

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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TEACHERS RESENT CHURCH TRAINING

Union Passes Resolution; Atheists Ask for Same Rights to Teach

NEW YORK CITY—The Teachers Union sent a formal protest on June 14 to George J. Ryan, president of the Board of Education, against the permission given by the Board of Education to introduce religious teaching in two New York high schools, to be followed by extension to all institutions later on.

At the same time the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism demanded the right to teach Bible classes among school children on equal terms with Catholics, Protestants and Jews. The Association very vigorously declared that it had a special viewpoint on religion and the Bible and that it was entitled to exactly the same privileges in spreading it as the religious organizations.

The Board of Education has not yet replied to this request. Only about 120 out of the 12,000 pupils of the two city high schools in which religious teaching is now permitted have filled in blanks indicating their intention of enrolling in such classes.

VERA CRUZ FIXES CURB ON PRIESTS

Legislature Puts Quota on Number; Clericals To Resist Law

MEXICO CITY—The recent law of the Vera Cruz legislature limiting the number of Roman Catholic priests to one per 100,000 of the population is to be defied by the Roman Catholic priests, according to reports on June 22.

The law was passed in an attempt to put a curb upon the reactionary influence of the clericals who constitute a strong support of the landowners. The law is very popular with the peasant masses.

The priests have appealed to the Federal government which seems anxious to help them. No steps have been taken as yet, however.

CAPONE PLEADS GUILTY IN CHI.

Expects 3 Years Sentence; End Foreshadowed by Thompson Fall

CHICAGO—Al Capone has pleaded guilty to the three Federal indictments raised against him. Two of these indictments charge evasion of income taxes and the other systematic violation of the prohibition law. The sentencing of Capone is set for the near future. Altho Capone is liable to over thirty years in prison and to fines totalling tens of thousands of dollars, it is generally expected that his sentence will not extend beyond three years.

The check in the astonishing career of Alphonse (Scarface) Capone, a check that may well lead to his ultimate downfall, is everywhere closely associated with the recent defeat of the Thompson forces in Chicago municipal politics. Capone and his organization constituted an integral part of the Thompson political machine in Chicago and derived its political power and protection from this connection. But apparently even Capone's efforts could not save Thompson from defeat—and now Capone is reaping the consequences.

With Capone temporarily out of the picture, the far-reaching enterprises which he directed and organized (bootlegging, gambling and racing rackets, labor rackets, "protection" rackets, etc.) will now come under the control of another master racketeer with more fortunate political connections. For, it must be remembered, all the talk of the Federal agencies about "smashing" racketeering and "ending" bootlegging is neither sincerely meant nor possible of execution. Both racketeering and bootlegging are inevitable outgrowths of present social conditions and have their roots deep in American capitalist development. Only a radical transformation of the social system can end them.

Boost and Build the Weekly Age

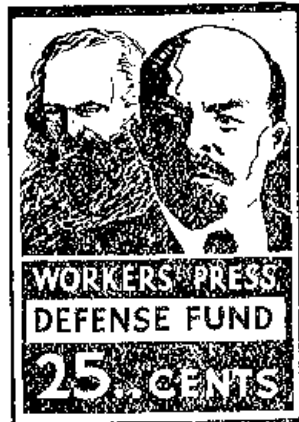
The A to Z of It

Well, things are not at all well. For the moment, it seems the bottom has fallen out of the subscription drive. Except for the coal fields of Western Pennsylvania and for Philadelphia, subs have practically ceased coming in.

If this condition doesn't change right away, if things don't take a turn for the better immediately, there will be no use even of our talking about our troubles. We are not making any threats. Then there will be no use talking any more. The campaign is now more than half over. But we haven't gotten anywhere near fifty percent of the quota. To date, we have secured only over 1,300 points. This means that we have only about 30% of our quota so far. With such results—which are no results—it is impossible for us to get anywhere or anything. Such activity or rather lack of activities can only doom the REVOLUTIONARY AGE.

Apparently the comrades and workers have not yet realized the gravity of the crisis the REVOLUTIONARY AGE is in today. Obviously not enough of our supporters appreciate sufficiently the importance of the REVOLUTIONARY AGE case in the U. S. Supreme Court. One of these days you'll wake up and find a decision handed down which will strike a mortal blow against the whole

working class press. The weaker we are in this fight, the less support we have, the greater the likelihood of the Supreme Court putting over such a drastic anti-working class decision. Already, the actions of the Post Office Department and the decisions of the District and Federal Courts of Appeal has inflicted severe losses on the REVOLUTIONARY AGE which have made things very much harder for us.



WORKERS' PRESS
DEFENSE FUND
25 CENTS

The A to Z of it all is that the REVOLUTIONARY AGE must have quick relief—AND MUCH MORE OF IT. More subs at once would go a long way. But even the smallest donation will be of real help. So here is your chance. Buy now a Workers' Press Defense Fund Stamp. It's only 25 cents. Get your friend and shopmate to do the same. Buy at least one stamp. Speedy action and plenty of it is what we need—and right away.

Will you do your duty to your class?
Will you get on the job to get more subs?

Will you telegraph some money to help us out of the severe financial crisis?

If you don't, nobody else will. And this means that there will happen what you don't want to happen.

It's entirely up to you. We put the case very plainly to you. Now to work!

CORTES ELECTION ON JUNE 28

Four Big Blocs in Running Communists, Divided, to Run 53 Candidates

Latest reports from Madrid indicate that Major Ramon Franco, well known republican revolutionist and Director General of Aeronautics under the new regime, was removed from his office and placed under arrest by the Zamora government because of Franco's revolutionary propaganda on the eve of the election. Franco is declared to be sympathetic to Communism.

MADRID—Final preparations are now under way for the elections to the Constituent Cortes to take place on June 28, 1931.

Twenty-five parties are in the field with over 1,100 candidates for the 470 seats in the Cortes. These parties are grouped in four main blocs. At the extreme right are the open monarchists who have only been able to put up ten candidates, so discredited is their cause among the masses. Next comes the "Republican right" bloc, consisting of the bulk of the former monarchists (who still remain monarchist in sentiment altho they do not dare to appear so openly) as well as the extremely reactionary bourgeois republicans. The "Republican-Socialist alliance," the mainstay of the present coalition, embracing the bourgeois republicans and the Socialists is the leading group in the situation. Together these two latter groups have between them the overwhelming majority of the candidates. At the extreme left are the scattered and divided Communists who have not been able, unfortunately, to put forward more than 53 candidates. The Communists are divided into two main groups: the official Communist Party and the Catalan Communist Federation, recently expelled by the leadership of the Comintern. In addition to the above mentioned blocs and groups there are numbers of small parties and associations in the elections.

DENY NEW TRIAL TO NEGRO BOYS

Judge Hawkins Rejects Plea of Scottsboro Victims; I.L.D. Pushes Case

Judge A. E. Hawkins has denied new trials to the eight Scottsboro Negro boys who were recently sentenced to death by a legal lynch-court for an alleged attack upon two white girls. The attorneys of the International Labor Defense immediately filed notice of an appeal to the Alabama Supreme Court.

The eight Negro boys were sentenced to death by the Alabama Court after a trial that resembled a lynching in all respects. During the trial, and even before it, it became obvious to every fair-minded person that all evidence pointed to the innocence of the boys and that they were being sent to death for the sole "crime" of being Negroes. The I. L. D. immediately took up the case and organized a country-wide campaign in defense of these victims of racial prejudice and lynch law. From the very beginning it was clear that only a powerful united protest movement, embracing the masses of the white workers and farmers, the Negro people, and all liberty-loving elements, could save the eight Negro boys from the electric chair.

2 Killed, Many Wounded As Coal & Iron Police Attack Miners

Ohio Miners Demonstrate Solidarity by March to Penn. Coal Fields; Troopers Rush from Wilkes Barre to Strike Areas; "Deportation" Doak Steps In

Pinchot's Coal and Iron Police and the hired gunmen of coal companies are running wild in the West Pennsylvania strike area. Several workers have been murdered and a number have been seriously wounded after an attack by the coal and iron police and the Fayette county deputies on the highway at Arnold City.

This terror is not breaking the fighting morale of the striking miners who are battling with great militancy. The Ohio miners are preparing to demonstrate their solidarity with the starving Pennsylvania coal diggers by marching to the coal fields of Allegheny and Washington counties.

Pinchot is showing his hand openly now. He has just declared:

"I have ordered additional State police into Western Pennsylvania to protect lives and property. . . . Yesterday I signed two anti-strike

injunction bills which represent one of the greatest forward movements in labor legislation yet taken and they put Pennsylvania at the head of all States in this matter."

From Wilkes Barre there just departed sixteen state troopers from the headquarters of Troop B, State Police at Wyoming, Pa. The troopers are being rushed by automobile.

Horses are being transferred in motor driven horse cars in order to speed up their arrival to the strike zone. In Ohio the terror against the strikers is being intensified. In the ranks of the workers there is a growing feeling and demand for unity and cooperation of all workers and their organizations in the strike in order to present a common front against the operators, Governor Pinchot and the Lewis machine.

Secretary of Labor Bill Doak, called Deportation Doak, is preparing to step into the strike zone to arrange a sell-out settlement.

KRESEL INDICTED FOR PERJURY

Grows Out of Bank of U. S. Financial Scandal

The grand jury in New York County has just handed down an indictment of Isidore Kresel for perjury. The indictment grows out of the Bank of U. S. scandal. Mr. Kresel was the chief investigator of all corruption, dishonesty, and irregularity in New York courts.

The indictment of Mr. Kresel, who is a man of high standing before the bar and of considerable influence in New York financial and political circles, has created a profound impression.

The trial on the perjury indictment will very likely precede the trial on Mr. Kresel's indictment growing out of the crooked work in the Bank of U. S. crash.

PROGRESSIVE LEAGUE IN UNITY APPEAL

United Progressive League of Local 1 Issues Declaration on Unity

Under the title "We Call to Unity!" the United Progressive League of Local 1, (Cloakmakers), I.L.G.W.U., has issued a leaflet opening as follows: "The United Progressive League, a left group in Local 1, already in existence for about eight months, appeals to the newly organized 'Left Cloakmakers Group,' (the T.U.U.L. group.—Editor), to the official left wing movement and to every left wing worker for unity."

The leaflet then proceeds to describe the conditions in the trade emphasizing the point that in such conditions disunity and confusion must not be permitted in the ranks of the workers. "It is the duty of each and everyone of us to declare to the workers so clearly that there can be no misunderstanding that our task is to build up the union to which the great mass of the workers belong. It is our belief that only when the left and progressive groups and elements are united on the basis of a constructive program of building the union . . . will we be able to win back our lost conditions . . . and to remove the leadership of the right wing clique and its harmful policies . . ."

The leaflet concludes: "We therefore propose the following points as a basis for unity between all left and progressive groups and elements: (1) For an immediate struggle to win back the lost union conditions. (2) For one union in the industry. (3) For a struggle against the boss, a struggle based upon a class line, against class collaboration. (4) For a struggle against persecutions and expulsions on account of political opinions or activities. (5) For the shop delegate system. (6) For complete proportional representation to joint boards and conventions. (7) For renunciation of the cloak and dress joint boards. (8) For the renunciation of Operators Locals 1 and 17. "Around such a program and with the correct tactics must we merge and unite all left groups and progressive elements."

"Are you ready to do this?"
"We, on our part, are ready!"

Socialist Party Members in Sharp Protest Against Hillquit's Anti-Soviet Activities

Circle No. 1, Y. P. S. L., Bronx, Unanimously Condemns S. P. Leader; Indignation Grows As Extent of Hillquit Scandal Becomes Known

By a unanimous vote Senior Circle No. 1 (Bronx) of the Young Peoples Socialist League adopted a strong resolution condemning the conduct of Morris Hillquit in accepting the position as lawyer for monarchist Russian interests in an attempt to have the American courts declare the Russian Revolution "illegal." The resolution, passed at the meeting of June 25, follows:

WHEREAS, Morris Hillquit, chairman of the Socialist Party and one of our most

influential leaders, has accepted the position as counsel for reactionary Russian interests who are suing the Standard Oil and Vacuum Oil on the ground that these two companies are dealing with the Soviet Union which has "unlawfully" taken away the oil properties from the former capitalist owners; and

WHEREAS, the fact that Comrade Hillquit has accepted this case, as champion of the expropriated Zionist exploiters, puts both Hillquit and the Socialist

(Concluded on page 2)

Racketeering and Sell-Out Agreements Hillmanism in Amalgamated

by Ben Gitlow

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of New York, the union organization of the men's clothing industry of the city, is today receiving plenty of publicity in the press. Sidney Hillman, the president of the Amalgamated, is now endeavoring to establish a reputation as the courageous fighter against the racketeers in the industry. The president of the Amalgamated is the double-faced man of the labor movement. To the outside public at large, he appears as the progressive, honest, force in the labor movement. To the workers the rank and file he is a crafty, unscrupulous, scheming boss of the organization, whose policies are for converting the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America into a servile, passive instrument of the bosses, reeking with gangsterism, racketeering and corruption.

THE CONDITIONS IN THE INDUSTRY
Today the conditions for the workers in the industry, especially in New York, are such that they could not be worse. Workers receive starvation wages. The speed-up is terrific. Unemployment is very acute. There are no standards, no prices, no conditions for the workers. The union is dominated by a most vicious ring of corrupt officials in league with the underworld. The labor bureaus are crowded with men destitute, penniless and starving. The unemployment insurance fund is used for grafting purposes. Shops are reorganized. Workers are thrown out at will. The army of the unemployed is steadily being increased. Wages are continually being reduced. The union, thru a staff of efficiency engineers helps the bosses to reorganize their plants, reduce overhead and increase profits—all at the expense of the workers. In the union organization gangsterism and terrorism

reign supreme. Workers who criticize the administration are intimidated, expelled, discriminated against and deprived of their jobs. The situation can be best understood by the glaring fact that since 1917 the union has not called out one general strike in the New York market. Fourteen years of inaction, of allowing the very foundation of the organization to be undermined, typifies the policies of the Hillman administration. The latest developments in the Amalgamated prove conclusively that the conditions prevailing in the Amalgamated are due to the policies of the Hillman administration.

THE FORTY-FOUR HOUR WEEK
ISSUE

The facts:
Three conventions of the Amalgamated have gone on record for the 40-hour week. The rank and file workers thru

(Continued on page 3)

DEMAND OUSTING OF BRODERICK

W. K. Macy Asks Official's Removal in Connection With Bank of U. S.

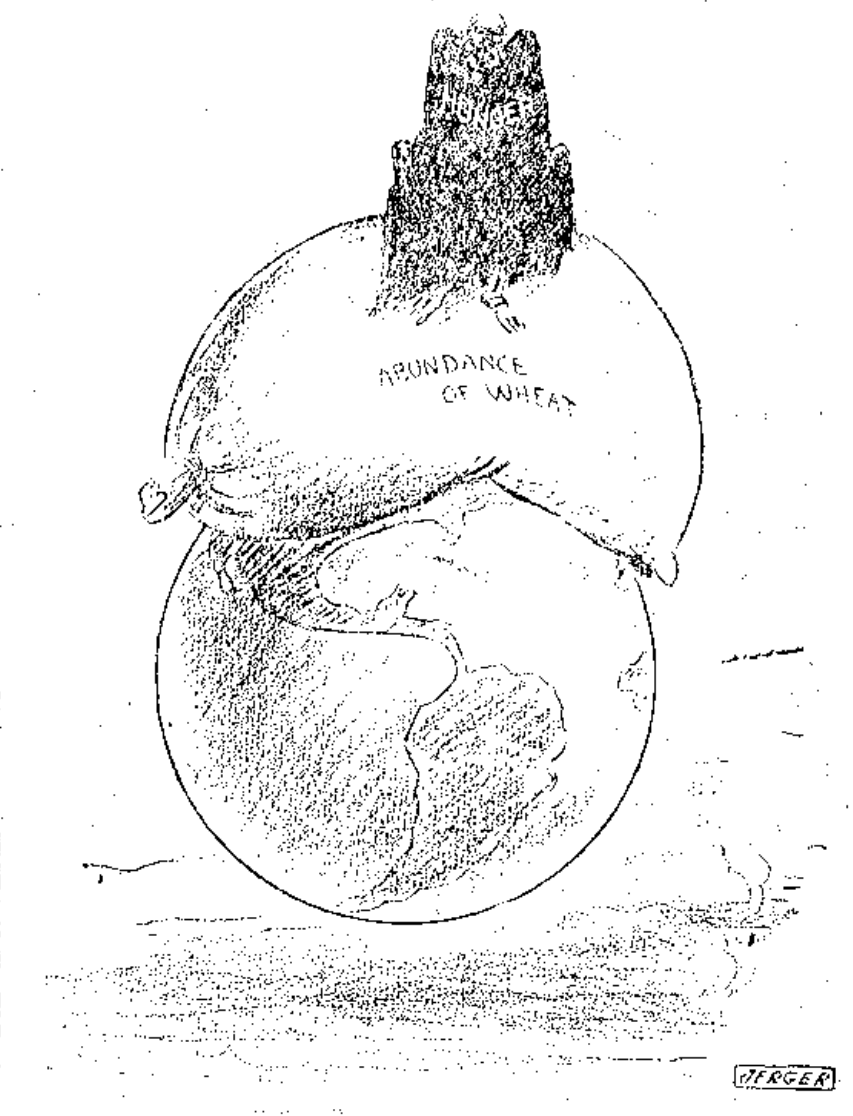
W. K. Macy, chairman of the Republican State Committee has made an official formal request on Governor Roosevelt for the immediate removal of Joseph A. Broderick, State Superintendent of Banks.

The complaint of Mr. Macy definitely charges Mr. Broderick with full responsibility for the swindle and fraud in the Bank of U. S. crash. As reported some months ago in the Revolutionary Age it was indicated that Broderick would be the final target in the big steal put over by Kresel as chief manipulator for the Board of Directors of the Bank of U. S.

Already Marcus and Singer, president and executive vice-president of the Bank of U. S., have been convicted and sentenced for from three to six years. They are now out on

(Continued on page 2)

BELIEVE IT OR NOT!



Picnic and Dance, Saturday, July 25, Clinton Park, Maspeth, L. I.

Left Wing Struggle Develops In the Anthracite

by Frank Vratario

Comrade Vratario is the best known and most influential Communist in the Anthracite mining fields. He has just been elected by unanimous vote vice-chairman of Local 466, United Mine Workers of America, the largest miners local in the Anthracite.

When nominations for the District Executive Board opened in March 1931, the present regime of Lewis and Boylan got on the job and had many local officials send in nominations for their administration even before nominations were declared open. The progressive group, organizationally weak, started to organize its forces to put up a full progressive slate in the election. Dissatisfaction is general among the miners, dissatisfaction against unbearable conditions and against the policies of the District Executive Board which has become the open tool of the coal operators. This dissatisfaction broke out into open revolt in the Glen Alden case, etc. After the Glen Alden strike the anti-administration forces started to speak of the formation of an opposition slate to form one united slate against the present regime.

Some of the strike leaders, such as Maloney, who they expressed themselves in favor of such an idea, did not do anything in that direction. Of course this hindered the work of the progressive group. Obstacles also came from the official Communist Party and National Miners Union leadership who, at the last minute, came up forward and declared that they were going to put up a slate, calling it the "left wing" opposition. But nothing was done in that direction; only a declaration was issued in the Daily Worker to keep the membership quiet. Finally, nominations were closed and the district officials came out and announced that no one had received sufficient nominations from locals to have their names placed on the ballot, except the nominees of the Boylan administration!

Thereupon they started a new movement. If the officials would not grant such a convention, it was declared, then it would have to be a rump convention. Naturally, the officials would not permit a tri-district convention and so the movement for a rump convention grew. Then, at its height, some of the leading men decided to give up the movement and to go to court to compel the District Board to put Maloney's name on the ballot. Of course the progressive group criticized such tactics which can only bring demoralization to the rank and file. Finally, the court decided that Maloney's name must be put on the ballot. Program and policy were dropped by Maloney and a Maloney versus Boylan fight was substituted for a rank and file struggle against the reactionary bureaucracy.

On the day of the elections the gangsterism of the Lewis-Boylan regime appeared in full bloom. The rank and file were prevented from casting their votes for Maloney and Herman (president and vice-president). In spite of this, about 80% of the returns gave Maloney about 75% and Boylan about 25%. In spite of these figures, Boylan announced that he had the majority by 20,000! The final announcement of the elections will be made at the convention in July—which gives sufficient time to Boylan to make himself a majority by stealing votes.

This month there will take place elections of officers in the locals. Here too the terror tactics of Lewis and Boylan are being employed. However, anti-administration sentiment is growing and there is good possibility that a good proportion of the anti-administration delegates will be elected.

DEMAND REMOVAL OF BRODERICK

(Continued from page 1)
Kresel is trying to secure a delay in his trial and in all probability his case will not come up till late in the fall. In the meanwhile it is very likely that new sensational revelations will be made to show the game played by Broderick in the administration of Banking. His predecessor is now serving a long jail term for his role in the various bank frauds.

LABOR AGE

Published Monthly by the CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE LABOR ACTION
25 cents a copy
104 FIFTH AVENUE

PICNIC and DANCE
SATURDAY, July 25, 1931
at CLINTON PARK MASPETH, L. I.
(30 Minutes from Union Square)
— EXCELLENT DANCE ORCHESTRA —
Sports — Games — Contests — Entertainment
TICKET: 35 CENTS 50 Cents at Gate
Auspices: REVOLUTIONARY AGE
DIRECTIONS—B.M.T. 14th St. Line to Grand St. Sta. Change to Grand St. car for Maspeth, L. I. Stop at RUST STREET.

CHARGES G.O.P. IS OWNED BY RICH

Dill Gives List of Campaign Donors; Both Parties Serve Bosses

WASHINGTON—In a challenge to the Republican charges that the Democratic party is "mortgaged" to John J. Raskob, Senator Dill, Democrat, of Washington, asserted that a small group of rich men furnished about one-half of the \$6,541,000 Republican campaign fund in 1928. At the same time Senator Dill announced that 239 contributors had furnished \$2,680,000, of which nearly two millions had come from 113. The Standard Oil's contribution was \$92,500, the Guggenheims' was \$99,000, the auto manufacturers' was \$225,000, the utility operators' was \$68,000.

For once, both the Republicans and Democrats are right! Both parties are mortgaged to Wall Street, both parties are owned body and soul by big business.

Two Pertinent Questions

Manuisky Reports at the XI Plenum

We call the attention of all our readers to the report of Manuisky at the XI Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International as published in the *International Press Correspondence*, vol. II, No. 30. We urge all our readers to study carefully this report which might with great justice be entitled: *The Apology for Self-Admitted Bankruptcy*.

Here we want to bring to the fore the following two gems:
1. Declares Manuisky, in the name of the E.C.C.I.:
"We have accomplished little since the X Plenum in the matter of independent leadership in class battles, but it is stupid to wait, as the opportunists in our ranks do, about the alleged narrowing of the base of Communist influence resulting from the Communists having begun to assume independent leadership in class battles. Had the Communists given independent leadership to movements like the General Strike in Great Britain or the Northern Expedition in China, it would have implied that they had won the majority of the working class and toiling masses and this would have resulted in the immediate victory of the proletarian revolution."

Let us realize what his means! The policy of the Comintern in the British General Strike and in the Chinese Northern Expedition was fundamentally false, Manuisky contends, because it was not based on the course of "independent leadership"! But who proposed the "independent leadership" course at the time of the General Strike and Northern Expedition? None other than the Trotskyite Opposition. The criticism Manuisky makes today is 100% in the spirit of Trotskyism. Why does not Manuisky admit this openly? Why does he keep on abusing the Trotskyites in the very same breath that he takes over their views?
2. "The Communist Parties of the U. S. A. and Great Britain are now the weakest spots in the world revolutionary movement." Well, well—so the C.P. U.S.A. is one of the two weakest Communist Parties in the world. What has happened in three years? In 1928 the World Congress of the Comintern gave high praise to the C.P.U.S.A. as the staunch leader of fierce class battles and as a "able to unite the struggles of the workers for political struggle." Today, the C.P.U.S.A. is the horrible example of the Comintern. How come? With a favorable situation, with a "correct line," with the expulsion of the "renegades" with "successes" piled upon "successes"—how come?

An official statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada just issued declares:
"The struggle against the opportunists of the Teuhunen clique is especially sharp in Sudbury where the right wing established its headquarters."
Expulsions have started again.

Unemployment "New Turn" in Chicago

In the Chicago District Bureau Stachel was present. There he presented the "new" C. I. line on unemployment. A detailed discussion took place on unemployment and the sum total of the "new line" was that the unemployed must have a separate office from the T. U. U. L. and must not use the name T. U. U. L. and "frequently" must build up a more or less independent organization!!!
Steve Kubicki could not "understand" this new manner so in his speech he said:
"What are you proposing? Why a month or so ago we expelled Min Lurie from the Unemployed Councils for proposing that the unemployed be an independent organization." He turned to Phil Frankfield for verification and the whole D. C. looked very much embarrassed and upset.
So when Stachel answered, what he said was this:
"Of course we don't come out openly and say that we are changing our former policy. We don't talk about it, but take such actions that will gradually put the present policy into effect."

New Member of the Secretariat

The Party Secretariat has again been reorganized with Weinstein finally having reached another stage in his ambition. He is now on the Party Secretariat in place of Bedacht, who has been assigned to specialize in fraternal organization matters.

New Struggle Among Canadian Finns

Despite the desperate efforts of the Comintern thru its representatives (Zack Bittelman and Mrs. Kusinen) to patch up some sort of deal between the unprincipled bureaucracy in the Finnish fraction and what is left of the Canadian Communist Party, trouble is again brewing in the ranks of the Finnish Communists in Canada.
This meeting is one of a series of meetings to be held on South Street. In the future at least one weekly meeting will be held. The response of these seamen was very encouraging. We are looking forward to a series of very successful meetings.
Forty-five copies of the Revolutionary Age were sold.

NEGRO LEADERS HONOR WALKER

Businessmen League Toasts Mayor; Moton Boasts of Negro Democratic Aid

Tammany Mayor Walker was guest of honor on June 24 at the annual dinner of the National Negro Business League at the Broadway Central Hotel. Nearly 200 members of the organization from thirty states were present.
Mr. Walker was introduced by Alderman Fred R. Moore.
Speaking on behalf of the convention, Dr. Robert K. Moton, president of the National Negro Business League and principal of Tuskegee Institute, declared that "Negroes could no longer be counted as the members of one political party. Many of them are now members of the Democratic party in Alabama," he said.

And so the conservative, "old-style" Negro leaders are busy at their age-old game: trading on the confidence of the Negro masses in them in order to sell them to their worst enemies, the Republican and Democratic politicians who represent white lynch-supremacy in its worst forms. So shameless are these conservative leaders that they make a Democratic politician their guest of honor and actually boast of the support misled sections of the Negro people are giving to the Democratic party, the traditional political symbol of lynch law, disenfranchisement, discrimination and Jim-crowism!

For Communist Unity

Statement of a Party Member

When I joined the Communist Party in June 1929 I did so because I realized that as a Communist my place should be in the Party. Being a marine worker I also joined the Marine Workers League and later when the League became the Union I continued to be active there.

At the time of the expulsion of Comrade Lovestone and others I remained in the Party thinking that some day the Comintern would realize its mistake and see the results of its ruinous tactics. I tried hard to work as a member of the Party and as a Communist but gradually the leadership of the Party and the Union changed their tactics with regards to comrades who dared to ask questions on certain policies. As a result, the Marine Workers Industrial Union, like most other T.U.U.L. unions, is today only a shadow of its former strength.

In our Union, the best comrades and old, known fighters have all been expelled on the flimsiest excuses and those of us that dared to oppose this kind of vote against it are today being persecuted.

I am still a member of the Party and of the Union; yet I find, when attending a membership meeting of the Union, that I am attacked and physical violence is being used against me on an excuse that I am "a stool-pigeon for Soderberg." I voted against the expulsion of Soderberg and I am still of the opinion that a serious error was committed when this comrade was expelled, but I am not a stool-pigeon for him nor do I think that he needs or desires one.
I disagree with the line of the Party today because I have seen the result of it in the unions as well as among the workers everywhere and as long as this line is persisted in we will remain an isolated sect or cult and our "unions" will remain what they are today—Communist nuclei with no mass basis. If I was to continue to support this line I feel that I would not be helping to pave the way for the revolution but would on the contrary hinder it. However, as a marine worker, I demand the right

S.P. MEMBERS PROTEST HILLQUIT'S ACTS

(continued from page 1)

Party (of which he is the head) as being opposed to the historical right of the working people to take over the means of production and industrial resources into their own possession which is the very foundation of Socialism; and
WHEREAS, this action of Comrade Hillquit puts both the Socialist Party and himself in a position of open alliance with the bitter reactionary elements of old Czarist Russia against the workers and farmers of New Russia who are hard at work building a new society, of and for the producers; and
WHEREAS, for these reasons, the conduct of Comrade Hillquit places a shameful stigma upon every Socialist and Socialist organization in the country and serves to discredit the cause of Socialism among the workers of the United States and in other ways does great political and moral damage to the Socialist and labor movement of this country:
THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that we, the members of Circle No. 1, V. P. S. L., unreservedly and indignantly condemn the conduct of Morris Hillquit as being absolutely unworthy of a Socialist and of any one associated with the cause of labor; and
BE IT RESOLVED, that we demand:
(1) that the National Executive Committee in the name of the Socialist Party officially repudiate the action of Morris Hillquit and make this repudiation public; and
(2) that Morris Hillquit be himself called upon to repudiate his anti-Socialist and anti-labor conduct and to break

The Real Condition of the TUUL-Marine Union

by Jack Soderberg

In my recent article on the Marine Workers Industrial Union I estimated the total membership of the union as about 300 or less. Seemingly, however, this figure was a little liberal. Taking the official bulletin (*The National Organizer*) as a guide, we find (according to their own figures) that during the month of May, 40 new members lined up and a total of 39 paid dues. Among the 40 lined up is undoubtedly included the needle workers and others that were made members to get a majority to put over my expulsion. According, therefore, to these official figures, the membership is today about 76 at the most.
What a tragedy! This union, once so promising, has today fallen to nothing but an empty shell and a little clique of fanatics masquerading as an industrial union. This is the inevitable result of a wrong policy and criminal mishandling of union affairs.

In the same bulletin we note that New Orleans is going forward with great guns, but somehow in the same paragraph we also note that "very little organizational results are shown." This must have been a slip of the pen. Or was it perhaps to prepare the members for what has happened since? The hull is now being closed and the furniture sold at

any price obtainable. Yet we find the bulletin speaks of the "favorable sentiment" in New Orleans. Perhaps they have realized that "favorable sentiment" will not pay rent.

Despite the above lesson the bulletin speaks of opening a new hall in Newport News, Va. Why open a new hall when they can't keep the old one going passes comprehension. The inconsistency of their reports is shown by another news item in the bulletin. It states that on May 24th headquarters were opened in Brooklyn. We remember distinctly having had reports of Brooklyn headquarters for the last six months at least. Which is which? Were these reports for the last six months phoney, or are they merely speaking of opening these headquarters to counteract the other pessimistic reports such as "the hall in San Pedro may have to close down," that "no reports have been received from Frisco"? Why not tell us the straight dope? State that due to the incorrect line, the incompetence of the leadership and the lack of confidence of the marine workers in the taxidrivers and other punks at the head of the union, the branches in Pedro, Frisco, New Orleans and other places have closed down and the only places open are New York and Norfolk which is kept open at the rate of 36 dues paying members per month?

That's the only kind of self-criticism that would do any good today, if they persist in the present line, that would not do them any good anyway.

Statement of a Party Member

The same bulletin states that "Philadelphia is understood to have a membership of 150 in the unemployed council." Last summer we had a dues-paying membership of over 1000 in this port and not in the unemployed council but in the union, until the Party leadership forced us into a criminal adventure that destroyed every thing we had built thru patient labor.

A year ago, 1,000 dues-paying members in the union, today 150 non-dues-paying members of an imaginary council. Yes! it is a tragedy.

We learn that the convention of the union this year will be held jointly with the T.U.U.L. convention in Chicago. Sure, it would be pretty hard to hold a convention of a union with 36 dues-paying members so it is decided to hold it in conjunction with the rest. We are anxiously looking forward to the decisions of the conventions—the decisions arrived at by the metal, needle trades workers, etc. Undoubtedly these trades will be in a wonderful position to deal with the problems of the seamen and the longshoremen.

The bulletin states naively that "the membership of the New York, Norfolk and New Orleans has approved this decision."
Yes! All 36 of them! Incidentally, the pen must have slipped again and not only the head but the whole damned cat is coming out of the bag with a crash admitting that these are the only three branches now open. We may also add that outside of Silva, the professional longshoreman, not a single longshoreman is now on the books of the union. However, this is a small matter as the needle trades workers will undoubtedly be brought in to make all the decisions necessary for the longshoremen at the convention.

We also read in the bulletin that Duluth has twelve members. We seem to recollect only a few weeks ago thousands of waterfront workers coming out on strike—led by none other than the Marine Workers Industrial Union. How come that it now can only boast twelve members? What is it? Another slip of the pen?

Fellow marine workers! To this pass our union has come today. We have no union in the Marine Workers Industrial Union. Only a label—a rubber stamp. The wrong line and tactics have brought us to this. What is left is at most only a debating society of the Communist Party. The every day problems of our industry are forgotten in the reckless political maneuvering and coniving.
Miners are on strike and yet not a step is taken by the union to prevent the hauling of seab coal on the ships. Two watch systems are back and the Manson Line is down to \$50 a month. Nothing is done about this. Are we going to continue this or are we going to get into the various unions, form a strong left group that will eventually drive out the bureaucrats and bring about amalgamation of all the waterfront unions into one mighty powerful industrial union of all marine workers of the country. It is up to the rank and file. What shall our answer be?

SOVIET-GERMAN PACT IS RENEWED

MOSCOW—A protocol renewing the Soviet-German neutrality agreement of 1926 was signed at noon on June 24 by Ambassador von Dicksen and Assistant Commissar Krestinsky. It now requires ratification by both governments.
The agreement contains two new points: First, the term of the treaty is indefinite and may be ended by either government on one year's notice but not before June 30, 1933. Secondly, the existing Soviet-German arbitration agreement for settling minor conflicts is to hinge on the Berlin treaty and be valid as long as the latter remains in force.

BANQUET-RECEPTION-DANCE

to welcome
THE DELEGATES TO THE JULY PLENUM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (MAJORITY GROUP)
at 63 Madison Avenue — New York City
FRIDAY EVENING, JULY 3, P. M. Sharp
ADMISSION: 50 CENTS
Auspices: Needle Trades Section, Communist Party (Maj. Group)

Hillmanism in Amalgamated

by Ben Gitlow

(Continued from page 1)

out the organization have demanded it. Nothing was done to establish the 40-hour week. The will of the workers was ignored. The issue could no longer be kept merely in archives of convention decisions. Agreements were expiring in Rochester, Cincinnati, Chicago, New York and elsewhere. The 40-hour week had to be met. How was it met by the Hillman administration?

The Rochester agreement was renewed in March of this year. It established the precedent for all the other markets. It continued the existing agreement for another three years. This Rochester agreement is the most flagrant betrayal of the workers and a wonderful instrument of the bosses. It is a Hillman, "golden-rule" stroke of strategy that wins the applause of the bosses and begets the groans of the workers.

On the 40-hour week this agreement does away with the proposition in this dainty manner. I quote from the agreement:

"It is agreed that the demand for the 40-hour week, which the manufacturers find themselves unable to accept at the present time, be referred to the representatives of the parties to this agreement with instructions to consider the feasibility of introducing the 40-hour week in the industry."

That dated the 40-hour week. It is very clear from the organ of the manufacturers, the *Daily News Record*, that there was considerable sentiment among manufacturers to grant the 40-hour week and that, had the Hillman administration been interested in the welfare of the workers, the demand would have been won not only for Rochester but for every other market as well.

No wonder George J. Hexter writing for the bosses in the *Daily News Record* of March 9, 1931 states:

"It is quite certain that the Chicago employers would not grant, nor Mr. Hillman demand, the change for the one market after having waived it in the other (Rochester). In fact, the 40-hour week is unlikely ever to become effective until the entire organized industry can swing into it, not until nearly nine years ago."

The starving, unemployed Amalgamated workers must wait until industry generally through the country is ripe for the 40-hour week. Hillman will demand that the clothing bosses grant the demand. Hillman can wait; his fat salary goes on. He has nothing to fear. His family won't starve.

This same writer of the *Daily News Record* praises Hillman for his 40-hour stands as follows:

"However, as he matures, Mr. Hillman becomes less and less doctrinaire and more and more pragmatic."

He means: As Mr. Hillman continues to give more and more service to the bosses he becomes more and more practical in this respect and less and less representative of the interests of the workers.

AND MORE!

But this is not all there is to the Rochester agreement. Not one single demand for some improvement of conditions was presented by Hillman to the manufacturers. The negotiations were staved, the parties met and in less than twenty-four hours the new agreement was signed. Mr. Hillman is typical of the modern age, a true apostle of speed and efficiency in negotiating and signing agreements.

The Rochester agreement is one of the blackest sell-outs of the workers interests. I quote from the agreement: (Point IV):

"The power to hire shall remain with the employer but in case of unemployment it is understood that consideration shall first be given to persons who have been employed in local shops doing work for members of the clothing exchange."

The bosses have the right to hire, given full power of discrimination in hiring. Now let us proceed to Point V:

"The full power to discharge and discipline lies with the employer. It is agreed that this power shall be exercised fairly and justly and with regard to the reasonable rights of the employee. The power of discharge shall be exercised only thru the duly authorized and responsible representative of the management."

The bosses are given full power to fire. How easily Hillman disposes of the right of hire and fire! But that is not all. Let us take Point VI:

"The right of the employer to make changes in shop management and methods of manufacturing is recognized; such changes to be made without loss to the employees directly concerned."

The bosses are further granted the right to reorganize, speed-up and throw workers out by the hundreds. But Hillman doesn't stop there in protecting the bosses. Point VII provides:

"This agreement provides for an orderly adjustment of differences and there is no provision for direct action. It, however, a dispute shall arise, the union shall immediately order the people to return to work and in the event of their failure to do so, any or all of the parties in suit or instigators shall be liable to discipline."

This is a vicious guarantee not to strike and to punish militant workers who resort to direct action to settle grievances. The bosses can hire, fire, reorganize at will. The workers, according to the laws passed by Hillman, must submit or suffer the consequences. But this is not all there is to this remarkable Hillman document. Point XI provides:

"Piece rates, standards of production, wages of week workers in effect May 1, 1922 cannot be reduced or raised during the term of this agreement unless, by mutual consent of the parties to this agreement."

No changes in wages from those established in 1922 when the Rochester market was first organized! No wonder as Hillman matures he becomes mellow and soft, pragmatic, practical, constructive and an upright leading figure whose

leadership, the *Daily News* says, the manufacturers should welcome and follow. But how about the workers? They after all are only the under dogs. Why worry about them!

RACKETEERING IN THE A. C. W.

The racketeer business in the Amalgamated is not new. It is strange that Hillman now claims to fight the racketeers in New York, but is mum about his own pet racketeers in Chicago. Mr. Hillman's skirts are not so clean as he would have us imagine. He is surrounded by a gang of racketeers as corrupt as vicious as those surrounding Abe Beckerman and Philip Orlofsky. It was Hillman himself who foisted Beckerman and his gang upon the organization in order to destroy and smash the growing militant and progressive rank and file movement in the Amalgamated. The situation in the cutters local is not new. Hillman has known it for years. Nevertheless he had no qualms of conscience in using the cutters officials and gangsters against the workers, the rank and file.

When Orlofsky stole elections, when the corruption of his administration was called to Hillman's attention, when he knew workers were being intimidated, thrown out of employment and their lives threatened, Hillman, the president of the organization, kept quiet and did not raise a finger or wink an eye.

THE "ANTI-RACKETEERING DRIVE"

Now there is being prepared a war against racketeers and Hillman leads the union and the manufacturers. The district attorney, the chief of police and Mayor Walker are enlisted in the fight. For what purposes:

1. To eliminate Beckerman by sending some of his boys and aids to prison.
2. To distract the attention of the workers from the new agreement which is to be fastened around the necks of the workers.
3. The elimination of Beckerman will maintain as corrupt, as vicious, a gang of racketeers in the Amalgamated—with this exception that they will at least for the present be satisfied with supporting

The Carpenters Election in Los Angeles

TWO POLICIES IN TRADE UNION WORK

by A. Schaap

That the policy of the C.P.-Majority Group of the Communist Party of America for unity and independent activity is correct is borne out by recent events in Los Angeles, particularly in relation to trade union work.

The Old T. U. E. L.

For some time the T. U. E. L. functioning under that name and guided by the policies laid down during the years that the Ruthenberg-Lovestone group led the Party, had a dominant influence in the Carpenters Union Local 1967 in Los Angeles.

This is as it should have been for in Los Angeles there was and still is a most vicious struggle carried on by the open shoppers to crush the trade union movement. That the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce prides itself for keeping this city as the "white spot" of America is well known to the many workers who have felt the iron heel of the bosses in their desire to smash every vestige of the trade union movement.

In this situation the workers in many unions looked to the T. U. E. L. for leadership in the struggle for better conditions. And at that time, with the exception of some mistaken policies now and then, the T. U. E. L. carried on the struggle in an effective manner.

Its influence was felt and registered in the Central Labor Union and at one time carried a very substantial following. In the carpenters union the left wing had a dominant influence and it was the union that was the spearhead in the struggle against the bosses and the trade union bureaucracy in the building trades, in the Central Labor body and in the trade union movement as a whole.

In every section in the carpenters union the workers registered their unflinching confidence in the left wing and generally always elected a full left wing slate.

The Change of Line Comes

But with the change of line of the Party policies, the left wing movement in Los Angeles collapsed.

Its substantial following in the Central Labor Union has been reduced to zero. In fact to show the Party's present attitude in relation to this body, we need only refer to the "Discussion" in the Party in Los Angeles, where the "burning" question is whether it is correct or correct to send a letter to the Central Labor body to invite it to a united front conference on free speech! The "great" discussion revolves around the question as to whether this would constitute a united front "from below" or "from above."

The influence the left wing previously held in the Central Labor body has been further drained by the withdrawal of left wingers into the new unions which today in Los Angeles (as everywhere else—Editor) merely appears on paper.

In the carpenters union we find that the T. U. E. L. is isolated, having lost its dominance due to its sectarian policy, its looking at all workers thru the spectacles of "social fascism," and to its rejection of a united front with the progressives.

the Hillman administration and its policies.

THE NEW YORK MARKET

As far as the New York market is concerned, that matter Hillman thinks he has settled. He has definitely come to an agreement with the manufacturers. They work together today on all points.

Hasn't Mr. Jaffe, president of the New York Clothing Manufacturers Exchange, gone hand in glove with Mr. Hillman in a common cause before Mayor Walker?

And when Mayor Walker, turning to Hillman declared: "Promise me that there won't be a strike." Mr. Hillman replied: "If there is, the racketeers will call it."

What will the new agreement provide? Nothing for the workers except one new point the check-off, so that Hillman can get the bosses to collect the dues from the workers.

THE TASKS OF THE WORKERS

What must the rank and file do?

Organize a genuine opposition movement of all honest, progressive, militant, left wing forces, on the following program:

1. For the 40-hour week and no reduction in pay.
 2. For week work.
 3. For an adequate unemployment relief.
 4. For a rank and file union controlled by the rank and file with full democracy in the organization.
 5. For a minimum scale of wages that shall be a living scale of wages.
 6. Against all gangsters, racketeers, corruptionists, whether they are Hillmanites or Beckermanites. To drive them out of the union.
- Only thru such a broad genuine rank and file movement, not based upon trickery, maneuvers, and hidden intentions can a mighty rank and file opposition be developed that will sweep out the dirty mess and make the Amalgamated again a militant fighting organization of the workers.

Horner on Way To Expulsion

The British *Daily Worker* of June 9 carries an article by Harry Pollitt giving the recent developments in the Horner case. Readers of the *Revolutionary Age* will remember that towards the end of 1930 Arthur Horner, once head of the British Minority Movement and acknowledged left wing leader of the South Wales miners came into sharp conflict with the leadership of the Communist Party of Great Britain and of the C. I. over trade union tactics. He refused to declare his agreement with, or to carry thru the sectarian splitting tactics of the C. P. in the South Wales miners strike on the basis of his experiences in this strike he also rejected the anti-union "independent leadership" course of the C. P. He was removed from his position and a bitter "enlightenment campaign" was launched against him.

At the recent meeting of the Central Committee, of which Pollitt writes, Horner was present and made a long two-hour declaration. Although it was frequently unclear in content and certainly conciliatory in tone, this declaration only made Comrade Horner's divergence from the official line clearer than before. The Central Committee replied to his declaration with another attack declaring that "it is necessary that the campaign against the errors of Comrade Horner be continued because they are deep-seated in many circles of our Party, particularly amongst comrades with long trade union traditions." Finally against one abstention, the following resolution was passed:

"The Central Committee notes the speech of Comrade Horner, and records the conviction that this speech shows clearer than ever his opposition to the policy of 'Class Against Class' and the pursuit of an opportunist line in opposition to the line of the Party.

"The C. C. notes the refusal of Comrade Horner to accept unconditionally the resolution of the Political Bureau on the So. Wales strike, and instructs the Political Bureau to publish the discussion in this section of the Central Committee on the Horner question, and to carry forward the fight against opportunism in all its forms, especially the trade union legalism typified by Comrade Horner. Without this fight it will be impossible for the Party to organize and lead the great economic struggles now developing.

"The question of Comrade Horner's position is referred to the Political Bureau with the instruction to apply disciplinary action if necessary, in conjunction with the International."

During the week which preceded the election, the T. U. U. L. failed to make its policy known. It didn't have any. It did not carry on any propaganda for its program nor its candidates. On the other hand Comrade Cox, who had a platform and program of action, found workers ever ready to distribute them and militantly agitate for their adoption.

The program called for the 5-day, 40-hour week, maintenance of the union scale, provision for the unemployed workers, struggle against the open shop, an organization program, readmission of workers expelled for varying political opinions, the unity of all workers, amalgamation of the building trades unions, against the war danger, for the defence and recognition of the Soviet Union and endorsement of the T. U. U. L. plan.

Elections showed the following results: for chairman T.U.U.L. candidate 27 votes; right wing candidate 41 votes. For vice-chairman, Cox 36 votes; right wing failed 34 votes. The T. U. U. L. failed to elect any one. It must be repeated that due to Comrade Cox's campaign the T. U. U. L. was given the vote it received, for the T. U. U. L. made no effort whatsoever for election of its own candidates.

The policy followed by our group was correct. As a result of this election and the policies pursued by us we have won many new sympathizers. The members of the T. U. U. L. have been made to realize that independent activity and unity is not mere talk. They see now, as well as the members of the union, that where the constituted T. U. U. L. workers, that we have filled the gap and made possible a genuine victory for the left wing.

Our tasks in this union do not cease with this election. We must continue on with the best traditions of the left wing to fight, on the basis of our program, against the bosses and the reactionary trade union bureaucracy. We must work more than ever for the unity of the left wing forces in the union. Upon us is placed the task of re-establishing the left wing to a virile, healthy and influential movement.

We call upon all workers to line up in this struggle and help put the left wing movement back on its feet. We will not shrink our task.

The Economic Week

DESPITE some improvement in sentiment, especially in the speculative market, due to the Hoover debt delay, there is no visible sign of any improvement. The price decline has stopped in the last week but there is no definite upturn in the trend evident. In the more authoritative financial

centers the recent spurt of optimism is becoming increasingly restrained. Steel production continues to decline. Bank clearings have fallen sharply in the week. Auto production is falling. Cotton mill activity is again downward. The business index has thus fallen to a new low. In

England unemployment has begun to increase again. While the Hoover debt proposal has checked, for the moment, the flight of the Mark, yet serious financial consequences are bound to flow from the Reichbank's loss of nearly 1,500,000,000 gold Marks during the last month.

Marxism and the Crisis of Capitalism

by Eugene Varga

(Concluded from last issue)

The Role of the Peasantry

We have so far described the development of capitalism from the standpoint of an unreal assumption, i.e., assuming the existence of a purely capitalist society, consisting wholly of capitalists and workers. As a matter of fact it must be recognized that even now when capitalism has passed its apex and has reached to prevail on one-sixth of the earth's surface, the majority of the population of the bourgeois world consists of independent producers, viz., peasants.

The transformation of these independent producers (still mainly engaged in natural economy) into elements of the capitalist order of society, i.e., the transformation of the typical "peasants" (still producing for their own household and economy) into "farmers", on the one hand, and "wage workers" on the other, is one of the most important processes in concrete capitalism.

The successive transformation of the independent producers into elements of capitalist society is a lengthy but single process in the development of capitalism. In comparison with pure capitalism it represents a supplementary expansion of the capitalist market. This process influences the cyclical course of capitalist production, the periodical crises being partly overcome by the extension of the capitalist market. Once they have been transformed into elements of capitalist society, the peasants come to be producers and consumers of capitalist commodities.

The consumptive capacity of the capitalist market is lastingly greater than prior to this transformation but in the most highly developed capitalist countries there is no further possibility of a rapid expansion of the consumptive capacity of the internal market, simply because the peasants are already constituent parts of capitalist society.

In spite of the process of transformation of the peasants into small capitalists or wage-workers, agriculture in general lags behind industry in its development, simply because agriculture is predominantly carried on in small scattered enterprises, seeing that the monopoly of land presents obstacles to the investment of capital, this being one of the most es-

sential elements of the lack of proportionality in capitalism.

National States and Imperialism

So far we have been presuming a capitalist society embracing the whole world. In reality, however, the bourgeois world is divided into individual states. This fact leads to a pronounced modification of the cyclical course of capitalist production. Innumerable concrete factors cause the separate phases of the cycle to appear at different moments in the various countries, in which connection, moreover, there is a constant reciprocal action among the individual "national economies" which shows a uniform even if not simultaneous cyclical development for the entire capitalist economy of the world.

The bourgeois world, however, is not composed of individual states of the same degree of capitalist development. Besides states which have already attained the highest degree of monopolized capitalism, there are others which are on a far lower, partly even on a pre-capitalistic level. This state of affairs forms the basis of that exportation of capital which Lenin considered one of the most characteristic symptoms of imperialism. The most highly developed states with a great surplus of capital wage their struggle for foreign markets by means of capital exportation as a means of promoting the exportation of goods and the acquisition of super-profits; they wage it by means of subjugating foreign countries and turning them into colonies and semi-colonial regions with an eye to monopolizing the sale of goods and the supply of raw materials.

The exploitation of the colonies, and the super-profits derived therefrom enable the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries to corrupt certain sections of the working class.

Even under monopoly capitalism and in the period of general crisis the process of centralization continues, an ever-increasing portion of production falls to the share of the gigantic enterprises and the concentration of capital and therefore also of the entire working population, lies in the hands of an ever-smaller group of leading capitalists.

All this means that the contradiction between the desire of capital for an unlimited expansion of output and the strictly limited consumptive capacity of capitalist society must more and more often reach a point at which it can only be overcome by means of a crisis, and therefore, that the crises must follow more speedily upon one another, attain a greater depth and shake bourgeois class-rule more violently than before.

The same fundamental contradiction between social production and private appropriation, the development of which necessarily leads, in cyclical movements, from industrial to monopoly capitalism, also leads from imperialism to the general crisis of capitalism.

The Decay of Capitalism

The decay of capitalism is inseparable from its monopolistic character. Its most essential form is the deliberate restriction of production and of the development of productive forces.

This, in comparison with former methods of production, capitalism develops the forces of production with incredible rapidity—in this, indeed, lies its historic mission—it is at the same time an obstacle to the full development of the productive forces such as would be possible at each particular stage of technical progress. Since the object of capitalist production is not the satisfaction of social requirements but the appropriation of surplus-value, a machine is employed not where-ever labor-time can thereby be saved but only where paid labor-time can be saved.

Monopoly capitalism still further impedes the full development of the productive forces. The monopolies follow the aim of acquiring as great as possible a share at the expense of the unorganized capitalists, these independent producers, and the proletariat. They attain this end by reducing the supply of their goods on the world market, which enables them so to regulate the price that they can make a maximum of profit out of the proceeds.

This naturally does not mean a standstill in the development of the forces of production. Competition—in so far as it is not eliminated by monopoly but exists alongside of it, resulting in a series of particularly serious and far-reaching conflicts—stimulates the development of productive forces even in the period of finance capital and of the general crisis of capitalism. The decay of capitalism is not only apparent in the retardation of the development of productive forces but also particularly in the reduced exploitation of the productive forces already existing, a development which has become pronouncedly apparent in the period of the general crisis of capitalism.

The other aspect of decay is the non-exploitation of great sections of human labor-power, the most decisive of all productive forces. There arises a large number of rentiers, who lead a parasitical life without doing any work; added to these there is a tremendous growth in the number of such workers as perform work not resulting in any values in administrative, commercial, clerical and mental spheres. In the period of the general crisis of capitalism, the decay of capitalism takes the form in the first place of means of production constantly at a standstill and of millions of the proletariat constantly out of work.

(Continued on page 4)

limited expansion of output and the strictly limited consumptive capacity of capitalist society must more and more often reach a point at which it can only be overcome by means of a crisis, and therefore, that the crises must follow more speedily upon one another, attain a greater depth and shake bourgeois class-rule more violently than before.

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The Economic Crisis and World Politics

REPARATIONS AND THE WORLD CRISIS

by A. P.

(Concluded from last issue)

3. Should the allied powers attempt to graduate the reparations income on a sliding scale on the basis of the declining world prices, it would promote considerable instability in the international economic situation and would reduce the total income thru reparations for these powers. This would interfere with the capacity of the victorious powers to meet their debt payments to the United States since they would be getting less money from Germany.

But the United States ruling class is in a very difficult position now to consider any further reduction of debt payments. Already the economic crisis has reduced the income of the government. The danger of a tax rise states the bourgeoisie in the face as a way to meet the huge deficit of one billion dollars already incurred by the budget this year. Should the Washington Treasury Department receive less from the payment of debts it would mean an automatic increase in the deficit of the Federal budget. Nevertheless, the nearly two and a half billion in American investments in Germany would make an economic collapse of Germany (as a result of the reparations burdens) a very serious matter to Wall Street.

It is easy to see that these sharp differences and deep-going antagonisms among the powers over the debt and reparations questions greatly impede the coordinated effort that might consciously be made by the imperialist powers to tackle the still deepening world crisis.

III. REPARATIONS AND THE WORKING CLASS

That the reparations payments place the greatest burdens upon Germany is clear. But this "Germany" is not the Germany of the big banks and trust capital; it is the Germany of the toiling masses. The broad strata of the German people feel the iron heel of the Young Plan—the industrial workers, the poor and middle farmers, the bulk of the white collar workers and officials, vast sections of small traders and other elements of the petty bourgeoisie. The German big bourgeoisie, with the effective help of the Social-democrats, has very successfully managed to shift almost the entire burden of the Young Plan on to the lower

strata of the population. But it is not the German working class alone that feels the affects of the whole system of reparation payments and war debts. Every form of hardening Germany has immediate international repercussions. The rapid deterioration of the standard of living of the German workers as a result of the extraction of reparation payments is transformed thru the mechanism of international competition on the world market into pressure upon the living standards of the workers of other countries, even those countries receiving the reparation payments, (including the U.S.A.).

At the same time the intrigues and maneuvers of the various powers connected with the reparation and war debt payments become a big factor in the crystallization and recrystallization of rival groups of imperialist powers and thus in the political preparation of a new world war.

The interests of the international working class require a joint international struggle against the whole imperialist system of reparations and war debts. This struggle directly implies a fight against all schemes of imperialist revision of the Young Plan and war debt payments, including the tortuous maneuvers of the German bourgeoisie in the tradition of Stresemann. As against the imperialist revision of the Versailles Treaty, as against the imperialist regulation of the Young Plan and the war debts, the proletariat must raise the slogan of the annulment of the Versailles Treaty, the realization of the right of self-determination of peoples, the cancellation of all war debts and of all reparation payments.

It is clear that a program such as this can only be accomplished thru the struggle of the international working class for the overthrow of capitalism.

This general program does not exclude, it rather involves, a concrete program of action for the working class (particularly the German proletariat) as long as the reparation and war debt system continues to exist. The transformation of the burdens of the Young Plan from the backs of the toilers on to the possessing classes is the central axis of this struggle.

True to its ultra-left line the Communist Party of Germany failed to appreciate in time the significance of the whole reparations question and to work out a concrete program of struggle for the German masses. Later on, when it attempted to face the question, it fell high fell into the swamp of "national Bolshevism" (the notorious "Declaration of the National and Social Emancipation of the German People"). It was the German Communist Opposition that took the initiative in the struggle against the Versailles Treaty and the Young Plan, that, as far back as February 1929, elaborated its "Proletarian Fighting Program", that later put forward an "Emergency Program", and that finally elaborated an extremely popular "Anti-Fascist Fighting Program". In spite of its meager forces the Communist Opposition have already succeeded in drawing large masses of workers into the struggle and in establishing its role of leadership.

1. The rapid development of the United States, which since the beginning of the war has become the foremost imperialist power.

2. The marked decline of Great Britain, whose production and foreign trade have till the present day not managed to regain their pre-war level and which has been definitely ousted from its erstwhile position of the "industrial workshop of the world."

3. The rapid development of industry in a number of agrarian countries.

4. The reparations burden borne by Germany and the war indebtedness of the European allies to the United States of America.

The serious shake-up caused to capitalist economy in and immediately after the war, led to an acceleration of centralization. The monopolistic character of capitalism has risen to its greatest height in the period of the general crisis. This means a simultaneous relative diminution

