

LIBERALS DECIDE LABOR SUPPORT

Caucus For Conditional Support of Labor; Big Minority Dissents

LONDON—By a two-thirds majority the Liberal caucus of Parliament decided, on March 24, after a five-hour discussion, to "support the MacDonald government on the broad principles of Liberalism." It was decided however, not to engage in any formal alliance or pact. A minority among the fifty members present, consisting of seventeen Liberals under the leadership of Sir John Simon, were in favor of turning the MacDonald government out at the first opportunity.

It is now pointed out that, since it needs the unwavering support of at least forty Liberals to keep the Labor government in power and only thirty-three are in favor of even a conditional support, the fate of the Labor government is in considerable doubt.

The decision of the Liberal caucus makes clearer than ever that the so-called Labor government is able to maintain its existence only by following a policy agreeable to the Liberals, that is, a capitalist policy in direct opposition to the interests of the workers.

CRISIS BREAKS OUT IN BRITISH PARTY; OVER UNION POLICIES

Horner Attacks Sectarian Policy in Miners Strike

The British Communist Party has always been a sort of backwoods in the Comintern from an ideological and political viewpoint. The crisis which has engulfed the whole Comintern has hitherto left the British Party relatively untouched. Neither a Trotskyite nor a Communist Opposition group has as yet appeared on the scene. And yet the conditions in England offer the most horrible example of the wreckage brought about by the new course and provide the best basis for the development of a real Communist opposition movement.

Now, at last, the first signs of this delayed development seem to be here. Characteristically enough, the inner-party crisis is focusing on the trade union question, the outstanding questions in the Communist movement in Western Europe and America. The issues center around the South Wales miners strike and the attitude of Comrade Horner to the Party policy.

On January 1, 1931 the miners of South Wales went out on strike under the leadership of their union, the South Wales Miners Federation. (The miners are very highly organized in South Wales, practically all in the S.W.M.F.). The strike was against wage-cuts and against the "spread-over" system. The Political Bureau of Communist Party immediately issued its directives for this strike in thorough harmony with the suicidal tactics of R.L.L.U. The main slogan of the C.P. in this strike was "independent leadership." This, as the British

WASHINGTON—Hardly two weeks after the Progressive Conference here, discussion broke out among the Progressives today over their legislative program for the next session. The proposal made by Representative LaGuardia, Republican of New York, that the Senate and House "Independents" in both parties line up behind four measures as their minimum legislative demand drew support from Representative Kvale, Farmer-Labor of Minnesota, Senator Norbeck, Republican of South Dakota, however, assailed the program because it left out farm relief.

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Results of Dress Strike Call For Sharp Change of Policy

Zimmerman Reviews Situation and Makes Proposals

New York City March 27, 1931
Yesterday (on March 26) there took place a well-attended membership meeting of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union with the purpose of reviewing the recent dress strike in New York and to examine the prospects for the future. Irving Potash, the secretary of the union, made the report. During the strike, he reported 103 whole shops were taken down and 58 "minorities" (that is, individual workers) involving, so he said, 4,000 workers—which figure included about 750 unemployed. Of the 103 shops struck, 61 signed settlements with the union, the rest becoming open shops. The strike, Potash admitted, did not live up to expectations of the leadership.

It is necessary to know that there are about 45,000 workers in the dress trade, in 3,500 shops. In the I.L.G.W.U. there are about 15,000 workers with about 800 shops in the control of the union.

What Was Wrong With the Strike?
Then Potash addressed himself to the question of what was wrong with the strike. The first big mistake, he said, was that the original demands were issued at all. That had a serious effect upon the ability of the union to mobilize the

Recent Developments

Then Potash went on to other matters. There are certain "recent developments," he declared. "The Lovestonites are for going into the company unions. They say so openly. The company unions are at their lowest ebb. They are falling apart. The Lovestonites are now going in to these unions to save them from collapse. . . . There is another group, now going around with the same propaganda. (He meant a certain group of workers, who until recently had been loyalists and full supporters of the Party line) "Between the union and these groups," Potash concluded, "there is a marked lack of enthusiasm."

Then the discussion began. Goodman, the chairman of the shop delegates council, declared that he disagreed with Potash that the strike was not a complete success. "It was a big success," he insisted. "Thousands of workers heard about it, even if they didn't go out on strike. Therefore it was a big success!"

Following him Lipsin spoke, giving some actual facts on how many went down on strike and showing how Potash's meager figures were exaggerated. On the basis of Potash's figures for shops, Lipsin showed that the number of strikers could not have been more than 2,000. Lipsin then went on to describe the nature of the settlements, showing that in fact some settlements were on the basis of lower standards than before the strike.

Then Pauline Morgenstein, of the unnamed group which Potash had attacked so much, got up to make a statement that she was not ready to make any proposal but that she would make them to the C.E.B. She was met with boos and hisses. Her pleading for democracy was of no avail.

The Line of Struggle
Finally, towards the end of the meeting Chas. S. Zimmerman took the floor. He started off by condemning the but-lesques and boos and hissing, pointing out that such methods could never help arrive at a real understanding of the situation. "The same methods," he said, "were used when we made our proposals on demands, which everyone now admits were correct."

Comrade Zimmerman went on to an analysis of the actual situation. "Even on the basis of Potash's figures, it is obvious that the union cannot now maintain union conditions in the industry. That is why the union is forced to make such settlements below union conditions. It is not because our union leaders want to make such settlements. They cannot help it because of the state of the union. The N.T.W.I.U. is supposed to be an industrial union. But in the men's clothing trade it has only a few members and no shop control. In the cloakmakers no shop control, only a few members. In the furriers practically no shop control. And in the dress trade now only 61 shops. At the same time, in the right wing unions there are tens of thousands of workers who are being misled by the bureaucrats but who want to fight for better conditions. In view of this situation, it is clear that a change of policy is necessary. The one way out of this situation, the way we propose, is for the left wing workers to go into the right wing unions to take the lead in mobilizing the workers to struggle for better conditions and for real fighting leadership."

Louis Hyman, the president of the union, thereupon launched into a bitter attack upon Zimmerman. The analysis of Zimmerman, he said, seriously enough, was correct—but not his conclusions! How the two could be separated only Hyman can tell. At any rate, he too promised relentless war against the Lovestonites.

But the workers who are really beginning to think of the situation in the industry and in their union were forced to recognize that not only was Zimmerman's analysis correct but that his conclusions were the only possible ones under the circumstances, were proposals that would lead to a revival of the strength and fighting power of the left wing.

Immediately an "enlightenment campaign" began against Horner. Resolutions were "passed" by South Wales organizations declaring "Hornerism is another form of Cookism, only more dangerous," etc. The comrades who dared to stand by Horner were summarily dealt with.

This is how things stand so far. It does not seem probable that this struggle will be suppressed as have been most other ideological struggles in the C.P.G.B. The issues are too grave and the powers of the Party bureaucrats are too limited. Besides, it seems if Horner is determined the time to go thru with the issue and not stop at half-statements and "conciliation." In doing so he will be conferring a great service upon the Communist movement in Great Britain and to the Communist International.

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GREEN 'ATTACKS' WAGE-CUTTING

But Silent About Hoover-Green "No Strike" Pact Which Stifles Labor

WASHINGTON—A "warning" that the American Federation of Labor would "fight any attempt to reduce wages during the current depression" was issued by William Green, president of the Federation, here on March 22.

"Reductions in wages, forced by some employers, are delaying a return to prosperity," he said. "Economic conditions will improve when the masses of the people are employed and are paid high wages. It is only through the development of the purchasing power of working people to the highest possible point that a market can be found for the goods which, through the establishment of mechanical processes, we are producing in an ever-increasing volume."

"In the light of these facts the American Federation of Labor receives it to be its duty to resist with all the influence and power at its command any attempt on the part of the employers to reduce wages."

Mr. Green went on to declare that the Federation would "direct its efforts" towards "compelling those employers of labor who have reduced wages during this period of employment to restore them."

Mr. Green did not, of course, fail to pay his respects to "those employers who have maintained existing wage standards. We promise to serve, so far as possible, in the maintenance of industrial peace."

Mr. Green's sudden discovery that wages are being cut and that "something must be done about it" reflects the growing resistance of sections of the working class to the offensive of the bosses, especially to the wage-cutting drive. It is no longer possible for Mr. Green to go on refusing to admit that wages are being cut or that the bosses are making any sort of attack on the standards of the workers. Now Mr. Green is forced to make a gesture of "promising" to fight—with the exception, of course, of the "good" employers!

But Mr. Green should remember—and the workers should remind him—that in the fall of 1929 he, in the name of "labor," made an agreement with President Hoover, who was speaking for the capitalists, that there would be no strikes in the period of depression. It was because of this sell-out pact, because of the A. F. of L. refusal to conduct strikes in defense of conditions that such drastic reductions in wages were made possible. For the only way to resist wage-cuts and to beat them is by strikes and organization! But the A. F. of L. officials refuse the one as well as the other. They refuse to organize the unorganized and they refuse to conduct strike struggles against the attacks of the bosses. And, in spite of his fine words, Mr. Green still refuses!

That is why his fine words are merely fancy phrases to turn away the growing discontent of the workers from channels of struggle.

NEWS AMONG THE MARINE WORKERS
by A New York Marine Worker

New York City March 26, 1931

In the recent issue of the Revolutionary Age I mentioned a meeting of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, held at their hall, 140 Broad Street, New York City. At this meeting the members demanded among other things that the local secretary request the National Office to produce a statement of the national finances of the union, which by the way has not been produced yet. On the other hand we see that when this demand was put forward a panic seemed to hit the national office. Two of the national officers beat it and showed up in the Gulf, and straight away got themselves locked up. Another one here in New York leaves the national office and comes to the local office and he also got pinched himself for no logical reason at all. And that leaves just one man at the headquarters. Well, that will be a good excuse for not being able to put out a national financial statement. When I think it over, we ought not to blame them for running away. If they remained they might have to explain where some of the union funds went.

Or are we to take it that they see the handwriting on the wall and are getting out from under before the crash as Foster, Amter and Minor did last March. The union is just one year old today, and according to the constitution of the Marine Workers Industrial Union they should be holding their annual convention. But by the looks of things it doesn't look as if they could get enough members together to hold a good business meeting. And if they held that in the night time, the members would have to bring their own candles, because I understand the lights are being shut off.

Another thing we are watching with no little interest is the three-cornered fight in the Longshoremen's Union. Some of the present bureaucrats are content to hold what they got while still others are doing their best to turn the Longshoremen's Union into a big bootleg syndicate. On the other hand, the members themselves are determined to put up a stiff fight against both these factions. Up to date, one of the bureaucrats has already paid for this with his life. That was John Walsh, an organizer for the International Longshoremen's Union Local 895. He bought himself a one way ticket and he's not coming back. There are plenty more one-way tickets left.

What is necessary now, in view of the repudiation of the reactionary leaders by the membership, is the calling of another membership meeting at which the entire administration including the Executive Board should

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY—Majority Group
NEW YORK CITY.

- AN OPEN MEETING -
WILL BE HELD ON
FRIDAY EVE., APRIL 3, 1931
AT 63 MADISON AVENUE
SUBJECT:
THE REACTIONARY OFFENSIVE AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNISTS
Bring Sympathizers

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The Strange Story of the Editor of the "Empros"

Who Is This Man Who Is So Free With His Abuse?

New York City March 24, 1931
A Greek fur worker, a left winger for the last ten years, a supporter of the Communist Party and the Empros, disgusted with the tactics of the Party and the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, wrote an appeal in the Greek newspaper *Attantis* calling upon all the Greek furriers to unite in one Greek local and as such picked Local 70 of the A. F. of L. as the only union with shops and members and called upon the Greek furriers to join this local to build a left wing there and to better their conditions.

The "editor" of the *Empros* (the Communist Party Greek paper) went wild over this letter and, true to form, accused the "Lovestonites" of making a united front with the bosses and the "social-fascists." He attacked with special bitterness Comrade Pappayianis, the organizer of the Greek furriers in 1925, calling him a "counter-revolutionary" and an "agent of the bosses."

Comrade Radek recently said in an article that: "Stupidity can also become a social force which must be taken into consideration." This is true. The stupidity of the *Empros* is an outstanding force which the Greek workers have to deal with every day. There is no issue of the *Empros* from which the grossest stupidity is absent. One day chit-chat appears in its columns as a "science" (evidently the editor thinks that he can tickle the spinal cord of the proletariat to revolution!). The other day a translation of Browder's article on unemployment appeared in the *Empros*. In this translation, the word "superficial" in the original became "supernatural" in the translation! (The "editor" is right! It takes a supernatural endeavor to explain Browder's article on unemployment.) Our learned "editor" is a biological opportunist. He doesn't know the difference between Communism and rheumatism. He wouldn't know a union if he saw one in life. Therefore it is hardly of value to discuss trade union tactics with him. But I can at least expose his record as a "Communist."

While Comrade Pappayianis, who is accused by our "editor" of being an agent of the bosses," was establishing the first Greek Socialist organization in the U.S.A. our "editor," then a merchant in Russia, was fighting in Denikin's forces against the Red Army in order to protect his private property against the Bolsheviks. The Red Army was victorious. The Denikins and the Kolchaks were thrown into the Black Sea. And with them went all landlords, princes, capitalists and declassed merchants. And of course our "editor" was among the "victims" of the proletarian revolution.

In 1923 we find our "editor" working on the S. S. Acropolis. The I.W. W. organized the ship and our declassed "editor" had to become a member. A strike was declared by the I.W.W. A meeting was called and every one voted for the strike, including the "editor" but as soon as the

meeting was over he went back to the ship and scabbled. In 1925 when the organization drive of the Greek furriers was in process, the "editor," then a Party member and working in a fur shop (Zserlemes) kept on working all the time; the non-Party members had to go and pull him out on strike.

In 1926, when the preparations for the general strike of the furriers were made, our "editor," a furrier, went on a tour in Florida to organize the Greek sponge fishermen into co-operatives to sell sponges to the Soviet Union!

During the 1925 strike charges were made against the "editor" by the workers that he used to go to movies instead of investigating complaints as he was supposed to do. On the Sacco and Vanzetti demonstration our "editor" worked till 5 P. M., refusing to go down himself and to take the workers down. He was shop chairman then.

When Comrade Kalfides got sick, the "editor" was appointed temporary secretary of the Greek Bureau. But the Bureau had to withdraw him after protestation of the Greek fractions of Pittsburgh, Youngstown, and Wheeling, because of his non-Communist conduct on his tour for the *Empros*, which he utilized for commercial purposes.

This is the leader of the Greek Communist movement today!
—Greek Furrier.

HOOVER TOURS THE CARIBBEAN

"Discovers" Virgin Isles Misery; Invents Rosy View of Porto Rico

A rose-colored picture of conditions in Porto Rico but a black one of the situation in the Virgin Islands, was the burden of the statement issued to the press by President Herbert Hoover on his return from his recent tour of the Caribbean.

"The people of Porto Rico have made magnificent progress in self-government and the establishment of democratic institutions," the President's statement read.

"I am advised from every quarter in the island that there would not be a popular vote of 5 per cent in favor of independence."

But about the Virgin Islands he declared that the United States had purchased a "poorhouse."

In his glowing description of conditions in Porto Rico, President Hoover did not call attention to the quite opposite picture of poverty, misery and actual starvation that was made public by Governor Theodore Roosevelt some time ago in his appeal for the Red Cross drive to help Porto Rico. Nor did President Hoover call attention to the continuous activities of the Marines in suppressing every sign of protest in Porto Rico as the possible explanation for the decline an open and public mass independence movement.

BUROCRATS HIT IN SUITCASE UNION T.U.U.L. SPREADS CONFUSION

Sell-Out For White Luggage Shop Defeated

Over 160 workers were locked out by the Morris White Luggage Company. This lock-out took place on the pretext that the White Luggage shop is a "new" shop and that a reduced amount of workers could come back after complying with certain conditions which were submitted to the officials of the union. After sixteen weeks of slack work and starvation the workers received, on Saturday, March 21, the following letter: "Please call at once for your tools, whatever they may be. By so doing you will oblige. Very truly yours, Morris White Luggage Company."

On the following Thursday, March 26, a membership meeting of the Suitcase and Bagmakers Union was held where the question of the White Luggage shop came up. To the astonishment of the membership a recommendation of the Executive Board was read to approve two of three sets of demands of the bosses. The first set of demands provided that reorganization should take place and that instead of 163 workers only about 65-70 workers should return to work. The second set of demands provided for piecework for the majority of those returning to work. The third set provided for a 20% decrease in wages for those returning to work on week-work. The Executive Board approved the first two sets of demands but not the third.

A motion was made to reject the first two recommendations of the Executive Board of the union. There took place a lengthy discussion in which fifteen workers participated. Finally a vote was taken and the motion to reject was carried by 6 to 1. Seeing the defeat of the Executive Board, the organizer, Jaffe, announced his resignation on the ground that he could not carry out the decision of the union. It was the opinion of the meeting that instead of the reorganization there should be two shifts, one shift working one week and the other the other week. Another long discussion took place, after which Jaffe insisted that his resignation be accepted. A motion was made that a committee of three or five should be elected to take care of the office of the union and to conduct its business. Many of the T.U.U.L. members were nominated for such a committee but refused to accept! Comrade Aronoff of the C.P.-Majority Group, however, accepted the nomination. Upon the refusal of the T.U.U.L. members to accept on this committee the workers taunted them with their refusal to accept responsibility. This refusal brought in big confusion in the ranks of the workers. Taking advantage of this confusion, the chairman closed the meeting.

England is moving more cautiously also because she is now engaged in secret negotiations for bilateral customs agreements between herself and six European countries. This would really mean that Great Britain would do sixfold what Germany and Austria propose to do. France further fears an undermining of the Young Plan because Germany's customs are pledged under the Young Plan and thru this customs union the Austrians and Germans would pool their customs receipts and thus make the division of these receipts for the allied imperialist powers a ticklish question.

In the whole affair the shadow of war against the Soviet Union appears rather black. The German imperialists are always ready to bargain with the French and the latter are utilizing this incident for tightening the lines of its "foreign sanitation" against the Workers Soviet Republic. At the same time, the sharpening antagonisms and bitter conflicts among the imperialist powers tends to lengthen the breathing spell of peace for the Soviet Union and thus enables the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics to continue with its program of vigorous industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture under the Five Year Plan.

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MINERS PROTEST AT LEWIS-WALKER PACT
(Continued from Page 1)
He produced a number of pay envelopes to show this. Conditions have become progressively worse under the non-union regime in northern and central West Virginia. Company money, company store abuses and "bootlegged" wage cuts, checked off without explanation have erupted back into the fields which formerly were unionized. Lewis' "provisional" organization has done nothing toward unionization, and has turned the \$90,000 headquarters of the West Virginia district into an apartment house renting out the rooms to tenants, the money going to Indianapolis.

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BIG DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST GANDHI
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Einstein and Marx Science and Determinism

by Will Herberg

The question of determinism—that is, whether there is a necessary sequence of cause and effect in the events of the world—is the central problem of science. Determinism is essentially the very cornerstone of the whole structure of science without which, it has always been believed, science itself would be quite impossible. And yet there is no feature more characteristic of contemporary scientific thought than the challenge to determinism all along the line. Indeed, the challenge has been elevated into a "principle"—the "Principle of Indeterminacy"—and the word has gone round that "Causality has been dethroned! The scientific method is being scrapped. The old cocksureness of science is gone!"

It was inevitable that the name of Einstein should be linked up with this development but not this time as the champion of the new trend but rather as the defender of the old mode of thought. "Conservative Einstein"—the *New York Times* calls him after his two declarations in favor of determinism; but after all, the *Times* adds, his defense of determinism is based only on "sentiment" and not on "mathematical proof."

The whole question is a very serious one and we Marxists, who claim that our theory provides us with a unified and all-inclusive world-view, should not be the last to submit the contemporary attack upon determinism to systematic examination and to a critical analysis.

"The Principle of Indeterminacy"

The central preoccupation of physical science in the last half-century has undoubtedly been the investigation of the structure of matter. And this field of study has yielded some remarkable and extremely important results. For one thing, it has been rendered probable that the neither Newtonian mechanics in general nor the classical wave theory of energy transmission can bear the brunt of experience as far as intra-atomic physics is concerned. A quite different set of physical concepts has been elaborated by the famous physicist Max Planck under the name of the "quantum theory." It is, of course, impossible to go into this theory here but one remarkable consequence is that it has introduced a new sequence in the "Principle of Indeterminacy" which was first explicitly formulated by the physicist Heisenberg. This principle may be simply formulated about as follows:

As we proceed in our measurements of physical quantities more completely into the realm of what might be called the sub-microscopic (the world of atoms and electrons), our accuracy of measurement is limited in a curious way: If we decide to measure one feature (either position or velocity) very precisely, we are, for that very reason, prevented from measuring another feature with accuracy. The more accurately we measure the one—the less accurately, for that very reason, can we measure the other. The further we proceed into the sub-microscopic, the more is this principle evident; while, conversely, the further we advance into the world of the macroscopic (i.e., the world of "big things"), the less becomes the relative importance of this uncertainty.

This "Principle of Indeterminacy" is not only an empirical fact insofar as our experience in intra-atomic measurement is concerned but it also harmonizes quite well with the Planck-quantum theory. From this "principle," however, some remarkable "implications" have been drawn which, in effect, undermine the whole basis of modern science and strive to dissolve the objective world into mystical phantasy.

The Idealistic Implications of the "Principle of Indeterminacy"

The most important of these idealistic implications are:

1. The denial of the objectivity of the physical attributes of matter. On the basis of a thoroughly distorted interpretation of Einstein's well-known dictum: "What cannot be said to exist, is observed cannot be said to exist," the conclusion is reached that neither position nor velocity (nor any of the physical properties) of a particle has any objective existence. Says Professor Bridgman of Harvard:

"A body has position only insofar as its position can be measured; if its position cannot in principle be measured . . . the position of the body does not exist. . . . To carry the paradox one step further, by choosing whether I shall measure the position or velocity of the electron, I thereby determine whether the electron has position or velocity. The physical properties of the electron are not absolutely inherent in it."

2. The discarding of causality in favor of the "statistical concept." If, it is argued, it is impossible to determine both the position and the velocity of a particle precisely, then the particle cannot be part of a deterministic scheme of necessary cause and effect since one particle cannot, as such, be distinguished from another. The entire possibility of prediction as to the future path of any particle is strictly limited. And, recently, Einstein, in a joint letter with Tolman and Podolsky, has shown that this uncertainty of prediction as to the future is correlated with an uncertainty as to the path of the particle in the past (*New York Times*, March 22). What then is left of determinism? It is asked. Nothing! answer the physicists of the style of Eddington. The supposedly precise cause-and-effect relation is declared to be nothing more than a rough statistical approximation, correct only as an approximation, as a declaration of "probability." This is reached, on the basis of the "latest science," the same rejection of an inherent cause-and-effect relation in favor of a "statistical conception" that characterized the work of the English Machian idealists of the Karl Pearson type thirty years ago.

3. Th discarding of the scientific

method in favor of a "scientific" mysticism. This is the idealistic trend in modern science carried to its logical extremes and the result is self-annihilation. The scientific method, the potent instrument that has widened the horizon of human knowledge more in the last three centuries than in the preceding twenty centuries, is based entirely on the presupposition of a causal relation in the world of events. With causality gone, the scientific method is sure to go. And what remains? Declares Professor Kaempfert (*New York Times*, January 11, 1931):

"There are certainly other methods of apprehension than those of science. To Eddington our strange flashes of insight, the stirring of something within us at the aspect of a sunset, the fierce belief of religious martyrs, can no longer be dismissed because they have nothing in common with the scientific approach to a problem. They acquire a new significance in view of the manifest impasse that science has reached. . . . Possibly poets and seers who have had religious experiences may be aware in a dim way of what lies behind the mathematical concepts in which we now express what little we know of the world around us. Eddington says as much: 'The spiritual element in our experience is the creative element.'"

Only consistent materialism is in a position to refute systematically these idealistic vagaries. What then has consistent materialism (i.e., dialectical materialism) to say as to the idealistic implications of the "Principle of Indeterminacy?"

A Materialist Critique

The basic criticism materialism makes is that the idealists thoroughly misunderstand the real significance of the "indeterminacy principle" and its role in the scheme of science. Its validity as a generalization corresponding to the present stage of our scientific knowledge is very probable but this validity is strictly relative. It is essentially an expression of our relative (and very great) ignorance. But what the neo-idealists do

is to elevate a transitional stage in the development of knowledge into an eternal and paramount principle.

The statistical cast of our present conceptions of intra-atomic behavior must be viewed from the same angle. It is true that the present atomic theories are essentially statistical (and hence indeterministic) in character; but, as Einstein points out (*New York Times*, March 17), this is a sign of the incomplete character of these theories. "The statistical character of this theory (the quantum theory) will eventually disappear."

"He pointed out," the *New York Times* reports, "that new conceptions must be introduced to permit a more exhaustive description of the infinitesimal world of the electrons, protons and photons, before we can hope to get an accurate description of the things themselves. The more 'probable' correctness of the present mathematical equations is only an indication of the fact that these new conceptions are still missing."

Einstein makes the very striking point that the statistical character of our present knowledge, which is idealized as the last word in human thought by Eddington, is thoroughly unsatisfactory from the scientific viewpoint since "it does not describe nature but merely expectations from nature, while the aim of science is describing the things themselves not merely the probability of their happening."

For this reason, Einstein declares, the development of science will lead to a situation in which "this theoretical basis will be replaced later on by a deterministic one." And all Marxists must heartily endorse this viewpoint.

The eagerness with which the neo-idealists are ready to reject the objectivity of the physical properties of objects (and therefore of the objects themselves) now turns out to be somewhat premature and

(Continued on Page 4)

"It should be noted that the inadequate and provisional character of the quantum theory is admitted by all physicists since it cannot at all explain diffraction phenomena for which the directly contrary wave theory is still necessary. Obviously a more complete and all-embracing conception is on the order of the day."

TWO DRESS STRIKES: 1929-1931

by William Zweibon

"One of the main shortcomings in our strike activities in the past was lack of preparation. The last (1929) strike, which was not well prepared, resulted in the organization of only six thousand workers."

This paragraph appeared in the editorial of the *Needle Worker*, official organ of the N.T.W.I.U., of December 1930. The part of the paragraph dealing with the lack of preparation is absolutely correct. The union had only four weeks time to prepare the strike. January 1, 1929 was the last day of the union convention that decided on calling of the dress strike. The first week in February the strike was declared. More than 10,000 workers responded to the strike call and nearly 8,000 were sent back to work in settled shops. So despite poor preparations which were no fault of the union, there was created a solid foundation for the N.T.W.I.U. in organizing 8,000 dressmakers in about 300 shops.

That this accomplishment was a result of a more realistic, thorough, and correct strike strategy, is best proven by an examination of the preparations and results of the last dress strike. Not four weeks of preparation but full eight months of constant "work" for the strike. Above all, no strike in the needle trades ever witnessed such an enormous number of leaflets distributed in the market as the recent strike. And what was the outcome of this strike? The most optimistic opinion even of the "loyalists" is—that not even 2,000 dressmakers responded to the strike call, and only about 1,000 were sent back to settled shops. This happens in a time when there is supposed to take place a widespread, deep-going radicalization generally, and especially among Jewish, Negro and Spanish workers.

During the Strike

In the article of May 6, 1930 printed in the *Daily Worker* (the essence of this article was taken from the *Jewish Forward*), Jack Johnstone says: "Collaboration with the police flourished among the leadership of the left wing and of the new union. The Industrial Union, under the leadership of Gilow, Zimmerman and Gress, the brains of the union, was being hooked up with Mr. Broderick, head of the Industrial Police Squad." Genuine *Forward* jewels, aren't they? The needle trades workers know quite a different story. In all left wing strikes, as well as in the 1929 dress strike, the strikers were brutally attacked by the uniformed police as well as by the Industrial Squad. Unlimited arrests of our strikers, heavy fines and sentences to jail—this occurred practically every day, at least for the first two weeks of the strike. Johnstone and the *Forward* called this strike "cooperation with the police." If that is so, how will you explain the recent 1931 strike with everything so pure and kosher? Neither Johnstone nor the union leadership can bring facts to prove that in the recent strike more strikers were beaten by the police and gangsters or more arrested than in 1929.

The natural consequence of "police cooperation," one should expect, is unrestricted picketing, the least possible arrests and the "impartial,"

gentle behavior of the police. Compare the mass arrests in 1929 in the first four weeks of the strike with the same period of time in 1931. Let Johnstone explain what "police cooperation" actually means!

The same is true about mass picketing and demonstrations. While in 1929, with "police cooperation," we succeeded in carrying thru several demonstrations of a mass character in the strike area, the N.T.W.I.U. in 1931 completely failed to mobilize the strikers and sympathizers to have even one demonstration in the strike area. On Tuesday, February 24, some 300 workers and about 40 pioneers marched thru the district and this was the first and the last "mass picketing demonstration."

Secret Dealings

In the same article of Johnstone's we find another piece of slander. "The main prop of this leadership of Gilow-Zimmerman was secret dealings with the bosses." The answer to this lie will again be found in the facts. In 1929, when the union signed an agreement with the Protective Association, that agreement was brought before the striking workers in the halls and read before them. The strikers discussed and ratified the agreement. But in 1931, the *Freiheit* announces that an agreement was reached with the association. Can any striker tell what is in the agreement? Was the agreement read before the strikers? Was it discussed in the halls? Nothing of the sort! So who is guilty of making "secret dealings?"

Mistakes in 1929

In analyzing the course of events in both the 1929 and 1931 strikes the impression should be no means be created that everything was correct in the 1929 strike. Not at all! There were too many shortcomings even then. Already at that time the beginnings of the new sectarian line were beginning to make themselves felt (the refusal to make individual settlements, etc.).

Unquestionably, some "expert" on trade unionism of the Johnstone type will come to the next meeting of the needle trades fraction and put the blame for the failure of the strike upon the shoulders of the comrades for not "carrying out" the new line of the T.U.U.L. and the R.I.L.U. "correctly." But the comrades will have to go into a thorough analysis of the

Real Work on Unemployment

Swedish Party Calls Successful Unemployment Meet; "Loyalites" Add One More Fiasco

From Sweden it is reported: Towards the end of February there took place a conference of the representatives of the Stockholm unemployed. This conference was under the influence of the Communist Party (expelled by the Comintern and affiliated to the International Communist Opposition). At the conference there were present 67 delegates representing 47 unions. The two chief reports—on the demands in the struggle against unemployment and on rationalization—were given by Comrades Olsson and Jensen. A resolution proposed by them including the concrete demands of the unemployed was adopted unanimously. It was also decided to arrange a mass demonstration of the unemployed on March 15 for the demands of the resolution.

The "loyalist" Party (recognized by the Comintern) is also trying to do "work" among the unemployed! But this work of splitting and destruction. In opposition to the above conference they called their own "conference" in Karlstad. At this "conference" there were present 7 delegates representing 4 unions. Of course the "conference" could not even begin!

Every day sees the "loyalist" Party losing more and more of whatever little support it had and the "expelled" Party gaining in strength and influence among the masses.

In the Sky or Here and Now?

Cardinal O'Connell told the faithful sheep of the Holy Name Society the cause of unrest today and the remedy. The cause. "Lack of faith. If man thinks that all in life is what he can see before him (that is, if man tries to build himself a decent life on earth)—Editor: this striving for things never attained because life is so short, is utterly futile. . . . That is the cause of this universal disease."

And the remedy? "Men have forgotten God, absorbed in some petty trifle of today. That is why the Church has brought . . . peace and happiness."

In other words, the Cardinal is singing the old song. Keep your eyes on the skies while your pocket is picked. Don't try to build a decent human world. Work and pray—live on hay—you'll get pie in the sky when you die!

But we notice the Cardinal and the chief pillars of his Church take their pie with their meals while they sell the futures in heavenly pastries to the rest of us!

The Profits of Unemployment

Unemployment is a blessing after all, finds the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America in Atlantic City assembled, for "in time of trouble people turn to the church." It's an ill wind . . .

Another Two Line Play

Matching the two-line play printed in this paper several weeks ago, the *New York Times* offers the following, entitled:

CIVIC VIRTUE

First Citizen: Say, lookit this! Public servants in league with gangsters.

Second Citizen: Ho! Hum!

A NEW SERIES!

On this page begins the first article of a new series by Comrade Lovestone:

DETROIT—Failure in the Heart of America.

The other two articles in this series will be:

CHICAGO—The Lower Depths of the Party Line.

CANADA—A Three Corned Imperialist Scramble.

Watch for them!

strike "response," the "enthusiasm" of the strikers, their indifference to everything around them, the failure of Party comrades and sympathizers to respond to the strike. We will have to examine the arrangements with the bosses to go down for the first few days and then go back to work which were made by "good left wingers" and also Party members of high rank. The inevitable conclusion will be that there is no place for two unions in the industry, and that all class-conscious workers in both unions must give leadership in the direction of bringing about one union in the needle trades based on the class struggle. This is the cry of every needle trades worker and it is the immediate problem of the left wing and Communists.

No opposition, whether it come from the A. F. of L. bureaucrats or from left sectarians will stop us, class-conscious workers, from fighting for one union in the needle trades.

The Economic Week

APRIL opens with a shower of unfavorable statistics. Dividend reductions by such powerful corporations as the Anaconda Copper, Westinghouse, National Cash Register and Baltimore and Ohio R. R. have sent a chill down the back of the stock market which has seen very heavy losses in recent days. The Easter impetus was largely spent in March. Therefore, very probably April will usher in a seasonal decline running at least thru July. The slight steel upswing has been definitely checked,

Failure in Heart of America

by Jay Lovestone

Detroit has often been called "The Heart of America." It is the cradle of mass production. Precisely those industries on which the last "prosperity" illusions so largely rested are the basis of Detroit's world renown as a great manufacturing center. It is the center of the world's automobile production. And the auto was the hub of the last "prosperity" days. This city also leads the world in the manufacturing of all kinds of motors, metal airplanes, gasoline engines, adding machines, pharmaceuticals, alkalies, vacuum cleaners, and oil burners. Its annual products are valued at two and a half billion, or more than of many a country in Europe.

Just because this has been the marvel of American capitalist organization, the home of the newest industrial technique, the economic crisis is here most acute. Because yesterday the symbol of "prosperity," today the symbol of mass misery at its worst!

A Sad City

The city is now sad. A stroll up the swiftest shopping streets like Woodward Avenue, Washington Avenue and the busiest thoroughfares like Gratiot Avenue gives one the feeling that the town has gone thru a war or some epidemic.

Even the richest stores have not escaped the plague. The ritzy haberdashers, George & Henry, have been forced to close two of their shops. Gapper and Gapper, among the swiftest of gent's furnisurers, have been granted one year credit extension. Crowley and Milner, department store, has been laying off help. The J. L. Hudson Department Store, biggest of them all, was saved from disaster only thru marriage, only thru the good fortune of having Edsel Ford as son-in-law.

How had things come to be seen from the State Automobile License Bureau's being compelled to extend the period for getting 1931 license plates

to February 1 and then to March 1. Still, after this sixty-day grace period passed, 800 cars were tagged by the police in Detroit for not having new plates. On March 1, 175,000 1930 Michigan automobile owners had not yet gotten their 1931 license. Today, there are 100,000 less auto licenses in the State than a year ago at this time.

Auto Plants Anchored in Silence

I talked to many auto workers. Their suffering is acute. Part-time workers consider themselves lucky.

A visit to the Hudson plant, one of the biggest and most efficient independents, tells the story. Entering the plant, one is greeted by the eternal apple in the office door and at the factory gate. A heavy pallor of depression hangs over everything here. The crisis atmosphere is felt everywhere.

From a manager I learned that the men are working only one shift—instead of three—these days. At that, there are only at most 12,000 out of 25,000 on the job. But I have my serious doubts whether there are even 12,000 now working. I saw a surprisingly large proportion of women. There seems to be fewer Negroes employed but those working were of splendid physique and were on the heaviest and most difficult jobs. Few men over forty could be seen working. "Yes, business has fallen badly. Our export is especially hard hit. They have just slapped another tariff duty on American cars in Canada. I guess we will have to throw up another plant there to leap the tariff fence getting higher all the time. But there has been a little pick-up in the last two weeks. We have managed to raise our daily production from 515 to 585 cars." These few remarks of the manager told more than a mouthful.

With less workers more autos are being turned out. The speedup is devastating. Efficiency is constantly increasing. It is very significant that

while auto plants are reducing the working forces, the biggest motor corporations are increasing their research staffs.

A Ford worker clinched the matter with the following facts: "Before the times became so damned bad, twenty-five men were employed in the crankshaft department of the River Rouge plant. Each one of us then turned out 40 to 45 crank shafts per hour. But a few weeks ago, during the last shut down for 'inventory,' Henry put up some new machines on a patent he brought from Germany. Today, eight of these German machines are on the job manned by only eight workers each one of whom turns out eighty to eighty-five crank shafts per hour. Good-bye jobs for sixteen of us already and who knows how many of us will be left."

I asked the Hudson plant if there were any wage cuts recently: "And how! In every department! And big ones too!" said the manager. "Well, what about Ford's boast that he won't cut any?" I inquired. "That's just the bunk. Ford has cut 'em and cut 'em deep. He has slashed the hourly scale to the bone," shot back the manager. Workers told me that the average hourly wage runs from 25 to 65 cents, depending on the skill. Before the crisis it was 50 to 95 cents per hour. The unskilled who always get the lowest pay and could lose the least got the heaviest cuts and lost the most—about 50% of their wage rate. The skilled and semi-skilled workers were also hit very hard—about 33 1/3% average cut.

And it is precisely Henry Ford's wage slaves who are suffering most these days. 36 out of every 100 families cared for by the City of Detroit are dependent on the Ford plants. Only the other day W. C. Bergman, the organizing secretary of the Detroit's Mayor's Committee on Unemployment, was compelled to grumble about that Ford's policy is to "care well for idle machinery," but to "turn idle men into the streets to care for themselves as best as they may."

ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLE IN GERMANY

The Program of the German Communist Opposition

We publish below the "Program of Struggle Against Fascism" issued by the German Communist Opposition. The world significance of German Fascism makes the problem of revolutionary struggle against it of international importance. American Communists and revolutionary workers should study this program carefully.

—The Editor.

YOUNG PLAN AND VERSAILLES TREATY

I.

For the Struggle Against the Young Plan and Against the Versailles Treaty

The German bourgeoisie is striving with greater energy than ever for an imperialist revision of the Versailles Treaty and the Young Plan, particularly the revision of the Eastern frontiers and the provisions of the Versailles Treaty which hinder the military preparations of German imperialism.

An imperialist revision of the Versailles Treaty and the Young Plan can only be realized thru a new imperialist world war, thru Germany's joining one of the groups of imperialist powers. The war preparations of the international bourgeoisie are directed more and more against the first Workers State, against the Soviet Union. The desire of attack of the imperialist powers against the Soviet Union has been sharpened to the highest degree by the world economic crisis which strengthens the imperialist striving for the violent appropriation of new markets and which makes the danger of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. appear all the greater to the world bourgeoisie. Fascism represents this imperialist policy in its most extreme form.

The German working class must unconditionally reject the line of carrying on a struggle against the Young Plan and the Versailles Treaty in connection with and under the leadership of the German bourgeoisie. The working class must refuse to carry on the struggle against the robber-traitors on an imperialist basis to further the imperialist aims of the German bourgeoisie. The German workers must carry on the struggle both against the imperialists of their own country and against the foreign bourgeoisie. The German workers must not carry on this struggle together with its own bourgeoisie but in revolutionary struggle against its own bourgeoisie as well as against foreign imperialism—side by side with the revolutionary working class of all countries and above all with the Soviet proletariat.

The demand for the imperialist revision of the Versailles Treaty and of the Young Plan must be countered by the German working class with the slogan of the nullification of the Versailles Treaty and of the Young Plan, of the realization of the right of self-determination of peoples, of the annulment of the war debts, thru the international proletarian revolution, thru the struggle of the international working class for the overthrow of the rule of capital. This obliges the workers of every country to fight above all for the overthrow of their own bourgeoisie and to defend the victorious working class of the Soviet Union against all attacks.

Particularly must the German working class come out with the greatest sharpness against all attempts of the German bourgeoisie to reach an understanding and conclude an alliance with French imperialism—which can only be realized as a military alliance directed against the Soviet Union. The German working class must reject any cooperation with the League of Nations which is no force for peace and the conciliation of nations but is an imperialist league of robbers.

(Continued in the next issue)

The Circle of Misery Widens

As you walk thru those towering auto plants you are bound to get a feeling that the machinery is anchored solidly in a gripping silence. Really your ears hear the silence more loudly than anything else. In fact, the Hudson plant is now one of the busiest. In some of the other factories the stillness is so deep that you can hear your heart beat.

Only a couple of weeks ago the Oakland Pontiac auto corporation took a census of all its employees regarding their families, dependents, etc. These workers are now living in the terror of being fired. The dreadful fear of another layoff haunts them. Already, affairs here are intolerable. Oakland County (Pontiac) is now bankrupt. In January it was forced to pay out in relief for the hungry, in groceries and clothing \$180,000. The workers' misery defies description.

But the workers are not the only ones who are up against it. The middle class, the storekeepers, the farmers are with their backs to the wall. The farming masses are in a desperate plight. You can hear many a farmer saying in despair: "We will live on the country. And if things keep up as they are, then we will do what the Russians did."

In the Ranks of the Workers

There is much serious discontent in the ranks of the workers. Here and there the mood is ugly, tho in general, they feel that the present crisis is only a passing affair and that prosperity is the normal thing and is bound to come back. This is only a reflection of their generally undeveloped political conceptions and subjection to the illusions of capitalism and its propaganda.

The trade union bureaucrats have sold out lock, stock and barrel. In the unions there is not a voice of protest. The left wing workers have either been expelled or have fled in disgust or under the order of the middle line of the Communist Party. The trade union movement, thus robbed of its reddest blood, is paralyzed. The new unions, like the Auto Workers Industrial Union, the serving as a haven of rest from the bitter struggles in such organizations as the International Association of Machinists, are really no unions. They have neither membership nor life. The Communist Party, despite all official bluff and bombast, is a pitifully dwindling sect with about three hundred members in the whole district—the smallest on record.

But in the ranks of the workers as a whole, there is a growing interest in the class struggle and its problems. With a proper approach and a correct program, splendid foundations could now be laid for building up a real, mass revolutionary movement. This day isn't here yet. It is not being done today.

Today, Detroit—this failure in the heart of the mightiest capitalist country—is only beginning to have a telling effect on the minds and hearts of the workers. It will take quite some time yet. But its effects on the labor movement will be very far-reaching. Mighty forces of disillusionment with the Wall Street prosperity and government have been let loose. The finale in which these forces will end will be a revolt against the costly futility of the capitalist system in the United States.

Revolutionary Age

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ANOTHER HOOVER FAILURE!

THE Federal Farm Board has cracked like a ship in an ice-pack. One day, its personnel disintegrate. The next day, its policies collapse like a house of cards. The Board has just declared that its Grain Stabilization Corporation will cease to make purchases with the end of the 1930 crop deliveries.

This event reveals the bankruptcy of one of the grandest schemes to stabilize capitalist production and to eliminate its inherent chaos. Of course, the flat failure of the Farm Board to help the farmers is bound to have intense political repercussions in 1932 presidential elections.

What has happened? For months the Farm Board was buying up grain and dealing in futures. The total grain thus bought to date has been estimated at 250 million bushels. But the price of grain has not been held up. Wheat has already reached the lowest price in 36 years—and the bottom is not yet in sight! Cotton has not met a different fate. Apparently, even the most desperate efforts at price stabilization couldn't scrape the surface of the crisis. It is a world crisis in which agriculture is particularly hard hit. Granted that today farming is especially depressed, one cannot forget that even in the sunniest days of capitalist prosperity in the United States the agricultural masses were in a state of actual need. It was only the fear of the farmers' political power that compelled the Republican Party under Hoover's leadership to make this hollow pretense at helping the suffering rural masses. Actually, no serious help was given. The farming masses were simply made all the more susceptible to the manipulations of the grain gamblers and the bankers.

But now the Farm Board says: "It cannot indefinitely buy more than it sells or indefinitely hold what it has bought. It cannot follow a regular policy of buying at prices above the market, paying heavy storage charges, and selling below cost." Here it is. The government pleads poverty when a penny or a dollar is involved that might indirectly redound to the interests of the rural masses. How different a tongue this government speaks when the interests of the shipping magnates are involved—or when millions upon millions are to be refunded to the multi-millionaires!

In fact, the whole operation of the Board has been against the toiling masses. Why hasn't the Farm Board used the wheat to help feed the unemployed hungry masses in the cities? Because the government is a capitalist machine. Indeed, the Farm Board's purchasing of wheat never helped wheat prices for the farmers. Its huge holdings and speculations therein only served to depress prices still further and line the purses of the speculators. The grain merchants and gamblers always harped on the "vast unknown Farm Board quantity" as a cause for insisting on paying the farmers less and less for their grain.

And to make matters still worse, the Farm Board now closes its ignominious chapter with an insolent attack on the farming masses. In the face of starvation among the bread-raisers of the country, it boasts that "it has made wheat growers many millions of dollars and a large additional amount to growers of other grains." Now "the responsibility must rest on the farmers!" They are told by the Farm Board "to reduce acreage and market co-operatively." How is the farmer to get any money at all for food or shelter if he has less to sell in the market? How will he know whether his neighbor reduces? What about the farmer on the wheat plains of Canada? And in Roumania and Argentina? Does the Farm Board advise go well with the wheat growers of the other countries? "Efficient production" is the final cure of the Farm Board. Suppose every farmer becomes tenfold efficient this year. More wheat, more cattle, more corn, more dairy supplies follow. The market is ever-narrowing. The prices are on the toboggan. "Market co-operatively"—so the railroads and rural bankers can cash in still more! Costly advice indeed for that section of the population which has been in a state of crisis for the last fifteen years!

No wonder a wave of grain-selling has set in. The Farm Board's decision is hitting prices in Europe as much as in the United States. The significance of this latest Hoover failure reaches beyond the American borders. In our Theses on the Economic Situation, adopted a year ago, we thus foretold this disaster: "All of the efforts at capitalist 'planning' serve not to solve, not to remove, but to intensify and enlarge the inherent contradictions of capitalism. The attempts of the most highly developed capitalist country, the United States, to remove disorder in the process of production and exchange tend to develop deeper and more widespread disorder"

MODERN SCIENCE AND DETERMINISM

(Continued from Page 3)
 based on a very shaky foundation. The other "far-reaching consequences" (far-reaching indeed, for they destroy even the possibility of science) rest on no better basis.

The arguments that lead to the rejection of the objectivity of the physical properties of objects are especially illegitimate. The most that can be wrung out of the "Principle of Indeterminism" is that some physical properties of particles (velocity, position) cannot, under certain circumstances, be measured accurately. But there is nothing to say that these properties cannot essentially be observed. On the contrary, it is quite certain that they are "observed" in the sense in which this word has any significance in the criterion of knowledge, i.e., they enter into our experience. It is obviously a case of eagerness tripping up logic!

The Dialectic Development of Scientific Thought
 But the question naturally arises: Why is contemporary science so eager to destroy itself that it is ready to resort to the elevation of our ignorance into a principle as a basis for its idealism and indeterminism?

Modern science arose on the shoulders of materialism and determinism which very soon became its openly recognized foundations. We have shown elsewhere (Revolutionary Age, No. 2.) that this militant materialism and determinism were a reflection of the vigorous upward development of capitalist society. The scientists, as bourgeois ideologists, could look the world of nature confidently in the face and make a bold effort to dominate it, because the bourgeoisie was making a gigantic and successful effort to dominate the world of society. This was the great tradition of classical bourgeois science of which, Einstein is at once the last remaining banner-bearer

and outstanding destroyer. Einstein is, in fact, the connecting link, the bridge, between the new and the old.

Today official science bears another aspect because the bourgeoisie faces another world. Today the capitalist class faces a world of chaos, disintegration and decay. Just as yesterday the "incalculable operation of natural forces" seemed to promise to the rising bourgeoisie the inevitable fulfillment of its highest aspirations, so today the necessary operation of the cause-and-effect relation holds out the threat of coming doom. The striking decline of the enthusiasm of the bourgeoisie for the "inevitable" is immediately transformed into its ideological form: the rapid rise of the anti-materialistic and anti-deterministic trend of scientific thought to the point where it now dominates the field. Bourgeois science has been transformed into its opposite and has thereby ended its own cycle of development. But the development of science, reflecting the dialectic development of society, is itself dialectic, a development through contradictions.

The steady and systematic degeneration of bourgeois science and its culmination in mysticism is only one side of the picture. The other side is the appearance upon the scene of history of a new phase in the development of human thought, which, reflecting the historical use of the proletariat, again dares to look nature full in the face with confidence of the outcome. This science of the future, already a reality in the Soviet Union, builds on the past and in that sense is the historical fulfillment of the promises of the classical epoch of science. It builds upon materialism and determinism, which it enriches and transforms into dialectical materialism; it settles account with all forms of mysticism and idealism once for all; and, freed of these encumbrances, it prepares for the mastery of nature in thought and in action.

The Next War

Science Goes to War

A Race for Chemicalization - The Land Battleships - The Robot of the Skies - Hell at the Front

by Bertram D. Wolfe

Science was never completely harnessed to the war chariot until the epoch of imperialism, of capitalism in decay. No first rate scientific mind was ever interested in the problem of mass destruction until modern imperialism mobilized all industry in its service, and with it, the most advanced technique of modern science. In the later part of the World War, the mobilization of science was just beginning to gain headway. When the war ended, armies and industries were demobilized. Science was not!

A Race for Chemicalization

"Brains, not numbers," writes the President of the American Chemical Foundation, "the nation holding the potent secret formulae, the most deadly poisons, will hold the offensive."
 The full story of what chemical warfare may be like is still untold. Peace pacts, agreements and protocols expressly forbid the manufacture and storage of lethal gases, yet all the large powers retain chemical warfare services and continue to develop new poisons. Thirty asphyxiating gases were known at the beginning of the war; today there are more than 1,000. In vaults and secret archives of all large nations repose the structural formulae and chemical equations of still other toxins whose potency can only be surmised.

"Chemical preparedness in the United States is a billion-dollar project sustained and administered by private enterprise and capital, but assignable to the nation on short notice."
 "Every nation knows that chemistry can decide controversies, protocols and pacts notwithstanding. The present race for armaments is essentially a race for chemicalization."

In other words, the ink was not yet dry on the Treaty of Versailles when the chemical industries of all countries began in earnest their preparations for a "bigger and better" war!

The Land Battleship

Chemistry is not the only form of "scientific" preparation for the next war. When the first tank was proposed to the British War Office in 1912, a tank much superior in design to that "invented" in 1916, the plans were buried in a pigeonhole with the notation "The man's mad!"
 Now there is a grim race for mechanization of the various armies. Inventors vie with each other in the production of fuster, huger, more heavily armored and armed, gas-proof, bullet-proof, explosive-flame-and-poison spraying land battleships. In 1924 the British replaced their heavy and sluggish wartime tanks with the new Vickers, capable of 20 miles an hour. In 1926 came a 30-ton battle tank much faster than the 10-ton and with big guns in a revolving turret. The French in 1930 boasted forty-six battalions of tanks comprising more than 9,000 machines. They have armor one and one-eighth inches thick. Recently they introduced a seventy-ton tank (70 tons—140,000 lbs.) carries armor over 2 inches thick. Machine guns are as useless as rain drops against it. The Italians have developed the singularly flexible monster Ravesi tank which can climb serpent-like over the most precipitous ground with front half tilted one way and rear another, at the most astounding angles.

The United States have been experimenting on a high speed tank and on January 10, 1931 made its first outdoor trial—a convertible caterpillar speed tank which "travelled about a mile here today, at a speed of 45 miles an hour, bumping over logs two feet thick, sloshing through frozen ponds, spinning about in its own length, smashing barbed wire entanglements and crumpling walls two feet thick. The machine's caterpillar tracks were quickly removed and the tank roared over a paved highway at seventy-five miles an hour!" On caterpillar treads the tank climbed an incline of 45 degrees at 35 miles an hour. The top speed on wheels was reported by the inventor as 90 miles an hour.

At the Aldershot maneuvers of the British army in October 1930 "a new giant tank, like a steel crab on wheels, rumbled across piller tanks... Old-fashioned caterpillar tanks... controlled by wireless fought a battle before the Prime Ministers' (Ramsay MacDonald's) eyes..."

"The most hair-raising of all the day's monsters was the tank which moved like a crab... designed to solve every problem of a shell-torn battle area... When it came to gaping craters it simply lifted its wheels in the air one at a time and crawled on the other side. Like the claws of a night mare the tank's wheels stretched from shellhole to shellhole, each with its own grip on the surface..."

The Robot of the Skies

One of the marvels upon which

science is working is the robot-steered airplane. Airplanes have already been successfully run by wireless without a human pilot. When perfected, such planes will rise in clouds, steer over industrial centers, drop their charge of explosives or phosphorus fire-bombs or poisonous gases, and return to their base "untouched by human hands". Thus they become projectiles of unimpeded range and calibre.

Similarly there are the experiments of Professor Oberth and others with rockets. Professor Oberth in January 1931 developed a rocket weighing 88 lbs. when full and travelling at the rate 9,750 feet a second (nearly two miles a second). He promises the development of missiles "for bombarding an enemy country with a murderous rain of rockets carrying poisonous containers capable of exterminating whole populations in a few minutes."

Somewhat more remote, but not outside the realms of probability, is the perfection of ray warfare, of which Major-General E. D. Swinton

WAR DOGS OF TODAY



of the British Army writes:

"We may not be so far from the development of some kind of lethal ray which will shroud up or paralyze or poison human beings..."

But rockets and deathrays carry us a slight step ahead of the present "achievements" of Science and those achievements are more than ample to convert killing from retail to wholesale.

Hell At The Front

"Science" is preparing for the front lines a kind of mad nightmare that will make the trench warfare of the last war seem idyllic by comparison.

"Trench warfare passes by the board," writes Garvan. "For what ditch will be safe against a 4000-pound poisonous gas bomb which excavates more dirt in one minute than 25 men and a steam-shovel can handle in four days and haul off with seven trucks? Or survive the crushing impact of an 800-ton steel tank carrying a battery of high-powered poisonous gas-firing guns?"

The "smoke of battle" will linger for days and be used to make areas uninhabitable for weeks and to "occupy" regions without the use of troops.

The rifle will give way to the portable machine gun and chemical grenade. "Flesh and blood cannot advance against machine guns in the proportion in which they are now included in modern armies..." declares General H. L. Giehrst, Chief of the Chemical Warfare Service in his 1929 report to the Secretary of War.

Chemical laboratories will be attached to every company—laboratories on wheels that will manufacture poisons and gases while en route. "We have created a field laboratory for each field army," reports Gen. Giehrst. Under such circumstances "attacking in open company will mean sheer suicide. Every inch of the body must be insulated with gas-resisting substances." (Garvan).

Poison Gas

Let us look a little more closely at some of the achievements of the science of chemistry. The texts distinguish lethal, lachrymator, sternutator and vesicant gases. Laughing, blistering, coughing, itching, sneezing, choking, vomiting, tear and killing gases, and clouds of suffocating smokes.

These gases are marvelously easy to manufacture for the most part and do their work in incredibly small quantities. The first gas used in the world war at the Second Battle of Ypres was chlorine. It is made by the electrolysis of common table salt. Its virtues are that it is dense and persistent (2 1/2 times the density of air) and 2 parts in a thousand will kill in half an hour.

Phosgene

This was soon "improved" by the addition of carbon monoxide, the deadly element in illuminating gas, to form phosgene. It is much more poisonous than chlorine alone, a little over 2 parts in 10,000 being a deadly concentration. It is an important industrial chemical used in making dyes. Its most important property is delayed effect. In low concentrations soldiers may breathe it for hours apparently unharmed. Ten or twelve hours later, they may be in the pursuit of mountain air, but their lungs fill with liquid and they drop dead.

Tear Gases

Then there are the tear gases. Even the weakest solutions cause intense pain and blinding tears. Should you walk into a room containing only enough to go on the head of a pin, you would feel as though some one were tearing your eyes out with his fingernails. A little over 2 parts in 10,000,000 is enough to cause suffi-

BOOKS

EQUALITY, by R. H. Tawney. Halley Stewart Lectures, 1929. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1931.

It is remarkable how a man like Mr. Tawney, with a well-merited reputation as a scholar (see his Religion and the Rise of Capital), can write such an altogether trivial and valueless book as Equality. It is remarkable how one can know so much and understand so little. It is remarkable how the same man can be acquainted with so many things about our social system and yet completely fail to comprehend it as a whole.

It is remarkable, but it is inevitable. It is the self-stultification of bourgeois liberalism.

The surprising thing is that the book should have been written at all. There is absolutely nothing significantly new about it. In its positive and negative phases it is a repetition of ideas that have already been worn threadbare in current social thought. It is necessary to write a book describing the gross inequalities and shameful atrocities of the existing social system when any primer of Socialism contains a plentitude of such material? It must be remembered that this is not a popular propagandist work—its intent, character and style forbid it. It puts forward its claim as a "scientific" treatise, laboring to prove the existence of inequality in a world in which millions starve while a handful of parasites gorge themselves on the toil of others!

The same applies to Mr. Tawney's "remedies" (the "strategy of equality"). The author believes that the social system can be reformed thru a "radical" policy of taxation, thru the extension of social benefits, thru "trade union action", thru cooperation, thru industrial legislation and thru a cautious process of nationalization of industry (with compensation of course). But all this was said—and said more effectively—by Bernstein over thirty years ago—and refuted on the spot! In the years that have passed nothing has occurred either to strengthen the case for reformism or to weaken the force of the refutation. Very much to the contrary!

Mr. Tawney's description of existing social conditions is fairly good, if somewhat platitudinous. But his analysis is crude and shallow; his conceptions vague and confused; his conclusions weak and futile. The problem is not even properly defined. Not inequality is the essential characteristic of capitalism but class exploitation thru the power of capital. Not the "removal of the excesses of inequality" can do away with the horrors of capitalism but the destruction of the class system of exploitation at its roots.

Every possible absurdity can be found in this book clothed in the sober gravity of Mr. Tawney's rhetoric. The author believes that "educational inequalities... are themselves a cause of class division" (p. 22); that "socialism is already here" (p. 22); that "intelligence testing" proves the theory of graded "natural differences" (p. 34); that the concentration of the ownership of capital is not an inherent feature of capitalism (p. 69); that social contrasts are lessening (p. 76); that social inequality can be abolished without the abolition of classes and of class economy (pp. 29, 93, 149, etc.); and every other form of incredible nonsense.

The futilities of Mr. Tawney's "remedies" are too well known to need any discussion. The line of "strategy" upon which he places great hope, "radical" taxation (i.e., taxation falling upon rent, capital and profit) has long ago been shown by Marx to be not at all incompatible with the development of capitalism and the rapid concentration of class inequalities. Indeed, some forms, such as the nationalization of land and the confiscatory taxation of rent, would (in normal times) actually stimulate the growth of capitalism. Nor is it necessary to examine here in detail Mr. Tawney's other forms of "developing" capitalism out of existence—"trade union activities" (by which he means class collaboration), social legislation, cooperation, etc. Already Marx refuted these naive ideas and the thirty year struggle against revisionism in the Socialist movement has done the rest.

Mr. Tawney does not, of course, answer the key question: How will all his "remedies" be put into effect (assuming they are effective) in a society already dominated by precisely those classes that profit by the status quo? He contents himself with assuring us—somehow, by some miracle of fate and the despair of democracy after all. And he expects the working masses—starving, bleeding, downtrodden, with the badge of their slavery hung into their face by the degenerate orgies of their exploiters—also to remain contented with this pious hope! How little does this "cautious," "moderate," "practical" man know of the world in which he lives!

But why does Mr. Tawney, the scholar, make such an unworthy exhibition in his excursion into social science? It is not because he lacks sincerity, intelligence or knowledge. It is the effect of Mr. Tawney's omnipresent class bias. Mr. Tawney does not look at things from the point of view of the working class. His outlook is that of the liberal bourgeoisie. It is incurably dominated by the obscurantist prejudices of the bourgeoisie which destroy his vision and distort his judgment. The most obvious things he cannot see while the most palpable absurdities he credits as sober realities. It is, as we said, the self-stultification of bourgeois liberalism.

-X Y Z.

Rabbi Wise told the reporters the other day that "New York City affords need deodorants such as carbolic acid."

Right! But the Rabbi is sprinkling them with the distilled essence of kosher bologna.

Next Week:
 THE RACE WITH DEATH

BETWEEN HAMMER AND ANVIL

The Lion and the Lamb

Hoover opened a radio line to Santo Domingo the other day with a message to the Dominican president: "It is a matter of deep gratification that every increase in the facilities of communication between our countries draws them nearer together... strengthening their mutual friendship." Nearer together is right. It now takes only a few minutes to get from the U. S. A. to Santo Domingo. And as for mutual friendship, it remains of the lion and the lamb. "I like you," said the Lion. "It's mutual," said the Lamb. "Then the Lion and the Lamb lay down together," ends the fable, "and the Lamb was safe and warm—inside the Lion."

The Reign of Baby Joan

A baby, Joan Hoover, granddaughter of the President has been ruling the White House as the only Hoover in the Executive Mansion. In place of fact-finding commissions, too-finding commissions, but the unemployed are just as well off under Baby Joan as under Engineer Herbert.

Sweet Charity

Mrs. Herbert Hoover is having such a wonderful time! She has knitted five sweaters this winter which are now to be sent to the poor dear unemployed to make up for her husband's opposition to unemployment relief. No doubt that even up the account!

He's Exploited

"Melton at the age of 76 buys a stock farm." It is reliably reported that he will water the stock himself.

In the New York Manner

Jimmy Walker was greeted by masked cowboys with guns in a fake hold-up when he reached Palm Springs, Calif. They were trying to make him feel at home!

Doing His Victims a Favor

Magistrate Renaud thinks he did a favor in sending framed-up girls to Bedford Reformatory. He declares that he considered he was sending them to one of the best girl's schools in the country. "If they took off the reformatory name it would be full of girls coming in there of their own volition. It is a wonderful school."

A Rose by Any Other Name

No straightjackets are used at the Bedford Reformatory for Women, explains Superintendent Palmer. They use only "restaining sheets."

Shows what a judicious use of the dictionary will do! Now we can expect Hoover to eliminate distress by proclaiming: "There is no hunger in America today, only malnutrition." "There is no poverty, only impecuniousness."

And Mayor Walker can explain that there's no graft, only speculation. Then they will be fully in line with the modern tendency to call an undertaker a mortician and a spade an agricultural implement.

Fruits of the Police Probe

First Vivian Gordon offered to inform on the police financing system and was strangled. Next Georgia Gray, another informer against the graft-system went to the hospital with "pneumonia," and "fell" out of bed, and died two days later of "lobar pneumonia."

And the police investigation goes merrily on.

The Punishment Fits the Crime

Policeman McLaughlin, framer of Vivian Gordon and others, refused to explain how he saved \$35,800 in two years from a cop's salary. His punishment was instant and terrible: his police badge was taken away! That will teach officers that they can't trifle with a city investigation!

EAST SIDE EPITAPHIS

Found on Tombstones in a City Graveyard

No. 3 JUDGE SILBERSTEIN
 Salary seven thousand five hundred
 But I banked a hundred thousand a year
 Sending framed up janes to Bedford
 And giving whores that paid, the freedom of the City.
 I was a kind husband, good father, pew-holder and pillar of society
 And everybody called me "Your Honor."

No. 4. GROVER CLEVELAND WHALEN
 I was a was-mustache floorwalker in Wanamaker's
 I knew how to shake hands above the eye-brow
 I was official handshaker to the City of New York.
 I shook Miss America's hand, and Graf Zepelin's
 And Queen Marie's and the hands of lots of other swell bitches.
 Then I became Commissioner—showed Napoleon where to get off at—
 Some police force!
 Framed up the whole goddam Soviet Union!
 But the Mayor got sore. Said I was stealing the spot-light.
 Put a dumbbell in my place and I went back and died in the department store.

—B. D. W.