

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!

VOL. II. No. 48.

NEW YORK, N. Y. SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1931.

PRICE 5 CENTS

SUPT. BRODERICK IS INDICTED

Charged With Helping Bank Of U. S. To Swindle Depositors

Joseph A. Broderick, Superintendent of Banks of the State of New York, has been indicted on the charge of conspiracy in connection with the Bank of United States scandal. With Mr. Broderick were indicted 29 others associated with the Bank of U. S. The moving spirit of the indictment of Mr. Broderick and the others was Max D. Steuer, special prosecutor.

The charges are that Mr. Broderick knew weeks in advance of the insolvent condition of the Bank of U. S. but allowed it to conduct business nevertheless.

The indictment of Mr. Broderick was foretold in the *Revolutionary Age* several weeks ago.

Mr. Broderick was appointed to his post by Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt who has announced that "he stands behind the Superintendent of Banks." On the other hand, Mr. Steuer is a member of the board of strategy of Tammany Hall. The charges against Mr. Broderick represent a phase of the offensive of Tammany Hall against the governor of the State.

Mr. Broderick's trial will come up in December.

CYPRUS PROTESTS BRITISH RULE

Mass Revolts Are Reported Throught Isle In Move To Join Greece

LONDON—Mass disturbances amounting in many places to serious riots have broken out all over Cyprus, according to reports from that island. The main slogan of all demonstrations is the demand for an end to the British control of the island and for a union with Greece. Clashes with the armed authorities took place in a number of localities on Oct. 22. The British government has immediately dispatched troops to Cyprus by means of ships and planes.

Before the war Cyprus was a Turkish "possession" under British administration. At the outbreak of the war it was formally seized by Great Britain. In 1915 Britain offered the island to Greece as a prize for Greek support of the Allied cause. When King Constantine decided to stay neutral the offer was withdrawn. The British administration of the island is based on the most ruthless exploitation and oppression of the populace, which numbers over 300,000 and is composed largely of Greeks supplemented by Turks.

Union with Greece has been the demand of the bourgeois and professional elements of the Greek Cypriotes for many years, of the Greek lawyers, money lenders, bankers, school teachers, merchants, and Greek Orthodox clergy. At the same time the dissatisfaction of the masses, especially the peasantry, has been rapidly growing. The pro-Greek bourgeois elements have known well how to utilize the anti-British sentiment of the masses. A few days ago the island was informed of a new imperial order in council completely revising the tariff system and instituting a reorganization which would greatly stifle the economic life of Cyprus. It was on this issue that the widespread mass demonstration arose.

BISHOP JAMES CANNON IS INDICTED

WASHINGTON—Bishop James Cannon, Jr. of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the pillar of Christian rightness, and Miss Ada L. Burroughs, his political secretary, were indicted on October 16 by the District of Columbia grand jury on charges of conspiracy to violate willfully the Federal corrupt practices act. The charges grow out of the activities of these Christian politicians in the 1928 presidential campaign in which the Reverend Mr. Cannon was the leader of the anti-Smith Democrats of the South.

The indictment contains ten counts all based on failure to report moneys collected for political expenses.

Beautiful, it appears from reports at the American Beauty Congress, enjoy nothing better than a gold financial depression—furred brows, hair grown gray, chewed fingernails, sagging faces—the whole world needs its face lifted. The Beauty Congress reports more ugliness and greater profits than ever.

Steel Trust: Profit and Wages

In connection with the vicious wage-cutting offensive recently initiated by the United States Steel Corporation, the following statistics of wages paid by the U. S. Steel and its subsidiaries as compared with their net income, are instructive.

U. S. STEEL AND SUBORDINATE COMPANIES		Net Income
Total Pay Roll Salaries and Wages		Before Payment of Dividends, etc.
1922	\$322,678,130	\$ 39,653,455
1923	469,502,634	108,707,064
1924	442,458,577	85,067,192
1925	456,740,355	90,662,653
1926	467,409,446	116,667,405
1927	430,727,095	87,896,836
1928	413,699,720	114,173,775
1929	420,072,851	197,592,060
1930	391,271,366	104,421,571

INDEX NUMBERS (1922=100)

1922	100	100
1923	146	274
1924	137	215
1925	142	228
1926	145	294
1927	133	222
1928	128	288
1929	130	498
1930	121	263

In other words, the total payroll (including the huge salaries paid to officers of the corporations) increased only 21% in nine years—the increase in wages paid to workers was even less. But the increase in the net income of the Steel Trust in the same period was 163%—just eight times as great.

IRISH REVOLT IS HIT BY LAW

Twelve Organizations Are Held Illegal; Military Courts Are Set Up

DUBLIN.—A vigorous and organized drive against all republican and Communist organizations has been initiated on all fronts here. On October 18 the Catholic hierarchy in Ireland issued a long pastoral letter "banning" the Irish Republican Army and the organization "Saor Eire" ("Free Ireland"), which is described as "frankly Communist in aim." "It is our duty," the pastoral letter asserts, "to tell the people plainly that these two organizations, separately or in alliance, are sinful and irreligious and no Catholic can lawfully be a member of them."

Two days later, on October 20, the Free State government, acting upon the authority of the new force bill, immediately outlawed twelve organizations, including the Irish Republican Army, the women's division of the I. R. A., the Friends of Soviet Russia, the Workers Revolutionary Party, the Irish Working Farmers Committee, the Women's Dissent League, etc. At the same time a series of military tribunals have been set up to deal with cases under these out-laws acts.

Meanwhile unrest and revolt in Ireland are growing very rapidly, especially among the poor farmers. The Irish Republican Army is expanding tremendously in membership and activities.

CORTES PASSES TYRANNY LAW

Azana Regime Obtains Law To Suppress Labor

MADRID.—The new Azana government won its first parliamentary victory on October 20 when it obtained unanimous approval in the Assembly for the special defense law to be directed primarily against the revolutionary syndicalists and the Communists. Under the defense measure the government may deal "labor, political and religious disorders with extraordinary powers." The government obtains the right of search and seizure. Strikes are regarded as illegal unless eight days notice is given before they are called and illegal strikers are subject to heavy fine or exile.

A certain section of the Socialist deputies made objections but their protest collapsed and they abstained from voting or even voted in favor of the government proposals.

Article XLVI of the Constitution, providing for secular education, was passed by the Cortes on October 20.

POLICE ATTACK SILK PICKETS

Try To Smash Picketing; C. P.-Majority Group Members Hit

(Special to the *Revolutionary Age*) Paterson, N. J., October 23, 1931.

Friday night, October 23, the picket line around the Pontiac silk mill was brutally attacked by the police of Paterson. Jack Laks, a member of the C.P.-Majority Group, was the center of the police attack and was very badly beaten up. He had to be given medical attention. Eighteen of the pickets were arrested, jammed into a police wagon and rushed to jail. Later, they were released on bail. Among those arrested was Vivian Miller, member of the C.P.-Majority Group, and Thomas Morgan, member of C.P.-Majority Group.

The Pontiac shop is one of a number that is attempting to break the 8-hour day and substitute in its place the 10-hour day.

The Lawrence strike has completely demonstrated the bankruptcy of the Gandhi capital-union policy.

ROAD HEADS O. K. I. C. C. PLAN

Proposal Swells Railroad Income \$100,000,000; To Demand More

The Association of Railway Executives, at its convention in Atlantic City, has endorsed the proposal of the Interstate Commerce Commission for specific increase in rates, which would swell the railway magnates' income by at least \$100,000,000 a year. Apparently the railroad owners are preparing to ask for more, the accepting the Hoover proposal in principle. The stock market's first response to the Interstate Commerce Commission plan was not good. The railways are in desperate shape due to the general crisis. The proposals made by the I. C. C. to pool revenues resulting from specified (Continued on Page 2)

Hoover and Laval Confer on Crisis; Gold and Debts Discussed

Desperate Measures To Save Gold Standard; Relations Of U. S. And Franco-German Bloc Scanned; Plot World War Against Labor

WASHINGTON, D. C. Secret conferences have opened here between President Hoover and Premier Laval of France. The basic questions over which these spokesmen of the two most powerful imperialist countries are: 1. Wall Street and the Paris Bourse are anxious to work out a common program to save the gold standard. They fear the collapse of the entire international credit system in the coming weeks

unless desperate measures are taken and the gold standard is saved. Both in France and in the United States there is a rapidly growing tendency among the people towards hoarding.

2. The United States is extremely anxious over its heavy investments in Germany which are today badly frozen and totally uncollectable. Laval and Hoover are to go over plans already prepared for them by their respective bankers to draw the United States into the Franco-German economic entente so that French capitalists alone will not be left holding the bag in the event of a further sharpening of the German crisis which now seems inevitable.

3. Towards this end of partnership in some form or other in the exploitation of Germany, Premier Laval, it is understood, will demand that the United States back up France to the limit in guaranteeing her "security", which means armed assistance for an onslaught against Germany, should the latter continue to default in international payments. The situation is especially serious in view of the recognized fact that considerable financial aid must be rushed to Germany if collapse is to be staved off at all this winter.

4. A burning question at issue between French and United States imperialism is that of armaments. France is determined to maintain her hegemony on the continent at the point of a bayonet. The United States government, facing an ever mounting budgetary deficit, is feeling secure enough in its potential strength to demand some economies in the ways and means of arming. France will not yield to the Wall Street plea unless given substantial concessions in return. Laval has already indicated this in his speech in New York in which he said that France "in the midst of widespread disturbances, remains sound" and that "if France and the United States can agree and unite in an ever increasing cooperation, we may look forward to better things... In a world torn with doubt, our two great democracies together must search for and apply methods which will restore calm and reestablish equilibrium... to ward off the dangers which menace our civilization."

5. The debts and reparations question will undoubtedly consume much time in the negotiations. There is no agreement on this as yet. Even a temporary agreement will be very difficult to reach. While both Hoover and Laval are pretending that their secret conference is a peace confab, the very opposite is occurring. In fact, insofar as the actual steps already taken by diplomats are concerned, both France and the United States are agreed against England's effort to organize a world conference for a redistribution of the gold supply. The Italian bourgeoisie is worried lest some agreement be reached which should weaken its position on the continent. The German financial magnates are worried over the prospect of more political demands being put up to them for future loans as a result of French pressure on Washington.

The reference by Laval to the need for warding off "the dangers which menace our civilization" is taken by all as a direct and frank statement of international capitalism's recognition of the need for working more closely than ever against the working classes at home and the Soviet Union in the international arena. The imperialist antagonism will surely be much more acute as a result of their efforts to patch up the unsolvable contradictions.

LOVESTONE CLASS UP WITH EACH LECTURE

The lecture course "The Labor Movement Today," given every Friday evening at the New Works School, is a huge success. For the first three lectures there was an average attendance of over 100 workers. The attendance has been increasing with each lecture.

It is still possible for workers to enroll in the course, with deductions made for the lectures missed. Admission to single lectures is 25c. The schedule for the next three weeks is as follows:

October 30—What Can American Labor Learn From The Russian Workers.

November 6—The Outlook For The Presidential Elections.

November 13—Workings Of The Stock Market—How It Works And Whom.

BELIEVE IT OR NOT!



JUDGE URGES THAT STRIKE PICKETS IN LAWRENCE BE DEPORTED

Textile Struggle Continues As Police Use Revolvers In Attack; A. F. of L. Leader And Governor Plan Sell-Out; Labor Must Smash Deportations

LAWRENCE, Mass. — The recommendation that deportation proceedings should be started against all textile strikers found to be non-citizens, was made by Judge Frederick C. Chandler in his decision on the cases of four strikers in the District Court on October 20.

The strike of the 20,000 textile workers in and around Lawrence has been pushed vigorously by the workers in spite of the repeated attempts of the officials of the United Textile Workers to stifle the conflict thru negotiation and arbitration. As the struggle began to assume serious aspects to the bosses, the police rushed to adopt violent tactics. On October 19 they organized attacks on strike pickets, drawing their revolvers for the first time in the strike. After a clash before the Wood Mill of the American Woolen Company, four strikers were arrested and brought before Judge Chandler. They were held on bond of \$1,000 each. Not only did the judge recommend that the foreign-born strikers be deported but he immediately notified Washington authorities in the Department of Labor to carry the threat into execution.

The Lawrence textile workers arose a few weeks ago in a series of spontaneous strikes in protest against the threat of a general 10% wage-cut announced by the great woolen companies. The strikers are almost wholly under the United Textile Workers, the A. F. of L. union, although a small group are following the National Textile Workers Union, the T. U. U. L. union in the industry.

BOSTON.—Governor Joseph P. Ely conferred here several hours with Robert J. Watt, president of the Lawrence Central Labor Union, on the matter of the textile strike. Governor Ely suggested that the workers return to work under the 10% wage-cut with the provision that "when prosperity returns the workers receive increases in pay." Mr. Watt declined to comment on the results of the conference but it is understood that he is con-

WALKER AIDE IS IN MEXICO

Sherwood Refuses Summons To Return; Seabury In Big Fine Threat

The threat of a \$100,000 fine against Mayor James J. Walker, because of his refusal to return from Mexico City to New York to testify before the Hofstadter legislative committee on the mysterious \$1,000,000 bank accounts of Mayor Walker, was made by Samuel Seabury on October 20.

When Mr. Sherwood, who had been missing for many months, was discovered in Mexico City, Mr. Seabury sent down two special agents to serve a summons upon Mr. Sherwood who positively refused to accept the summons upon advice of counsel. The threat of a fine was thereupon made by Mr. Seabury.

Roger Baldwin Speaks on 'Land of the Free', Nov. 1, 63 Madison Av.

Foreign Press Review

"The more the political tension grows splitting nations into two camps, the more important becomes the government task to muster all constructive elements for positive activities. The common goal, however, demands that political activities remain confined within certain limits if they aim at the overthrow of the constitution and the destruction of the state and civilization thru Bolshevism."

"The conversations between President Hoover and M. Laval may mark a great turning point in the post-war policy... It is of course certain that at Washington, inter-governmental debts and reparations will be discussed, but it is an error to think that the problem will be settled in a few days by a turn of the hand. It is evident that some arrangement must be reached for it is certain that next July Germany will not be able to resume payments. But it is also true that the principle of debt payments is just a reality for the United States as it is for France to demand that there must be no abandonment of reparations."

"The real question is whether the United States intends to contribute to the peace of the world. If it has such a noble aim its means of application are at hand. All that is necessary is that it should declare it regards itself as a guardian of treaties and that, in conformance with the promise of its President Wilson, it is ready to mount guard on the Rhine."

"This much already is certain. That Washington Conference between the two great gold and creditor powers promised to become a historical epoch for the fearful problems of the financial crisis, debts and disarmament."

"Laval's plan is circumspectly to maneuver America into the fulfillment of her Versailles guarantee promise of 1919 and on that basis and without really disarming, make a peace for Europe which actually would mean the permanent hegemony of France."

"It is not to be expected that the world's creditors, sitting in council, will consider the interest of other countries in so far as they affect the welfare of their own countries."

"The Five-Year Plan is not a stunt. Anybody who goes to Russia with such a notion will be disabused of it in twenty-four hours. The plan pervades the country from Leningrad to Vladivostok, from Archangel to Baku. It is immensely ambitious but it is not fanciful..."

"Of the success of the Plan as a whole there can be no doubt in the mind of anyone who has seen it in operation. Of course, it is not perfect. The most spectacular achievement so far has been the heavy industry and agriculture which have had pride of place."

"The Japanese troops are duly invested with the right of adopting self-defensive measures... The Japanese railway garrison is commissioned to guard the South Manchurian railway and protect the life and property of the Japanese residents along the railway... Manchuria is a territory where Japan's special rights exist. This fact, with a background of history and treaties, is well recognized by the world at large... We do not understand why the Chinese troops resorted to such a violence. But it is indisputable that Chinese people have begun to insult Japanese people recently. The boycott movement against Japanese goods only arouse Japan's resentment. Japan so far has played her temper under control for many years."

"It can indeed be said that State necessity requires that the Rights (the Fascists. — Editor) should be placed at the rudder immediately, because it is not to be disputed that the components of the system, upon which the Reich and Prussian governments support themselves, no longer possess the necessary backbone."

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NEW CENTRIST PARTY IS FORMED IN GERMANY AS S. P. SPLITS

The "Socialist Labor Party" Is Formed

Berlin, Germany. On October 3, the organization conference of the new *Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei* (Socialist Labor Party) recently established by the expelled leaders of the Social-democratic Lefts, Seydewitz, Rosenfeld, et al., opened. There were represented 25 districts thru 88 mandates. The majority of the participants were members of the *Sozialistische Arbeiterbewegung* (Socialist Working Youth) and young Socialists in general.

The conference clearly betrayed its abrupt character. The decisions are declared to be provisional and subject for another conference were made. As chairmen of the new party were elected the Reichstag members, Seydewitz, Rosenfeld and Stroebel. In November 1 the new party will issue a daily in Berlin—*Sozialistische Arbeiterzeitung*. The party leadership was commissioned to "negotiate with other groups for unity on the basis of the class struggle." Georg Oettinghaus signed his affiliation to the new party.

Seydewitz made the chief report. He described the gross opportunism and intolerable bureaucracy of the Social-democratic party leadership. The new party would not conduct a struggle for readmission into the S. D. P., because, declared Seydewitz, "to fight for a class struggle program within it is impossible." Nor would it join the Communist party which, he said, differed on "important tactical and organizational questions," since in the C. P. G. also no discussion is possible. On questions of fundamental principle (coalition policy and attitude to the bourgeois state, dictatorship vs. democracy, etc.) Seydewitz exhibited indecision and confusion but swung strongly to the left. In the discussion that followed it was emphasized that the new party regarded its differences with the S. D. P. as differences of principle while its differences with the C. P. G. were rather differences in "tactics and organizational policies."

Klaus Zwilling spoke on the provisional program and followed Seydewitz's remarks very closely. He was followed by Dr. Eckstein who reported on organization. The main question that arose was the problem of international affiliation. In spite of the "differences in principle" with the Social-democratic party it was decided to affiliate to the Second (Socialist) International and "strengthen the left wing there."

"To the Communist International we cannot affiliate," the reporter emphasized, completely forgetting Seydewitz's statement that "only tactical differences" separated the new party from the C. P. G.

The trade union question was discussed under the report of Ziegler. The report consisted of an attack upon the class-collaborationist policy of the Social-democratic leadership, and upon some features of the C. P. trade union line and of a sketch of tactical principles, which, curiously enough, swung a considerable way towards sectarianism.

In the discussion that followed the main reports the note was sounded more than once that the "U. S. P. (Independent Socialist party) experience must not be repeated" and that a definite and unequivocal stand on fundamental questions must be taken.

In his concluding remarks Seydewitz announced that the expelled Social-democratic deputies had, indirectly but officially, been approached by Communist Party leaders and offered "exactly the same positions and functions on the C. P. as they had held in the S. P.!" Seydewitz announced that he and his colleagues had "scornfully refused this shameful offer."

Especially dealt with the sectarian trade union policy of the C. P. G. (the notorious "R. G. O. line"). Oettinghaus announced: "I was astonished at the treatment of this question by the C. C. of the C. P. G. Particularly Comrade Thaelmann dealt with it in detail and promised a change of policy on the trade union question... The Communist Opposition—which has at its disposal a number of good and valuable functionaries—has, on many questions foreseen matters correctly, more correctly than the leadership of the C. P. G. and has conducted for several years a hard, honest and necessary struggle for the realization of its views. In this sense will I work."

When these words got out to the Party membership, with the additional intimation that Thaelmann had heard them without objecting, the Party leadership was thrown into confusion. The statements of Oettinghaus could neither be repudiated nor confirmed! So the C. C. fell back on the old reliable method and immediately prohibited Oettinghaus from speaking in public! After a few days this ban was lifted to the extent that the unfortunate deputy was permitted to speak but not on trade union matters!

Meanwhile the question is circulating thru German labor circles: What about this change or trade union line that Thaelmann promised Oettinghaus?

CONCERT and "LIAME" given by UNITED PROGRESSIVE LEAGUE OF LOCAL 1 - I. L. S. W. U. on the occasion of our First Anniversary at ASTORIA MANSION 62 East 4th Street. New York City Saturday, October 31, 1931 - 8 P. M. Tickets on sale at "AGE" Office - Price 75c.

Ingersoll Forum Pythian Temple, 135 W. 70th St. Sundays, 8 P. M. Admission 25c NOVEMBER 1st POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SYMPOSIUM

"The Way Out of the Depression" Representatives of the various Parties. Atheist Tracts and Catalogue Free Am. Ass'n for Adv. of Atheism, Inc. 307 E. 14th St. New York, N. Y.

The Guild presents EUGENE O'NEILL'S TrilogY "MOURNING BECOMES ELECTRA" Composed of 3 Plays "HOMECOMING", "THE HUNTED", "THE HAUNTED" All 3 plays will be presented on one day, commencing at 5 o'clock. Dinner intermission of one hour and a quarter at about 7 o'clock. No Matinee performances.

THE GROUP THEATRE PRESENTS House of Connelly By PAUL GREEN Under the Auspices of the Theatre Guild MARTIN BECK THEATRE 45th St. & 8th Ave. Evenings 8:30 Matinees Thurs. & Sat. 2:30. Penn. 6-6100.

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JOBLESS SENT TO WOOD-PILE

N. Y. Department of Public "Welfare" Makes New Slave Decision

Unemployed workers who may not be able to prove that they are "genuine" New York residents will be sent to the wood-pile as a "work-test," according to an announcement by Frank J. Taylor, Commissioner of the Department of Public Welfare. This plan, Mr. Taylor, declared is to "discourage" out-of-town unemployed workers from "floating" into the city. Starving and miserable workers who cannot give a New York residence address which will bear the scrutiny of the department, will be sent to the wood-pile to work for many hours before any food or lodging at all will be given to them! This is how boss "charity" works! Every honest, sincere worker who respects himself and his class must come out and demand immediate government unemployment relief.

RIGHT SCORES IN FRENCH VOTE

Expected Big Socialist Gain Fails; Communists Also Lose

PARIS.—The October 19 elections thruout France for parish and county councils were marked by a leaning in the direction of the "center" and moderate "left" parties. The expected swing to the left, to the Socialist party especially, completely failed to eventuate. The Communists not only registered no gains but even lost severely in most cities.

The "new turn" in the policy of the Communist Party—the offer to the Socialists for mutual support in the second ballots—had been rejected by the Socialist party and had no influence in the elections.

LABOR TEMPLE 14th STREET & 2nd AVENUE Sunday, Nov. 1st at 7:45 P. M. Address by Edmund B. Chaffee on "Will American Capital Survive the Present Crisis" Admission Free

LOCAL 22 MEMBERS FOR GENUINE STRIKE, MEETING SHOWS

A Letter From A Needle Worker

New York City. On Thursday, October 22, 1931, a membership meeting of Dressmakers' Local 22, I. L. G. W. U., took place at Bryant Hall. The chief issues of the meeting were the coming strike, its demands, its organizational and financial preparations.

The chairman of the meeting was N. Margolies. The secretary read the report of the executive board, listing the demands of the strike and proposing a committee of 25 rank and file workers to cooperate with the executive to prepare for and to mobilize the workers for the strike. The executive also proposed a \$10 strike tax for operators and drapers and \$5 tax for finishers, examiners and cleaners.

It was decided to take up the points in the executive report seriatim. A discussion followed in the course of which Chas. S. Zimmerman, of the United Progressive League, took the floor and made two proposals that he had already presented to the executive board: (1) to reestablish the "independent" department, which means that the union should no longer force bosses to join the employers' association; and (2) to abolish the clause in the agreement making possible "supplementary" agreements. Both proposals were referred to the executive when the executive report on demands was adopted unanimously.

During the discussion Grossman, representing the self-styled "Left" group (the cover organization of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union), who had said nothing while it was decided to take up the demands individually, arose and insisted on making a "general" proposition: that Local 22 and the dress department of the N. T. W. I. U. each select a committee of 25, and that this joint committee of 50 call a shop delegates conference which should elect a committee to take full charge of the strike, its finances, etc.—thus setting aside the union and its official machinery and laying the basis for what would really be a third union! This motion was postponed, by the chairman, to the time when organization would be considered.

The next question was the question of the tax. Nelson, of the United Progressive League, proposed that, since the strike had not yet been decided but waited for the approval of the joint board, the decision on the strike tax should be postponed or referred to the committee of 25 also to await the action of the joint board on the strike and its demands. The position of the local administration was that it would be advisable to pass the tax so that the local representatives could come to the joint board and use the tax vote as a weapon to put thru the strike demands. Borum, of the "Left" group, made a speech filled with generalities and not touching the point of the tax at all. On a straight "for" or "against" vote, the vote stood 131 for, 59 against.

The meeting then passed over to the question of the committee of 25. A large number of nominations were handed in to the chairman and, in view of the lateness of the hour, the proposal was made and carried that all of the nominations be published in the press and posted in the union office and that a special meeting be called a week later to elect the committee.

Thruout the entire discussion it was evident that the membership was anxious for a real general strike in the industry—not a so-called strike for an "agreement" but a genuine strike for demands. A Needle Trades Worker.

CITY BUDGET UP OVER 280%

Per Capita Cost Increases From \$26 In 1900 To \$89 In 1932

The budget of the City of New York has gone up 287% in the last twenty years in proportion to the rise in population, according to the memorandum presented by the New York Merchants' Association in protest against the \$631,352,880 tentative budget for the year 1932. The per capita budget cost was \$26.88 in 1900, \$34.22 in 1910, \$48.69 in 1920 and \$89.04 in 1932.

The huge budget proposal of Mayor Walker for the year 1932 is very significant in view of the huge sums mysteriously banked in the last few years by municipal officials and Tammany chiefs out of very meager salaries.

The Haitians, Washington announces, now have self-government. Only the posts of financial adviser, general receiver, and command of the constabulary, remain in American hands. Oh, yes, and we forgot—the American marines are still in Haiti. But Haiti is a sovereign country, an "equal partner in the family of nations." And Haiti has self-government!

PHILADELPHIA! BEN GITLOW will speak on The Textile Strike in Paterson at the LABOR INSTITUTE 808 Locust Street Philadelphia, Pa.

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New Workers School Forum 63 Madison Avenue, cor. 27th St. — Entrance on 27th St. SUNDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 1st, 1931 — 8 P. M. ROGER BALDWIN Chairman, Civil Liberties Union "The Land of the Free" The Operation of American Democracy Questions and general discussion. — Get on our mailing list for future events. Admission: 25 Cents SUNDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 8TH, 1931 BANQUET and CELEBRATION of the 14th Anniversary Russian Revolution 2nd Anniversary Revolutionary Age AT THE NEW HARLEM CASINO 116th Street and Lenox Avenue Admission 50 Cents At the door 75 Cents

The Stage and Screen

GUILD PRESENTS O'NEILL'S TRILOGY "MOURNING BECOMES ELECTRA"

The Theatre Guild presents Eugene O'Neill's trilogy "Mourning Becomes Electra" at the Guild Theatre on Monday. The three plays of the group are presented in two performances, the first of which, "Homecoming" begins at 5 P. M. At 7 there is an intermission of an hour and a quarter, and at 8:15 P. M. the second of the plays "The Hunted" is given followed by "The Haunted." No matinee performances of the play will be given. The cast includes Alla Nazimova, Earle Larimore, Thomas Chalmers, Lee Baker and Alice Brady.

Arthur Hopkins announces that he will begin rehearsals of the new Hope Williams play this week. The play is a comedy called "The Passing Present" by Gretchen Damrosch. The production will be designed by Robert Edmond Jones, and is due here next month.

Now that his latest play "The Left Bank," is launched at the Little Theatre, Elmer Rice is getting ready for his next production, "Counselor-at-Law" which he will present some time in November, with Paul Muni in the chief role.

Alexander Granach has joined the cast of the Yiddish Ensemble Art Company and will be seen in "The Golem" which opens at the Civic Repertory Theatre on Tuesday evening, November 5. Granach is a member of the State Theatre in Berlin and is here on leave. Special incidental music for "The Golem" has been written by Joseph Achrom, composer of The Hebrew Melody.

BALIEFF LAUNCHES HIS NEW CHAUVES-SOURIS

With the arrival of the entire company, Ballieff's Chauves-Souris, numbering some forty people, opened at the Ambassador Theatre last week. This new Chauves-Souris has a new triple bill, including Pushkin's "The Queen of Spades" in English, with an English company, headed by the well-known actor, George Hovey a Mozart ballet and an Offenbach-Lecocq opera.

"THE ROAD TO SINGAPORE" AT HIPPODROME

The Hippodrome this week presents on the screen "The Road to Singapore" with William Powell assisted by Doris Kenyon, Marian Marsh, Louis Calhern, and Al-



DORIS KENYON With William Powell in "The Song to Singapore," showing on the Hippodrome screen this week.

son Skipworth. The story is by Roland Pertwee, noted British novelist and playwright.

Low Pollack with his company head the vaudeville show which includes Mel Klee, the blackface funster; Billy Lytell and Tom Fant, comics; Whitey and Ed Ford; Joe Wong with Miss Fumi; Joseph and Roxy LaRocca, "Telepavision," and the Six American Belfords.

"Song of Life" and Eisenstein Film at the Cameo Theatre Alexis Granawsky's film "The Song of Life" (Das Lied vom Leben), is continuing a second week at the Cameo Theatre. The noted Russian director S. M. Eisenstein is represented on the same program with a short sound film—his first sound effort—"A Sentimental Romance," which he made in Paris a year or so back.

This is the second week of "The Spirit of Notre Dame" at the Mayfair Theatre. Lew Ayres plays the leading role.

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The Crisis in the Far East

Jap Imperialism in Manchuria

by L. Magyar

For decades hundreds of thousands, and during the last few years, millions of Chinese peasants have left the war-devastated districts of Northern China every year.

Chinese in Manchuria But the Chinese peasants who hurried in search of free land or at least cheap land, were forestalled by the imperialists, the land speculators, landlords, militarists and usurers.

The colonization of Manchuria, as it developed, led to semi-feudal land relations. Further, the dependence of the Manchurian peasant on the world market, while he was fenced in by imperialist, landlord and moneylender, was much greater than in any part of China.

Koreans in Manchuria Japanese imperialism, the Korean landlords, money-lenders and merchants plunder the peasants of Korea. The ruined Korean peasants flee to the Japanese factories in Japan or Korea, and if the capitalist factory cannot swallow them all up, they flee into Manchuria.

Japan and Manchuria Manchuria is the richest province of China, which is itself so poor in natural wealth.

On Wednesday, September 30, the membership of the Workers Cooperative Colony, at its meeting, expected to get a general report about the camp, stores and houses, and at the same time awaited an announcement of the amount that would be paid to the worker creditors.

The biggest monopoly is the South Manchurian Railway. In addition to the railway line, the South Manchurian Railway owns enormous storehouses, workshops, one of the biggest locomotive works in Asia at Dairen, a flotilla and harbors at Dairen, Port Arthur, Inow, and Andun, its own docks at Shanghai, coal mines at Fushun, Yantai and other places, electric stations, gas works at Dairen, Mukden, Changhai, Andun, hotels in all the chief towns, building and repair yards to the extent of 55-60 thousand acres, buildings, hospitals, experimental stations, laboratories, model silk works, chemical works, oil pressing works, breweries, iron mines, blast furnaces, factories for distilling shale oil, soda works, saw mills, etc.

The Land Question Up to the present, Japanese citizens have not had the formal right to buy land owned by the South Manchurian Railway. Japanese imperialism is seeking to get these rights under the pretext of defending the interests of the Korean settlers. Naturally, there is no question of protecting the interests of the ruined Korean peasants, but it is only a question of whether the Eastern Colonizing Society, the Chosen Bank and the Japanese land speculators and not the Chinese landlords will exploit the peasants.

The Railway Controversy The South Manchurian Railway is trying to obtain a number of new railroad concessions for building a line from Girin to Hoirien. At the same time it is bringing about the cessation of the construction of railroads by Chinese capital, and, in particular, the cessation of the construction of lines which might compete with the South Manchurian Railway.

All these questions are interwoven with each other. The taxation of Japanese firms and citizens, the "right" of the Japanese bank to issue paper money, the struggle for the monopoly of the collection of beans, etc., form the main features of the Japanese demands, as far as they concern Manchuria itself.

Along with the S. M. Railway and in cooperative two parcels of land, to lay Barker Avenue, for which the court had awarded a sum of about \$40,000.

Why did the leadership of the cooperative conceal this fact from the membership and board of directors?

Never mind the "explanation" that the money was not yet in their hands! Never mind their cries that they were not satisfied with the award and they were appealing the case.

Does not this prove that the leadership of the cooperative does not intend to pay to the worker creditors?

The workers, members of the cooperative, as well as the workers generally, must condemn such actions on the part of the leadership of the cooperative.

The worker creditors, who have given their last cent in order to build up a workers cooperative, in order to strengthen the left wing movement, deserve more attention and better treatment.

When a number of cooperators asked the question why the leadership did not report about the \$40,000 award for the land taken by the city, instead of answering the question directly, acknowledging the fact, and telling the membership what they intend to do with this amount of money, the cooperative leaders launched an attack against the comrades who raised the question.

The "heavy guns" were put forth by Nemeroff and Kolodny, not to explain to the workers present as to why these things had never been reported to the membership (as a matter of fact, not even

Why only \$15,000? Why not more? Was there the possibility to pay more? And if yes, why wasn't it done?

We state categorically that if the leadership of the cooperative were really interested in paying the worker creditors, a sum of from \$35,000-\$40,000 could have been paid.

According to the verbal report of the manager, \$7000 of the \$15,000 was taken from the profit of the stores. According to the same report, there was a balance of \$23,000 from the houses. — \$5,000 clear profit and \$18,000 on account of depreciation. Why is only \$10,000 paid out of \$23,000? What is the reason for not paying out the entire amount of money to the worker creditors?

The most shameful act on the part of the leadership of the cooperatives is the fact that they, in the most bureaucratic manner, concealed from the membership that the city had taken away from the

The Play

THE HOUSE OF CONNELLY by Paul Green

These must be trying times indeed for the bourgeoisie of New York. Not only must they put up with the depressing sights on the streets of New York, the unemployed, the blind beggars, the street musicians pleading for coins, the homeless sleeping anywhere they can, on hydrants, as I saw them, on window sills of our institutions of culture and learning.

While Paul Green has failed in the ultimate conclusion and solution of the problem in this play, he has nevertheless contributed greatly to the American theatre of today. In spite of the short-comings mentioned, he writes with a certain insight into the conditions he deals with. He writes with a poise and dignity, equaling the finest in the theatre of America. He depicts vividly, a little sorrowfully, but truthfully nevertheless, a civilization which is dying, the landed aristocracy of the South.

But Paul Green has done a great deal by giving the theatre this play. He definitely points out, with great beauty and suggestive craftsmanship, the end of a class.

It is a simple enough folk story. The Connelly's have been living on the Southern plantation for generations. On pride and memories each generation was raised. The youngest of the past generation are weakly rebellious against the monotony, the emptiness of their lives.

All these questions are interwoven with each other. The taxation of Japanese firms and citizens, the "right" of the Japanese bank to issue paper money, the struggle for the monopoly of the collection of beans, etc., form the main features of the Japanese demands, as far as they concern Manchuria itself.

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Europe As I Saw It

"It Won't Be Long Now!"

by Quincey E. Doyle

This is the second article in the series "Europe As I Saw It," by Quincey E. Doyle. The next article will be "Cock of the Walk," dealing with France.

It is our belief that Mr. Doyle tends to exaggerate the advantages that would fall to the "Left" (i. e., the Communists) as a result of a Fascist putsch. It must be remembered that a Fascist coup would involve the destruction of the basic labor organizations, the trade unions the cooperatives, the proletarian sport organizations, etc. and would leave the working class disorganized in the face of the enemy.

There is no intended flippancy in the title chosen for these brief observations on the present situation in Germany.

That situation is much too serious for light-hearted treatment. I have just landed in Berlin from Moscow, having left the Soviet Union by airplane this morning. It would be difficult to find greater contrasts anywhere on the continent of Europe than in these two capitals.

Yesterday was the historic occasion of the Prussian plebiscite. Tonight the papers announce its failure, generally interpreted as the result of non-cooperation by voting Communists.

There is nothing in the situation here to warrant this hope of the "Center." Unofficial opinion everywhere is looking for

ward to a Fascist coup before the Winter is over. Whether it will come after a reorganization of the present Cabinet with a Hitlerite participating in a coalition, or whether it will come as a direct onslaught against the existing Cabinet, is not clear.

But Fascism has no philosophy and program that will enable it to maintain itself in power even tho' it may be successful in seizing it, — not in a country where Communism has the actual and potential strength that it possesses in Germany. The most vigorous response to a Fascist coup may be expected from the "Left." The "Left" will then possess what I believe are the strategic advantages of the "second revolution."

Out of such a civil war there is no predicting what immediate results might follow. What would France do? I have been told that Fascist leaders are in close touch with French leaders. While the facade of the Hitlerite campaign is anti-French, there is no denying that the French Nazis in a contest with the German "Left." Class interests, come to an open clash of force in Germany, will make a speedy end of national boundaries even tho' they be as high as that stretching between France and Germany.

One important outcome of such a struggle in Germany will be the practical wiping out of Social-democracy. This process has already begun. If elections were held in Germany today I believe there would be a million fewer votes cast for the Social-democratic candidates than were polled twelve years ago.

At present, however, Social-democracy in Germany remains a bulwark of capitalism against Socialism. This position of the German Social-democracy, like that of the British Labor government, is teaching multitudes everywhere that capitalism and Socialism cannot co-exist side by side in a country. The philosophy of gradualism makes Social-democracy a pimple on

the face of capitalism, just as the Nephew of the Soviet Union are a pimple on the face of Soviet Socialism. Only in this unlovely manner can there be co-existence. Here and elsewhere will be many who make wary faces at dictatorship of right or left, while they find the dictatorship of a Bruening or a MacDonald as palatable as a strawberry nut sundae.

reputated in no many words. Not even the 10th Plenum of the Communist International, which openly repudiated the united front as "opportunism," dared to call for a splitting of all the trade unions.

But in spite of these resolutions, all work in reactionary unions has been liquidated. Simons writes of "the decision of the R. I. L. U., as well as authoritative decisions of the T. U. U. L., regarding the necessity of increasing the work in the reactionary union. In spite of the fact that the Fifth Congress of the R. I. T. U. again underlined the importance and necessity of work in the reactionary trade unions, we must recognize that our work in reactionary unions is extremely weak."

Such a policy leads only to the complete debacle of the Party's trade union work. The masses are driven away from Communism by such policies. The reactionary leaders are put in an exceptionally favorable position as defenders of the unity of the trade unions; the Communists appear before the workers as splitters. The openly disruptive work of the Party members in the trade unions results in their quick expulsion from the reactionary unions, which expulsion meets with no movement of resistance on the part of the workers. The policy leads to complete isolation from the trade unions, not to work within them. You cannot win the three million workers in the A. F. of L., by saying, and especially by showing in practice, as in Germany, that you are out to destroy their organizations.

The "decisive turn" of Simons resolves itself into nothing more than a pious wish that in the future, unlike the immediate past, work (splitting work) within the trade union movement will increase. This decisive turn turns out to be a decisive example of the extent of Party's anti-Leninist trade union policies.

(Concluded in the next issue)

Has The Party Changed Its Course? AGAIN— 'A SHARP CHANGE OF LINE'

by B. Herman

(Continued from the last issue) The tactics of the united front were first formulated at the Third Congress of the Communist International. At the Fourth Congress, the last in which Lenin participated, Zinoviev, the chairman, in his official report, reaffirmed the policy and explained it as follows:

"The united front means leading the working masses in the daily war. It means that we are ready to march against capitalism side by side with all workers, be they anarchists, syndicalists, Christian Socialists, Social-democrats, or whatever you please, to join forces with them in the daily struggle against the reduction of wages and against the loss of the 8-hour day. We accept the fact that we shall often have to sit at the table with treacherous leaders. The foregoing is what the united front means, and nothing else."

Clearly, the congresses of the Comintern had views of the united front which have nothing in common with the "united front from below," of the "rank and file" along with the revolutionary unions. Certainly "treacherous leaders" are not rank and file, no matter how far "below" we would like to send them.

The classical example of the "united front from below" tactics is the unity maneuver of the National Textile Workers Union in the Paterson silk strike only a few weeks ago. Here, 6,000 to 7,000 strikers supported the A. F. of L. unions, 10,000, leaving 13,000 for a purpose known to them alone, the fact that they for more than seven months concealed that the city had taken away two months ago the court had awarded about \$40,000, these facts are enough evidence that the leadership of the cooperative did not intend either to report the award or to pay out the worker creditors.

The leadership of the cooperative has a lot of explanations to make to the workers had accepted it, would have resulted in the sharpest divisions and demoralization of the ranks of the strikers and the breaking of the strike.

So we must look further for the "decisive turn" of Comrade Simons. At last we come to the proposal of Ralph Simons to intensify opposition work in the reactionary unions. To a worker who reads casually the phrases "systematic, stubborn and planned work in the reactionary unions," it may seem that here at last we have the decisive turn in the Party's trade union course. For the Leninist course is one of penetration of the mass organizations, building there a left wing, fighting to transform the reactionary unions into militant organs of struggle, driving out the reactionary leadership and winning the masses away from them. It is a course unalterably opposed to the splitting of the trade unions. But on careful examination one begins to see that Simons' "decisive turn" is here again nothing but a decisive fraud. For, on paper, the policy of working within reactionary unions has never been

Frederick Douglass INTERRACIAL FORUM Howland Studio 1660 Fulton St.—Brooklyn, N. Y. NOVEMBER 1, 4 P. M. Bertram D. Wolfe Director of The New Workers School "ONLY SAPS WORK" A Study of the Social Basis of Racketeering

Revolutionary Age

Published Weekly by the Revolutionary Age Assn., 63 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. JAY LOVESTONE, Editor B. D. WOLFE, Associate Editor WILL HERBERG, Managing Editor ALBERT BELL, Business Mgr.

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

Subscription rates: Foreign \$3.50 a year—\$2.00 six mos.—Domestic \$2.50 a year; \$1.50 six mos.; 5 cents a copy.

Vol. II, No. 48. October 31, 1931.

THOMAS ALVA EDISON

THE death of Thomas Alva Edison marks the end of an era. Thomas Alva Edison was not a great epoch-making theoretical physicist such as Einstein; nor was he a path finding experimental genius such as Faraday; nor was he a far-visioned technician such as Steinmetz. He was an inventor, an inventive genius of the first rank, such as has not been equalled in the history of mankind.

Thomas Alva Edison was the recognized symbol of the astounding technical progress of American capitalism in the last fifty years. There is not a single industrial field of importance that has not felt the impact of his work, although characteristically enough it was precisely metallurgy and electro-technique, the great foundation stones of modern capitalism, that were almost entirely transformed by his genius. It is quite true that it was the phenomenal growth of American capitalist industry that created the demand for and produced an Edison but it is equally true that, directly and indirectly, the man Thomas Alva Edison, rose to the stature of a social force in his own right in this very industrial expansion.

Yet the vision of the man himself was curiously narrow; he never could really free himself from the stultifying limitations of his bourgeois environment and it was only rarely that he even made the attempt. In the true sense of the word he was no scientist, no pryer into the mysterious ways of nature, no champion of the human reason in a world of great complexity and apparent irrationality. Not a single scientific DISCOVERY—as distinct from mechanical contrivance or technical invention—is to be credited to his name. Throughout his entire life he showed little interest in the fundamental problems of science or scientific method and little sympathy with the true scientific absorption in the search for truth. Here again he was the symbol of his country and his age, of America the Practical that contended "theory" and went in for "results."

Edison was an empiricist of the first water. His colleagues have told us his favorite method—almost pure trial and error. He placed little reliance on "theoretical" science as a basis for his inventive activities. His method was the method of the traditional ingenious Yankee, glorified, it is true, but in all essentials the same. He was the greatest—and the last—of the empiricists.

The same provincial narrow-mindedness was to be noted in the man's views on philosophical questions. He never bothered himself with the great problems of philosophy and scientific method—he was neither a materialist nor an idealist, neither a metaphysician nor a dialectician; the very issues were far beyond his mental horizon. At one time in his life he did indeed declare himself to be a "free-thinker" and fervent admirer of Tom Paine but this meant hardly anything more than a break with the extreme conservatism of conventional religion.

On social questions his outlook was equally superficial and confused. In spite of some early criticisms of capitalism and vague sympathies for Socialism, he remained all his life a confirmed believer in the substantial justice and permanence of the system of capitalist private property. The benefits of his numberless inventions redounded not to himself—for he was always a man of simple tastes and died relatively poor as such things go in this country—nor least of all to society as a whole. His inventions became the basis for the rapid development of a net of giant trusts, that monopolized the fruits of his work and capitalized his name and prestige, monstrous capitalist organizations of insatiable greed, merciless exploiters of labor, holding the life of the country in the hollow of their hands. But Edison did not see all this or seeing, approved!

Thomas Alva Edison was the man of his time, the time of rapid, almost unfettered growth of capitalism in this country. But those days are now gone—gone forever. American capitalism is struck with the same fatal illness under which German and French capitalism are succumbing. Its days are numbered even though they are still relatively numerous. But it betrays its approaching end in the lethargy and degeneration that have already seized it. From the viewpoint of historical perspective, the heroic days of unlimited technical advance are already over. Thomas Alva Edison will find no successor—in capitalist America.

The revolutionary working class, viewing the world and men in the light of Marxism, is able to see and to appreciate both aspects of the career of Thomas Alva Edison. It is able to prize and to honor the inventive genius who won so many victories for mankind over nature and it is able, at the same time, to direct its bitter indignation at those social institutions that have stultified the spirit of this man and transformed the triumphs of his genius into sources of enrichment for cliques of greedy exploiters. It is able to see that only when society has emerged from its real Dark Ages—the ages of class exploitation and class conflict—will the way be opened for untrammeled scientific and technical advance, in which the triumphs of inventive genius will fall to the benefit of mankind as a whole.

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Capitalist "Planning" and Socialist Planned Economy

Critique of Capitalist Planning

by Jay Lovestone

The limitations and impossibilities of all capitalist planning are unlimited. This is because "the contradictions and antagonisms inseparable from the capitalist use of machinery" (Marx) make impossible any genuine social planning under capitalism. None of the bourgeois economists and engineers realize this.

It is true these experts are prepared to take the most drastic measures for planning the preservation and extension of capitalism. It is in this light that Governor Montagu Norman of the Bank of England recently wrote to Governor Moret of the Bank of France: "Unless drastic measures are taken to save it, the capitalist system through the civilized world will be wrecked within a year." This we must keep in mind: all the drastic plans proposed have one decisive aim—to maintain the capitalist system, to check the disintegrating forces of capitalism, to hold back the growth of Communism.

Justification as a "Solution"

We have seen that the basic feature of all the plans is the strengthening of monopoly capital, of trust capital, the extension of trustification. Trusts and cartels are now being hailed as saviors of society and civilization not only by bankers but also by liberals and reformers of all stripes.

It is a commonplace among the official economists that trustification and concentration add equilibrium and stability to the present economic system. To these authorities, fusion of finance capital with industrial capital, the enhancement of the power of the bankers, the merging of the machinery of big business and government, means regulation and "planning."

We will grant that within the big trust units of production there is possible more planfulness in order to get the maximum output from the least number of workers employed. This large-scale, intensified, production within the privately owned plants does not remove the anarchy of capitalist production. On the contrary it sharpens the fight for markets. Trustification does not do away with competition—much bigger in scope. Instead of having competition limited to the struggle between petty shopkeepers, we have today competition between gigantic trusts and mammoth corporations. Note the bitter struggle between chain banks and group banks. Also, we are witnessing a new sort of competition—that is, between industries: steel against lumber, rayon against silk, autos against rails, aluminum against copper, etc. Thus the war of trusts replaces competition among the small business men. This means that the 'chaos' becomes bigger and not smaller, the anarchy of production grips society as a whole more intensely and extensively than ever.

Lenin points this out: "Monopoly, which has sprung from free competition, does not drive the latter out entirely. It really means a new competition—much bigger in scope. Instead of having competition limited to the struggle between petty shopkeepers, we have today competition between gigantic trusts and mammoth corporations. Note the bitter struggle between chain banks and group banks. Also, we are witnessing a new sort of competition—that is, between industries: steel against lumber, rayon against silk, autos against rails, aluminum against copper, etc. Thus the war of trusts replaces competition among the small business men. This means that the 'chaos' becomes bigger and not smaller, the anarchy of production grips society as a whole more intensely and extensively than ever."

And the Program of the Communist International, prepared mainly by Bukharin and Thalheimer, elaborates this decisive phenomenon of capitalism in its imperialist stage when it shows that: "The entire scope and truly world-wide scale of the contradictions of capitalism becomes most glaringly revealed in the epoch of imperialism... The development reproduces the fundamental contradictions of capitalism on an increasingly magnified scale. Competition among small capitalists ceases, only to make way for competition among big capitalists; where competition among big capitalists exists, it fuses up between gigantic combinations of capitalist magnates and their governments; local and national crises become transformed into crises affecting a number of countries and subsequently into world crises; local wars give way to wars between coalitions of states and to world wars."

This is what Lenin taught when he stressed that the historical significance of imperialism lay in its transforming "the contradictions of the national economy into the contradictions of the world economy."

Effect of Trustification. The organization and planfulness which trusts bring into capitalism is the organization and planfulness of chaos. Bukharin very aptly called it "organized chaos." This chaos is different from the chaos which prevailed before monopoly capital became dominant. Lenin clearly underlined this new phenomenon of capitalist development, of imperialism, when he said some fifteen years ago:

"This is something entirely different from the former system of free competition among scattered traders, who knew nothing about each other and produced for sale on an unknown market. Concentration has reached a point where it makes possible an almost accurate inventory of all the sources of raw material in a given country and even as we shall see in a group of countries and in the whole world. And not only are such inventories made, but the gigantic monopolistic combinations sweep all these sources of raw materials under their exclusive control... Capitalism in its imperialist phase tends to the most extensive socialization of production; it thrusts the capitalists, against their will and consciousness, into some kind of a new social order, which constitutes a transition from completely free competition into complete socialization of production."

It is this kind of a "new social order" that Stuart Chase, Swope, and Beard are now envisioning. In this "social order" the basic contradiction of capitalism remains—the contradiction between social production and private appropriation of the products produced. Marx hammered this truth home with great force when he declared that:

"The cause of all these crises is always the limitation of the means of consumption of the masses."
These self-styled Columbuses of a new capitalist America have really discovered nothing and have offered no more when they tell us to look for relief from starvation in more trusts, more accurate statistics, fact-finding and inventory studies.
The present world-wide crisis affords overwhelming evidence of the total bankruptcy of trusts and cartels as regulators and stabilizers of prices, as forces to prevent the collapse of the market for even key commodities. The collapse of prices has hit these "favored" commodities terrific blows and has shattered their market, despite all the much-heralded advantages of cartelization. Copper, subject to the strictest kind of price control, is a case in point. Its price has fluctuated just as violently as tin or zinc, or wheat or lead, or silver, which have been either relatively "free" commodities or subject, at most, only to very little cartel and trust restriction and planning. It is of no mean significance to the optimistic planners of capitalism that even the Italo-Spanish mercenary cartel, really a government monopoly, has failed to maintain its price level on a remunerative basis and is now hard hit by a huge accumulation of stocks. The thoroly cartelized German potash industry is today suffering severely from "overproduction". Certainly these cartels "planned", but the net result for them is nil. Of course, capitalism cannot secure a cartelization of all its industries.

ween production (which is social) and consumption (which is private). This contradiction expresses itself in various ways in different countries. The higher the development of the capitalist productive forces, the greater their efficiency, the more the mass production, the more acute this and other contradictions inherent in the capitalist mode of production become. That is precisely why it is that in the United States the growing excess productive capacity is the most pressing problem and the gap between productive capacities and marketing possibilities is today the widest. The basic feature of American capitalism, its source of greatest strength, is the mass (excess) productive capacity which has brought about hitherto unheard of mass under-consumption for the very workers who are doing the marvelous mass production. Simply to produce, regardless of how efficiently or plentifully the production, is no solution under capitalism. Rationalization means increased output. But rationalization means increased unemployment. Decreased employment means decreased purchasing power for the workers. No capitalist plan can solve this basic contradiction, this unsolvable problem: How can the decreased purchasing power of the workers buy their increased output?

Market Control and Price-Pegging — New Roads to an Old Abyss
Among the most advertised panaceas for capitalist stability and equilibrium are market control and price-pegging for particular commodities or special industries. Classical examples of this type of capitalist "planning" are to be found in the Chadbourne Plan for sugar on an international scale and the Federal Farm Board for agriculture on a national scale — in the United States.

The Cuban government had hoped that, as a result of the Chadbourne Plan aiming to restrict the world sugar crop and aiming to liquidate about three million tons of supplies over a period of five years, "the sugar-grower would get a good price for his sugar, and the grave crisis from which Cuba now suffers would be remedied" (Herald de Cuba, July 2, 1931). But what this Plan has brought is merely a restriction of production in Cuba, limiting the sugar season to two-and-a-half months and consequently bringing greater unemployment, more misery and starvation for the sugar workers slaving for American sugar kings and the National City Bank.

Of all the frauds of state capitalism, of all the shams of capitalist planning, the Farm Board is the crudest. This Federal planning machinery has operated not in behalf of the farming masses but brazenly against them. We need but cite the case of the Federal Farm Board taking care of the Sun-Maid Raisin Co. bonds sold by Dillon, Read and Co., powerful Wall Street financiers. In this instance, the Federal Farm Board aided the customers of Wall Street bond brokers to the tune of over \$4,000,000. This planned loan (really bonus) to the bankers caused the Sun-Maid bonds (not the poor farmer's raisins) to jump 29 cents on two days on the N. Y. Exchange.

Conducting such planned economy, the Farm Board has lost from two to three hundred million dollars in two years, about 70% of its investment. The collapse of wheat and cotton prices in the world market, where such prices are determined, has exposed the helplessness of those experts in providing agricultural equilibrium. Every attempt by the Board to peg prices, such as the one in 1929 to peg cotton at 16c a pound, (now set at about 5 1/2c), has failed miserably. The Board's desperate resort to barter, thru trading twenty-five million bushels of wheat for 1,050,000 bags of Brazilian coffee, has simply changed but not removed the lemons on the Farm Board's hands. The Board is now weighed down by its holdings of 260,000,000 bushels of wheat, or approximately one-third the annual consumption of the country. All the Board could plan for the Southern cotton farmers is to advise them "to stabilize prices" by abandoning much of the cotton now growing in the fields, 4,000,000 bales now growing. This would mean plowing in about one-third of the total crop. The Farm Board's Cotton Stabilization Corporation, now stuck with 1,300,000 bales, strongly deplored its error in over-estimating the damage it had hoped the boll-weevil would do to this year's cotton crop. The poor insect was blamed by the capitalist agricultural planners for its failure to co-operate, thru sufficient crop destruction, to make this "plan" a success!

Here we have it. The pride of capitalist planning has had a miserable fall. The Farm Board has been spending millions annually on developing improved methods of cotton production, on advising plans and giving valuable information as to domestic and world conditions, on expert forecasting and voluminous statistics. The bankers and the press have worked overtime helping the Board preach acreage reduction and diversification. Powerful marketing organizations have been set up and financed by Treasury funds. No wonder that the National City Bank, in its October Bulletin, frankly said:

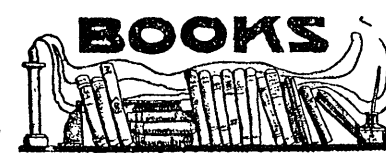
"As an example of planning (capitalist planning)—J. L. [this record] includes inaccurate forecasting of consumption, inability to persuade growers to follow recommendations as to acreage, and finally the refusal of nature to acquiesce in the plan; for favorable weather this year has produced an exceptional crop, and the Farm Board era ends amid the largest over-supply of cotton on record."

What except false hope can there be for the farmer in such planning? The outcome of three years of effort is a price situation disastrous to the growers."

Why is it that efficiency, "planned production" and regulation under capitalism only further the chaos in economy? Mass production and rationalization have themselves sharpened the basic contradiction of capitalism — the contradiction between social production and private appropriation of the

products produced. Marx hammered this truth home with great force when he declared that:

"The cause of all these crises is always the limitation of the means of consumption of the masses."
These self-styled Columbuses of a new capitalist America have really discovered nothing and have offered no more when they tell us to look for relief from starvation in more trusts, more accurate statistics, fact-finding and inventory studies.
The present world-wide crisis affords overwhelming evidence of the total bankruptcy of trusts and cartels as regulators and stabilizers of prices, as forces to prevent the collapse of the market for even key commodities. The collapse of prices has hit these "favored" commodities terrific blows and has shattered their market, despite all the much-heralded advantages of cartelization. Copper, subject to the strictest kind of price control, is a case in point. Its price has fluctuated just as violently as tin or zinc, or wheat or lead, or silver, which have been either relatively "free" commodities or subject, at most, only to very little cartel and trust restriction and planning. It is of no mean significance to the optimistic planners of capitalism that even the Italo-Spanish mercenary cartel, really a government monopoly, has failed to maintain its price level on a remunerative basis and is now hard hit by a huge accumulation of stocks. The thoroly cartelized German potash industry is today suffering severely from "overproduction". Certainly these cartels "planned", but the net result for them is nil. Of course, capitalism cannot secure a cartelization of all its industries.



THE EPIC OF AMERICA, by James Truslow Adams. Little Brown and Company, New York City, 1931.

The author of this book is one of the "best" of the liberal school of American historians. He has done some good work in the past. Especially his trilogy on the development of early New England has some valuable material in it on early class divisions. This, his latest work, has been praised as the "best single volume on American history in existence." It is extravagant praise. For this book is the worst he's ever done by far. It represents a decided backward step even from his own earlier work, vacillating and spotty though that was with all the usual liberal defects.

In general a liberal historian is easily recognized. He can be objective, and sometimes even radical, in his interpretations of the past but gets progressively more vacillating and conservative as he gets nearer and nearer the present. When, therefore, a respectable representative of the liberal school shows not only more than the usual cowardice in facing the sharp issues of the present, but also "corrects" his own previous estimates of past history in a "right" direction, it is a significant sidelight on the "temper of the times."

A simple but acid test of an historian's attitude is his treatment of individuals. Do "great" individuals emerge as mysterious and godlike figures transcending their epochs or as figures subordinate to and expressive of the drive of economic and class forces of their day? From this point of view the treatment of our author is quite revealing. Any ten year old with some knowledge of American history knows Washington as a rather dull individual, a slave-holder, an aristocrat vicious against the masses, a pliable tool in Hamilton's hands in the interest of the manufacturers and bankers of the day; Lincoln as consciously playing the game of the Northern industrialists against the Southern slaveowners; Roosevelt as the breaker of strikes; Wilson as the violator of Mexico and as the attacker of the Russian Revolution. Even liberals aren't shocked at such pictures any more. In fact some of them have even helped in their hesitating fashion to knock off the plaster cast halos of these patriotic saints. It is therefore, indicative of the calibre of this book that at this late stage, the author outdoes even the D.A.R. in the slip he spills about the Siamese twins of American Sainthood, Washington and Lincoln. And of Roosevelt he says:

"... he provided a sane leadership to which the most oppressed and discontented could rally."
Of Wilson the same, only spread much thicker. So much for individuals. The case is no better in the treatment of outstanding events and periods in American history. The treatment is either muddled or "whitewashed" or absolutely reactionary. Take the American Revolution for instance. To attribute its success to France's help and the "miracle" of Washington is sadly superficial. Durand doesn't see classes and masses. He sees individuals. There is an absolute neglect of the decisive role played by the extralegal directing revolutionary bodies, the so-called Committees of Correspondence (analogous to the Jacobins in the French Revolution, to the Soviets in the Russian) and of the role of the masses set in motion by the committees. For all that our author substitutes Washington. Beard would chide our author for the following:

"It gave no special privilege to any one class or interest nor did it lodge power in any of them... assured as far as any constitution could, the growth of economic and political equality."

The analysis of the Reconstruction Period in the South after the Civil War is pro-South, pro-white, pro-Democrat. It is the same reactionary analysis recently made popular by the "Tragic Era" of Claude Bowers, keynote speaker at the Democratic Presidential Nominating Convention of 1928. Completely innocent of the drive of class and sectional antagonisms it is viciously anti-Negro, and sheds crocodile tears at the fate of the Southern slave drivers. And so on down the line!

What's really worrying our shaky liberal however is evident from the following:

"Possibly the greatest of these struggles lies just ahead of us at this present time not a struggle of revolutionists against established order (my emphasis—J.C.); but of the ordinary man to hold fast to those rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness which were vouchsafed for us in the past vision and on parchment."
Accent on the pursuit! For the masses it has always been a pursuit, without ever catching up. And the pursuit will be ended only by that which our gentle liberal vainly tries to sleight-of-hand away—revolution! And that's on the order of business of this epoch!

—Jim Cork.

DANCE for the benefit of THE STRIKING MINERS OF KENTUCKY IN PRISON

Saturday, November 7, 1931 7:30 P. M.

CITIZEN BAND HALL

LADIES 25c. — GENTS 50c.



A Modern Miracle

Will wonders never cease? Apparently not—at least not as long as the Daily Worker continues under its present management. First, it was an alleged burglary of the National Office by Comrade Lovestone armed with gat and jimmy—to steal "de papers". Then the Daily had "Wolfe and Lovestone naked in the market place" on its first page, first column—and on the coldest day last winter at that. Then it had Ben Gitlow staking up and down Paterson with Department of Justice agents, pointing out Communists and foreigners to them. Now, in the Daily Worker of October 17, we read to our bewilderment in Jorge's column that Bert Wolfe went around Union Square at the recent Mooney meeting, stopping the selling of the Daily Worker!

"You're not allowed to sell THAT paper around here, See!", we are reported as saying. "Beat it, or we'll run you in!"

I'm flabbergasted! Jorge will make me believe in astral bodies yet. Either I'll have to believe in spooks and astral bodies or come to the conclusion that Jorge and the Daily have adopted from the American police department their celebrated frame-up system. For it so happens that Bert Wolfe was not at the Mooney meeting in question! HE WASN'T EVEN IN NEW YORK THAT DAY!

Our readers will have to take their choice between the theory of astral bodies and the conclusion that Jorge is a frame-up artist. As a convinced dialectical materialist, the editor of "Hammer and Anvil" is unable to swallow the spooks.

How to Enjoy Football. "Come on — ruin the game for the other girls!" reads an ad for sportswear (for watching not playing) sold by B. Altman & Co.
"Of course," it continues, "you want to be the best looking creature in the stadium. Honestly, we've never seen more swagger clothes — all those swanky things with those mean little ritzy touches that make the girls around you wish you'd stayed home! Fun!"
Sweet thing! What a lovely spirit in which to choose her clothes! How nice to have all the other girls wish you'd stayed home! What a joy to ruin the game for the rest! Fun!

Such is the spirit of rugged individualism applied to dress and mating competition. Weather permitting nudism might be more effective — and less costly. Anything to ruin the game for the other girls. What fun!

Airplane Wing Shirts. Many and marvelous are the advertising schemes to create desire to buy what you don't need and can't afford. But the high point has been reached when Stern Brothers announces a new shirt for men made of the same airplane wing fabric that was used on the "Spirit of St. Louis". Henceforth, "keep your shirt on" takes on a new meaning.

Real Economy. And we pass over to our readers gratis a hint from Gunther's Fifth Ave. "A Gunther mink coat is an economy this year," say they. "Mink economical? Certainly! Prices are far less... Gunther's collection is large and lovely... prodigal in the use of lavish collars that drape and crush like velvet about your face, and huge cuffs that flow into leggy mutton fullness." Gunther's minks are selling at \$5,500. At that price our readers should take advantage of the depression and stock in a dozen.

She Let the Cat Out. Three cheers for District Leader Annie Mathews. Everytime she opens her mouth she lets the cat out: "Can you imagine anybody doing political work for nothing?" she asked her audience in the Russell Sage Auditorium the other night.
"Where do you think the money to support a political organization comes from? You talk of graft. Well, where do you think it would come from? The other party is just as corrupt as we ever could be."

At last, an honest Tammany leader! Three cheers for Annie and honest graft!

Prosperity in Police Production While production figures in other fields drop, figures on attacks on labor and civil liberties continue to rise. The year 1930 reaches a new high record since the war with 1630 free speech prosecutions, 27 lynchings and 27 cases of "mob violence" and 121 meetings prohibited or broken up by police. We can lay it down as a general law of "sociology" that capitalist attacks on the working class and civil liberties vary inversely with capitalist "prosperity". The less capitalism affords the workers in the way of a decent living, the more it attacks them to make up for it.

They Caught It In France Dr. Clarence True Wilson doesn't want to appear unpatriotic. He may have denounced the American Legion beer advocacy as coming from a "drunken and lewd element" but he wants the world to know that drunkenness and lewdness are un-American.

"There are a million men," says he, "who went across to France and came back as clean in mind and body and as fit to be decent American citizens as when they went away. But some of their number dropped their Americanism, their Christian standards of decency, dropped into French customs and came back to import them into the United States."
So that's how drunkenness and lewdness got into God's own country. And we thinking France was a Christian nation all the while? The trouble with France is the Frenchmen. Guess we should have been allied with Germans in the late war!
B. D. W.

(continued in the next issue)