations" for the strike were just gestures, they were abused and attacked in the most indecent manner.
3. Now, on the eve of the strike,

MOONEY BRANDS A. F. L. LEADERS

Declares Sabotage of Labor Leaders Has Kept Him In Prison

RELIES ON WORKERS

Tom Mooney, has after fifteen years of silence, at last opened fire on the reactionary and corrupt labor bureaucrats as partly responsible for his being framed-up and kept in jail for life.

Mooney presents his case in a 41-page pamphlet in which he makes a merciless exposure of how particularly the officialdom of the California American Federation of Labor has betrayed him. He reiterates his unshaken belief in the rank and file of the workers. Mooney says in part:

"The rank and file of the trade unions have always believed in my innocence. But their desire and wishes have been subverted and sabotaged by the labor leaders. The 'leaders' of the A. F. of L. have always told the politicians in public office to ignore any protest coming from the unions in my behalf."

Mooney branded the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. as the graveyard of the organization and denounced the 1927 Los Angeles Convention for refusing to demand his pardon. Thruout his powerful appeal to the ranks and file Mooney emphasizes that every labor leader in California "is interested solely in keeping Tom Mooney in prison."

TAMPA, Fla.—Taking advantage of the universal unemployment and the lack of organization among the tobacco workers here, the cigar companies have put thru a 10% wage cut, thereby further lowering the miserable wages in the industry.

The Tampa workers are up in arms and are organizing for a struggle for a living wage.

the National Executive Board comes out with a declaration changing the strike demands to what the Needle Trades Unity League had proposed and giving the excuse of "inadequate preparations."

Are these responsible union leaders? Are these responsible working class leaders? The workers should know what such methods bring to their organizations!

Bankers Urge National Drive on Wages

Traylor, Head of First National Bank of Chicago, Calls for All-Around Wage-Cutting; "London Times" Proclaims "Necessity" of Lower Wages; Capitalist Press Hails Proposals

BILL GREEN FOR WAGE-CUTS; WORKERS MUST UNITE AGAINST BOSSES

The "grand offensive" against the wages and standards of the workers is proceeding at a terrific pace.

Melvin A. Traylor, president of the First National Bank of Chicago, one of the country's biggest banking houses, has just come out with a strong demand for all-around wage-cutting. On the same day, the powerful *London Times*, under cover of admitting the success of the Five Year

Plan and therefore fearing Soviet competition, proclaimed the urgent necessity of the capitalists of all countries making more desperate effort to "regiment and exploit their labor with ruthless thoroughness and reduce their standard of living."

The banker Traylor, who many years ago was an anarchist and who only a few years ago heralded his own "liberal" opinions, threw down

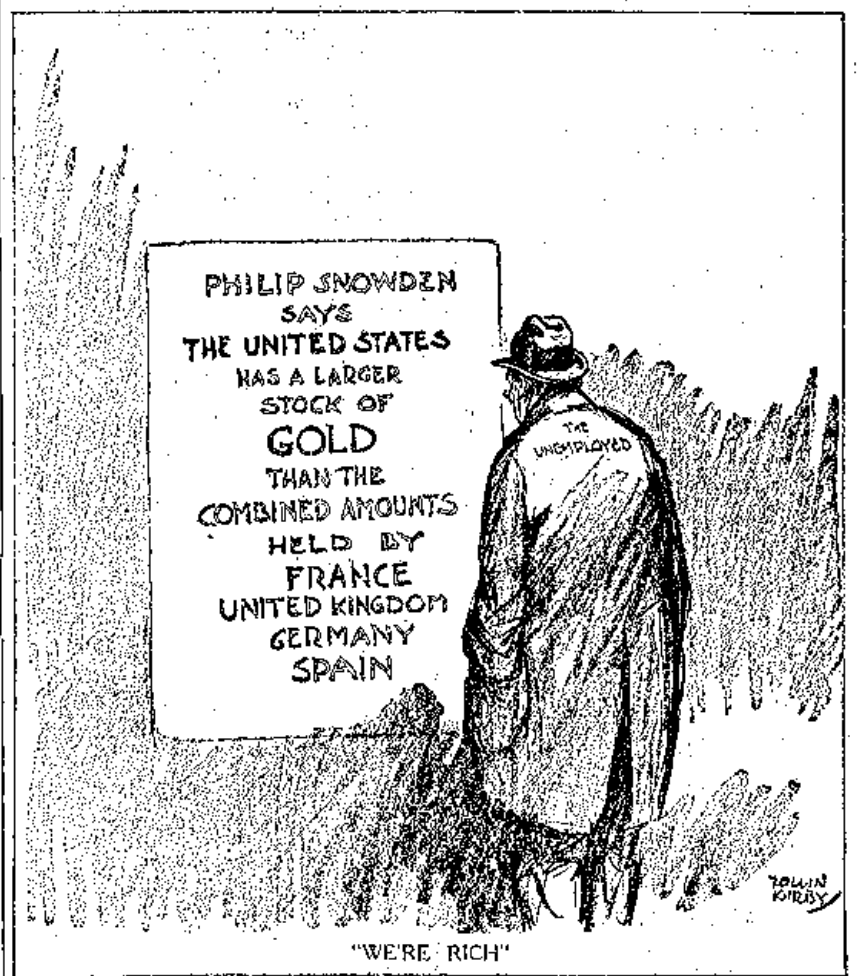
the gauntlet to American labor in his address before the Salesmanship Club at Dallas, Texas. Mr. Traylor demanded "a wage scale responsive to either rising or falling markets." The Chicago financial magnate said: "Business cannot prosper if costs eliminate profit and labor cannot work as fully as it should if capital is denied a proper return."

This is one of the boldest demands for wage-slashing yet made in the present nation-wide campaign for lower wages. Mr. Traylor speaks frankly for his class, the class living on profits and dividends.

While concentrating his main fire on the present already very low wages of the workers, Mr. Traylor went out of his way to lay down the law to the government officials that not a cent must be spent out of government funds for unemployment relief.

The Salesmanship Club thunderously greeted Mr. Traylor's plea against an "arbitrarily fixed wage in dollars and cents". This theory of Traylor is the same as the wage theory of William Green, President of the A. F. of L. Mr. Green says that the workers' wages must depend on their efficiency and the resulting "profits for the bosses. Mr. Traylor agrees with Mr. Green and simply proceeds from the same premise to demand that wages should come down lower than ever because dividends are not so certain these days and may be lowered by the economic crisis. Everyone knows that wages have always gone down faster than prices. But Mr. Traylor demands that wage scales should go down still faster.

The entire capitalist press has featured Mr. Traylor's wage-cutting appeal. Nearly every influential boss paper has frankly hailed it as "the way out of the present crisis."



"WE'RE RICH"

Germany at the Crossroads

FASCISM on the RAMPAGE

by Jay Lovestone

LESS work, less bread, lower wages, no rights! This is the fate decreed for the German toiling masses by the master class of the Reich thru the "Hunger Regime", the Bruening government. This is what "Deutschland Ueber Alles" means today. How long will the German workers stand it? What will they do next? That's what's worrying the governments of England, France and the United States. In 1924 the Dawes Plan "saved" Germany from proletarian revolution. In 1929 the Young Plan was put over to "help" Germany once more. It is this very sort of help that is driving Germany deeper into the throes of hunger and anguish. How symptomatic and symbolic of the hopeless contradictions of capitalism! If only the world bourgeoisie would be sure that Fascism would come out of this miserable mess, then they wouldn't worry. Indeed, many would celebrate. But the logic of class war, is not determined by hopes or prayers—even of the mightiest moneyed overlords. The German proletariat has yet to be reckoned with.

A BLACK WINTER AHEAD

A dreary winter is in store for the workers. More than four millions are today jobless and hungry. There is no sign of a let-up as the cold becomes more bitter. Soon many workers will be laid off in the building trades. Spring holds no hope. By then, the battalions of the disemployed working masses may mount to five millions. Actually from thirteen to fifteen million human beings will be buried still deeper in poverty, suffering, hunger, and misery. And the agricultural crisis has in store for the great mass of the German peasantry, a bumper crop of anxiety and destitution.

Inch by inch, step by step, the German ruling class has been driving back the German workers. Wage cut piles upon wage cut. The tax burden become evermore crushing. The political and social rights of the workers are being taken from them. The hard-won gains won thru years of costly struggle are being wiped away. The notorious "Notverordnung" legislation of December first was the milestone along the path of reckless trampling on all rights and interests of the workers. In the eight weeks from December first to February first six million workers (inclusive

of government employees) have had their wages cut from six to eight percent. Among the millions of workers whose wages have been cut to the marrow are 500,000 coal miners, 800,000 metal workers, 450,000 textile workers, 300,000 carpenters and woodworkers, and 300,000 railway workers. The latter's wages were cut 16 percent.

But the Bruening government is not an ordinary capitalist coalition government. It is a prelude to Fascism. It is energetically and systematically preparing the ground for full open Fascist control of the government apparatus. This purpose is the underlying, driving force of all its political and economic policies at home and abroad. That's why the full force of the government was brought down on the workers to defeat the Berlin metal trades strike, to crush the miners in the Ruhr and to play the Fascist game at every turn.

Of course, the treachery of the Social-democrats is the cornerstone of this successful attack against the toiling masses. The adventurist, ultra-left and splitting policies of the new line of the Communist Party only fertilize the soil for the Fascist victory tomorrow. Split and split again were the red threads of the official Communist strategy in the Berlin metal trades and in the Ruhr mine strikes. Thus, in the Ruhr, as a result of this policy, no less than 3,000 of the best and most devoted Communist and militant fighters have been blacklisted in the pits, taken out of the miners' union, and paralyzsed as effective leaders in the ranks.

That it is ridiculous to say, as the Communist Party officialdom says, that the German proletariat is already on the offensive, yet the workers are today ready to fight. This was clear in the splendid strike response of the 130,000 Berlin metal workers, more than half of whom were unorganized. But they lacked effective revolutionary leadership. This the Communist Party cannot supply today because of its false tactics. Such necessary leadership the Communist Party (Opposition) cannot yet adequately provide today because of its relative numerical weakness.

FASCISM DRIVES ON

Here lies the source of the staggering Fascist suc-
(Continued on Page 4)

HOOVER BANS AID TO STARVING

Upon His Order Red Cross Refuses Money; House Kills Senate Bill

WASHINGTON.—The dirty game of playing politics with the misery of the drought-stricken farmers and starving unemployed is going on merrily! On January 29, the House Appropriations Committee rejected by a vote of 18 to 11 the Senate Amendment to the interior supply bill appropriating \$25,000,000 to the Red Cross for drought and unemployment relief. This action of the House committee comes as a result of a direct order from the Administration which still has some control in the House although it has lost its grip on the Senate.

President Hoover's bitter opposition to any form of government relief for the famine-stricken farmers in the drought area and for the hungry and shelterless unemployed at a time when scores of millions of dollars are returned to the big trusts in tax refunds, is the outstanding feature of his administration. Of course Hoover's factional opponents in the Republican party as well as the Democratic party leaders have seized upon the situation and assumed the pose of "champions of the poor" and have voted a mere \$25,000,000 to be given to the Red Cross.

This action on the part of the Senate majority infuriated Pres. Hoover and thru pressure upon the Red Cross of which he is nominal president, he got it to refuse to accept any government money! The Red Cross, which "supports" the starving farmers at the rate of ten cents a day, has the shamelessness to announce that it will refuse to accept government money, just because Hoover thinks it is "unscientific" and "un-American" to give public relief. The "American method", according to Hoover, is for the workers and the farmers to rely upon private charity! The Senate immediately answered the Administration's move by passing an amendment to the Army bill offered by Senator Capper authorizing

BOSS TERROR IN CUBA GROWS

Machado Sets Up New Anti-Labor Body

HAVANA, Cuba.—The dictatorship of President Machado, supported by the armed forces of Wall Street, has started an extermination campaign against the militant labor movement, and against Communism in particular. He has appointed a "Committee of Public Order" with dictatorial powers to "suppress public enemies." Arrests and measures of brutal suppression are increasing beyond measure. Five more newspapers have been suppressed within the last two weeks of January.

RED CROSS "AID" TO THE FARMERS 10c A DAY; HAY FOR JOBLESS

Three and a third cents a meal is what the average destitute drought sufferer is living on, if he eats three times a day. It is five cents if he eats twice, ten cents if he eats once.

The Red Cross gives each family \$2 a week plus 50 cents for each child up to a maximum of \$4.50 a week. There are five persons in the average family being fed, relief workers say.

That is 50 cents a day, or ten cents for each member. In the larger families, some running as high as fifteen, they get less than that.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 28.—A diet of alfalfa, clover and beet tops, rich in vitamins, was suggested for the unemployed today by Professor E. V. McCallum, food expert of the Johns Hopkins University.

The Federal Farm Board to make available 20,000,000 bushels of wheat for distribution under authority of the President. The objection of the Administration spokesmen were of no avail. Now of course, the House will defeat this move also. And so the merry game goes on! But the farmers and the workers go on starving. . . .

THE WORLD IN 1931

by
JAY LOVESTONE

at the
New Workers School
SUNDAY NIGHTS at 8 P. M.
Feb. 8—Europe in 1931
Hunger and War
Feb. 15—Germany at the Cross
Roads
Fascism on the Rampage
Feb. 22—Great Britain in the
World Crisis
An Empire in its Death Throes
March 1—Towards Communist
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30 MINERS DEAD IN ACCIDENT

Owners Get Profits And Workers Get Death

LINTON, Indiana, Jan. 28.—Thirty coal miners were killed when 600 pounds of black powder exploded in the Little Betty mine, near Linton, late today.

This was the second major mine accident in Sullivan County in recent years. On Feb. 20, 1925, the City Mine in Sullivan was wrecked by an explosion similar to today's blast; fifty-one miners were killed, only one man being brought out alive.

The Little Betty Mine is considered one of the most profitable in the State, that is, it brings in the most profits to the mine owners. But for the workers it brings mutilation and death. And yet we hear that the capitalists are entitled to their profits because—they take the risks.

GANDHI SHAKY ON INDIA FREEDOM

(Continued from Page 1)

ference Plan seems to have obtained the substantial support of both the Liberal and Conservative parties. Stanley Baldwin, the leader of the Tories, specifically pledged that if returned to power his new government would carry thru the Round Table proposals. Even Sir John Simon, the most anti-Labor of the Liberals, the head of the former Simon commission, announced his general agreement with the Constitutional Plan.

It was on this India issue that a sensational split took place in the leading forces of the Conservative party. Winston Churchill, who came out in a sharp attack upon the Round Table Conference as "undermining the British Empire," has now announced his resignation from the Conservative "shadow cabinet" (the leading caucus committee). Stanley Baldwin has accepted the resignation.

As the situation develops it becomes clearer than ever that all forces of British imperialism are united upon the substance of the Round Table Plan as the way of leading India out of the revolutionary situation in which it finds itself today. On the other hand, the native Indian bourgeoisie (whose political representative Gandhi is), is inevitably tending in the direction of breaking from the national revolutionary movement and making a compromise with the British. The two main forces that keep them from taking this step immediately are: the inability of British imperialism, because of its hard-pressed world position, to make adequate economic concessions to the Indian bourgeoisie; and secondly, the tremendous revolutionary upsurge of the popular masses which threatens to isolate the bourgeois leaders if they make the break with the nationalist movement.

Valuable Advice

"As a relief to cattle choked with apples, etc.: It is recommended to draw out the tongue and put a small quantity of gun powder down the throat."

Farmer's and Mechanic's Almanac, 1840

LABOR AGE

The Voice of Progressive Labor Points to the Next Steps in the

American Radical Labor Struggle

\$2.50 a year 25c a copy

104 — 5th Ave., New York City

The Charity Racket in Pittston

A Letter from John Fornier, Miner

Pittston, Pa., Jan. 26, 1931.

At the beginning of this year, under the name of Community Chest, the various groups of the big political powers of this city went around begging in support of the drive for this town to reach the quota assigned. This drive wouldn't have been so bad if it was made by voluntary donations from those people who are in condition to give out of the surplus of their necessities. But when we look over and see how the poor miners were forced to contribute, I must say: It was a legalized hold-up under the name of Community Chest!

Somebody may ask: Why? Here is my answer. Everyone in this district knows that the miners are working only part of the time, not quite half time and are receiving about \$30 or \$40 each pay (that is, every two weeks.—Editor). Some, if not the majority, do not receive that much. Well, what happened? The bosses of the Pittston Coal Company went to their miners and said: We are here to demand a day's pay for the Community Chest. Some miners give without a single word but the great part did not like to give so much money (a full shift) for this purpose. Why? Some miners had not worked for months and their own families were in bad need and starving. They knew that the money would not go to poor unfortunates but would be used for other purposes and would probably be used to pay company gunmen. Others realized this too: If I give a full shift why should not the company give out of what it is stealing from me?

So when they were put up by the bosses to subscribe they asked if they must give and the bosses answered: No. But you need not come back here to work any more than! What does this mean? That under the law of this great commonwealth the bosses can hold up their workers any time they feel like it—and this in the democratic state of Pennsylvania.

In the other collieries the report is identical, and especially in No. 6, where there are the worst conditions. This mine was closed down for a few months and in all this month it worked about 10 days at the rate of \$6.47 for each shift (according to the Pittston Gazette) thus making the monthly wages about \$64.70—certainly no more than \$80. Now how can the miners family live on such an in-

come, especially after months without a single cent! And yet they force money for the Community Chest.

With all this, we read in the Pittston Gazette that the grand total for the Community Chest in this town is \$142,770.85—that is, about \$21,000 more than the quota for this town. How "generous"—this hold-up by the company?

The grand total is made up as follows: 17,265 subscribers—\$142,770.85. The average "contribution" (forced contribution—or else job is lost) for employees of the Pittston Company: Butler—\$7.14; No. 14—\$6.15; Even—\$7.00 No. 6—\$8.47; Old Forge—\$7.43; No. 9—\$6.58.

What a hold-up!

DEBATE

What is the Solution of the Negro Question?

GARVEYISM

says

M. G. MUDGAL

Editor—Negro World

COMMUNISM

says

EDWARD WELSH

Revolutionary Age

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The Man with the Portfolio

WHO? — WHAT? — WHEN? — WHERE?

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SOCIALIST NAMED AS G. O. P. HEAD

Wis. Governor Appoints Socialist As Spokesman In State Senate

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—State Senator Thomas M. Duncan, Milwaukee Socialist leader, close collaborator of the late Victor L. Berger, has been named by the governor, Philip F. LaFollette, as chairman of the powerful joint finance committee. This in effect makes Senator Duncan the governor's spokesman in the State Senate.

Governor LaFollette is a Republican and was elected on a Republican ticket. The State Senate and the state administration of Wisconsin is thoroughly Republican. The appointment of a Socialist to the position of administration spokesman has caused quite a ripple. J. H. Carroll, a Republican, raised a protest that a Republican be substituted for the Socialist. But old Republican stalwart joined the "progressives" in giving Governor LaFollette what he wanted.

The appointment of a Socialist as spokesman for a Republican governor points to the degeneration of the Socialist Party under the leadership and policies of the old Victor Berger group who have become practically identified with the LaFollette Republican "progressives". The logical outcome of the development of the Socialist Party in this direction is a complete liquidation into the "third party movement", or, even worse, into "progressive" opposition in the Republican party.

MIAMI, Fla.—Efforts to reach an agreement on jurisdictional questions arising from the proposed affiliation of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and the American Federation of Labor will be made at a conference of all organizations affected in February or March, William Green, president of the A. F. of L., announced following a meeting of the executive council.

Latin American investors hereafter will have to receive reports similar to those given to purchasers of electric fans. "Guaranteed: so many revolutions per minute."

Letters from Workers

WHAT HAPPENED IN LOCAL TEN, I.L.G.W.U.

I am a regular reader of Revolutionary Age and sympathizer with the policies and the principles which the Revolutionary Age stands for. I think that what I am going to write about will be of great interest to all readers and sympathizers of your group, and of particular interest to those workers active in the needle trades.

It happened at a membership meeting of our Local No. 10 I.L.G.W.U. on January 26 at Arlington Hall, 12 Street and St. Marks Place.

The discussion on the floor was centered around the constitutional amendment of having all bills of expense in the office of the local brought before the membership at large for approval.

From the discussion on the floor by two active members of the local and the Manager Perlmutter and his new ally Reichel, I could understand that while the constitution committee discussed this amendment, they were not aware of all bills, no matter how small or big, should be approved by the membership, and only certain allowances be made for organizational activities. The opinion of the administration was, naturally, that no bills should be brought to the membership for approval.

A compromise decision was reached in the committee to have all bills approved by the membership with the exception of bills payable for "Organization Work." But it seems that the administration was dissatisfied even with this compromise decision and they prepared their usual forces for the last membership meeting as in the good old days of 1925-26, to double-cross the constitution committee and wanted the members to vote to reject the committee's proposals and that no bills should need the approval of the membership.

This open double-crossing brought forth the greatest resentment and protest from practically all cutters (not including Reichel and the "colleges"). Such an uproar and commotion I have not seen in Local 10 for the last five years. Not even one cutter spoke for the administration. Oh, yes! Reichel spoke for the administration and what did he say? "We don't find officers in the street; we must have trust in our officers; we voted for them, we elected them, they are our leaders in whom we must have our greatest confidence."

While Reichel was speaking every sincere worker could feel how the degenerate Reichel is sinking deep, deep into the gutter, so deep that even Perlmutter will not be able to take him out of there.

It was expected that when the vote was taken, Reichel was appointed a teller and he "counted" 107 votes for the committee, and 111 for the administration. About 90 cutters did not participate. The chairman then ruled that all those who abstained were added to the majority vote in order to have a two-third vote necessary for the approval of any statement to the Constitution.

In conclusion I wish to say that while personally I don't think much of the question proper, because even if the committee's proposals were to

be accepted, it could not protect the finances of the local from undesirable, under the present administration. Nevertheless, this meeting convinced me that there is a great discontent amongst the cutters which was openly expressed at this meeting.

—A WORKER

PINCHOT AND THE COAL AND IRON POLICE

Pittston, Pa.

"Pinchot for Governor". Even the more progressive miners answered the call. They are still so naive as to believe that a wealthy parasite, will be sympathetic towards them. Gov. Pinchot has the reputation of being friendly to the miners. During the campaign everything good was promised, the good old game of bluff and bully-ho. Now the new government issued an edict to the Coal and Iron Cossacks of Pennsylvania, who are famous for their brutal attacks on the miners, terminating their activities June 1931. The miners are overjoyed. They pat one another: "Well, we certainly put it over this time!" But the joker peeps out of the deck. The governor says: "Instead of the Coal and Iron Police we will substitute a force of Cossacks who will be controlled by the State, and not the Coal and Iron barons as formerly." That is adding insult to injury to the intelligence of the miners. Miners! Wake up! Don't delude yourselves! No member of the capitalist class ever gave you anything. Even the miserable wages you earn, are being taken from you. The latest stunt of the higher-ups is called the Community Chest, and they do not ask the miners to donate a few dollars but demand their whole days wage or the alternative of getting fired from work. This is a case of "Only the poor, help the poor" (rich) with a vengeance. The main object of the Community Chest etc., are the upkeep of the "Y.M.C.A." and other institutions which help to poison the brains of the youth. Before a poor person gets a loaf of hard bread or some cast-off rags, he has to be third-degreed by every so called charity worker who collects fat wages from the Community Chest.

WORKERS MUST HAVE NO RACE PREJUDICES

New York City.

It is absolutely essential for everybody, especially for us young workers, to have a real enlightenment on the Negro question. It is necessary to make the young workers see that when the Negro workers are discriminated against it is really also an attack on the white workers and that a fight against race discrimination is really a part of the class struggle.

I want to tell you an incident that happened in my shop to show you how deep are race prejudices even among workers. One day, sitting around idle (we are piece workers and we are called to the shop if there

Revive Spirit of Old Local 43!

by Helen Taublieb

The trimmers in the millinery trade have enjoyed union conditions for some time thru the activities of the left-wing leadership. The trade is composed mostly of American girls. In the past, we succeeded in organizing these young workers into a powerful local of two or three thousand workers, which was the largest local in the Cloth, Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International.

Our main activities consisted in bettering the conditions of the workers, uniting all the branches into one powerful Union of all millinery workers in educating the workers for the class struggle. We won the following conditions thru struggle:

1. A minimum wage scale of \$33.00 per week and a \$1.00 hour for piece workers.
2. Equal division of work.
3. Recognition of the Union.
4. To deal with the chair-lady and committee on setting prices.
4. No discharge from the job after one week's work.
5. We held regular shop chair-lady's committees and local union meetings.
6. A militant rank and file organization committee.
7. Our social and educational club and its activities consisted of monthly lectures on current events in the labor movement. Gymnasium once a week, hikes and outings once in a while.

When Zaritsky saw that Local 43 was becoming a powerful weapon in the hands of the workers against the bosses and also against Zaritsky's class-collaboration policies, he tried to break up our local in the name of fake amalgamation. His main argument was that it was not a union, but "you have turned the union into a workers' school," which is just what the reactionary leadership is afraid of, an educated working class.

Thru Zaritsky's assault on our local, thru our own mistakes (in not putting up sufficient resistance against the splitting activities of Zaritsky), and thru the sectarian policies of the new leadership of our union in the last year or so, very little now remains of old Local 43 and our hard-won conditions are wiped off the map. What are the con-

ditions of the trimmers today?

The trimmers are left at the mercy of the bosses and we are working again under the most horrible conditions, all hours of the day. Instead of the chair-lady to settle the prices for the hat, the boss gives you the price that suits him. No resistance whatsoever. Why? Because there is no fighting voice in the right wing union today, where most organized trimmers find themselves. The workers are divided, the organizations are split up, and only a few hundred remain in the N.T.W.I.U. and the bulk of the workers are unorganized altogether.

Workers of Local 43! Must we be satisfied with conditions that prevail now and bow to the bosses again for 20 cents an hour, and he should tell you that "if you do not like it, you can go"? Our answer must be: No! We know how to fight, we want to have our hard-won conditions again! We must get together, regardless of where we belong, whether in local 24 or in the N.T.W.I.U. and demand a stop to these disruptive policies, and get down to work! We need one union of all the millinery workers! We demand the organization of the unorganized! Trimmers! Back to the traditions of old Local 43 and unite our ranks! With united ranks we will win! We know so from the past!

JAIL FOR SELLING LABOR PAPER

Two Workers Get 6 Months For Selling "Daily Worker" In New York Subway

NEW YORK.—For selling the Daily Worker, the official organ of the Communist Party of the USA, two workers, Clarence Turner and Lorenzo Stokes, have been sentenced to six months in jail!

Magistrate Burke, who passed the sentence, declared that "he believed the defendants were actuated not by a desire to earn money but to agitate their views"—and since he did not agree with their views, hence the heavy sentences.

The sentencing of these two workers is not a mere incident of the brutality of capitalist law. It is a part of the campaign now under way to suppress all forms of militant labor expression. It is closely connected with the recent banning of five labor papers from the mails and with the proposals of the Fish Committee for a thorough offensive against the labor movement.

LONGSHORE STRIKE IN HAITI

CAPE HAITIAN, Haiti.—Since the longshoremen's strike here for an increase in wages rioting is quite common. An American marine was well beaten up by strikers and their sympathizers because he fired several shots to intimidate the workers who were patrolling the docks on picket duty.

The firm stand of the workers forced the steamship companies to agree, after a conference with the Minister of Interior to increase the wages of the strikers to 50c an hour.

RUBIN BRAININ

in Boro Park

HOW THE JEWS LIVE IN SOVIET RUSSIA

at Crystal Palace

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The Committee on Committees

SOLVING THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM — ENGINEERING THE GOVERNMENT — ASK FOR BREAD AND GET A COMMISSION — WHY THE PRESIDENT DOESN'T COMMIT HIMSELF — COMMITTEES ON THE BELT SYSTEM — FINDING THE FINDINGS vs. FINDING THE COMMISSIONS — HOW THE FISH GOT ON THE FISH COMMITTEE.

(By Our Washington Correspondent)

During the two years that Herbert Clark Hoover has been president of the United States he has appointed twenty-six commissions. During their twenty years of labor they have accomplished the following:

THE EMERGENCY UNEMPLOYMENT COMMISSION has so far succeeded in providing employment enough for its own members. Its director, Colonel Woodhead, has summed up his profound conclusions as follows: "Concerning unemployment, the principal thing that I can say is that there is far too much of it."

THE DROUGHT COMMISSION, Secretary Hyde chairman, has succeeded in preventing men from being treated like mules and being fed when they're hungry.

THE LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE DELEGATION has reduced the navy by a billion and a quarter for new ships.

THE LAW OBSERVANCE AND ENFORCEMENT COMMISSION, popularly known as the Wicked Sham Commission, has discovered in eighteen months of investigation that it will be dry on the first Tuesday in November 1932—if it isn't raining.

THE INTEROCEANIC CANAL COMMISSION has been flattening out Nicaragua so that it will be easier to build a canal there.... if Sandino will let them.

THE BATTLE OF MONONGAHELA COMMISSION has not yet found out where Monongahela is.

THE FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION, with Power Trust agent George Otis Smith as its head, has gotten appointed and now refuses to be disappointed by the Senate.

THE VETERANS ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE found that the veterans budget will total over three billions. This paralyzed them as they cannot think of any figure greater than thirty a month.

THE ADVISORY SHIPPING COMMISSION, E. M. Hueley chairman, reports that ships will not take advice outside the twelve-mile limit.

THE FEDERAL TARIFF COMMISSION has gathered a mint of information from Mrs. Grundy.

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CHILD HEALTH AND PROTECTION dressed up like Santa Claus on Christmas for Hoover's grandchildren. As a remedy for child labor it recommends that every child should have wealthy grandparents.

THE RESEARCH COMMISSION ON SOCIAL TRENDS, Wesley C. Mitchell chairman, has decided that Mrs. Gann, sister of Vice-President Curtis, is to stand in front of all those who are behind her on the line which shakes the President's pump handle on New Years Day.

THE COMMISSION TO STUDY CONDITIONS IN HAITI says that all the Marines left in Haiti in conditions.

THE 100th ANNIVERSARY OF THE ALTHING COMMISSION sent Senator Norbeck to Iceland to tell the Althing (the Icelandic parliament) how a Congress should be run. In the opinion of Norbeck, the Althing Commission is the only one that did anything.

One commission took 75,000 words to tell us what they didn't find out.

If Congress asks the Commissions about their findings, most of them have been gone so long that Congress will be lucky to find the Commissions. Congress is considering the proposal to appoint a whole new set of committees to investigate the commissions. It is obvious that Congress and the president are now on the right track to solve the unemployment problem. Pretty soon we'll all be working on commissions. Such are the wondrous fruits of putting an engineer in the White House!

Your correspondent after many difficulties succeeded in getting the original of one of the committee reports exclusively for the AGE. Here it is:

THE WICKED SHAM REPORT

We, the Wicked Sham Commission, hereby present a unanimous report. We are 7 members of which 11 are dissenting. By a vote of 6 to 6 it was decided that all decisions were unanimous. We consider that the 18th amendment is a big success for our working class. The dry law is all wet. The drought made the rural districts so dry that it drove the farmers to drink. Old Lady Justice has gotten so cock-eyed drunk recently in New York that the bandage came off her left eye and she's winking outrageously at some high-priced magistrates. Our report may seem a little dry when you read it but when we wrote it we were drinking to 1932. Our members are drier than a dry martini. Our report speaks for itself. No one else can speak for it.

Respectfully submitted,
The Wicked Sham Commission

The Crisis in the Socialist Party

Some Basic Questions Answered

by Ben Gitlow

WHITHER NORMAN THOMAS

(Concluded from last issue) Question No. 2: "Why do you say that Norman Thomas is the extreme right wing? Just because he is a bourgeois but so was Marx and Lenin..."

LOGIC OF THE STRUGGLE

Question No. 4: You say that the "logical" road for us is to go to Communism. But how can you expect us to go in that way as the Daily Worker calls us fakers and worse things...

But if you are travelling the road to Communism, if your convictions as a Socialist leads you to the camp of Communism, then you owe it to the working class to stick by your convictions and not to abandon them because a Communist paper (which should be intelligent and not stupid) persists in calling you names.

The question which the "Militants" as Socialists should face squarely is not what the Daily Worker says but what they themselves believe will bring about the liberation of the workers from capitalism.

But, says the writer of the letter, if we go to the Communist Party, the next day we will be thrown out if we don't agree with Stalin on something.

Granted that the Stalin regime dominating the Communist International is responsible for a regime in the Communist Parties which does not permit expression of disagreement with its line within the organization.

to Communism and they come to the conclusion that it is impossible for them to go to Communism because the Stalin regime is obnoxious to them, then to abandon the course of their struggle is for them to travel a road which leads them into the very positions against which they are fighting today.

The course of the Stalin regime should in no way change convinced revolutionary Socialists or Communists in their fundamental conceptions of the road of the working class in capitalist society and of the need of a revolutionary working class party, a Communist Party.

The "Militants" have set themselves the goal of winning the Socialist Party for what they consider a program of revolutionary Socialism, and of converting the Socialist Party into a revolutionary Socialist Party based upon the class struggle.

The "Militants", I am sure, are not naive political babies who are satisfied with just sticking out their tongues at Papa Hillquit and Grandama Neal. If they are a little spanking ill put them in their proper places. They must be asking themselves where they are heading to.

the tie which binds Communist Parties to an international organization which unites the revolutionary forces of the world proletariat against world imperialism. The international character of the struggle against capitalism and the need for international action on the part of the exploited and the oppressed masses makes the organization of the Communist International imperative.

It is true the Stalin regime is expelling Communists who are insistent upon the strict adherence to the prerequisites for the building up of the Communist movement in the United States. These Communists want a party that is part of the American workers not built on empty phrases and bombast.

How can we achieve this? By giving up the idea of a revolutionary working class party, a Communist party, because the Stalin regime is today following a wrong course? I am sure this is not the way.

The most urgent need today is for a united Communist movement. Only through such a united movement pursuing Communist policies based upon the actual objective situation in the country can the masses be mobilized for decisive revolutionary battles against capitalism.

THE CRISIS IN THE GREEK PARTY

Rebellion Against the Ruinous Ultra-Left Course

The crisis in the Communist Party of Greece, which has been developing in a painful and distorted form, has now burst out into the open and the development is taking a new turn.

The leadership of the Greek Party since 1927 was in the hands of the Khatias, Eutykhiadi and Voreinosh group, the group that had led in the struggle against the liquidators as well as the Trotskyites.

But if you are travelling the road to Communism, if your convictions as a Socialist leads you to the camp of Communism, then you owe it to the working class to stick by your convictions and not to abandon them because a Communist paper (which should be intelligent and not stupid) persists in calling you names.

We do not have Khatias' declaration available but from the polemic against him in the official Party press it appears that some of the main contentions are the following:

- 1. It is necessary to review and re-examine all the decisions of the III Plenum of the Communist Party of Greece (held April 1930).
2. The general tactical slogans of the Party and especially the slogan of "mass general political strikes" at the present time, must be scrapped.
3. The basic tactical line of the Party must be steered away from ultra-leftism. Otherwise ruin faces the Party.
4. The real danger to the Communist movement in Greece today comes from the ultra-left "radicalism", from "left" opportunism, from "left"

THE LESSONS OF THE DRESS STRIKE PREPARATIONS

A critique of the ruinous course followed by the leaders of the NTWU in preparing for the dress strike and formulating demands for it.

NEWS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST STRUGGLE

Important developments in France, Switzerland and India.

WHERE SHOULD THE NEGRO TURN?

A discussion of the question: Should the American Negro ally himself with the white capitalists or with the white workers?

WHAT NOW IN THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE?

A review of recent developments in the Jewish fraternal organizations.

THE PROGRESSIVES AND THE COMMUNISTS

An analysis of the character of the CPLA and the relations of the Communists to it.

In the Coming Issues

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Problems of the Negro Masses

The Negro Worker and Labor

A Review of "The Black Worker" by Spero and Harris

THE BLACK WORKER, by Sterling D. Spero and Abram L. Harris. Columbia University Press. New York, 1930.

It would be quite impossible in a brief review of this sort to present a resume of the ground covered in the 500 closely packed pages of this book. There is enough material in it to make many books. But the subject is so carefully developed and the general unity of conception so thoroughly maintained that even in sections that are virtually independent the general thread is not broken.

The authors begin with a brief examination of the Heritage of Slavery. The study of the Aftermath of Slavery serves as the transition to the real subject of the book, the Negro worker in the era of industrial capitalism.

The description of the changing relations of the Negro worker in the period of the rise of trade unionism after the Civil War is one of the best parts of the book. The main theme of this section of the work is how the heritage of slavery and the strictly craft character of the rising trade union movement built up a formidable wall of separation between the organized American labor movement and the Negro, to the inevitable damage of the cause of both.

On the other hand, the authors picture in an eminently fair manner, the careful fostering of an anti-labor attitude and anti-labor activities

(strike-breaking) among the backward Negro workers by the Negro "community leaders", the preachers, the teachers, the politicians, under the false flag of "racial consciousness".

To offset the dark picture painted in Part II (The Negro Worker and the Rise of Trade Unionism) we have Part IV (Industrial Unionism and Labor Solidarity) in which the story of the struggle of the progressive and radical unions (I.W.W., the United Mine Workers, the unions in the needle trades and food industry, etc.) to organize the Negro workers on the basis of the fullest equality is told with understanding and sympathy.

The final section (Part V) of the book deals with Negro Labor Since the War. It considers the rise of "economic radicalism" (i.e. Communism) among Negro intellectuals in the North; traces the relations between Socialism, Communism and the Negro; it concludes with a provoking but altogether inconclusive chapter on The Negro Community and the Labor Movement.

This Part V is unquestionably the weakest portion of the book and precisely because of the failure of the authors to understand the real bearings of the proletarian revolutionary movement upon the Negro question and upon the relations between the Negro workers and the labor movement in particular.

ism" (Communism) as mere abstract preaching of the "good times coming" and therefore express pronounced scepticism (the not opposition) as to its future among the Negroes.

The truth seems to be that the authors, as bourgeois intellectuals looking at things from the outside, mistake the "official" brand of Communism dominating the Communist International and the American Communist Party today (and only temporarily) with its ultra-left nonsense and phantastic phrases, for the Communist strategy and tactics as developed by Lenin and championed by the Communist International for many years.

Some important questions emerge out of consideration of this book. The primary question, in my opinion, is the problem of the social roots of race prejudice ("white chauvinism"). The old explanation of a "natural antipathy" of races is palpably absurd that only the Ku Kluxers (in the universities and out) and the orthodox Garveyites still cling to it.

TEXTILE WORKERS MUST UNITE

A Statement and Answer

We publish below the statement sent in by Comrade Weisbord and Bush to the REVOLUTIONARY AGE. In the next issue we will publish the declaration of the Textile Unity Committee, explaining its policy and exposing the sectarian course of Comrade Weisbord.

In connection with Comrade Weisbord's statement we publish an article by Comrade Eli Keller which represents the viewpoint of the Textile Unity Committee.

On Saturday January 10 the Textile Unity Committee of the National Textile Workers Union met to consider the situation in Paterson and the tasks of our committee.

At the last meeting Vera Buch and I proposed the following motions: 1. That we continue our orientation to put fight into the NTWU as the sole organization possible to lead the struggle. That we affirm our program. That we demand unity of the National Textile Workers Union forces and reinstatement of those expelled.

Put Fight into the National Textile Workers Union! Save the National Textile Workers Union from destruction!

Reinstate the workers and fighters now expelled or removed! etc.

The whole basis of this committee was to unite the militant forces in the textile industry on a correct fighting program as the only force possible to carry on the struggle against the textile barons. The manifesto clearly stated: Do not be discouraged by the bad conditions within the NTWU! After all, the NTWU is not like the A. F. of L. It is the only textile workers union with a militant history with the possibility of carrying on a fight for better conditions against the textile barons.

At the last meeting Vera Buch and I proposed the following motions: 1. That we continue our orientation to put fight into the NTWU as the sole organization possible to lead the struggle. That we affirm our program. That we demand unity of the National Textile Workers Union forces and reinstatement of those expelled.

2. That we advise the workers to join the NTWU and to fight for our politics inside. 3. That we prepare the workers for the coming struggle and that at the mass meetings which we call we sharply attack the traitor officials of the UTW and the Associated Silk Workers.

In this very brief article we cannot go into details of the reports of the various delegates. An estimate of the problems faced by the International Communist Opposition as well as an examination of the outlook for Communist reconstruction I will attempt to give in a future article.

Let it be sufficient for me to say for the present that as a result of the International Conference and its establishment of the International Communist Opposition Center the fight for the reconstruction and reunification of the Communist International, which was and remains our only world party of Communism, our ONLY Communist International, will be waged more correctly, more effectively, with greater spirit, and more determination.

The international platform, or program of action, finally adopted, is a powerful guide for the revolutionary workers in contradistinction to the ruinous, ultra-left hodge-podge of constant "turns" and "twists" by the present leadership of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The publication of a monthly political theoretical organ by our international forces, will go a long way towards strengthening our forces ideologically and towards breaking down the anti-Leninist course of the official line.

In its manifesto to the world's workers, to the members of the Comintern, to the present official leadership, the International Communist Opposition conference struck a very healthy note for Communist unity, for working class unity against the reactionary capitalist offensive, against the impending imperialist world war, and for an effective and victorious defense of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the centre of inspiration and strength of the world proletarian revolution.

Practical steps to set up the necessary organizational machinery were also taken to insure cooperation in international struggles, exchange of opinions, and increasing co-ordination of our efforts for Communist unity in the revolutionary class struggle.

All in all, the First International Conference of the Communist Opposition is the most effective move yet made to bring back the international Communist movement to the Leninist line, to reunite the Communist International and to hasten its reconstruction into a mighty world party of the revolutionary proletariat which will lead the workers of the world to a victory over the capitalist exploiters and oppressor such as our Russian brothers have already won.

What is the road leading out of the darkness? It is the road of the revolutionary class struggle of Communism. From the analysis of causes made by the authors themselves, the integration of the Negro working masses into the trade union movement can only take place thru: 1. The dissipation of the poisonous clouds of race prejudice in the minds of the white workers. This may be accomplished not only (and not mainly) by propaganda and enlightenment but primarily in the white heat of the class struggle. The fraternization of white and colored workers in South during strikes, however hesitating, uncertain, and unstable is a straw in the wind. 2. The organization of the unorganized workers and the substitution of industrial unionism for the outworn structure of craft unionism. 3. The dissipation of bourgeois influence upon the working class (that is: opportunism) and the replacement of the conservative pro-capitalist spirit of the A. F. of L. by a spirit of militant unionism based upon labor solidarity and the class struggle.

But are not these among the aims of the Communist movement? This book is the best that has yet appeared on the subject. This may seem a rash statement to make considering the volume of literature on the Negro worker but I believe that the positive merits of this book are so great that it literally speaks for itself. Every worker, white or black, should certainly read it.

—WILL HERBERG

The First International Conference

SOME OF THE OPPOSITION PAPERS



Some of the papers of the Communist Oppositions in Germany, Sweden, France, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, the U.S.A., etc. are shown above

not fear the heavy factional hand of the leadership, or the forces momentarily in control, of any Party machine, no matter how big and powerful that machine might be. Decisions were arrived at thru mature and honest consideration. In

short, the atmosphere and conditions prevailing at the conference were in fortunate contrast to the stifling, artificial, and mechanical settings so characteristic of the recent "deliberative" sessions of the Comintern.

—WILL HERBERG

Revolutionary Age

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February 7, 1931

WAR—WHAT FOR? AGAINST WHOM?

AMERICA'S "greatest" newspapers are now making big features out of war memoirs. Some are boosting Pershing's war story. Others are hailing Foch's. Why this sudden putting on the market of such stale stuff?

"Not so stale" would be the only answer of the observers looking beneath the surface. This craze for "war memoirs" is only part, and not the most important part, of the war preparations now being made by the Wall Street ruling class. Popularize once more the war heroes, draw lessons from the shortcomings and failures of the military machine of the last war, more preparedness and a better military machine for the next war! That is what the "best minds", those who count in the United States, aim to achieve thru this vast militaristic publicity scheme.

No capitalist statesman or diplomat now dares deny the seriousness of the danger of a new world war. Some still pretend to hide its imminency. The best and most that Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary General of the League of Nations, could say is that "war is not imminent" and that he could not "give an absolute affirmation that war will not break out in the future". And the pillars of his peace guarantee rest on the shadows and nightmares of the League of Nations and the Kellogg Pact!

But we must take our hats off to Roger Babson, one of Wall Street's most successful and prosperous soothsayers. Mr. Babson spoke quite plainly about war the other day. Not only did he say the world very near another war, but he emphasized that THE SOONER IT WOULD COME THE BETTER. Babson developed the idea that if war would come right away it wouldn't be so bad, but that if it is put off too long it "probably couldn't accomplish much in the interests of peace because the horrors of the World War would have been forgotten."

At last, we have it. "Let's have another LAST war and the sooner we get over with it, the sooner will we have another LASTING peace." This is what the capitalists would have us believe. Surely, not having anything to remember, the capitalist class has nothing to forget of the horrors of the last imperialist war. Of course, the proletarian victory in Russia is one horror which the exploiters always associate with the last war and which they can never forget.

Where will the next war start? We know the capitalist system is swollen sick with imperialist war germs. This is the iron logic of the very mechanics of capitalist production and exchange. Which germ? on which frontier? between which capitalist powers will war break first? That cannot be told definitely at each and every moment. Particularly when there are so many sources of infection. Babson thinks Italy and France will fire the first guns. However, William Philip Simms, Scripps-Howard Foreign Editor, is far more correct when, in listing the eight leading war sources, he places the danger of the war against the Soviet Union as the first and greatest.

For us workers, for us Communists, the time is drawing rapidly nearer when our fight against imperialist war will have to assume proportions far more serious than even the most intense propaganda campaign. The great momentum with which the wage cuts are now proceeding is only an integral part of the war preparations. It's the tightening of the screws on the workers just prior to letting loose the infernal forces of capitalist war.

TEXTILE WORKERS MUST UNITE

(Continued from Page 3)
 Workers Union in Paterson. These motions were voted down by the followers of Lovestone. They decided to scrap the old program and one that stood for a united front with the NTWU and for a united front with the UTW and the Associated Silk Workers officials, thus splitting the Textile Unity Committee of the NTWU.

We wish to declare therefore that we have nothing more to do with a committee with such a program as now adopted. The committee is no more a committee to put fight into and to build up the NTWU but a committee to help the A. P. of L. and the Muste fakers to sell out and to betray the workers.

in the Anthracite, and in the South there were organizations; now there are none. The union has not even one member in these textile territories! This is what has become of the National Textile Workers Union.

As the conditions change, so must we therefore change our tactics. To fight only in the NTWU for readmission, etc. (as Comrade Weisbord proposes), is to fight in an increasingly less important cause. The 50 members in Paterson and the 35 in New Bedford are mainly Party members and are continuing the Party policy even against their better judgment. This they will continue to do, by and large, until they see a genuine movement so powerful that they cannot but help be convinced.

OUR PROPOSALS FOR UNITED ACTION

What were the propositions upon which Weisbord found it necessary to break away from the Textile Unity Committee? We proposed the following:

1. That we call a mass meeting in Paterson to take up the present bad conditions of the workers (wage cuts, long hours, etc.).
2. That at this meeting we also point out the role that the leaders of the various textile unions have been playing (the class-collaboration policies of the UTW officials; the sell-out agreement of the Associated last year; the phrasemongering coupled with sectarianism and expulsion in the part of the new leaders of the NTWU, etc.).
3. That we call upon the workers in all of these organizations to bring pressure upon their leaderships for the unity of all textile workers and their organizations on the basis of a common struggle for better conditions, on the basis of a general strike in Paterson in the next few weeks.
4. That we draw in the unemployed textile workers and that special demands of the unemployed be made part of our fighting program.

That Weisbord saw fit to break on these points shows: first, that he does not know how to apply the tactics of the united front and secondly, that he is reluctant to go into a struggle where he will face the opposition and abuse of the Communist Party bureaucrats.

WE WILL FIGHT ON!

We, the workers of the Textile Workers Unity Committee, who must come face to face with the bosses every day, who feel the whip of speed-up and wage cuts, who are not interested in petty politics, we want to fight! Comrade Weisbord would have been an asset if he went with us to struggle. But if he refuses, the textile workers will fight on themselves just as they have done so many times before. Our Committee still stands firm on the basis of the broadest united action of all textile workers.

ELI KELLER

Germany at the Crossroads

Fascism on the Rampage

by Jay Lovestone

(Continued from Page 1)

cross in the last elections, when the "Nazi" (Fascist) vote rose from 800,000 to 6 1/2 million. Let no one make the mistake. It is not so much from the inflamed, disgruntled, defeated war veterans that Hitler draws his support, as from the youth of Germany.

The youth, so full of energy and so anxious about its future, is being swept into the camp of Fascism. Worse than this. Fascism is winning a foothold in the ranks of the workers. This is the lesson of the Fascist victory in the industrial centers of Thuringia and Saxony. The workers are becoming disillusioned with the Social Democracy. The Communist Party sectarian

determinedly Fascism is marching on in Germany. Let me cite but a few of the latest events which are the handwriting on the wall. The "Notverordnung" of December (the legislation for new taxes on everyday needs of the workers) was only a further step towards the Fascist abyss. The very building of the Bruening government, the "Notverordnung" of last July, the September 14 election results and putting into force the Hindenburg dictatorship provisions of Article 48—all of these are only points of advance towards open Fascist rule.

FASCISM AND WAR—AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION

In some circles—unfortunately especially in the highest official councils of the Communist International—there is the illusion that once German Fascism wins, a war between French and German imperialism will follow over the revision of the Versailles Treaty. This is a terrible and dangerous illusion. The Fascists may still use certain bombastic phrases against French imperialism. But the moment they win, that moment they will come to terms with France. The French bankers will buy them, remove them as a source of opposition, and make the Hitlerites the banner-bearers of a new unholy alliance against Bolshevism, against the Soviet Union. We must remember that in the event Fascism does win, it will not be without terrifically bitter protracted resistance from millions of class conscious workers in Germany. French money and military help will be badly needed by the Hitlerites. A deal will be made between the Hitlerites and the Tardieu and Briand against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. As evidence we need but cite the recent Hitler-Herve negotiations in which they pledged themselves to have France and Germany "save the world from Bolshevism". The articles of Jules Sauerwein, the noted French journalist, bearing an official mark, gave the same plan. And most important of all is the Paris report by *Informatus* (December 20th) to the *Bergwerkzeitung*, highly influential organ of the Rhine Westphalian industrialists, that the "Comite des Forges", the governing body of French heavy industry and really of France itself, is prepared to have France get together with Germany, give it credit, close a commercial agreement, and form an air-tight Franco-German military alliance.

A WORLD MENACE

For the workers of the world, the German events are of inestimable importance. A German Fascist victory means a smashing of the powerful Communist Party of Germany, the destruction of the mighty trade union movement and labor organizations, and consequently the opening of the free road thru Germany for a united imperialist onslaught against the Soviet Union. For such a "concession" French and British

BRUENING IN THE TOILS!



The film, "All Quiet on the Western Front", which Chancellor Bruening recently banned at the behest of the Fascists, turns into the Fascist snuffing the Chancellor.

imperialism are prepared tomorrow to make any revision of the Young Plan and the Versailles Pact. For this the workers of the world would more than pay for it with their lives, with their blood, with their money—perhaps with the greatest victory they have ever won—the victorious proletarian revolution in Russia!

The whole question of the world-wide significance of the menace of German Fascism is forcefully and correctly placed by *Gegen den Strom*, organ of the Communist Party of German (Opposition) when it says:

"The question whether the German labor movement will be trampled by Fascism, or march on, strengthened by the flames of the revolutionary mass struggles, is of the most far-reaching international significance. A victory for Fascist reaction in Germany would be a gigantic triumph for world reaction, would be an unheard-of defeat for the whole fighting world proletariat, and above all an immeasurable menace to the victorious struggle of the heroic working class of the Soviet Union. A victorious struggle of the German working class movement against Fascism would lend new momentum, new spirit and confidence, new energy, to the entire international labor movement."

The Economic Week

THE artificial "optimism" campaign is gaining momentum.

However, there are no facts to back up the rosy claims. At best there seems to be stagnation. The latest survey on business issued by the American Federation of Labor emphatically declares that "reports from industry do not yet

show that the country is on the road to recovery". The last quarterly report of the U. S. Steel Corporation did not help the "sunshine" movement. The rise in steel continues less than seasonal. The sundry company earnings reports show a falling off of 24% for the last quarter of 1930. This has fur-

ther depressed the stock market. Bank clearings continue to fall below last year's records. Failures, while somewhat lower than in the first three weeks of the year, are still very numerous. This week shows 600 bankruptcies as against 545 the corresponding week a year ago.

BOOKS

The Modern Quarterly, Vol. V, No. 4, Winter 1930-31. Baltimore, Md.

Aside from the significant article by Sidney Hook, there seems to be very little of consequence accomplished in the symposium "Marxism and Social Change" (*Modern Quarterly*, Vol. 5, No. 4), except the highly efficient annihilation of Max Eastman as a "theoretician" (God save the mark!). Tho this is done in a satisfactory manner, it is a very poor substitute for the original job on hand. Eastman is slaughtered pleasantly by Calhoun, laboriously by Boudin, ignorantly by Waldo Frank, and most trenchantly by Hook (altho he doesn't mention Eastman or his arguments once). Eastman certainly remains slaughtered. If he ever raises his voice again to discuss Marxism and Leninism, it will only be to arouse laughter and derision.

So interesting (because easy) does the gentle sport of Eastman-killing prove, that the original object of the symposium seems to be forgotten altogether as far as a good many of the contributors are concerned. Yet some important points in the examination of Marxism can be found.

Prof. John Dewey unburdens himself of some platitudes in regard to the relation between historical factors and the human will and the importance of conscious human desire and determination in effecting social change and then says in effect: "I don't know much about *Marxism and Social Change*, as I can't see much about it. But it seems to be an important thing anyway." This exhausts his contribution.

Max Eastman's contribution is practically a rehash in briefer form of a few of the essentials of his now famous venture of recent memory, *Marx and Lenin and the Science of Revolution* (in a review of which, by the way, in a past issue of the *Quarterly*, Hook nakedly revealed Eastman's abysmal ignorance of Marxism). Eastman talks in the same scatter-brained fashion about "modern science" and "modern psychology" and "engineering" and the necessity for a "fundamental revision" of Marx along Lenin and Lenin along Eastman. Eastman has the colossal gall (such gall can only be bred of pure ignorance) to speak of Engels' *Anti-Duehring* as "naive." Eastman's own ideology seems to be a vulgar worship of the breezy "efficiency engineering" psychology of the American business man plus a smattering of the latest fads of current "scientific philosophy" (indeterminism-idealism). And this is the critic of Engels; this the improver of Marx!

Louis Boudin strives to recapture the old learned and sophisticated-Marxist manner—but not quite successfully. The easy job of annihilating Eastman is done in a workman-like way, but beyond this Boudin's contribution is rather a dud. He places the problem clearly enough: the reexamination of Marxism in the light of the experiences of the Russian revolution on the one hand and the "new capitalism" (not so new today) in the U. S. on the other. But all he does is to circle around the problem like a cautious toment. He does not seem to muster up intellectual courage enough to say something positive one way or the other. But this is the impotence to which professional centrists of Boudin's type are doomed.

Sidney Hook is the only one who comes to grips with his subject. He has obviously read widely and thought deeply. He has a keen mind and a clear style. It is not always possible to agree with him in what he says but it is always necessary to listen carefully and ponder his arguments. He never descends to platitudes and his criticism is totally free of the vulgar pettiness of the superior bourgeois and revisionist critics. True, there are occasionally errors on a subtle, intellectual level of the detached professional balance-sheet attitude, or the attitude of a Columbus discovering new lands (he should remember there was a Lief Ericson). But these are relatively small matters to carp at. In his contribution to this symposium Hook lays down in dogmatic form, a series of eleven theses on the nature and significance of Marxism. It would be absurd for us to attempt to express a definite opinion as to the validity of these theses on the basis of the extremely schematic formulation in the article. Hook promises a book elaborating his viewpoint. It will be worth waiting for.

There are two other contributors to the symposium: one, *Henri De Man*, the Belgian ex-Marxist, of whom the less said the better, and *S. D. Schmidhausen*, the co-editor of the *Quarterly*. The latter deserves a few remarks. He is a sort of "independent" bumptious "revolutionary" Menken. His contribution, "The Logic of Leninism" is of course the longest and most pretentious of the symposium. What is true in his offering is nothing new for anybody who ever learned the A.B.C. of Communism course. But it is not surprising in one who not so long ago called upon Eastman to become the rallying center of a revival (read: revision) of independent "Marxist" critical thought, that his article abounds in fundamental errors, typical Eastman "bits". There is the same categorical separation and qualitative differentiation between Marxism and Leninism; the same insistence upon Marxism as a theory of automatic fatalism; the same interpretation of Leninism as a corrective upon Marxism in the direction of emphasis upon action and will, and finally his cart before the horse anti-Marxist idea of fundamentally changing the psychology, the ideology of the masses before any basic change in the economic struc-

BETWEEN HAMMER AND ANVIL

More Blessed To Give Than To Receive

Senator Bingham has found a good reason for the government's criminal activity in the face of mass hunger. "Isn't it better", he asks, "to follow the regular American procedure and give the people a chance to feel the joy of giving voluntarily?" We'd like to try that procedure on the paying of Senatorial salaries.

It Might Get Hurt

Can you picture a manufacturer putting idle machinery out in the street in hopes that the Red Cross will maintain it?

They Should Get Dinner Next!

The governors of eleven oil producing states have called an oil relief conference. There will be no dole and no bread line relief as they do not want to pauperize the poor oil man. In place of selling apples they are going to help out their present desperate dividend difficulties by the sale of banana oil.

Virtue Is Rewarded

When Hoover appeals for 10 million dollars for the Red Cross for unemployment and farm relief. If the number of unemployed workers, drought-stricken farmers, and their dependents is only 20 million, that means they can receive 50¢ a piece during the coming year. Yet Hoover says the Red Cross is sufficient to take care of relief! That's what you get for putting an engineer in the White House!

Vitamins for the Jobless

The unemployed are now getting a varied diet. To the inevitable apples, are added tangerines and chocolate bars.

Simple Arithmetic

Herbert Hoover appeals for 10 million dollars for the Red Cross for unemployment and farm relief. If the number of unemployed workers, drought-stricken farmers, and their dependents is only 20 million, that means they can receive 50¢ a piece during the coming year. Yet Hoover says the Red Cross is sufficient to take care of relief! That's what you get for putting an engineer in the White House!

Higher Mathematics

The New York Judges who have recently joined the unemployed are not selling apples. They are living on their previous marvels of economy, thrift and abstinence. On a salary of \$5,000 Judge Simpson spent \$15,000 per annum and saved \$100,000 in the bank. Figure it out for yourself!

Nothing to Worry About

We would like to be able to worry about the fact that the gold standard is in danger but we haven't anything to worry about.

Building Socialism in Great Britain

We can now let our readers in on a jealously guarded secret. Ramsay MacDonald is building socialism in Great Britain—on a thousand-year plan. The plan is as follows: Nothing the first year, twice as much the second, and so on. He has completed the first five year quota in two years. He says that nothing short of a revolution can prevent him from maintaining the same rate of speed.

Buy Now!

This week's shopping hint: Dutton's is selling a copy of the Kelcott edition of Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales" for \$35.00. It should prove useful to while away the time between apple sales.

Hoover, Stalin and Lovestone

It is reported by the *Daily Worker* that recognition negotiations between Stalin and Hoover have fallen thru because Stalin demanded that Hoover break with Lovestone and Hoover refused. The only concession Hoover was willing to make was the barring of the *Revolutionary Age* from the mails. Stalin declared that such a repudiation is insufficient and only a maneuver and that Hoover is continuing his secret connections with Lovestone. Hoover was unable to reply because he is now suffering a strange illness which prevents his saying anything else but "applesauce."

Once In A Lifetime

In "celebration" of his 55th birthday Kardonick Phillips fed 3,500 men, women and children free at his restaurant at 68 Delancey Street. Now what are the people supposed to do for the next 55 years?

Fish Committee Scores

We have just received a report that Harry Winitzky was arrested for trying to overthrow the government. He was caught leaning against the Federal Building.

The Revolution Is Saved

The Freiheit Singing Society of Philadelphia expelled Comrade Gershon for belonging to the Majority Group. We always knew the Lovestonettes couldn't sing!

Belated Christmas Report

Father got a box of lies,
 Sister got cologne,
 Kelllogg got a Nobel prize,
 Doggie got a bone!
 We got wage cuts from the boss
 for which our boss was blessed,
 Jobless got some apple sauce,
 Wall Street got the rest!
 —B.D.W.

ture of society is accomplished. This is the logic of petty-bourgeois utopianism; this is the logic of anti-Leninism.

—J. C. W.