

FOR COMMUNIST
UNITY IN THE
REVOLUTIONARY
CLASS STRUGGLE!

THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE

WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES
UNITE!

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING
THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS

ISSUED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY
(Majority Group)

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GRANDI COMES TO WOO WALL ST.

Fascist Tries To Counter Laval Visit And To Get Loans

In a move to counteract the recent visit of Premier Laval of France and in an attempt to obtain further loans from Wall Street, Fascist Foreign Minister Dino Grandi has just completed a hurried visit to the United States. After landing in Jersey City he proceeded to Washington where he had a number of conferences with government officials. On his way back he stopped at Philadelphia and some other cities, returning to New York on November 20.

Extraordinary precautions were taken through Grandi's visit to repress any demonstrations of protest on the part of anti-Fascist elements in this country, since Grandi is notorious for the murderous brutality that characterized his assaults on the labor movement of Italy and upon the Italian people during the period of the rise of Fascism.

In contrast to the formidable police protection given to Grandi, the protest movement organized by the anti-Fascist forces in New York City and Washington was almost a complete failure. Indeed, about the only result was to dramatize the virtual collapse of this movement as hitherto constituted. The respectable bourgeois anti-Fascist elements in this country refused to engage in anything that might displease the American government in spite of their readiness to talk big against Italian Fascism. The sudden desertion of these elements, typified by Dr. Pama, who had lately come to the fore, practically destroyed the whole protest movement. At the same time the splitting tactics of the official Communist Party, which tried to break up the demonstration meeting called by a number of allied anti-Fascist organizations in New York, helped greatly to confuse the militant workers and to paralyze their militancy.

REACTION SWEEPS U. S. & CANADA

Simultaneous with the wage-cuts and the drive to lower the standards of living, the employers, thru their strike-breaking government machines, have launched a vicious attack on all militant workers movements and organizations both in the United States and Canada. Heavy jail sentences, frame-ups, threats and indictments are the stock weapons of this onslaught.

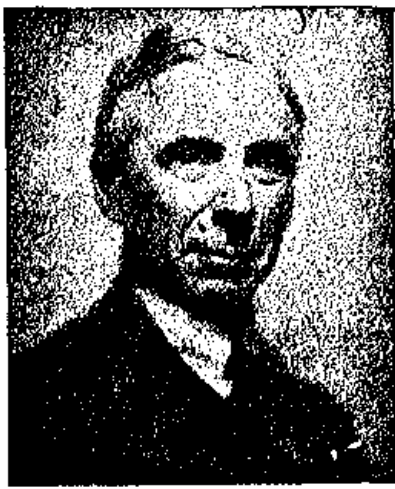
Thus in Canada, the Communist Party has been outlawed and its leaders sentenced to long prison terms. In Harlan, Ky., workers are being tried for murder. In New York, bomb plots are being manufactured against workers on the waterfront. Dreiser has been indicted on every conceivable charge from criminal syndicalism down.

And the "Daughters of the American Revolution" are doing their bit to whip up hysteria, with some of their obviously deranged members raising Red scares. At the same time, Secretary of State Stimson and the entire ruling class have organized a demonstration to greet Grandi, the representative of the Fascist butcher government, now visiting this country.

Big Lovestone-Russell Debate. Arouses Keen Interest

Dictatorship Of The Proletariat As Road To Freedom To Be Discussed On November 27

As the big date approaches, it becomes evident that, whether considered from the viewpoint of the importance of the subject or of the ability of the speakers or of the attention it has evoked, the Lovestone-Russell debate will be the outstanding event of its kind in the season. Defending the viewpoint that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the road to freedom in all capitalist countries, and especially in America, Jay Lovestone, editor of the Revolutionary Age, will present the program of Communism. As against Lovestone, Bertrand Russell, the famous English philosopher, scientist and educator, is going to champion the cause of democracy as the road to freedom in countries with old-established and well developed parliamentary institutions. At a time when capitalist Europe is shaking on its foundations and the proletarian dictatorship is becoming more a question of the moment, the thorough discussion that this problem will receive at the hands of Lovestone and Russell is certain to prove of great value.



BERTRAND RUSSELL

The debate will take place on November 27 at the Central Opera House, 67 Street and Third Avenue. Tickets are 75c, \$1.00, \$1.50, \$2.00. Roger Baldwin, the director of the American Civil Liberties Union, will be chairman of the debate. Reports so far at hand indicate that the tickets for the debate are so much in demand that it would be advisable to get tickets in advance at the office of the New Workers School, 63 Madison Avenue, or at least to come early to the hall.

Harlan Miner Acquitted of Murder; Dreiser Indicted for Criminal Syndicalism

Jury Out Six Hours Finds Burdett Not Guilty; Other Trials Coming; Dreiser And Authors Committee Persecuted To Head Off Exposure

William Burdett, Harlan County miner, was acquitted of the charge of murdering a deputy sheriff in the course of an attack of local government officials upon striking miners in the Spring of this year. The verdict, which was rendered at 6:00 P. M. of November 21, took the jury six hours to arrive at.

Burdett was the first to go to trial of a group of miners arrested on serious charges in an attempt to smash the wave of strikes that swept the Harlan-Bell area. He was defended by the General Defense Committee of the J. W. W.

Theodore Dreiser, world-famous American novelist and nine others of the group of writers that went to Kentucky recently to investigate the reign of terror of the coal operators and the local government against the miners, have been indicted on charges of criminal syndicalism in the Bell County Circuit Court. Conviction under the Kentucky criminal syndicalism statute carries a maximum penalty of twenty-one years imprisonment or a fine of \$10,000 or both.

Among those arrested with Mr. Dreiser are: John Dos Passos, author; George Maurer, of the International Labor Defense; Charles Rumford Walker, writer; Samuel Ornitz, writer (the author of Hunch, Punch and Jowl); M. P. Levy, writer, and others.

The indictment of Mr. Dreiser is the second within a week. A few days before an indictment was returned against the novelist for alleged "misconduct." It is obvious that this

charge as well as the more serious criminal syndicalism indictment come in an attempt to counteract the exposure of intolerable conditions in the mining towns in Harlan and Bell counties of Kentucky.

The National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, under whose auspices the group of writers went to Kentucky, and the American Civil Liberties Union have announced their intention of defending the case of Dreiser and his friends. In connection with his comment on the case, Dreiser also exposed the corrupt and vicious record of Judge D. C. Jones of Harlan County, Ky., who is responsible for the indictment.

MOUNT STERLING, KY.—The trial of twelve Harlan County miners on framed-up charges of murder in connection with the attack of the local officials on groups of strikers near Evans, began on November 18 with the case of William Burnett. The trial had been transferred from Harlan County because of the difficulty of getting a Harlan jury to bring in a conviction on a frame-up. Through the preliminaries of the trial, Judge Henry R. Prewitt showed open antagonism against the defendant and open partiality for the prosecuting attorney.

It is clear that the local government here, directly and indirectly in the pay of the coal operators, is determined to railroad the strike leaders to death or jail as well as to suppress every attempt to bring to light the horrible conditions of the workers in these regions.

DUBLIN.—With the passage of the recent Free State Force Bill the reign of terror against the republican and peasant movements has become extremely sharp. All anti-government assemblies and meetings are being attacked by the police and republican papers suppressed. The offices of the leading republican paper, An Phoblacht, have been seized and occupied by the police and publi-

TARIFF CARRIED IN COMMONS

By Vote Of 329 To 44 Bill Is Passed Permitting 100% Tariff

LONDON.—By a vote of 329 to 44 the House of Commons passed on third reading the bill giving power to the Board of Trade to levy a tariff up to 100% on any manufactured goods imported. The bill now goes to the House of Lords where it will certainly be passed without any difficulty. Mr. Runciman, president of the Board of Trade, who introduced the measure, declared it to be necessary to "protect the country against dumping." The dominions are exempt from any such tariffs levied. Even the most extreme Tories are satisfied with the Runciman bill "as a start." They declare, however, that a permanent general tariff on all imported goods must be instituted by February 1932. Under pressure of the Tory reactionaries, the Cabinet is expected to consider an all-around protective tariff the first week in December.

At the same time a round robin signed by over 100 Tory members of the House of Commons has been directed to Prime Minister MacDonald warning him not to make any Indian settlement until reported to and approved by the House—that is, until endorsed by the Tory bitter-enders. It is now completely clear that the new "National government," in spite of its name, is a straight-out Tory government as far as its policies are concerned and will soon become a straight-out Tory government in its composition as well.

FASCISTS WIN IN HESSE VOTE

S. D.'s Lose, Communists Gain; Opposition Wins Seat

BERLIN.—The diet elections held in Hesse, on November 15, 1931, brought out with the greatest clarity the main tendencies in the regrouping of political relations in Germany. The Nazis (Fascists) received 27 seats with a popular vote of 291,189 (1939 vote: 127,981); the Social Democrats, 15 seats with a vote of 168,299 (215,747); The Catholic Center party, 10 seats with a vote of 112,440 (104,246); the Communist Party, 10 seats with a vote of 106,765 (84,513); the Peoples party, 1 seat with a vote of 18,000 (49,929). The new Socialist Workers party received 8,117 and one seat. The Communist Opposition, which ran its own slate, received 14,954 votes and one seat.

The outstanding feature is of course the tremendous growth of Fascism, which more than doubled its support within a year. Equally significant is the catastrophic loss suffered by the Social Democracy and the middle bourgeois parties. The Center party maintained its hold while the Communist Party gained 25%. The showing of the new Socialist Workers party was poor.

The showing of the Communist Opposition is astonishingly good and reflects its growing influence among the masses. Without resources, without money, without a press, the Opposition succeeded in getting about one-seventh of the vote of the official Communist Party alone, because of the undemocratic election arrangements, it received only one seat as against ten.

The elections destroyed the old bloc between the Center, Social Democrats and "democratic" parties which has dominated the province within the last few years. However, the Fascist bloc is unable to form its government and a Fascist-Center bloc seems to be difficult in view of the Reich situation.

The sudden conversion of Mayor Walker into a champion of human rights is an interesting reflection of the new bid of Tammany for a reputation for idealism and progressivism and of the political aspirations of Mayor Walker himself. And while whatever beneficial effects Walker's demagogic move may have upon the prospects of release of Tom Mooney are not to be rejected, it must be remembered that not Mayor Walker or

Tokyo Rejects "Truce" But Agreement Is Expected; Japs Gain Tsitsihar; Soviet Union Is Menaced

Chinese-Eastern Crossed After Sharp Fighting; Ma's Forces Are Smashed; All Manchuria In Japan's Hands; United States-Japanese Secret Agreement Is Outlined

JAPS DEFEAT MA; TAKE TSITSIHAR

Following upon an extremely sharp battle in the Nonni bridge region between 23,000 hastily raised troops under General Ma Chen-shan and about 5,000 picked troops under the Japanese General Honjo, in which the former were almost completely routed, the Japanese crossed the Chinese-Eastern Railway line at Angachi and proceeded to occupy Tsitsihar Station, about three miles west of Angachi and about 78 miles south of the walled city of Tsitsihar. This advance took place during the night of November 18 and by the next day the Japanese troops had already taken possession of the walled city, which is flying the Japanese flag, had forced the complete evacuation of the entire Angachi-Tsitsihar area by General Ma and had taken full control of the important railway line between Taonan and Tsitsihar. Further advance into

And It's Not A War!

On September 17 Japan owned, directly and indirectly, about 1,300 miles of railway in Manchuria. Today, after about two months of Japanese activities in Manchuria, Japan is in possession of 2,079 miles of railway. In Chinese hands remain hardly more than 200 miles of the Manchurian branch of the Peiping-Mukden road.

Aside from the Chinese-Eastern Railway, owned jointly by the Soviet Union and by China, Japan has seized the entire railway network in Manchuria—and, in Manchuria, whoever controls the railways controls the economic life.

And, of course it's no war Japan is conducting in Manchuria! Of course not! It's a "law and order" expedition against "banditry" and "treaty violation"—an expedition of the type the United States is accustomed to dispatch every now and then to Mexico, Nicaragua, and other Latin American countries.

TRUCE AGREEMENT IS BROKEN

In the afternoon of November 20 the Secretariat of the League of Nations in Paris made the official announcement that the League representatives of both Japan and China had signed their "agreement in principle" to an immediate armistice in Manchuria to be followed by an investigation of the whole situation by an "authoritative and responsible committee." Semi-officially it was declared that an American would be picked to head and direct this investigation.

Within a few hours, however, the Japanese Foreign Office sharply repudiated this "agreement in principle" for a truce and investigation, dubbed it "unthinkable" and even threatened to recall Yoshizawa, its delegate to the League Council. As a sort of weak echo came a similar repudiation on the part of Dr. Alfred Sze, Chinese delegate, who declared he had been "misunderstood" in his assent to the proposal. Finally, in a carefully worded statement, Ambassador Dawes, who represents the United States in a semi-official manner at the League of Nations Council, announced that the United States would not join in any projected inquiry if it is a League affair, since the United States must "preserve freedom of judgment as to its course."

Japan based its rejection of the truce proposal on the ground that it would imply the evacuation of Manchuria, which is directly contrary to Japanese policy. The Chinese, on the other hand, insisted that the truce proposal did not imply evacuation and therefore was not acceptable.

REAPING THE FRUITS OF WAR!



WALKER MAKES 'APPEAL' FOR MOONEY RELEASE AS POLITICAL MOVE

To Leave Immediately For Coast To Appear As Mooney Counsel Before Governor Rolph; New Conference Held In New York City For Mooney Freedom

The decision of Mayor James J. Walker of New York City to cross the continent to make a "final appeal" to Governor James Rolph Jr. of California for a pardon for Tom Mooney and Warren C. Billings, has been announced. In connection with this announcement there was also made public the interchange of letters between Tom Mooney, his mother and sister, the Tom Mooney Moldor Defense Committee, Frank P. Walsh, counsel for Mooney, and the New York mayor.

The sudden conversion of Mayor Walker into a champion of human rights is an interesting reflection of the new bid of Tammany for a reputation for idealism and progressivism and of the political aspirations of Mayor Walker himself. And while whatever beneficial effects Walker's demagogic move may have upon the prospects of release of Tom Mooney are not to be rejected, it must be remembered that not Mayor Walker or

his friends can win freedom for Mooney but the determined demand of the labor movement and of masses of the people. Rather to the contrary, politicians such as Mayor Walker are ready to "rescue" Mooney's cause because, as a result of years of struggle, it seems to be finally approaching success.

In connection with Walker's trip West, the rumor is being circulated that Governor Rolph of California is expected to bolt the Republican party and to run as Vice-Presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket with Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The Second Mooney Conference in New York

New York City
On Friday, November 20, there took place, at the I.L.G.W.U. hall, another session of the conference of New York labor organizations for the purpose of organizing a campaign for

ALFONSO BRANDED AS TRAITOR

Cortes Convicts Ex-King And Confiscates His Property

MADRID.—After a brief trial in absentia by the Cortes, former King Alfonso was declared guilty of high treason on November 20 and immediately outlawed. Orders were issued for the confiscation of all his properties in Spain and announcements were sent to foreign governments about the conviction of the former king.

Shortly after conviction the sentence of life imprisonment was passed against the dethroned king who is now in France.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

A New Series

The Paterson Strike and the Communists

by Ben Gitlow

Ben Gitlow, secretary of the Communist Party (Majority-Group) and member of the general strike committee in the Paterson silk strike, will discuss the experiences of the strike, analyze its lessons and estimate its significance. The articles are:

1. Paterson—A Test of Policy
2. The Initiative in Paterson
3. The United Front in Paterson
4. Yellow Journal "Communism"
5. "Progressivism" in Paterson
6. The Paterson Fighting Front
7. The A.P. of L. and Paterson
8. Post-Strike Events and Problems
9. The Lessons of the Strike

WATCH FOR THESE ARTICLES!

Big Lovestone-Russell Debate Nov. 27 - Central Opera House SEE PAGE 4

The Play

STEEL: A play in three acts by John Wexley, produced by the Author. At the Time Square Theatre.

The frantic, futile efforts of a steel worker's family to escape from the mill, their individualistic plans to avoid its brutalizing blight upon their lives, this John Wexley portrays vividly in his new play "Steel".

John Ralphy's life's ambition is to send his son, Joe, to an engineering school. Death, from high blood pressure, results from his work in the heat of the rolling mill, and Joe, the son of a steel worker, remains a steel worker.

The climax comes when Joe, wounded and hounded, is dragged from his home by a detective. His sister protests in vain and in desperation kills the detective. All the while her husband, Steve Dugan, stands by solid and unmoving.

The play is frank propaganda against the exploitation of the workers by the great steel trust. The author sees the struggle of worker against boss, of class against class, but seems to be crushed by it as are all his characters in the play.

The setting in the steel worker's home and the characterization of his daughter and her sister-in-law are not strictly milieus in color and atmosphere. The mill whistle is the signal for rantings by the son against the mill, and neither sound very real.

And even worse is his failure to drive home a lesson fairly well begun, that not thru scripping to send a son to college or to buy an Arizona farm will the workers destroy that monster of steel—capitalism, but thru their own power, the power of organized mass action, consciously led.

TRUCE AGREEMENT IS BROKEN BY JAPAN

not go too far. Hence the remarkable coolness of the United States towards the activities of the League on the Manchurian question. But, altho the general principles are clear, the concrete elaboration of details is not so simple in a situation of such conflicting interests.

As far as the United States is concerned it is obvious from Ambassador Dawes's statement and from American policy hitherto, that Wall Street insists on a free hand and an independent course in its intervention in the Far East.

The penetration of Japan into North Manchuria and the probability of an American-Japanese agreement renders the situation extremely serious for the Soviet Union, which becomes the next object of Japanese aggression in the Far East.



TINO PATTIERA Former Metropolitan Opera tenor, who has the leading role in "Fra Diavolo", the Italian opera at the Cameo Theatre.

After The Paterson Strike THE ELECTIONS IN THE ASSOCIATED

A Letter From Paterson

PATERSON, N. J.—On Friday November 13, the meeting to elect a new executive board for Local No. 1716, Associated Silk Workers, was held in Carpenter's Hall.

About 300 ballots were cast. A rank and file executive board was elected consisting of the following: Joseph Tannarelli, John Neary, John Le Pari, Anthony Cerviello, Peter Van Der Heide, Napoleon Dauphinais, Mrs. Felicity Coppo, Fred Zuccone, Serafino Grandi.

Louis F. Cohen, Charles Maeri, and Joseph E. Matthews of the board of management were defeated. The workers present wanted a militant and progressive executive board. They registered their opposition to the policies pursued by the board of management especially by Cohen and Matthews.

The board of management, in insisting upon every technicality, such as the necessity of being a member of the organization for one year in good standing before being able to be on the ballots, eliminated the most militant and active members of the union during the general strike.

Precisely those militant progressive workers who are able to put up a fight and give leadership to the executive board and the union were discriminated against.

The weakness of the executive board elected is the fact that it does not include these elements.

Now as never before, is a strong executive board necessary because the amalgamation must be carried out and a national organization perfected.

The election, however, was a victory for the progressive forces. The failure to make a fight against the discrimination policy and for reopening nominations is due directly to Muste and Budenz who stubbornly refused to entertain any such propositions.

The mass meeting considered a number of important propositions and reports.

The most important was a resolution for an autonomous jaquard department. The board of managers threw the question into the meeting without any recommendations. A very lively discussion developed in which the opponents to the proposition pointed out that, at a time when greater unity was necessary, a proposal to divide the weavers of the broad silk department was being made.

If the general membership meeting will carry the proposal it will be a very damaging blow to the union. A department for the jaquard workers to discuss and make decisions on their own peculiar trade problems is required. This can be worked out. But to give such a department autonomy would divide the weavers on the narrow craft lines, especially when all jaquard weavers are also plain goods weavers and a plain goods weaver in a day or two becomes a jaquard weaver.

It would prevent united action against the bosses and would divide the progressive militant forces in two departments, in addition to creating confusion and disorganization. Every effort should be made at the general membership meeting to establish the necessary machinery in the broad silk department to enable the jaquard workers to handle their own peculiar trade problems but the organization of the broad silk department under all circumstances must be kept intact.

Benjamin Gilow and A. J. Muste were unanimously recommended by the meeting for honorary membership in the union for their services during the strike.

Jack Rosen delivered the report of the organization committee as its secretary. He was commended for delivering the best report ever received by the union from a sub committee.

The report and recommendations were unanimously adopted.

The decision to raise the initiation fee to \$5.00 passed at the last meeting was rescinded and the initiation fee of \$1.50 continued.

The meeting also recommended to the incoming executive board to continue Budenz as organizer for another two months.

The assessment for strike relief was continued at the rate of 25c a week in order to support the shop strikes against wage reductions and longer hours.

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NEW FILIPINO GROUP FORMED

Civic Union Is Set Up To Fight Quezon's New Betrayal

MANILA.—A new nationalist organization, The Philippine Civic Union, has been organized here in opposition to the surrender policy of Manuel Quezon, titular leader of the Filipino independence movement.

The initial manifesto of the new organization calls for an economic boycott and a campaign of general civil disobedience on the road to independence, along the lines advocated by Gandhi and applied with such striking "success" in India.

Local committees have already been established and the organization seems to be growing.

In the meantime, the Nacionalista party has endorsed the capitulation of Quezon, while the Democrat party has adopted an uncertain course, criticizing Quezon but not his proposals.

The composition of the new party seems to be largely petty bourgeois with a big following among industrial workers and among the peasants. Its program and outlook bear all the marks of petty bourgeois utopianism which has led to such catastrophic results in India.

Ingersoll Forum Pythian Temple, 155 W. 70th St. Sundays, 8 P. M. Admission 25c

November 29th DEBATE — "WHICH IS THE GREATER MENACE, CATHOLICISM OR PROTESTANTISM?" Charles Smith vs. Tim. P. Murphy

LABOR TEMPLE 14th STREET & 2nd AVENUE Sunday, Nov. 29th at 7:45 P. M.

THE ADAGIO TARANTELLA by MAX BERMAN Admission Free

5 MILLION BANKED BY OLVANY FIRM

But Tammany Head Refuses To Reveal Sources Of Huge Income

The bank deposits of the law firm of Olvany, Eisner and Donnelly, of which George W. Olvany, former Tammany leader, is the head, totaled \$6,283,032.19 in a little less than seven years, it was revealed on November 20 by the Hofstadter legislative committee at a public hearing in the County Court House.

This testimony was submitted by James T. Ellis, one of the committee's accountants, followed by a lengthy examination of Mr. Olvany by Samuel Seabury.

In spite of repeated requests on the part of Mr. Seabury and his aides, Olvany positively refused to allow the books of his firm to be examined to find the source of the income. The attempts of Seabury to bring these secret sources to light were greatly hindered by the Tammany minority members of the Hofstadter committee.

MAYOR IN MOONEY "APPEAL"

(Continued from page 1) the release of Tom Mooney. This conference was called by the committee that had been elected at the previous conference. It was much less representative than the previous one had been, altho, since the names of the new organizations only were announced, its exact mass character could not be estimated.

Four of the leading banks in Youngstown were closed recently all in one day. These had the life savings of many workers here. The few banks which are still open, together with the savings and loan companies, refuse to pay from the savings accounts more than from \$50 to \$100 per month on thirty day's notice.

The building trades, very important here, are entirely dead. There is great dissatisfaction and real unrest here and, under such conditions, one would naturally think that the Party is making real headway in Youngstown by leading in the unions, organizing the unorganized, etc.

The best and most tried comrades have been expelled from the Party under the pretext of Lovestonism.

The L.L.D. and the W.I.R. also exist only on paper here. The Young Communist League does not even exist on paper and no efforts are being made to get new members and reorganize it.

When the International Workers Order was first organized here, the Party members, under instructions from the center, sabotaged the work, and afterwards, when, thru a maneuver, they brought in this organization the "big shots," I. Sultan and Dave Siegel, these latter broke up this organization, forced the taking away of the leadership from the actual branch organizers and, by using Tammany Hall methods, destroyed the International Workers Order here.

They attempted to reorganize a new branch under the Party leadership and I. Sultan wrote in the Freiheit that by the time this new branch would celebrate its first anniversary he is certain there will be at least thirty members in this I.W.O. in Youngstown. The result is that after one year, they have only three or four

Straight Dope on Manchuria By a careful study of the "situation" we have learned that the Japanese occupation of Manchuria will not be a war unless the Chinese resist. Since Chinese resistance would start the war, that would make China the "aggressor". Therefore, the League of Nations is warning both China and Japan.

Meanwhile, the Chinese, by not resisting and by constantly retreating before the invading forces, are diplomatically plotting to draw the Japanese troops farther and farther into Manchuria thus "extending the trouble."

In short the Chinese are damned if they do and damned if they don't.

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A WORKER DICTATORSHIP IN THE U. S. A?

Big Debate November 27, 1931 CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE 67 St. & 3 Ave.

The Crisis In The Party WHAT'S HAPPENING IN YOUNGSTOWN?

A Letter From Youngstown

Youngstown, Ohio November 11, 1931.

Never before in the history of our movement in this country have the economic and industrial conditions been so chaotic and so ripe for real progress in organizing the workers and for the Communist Party to give leadership in the daily struggles of these workers.

In and around Youngstown the giant steel mills are shut down and those who are still working a little give the workers employment for one or two days a week and often for whole weeks at a stretch the workers are told to stay home.

The Carnegie steel mills are working only two days per week when working, and at times for weeks these mills are shut down. The Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company mills are closed altogether. The Republic iron and steel mills are working two days a week. The U. S. Steel mills at Macdonald, Ohio, are open to workers only one or two days a week.

North Manchuria in the direction of Tientsin and Koshan is expected. Altho Chinese reports deny that General Ma's forces have been completely routed and insist that he retreated in order, it seems pretty well clear that it will be some days before General Ma will again be in a position to resume resistance.

The Japanese forces are not administering the occupied Manchurian territory directly. In the wake of the Japanese army came General Chang Ching-hui, the so-called "independent" general, and took over nominal control in the name of an "independent government."

SHANGHAI.—The fourth Kuomintang Congress, which is taking place here, is absorbed almost entirely with the two related problems: the Japanese invasion in Manchuria and the anti negotiations with the Canton clique.

With the penetration of the Japanese forces beyond the Chinese-Eastern Railway line, the danger of a Japanese military attack upon the Soviet Union grows much greater. The threadbare diplomatic excuses, with which Japan carelessly clothed its shameless invasion of Manchuria, are completely bankrupt in the case of North Manchuria. It is no longer possible for Japan to disguise the anti-Soviet character of its recent military moves.

BEATRICE TERRY With Ethel Barrymore in the revival of Sheridan's comedy "The School of Scandal" now current at the Ethel Barrymore Theatre.

New Workers School FORUM

EVERY SUNDAY NIGHT 25 East 27th Street, cor Madison Avenue Sunday, Nov. 29th, 8 P. M.

HERBERT ZAM

Communist Party (Majority Group) WAR IN THE FAR EAST Imperialism, Manchuria and the Soviet Union

Sunday, Dec. 6, 8 P. M. J. B. MATTHEWS Sec'y, Fellowship of Reconciliation

Sunday, Dec. 13, 8 P. M. HOWARD Y. WILLIAMS Sec'y, League for Independent Political Action

— EUROPE — A Seething Volcano Admission: 25 Cents Series of Six: \$1.00

The Stage and Screen

SHAKESPEARE PLAYERS AT ROYALE THEATRE

"Julius Caesar" opened the second week's repertoire of the Chicago Civic Shakespeare Society at the Royale Theatre. The play will be repeated on Thursday night. "Hamlet" is scheduled for Tuesday and Wednesday evenings and Saturday matinee and "The Merchant of Venice" will be played on Wednesday afternoon and Friday and Saturday evenings.

"FRA DIAVOLO" OPERETTA AT THE CAMEO

Tino Pattiera, former Metropolitan Opera Company tenor, plays the leading role of "Fra Diavolo" ("Brother Devil"), the new Italian opera, at the Cameo Theatre. The opera is based on this story is one of the Italian classics. It was authored by Auber and the libretto was written by Scribe. Giuseppe Beccia conducts an orchestra of 120 musicians in this film, which was directed by Mario Bonnard. The film has been re-made in German, French and at present an English version is being recorded. Tino Pattiera plays the leading role in all versions. The picture was made by Cines Pitaluga, Rome, producers of "Terra Madre" a recent Italian film shown at the Cameo.

JACK HOLT IN 'A DANGEROUS AFFAIR' AT HIPPODROME

Jack Holt and Ralph Graves are co-starring in "A Dangerous Affair," the new Columbia Picture having its first New York showing at the Hippodrome this week. The story, a mystery thriller, is an original by Howard J. Green. Leading feminine players are Sally Blane and Susan Fleming. The eight act vaudeville bill is headed by Poodles Hanford, Willie West and McGinty, Burns and Kissen, and Joe Herbert with his Southern Personalities.

TOSCANINI BACK WITH PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA

Arturo Toscanini, conductor of the Philharmonic, will return to the Philharmonic Orchestra at Carnegie Hall on Thursday evening, and Friday afternoon, presenting the following program: Suite from "Orpheus," Gluck; Violin Concerto in A minor, Bach; Symphony in E flat (K. 16), Mozart; Violin Concerto, Beethoven; Soloist Adolf Busch, Violinist; Overture to "The Flying Dutchman," Wagner.

The program at the Metropolitan Opera House Sunday afternoon, November 29, includes: Overture to "The Flying Dutchman"; Wagner; Symphony in E flat ("Rhenish"), Schumann; Variations on a Theme of Haydn, Brahms; "The Redemption," Franck; "Pines of Rome," Respighi. Ernest Schelling will conduct the Children's Concert on Saturday November 28 at Carnegie. The program will illustrate the Clarinets and Bassoons.



BEATRICE TERRY With Ethel Barrymore in the revival of Sheridan's comedy "The School of Scandal" now current at the Ethel Barrymore Theatre.

Wages and the Working Class

What Are Workers Wages?

by Hal Long

In the economic world, everybody is apt to judge a prevailing situation in terms of his own particular interest. For the manufacturer, wholesale prices are the yardstick by which good and hard times are measured and for the stockholder, dividends. The worker, likewise, must regard his pay envelope as the important aspect of economic life. For him, the forces that determine his wages, and the amount of goods he can buy for them, must be the alpha and omega of economic science.

This the capitalists can see very clearly. On no point are the spokesmen of capitalism so anxious to slur over important facts, and advance false theories, as precisely on the question of wages. No apologist of capitalism among the economists is satisfied with himself until he has somehow managed to prove that what the workers receive as wages is their just share in the products of industry. These theories, then, are popularized in company news and tabloid papers, in radio lectures and in schoolbooks. Not a few workers are thus led to believe that they really owe the capitalists an awful lot and one can hear them argue as follows: "When the capitalists are overthrown, who is going to pay our wages?"

It becomes, therefore, an important task for a working class paper to clarify the ideas of the workers on this point. And particularly so here in America, where, in the first place, the workers are very backward ideologically; and, in the second place, where payment of wages take on innumerable forms, thus adding to the confusion on this point.

Innumerable "incentive" and "bonus" systems are in operation, which the workers pay is somehow linked up with his output. This is utilized by the spokesman of capitalism, who argues that in the first place the worker is paid according to what he produces, making the Marxian theory of wages obsolete, and, secondly, that the variety of forms shows that Marx in his analysis of wages was too "one-sided."

However, Marx realized very well that wages may be paid in many different ways. In Capital he says: "Wages themselves take on a variety of forms, a fact not recognizable in the ordinary economic treatise, which, being exclusively interested in the material side of the question, neglects every form" (Chapt. XX). Marx saw thru the external forms and into the fundamentals of the question. And likewise, every worker should know that his wages are determined by exactly the same laws, whether he works on piece-rates, time-rates or bonus payments, as long as he works for capitalist exploiters. Only the apologist economists pick on external forms in their desperate attempts to justify an outworn economic system. In a number of articles we shall analyze some of the most important of the systems of wage payment in operation in America today. We shall see that, far from being obsolete, the Marxian theory of wages is as real and valid today as ever. First, however, let us cast a glance at this theory.

The Marxian Theory of Wages
Marx shows that, like everything else, wages depend on the existing relations between the social classes. Under modern conditions, we have two classes that are important on one hand, the propertyless proletarians; on the other, the capitalists who own the mills, mines and factories. The former must have a job, in order to live, while the latter must have workers to operate their factories in order to make profits. So far, everything is "harmonious" between them but differences arise when the "returns" of the worker are to be settled. The worker sells his ability to work, his labor-power, to the capitalist and, like all sellers, wants as high a price as possible. The capitalist, being the buyer, wants to pay as little as possible.

Now, under capitalism, there are always more workers than there are jobs. There is always an army of unemployed and the worker has plenty of competitors for his job. If he loses it, he faced starvation. On the other hand, the capitalist has the means and the resources and he can hire and fire workers as he may desire. He will therefore have the main say about the wages that the workers are to receive. How much then, will he be ready to give?

In order to do his job well, the worker must have food, clothing, and a place where to rest between working hours. Just like a farmer gives his horse hay and puts him in the stable overnight, so the capitalists must give the workers enough to keep them in shape for work. Not only must the workers exist but they must also raise a sufficient number of children to replace themselves when they die (or become useless in production) and to keep up the army of unemployed that, as we have seen above, strengthens the power of the capitalists. It matters little for the capitalists if individual members of the working class starve to death but, on the whole, they must satisfy the necessary wants of the bulk of the workers.

It is evident that these "necessary wants" will differ according to country and locality. The Canadian lumberman must have heavy winter cloth-

ing, while the Indian coolie needs only a loin-cloth. For the latter, a plate of rice is a good meal, while the former must have his steak and his bacon. Not only do climatic conditions play a part, but also cultural ones. The capitalists have to take into account, to a certain extent, what is commonly regarded as "a decent living" in a particular locality.

In a definite locality again, wages will differ for several reasons. Women and young workers are poorly paid because they are not supposed to support a family. Particularly hard work will be better paid because the worker needs more food and better rest. Likewise, overtime is better paid than the ordinary hours, because it is more strenuous. Clerical workers are better paid so that they can keep up a neat appearance and advertise the employer. The skilled or professional worker must have a surplus, so that during his lifetime he can make up for the expense of his education. The straw-boss must have a good pay to symbolize his authority, and to make him loyal to the employer.

It follows from this that the output of the worker has very little to do with his pay. For instance, in overtime, the output usually declines, yet the pay will increase. What matters is the input of the worker, the amount of mental and physical exertion he spends on the job.

Why, then, should the capitalists

ever pay the worker according to his output? Why should he even sometimes make it possible for the worker to earn more, thru certain methods of payment?

In the first place, it must be remembered that the capitalist is primarily interested in making profits. For him, the main thing is the difference between his total manufacturing expenses and the value of the goods he sells. And he has other expenses than the wages of the workers that are directly engaged in manufacturing. He must buy raw materials, he has heating and maintenance of buildings, wear and tear on machinery, and a score of other expenses to take care of. And if he can lower these other expenses considerably, by giving the worker a slightly higher income, he will do so. By giving the worker straight piece-rates, he speeds the worker up, thus ensuring higher output with the same expenses on heating and other things, and even lower expenses on supervision. By bonus payments, he makes the worker interested in the welfare of the whole concern and thus ensures better utilization of raw materials, etc. The first and foremost object of the various "incentive" payments is therefore to increase the efficiency of the factory. In many cases, these wage systems are also direct attacks on the standard of living of the worker. This we shall see, when the different systems now in operation are analyzed.

India's Struggle For Freedom

M. N. ROY AND INDIAN COMMUNISM

by E. R.

On July 21, 1931, Manabendra Nath Roy, Indian Communist leader, was arrested and imprisoned in Bombay under an old warrant issued in connection with the notorious Cawnpore Conspiracy Case of 1924, the first case in which Communism was put publicly on trial in India. In common with the several other accused, M. N. Roy was condemned in absentia, since he was away from India at the time, and his sentence has hung suspended ever since, awaiting the chance to enforce it against him.

Immediately following his arrest in Bombay this summer, Roy was removed to Cawnpore, in the United Provinces, there to face a renewal of his former trial of 1924 in camera, and to receive an additional sentence for his activities subsequent to 1924.

To expect a fair and open trial at any time in India, under present circumstances, and particularly now, with the newly-installed "National Government" functioning in Great Britain with its enormous Conservative majority, is hopeless. The trial of Roy, started under the aegis of the MacDonald government, will continue and culminate under its successor, the MacDonald-Baldwin regime, and will enforce the most savage sentence within its power to inflict upon a man who has been eagerly sought after by the bloodhounds of British imperialism for the last fifteen years.

Manabendra Nath Roy is better known in India and Europe than in the United States, altho he lived here for over a year in 1915-16, and is well known in radical circles for his ceaseless agitation, by the written and spoken word, against imperialism in general, and against British imperialism in India in particular.

He it was who, in 1920 at the Second Congress of the Communist International, formulated with Lenin the Supplementary Theses on the Colonial Question, which won him his earliest recognition as a Marxist theoretician within the official Communist ranks. His writings in the Communist International, official organ of the World Communist Party, his later theses on the colonial question, adopted at subsequent international Communist congresses, and his books, published by the International Communist press: India in Transition, One Year of Non-Cooperation, The Aftermath of Non-Cooperation and The Future of Indian Politics, further established his authority as a Marxist scholar and theoretician.

From 1920 to 1930, M. N. Roy lived the life of a political exile abroad, hounded by secret service agents and the pressure of British authority from one European capital to another. Warrants for his arrest were issued in Germany in 1922 and in France in 1924, when he was arrested and deported at an hour's notice, without a hearing of any kind. Despite the difficulties and dangers of his position, he managed to edit a revolutionary Communist organ, The Vanguard of Indian Independence, put under ban in India and later changed to The Masses of India, which was printed abroad and smuggled into India from 1922 to 1927. Roy wrote extensively on international Communist questions and on Indian matters in particular, for the Party press in France, Germany, Russia and the United States as well as for International Press Correspondence in Vienna.

He was the first and remains one of the few outstanding Indian Marxists and previous to his expulsion in 1929

from the Communist International for differences of opinion on Party tactics in India, he held high office in that body. He is now a member of the Communist Opposition organization.

Early this year, carrying out a long-cherished resolve, he returned to India to work on the spot, and accomplished marvels of organization among the trade union and Congress elements during the short time that he was there before his arrest. During it he braved British imperialism in India and to challenge it face to face, he ended his long exile by coming to grips with it on the spot. Within a few months the inevitable happened; he was discovered, arrested and imprisoned in Bombay and transported to Cawnpore to face old charges brought against him there in 1924.

The charge on which M. N. Roy has been arrested is Section 121 of the Indian Penal Code, which is "Waging War Against the King." It constitutes in India high treason, for which the penalty is incarceration or transportation for life. Writing from his prison cell in Cawnpore, Roy says: "I am going to conduct the defence personally, beginning with 'J'accuse.' It will be a challenge to the validity of the laws against 'Offences Against the State,' in a country where the state has no constitutional basis. I shall, of course, support this challenge with the authority of the principles of modern political philosophy and theory of law."

While the political side of his own defence will be left in Roy's hands, able Indian lawyers have rushed to his aid, and many diverse elements in the country, laborers, intellectuals, nationalists, Communists, radicals and liberals, have organized to protest against his incarceration and to collect funds for his defence. An "M. N. Roy Week" was declared in Bombay on September 27; M. N. Roy Defence Committees have sprung up like magic throughout the country. There is widespread recognition of the important role that he has played and still plays in shaping India to international Communist thought, for his was the first voice raised along Marxist lines in India, and he, more than any other individual, is responsible for the tremendous awakening and change that has overswept the national revolutionary movement in the last ten years—a change towards internationalism and Marxism along the lines that he has laid down under the stress of constant persecution, ill-health and personal danger.

Internationally, too, his case has

SCOTTSBORO

By LANGSTON HUGHES

From Contempo

If the nine Scottsboro boys die, the South ought to be ashamed of itself—but the twelve million Negroes in America ought to be more ashamed than the South. Maybe it's against the law to print the transcripts of trials from a State court. I don't know. If not, every Negro paper in this country ought to immediately publish the official records of the Scottsboro cases so that both whites and blacks might see at a glance to what absurd farces an Alabama court can descend. (Or should I say an American court?)... The nine boys in Kilbee Prison are Americans. Twelve million Negroes are Americans, too. The judge and the jury at Scottsboro, and the governor of Alabama, are Americans. Therefore, for the sake of American justice, (if there is any) and for the honor of Southern gentlemen (if there ever were any), let the South rise up in press and pulpit, home and school, Senate Chambers and Rotary Clubs, and petition the freedom of the dumb young blacks—so indiscreet as to travel, unwittingly, on the same freight train with two white prostitutes... And, incidentally let the mill-owners of Huntsville begin to pay their women decent wages so they won't need to be prostitutes. And let the sensible citizens of Alabama (if there are any) supply schools for the black half-breed of their state, and for the half-black, too—the mulatto children of the Southern gentlemen (I reckon they've gentlemen) so the Negroes won't be so dumb again... But back to the dark millions—black and half-black, brown and yellow, with a gang of white fore-parents—like me. If these twelve million Negro Americans don't raise such a howl that the doors of Kilbee Prison shake until the nine youngsters come out, (and I don't mean a polite howl, either) then let Dixie justice (blind and syphilitic as it may be) take its course, and let Alabama's Southern gentlemen amuse themselves burning nine young black boys till they're dead in the State's electric chair. And let the mill-owners of Huntsville continue to pay their workers too little for them to afford the price of a train ticket to Chattanooga. And who ever heard of raping a prostitute?

A SAILOR TELLS ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION

By R. A. MAC NAMEE

We continue here the publication of anecdotes of the experience of an American sailor, begun in a previous issue.

In 1931 mess attendants on a foreign ship, having a lot of good food left from dinner, tried to give it away to some of the longshoremen. The latter were polite but did not want it.

"We have food," one man said, "plenty of food of the kind we are used to. Workers of the Soviet Union do not need to beg from anyone!"

On the last trip we had a lady passenger, writer of stories and articles. She intended going only as far as Tunis but changed her mind and went to Russia—WITHOUT having her passport vised! Naturally the Russian officials could not let her land. They sent her passport to Moscow. It got back one and a half hours before we sailed. She went ashore for one and a half hours. She did not see the main part of the town. Ninety minutes ashore and she has written a magazine article entitled, "Russia, by one who has been there and knows." According to her article the Soviet Union was the original from which the Devil copied his hell. The people are all beggars, liars, thieves, etc., etc.

received attention. Protest resolutions pour in from all the countries of Europe, whose his name is well known. Henri Barbusse, who knows him personally, and Albert Einstein, the great physicist, have both protested against his incarceration. It remains for American liberal intellectuals, radicals and workers to take cognizance of his case.

British imperialism, like all imperialism, is cowardly. It prefers to work in the dark. Therefore, Roy's case is being heard within the walls of his jail, where the voice of the Indian press and public cannot penetrate. But his voice will somehow make itself heard, even from within those prison walls, calling out to and evoking a reply from all those, in whatever country they may be, who have espoused the cause of freedom of oppressed peoples and classes, the cause for which he has cheerfully risked his life and freedom since the age of twelve.

The Economic Week

THE total lack of any signs of holiday trade, the unseasonal weather, the continuing decline of prices and employment, the sharp liquidation of the stock market, the puncturing of the wheat bubble have brought a quick collapse of the optimism campaign. The situation is further aggravated by the unfavorable German credit developments, the British high

Communism Against Fascism

Perspectives of Italian Fascism

by Alfa (Rome)

The article below was written by a leading member of the Communist Party of Italy who supports the point of view of the International Communist Opposition. For reasons of double illegality his name cannot be disclosed. His article is of special interest in view of the visit of Dino Grandi to the United States.

Opinions as to the probable duration of Italian Fascism are many and various. To many visitors from abroad and to a number of Italian emigrants it appears that Fascism is facing an immediate catastrophe. To other foreign observers (and not all of them admirers of Mussolini) it looks as if the present regime still possesses great power and immense popularity. These differences of opinion have manifested themselves thruout the last nine years. Several times already—in 1924, 1927, 1929—there talk of the collapse of the Mussolini regime but things turned out otherwise.

What is the source of all this confusion? What value have the current views as to the prospects of Italian Fascism?

Estimating the Italian Situation

It is not easy to estimate and describe the situation in Italy. Certainly it cannot be approached as the situation in any other country is to be approached. In Italy there exists

only one party, the Fascist party, only one press, the Fascist press; only one "parliamentary" group, the Fascists. The hegemony of Fascism in the life of the entire country is absolute. Therefore every rumor, every fantasy may appear credible and cannot be easily tested.

I will try to present a sketch along the lines of which the underground movement of Italian life can really be appreciated. We must proceed as we would in studying seismic phenomena: determine points of reference and examine from time to time their displacement and mutual relation. Then it will become clear that what appears to be immobile is really moving; then it will be possible to represent these movements in a sort of graphical form, out of which the real tendency of Italian life and its rhythm will fall, in what month, on what day—these are questions for astrology which we cannot answer. But we will be able to discover whether Fascism is gaining or losing power, what its perspectives are, and how its collapse is maturing.

Everybody knows the general facts about the Italian economic crisis. And just as Fascism did not rise to power thru statistics, so will it not be overthrown thru statistics. If it were only a matter of statistics, there would not be a capitalist government in existence any longer. It is more important by far to see, on the basis

of the given statistics, what form social relations take.

The Fascist Party

The Fascist Party is our first point of reference. It is generally believed that in Italy we are living under the dictatorship of the Fascist party. This is only partly true. The Fascist party is with us a party supporting the state and working with it but not dominating it. On the contrary, it is dominated by the state. Of course, there is no right of organization for non-Fascist parties; but even the Fascist party possesses no right of organization. The Fascists cannot meet, discuss matters and elect their leaders. The secretary of the local Fascio is appointed by the secretary of the district Fascio, who in turn is named by the national leadership of the party appointed by Mussolini. A local group meets once a year to hear the report of the secretary and at these meetings there is no discussion. The same is true of the higher organs of the party. There is no such thing as a national congress and even if it took place it would be a mere empty ceremonial.

It is therefore very important to determine the real relation between the Italian Fascist party and the Italian state. Many observers have already called attention to the crying contradiction between the plutocratic policy of the Fascist government and the interests of the petty bourgeois majority of the Fascist party. It is this contradiction that makes Mussolini treat the Fascist party as if it were an insurgent party. At first the most active elements were expelled from the party, those who had raised Fascism to the position of power. They were replaced by state officials, railroad officials, army officials and similar elements. Then statutes were forced upon the Fascist party which rendered impossible every form of political life within it. The opposition in the party expressed itself in sabotage and underground gossip. The Fascist provincial papers reflected this. This is the basis of the curious fact noted by many observers that the only ones who curse Fascism seem to be the Fascists. The majority of Fascists are dissatisfied with the government but haven't got the foresight of anti-Fascists to hide their feelings.

The Fascist Militia

An evidence of the anti-government feeling in the country is to be found in the attitude of the militia. The militia is much exploited in parades, demonstrations but it has not been mobilized once in recent years. The militia is composed of one-fifth of permanent members and four-fifths of civilians who stand under obligation to answer the call of mobilization. These militia men are largely poor farmers, living with their families and sharing their misery. As long as it is a question of beating up "political" enemies these militia men are heroes. But it is much more difficult to use them against peasants fighting for a bread and life. Not only is the militia useless in suppressing peasant risings, but various sections of it have recently participated in these movements themselves.

The "Giustizia e Libertà"

These are all symptoms within Fascism. In order to estimate these symptoms properly it is necessary to view them in relation with the symptoms outside of Fascism, altho in the same social classes. The organization "Giustizia e Libertà" has not been sufficiently studied. It is regarded as an auxiliary to Social Democracy, as an ephemeral phenomenon. There are some who have even called it a "social-fascist" manifestation. But in the two years that this organization has been in existence, no one felt it necessary to devote as much as an article to it. When, in 1919, the Fascist party was first formed, the same attitude was prevalent in regard to it. In order to estimate the symptomatic significance of the organization "Giustizia e Libertà" properly, it is necessary to note that the leaders of this group are all old war volunteers, war invalids or those who have distinguished themselves in the war, largely intellectuals, professors, students and lawyers, of Socialist and republican tendency. This indicates again the opposition of the small and middle bourgeoisie to Fascism, the rebellion against Fascism of former Fascist elements. In 1927 the present leaders of "Giustizia e Libertà" attempted to come closer to the Communists and the working class and to form an alliance with them. Today they are independently organized apart from all traditional parties. The recent trial uncovered the growing influence of "Giustizia e Libertà." After the dissolution of the democratic and liberal parties, after the consolidation of the Fascist party, after all the painful disillusionment that fell to the lot of the Italian petty bourgeoisie during and after the war, the rise of a new petty bourgeois party, with a growing popularity, is a matter of importance.

(Concluded in the next issue)

Europe As I Saw It

THE TWILIGHT OF AN EMPIRE

by Quincey E. Doyle

Holland, September 1931.
The Bank of England and the British Navy have been symbols of stability for more than a century. That era, however, has definitely closed, the precise time of such historic developments cannot be indicated. Proof of the fact is more important than fixing the time. The Bank has been compelled to turn in its distress to its French and American rivals for relief; and mutiny has seared the pride of the Navy.

These things have been long in the making; their suddenness is only apparent. Only the failure to grasp the movement of giant world forces during the past generation has permitted any surprise at the past summer's developments.

England's bourgeoisie fought a war in order to destroy the threat of German capitalism, against her world trade dominance. At the end of that war they celebrated a hollow military triumph. The major outcome of the struggle for the English ruling class was the final seal of doom upon its privileged position in the world.

The irony of the present moment is that the health of England's plutocracy of money depends upon the power of its late German enemy to resist the common deterioration of capitalism. Vast English investments in post-war Germany are in jeopardy; if German capitalism collapses, they go up in smoke. On the other hand, England's late powerful allies, France and the United States, hold her at their uncertain mercy. The shams of war-time solidarity and fraternity between the robber classes of England, France, the United States, Italy and Japan are now laid bare. What a feast for the cynic!

While the war-time expansion of England's metal, engineering, and explosives was being pushed out of all relation; to peace-time needs, her primary sources of industrial supremacy, coal and textiles, were being permanently weakened. Old King Coal was forced to abdicate by oil. When Germany had exhausted her supplies of crude oil, the armistice was signed, while the Allies praised God from whom oil blessings flow. In coal, textiles and other important industries, England lagged behind her "allied" competitors in scientific management. The organization of German industry, also, is greatly superior to that of England. India has struck a body blow at English textiles. The growth of nationalism and rival imperialisms has robbed English imperialism of many of its best markets.

The truth of the matter is simply that English industry is sick, and the country is beyond the cure of monetary

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Joe Radding.
Sunday, Dec. 6th, 1931, at 7:30 P.M.
Debate:
"Is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Necessary for Social Progress?"
Affirm. W. Miller, Negat. Barto Prove.
Sunday, Dec. 13th, 1931, at 7:30 P.M.
"Christmas."
Howell S. England
Sunday, Dec. 20th, 1931, at 7:30 P.M.
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William Mansfield.
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INTO THE MAELSTROM OF THE WORLD CRISIS

WALL Street's pivotal role in the world affairs of capitalism is due to its dominant economic position. However, with the international capitalist system sick and decayed to the marrow, this "key" position of Uncle Shylock is not a blessing but a curse to the Yankee imperialists. More and more, precisely because of its relative strength, U. S. imperialism is becoming hopelessly involved in all the complications and contradictions of capitalism in Europe, in Asia and elsewhere.

Take the crew of "distinguished" visitors who have been coming to this country. MacDonald, Laval, Grandi. Soon the Japanese imperial butcher, General Honjo, in command of the invasion of Manchuria, may come to Washington to plead the cause of "world peace" and the Kellogg pact. And undoubtedly in the event of a Fascist Hitler triumph in Germany, a Bruening or an Otto Braun would probably be rushed here as a "good will" salesman! Thus, one of Wall Street's most reliable lickspittles boasts that "all roads lead to Washington"—and from Washington to nowhere and more chaos. The visits of Laval and Grandi show how deeply shaken the capitalist system is, show how tied up American capitalism is with the sharpening antagonisms and difficulties of the whole bourgeois order.

England leaves the gold standard. British imperialism appears weaker than ever but—and the but is even more significant than the pace of the flight from the pound itself—there immediately follows a run on the dollar. Wall Street loses nearly three-quarters of a billion gold dollars and the loss is only momentarily halted by the heavy Japanese deposits for munitions and supply purchases. French and Italian imperialism are at daggers ends. The German reparation system is shattered. So Laval and Grandi rush to Washington to haggle and bargain, seek terms and deals, all in preparation for another war, the seeds of which were sown in the infamous Versailles Peace Treaty. The League of Nations and Kellogg Pact stand exposed as bankrupt in the Manchurian crisis. The Soviet Union remains the sole force for peace. So Briand calls on Stimson for Washington to add more fuel to the flames.

Clearly, there is not a decayed spot in world capitalism today which does not spread its germs to the heart and head of international bourgeoisie, the United States. There is not a contradiction or a difficulty of world capitalism to which the United States is not becoming increasingly subject—in addition to its own inherent contradictions. Yesterday's greatest assets of U. S. imperialism are today being transformed, especially by the international situation, at an accelerating tempo, into the source of insuperable difficulties which can only hasten and precipitate the collapse of American capitalism itself.

Grandi will get no more and no less than Laval. Hoover will play Laval against Grandi and Grandi against Laval. Italian imperialism can't afford to spend so much for armaments in its race with France. Both will be asked to pay to Washington so that the latter can support the one against the other and the other against the one at the Disarmament Conference next year. In so far as keeping out of the mess, or even lifting the clouds of the world crisis, these visits and conversations are pregnant with barrenness, fertile with sterility. The reparations crisis travels from bad to worse. The debt question assumes ever-more acute proportions. The disarmament race becomes more keen and menacing. The clash in the world market, the struggle for spheres of influence and colonies takes on more diverse and aggravated forms. The balance sheet of world imperialism, with U. S. capitalism at its head, is more confusion, hopeless tangles, spreading of the crisis, affected an infected areas, and multiplying war signals.

THE DEBATE OF THE YEAR RUSSELL - LOVESTONE

DEBATE

PROLETARIAN THE ROAD
DICTATORSHIP is TO FREEDOM

JAY LOVESTONE says YES
BERTRAND RUSSELL says NO

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"We Are The Truer Guardians...!"

The Communists and "Americanism"

by Bertram D. Wolfe

"Sympathizer's" interesting letter, published in our last issue, reveals two outstanding characteristics of its author: 1) sincere sympathy with Communism and hatred of the decaying capitalist system, and 2) a lack of comprehension of the revolutionary role of the proletariat.

"Sympathizer" is keenly sensitive to the widespread misery of war, unemployment and parasitic exploitation, the cancerous growth of racketeering, gangsterism and corruption, that are the by-products of the final stage of capitalism. But he (or she—for the letter is anonymous) has apparently only recently become aware of the need of revolutionary change and is not yet conscious of the forces which are developing in present day society to bring about that change. The writer's development toward Communism may stop there, in which case he will nourish all sorts of utopian schemes for revolutions without the masses, behind the back of the masses, by sudden and fantastic coups d'état—and despairing of them, may sooner or later land in the camp of Fascism or cynical conservatism. Or else, "Sympathizer" will develop from an awareness of theills of decaying capitalism to an awareness of the revolutionary forces developing within it—the proletariat and its allies, the poor farmers, the colonial peoples and revolutionized sections of the petty-bourgeoisie and "intelligentsia." Then "Sympathizer" will cease believing that the masses can be perpetually led by the nose and will cease hoping merely that they should be led by the nose by "good people" (Communists) and not "bad people" (capitalists), and he will throw in his lot with the Communists and join with them in the by-no-means easy task of freeing working-class thought and feeling from bourgeois influence and organizing the large collective weapons of the working class, their party and unions and other organizations, into an irresistible force for the defeating of the few by the many and the building of a decent human society in the interest of all.

The question of the flag is, of course, a question of symbols. But the significance of symbols may be viewed deeply or superficially. Thus when the writer declares: "Russia is organized under the red flag. But Communism would still be Communism if the flag were green or yellow." We must answer: Yes the color is immaterial, but Communism would not be Communism if the flag were national in place of international. And red happens to have become, historically, the symbol of international solidarity. Any other color might have become, but no other color has become the symbol of internationalism. And one color combination could certainly never have become the symbol of internationalism in Russia—the white, blue and red banner of Czarism!

Americans Are No Exceptions But—objects the writer—the American masses are blindly attached to the Stars and Stripes. So were the Russian masses blindly attached to the "little father" and the church and the flag—until it came to symbolize in their minds all the things they hated: oppression, tyranny, starvation, imperialism, war. When they learned to hate those things, they learned to hate their symbols, the very symbols they had revered so blindly. That was one of the signs of the revolutionization of the masses. Then they rallied to other symbols because they were rallying to other things. The American masses still believe in the symbol because they do not yet sufficiently disbelieve in the things for which it stands.

Whose Revolution Is It? So much for the superficial question of symbols. But "Sympathizer" has raised, somewhat vaguely to be sure, a far deeper question. And in that deeper question "Sympathizer" is profoundly right. It is the question which he synthesizes in the proposed slogan "Recapture our country," and in the proposal to claim for the modern revolutionary movement (Communism) the best traditions of earlier revolutionary America, the traditions of Jefferson and Patrick Henry and Lincoln, and—we might add—of Samuel Adams and Thomas Paine, of Bacon, Leisler and Daniel Shays, of Nat Turner and John Brown and Wendell Phillips—and of many more as well. (The we cannot follow "Sympathizer" when he admits Roosevelt or Henry Clay.)

The Bill of Rights forced into a reactionary constitution by vigilant revolutionaries today belongs to us. The master class honors that Bill of Rights only by its breach and not by its observance. That immortal section of the Declaration of Independence which proclaims the right of the people to "alter or abolish" any government which does not serve their interests, is also part of our heritage. Communists are arrested for asserting that right today. Nor does it help them to show that they are quoting the "immortal" document.

A Communist speaker in Pittsburgh who tried to read that section of the Declaration of Independence was arrested. "I didn't write that," he protested, "Thomas Jefferson wrote it." "Well, I'll pull you in first," answered the cop, "and then I'll go back and get this here guy Jefferson."

The master class is arresting the revolutionists of 1776 and rejecting their heritage. We claim the heritage they reject. We dispute with them for this heritage. We say to the Tory "Daughters of the American Revolution" and the Tory Mellons and Howers: "We are definitely more consistent and truer guardians of the American heritage than you."

Build On The Inheritance But we are no "back-to-1776-ers." We propose to build upon and enlarge the inheritance. We realize its limitations, the incompleteness, the limited class character of the heritage. We insist, as Lenin did of the heritage from the Russian Narodniki (Populists): "To keep the inheritance by no means signifies that one must limit himself to what he has inherited." Back to 1776? "Back to nothing," we answer. "We use the past to build the future, not to block the present. Forward to Communism..."

The Question Of Loyalty To American capitalism and imperialism we are disloyal. To the interests of the great mass of American workers and toiling farmers we are unwaveringly loyal. We do not say! "Our country right or wrong." On the contrary, so long as we find anything wrong in "our" country we will fight like hell to set it right. And if I put the "our" in quotation marks it is because we do not own the country altho we have built it. In that sense, it is one of the aims of our movement to make the country "ours" without the quotation marks.

So intense is this feeling of loyalty to the real America, the toiling exploited, producing masses, that, in peace and in war, our first care is to defeat "our own" master class, for we know that with its defeat will come the defeat of the most powerful bulwark of reaction in all the world.

The "National" Pride of the Communists We Communists are not devoid of

"national" pride. But we are generally proud of the things of which the master class is ashamed and ashamed of the things of which they are proud. We are proud of the revolutionary traditions of Thomas Jefferson ("The tree of liberty must be fertilized with the blood of tyrants!"), proud of the influence of the Declaration of Independence on the French Revolution, proud of the first American flag of flaming crimson bearing the revolutionary device: "Don't Tread On Me." We are proud of the generous purpose of transcendentalism and its noble, if misguided utopianism, of the invincible courage of the abolitionists and their burning hatred of slavery, of the broad egalitarianism of Whitman, the anti-plutocratic spirit of populism and the unswayed opposition of the "muckrakers" to the gigantic trusts. We are proud, too, of the fruitful genius and plenty-producing marvels of American technical achievement.

Therefore do we hate with a deep hatred all that is slavish and corrupt in our national life, all the "hoggish, cheating and bedbug qualities," as Walt Whitman called them, in the past and present of America. Therefore do we hate the abuse of the machine for the enslavement of man in place of his emancipation. Therefore do we scorn to see the United States appear before the world as the jailer of Latin America, as the pawnbroker, Uncle Shylock, as the wielder of the big stick, as the symbol of world reaction.

The real interests of our people coincide with the interests of the toilers and oppressed throughout the world. The highest nationalism today is at the same time internationalism. And in this sense too are we profoundly "national." We are determined to do our duty above all in "our own" country, to defeat "our own" master class, and we rejoice to know that in defeating them, we defeat the most powerful and most oppressive master class of all and thereby America's working class makes a tremendous contribution to the freedom of all peoples throughout the world.

Pioneers Of The New World

A MESSAGE TO AMERICAN ENGINEERS

by Nikolai Bukharin

We publish below the message of Nikolai Bukharin, the famous Marxist theoretician and Communist leader, to the American engineers and technicians working in the Soviet Union on the occasion of the fourteenth anniversary of the October Revolution. The message originally appeared in the Moscow News of November 6, 1931.

You are now working in a country which represents a gigantic laboratory. You see around you new forms of construction and production being extended on an unprecedented scale; a whirl of new ideas, the beginnings of a new culture. And in the midst of this raging current, underground rocks from our historic past, remnants of poverty and illiteracy are still to be found.

In this combination of the most varied elements, in the great mosaic of our social life, there are, however, fundamental and decisive tendencies which are due to the fact that we are building a Socialist society, that we are constructing a planned economy, that we have the support of millions, that we display an unprecedented energy and stubbornness in the attainment of the aims to which we have set ourselves.

You are people from another social world, with other habits of life. Yet you have come to the Soviet Union. Many years ago when Great Britain's transatlantic colony—the future republic of the Stars and Stripes—began to establish itself, there was a flow of pioneers, of energetic builders, of people who were unfettered by ancient tradition, during in their old and headless of obstacles. Old Europe looked upon these people with suspicion; the aristocracy despised them. But this disregard for ancient tradition, this pioneering work, this new construction in a new land, led to results that are now obvious to all.

The twentieth century marked a still greater break. The Soviet Union, arising out of the ruins of a gigantic semi-Asiatic despotism, has become a new land in the midst of the capitalist world. Here too we have a new scale of measurement, new qualities and quantities, the labor of pioneers. But the uprooting of the old social basis is incomparably deeper, the break with the traditions of the past is more fundamental. There has been a much more radical change in social life and the leap to a new technical basis for society is much greater. The U.S.S.R. represents the first working class revolution, which has opened up gigantic perspectives for construction.

The whole of the old world, which has been given the lie by this revolution, looks upon it with disfavor. This is as natural as was, in its time, the hatred of the titled aristocracy towards the young American republic

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BOOKS

THE AGE OF HATE, Andrew Johnson and the Radicals, by George Fort Milton. New York, Coward-McCann, Inc., 1930.

No epoch in American history has been so seriously neglected, so completely misunderstood and so grossly misinterpreted as the Reconstruction Period. The "classical" American historians (typified by Rhodes) have pictured it as an unpleasant episode explicable only in terms of "war time passions" and "party politics." The avowedly pro-Southern historians, beginning with Dunning and continuing right down to the active group of Southern intellectuals who have taken upon themselves the historical apology of the Confederacy, treat the period of Reconstruction as the "original sin" of the American life. The "liberal" historians (Beard, etc.) stand puzzled before the great events and are able only to mumble some platitudinous phrases about "corruption," "greed" and "hatred." The writers who pretend to approach the problem from a Marxian viewpoint (Neal, Simons, Binba) have, on the whole, been bankrupt as the bourgeois historians in their comprehension of this period—thus showing the profundity of their "Marxism."

And yet the Reconstruction Period is one of the most important—if not the most important—in the entire history of this country. A genuinely Marxist examination of the period destroys once and for all the conception of the Reconstruction Period as a secondary, supplementary episode to the Civil War, on the contrary, it would be more correct to say that the Civil War was the (military) prelude to the period of Reconstruction. The Civil War and the Reconstruction Period constitute essentially a bourgeois revolution in two stages: first, the defeat of the armed counter-revolution of the slave-owners (the Civil War) and, secondly, the attempt to draw all the historically necessary consequences, economic, political and social, of this defeat of the counter-revolution (the Reconstruction Period). In spite of the highly specific form which this bourgeois revolution assumed in this country, its essential and fundamental aims were still those of the classical bourgeois revolution: the national consolidation of the country (defeat of secession), the thorough eradication of all pre-capitalist economic forms (abolition of slavery), the destruction of the political power of the aristocracy (disfranchisement of the former slave owners and rebels), the agrarian revolution (the Radical plan of the confiscation of the lands of the former slave-owners and the distribution of this land among the emancipated slaves), etc. Nor can the strict analogy be overlooked between the military dictatorship established by the Jacobins in the reactionary rural departments of France and the military rule of the South during Reconstruction. The general historical form is the same, however different may be the external aspects of the specific episodes.

But a whole historical period separates the French Revolution and the Civil War. In America, the bourgeois-democratic revolution was frustrated and distorted, not only as a result of the resistance of the still powerful ruling class of the South but also as a consequence of the inner weakness of the Northern capitalist class itself, within which there emerged powerful reactionary elements (the social support of the Conservatives in the Reconstruction battle). These reactionary elements finally gained the upper hand and, in alliance with the forces of reaction in the South, succeeded in undoing the achievements of the Radicals in their brief period of power and in turning into ashes the fruits of four years of warfare. As in every bourgeois revolution two roads were possible: the radical (Jacobin) and the conservative (Girondin). In this country, the Radical course had the upper hand at first; then came a period of vacillation; and finally the Conservative course emerged triumphant. The Negro slave was indeed legally emancipated but he was not transformed into a free (in the bourgeois sense) proletarian or peasant-proprietor. No, the slave status gave way before a new semi-slave status, a caste status, in which the American Negro has labored until today.

Mr. Milton's political biography of Andrew Johnson, the figure-head of the Conservatives, is in a real sense a history of certain basic phases of the Reconstruction period. It is true Mr. Milton's viewpoint is violently, even absurdly biased in favor of his hero and the political tendency he represents but the very violence of his bias makes it possible for him to tell many things about Johnson, about the Conservatives and about the Radicals that a more discreetly apologetic historian would have carefully suppressed. As a result, Mr. Milton's book is a valuable piece of work for those who know how to approach it. It is, moreover, a really good piece of literature—clearly written, intensely interesting, picturesque. It is well worth reading.

X. Y. Z.

of the Post Office Department and against the decisions of the United States courts.

2. To demand the repeal of the Espionage Act under which THE SUPPRESSION OF MILITANT LABOR PAPERS IS NOW POSSIBLE.

1. To protest against the action

Our Great President

Right after election day, with its Democratic sweep and on the eve of the hardest winter in the history of the country, Hopeful Herbie issued a Thanksgiving proclamation. A man who could find something to be thankful for under such circumstances is indeed great.

Big Prize Contest

A prize contest open to our readers if they will move to Rome, is offered by Prince Boncompagni Ludovisi. There are six prizes of free use of a four-room apartment for the winners. The prizes will be awarded to families producing the most children during the next five years. The contestants must have had at least three children during the preceding four years to enter the contest at all. If you family produced three children at least during the last four years and can turn out five sets of triplets during the next five, your chances for a free apartment are excellent.

If other contestants beat that record you still have the fifteen additional children. However, unsuccessful contestants are warned that there are no booby prizes and the management does not take responsibility for the children of unsuccessful entrants.

Our Monument to Freedom

The Goddess of Liberty in New York Harbor is all lit up. It isn't the Volstead Act—it's a new set of lights! The good lady shines more, but she's not so good to look at, as one once was. She used to be a living symbol—now she's a monument to something which has departed from our shores.

At her base is a tablet commemorating what once she symbolized: "Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp," cries she With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor, Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, The wretched refuse of your teeming shore, Send then the homeless, tempest-tossed to me. I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

The golden door is still there, bigger than ever, but light shut. No "free" no "poor" no "huddled masses" allowed. Still less if they are "yearning to breathe free." We have quota laws, exclusion of political refugees and revolutionaries, and Deportation Desk.

Her feeble torch used to glow a brighter welcome and she smiled more kindly before she had her face lifted. Now her expression is painfully set in a sardonic grin. I used to think a lot of the lady when I was a kid. But in November 1917 I suddenly noticed that she had her face toward Europe and her back toward America.

But we haven't given the good lady up yet. She used to symbolize the revolution which, starting in America in 1776, spread to France in 1789 and thence to the rest of Europe: "Liberty enlightening the world."

Soon we'll unscree the big bulb on the top of her torch and put a flaming red one in its place. Then she'll be herself again.

A Birthday Speech

With this issue we round out the fifty-second column of Hammer and Anvil—one year of the weekly Revolutionary Age. During the year, the weekly never missed an issue, nor a Hammer and Anvil column either.

The aim of this column has been the deflation of bourgeois bunk, the exposure of capitalist sham and hypocrisy, the creation of working class consciousness. Wherever we found an inflated balloon of bluff, we stuck a pin into it. Wherever we listened to a pompous stuffed shirt, we tore off the shirt front and exposed the stuffing.

We have run this column for a whole year with little aid from contributors. If you have anything to say, written in the above spirit, we would welcome it. But remember, this column has no room for cynicism and wise cracking. Contributors should bear in mind that this system it is generally sufficient to tell a straight-forward truth in order to be considered immensely funny. For the truths of a system which starves its producers while it chokes in plenty and which put 60,000,000 men on the battlefields seeking to slaughter each other and is now planning for "bigger and better" wars, the mere telling of the truth is so startling, so fantastic, so incredible, that those who perceive it must either cry and go mad or laugh and fight. Plain speaking and truth telling have ever been the jester's trade. This column has sought to do no more.

But what are a few pins when there are so many gas-bags to be pricked? The capitalist press is issued in an edition of 40,000,000 copies daily. So we ask our readers to begin the second year by giving this fighting paper of ours a wider circulation—at least one copy for every thousand of the bourgeois press. And perhaps when another birthday or two have rolled around, our readers will be able to make their paper into a daily. It's a shame to have the Hammer idle so much of the time when there are so many hard nuts to crack. Well, reader, what do you say? Got to work! A mass paper by our next birthday!

—B.D.W.