

FOR COMMUNIST
UNITY IN THE
REVOLUTIONARY
CLASS STRUGGLE!

THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING
THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS

ISSUED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY
(Majority Group)

WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES
UNITE!

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PRICE 5 CENTS

WAGE-CUTS GROW THROUGHOUT LAND

Attack on Rail Workers Coming; A. F. of L. Closes Eyes

The wage-cut drive continues throughout the country. From all indications, it has become certain that the main line of attack against wages will soon shift to the railway industry. The employers themselves admit that Hoover's denial that wage-cuts are spreading has no foundation in fact.

Babson has just announced that: "Wage reductions have been far more numerous in recent months than in any previous period. President Hoover's recent insistence upon maintenance of wage schedules, unfortunately ignores this fact. The increased trend of wage-cuts during recent months. . . . The new apology for the wage-slashing policies is given by Babson as follows: "But at the present time wage adjustments are an inevitable necessity in speeding up the wheels of industry once more. But what concerns the workers today is not his paper wage rate but how much money he gets in his pay envelope. . . . When a moderate wage reduction will lead to a larger volume of business, the wage earners will find their pay envelopes fuller. . . . The financial interests are looking today for a wage reduction and a decided drive has been started by the railroads to accomplish such a result. Probably the most pessimistic railroad talk that we hear today is being put out to bring about a reduction in railroad wages. . . . At the same time the American Federation of Labor executive council has been reporting a "fall" in wage-cuts!

Boost and Build the Weekly Age! New York in the Lead

Again New York workers are in the front ranks of the REVOLUTIONARY AGE Builders. The big drive has only just opened, the members of the CP-Majority Group and their shopmates are already on the job pepping up things, getting everything ready in order to go over the top by exceeding their quota of subscribers.

All the New York units of the organization have already met and set up their machinery for a red letter affair—a sweeping success in our campaign to win new friends and supporters. There is very keen interest in the prizes offered. Many comrades are working hard to land that week of sunshine and rest at the model workers camp, Camp Solidarity. Workers who have just subscribed and gotten their premiums, "Short Stories Out of Soviet Russia", are lavish with their praise for the book. Bishop Brown's three volumes, "The Bankruptcy of Christian Superstition", are making a real hit with the workers.

Typical of the sentiment of the new readers is the following from a letter:

"I have been getting your paper on and off, just as I have been working on and off. It's hell to miss the job so often. But I have gotten sort of used to half-rations for my stomach. However, nix on that half-ration stuff for my mind. I am not going to take any more chances on not getting the Revolutionary Age regularly. So I just borrowed a couple of bucks and here I send you \$2.50 to insure me for a year in getting every issue. I ask every working man to do what I did. It might seem hard but it's a pleasure and duty for our class. What else could anyone want? Here's my sub and cash. Don't forget to send me Bishop Brown's blast against the gods."

The many hundreds of additional copies sold on May Day have brought in a

batch of requests for information and subscriptions. New friends and friends are making things hum.

The New York needle trades unit is determined to set the pace and challenges every sub-division of the C.P. Majority Group to equal its speed in achieving its quota. "We will get there first the we

SHORT STORIES OUT OF SOVIET RUSSIA



The Special Premium for a Year Sub to the "Revolutionary Age"

have the biggest distance to travel." This is the spirit of revolutionary competition that will move mountains and bring the finest results. And what these workers can and will do, the coal-diggers, the textile workers, the shoe-workers, the marine workers and all other workers can and must do.

Now is the time for all workers to subscribe for their most effective class champion. We don't believe in shrieking but in hitting every note properly and effectively. We don't believe in barking at the moon or at the heels of our class enemies but in hitting hard and deep in to the exploiters. The Revolutionary Age is a working class paper and a Communist paper that is a luxurious necessity for every worker. No Communist can be up to the minute or do without it. A subscription in time right now—will do the trick. Working class information and inspiration for fifty-two weeks straight, for a whole year and some stimulating and delightful proletarian stories out of the Russian Revolution to start off with.

What more could you ask? We ask little: Rush your subscription! Do your best! And we will do the rest!

NY SHOE WORKERS ON STRIKE

80 Workers Strike Against Coral Shoe Co.; Resist Big Drive of Bosses

NEW YORK CITY.—More than 80 shoe workers employed by the Coral Shoe Company, 740 Broadway, went out on strike when the bosses attempted to break the contract they have with the Boot and Shoe Workers Union and to force a wage cut. This attempt by the Coral Shoe Company to drive the union out of the shop is but an example of a widespread drive on the part of the shoe bosses against the shoe workers in an effort to destroy every vestige of organization among the workers.

Another example of this drive against the shoe workers is the fact that the bosses Metropolitan Shoe Manufacturers Association and the Boot and Shoe Board of Trade have come to the aid of Becker and Friedman of Brooklyn where over a hundred strikers have been waging a militant strike for more than a week. Despite gangster and police terror, the workers are maintaining a solid front for recognition of the union, against wage-cuts and against discrimination.

The Danger of a Restoration
At the same time the danger of a monarchist restoration is not over! On the contrary, the anti-revolutionary conduct of the provisional government and the suppression of the revolutionary energy of the masses, have strengthened the hand of the monarchists who now no longer fear to appear in public. The pastoral letter of the Primate of Spain is an open order to the Catholics to vote for the monarchy in the coming elections. The republic, he declares, has "already damaged the Church's rights," while, on the other hand, King Alfonso always "steadfastly kept the Catholic faith while in power." And the "revolutionary" government, which arrests Communists, suppresses the Moroccans, disarms the people, allows such open counter-revolutionaries to carry on their dirty work without let or hindrance!

The Course of Revolution
What is needed in Spain today is the passage of power into the hands of the workers and peasants, the setting up of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. The masses should not wait until the far-off constituent assembly for a solution of the problems of the revolution; they must proceed to solve them now and by their own mass action. Complete suppression of all counter-revolutionary and restorationist tendencies! Disarming of all open and hidden monarchists and the arming of the masses! Complete self-determination with the right of separation for the Moroccans, Basques, Catalans! Confiscation of the big estates and distribution of the land among the poor peasants by peasant committees! Complete separation of Church and state! The 8-hour day, full social legislation and unbridled rights of trade union and political organization of the workers!

BIG WHEAT YEAR IN U.S.S.R.

Soviet World's Leading Wheat Producer; Out- Strips U. S. A.

The U. S. Department of Agriculture is about to release one of the most significant reports in its history. It is planning to issue a statistical analysis showing that the U.S.S.R. is today the world's leading producer of wheat. . . . The great progress made in the collectivization of agriculture under the 5-Year Plan Soviet wheat produced in 1930, is estimated at 1,097,000,000 bushels, which is 246,000,000 bushels more than was produced by the United States which has been the champion wheat growing country ever since 1913 (the last year Russian had the lead).

The record figure of Soviet wheat production is the peak realized so far by the Russian peasants in the entire history of the country and compares with the 1,028,000,000 bushels produced in 1913, the previous banner year. This is the first time Russia has reached a billion bushel production in the last eight years.

LAND TAX PASSES IN COMMONS

Snowden Measure Carries; Supported by Liberals

LONDON.—The Labor government resolution to give effect to the penny in the pound (2 cents in \$5) land tax on land values proposed in the Snowden budget was approved by the House of Commons, on the evening of May 6, by a vote of 289 to 230 against the strong opposition of the Conservatives. The Liberals solidly supported the Labor proposal, maintaining that it was wholly in line with the traditional Liberal policy on the land question.

The land tax is not to go into effect for two years, according to the budget proposal. Connected with it, according to Snowden, is the "ultimate nationalization" of the land, with, of course, the full compensation of the present owners. But even this plan, which was vigorously championed by the Liberals under Lloyd George over twenty years ago, is too "radical" to be openly avowed and defended by the "Socialist" Labor government!

MILLIONS WASTED BY SCHOOL BOARD

Controller Berry Makes Charges In Connection With Method of Getting School Sites

NEW YORK CITY.—That the Board of Education method of acquiring public school sites cost the city millions of dollars "unnecessarily," was charged by Controller Charles W. Berry against George J. Ryan, president of the Board of Education. Upon his charges being challenged by Mr. Ryan, the Controller presented whole series of concrete cases to prove his allegations.

PRES. GREEN DENIES RESIGNATION

Woll Also Repudiates Himself As "Prospective Candidate" For Head of A. F. of L.

WASHINGTON.—Wm. Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, has "denied" the current rumors as to his intention to resign. At the same time Matthew Woll, vice-president of the Federation, has declared that he is not, at present, a "prospective candidate" to succeed Mr. Green.

International Chamber of Commerce Meets; Mellon Urges Wage-Cut Drive

Attempt to Salvage Capitalist System in Crisis - Sharp Differences over Debt and Tariff Questions - But All Agree on Wage-Cut

WASHINGTON.—The biggest business men of thirty-five leading capitalist countries are working overtime in Washington at the International Chamber of Commerce convention to agree upon some plans for salvaging the capitalist system, now in one of its most severe

crises. The main objective seems to be the achievement of the impossible—the prevention of recurrent deep-going crises in capitalist economy. . . . Sharp differences of opinion are dividing the delegates over the debt and

tariff questions. This division and the realization of the growth of the world economic crisis have wrapped the conference in a shroud of gloom. The keynote speech opening the conference was delivered by President Hoover who spoke for the extension of the same kind of "reduction" and "limitation" of armaments on land as have already been applied on sea at the London conference. Hoover is very much worried over the \$1,135,000,000 Federal deficit of the United States government this year, worried that it might become impossible to continue spending so many billions on land armaments without bankruptcy threatening the whole system. . . . The actual position of the United States government toward wage-cuts was finally stated with some frankness by Andrew Mellon, Secretary of Treasury when he proposed that:

"The restoration of the economic balance must be effected without such wage reductions, provided the period of recovery is not too long drawn out."

The head of European Steel Cartel, Mr. Meyer, made a plea for more open and bold statements for wage-cuts. A very significant memorandum was presented to the convention in the name of Sir Arthur Salter, head of the Economics Division of the League of Nations. He warned of the "prospect of disaster" and said:

"Never has history seen such a tragic demonstration of the fundamental solidarity of interdependence of world interest, of the imperative need for concrete world effort in research, in consultation, in policy and action. . . ."

"But with some difference in degree and in time all countries of the world have now been brought into the widening circle of the depression."

"The trough of the wave is deepened, not smoothed out; the storm is both increasing in intensity and prolonged. Ours is a problem of the impoverishment that comes from plenty."

Dean Donham of Harvard declared that if the capitalists should lack a cooperative spirit in the future then:

"Our control over nature may actually destroy civilization; mass production and mechanization and control over nature will bring about either a great age or a return to the dark ages, according to the leadership we get from business. . . ."

"If our civilization fails to solve these problems, it will not be mass production and mechanization that fails; it will be ourselves."

In general the delegates at the convention are agreed that an average wage-cut of at least 25% is necessary in order to keep the capitalist industry going just now even to a limited extent. Sharp divisions are also developing amongst the delegates over the silver issue. The conference will probably hedge on war-debts question because of the definite opposition of the American Government to this issue being raised at this time.



—from the Chicago Defender

LEFT WING ATTACKS BUROCRATS AND PRESENTS PROGRAM AT W. C. MEET

Committee of Left Branches Calls for Militant Policy on Unemployment, Foreign-Born, Unions; Appeals for Defense of Soviet Union

A sensation was created at the convention of the Workmen's Circle, held in Washington, D. C. on May 3-9, 1931, by the declaration presented on May 6 by a committee representing Branches 305, 386, 417, 521, 637, and 656, calling for a renewed and sharpened struggle against the policies of the present administration of the W. C. which is tied up with the Forward-Socialist clique, the most reactionary group in the Jewish labor movement of this country. The declaration had been adopted by a conference of four New York branches held on April 30 and was subsequently endorsed by Branches 305 (Philadelphia) and 521 (San Antonio).

This was the third "small convention" since the 1925 gathering at which the left wing was so powerfully represented (250 delegates). Since then no "large conventions" (with direct branch representation) were held; in their place there have been "small conventions" made up of delegates elected at district conferences where all "undesirable" (that is, militant) elements could be sifted out. Without delegates at the subsequent conventions (1927, 1929), the left wing sent authorized committees representing the branches supporting it to present its program. In 1927 such a committee made up of M. Epstein, Sultan and Lifshitz came to the convention and was given the floor. In 1929 such a committee was not admitted. Since then a section of the left wing, under the influence of the leaders of the Communist Party, has split away from the W. C. to found their own "Red" fraternal society. That section of the left wing which had refused to follow the splitting and sectarian policies of the official leadership of the C.P. undertook to mobilize a number of branches of the W. C. to authorize and send a committee to the convention. This committee, consisting of B. Lifshitz and A. Guss, presented its credentials and was allowed 40 minutes to explain the viewpoint of the branches it represented. The speeches of Guss and Lifshitz were in line with the declaration they presented. Chanin, the chairman of the N.E.C., replied. He defended the reactionary policies of the W. C. leadership and promised the continuance of these policies.

The declaration attacked the National Executive Committee of the W. C. for its support of the reactionary forces in the A. F. of L., for its support of and participation in the anti-Soviet campaigns for its attitude on unemployment and for its intolerance towards other political tendencies in the organization. The declaration presented the following demands: (1) that all political tendencies in the W. C. be represented on the various committees; (2) that the present "small conventions" be replaced by "large conventions" every two years with representatives from every branch; (3) that there be immediately organized in the W. C. branches a campaign for unemployment insurance and relief in the struggle for which the W.C. should unite with other labor organizations fighting for the same things; (4) that the W. C. support the campaign for the protection of the foreign-born; (5) that the policy of the N. E. C. of supporting the reactionary elements in the unions be rejected and that the W. C. support the militant and progressive groups in the unions; and (6) that the W. C. should declare for the recognition and defense of the Soviet Union without any hypocritical reservations about "political prisoners" which really aim to help the mobilization of anti-Soviet forces.

Delegate Silber also introduced separate resolutions on unemployment, on the protection of the foreign-born, and on the Soviet Union. The latter resolution called upon the convention to greet the tremendous progress made in the building of Socialism under the 5-Year Plan, to endorse the prompt and energetic action of the Soviet government in discovering and suppressing the sabotage and counter-revolutionary conspiracies of the Ramsins and the Kondratieff and the Menshevik conspirators, and to pledge support for the recognition and defense of the U.S.S.R.

At the convention there was also a member of the Communist Party, a delegate from Utica. He presented no resolution. The left wing committee gave him copies of its declaration and resolutions and asked for his support.

Both Lifshitz and Guss are members of the Communist Party (Majority Group).

The appearance of the committee at the convention created a sensation as the symbol of the renewal of the left wing struggle in this very important labor fraternal society. The Jewish press featured the affair very big. The Freiheit lost complete control of itself and in the most hysterical manner launched the wildest attacks upon the left wing committee. An examination of these attacks and of their political significance will be made by Comrade Lifshitz in the next issue of the Revolutionary Age.

LOVESTONE MEET IN BOSTON

Over 50 Hear Report On World Crisis and C. I.

More than fifty workers, members of trade unions, furniture workers, shoe workers, food, garment and upholstery workers listened attentively to the lecture delivered by Jay Lovestone on "The World Crisis and the Communist International" given under the auspices of the C. P. Majority Group of Boston at 80 Leverett Street on Sunday May 10th.

A number of Communist Party members were present. Many interesting questions were asked. A lively discussion followed. Among the Communist Party members present were those who only a few months ago were most violently against the Communist Opposition.

The questions asked dealt mainly with the false trade union policy of the official Party and the failure of the Communist Party to utilize the present extremely favorable objective conditions to develop itself into a mass Communist Party.

REACTIONARY COURSE CONTINUES IN SPAIN; TO POSTPONE CORTES

Rumors of Delay in Calling Constituent Assembly; New Regime Begins Suppression of Morocco and Catalonia; Big Anti-Communist Drive

MADRID.—The strong possibility of the general elections for the constituent assembly being postponed for several months, was indicated on May 2 by officials of the new republican regime. The mass "disturbances" on May Day at Barcelona and Bilbao and the national problems in Catalonia were given as the "reason" for the postponement.

Reports reaching Madrid indicate that military forces have been concentrated at Tetuan, Spanish Morocco, to suppress the rising of the Moorish laborers. A strike of Moorish workers was recently declared in protest against brutalizing labor conditions and miserable wages.

BARCELONA.—The Catalan authorities issued an order on May 2 to arrest all Communists, known and suspected. Orders were also issued for the disarming of all citizens.

TOLEDO.—Cardinal Segura, Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain, issued a pastoral letter on May 6 urging that all Spanish Catholics participate in the coming elections to the constituent cortes by voting for deputies "who will defend and guarantee the rights of the Church."

The Character of the Provisional Government

The course that the provisional republican government is following is beginning to manifest its reactionary and anti-democratic character more and more clearly as it begins to approach directly the problems of the revolution. Its actions bear the most striking resemblance to the conduct of the bourgeois provisional government of revolutionary Russia between March and November 1917. Just as the Kerensky government kept on postponing the convening of the constituent assembly until it had long since outlived its usefulness, so today the Zamora government is utilizing every single pretext to delay the convening of the constituent cortes. Meanwhile, of course, all important measures of reform (agrarian reforms, relations between Church and state, the national and colonial questions, army reforms, the labor questions) are "postponed" until the "assembly of the constituent cortes"—that is, the demands of the masses are being suppressed and the democratic tasks of the revolution stifled. At the same time, the provisional government has no hesitation in maintaining the most vicious measures in maintaining the system of national oppression over the Catalanian and Basque provinces and of colonial oppression over Morocco and other African colonies. For that no constituent assembly seems "necessary."

MEMBERSHIP MEET

COMMUNIST PARTY
(Majority Group)

FRIDAY, MAY 15, 1931, 7:30 P.M.
63 Madison Avenue

Subject: The General Line and the Inner-Party Course of the C.P.S.U.

Admission by membership book only

"LOYALITES" AT WORK IN LOCAL 1

Unite With Shelley to Sabotage Mass Mobilization

A vigorous protest against the activities of Local 17 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in undermining the conditions of the operators by "competing" with Local 1, was the main subject of discussion at the membership meeting of Local 1 on Wednesday, May 6, in Webster Hall, New York City.

Locals 1, 11 and 17 were originally all operators locals. In 1924 they were combined into one operators local, Local 2. When Schlesinger got into the administration, he put thru a split of Local 2 again into Locals 1 and 17 in order to provide Heller, the manager of Local 17, with a well-paying and influential job. In order to attain this end Heller had taken out an injunction against the union! Even Matthew Woll was forced at that time to admit that Heller was a reason for the existence of Local 17. When Local 17 was revived it had practically no membership (less than 400) but it proceeded to "get" members, with the help of the joint Board and general office officials, by offering concessions to the bosses to help it against Local 1 from whom it proceeded to "grab" members to the advantage of the bosses. Today Local 17 serves, in the words of Levy, manager of Local 1, as a "stab agency".

At the meeting of Local 1 the Executive Board reported on ways and means of countering the attacks of Local 17 and regaining the membership that it had "grabbed." The right wing clique in Local 1, under the leadership of Student, attempted to hinder the mobilization of the local for this purpose by disruptive speeches which were only intended to consume time and make trouble.

A discussion began but it could not be completed because at about ten o'clock Shelley jumped up and made a motion to adjourn. This Stenzor, of the United Progressive League, proposed that a special meeting be called before the next General Executive Board meeting, in order to mobilize the membership as a whole to defend Local 1 against the union-breaking attacks of Local 17 and the Joint Board officialdom. When it came to vote the loyal T. U. L. followers, disguised as the "united front" (whatever name they may take in the future we do not know), all voted for Shelley's motion to adjourn so that there by Stenzor's motion for the mobilization of the membership could not be taken up. This is how the loyal T. U. L. followers are "trailing" the workers for struggle against the reactionaries and for bettering conditions of the workers!

UNITED PROGRESSIVE LEAGUE PROTESTS

It Was Admitted To United Front Conference, But Its Banner Was Destroyed in the Parade

We, the Clockmakers Progressive League, want to register the sharpest protest at the manner in which our organization was treated at the united front May Day demonstration by those in charge. The treatment we received is not only an attack upon and an insult to our own organization but really extends to all labor organizations that do not happen to find favor with the officialdom of the Communist Party at the particular moment.

When the appeal of the Communist Party for a united front May Day demonstration was made public, our organization—as always having the unity of the working class at heart—decided to endorse the proposal. We therefore sent delegates to the united front conference. These delegates were seated and their credentials accepted. We also made a donation of \$5.00 to the conference and this also was accepted. We were therefore thoroughly justified in believing that we were accepted in the united front conference on a basis of complete equality with the other organizations represented there.

On May 1, our members turned out to Madison Square to participate in the May Day parade. Like all the other organizations participating, we decided to march in a body with a banner containing the name of our organization. This was the acknowledged right of every organization that had been accepted in the united front May Day conference. Imagine our astonishment and indignation, therefore, when captains in charge of the parade came up to us and tore down the banner containing the name of our organization! No justification whatever was made for this shameful outrage or even attempted.

We repeat: Our organization was a part of the united front May Day conference, with credentials and donation accepted, with the same rights and privileges as all other organizations belonging to the conference. Yet we were attacked, our banner was torn down by those in charge of the parade and we were not allowed to participate in the same way as other organizations.

Either one way or the other! If, in the eyes of the Communist Party officials, our organization is not "fit" to participate in a May Day parade, then our credentials and donation should not have been accepted. If, on the other hand, our credentials and donation were accepted, then we had the same rights as everybody else and the attack upon us and the destruction of our banner was a shameful outrage that brings discredit to the Communist Party and to the whole labor movement.

It is not very difficult to guess that our banner was torn down and our organization insulted by the leaders of the parade because we have serious differences with the officials of the Communist Party on policy and tactics in our union work. We believe it is the task of the militant to be with the masses of the workers and to organize and lead them in the struggle against the bosses and the reactionary union officialdom. The Communist Party leaders, in spite of all the rumors about "retreats" and "new policies," unfortunately stand for the same old destructive policies. But if this is taken as a sufficient reason for attacking us and tearing up our banner, then it means that every labor organization that disagrees in policies and tactics is to be physically attacked and insulted by the Communist Party officials. Against such an idea we raise our more vehement protest and we believe that all honest and militant workers should join us in the protest.

United Clockmakers Progressive League

At the same meeting the right wing clique made an attack against the local administration which had refused to participate in the Socialist May Day demonstration.

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Resolution on the General Line and Inner-Party Course of the C.P.S.U.

We publish below the resolution on the "Russian question" unanimously adopted by the Bureau of the National Council of the C.P.-Majority Group. This resolution is proposed as a draft to the session of the National Council that will meet in July of this year.

The present schemes in the Communist International, the urgent need to rally all forces for a defense of the Soviet Union, the valuable lessons in the Soviet experience for the workers of the rest of the world, make a constructive, non-factional consideration of the "Russian question" essential.

2. When the Communist Party (Majority Group) was organized, it made it quite clear that "our struggle has never been nor can it be an appendix to any individual or group in the C.P.S.U." While we have always condemned the anti-bolshevik methods used by the Stalin leadership in the Russian question, yet our struggle has never been nor can it be an appendix to any individual or group in the C.P.S.U. While we have always condemned the anti-bolshevik methods used by the Stalin leadership in the Russian question, yet our struggle has never been nor can it be an appendix to any individual or group in the C.P.S.U.

3. Our struggle is based exclusively upon the task of overcoming the present crisis in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the quickest possible extension of the Socialist base of Soviet economy as the only decisive method of ending the present crisis in the proletarian revolution for its struggle against its capitalist enemies from within and from without. At our National Conference (July 4-6, 1930) we reaffirmed this attitude and hailed the tremendous progress made by the Soviet Union in Socialist construction from the Five-Year Plan—in heavy industrialization and in the collectivization of agriculture at an accelerated tempo—despite the hostility of all the imperialists.

3. But while our general attitude was clearly formulated, our lack of an extensive and objective examination of the general line and inner-party course of the C.P.S.U. has become more and more obvious. Such an examination is today impossible in the official Party which subordinates everything to its

4. Planned economy is an inherent feature of Socialist construction. The beginning of planned economy and substantial progress in economic construction were made before the Five-Year Plan was adopted, it is a fact that the Five-Year Plan represents the most systematic, the highest and most concentrated form of planned economy hitherto applied in the Soviet Union. The Five-Year Plan marks the transition of the period of reconstruction to that of Socialist construction; it is the first general, all-encompassing plan of Socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. and represents a program for lasting reconstruction or else plans of limited scope.

5. We regard the Five-Year Plan as the most effective program for lasting reconstruction of another stage in the development of Socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. and as the basis of our program for lasting reconstruction of another stage in the development of Socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. and as the basis of our program for lasting reconstruction of another stage in the development of Socialist construction in the U. S. S. R.

6. The class relations in the U. S. S. R. are proper, the fact that the U. S. S. R. is today the only workers and peasants Soviet Republic, the growing danger of the Soviet Union, all these factors make imperative the speediest development of heavy industry and the simultaneous lowering of prices to a constant level. This lowering of prices is necessary and unavoidable result of the class struggle in the U. S. S. R. and the organization of a war to the finish to wipe out the kulaks as a class. This lowering of prices is necessary and unavoidable result of the class struggle in the U. S. S. R. and the organization of a war to the finish to wipe out the kulaks as a class.

7. The successful and sound application of the Five-Year Plan adopted at the XV Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. requires the progress of the plan to a whole and of the achievements in agriculture in relation to the Five-Year Plan. The maximum tempo of production, the highest quality of goods, with the simultaneous lowering of prices to a constant level. This lowering of prices is necessary and unavoidable result of the class struggle in the U. S. S. R. and the organization of a war to the finish to wipe out the kulaks as a class.

8. The answer to this question is of greater importance than would otherwise appear. For not only is the Party in helpless isolation in its unemployment work but the same situation exists with regard to our trade union work, our Negro work, etc. (The Communist, May 1931, p. 410)—in fact with regard to the mass work of the Party in general!

The answer is that the general line of mass work of the Party is fundamentally wrong; it is a sectarian ultra-left course. Only such a fundamental shortcoming can account for the self-confessed failure of all the mass work of the Party: It is because the general tactical line of the Party is basically wrong that, as Comrade Bedacht let it slip out, the net result of Party activity is, with the best will in the world, to "choke to death" any signs of organized mass movement (The Communist, May 1931, p. 416).

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In The Communist Party

The Balance Sheet of Failure

It is now nearly two years since the new sectarian course set in with full speed in our Party. It is now about eighteen months that the Party began its intensive unemployment campaign as the major campaign of the Party. Surely the results of the Party course in this most important field of activity are a reliable indicator of the correctness of the Party policies both on this field and in general. An examination of what the Party has achieved in its eighteen months of unemployment activity under the new course would be a very profitable thing for every Party member.

"We have no real organized Unemployed Councils!"—declares the March 26 Organization Bulletin of the New York district. And C. A. Hathaway, one of the new leaders of the Party, assures us that not only is this too true in New York, but that this "state of affairs" is not "confined" to the New York district. Reports from Pittsburgh, Detroit, Philadelphia, Cleveland, and elsewhere indicate that this is quite a general situation. (The Communist, May 1931, p. 409).

In New England, declares Comrade Wagenknecht (Daily Worker, May 4, '31), there exists "just one branch of organized unemployed workers, a branch in central Boston, composed of 25 members." In the Pittsburgh district, Comrade Weiner, in his report to the Polburo on Party work in that district, admits that the unemployed councils "gradually died out." (The Communist, May 1931, p. 415).

In the entire Detroit district there are only two "successful councils," announces Comrade Bedacht in his report on Detroit (The Communist, May 1931, page 416). And so on. That means: After a year and a half of intensive work, there is hardly a single unemployed council in existence in the country—in spite of the fantastic stories spread over the columns of the Party press about their "activities!"

But the complete bankruptcy of the Party in the matter of building up unemployed councils is only one side of the dark picture. In his article in the May Communist, Comrade Hathaway admits a far more fundamental shortcoming. He declares:

... there is almost complete lack of contact... between the Party members and the unemployed workers... Why, even our unemployed Party members are separated from the unemployed workers!

A shocking situation indeed! With a "correct line," with a "revolutionary leadership," with at least a dozen "endorsements" of the Executive, the Party has reached such a pass that, at the time of the most acute unemployment, the Party, and even the unemployed Party members, find themselves completely isolated from the masses of the unemployed!

Isn't it obvious that there must be some deep-seated reasons for such a desperate situation? A Party that has once been the "leader of the workers in fierce battles," that was once just about to make the turn to become a mass Party (that is what the Comintern said of our Party in 1928), now stands isolated from the millions of the unemployed. What can be the reason for this?

Comrade Hathaway writes a whole article on this question in the May Communist. His answer is somewhat vague. He believes that "the major reason... is the lack of real Party direction and leadership thru Party fractions." (1) In another place he finds the isolation of the Party due to "the method of functioning of our Party, to endless inner-Party meetings..." (2) But only a political fool would be satisfied that "the line is absolutely correct" but that "too many inner-Party meetings" has brought the Party into a state of catastrophic isolation.

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Norman Thomas Discovers America! I.

The 'Socialism' of Norman Thomas

by Ben Gitlow

During the presidential campaign Hoover represented the so-called benefits of smog American capitalism to the masses. Hundreds of thousands of American workers and farmers stood open-mouthed and awe-inspired while they were being entranced by the Hooverian monotone in praise of American capitalism, with its "rugged individualism" and "unlimited opportunities." They stood and gaped while Hoover, engineer of the modern efficiency era, the oracle of mass production, emitted, in precise language and the clock-like regularity of the belt system, assurances that prosperity was permanent, that American capitalism had solved the problem of economic crisis, that wages were high, that the American family had benefited from mass production in the accumulation of comforts, ease, and worldly goods never before realized in any other country in the world. Millions of radios, millions of automobiles, millions of bath tubs, vacuum cleaners, washing machines, etc., etc. A paradise realized in our own times based upon steady employment, at high wages, and fair profits to the captains of industry. No class hatreds dividing the people of the country. All Americans! Class conflict practically eliminated and peace reigning supreme between the workers and their employers. Such was the Hooverian appeal, simple, direct and captivating. To the masses went to the polls voted for prosperity, mass production, pork chops, radios, washing machines, bath tubs, and all the rest of the Hooverian advantages of American capitalism. Hoover became president, the stock market boomed. Except for the gang wars, the fire from sawed-off rifles and the din of machine guns, nothing seemed to threaten the tranquility and security of the American scene.

than those gentlemen differ from some of the ones accepted and accepted party marks. One leaves the book wondering just what it is that makes so many Americans so fearful and indignant at that word which Mr. Thomas regards as a synonym for practical virtue—Socialism. In his mouth it sounds, interestingly like common sense.

The reviewer of the Baltimore Sun, Gerald W. Johnson, in the issue of April 4, writing about the radicalism or Socialism of Norman Thomas, even goes so far as to suggest him as the candidate of the Democratic party in 1932! He writes: "If this volume is really the handbook of American Socialism, as one has a clear right to believe, there seem to be few and no great reasons why Mr. Norman Thomas should not be nominated by the Democratic party in 1932. For the radical infection which fevers him is patently less virulent than the Bryanism which the Jackass has survived, and less inductive of gas gangrene than the progressivism of Mr. Hoover. Mr. Thomas is so polite, pacific and urbane a Socialist that it is possible to pick out a dozen quotations from his book which would stand up as twice as shaggy and ten times as uproarious. "Indeed, the only individual contribution which he undertakes in this book is to make to Socialist philosophy is accepted, in principle by such gentry as Henry Ford and Rethick Owen D. Young and Charles M. Schwab, who are hardly ever listed among the flaming evangelists of the Red gospel. This contribution is a simple, direct and captivating appeal to the masses went to the polls voted for prosperity, mass production, pork chops, radios, washing machines, bath tubs, and all the rest of the Hooverian advantages of American capitalism. Hoover became president, the stock market boomed. Except for the gang wars, the fire from sawed-off rifles and the din of machine guns, nothing seemed to threaten the tranquility and security of the American scene.

Then Came the Crash! Then came the crash. Millions unemployed and starving. Farmers reaped, bankrupt and penniless. Millions of the middle men wiped out, forced out of business and into the ranks of the workers.

Permanent prosperity, Hoover's little pet canary, had flown away. In its place came the black crow of economic crisis. The smugness of American capitalism disappeared. Grave doubts entered the minds of even the capitalists as to the permanency and success of their system. These doubts are gnawing at their former optimism, undermining and shattering it. There is a frantic searching for a way out of the black nightmare of the economic crisis which is destroying the security of the capitalist state and anguishing the forces in opposition to it.

But the capitalists need not fear. It is precisely at this time that a knight errant riding on a gallant charger makes his appearance. It is Norman Thomas. His book is his trusty sword. For it is not the pen mightier than the sword? "America way out"—shouts Norman Thomas. "Read it, follow me and be saved from the damnation of the Marxian hordes and Communism."

A Knight Errant Appears But the capitalists need not fear. It is precisely at this time that a knight errant riding on a gallant charger makes his appearance. It is Norman Thomas. His book is his trusty sword. For it is not the pen mightier than the sword? "America way out"—shouts Norman Thomas. "Read it, follow me and be saved from the damnation of the Marxian hordes and Communism."

Norman Thomas is today the outstanding leader of the Socialist party. He represents the transformation that has taken place in the party of Eugene V. Debs. The book of Norman Thomas expresses the dominant position of the party today sheared of its pseudo-Socialist verbiage and phrasology. Norman Thomas is looking the movement in new garments. The verbiage is different, the phrase different. Norman Thomas is bold enough to recognize the substance of the change which has been wrought in the Socialist party in recent years and to proclaim its virtues openly and to champion them enthusiastically.

While the use of liberal phrases and generalities at a time when Matthew Wall and William Green typify the dominant leaders of the organized labor movement give Norman Thomas the appearance of being to the left, he nevertheless represents the extreme reactionary wing in the Socialist party, which a consideration of his views as expressed in his book, to be dealt with in later articles, will prove.

The Reviewers Speak The character of Norman Thomas' program as something foreign, as distinct from Socialism, and as a program agreeable to the capitalists has been generally grasped by the reviewers of Thomas' book. Louis Gannett writing in the New York Herald Tribune on March 24, 1931 gives this estimation: "We have a horror in the word 'Socialism' in America and Norman Thomas is the recognized leader of his party, yet there is nothing in his book which is not advocated by members in good standing of both the Republican and Democratic parties. If you could get their private thoughts on paper, I suspect that Owen D. Young and Dwight W. Morrow would approve more of what Norman Thomas here says than would an orthodox Marxian Socialist such as say, Morris Hillquit. Certainly more than William Z. Foster or Comrade Stalin."

You don't have to be a Socialist to advocate what Norman Thomas stands for. Evidently in the opinion of Gannett there is nothing in Thomas' program to disturb the gentlemen of Wall Street, in fact there is much that they approve. What Gannett says further on is even more instructive, not only to the workers who may have illusions concerning the class character of Thomas program but also to the members of the Socialist party who may recent charging Norman Thomas with being a mild progressive and not a Socialist. Here is what Gannett states—comment is unnecessary. "The old revolutionary leech is gone. This kind of Socialism is simply American progressivism, differing less from that of L. Follmer or Norris, Republicans, or Costigan or even Al Smith, Democrats,

omic determinism is inadequate; he has the same opinion too of the dogma of class conflict. It takes more than a shouting cry to struggle effectively to organize a socialist world," he says. This and his chapter on Communism, an excellent piece of analysis, may help to explain why Mr. Thomas' name is based at Communist meetings in New York. In other words Mr. Thomas intellectually would find himself at home with moderates like Ramsay MacDonald, deGoron, and Briand. Is this Socialism? Then this reviewer answers: "If this be Socialism then there is indeed truth in the remark of the Marquis de Saldanha, speaking in the House of Lords as prime minister a long generation ago: 'We are all Socialists now.'"

The Fruits of Isolation It is then any wonder that the union was so far out of contact with the workers that when the rank and file revolt of the I. L. A. occurred in October and resulted in a strike in Galveston, Houston

and Corpus Christi, the union never knew a thing about it until the day following the walkout? As usual, they got in on the tail-end but due to lack of previous contact, due to the wrong policy of keeping aloof from the I. L. A. instead of forming a left group within that organization and due to the labelling of its members in general as "social-fascist," the influence of the Industrial Union in this strike was worse than nothing. We shall come back to the question of this later in the article. Sufficient to say that a couple of months after this, the hall in Galveston was closed up. A couple of weeks later the local leadership in Houston followed example and closed down the hall and piled themselves into an automobile belonging to the organization and started the old motor up. It probably got stuck some place for to date they have not been heard from. Incidentally they forgot a little matter of about \$4,000.00 each had money supplied by sympathetic individuals when their worthies were arrested for smashing up a bootleg joint and the heating up of a couple of prostitutes over an argument of dollars and cents and value received. About this time Boston and Providence closed down due to lack of support by the seamen who could not understand the necessity of consulting a uptown office clerk on how to organize. But more of this later.

The Story of the Philadelphia Strike Philadelphia. What a glorious opportunity here! What possibilities! The organizers here, with one exception, were men that had had some previous experience in organizing and leading strikes just in this particular industry—MacGrath having taken part in the organization of the Wobblies in Australia, Johansen having taken a prominent part in the organization and strike in this country in 1921, Soderberg being one of seven who built the union in Buenos Ayres, Argentine, in 1919, and took a prominent part in the general strike there in 1920, who also organized the strike in London, England, in 1925. All of these workers have had more or less experience in strikes in the past as well as in organization. There was just one crime these men had committed in the eyes of the Party—they had previously been members of the I. W. W. for years. This was an unforgivable crime and they could therefore not

An Appeal for a United Front

The Frederick Douglas Interracial Forum Offers Its Assistance in the Scottsboro Defense

The following letter was sent by Comrade Francis in the name of the Frederick Douglas Interracial Forum to the International Labor Defense. So far, the I. L. D. has made no answer whatever to this sincere offer of assistance. The attitude the I. L. D. will take to this letter will be an accurate test of the genuineness of the so-called "new turn" the Party is making in the Scottsboro defense tactics.

International Labor Defense New York City Dear Comrades:

Acting in compliance with statements made in the Daily Worker, Saturday, April 25, Page 5, double column 4, to wit:

"The Communist Party has no apology for being the first to fight for these defenseless boys. It called and calls again now for the support of every organization to unite on one issue alone, namely the fight to free the nine Negro boys in Alabama. No matter what differences exist on other questions there is room here for the broadest united front struggle."

The I. L. D. rightly is drawing in to this fight every person willing to fight for the most fundamental rights of the Negro people and the working class, to defeat this brazen and brutal murder which no human being can defend without placing himself side by side with the murderers who so commonly use the burning stake and the lyncher's rope."

I have been directed by the management of the Frederick Douglas Interracial Forum to offer its cooperation in your proposed united front action to save the nine Negro boys of Scottsboro, Alabama, from the electric chair.

We are prepared to cooperate energetically with you in an effort to mobilize all workers regardless of political or other differences in order to paralyze the hands of the legal lynchers. Will you please send us immediately all particulars as to what is expected from organizations cooperating with you on this special issue?

Comradely yours, Rothschild Francis, Secretary Frederick Douglas Interracial Forum

The Wrecking Course Proceeds!

The Crisis in the "Laisve"

From the Declaration of the Lithuanian Opposition Communists

We publish below the most important paragraphs of a declaration recently issued by the opposition group in the Lithuanian revolutionary workers movement in New York. As appears from the facts given in this declaration, this group very probably has the support of the bulk of the readers and followers of the Lithuanian Communist Party paper "Laisve." The declaration shows to what extremes the wrecking course of the present Party bureaucrats is proceeding, not only in the Party but in the sympathetic workers organizations.

of Laisve's shares must be written over to the Central Committee. But this decision did not go through, apparently because the Party discovered that it is not the Laisve shares that controlled the paper as such, because the shareholders themselves, regardless of the number of shares they held, had only one vote. Afterwards all of the editors were questioned and the same was to be done to the technical workers. The question arose why all of this is being done. Harfield explained that the Party Central Committee has decided to exterminate all foreign language workers' "hangouts" and to publish all papers from the Center.

Bimba had controlled Laisve, that day Laisve would not have had a center and could not have been published.

Trying To Force Two Papers on Laisve Last summer an instruction came from the Party leaders that Laisve "at its own expense publish the Spanish party weekly." Such a thing would have cost Laisve \$5000 a year. The pressure from the Party was great, but the conditions during the last summer were so bad that some effect that room be made for two new linotypes to print the Italian. Party papers free of charge.

To the question what they intended to do with all the foreign language workers' home buildings as, for instance, the Laisve, it was answered that the necessary machines would be transferred to the Center, the unnecessary ones sold, and the buildings (other nationalities also have such workers homes) would be transformed where convenient into workers centers where not sold. When all the papers will be published at the center, then all the foreign workers' donations will go to the Daily Worker.

If we had agreed to publish these two weeklies at Laisve we would have had to draw a new mortgage on Laisve for \$10,000 and in another six months there would not have been any Laisve, nor those two weeklies. Would we in this manner have served the cause of Communism? If we were to have no daily thru which to constantly urge the workers to support the Party and its institutions, how would such a situation reflect itself amongst our organizations and its members? As a matter of fact, we would have created a field for a Lithuanian Fascist daily and general demoralization among the workers. An attempt was also made to hang on to us the printing of the Freiheit, but the new instruction was raised in such a despicable manner that it was met with an unconditional refusal. That ended it then and there.

The Money Question Unable to control Laisve by taking over 51% of the shares and not seeing any way of moving it to Union Square, an attempt was made to bankrupt it in order to "prove" thereby, as then announced, that a paper "rejecting Party control remains without energy, vitality, and it means death or development into a counter-revolutionary paper" (Bimba's "Directors' statement in Laisve No. 41, February 18, 1931).

The present leadership of the Party, while making continual appeals for funds, bankrupted one institution after the other, from newspapers to the Party center on Union Square. Greater and greater demands were made upon the Party membership. All Party papers should, of course, be published from the Party center and the Party should control not only the publication but also the technical affairs of all Party papers. But Laisve is not a Party paper but a paper of a Party-sympathetic cooperative. Under such circumstances it is sufficient that the Party have ideological control of Laisve. But when conspiracies are concocted without the shareholders knowledge and the attempt is made to transfer it to the Party or else to bankrupt it, then are we, knowing all this, guilty because we expose this conspiracy? It appears to us that we would really have been guilty before those workers, shareholders and readers who built the Laisve if we had heeded the Bimba clique to hide its work.

Through the whole country only about 150 Lithuanian workers are now left in the party. How It Started Either because of Benjamin's charges or because of the Party leadership's general line, it was announced that all of Laisve's income was to be controlled by the Party "experts." At the same time the Central Committee sent a committee consisting of Dirba, Harfield, etc. who demanded that they be allowed to "examine" all of Laisve's records, assets, the editorial staff, and all the technical workers. The committee raised the question of how to "control" Laisve. Harfield announced that 51%

More—we would have been guilty of betraying the best interests of the working class because it is plain to us that there is a field for a Lithuanian Communist daily today and there will be for at least ten years. We're We Against the Party? We called the caucus for one purpose—to discuss how to prevent the Bimba elements from destroying Laisve. We do not stand for—and no one in our caucus stood for—taking Laisve from the ideological control of the Party. Even in the directors' list we put seven Party members and five non-Party members working in close contact with the Party. At our caucus a resolution was adopted which plainly speaks for the Party. In the Laisve No. 51 Bimba, stating that they will not print any more letters of the opposition, writes: "Imagine what Laisve would have been turned into, if these elements had succeeded in capturing the conference." But why doesn't he state which elements controlled Laisve up to now if not those whom Bimba now calls "enemies of Communism?" (continued in the next issue)

Looking Back Into the Past

THE SOCIALIST TRADE UNION POLICY

by Jack Rubenstein

(Continued from the last issue) Soon after the convention, Bill Haywood was expelled from the Socialist Party without any pretence of the formal democracy which the Socialists demand with such gusto for the enemies of the working class in the Soviet Union. The expulsion was based upon a speech which Haywood made in New York City. Following is a quotation of his speech:

times fallen, of seeking to capture the unions, or forcing their own views upon them by schematic organizations within their ranks and by fictitious attacks on their leaders" (emphasis mine.—J. R.)

Let us return to the recent N. Y. convention of the S.P. whose decisions as adopted foreshadow decisions of the coming national convention that will take place in Milwaukee. To begin with, it is true, as Hillquit declared at this convention, that there are "no fundamental differences" on the trade union question, that the fight is only over the question if the S. P. should have an industrial organizer. The Lee (Hillquit) resolution raises the hope of the A. F. of L. "dominating" the S. P. as an organization. As a matter of fact have not Will and Green dominated the trade union policies of the S. P. without even an effort? Did not the A. F. of L. dominate the S. P. Labor Party policy in 1925 when the S. P. supported the third party candidate, LaFollette? What is this "close fraternal cooperation" between the unions and the party which the S. P. wishes to achieve? Is it the open strike-breaking tactics which were advocated between Mr. Kaufman of the Furrier's Union and Mr. McGrady of the A. F. of L. with the S. P.'s sanction? Or is it cooperation to expel thousands of left-wing workers from the I. L. G. W. U. under the Sigman leadership with S. P. blessings? Or perhaps it is cooperation which comes from S. P. members endorsing Tammany Hall candidates for mayor in order to get the good will of the labor leaders?

Need we add that since then the S. P. has followed a policy of belly-crawling before the official labor bureaucracy? Let us return to the recent N. Y. convention of the S.P. whose decisions as adopted foreshadow decisions of the coming national convention that will take place in Milwaukee. To begin with, it is true, as Hillquit declared at this convention, that there are "no fundamental differences" on the trade union question, that the fight is only over the question if the S. P. should have an industrial organizer. The Lee (Hillquit) resolution raises the hope of the A. F. of L. "dominating" the S. P. as an organization. As a matter of fact have not Will and Green dominated the trade union policies of the S. P. without even an effort? Did not the A. F. of L. dominate the S. P. Labor Party policy in 1925 when the S. P. supported the third party candidate, LaFollette? What is this "close fraternal cooperation" between the unions and the party which the S. P. wishes to achieve? Is it the open strike-breaking tactics which were advocated between Mr. Kaufman of the Furrier's Union and Mr. McGrady of the A. F. of L. with the S. P.'s sanction? Or is it cooperation to expel thousands of left-wing workers from the I. L. G. W. U. under the Sigman leadership with S. P. blessings? Or perhaps it is cooperation which comes from S. P. members endorsing Tammany Hall candidates for mayor in order to get the good will of the labor leaders?

In the coming years of the advancing war danger, the trade union question was relegated somewhat to the background. Other questions of a more fundamental character came to the fore, which divided the revolutionary from the reformist elements. Such questions as the attitude to the war, the betrayal of international Social-democracy, international affiliation, requisites for membership in the Socialist party, were the questions upon which the division took place. The trade union question also figured. With the birth of the Communist movement in 1919 and the subsequent split in 1921, the decisive majority of the revolutionary workers left the S. P. However, the shadow of militancy still haunted the party. This time to be sure it was very weak. The trade union question was still on the order of business. This time the S. P. bureaucracy could speak its mind more frankly. The following is taken in part from the resolution adopted at the 1923 Convention.

If there are no differences on these questions, then indeed there are no fundamental differences; but aren't there? No doubt, the place of every militant worker is in the trade unions which have a mass base, there to fight for class struggle politics. However, it is true, as the 1923 resolution of the S. P. declares, that the attacks on the present "leadership" of the A. F. of L. are "fictitious"? Is it not a fact that the trade unions today are bound body and soul to the parties of big capital? That corruption reeks from every pore of the unions? That the policy of class peace of the Civic Federation reigns supreme? Is it not a fact that John L. Lewis has betrayed the mine workers at every turn of the road and is, at this very moment, arranging to further sell out the miners in Illinois? Did not McMahon betray the textile workers in Danville? Is he not betraying the tinplate carpet workers in Philadelphia at this moment? What has the S. P. leadership to say about the most shameful, blackest betrayal of Tom Mooney? Did not Green sign the "no-strike" pact of Hoover to help business "recover"? Who does not know the reactionary stand of Green and Will and the N. Y. state Federation of Labor on unemployment insurance, a stand which makes pink-tea liberals stand out as reds?

"The Socialist Party especially points out the errors into which sincere but too impatient Socialists or persons reputed to be Socialists have some-

times fallen, of seeking to capture the unions, or forcing their own views upon them by schematic organizations within their ranks and by fictitious attacks on their leaders" (emphasis mine.—J. R.)

LECTURE COURSE

"THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO TO AMERICAN HISTORY"

New Workers School and the John Brown Workers Club SUNDAY AFTERNOONS AT 254 West 135th Street Admission to Single Lecture — 25c Instructors HODGE KIRNON — JIM CORK

he trusted, so Hudson, a man that only a year ago would call anyone a "foreign agitator" on the West Coast, was put in charge of the Party as the only trusted comrade. Soderberg was taken out and put in the "U. L. A. office and later used solely during the election campaign to organize voters at the polls instead of organizing the workers in the industry where he belonged. Johansen was given a couple of weeks "vacation" and finally placed in charge of Baltimore where Harvey had previously spoiled what little chances there were to organize the longshoremen.

However, thru the insistent demands of the longshoremen in Philadelphia, these two organizers were finally put back on the waterfront in Philadelphia. In the month of June these workers had sufficient confidence in the union to line up to the extent of more than 1,000 members—that means one fifth of all the longshoremen were members of the Industrial Union and others were coming in. The longshoremen began talking strike. They wanted an increase in the gangs in the hull and more pay. To show the militancy of these workers we will cite here an occurrence that surprised the Party and consequently afterwards made the Party adopt a line that killed everything. One morning a meeting was held with more than 4,000 longshoremen attending. The police tried to arrest the speaker (Soderberg) but the longshoremen took matters into their own hands and disarmed the cops. A riot call was sent out and over 600 police and two truck loads of Marines had to be called out before the arrest was made. To still prove the militancy of these workers we want to draw the readers attention to the time it took before the meeting was finally broken up. For fully three quarters of an hour the police was unable to get near enough to the speaker to arrest him and many a cop was disarmed during the battle by the longshoremen, Negro and white together.

Continued in the next issue

The Economic Week

THE conclusion of the International Chamber of Commerce Convention finds not even the faintest flicker of a favorable turn in industry. Few have any hope that the New York Federal Reserve Bank's reduction of the discount rate to 1 1/2%, the lowest on record, will prove of any value at all in checking the increasing flow of gold to Wall Street, already suffering from a plethora of this commodity. Nor will the low discount rate stimulate bond sales and thus boost construction and general activity. On the basis of seasonal adjustments, F. W. Dodge reports that the average daily value of awarded construction contracts has declined to a new low record for the present crisis. Steel production continues to fall, having reached 47% of capacity. Unfilled orders for April fell 97,601 tons from March. The auto production has shown some increase recently, the figures for the first four months total only 1,046,391 against 1,514,980 in the corresponding period of last year. The price decline continues unbro-

en for twenty months, now touching the lowest range since the World War. The drop in car loadings is actual as well as seasonal. Electric power production again shows a slight drop. Falling bank clearings and mounting business failures are intensifying the rampant pessimism in Wall Street. Nine of the twelve leading world stock exchanges have, in the past few weeks, lost all their 1931 gains and have already reached lower levels than the bottom of 1930.

On what basis does Hillquit and Lee wish "to operate"? No wonder they do not wish to "dominate" the unions. The S. P. has never in its official declarations or in deeds taken a stand against the present policies of the A. F. of L. The

fact that the "militants" did not clearly point this out in their resolution and denounce the situation in the labor movement in the sharpest manner made it possible for Hillquit to state, apparently successfully, that "there are no fundamental differences in the two resolutions." To the "militants" we say: You cannot expect the working class to judge you by your vague declarations alone. You will in the final analysis be judged by your deeds. To be a revolutionary, one cannot be bound to any formal decisions that separate you from the class struggle. To prove sincerity the "militants" in the S. P. must, wherever they are in the trade unions, band together with the militant left wing workers, and those Communists who stand for a united front on the basis of a class struggle program in these unions. And together they must strive, yes, to win the workers for this program; yes, to "capture" the unions for a militant policy. No doubt, such a course will lead the left wing workers in the S. P. away from the well-defined path which the party has followed for several decades. Well, what of it? Either you choose to go with the belly-crawling policies of Hillquit and Company or with the workers! We should remember the words of Karl Marx: "No! The unions must not be under the dictation of a workers party. But it is certainly essential, if the labor unions are to fulfill their historic task in capitalist society, that the Socialists should work with the greatest energy to lead these organizations along the lines of proletarian struggle." This position is very obviously not the position of the S. P. It is the position of the Communists, the position of the Communist Party (Majority Group).

Revolutionary Age

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THE INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE MEETS IN WASHINGTON

THE eyes of the capitalist world are now turned on Washington. In the conference of the International Chamber of Commerce are gathered the "best brains" of the exploiting classes in a desperate but vain effort to solve the insoluble: the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system.

"Remedies" galore are now being offered by the bankers, manufacturers, economists and engineers of the ruling class for overcoming the crisis. But it is not a solution which these capitalist leaders are preparing, for there is no solution other than the one solution which they dare not and cannot propose. That solution—which is the solution—is the dissolution, the destruction of the whole capitalist system.

But the whole conference, stripped of all its verbiage and camouflage, is really an arena where plans are being laid, and "solutions" prepared which only sharpen and aggravate the inherent fatal contradictions of capitalism. Far more intense competition, still more acute rivalries in the world market, the fertilization of the ground for the next imperialist war—these are in the offing at this conclave of the master minds of the international bourgeoisie. This is the real significance of all the talk about debts, tariffs, peace, the Soviet Union, wage-cuts and civilization.

And it took Wall Street's engineering president, who helped engineer the country into its present abyssal ditch, to let more than one cat out of the bag in his opening speech to the Conference. Hoover "lamented" the fact that the capitalist world spends five billion dollars every year for armaments, has 5,500,000 men under arms and 20,000,000 in reserve. "This vast armament constitutes... a burden upon the economic recuperation of the world," Hoover emphasized. But he soon added: "No one would suggest that national defense should be abandoned."

Why does Hoover talk about armaments at this world economic conference? This is a sort of a war declaration, a challenge to the competing imperialist powers. First of all, Washington wants the European imperialists to spend less on armaments so that they can have more money available for prompt payment of Wall Street's debts. In fact, Hoover's speech was an answer to those who would use the convention to push the idea of cancelling war debts due to the American government. Secondly, Hoover is anxious to reduce French military prowess—one of the pillars of French hegemony on the continent. The recent rapid growth of French imperialism has not been exactly pleasant to the Yankee capitalists. Of course, the warning to France holds good for every other power. These days Uncle Shylock addresses only world audiences.

It was left to Mellon, perhaps the world's wealthiest individual, to put forward Wall Street's domestic program. Mellon confessed that the restoration of "prosperity" should come without wage-cuts "PROVIDED THAT THE PERIOD OF READJUSTMENT IS NOT TOO LONG DRAWN OUT." Could anyone make a more direct plea for wage-cuts than the secretary of the U. S. Treasury did? What did he mean by "too long drawn out"? Surely he meant—provided that the crisis continues after the "sixty days" which Hoover said, some fifteen months ago, would find the unemployment crisis all gone. "Readjustment" is not a new word for the bosses. It was the call for "readjustment of wages" which the Chamber of Commerce inscribed on its banner in 1921, when it led the open-shop and wage-cutting drive. That is just what Mellon is now proposing to the banner-bearers of world capitalism.

But it is the general despair and chaos gripping this conference which is most significant. The message of Sir Arthur Salter of the League of Nations plainly spoke of "the prospect of disaster," "the ever widening circle of depression." A fine how-do-you-do and cheerio to the nervous and dispirited German, French, British and other European capitalist economists who had come all the way to Washington to get hope and courage!

Washington, their lost hope, will only be their worst disappointment. Imperialism is capitalism in decay. Not even the most highly skilled quacks can offer a remedy for the incurable capitalist system. The International Chamber of Commerce can only plan new attacks against the workers, new blows against the Russian Workers' and Peasants Soviet Republic, and a new world war. Such are the solutions for a decadent system. The way out of the whole miserable mess lies in the armies of jobs, the armies of things in capitalist uniforms, the armies of poor farmers, taking hold of soldiers and dealing mortal blows to world capitalism now so hopelessly adrift.

CAMP SOLIDARITY

AFTER all, what are we Communists after but a better, a higher society, a better day world in which all the workers will have all the good and fine things and facilities in life? For this great goal we work, we fight, we give our all. And this fight for a Socialist society is no small matter, is no simple proposition settled in a day.

But in this inspiring struggle for the best things in life for the toiling masses, the workers in the factories must now and then take a rest, get some sunshine, breathe some fresh air for a change, and have some fun all around. This is a necessity not only for being able to fight better but even in order to avoid breaking down. Still, how many workers can afford to pay for a decent rest and vacation? Especially nowadays! Practically none! And how many workers can find their way into or stand the vacation and playgrounds taken by the bourgeoisie? Of course, none!

That's just why a group of workers have organized Camp Solidarity, where working men and working women can have a week's real fun, fine food, first rate housing facilities, beautiful scenery in Ramapo Hills, excellent swimming and rowing, clean surroundings, delightful companionship and sunny other pleasurable features—all for the rock-bottom very small price of only \$14.00 a week! This is the lowest price of any working class camp. No other workers camp in the whole country even approaches to give anything near as much for a higher charge for a week.

And Camp Solidarity is indeed a fitting name for this haven of pleasure for the workers! Every worker, regardless of his political and trade union affiliation, regardless of race, color or creed can come to the camp and get a feeling of real working class solidarity. No mind-stuffing, no heresy-hunting, no insults, or abuse, will haunt or hound him or her at Camp Solidarity.

We cannot urge too strongly every worker in and around New York to register now for a vacation in Camp Solidarity. We recommend it highly. Go out this weekend—in a special excursion and see for yourself the gorgeous camp. The sooner you sign up the better. Our accommodations are limited to insure full comfort. Join the Solidarity Campers and have a real good time so that you can have at least a taste of the good, and better days to come—the today and the tomorrows for which all class-conscious workers are now working their heads off and giving their all.

Strike a note of working class solidarity by registering today for Camp Solidarity.

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SATURDAY MAY 23RD 1931

at NEW WORKERS CENTER

63 Madison Avenue—New York City

Auspices: DOWNTOWN UNIT C.P.U.S.A. (Majority Group)

ADMISSION—35 CENTS

★ NEGRO JAZZ BAND

The Crisis and the Workers

The Social and Economic Consequences of the Crisis

by Jay Lovestone

(Continued from last issue)

Crisis Intensifies Rationalization. Capitalism is hopelessly involved in unsolvable contradictions. The rationalization process under capitalist control lays the basis for deepening economic crises. During these very economic crises, contrary to general opinion, the rationalization process goes on apace. That is what is happening in the present crisis.

While the country is in the throes of its worst economic crisis, while the workers are paying in hunger and misery for capitalist efficiency, the capitalist owners of the biggest corporations are busily laying plans for extending still more the technical development, scientific management, mass production and efficiency—rationalization. Nearly half the machinery in the American factories today is over ten years old. The capitalists are taking advantage of the much-lowered prices for raw materials especially to rebuild their machinery.

The steel magnates are enlarging their plants. In 1930, a year of acute economic crisis, the facilities for steel ingot production increased by 3,829,550 tons and for pig iron by 1,003,195 tons, according to the American Iron and Steel Institute. This was the greatest annual increase since the war boom of 1915. Even during the war years of 1916-18 the expansion of steel plants was not so big as it was during the crisis year of 1930. The reason for this is obvious. It is more economical to carry out plant expansion and modernization in crisis times than in prosperity.

In the automobile industry rationalization is making very big headway precisely at this moment when operations are falling. This trend is evident not only in steel and automobiles but in all industries. The convention of the American Chemical Society reported, on April 3, 1931, that at present only one-half of one percent of its 18,500 members are out of work. Compare this rate of unemployment with that prevailing amongst the great mass of workers. No more striking evidence could be produced to show how the financiers and industrialists are now increasing their research and scientific staffs for the extension of rationalization, precisely when in many industries at least half the workers are jobless. While the number of semi-skilled and unskilled workers and in numerous instances even skilled workers is declining, the number employed in technical and scientific research, in the process of extending rationalization, is constantly increasing.

4. Tendency to wipe out skill lines. The economic crisis stimulating the extension of rationalization only serves as an additional force for wiping out skill lines. The extension of mass production, the increasing use of large scale machinery, tends to make skill more and more superfluous. This means an increasing number of women and children in industry. This means a further wiping out of the skill lines.

5. Causes a shifting in jobs: Unemployment causes a wide-spread shifting in jobs. It makes the labor force much less stable. This brings about considerable waste in industry. The efficiency of the labor power supply is undermined. For the worker it means more hardships. It has been shown that even in periods of so-called economic "normality" it takes, on the average, at least five months to get a new job and to adjust oneself to it. Besides, the transition from one type of work to another type of employment usually means a serious loss of income.

Wiping Out The Middle Class

6. Tendency to wipe out middle class. The unemployment crisis is a powerful force not only for undermining the employment and living conditions of great masses of workers but also for wiping out the economic position of a large section of the middle class. Mass production means mass competition. The competition today is no longer between or among small shopkeepers but rather between and among industrial giants, between trusts and trusts and sometimes between industries and industries (steel versus lumber, coal versus water-power).

As the crisis proceeds to intensify rationalization, it weeds out the poorer and less efficient capitalists, the weaker corporations. The capitalists suffering most from intense competition are precisely those most directly dependent on the workers' daily consumption, such as: store-keepers, small shopkeepers, petty merchants. For instance, in the coal fields where unemployment has brought incalculable ravages on the workers' standards, the small dealers dependent for their existence primarily on sales to the miners, have been wiped out in many instances. The same can be said for the petty bourgeoisie who operate in working class centers in the big cities.

In his study of primary accumulation Marx made a penetrating analysis of this process when he pointed out that:

"This expropriation is brought about by the operation of the inherent laws of capitalist production, by the centralization of capital. One capitalist lays a number of his fellow capitalists low. Hand in hand with such centralization, concomitantly with expropriation of many capitalists by a few, the cooperative form of the labor

process develops to an ever-increasing degree; thereby we find a growing tendency towards the purposive application of science to the improvement of technique; the land is more methodically cultivated; the instruments of labor tend to assume forms which are only utilizable by combined efforts; the means of production are economized, thus being turned to account only by joint, by social labor. . . . While there is thus a progressive diminution in the number of the capitalist magnates who usurp and monopolize all the advantages of this transformative process, there occurs a corresponding increase in the mass of poverty, oppression, enslavement, degradation and exploitation; but at the same time there is a steady intensification of the wealth of the working class— a class which grows ever more numerous, and is disciplined, unified, and organized by the very mechanism of the capitalist method of production. Capitalist monopoly becomes a fetter upon the method of production which has flourished with and under it. The centralization of labor reach a point where they prove incompatible with their capitalist nature. This has been the case since the capitalist private property sounds. The expropriation are expropriated."

Because of the heavy fall of commodity prices, particularly raw materials, because of the declining internal market due to aggravated unemployment, the agricultural crisis takes on still more serious proportions and hundreds of thousands of farmers, a very important section of the middle class, lose their land and their property, are expropriated and driven into the industrial reserve army of capitalism, into the army of unemployed, propertyless and hungry.

7. Increasing concentration of wealth. The convention of the United States Chamber of Commerce, just concluded at Atlantic City, decided to launch a campaign for the abolition of the remnants of the anti-trust laws. This drive will, in reality, not concern itself so much with the threadbare statutory limitations of trusts but will really center itself on an aggressive policy to advance monopoly domination in the country. Undoubtedly trustification will be offered as the remedy for getting the return to prosperity, for ending the economic crisis. We have seen that it is the most powerful corporations which stand the adversity of the economic crisis best. Thus, according to Moody's 1931 Bank & Financial Manual, one hundred of the largest banks in the United States paid higher dividends in 1930, although their earnings were less than in 1929. These financial giants used 72.1% of their profits for paying dividends. In 1929 they paid only 56.9% of their profits for dividends. Because of their huge reserves the powerful banks and industrial corporations weather the storm, while the small ones fall by the wayside. In this fashion concentration is considerably advanced in industrial and finance capital. Professor Donham estimates this trend in the following fashion:

"No self centered monopoly was ever more ruthless in its drive to concentrate out of existence than is a serious crisis in weakening and destroying the market of the masses. It has not merely brought the gap between the secure and the insecure widens dangerously."

8. Rapid extension of state capitalism. The economic crisis, the rising unemployment, compel the ruling class to resort to certain measures aiming to lessen the intensity to weaken the impact of the breakdown in industry and exchange. The construction of public works is one of the most frequently resorted-to methods whereby the bourgeoisie hope to check the mounting of the army of unemployment. The government reports to heavy expenditures in order to employ some workers on public

works. This is merely an extension of the state capitalist enterprises, a further development of state capitalism. In this fashion the government itself becomes the direct employer of thousands of thousands of workers. Colonel Arthur Woods, Chairman of the Emergency Employment Committee, has announced on April 27th, that contracts for public works since last December totalled \$1,284,845,045. This huge extension of state capitalist enterprises does not at all solve the unemployment crisis but tends to deepen the inherent contradictions of capitalism. For instance, it tends to lay a broader, a more general, a more political basis for the class struggle thru bringing many thousands of workers into direct contact with the government as a capitalist employer.

9. Hastens development of rentier class: The sundry so-called capitalist relief measures speed-up the development of a huge rentier class—a class which fulfills no other role in capitalist economy except the role of mere coupon-clippers. However, this trend assumes far bigger dimensions as the government increases its public works projects. The extension of public works means a further flotation of tax-exempt bonds by the various government bodies.

Within the last 15 years there has been a constant increase in the volume of tax-exempt bonds issued by the Federal, State, Municipal and County governments. From June 30, 1913 to June 30, 1928 the total volume of net outstanding issues of tax-exempt securities rose from \$4,597,000,000 to \$16,804,000,000. The tax-exempt securities are now increasing at the rate of one billion dollars a year, according to the last report of the U. S. Treasury Department.

By September 1930 this volume reached the total of \$19,872,000,000. Today, the total amount of wholly tax-exempt securities owned by the capitalists is well over 20 billion dollars. Here we have a huge amount of money controlled by the bosses who do not even have the minimum burden of paying taxes. They are a hundred percent parasites. The growth of this rentier class is one of the most significant manifestations of stagnation and decay, of parasitism, in the capitalist system. Marx thus emphasized the importance of this trend in his analysis:

"The public debt becomes one of the most powerful stimuli of primary accumulation. With the wave of an enchanter's wand, the funds of the nation, with the power of reproduction, thus transforming it into capital, and this without the risk and the trouble inseparable from its investment in industrial undertakings, and even from putting it out upon usury. The creditors of the State, in actual fact, surrender nothing for the money that they lend; it is transformed into public debt, easily negotiable, bonds which for practical purposes can serve as much hard cash. Furthermore, the system of national debt has not merely multiplied, by these means, a class of idle bond holders; it has not merely brought into being the improvised wealth of financiers who play the part of middlemen between the government and the nation; it has not merely originated the tax farmers, the merchants, and the private manufacturers, to whom a spool's share of every national loan accrues as capital fallen from heaven. In addition, it has given rise to joint-stock companies, to dealing in negotiable securities of all kinds, to stock-jobbing in a word to gambling on the stock exchange and to the modern bankruptcy."

All capitalism is in a maze of hopeless contradictions. One begets another and another many more. And every "solution" only aggravates the very illness which it is supposed to cure and spreads the infection of decay in the entire body of capitalist economy. (Concluded in the next issue)

How Much Do Workers Save?

One of the favorite arguments given by economists like Professor Cassart to prove that the American workers are slowly but surely becoming capitalists is the supposed "gigantic savings" of the wage-earners of this country. Bourgeois statisticians are never tired of pointing to the huge increases in the sums of savings deposits. But never a word is said of

Table with columns: DEPOSITS IN SAVINGS BANKS AND SAVINGS DEPARTMENTS OF STATE BANKS AND TRUST COMPANIES OF CONNECTICUT YEAR ENDED SEP 30, 1929. Columns include Deposits, No. Depositors, % Depositors, Amount Deposits, % Deposits, Aver. Deposits.

how these savings are distributed among the various social classes. And hitherto it has been difficult to form any conclusion in this direction because of the absolute lack of such information. As a matter of fact, only one state publishes statistics as to the distribution of savings accounts—the state of Connecticut. But fortunately Connecticut is a very significant state, being representative of the highly industrial states in the United States. And what do the figures for Connecticut show us?

What do we see? Less than one-half of one percent of the total depositors—the very richest—possess more than 10% of the total savings. Just 8% of the total depositors—those at the other!

BOOKS

WORLD MINERALS AND WORLD POLITICS, A Factual Study of Minerals in their Political and International Relations, by C. K. Leith. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1931.

"The metallurgical industry . . . now plays the role of the most important leading industry in the economic life of all first-class industrial countries—the role, so to speak, of the central industrial star, around which, like planets around the sun, there revolve the other important branches of the capitalist economy of the largest states."

Thus wrote Pavlovich in his well-known book, Foundations of Imperialist Policy. This absolutely correct characterization of the significance of minerals in the world economy of imperialism indicates the great importance of the subject matter of Professor Leith's book. The treatment, although somewhat popular and frequently sketchy, is adequate and unusually interesting. The author first portrays in broad strokes the "new elements in the mineral picture", that is, the elements in the situation that have emerged since the World War. Then comes a brief consideration of the mineral position of the various nations and of the possibilities of the future geography of mineral resources. Professor Leith comes to the conclusion that for most minerals there is either very little prospect of geographic changes for a very long time or else such changes are now going on very slowly. Only in oil geography will changes be faster and more considerable.

"The discussion of what 'the nations are doing politically'—that is, of the 'mineral policies' of the various imperialist powers—is very superficially done; it makes no attempt to probe beneath the surface of the empty official declarations of the governments involved. Yet even here a significant idea or two may be found."

The absolutely overwhelming importance of minerals and mineral economy in war is surely obvious to everyone. "Any nation may start a war," comments Professor Leith, "but capacity to sustain it effectively under modern conditions is about commensurate with its industrial power based on minerals, particularly the mineral fuels, iron, copper, lead and zinc. The time has gone when military strength can be measured mainly by the number of men available." Whatever reservations may justly be made to this statement, its general validity must nevertheless be recognized. Professor Leith is quite frank in his discussion of minerals as causes of war. The growing acuteness of the rivalries for minerals between the various imperialist powers is briefly described and the conclusion reached that:

"There is nothing in sight to indicate that the force of these international rivalries for minerals will diminish in the near future. On the contrary, the increasing consumption of minerals and the growth of large commercial and political units of control . . . intensifies the contest."

"With the rapid concentration of commercial and political control," the author points out, "there has come a narrowing of the fields of controversy, thru greater intensity of rivalry in these fields." Therefore Professor Leith dismisses as "utopian" the silly ultra-imperialist fantasy that "complete integration" will lead to the elimination of minerals as a source of war. What happens is just the contrary, the intensification of imperialist mineral rivalries and the growing elements of war danger in these rivalries.

Nothing illustrates in such striking manner the fact that capitalism has already become a serious fetter upon the development of the forces of production than the economics and politics of world minerals today. The geographic distribution of mineral resources and the technological requirements of their utilization are such as to imply a closely integrated world economy. Considered from the viewpoint of a rational economy, it is apparent from the facts supplied by Professor Leith that, at the present stage of economic development, the whole world forms a single economic unit—not simply a commercial unity bound together by the world market, but an actual producing unit united by the demands of modern industrial technique.

But, under the rule of capitalism, world economy is not organized on a conscious rational basis; the capitalist economy is an anarchistic economy in its foundations no matter how "organized". The contradiction between the productive unity of the world and its essential economic-political disunity under capitalist imperialism is fundamental. The bourgeoisie attempts to "overcome" this contradiction and yet maintain the sacred foundations of capitalism, thru the fierce and frequently bloody competition of national trust monopolies and international groupings, thru the mad race for colonies and the ruthless exploitation of "backward" peoples—which Professor Leith, following Mahan, regards as the natural right of "civilization" (i.e., of imperialism). But such "solutions" solve nothing; they merely aggravate the contradiction. . . .

No Red Paint Allowed. The purity of bourgeois art has been saved from the corrupting effects of Soviet "dumping", by a decision of the Swiss Federal Council to refuse to admit Soviet art to the "International" Art exhibition at Berne in 1934.

Boston Preserves the Decencies. Police Superintendent Mike Crowley of Boston says he is a great admirer of Gandhi and will give him a grand welcome if he comes to Boston. "We shall insist that Gandhi be suitably clothed. We can't let any man appear in the streets of Boston in very much less than a one-piece bathing suit."

BETWEEN HAMMER AND ANVIL

Forciding the Divorce Factory. The mills of "justice" in America are notorious for the exceeding slowness with which they grind out their processes, but in Reno divorces are being filed at the rate of one every two minutes and cases heard and settled by the belt conveyor system, one every five minutes. Cash registers are clanking merrily \$20 every even minute for complaint fees and \$10 every odd minute for answer fees. Every lawyer in Reno, from the Federal District Attorney down to the last shyster, is working overtime and raking in the shekels like doctors during an influenza epidemic.

The new divorce law requires a six week's residence and the leaving of a goodly sum of money in Reno as the only requisites for a divorce. A lump sum fee has been arranged covering railroad fare, hotel, amusements, filing fees, admission to local gambling houses, sight-seeing trips and other forms of "consolation" for a lonely and broken heart (provided it is not joined with an empty and broken purse). Arrangements will soon be perfected to buy your divorce with all trimmings, first, second or third class, at the Grand Central Station or any Cooks' Tour Agency. There will be no attempts to hire substitutes to go through the divorce-vacation-sightseeing trip, for the consolation arrangements are charming and Reno is a lovely and thoughtful business country which includes such rapid divorce laws as that of New York which permits divorce only for proved adultery after a public scandal, the popularity of Reno, the Queen of Nevada, is bound to grow.

A Lesson in Economics. Bourgeois economics holds the theory that commodities gain in value by just changing hands. Each middle man adds to a commodity's value by giving it "possession utility." Now we have convincing proof of the correctness of the theory. When the Board of Education is about to buy a site for a new school, it notifies various subcontractors, they buy the sites themselves, double or treble the price, and then resell it to the city. Thus they have added a few million dollars "possession utility" and the city gets more valuable land for its schools.

It's a Shame! The day after Secretary of Commerce Lamont told the U. S. Chamber of Commerce that wise and effective government measures were beginning to bring back prosperity and a rising market, U. S. Steel took a new low dive to 117 carrying the whole market with it. There ought to be a law against making such a fool of out of a cabinet minister!

Out America Philosophers. The American Philosophical Society, founded by Benjamin Franklin, has just elected Dwight W. Morrow; Willis R. Whitney, vice-president of the General Electric; Frank B. Kellogg and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., as members. Problem: How many millions equals one philosopher? How many dinars did it cost John D. Rockefeller to get his Sunday School teacher son of Colorado massacre fame in? How did nervous Nellie Kellogg get in? Why did they discriminate against Al Capone and Jimmie Walker? Come to think of it! What the hell is a philosopher anyway?

Matthew Wolf Must Be Thirsty! "Our nation," said Matthew Wolf last week, "cattle into being through a violent disregard of law and order. The Negro was freed by bloody strife, in complete disregard of law and order. Labor unions came into being through disregard of law and order."

Quick! Quick! The Ham and Fish Committee. "As a people we are too patiently submissive to unwise, untoward and unjust legislation," Rep. James M. Beck. You needn't think this last-ditch defender of the Constitution has suddenly discovered that that document is untoward and unjust. He is only talking about one amendment.

They Should All Get Halos. It now turns out that those sweet and tender angels of mercy, the American boarders in Nicaragua, kept their wings well hidden while "relieving" the earthquake-stricken inhabitants. Professor Lombardo Toledano of the National University of Mexico, who was in Managua at the time, reports that the Marines sacked Managua after the earthquake, dynamited safes and killed persons trying to enter their homes. They were only "restoring order" and putting the quaking earth back to sleep.

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Isn't Crowley the same fellow who arrested a woman because he caught her giving birth to a naked baby? B. D. W.