

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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MORE WAGE-CUTS ARE FORECAST

But Green Praises Steel King and Doak Sees No Wage-Slashing

The intensification of the campaign of wage-slashing is foreseen in the report of Moody's Investors Service issued towards the middle of May. The report says that "some additional downward adjustment of wages will be necessary before business recovery is in full swing." The report names the railroad, shipbuilding, locomotive construction, motor vehicles and textiles.

CHICAGO — A proposal to cut wages in all lines of building construction is being "considered" by the Building Construction Employers Association in consultation with the Chicago Building Trades Council. The reduction would affect all types of labor in all phases of structural work in the territory.

WASHINGTON—The number of reported wage-cuts in April was over double the number in March while the number of workers affected increased nearly 100%, according to the reports of the Department of Labor in Washington. It is added that these reports are incomplete and that the figures would have to be raised considerably to cover the whole field.

WASHINGTON—At a time when wage-cuts are descending as thick as hail upon the steel workers, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, issued a statement praising James A. Farrell, president of the United States Steel Corporation for his alleged "liberal" stand against wage-cuts.

WASHINGTON—In a statement issued on May 19, Secretary of Labor Doak declared that the "truce" entered into between capital and labor under the direction of President Hoover in the autumn of 1929, is still "unbroken." Secretary Doak declared that the "talk about wage-cuts is largely propaganda." "Our field reports indicate," he asserted, "that maintenance of wage levels has become a part of the economic thinking of industrial managers." At the very same time that Secretary Doak issued this statement, the Department of Labor published its reports on the tremendous increase in wage-cuts in the month of April.

SHOE WORKERS HIT SELL-OUTS

Becker & Friedman Crew Reject Settlement of Union Officials

The membership of the Boot and Shoe Union is revolting against the reactionary leadership of the organization. This was evidenced at a membership meeting held on Tuesday, May 26, at the union headquarters. Knowing what the members think of his activity as organizer, B. Kaplan, organizer, conveniently discovered some "urgent business" and deliberately absented himself from the meeting.

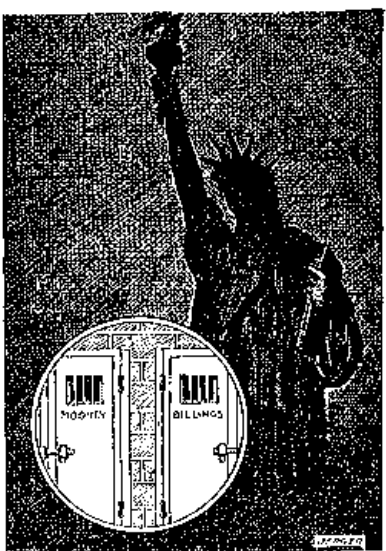
Nevertheless, the workers present at the meeting demanded to know why, on the one hand, the officials are doing nothing to organize the shoe workers in New York and, on the other hand, why they deliberately sabotage spontaneous strikes, as in the case of Carrol and Becker and Friedman.

The officialdom got the biggest share of condemnation for its sabotaging and attempted sell-out of the Becker and Friedman strike. It was pointed out that Mara, general president, and B. Kaplan, the organizer of the New York local, together with two agents of the Department of Labor, "conferred" with the bosses and, without consulting the workers patched a "settlement" which they urged the workers to accept. Under this "settlement" two of the most active strikers were to be fired and the rest were to go back to work without recognition of the union but under a "shop committee." The officials did "win" for themselves the right to come into the shop to collect dues only.

This "settlement" was most emphatically rejected by the shop crew as well as by the membership at the meeting. These and many other shady manoeuvres on the part of the officials such as the Carrol settlement, were exposed and condemned by the workers. The results of this meeting were:

1. A committee of four was elected to bring in concrete proposals for

AMERICAN "LIBERTY"



CHINA COMMUNIST SENT TO DEATH

U. S. Deports Li to Murder Land—But Monarchist Is Protected

Li Tao-husan, 26-year old Communist Chinese student in the U. S. A., is going to be deported to China where he will certainly meet death at the hands of the murderous Kuomintang government. His request to be allowed to go to the Soviet Union, which has signified its readiness to welcome him, was rejected by the Department of Labor and then, on appeal, by the Federal Court in the person of Judge John M. Woolsey. At the same time Department of Labor officials, informed Antonin Tullikov, monarchist Russian here in the United States on a student passport soon to expire, that "he will be allowed to stay in the United States as long as he likes."

The ruling of the Department of Labor officials sending Li to certain death aroused a storm of protest not only among the militant workers but among the liberal intellectuals. John Dewey of Columbia headed a list of protests from the latter source that flooded the Labor department.

CUTTERS DEFEAT BUROCRAT PLANS

Local 4 Members Reject Tricks of Reactionary Cliques in Union

By a vote of 481 to 463, with 71 abstentions, the membership of New York Cutters Local 4, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, in a referendum held on Thursday, May 28, rejected the proposals for unemployment "relief" put up by the rival reactionary cliques in the local. The total membership of the local is about 2,000, so that about 50% of the membership participated.

The referendum was so conducted by the local union bureaucracy as to make it impossible for the wishes of the rank and file to be clearly and honestly expressed. The referendum provided that the members should vote, first, on whether the local should adopt a "relief plan" for the balance of the year 1933, and then, if yes, for either of the two following plans: (1) the continuation of the 10% assessment, proposed by the Orlofsky clique, since the money on this assessment goes into their pockets and never comes out; or (2) a "standard of production" (disguised piece work) plan proposed by the Silverman (Hillman) clique. No member was allowed to vote for any other plan for unemployment relief altho the local is on record for a plan that would really help the unemployed; the 40-hour week, with 36 hours work and 40 hours pay.

The Clothing Cutters Unemployed Committee issued a leaflet urging the membership to vote "Yes" on the proposition to have a scheme for relief and "No" on the two trick propositions of the rival reactionary cliques, and to assist that the decisions of the union on the 36-hour work week with the 40-hour pay be carried out. The officialdom immediately made it known that any ballots so voted would be declared null and void. As a result scores of cutters decided to play safe and vote "No" on the general proposition so as to make sure to defeat the corrupt schemes of the reactionaries. The bulk of those who voted "Yes" (481) and well over half of those who voted

the complete reorganization of the local.

2. Mangeri and Fishman (members of the C.P.-Majority Group) were unanimously elected to the Executive Board in spite of the opposition of the officials.

Unite the Communist Movement! Statements of Communists & Revolutionary Workers

A Veteran Militant Speaks Up!

For more than twenty-five years I have been actively engaged in the labor movement with over twenty years of experience among the marine workers. In 1910 I transferred from Denmark to the International Seamen's Union in the United States. In 1918 I joined the I. W. W. In 1925 I joined the Communist Party and in 1929 was elected as a member of the Central Committee of the Party.

As organizer of the Party in the I. W. W. I was instrumental in bringing into the Party some of the most capable forces it ever had among the marine workers and in preparing the groups for the organization of the International Seamen's Club in 1927 and the subsequent launching of the Marine Workers Industrial Union. During all these years I gave my all to our Party, in work, in money, going out of the way to give up much of my scanty earnings (several hundred dollars) to help the work. I worked especially hard in starting the Daily Worker.

But all of my work in the Party and the unions was conducted under the great handicap of the unscrupulous and unprincipled Foster-Mink bureaucratic clique and their factional imposition of leadership, against their incompetence, and irresponsibility. After I organized a well-functioning fraction in the International Seamen's Union (I. S. U.), I was told by Mink, Foster's agent and top-organizer among the marine workers, that "the sooner we will get expelled from the I. S. U., the sooner we will be able to organize the seamen into a union." This policy the militant marine workers could not stomach and Mink (Continued on Page 2)

Left Wingers Join Opposition

For years we have been left wingers, fighting in the interests of our class. During this time, tho not actually in the Communist Party, we were close to the Party, always followed its policies, and thoroughly supported the Communist movement. All this time we were drawing closer to the Party and becoming ready to join it.

Then set in the crisis in the Communist movement here and internationally. Old and well-tried policies, which we had followed for years, began to be changed. Methods began to be used in the Communist Party which are a disgrace in any labor organization. Hundreds of good Communists, with whom we had been fighting side by side, were expelled. At the same time the sharpening offensive against the labor movement, the increasing war preparations, the gathering attack on the U. S. S. R. have made it clear to us that we must take our place in the ranks of the organized Communist movement.

On the basis of our experiences in the class struggle and our understanding of the present serious divisions in the Communist movement, we have decided to join the Communist Party (Majority Group) and to fight in its ranks for the renunciation of the Communist movement and for the building up of a strong mass Communist movement in this country.

GEORGE WEISS
ANNA SCHWARTZ

Needle Militants Join Group

We, members of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., declare our ad- (Continued on Page 2)

Mass Outbreaks All Over Spain; Government Uses Martial Law

Workers Seize Factory in Saragossa; Fishermen in Strike at San Sebastian; Provisional Government Moves to Right, Masses to the Left

Revolutionary outbreaks of the workers and the peasants all over Spain indicate that the militant spirit of the masses which arose to action in the anti-Church movement of a few weeks ago, has not been crushed by the repressive measures of the Zamora government even tho it has been temporarily robbed of open and organized expression.

In Saragossa, revolutionary Syndicalist workers arose spontaneously and took possession of Spain's greatest steel plant and foundry and held it for almost the whole day. Only in the late evening were they forced to give up control in the face of overpowering odds when the reactionary troops were concentrated against them.

In San Sebastian violent street struggles took place as a result of the attempt of the government, thru the declaration of martial law, to suppress a big strike of fishermen and dock workers, demanding increased pay and better working conditions. Minister of War Azana immediately declared martial law and dispatched troops against the strikers. In the clashes that followed six were killed, many wounded, and the strike suppressed.

The Madrid papers report numerous strikes of agricultural workers as well as disturbances among the poor peasants who have been greatly disappointed with the recent land law of the government. In Morocco, too, a whole wave of strikes involving both native and Spanish workers has followed the big strike at Ceuta.

The Zamora republican government is meeting these outbreaks of mass activity on the part of the workers and peasants with the most brutal acts of suppression. Martial law is declared everywhere any sign of mass activity shows itself. The government is continuing the policy of placing heavy fines upon radical agitators according to the custom instituted by the Rivera dictatorship. The main instrument of the reactionary provisional government, however, in keeping down the revolutionary activity of the masses

"Yes" on the general proposition and "No" on each of the trick proposals (about 250, the exact vote was not disclosed), may be regarded as having registered in their votes a sharp condemnation of the reactionary schemes of the bureaucrats of the union.

The situation offers splendid opportunities for the militant elements of Local 4 to mobilize the membership to put thru a genuine scheme of unemployment relief as well as to fight the reactionary and corrupt policies of the officialdom as a whole.

is the Socialist party officialdom which is part of the coalition ruling Spain today. The mass of the Socialist workers, in the party and in the trade unions, misled by their leaders, still have confidence in the republican regime and believe that the uppermost task is the "defense of the republic" and that "everything must be subordinated to this task." They do not see that the only sure way of defeating the restorationist plans of the monarchists is by unleashing the mass activity of the workers and peasants and that a republic which gives nothing to the masses cannot expect their support. It is the refusal today of the Socialist workers to support the spontaneous struggles of the masses that constitutes the greatest obstacle to the deepening of the revolution at the present time.

The Character of the Revolution

The Spanish revolution in the course of progress today differs fundamentally from all previous Spanish revolutions. The Spanish revolutions of the past always centered about a schism in the ruling classes, with the necessary in general following the more reactionary wing and the industrial workers trailing after the more liberal wing of the ruling classes. The Spanish revolution today presents a different picture—a picture of class differentiation, perhaps only implicit and unformed today but already obvious in its general outlines.

Power today is in the hands of a bourgeois republican-Socialist coalition, representing the industrial bourgeoisie, wide sections of the petty bourgeoisie and sections of the liberal landlords. This coalition is able to maintain itself thru the mass support provided to it by the Socialist organizations of the workers and by the support of the right-wing syndicalists. The bourgeois republican regime fears the independent activity of the masses for their own demands far more than danger from the right and so it has allowed a free hand for the monarchist and restorationist forces to organize politically while the heavy hand of repression is exerted towards the left. The reactionary Civil Guard is retained as a pillar of the new regime. The clergy are protected against the revolutionary indignation of the masses. Strikes are suppressed, handovers and capitalists defended.

The progress of the revolution brings with it a systematic radicalization of the working masses. Both in the U. G. T. (reformist trade union federation, under Socialist control, membership over 200,000) and in the C. N. T. (syndicalist federation, under right-wing syndicalist control, membership nearly 300,000), an in- (Continued on Page 2)

SOVIETS IN NEW 5-YEAR PLAN

Success of First 5-Year Plan Spurs to New Bigger Efforts

While the Soviet Union is busily engaged in putting over its first 5-Year Plan, the workers government is already on the job preparing a second 5-Year Plan, starting in 1933.

Present indications show that the 5-Year Plan will be completed at the close of next year, or in 4 1/2 years. A committee of eighteen of the country's leading industrial executives, headed by M. Gurevich, chief of the Planning Department of the Supreme Industrial Council, is now working "to map out the main principles of a new 5-Year Plan for 1933 to 1937 inclusive with orders for work to terminate by August 15th."

Bankers Urge Tariff Drop At Foreign Trade Meet

Lamont, of J. P. Morgan, Delivers Keynote Speech at National Foreign Trade Council; Finance Capital Initiates Big Drive on Tariff

Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan and Company delivered the keynote speech at the National Foreign Trade Council Convention at the Hotel Commodore, New York for lowering the tariff. Lamont demanded that "all artificial barriers against foreign trade" be removed. He went on to say: "We can't expect to do all the selling and have the other fellows do all the buying."

The most powerful banking inter-

ests have mobilized their forces for a drive to lower the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act. Peter Fletcher, president of the National Council of American Import and Export Traders, Inc., supported Mr. Lamont and demanded a substantial cut in tariff rates. He declared that the United States began "the greatest world-wide tariff war in history." He said that "there can hardly be any doubt as to the guilt of the United States in bringing about the present world-wide tariff war. The first shot was fired by the United States when it passed the tariff act of 1922, a shot that reverberated around the globe. Those of you who went thru the tariff fight which resulted in the 1922 law, will remember that Congress at that time was in a sort of a panic. This panic was caused by the fear not of Russian dumping but of German dumping."

The biggest bankers are very much worried over the financial condition of the creditors, particularly the European and Latin American. They fear that because of the difficulties that their foreign creditors have in selling their goods especially in the United States, since the highest tariff rates were imposed, will make it impossible for them to get sufficient cash with which to meet these obligations. It is this fear that is not only hurting old credits but is hindering the further export of capital from the United States. The bankers are now especially concerned over the declining export of capital because they are faced with a huge surplus unuseable in the United States proper due to the excess productive capacities and the economic crisis. The fall in American foreign trade is also explained (by the bankers) by the fact that the barriers set up against the entering of imported goods into the United States makes it impossible for them to secure enough money with which to buy certain American products which they need.

Fletcher, Lamont and others speaking for these interests are now demanding that the tariff rates be cut all along the line from 23 to 50 per cent. It is very probable that this convention of the National Foreign Trade Council will mark the opening of a country-wide drive led by the biggest financial interests for a serious downward revision of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Law. Very likely this will also be one of the big issues in the 1932 elections.

THE WORLD IN BONDAGE



Boost and Build the Weekly Age! Full Speed Ahead!

In the first two weeks of the subscription drive we have not done well. So far we have reached less than 15% of our quota. At this rate we would reach less than 60% of our quota by July 15—the date set for the conclusion of the campaign. This would mean a major disaster for the REVOLUTIONARY AGE. It would mean immediate suspension.

So far the Downtown Unit of New York City has done by far the best. It has already (May 27) secured over 30% of its quota. But even this pace will have to be improved by the District as a whole if the drive is to be 100% successful.

The districts of the Communist Party (Majority Group) outside of New York are doing even more poorly. Most of these districts haven't even made a serious effort to get into the campaign. We urgently ask for our friends, sympathizers, and supporters to get on the job here and come to the aid of the REVOLUTIONARY AGE. Don't wait until you are asked by one of our members. Rush your sub directly to us. The sooner the subs are sent us, the better for all.

We desire to draw the attention of our readers to the splendid bronze bust of C. E. Ruthenberg, founder of the American Communist Party. It is offered as a premium to the boosters.

Comrades Bell and Stenzor are now running a neck-in-neck race among the sub-getters. But it is as yet too early to have a definite idea who will come out first at the finish.

Comrades! Workers! Friends and sympathizers! Subscribe to our paper, the REVOLUTIONARY AGE. Stand by your fighting organ. A sub in time—right now—is a blow in time against the attack on the working-class rights to freedom of press. Our case in the United States Supreme Court is your case. The latest reactionary decisions by the highest court on citizenship show what great dangers beset the workers.

Are we asking much? Not at all! Just subscribe! Get a friend to subscribe. If you can afford it, treat an unemployed worker to a sub. It will help him. It will help you. It will help us. It will help all around. And do it now!

WOOD, LABOR FOE, IS FRAUD SUSPECT

BOSTON—Charles G. Wood, Conciliation Commissioner of the Department of Labor, was branded on May 18 by Senator Frank Hurley of Holyoke as "incompetent, unreliable and an officious inter-meddler." Wood is being charged with connection with the fraudulent promotion and sale of stock among workers.

Commissioner Wood is notorious for his anti-labor activities. He conducted a vicious attack against the militant shoe workers organization in New York. Wood has also written a vicious book against strikes.

FASCIST CATHOLIC CLASHES GROW

Fascist Students Attack Catholics; Diplomatic Relations Strained

ROME—A series of violent clashes between the Fascist youth organizations and the Catholic societies marked the last two weeks here and in other large cities of Italy. Fascist student groups attacked the headquarters of the Catholic Action society as well as the offices of the semi-official Vatican organ, Osservatore Romano. On the evening of May 27 Fascist groups attacked the offices of the Catholic publishing house, Civiltà Cattolica, destroyed copies of the book "Il Papa" ("The Pope") and trampled a portrait of Pope Pius, shouting: "Here is the traitor to his country!"

These outbreaks of violence accompany the extreme straining of diplomatic relations with the Vatican that has existed for the last three months. The Pope has refused to see the Italian envoy while Mussolini has granted no audiences to the Papal nuncio. Relations are becoming more precarious every day.

The recent accentuation of relations between Fascism and the Catholic Church is due to refusal of the Catholic Church to accede either in theory or in practice to the Fascist demand that all political, social, and cultural life be integrated under the control and supervision of the Fascist State. The Catholic Church maintains that all matters of "faith and morals" must be under its jurisdiction. Recently the Catholic political society, Catholic Action, has been holding a series of meetings in which anti-Fascist sentiments were expressed. The antagonistic attitude of the Catholic political and social organizations to Fascism is to be associated with a certain anti-Fascist differentiation in the lower sections of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie.

WHAT WILL THE "DAILY" SAY NOW?

A Letter about the "Crusader" Scandal

May 27, 1931. Editor "Daily Worker". Dear Comrade:

Recently the writer, with two other comrades, was arrested and severely beaten in the Crusader restaurant on 14th St. We are at present, all of us, held on bail awaiting action by the grand jury and the special session respectively. At our arrest we were severely beaten in the restaurant with the manager not only giving his tacit consent to this but actually assisting the arresting officers. The arrest, as you may already know, was made on a complaint by the management of the place, the Crusader.

At the time of the arrest, several comrades, members of the Party as well as other workers present, protested both to the manager and the police against the brutal treatment. Later, because of this treatment, a boycott was instituted against the place and was effectively kept up for over two weeks. The management, realizing that they were losing a considerable amount of money due to the solidarity shown by the rank and file, sent a letter to the Daily a few days ago. This letter you published in the form of an advertisement covering a quarter of a page. The letter was written in such a way so as to make workers reading it believe that the boycott was off and that the workers arrested were now being given a square deal. The consequence has been that many workers, previously having refused to enter this place, are now again doing so believing that the boycott is off.

The management in their ad published in the Daily state that they are trying to have the matter settled amicably. During my hearing in the Magistrates Court both the manager and the cashier took the stand and swore that they did not see the officers "flat hand" us. These witnesses further stated that "we came at the officers fists flying" and various statements of this nature. All of which undoubtedly proves that they are "trying to have the matter settled amicably."

Taking into consideration especially that we are out on bail awaiting trial, an advertisement like the one published in the Daily Worker on May 21st as well as a greeting in the May Day issue, will certainly not tend to assist us at the trial but rather show the workers that solidarity is non-existent as far as the Party is concerned and in this way help the

MASS OUTBREAKS ALL OVER SPAIN

(Continued from page 1) ceasingly radical sentiment is appearing. The Madrid organization of the C. N. T. recently adopted a resolution putting some very radical demands to the government and condemning its leaning towards reaction. Among the small peasants and landowners the same tendencies are visible.

The Supreme Need of the Moment

In this situation the supreme need of the moment is the development of revolutionary united front organs of the masses to crystallize the rapid forward movement taking place. The organization of revolutionary united front organs of representatives of all workers organizations and political parties and of the unorganized (in close contact with the soldiers and peasants) must be made the chief agitation slogan of the time.

Today the revolutionists are in a small minority among the workers and their organizations. Therefore a careful and patient policy of the united front and revolutionary propaganda is necessary, all centering about the slogans for the revolutionary realization of the tasks of the democratic overthrow.

The Communist Party, which should be the leading and inspiring force in accomplishing these tasks, is weak in numbers, undermined by continual splits and isolated from the masses by its sectarian policy. Under the direction of the Communist International leadership, the Spanish C. P. absolutely rejects all forms of the united front and all sorts of blocs between the Communists and other elements in the labor movement. In the same spirit the R.L.L.U. has put through an attempted split of the C. N. T. and the establishment of the Party Communist caricature. The false course of the Communist Party, which only accounts for its extreme weakness in numbers and influence, must be overcome as a condition for the advance of the revolution.

POCKETBOOK MAKERS STRIKE IN N. Y.

Bosses Insist on Wage-Cut; Workers Strike 100%

About 3,000 leather goods workers, members of the International Pocketbook Workers Union, went out on strike on May 28 following the failure of the negotiations between the union officials and the employers for the conclusion of a new agreement on wages and conditions of work to take the place of the one that expired on May 1. Forty-eight shops are on strike.

The main question was the demand of the Industrial Council of Leather Goods Manufacturers for a 25% wage-out. The right-wing union officials tried their best to patch up the dispute thru concessions so as to avoid a fight, but the bosses evidently thought they had a chance to smash the union altogether and so the negotiations were broken off. The strike is 100% solid and, with a firm front, the victory of the workers is assured.

prosecution. The only conclusion that we can draw from seeing this ad published is that the Daily Worker is not aware of the facts in the case. We know that the Party, being the only revolutionary party and the leader of the working class, would never even think of breaking the solidarity in the ranks of the workers when fighting a corporation of this nature, but would on the contrary, use all its power to uphold this boycott especially in a case like this when a place so chauvinistic as the Crusader is involved. This place does not even allow a Negro worker to enter. Taking all the above facts into consideration, we can only think that the Party has either been misinformed or has not sufficiently investigated the case, and we feel sure that the Party, after reading these facts, will investigate the situation and will be only too glad to not only sanction officially the boycott but will print a statement to that effect in the official organ, the Daily Worker, correcting the previous false and dangerous impression, as requested to do by the delegation from Unit 14, Section 1 as well as many other members of the Party.

We hope we are not disappointed. With Communist greetings, Jack Soderberg.

The Story of Rackets Mezzacaffo and the Sponging Union Racket

by E. B.

Civic virtue organizations are not going to stop rackets with their well-meaning investigations, indictments and reports any more than you can stop a ton from growing by diligently clipping off the edge. The live core is underneath and is not touched by the busiest of trimming.

Take the Mezzacaffo story, told but not invented by an eminently respectable and respected city investigating commission. Mezzacaffo was a union boss in the highly skilled trade of sponging and shirking. No worker could get a job; no employer, a worker except thru his ministrations. Mezzacaffo's racket as union car was so raw that even the A. F. of L. distanced him. In fact, they took his charter away twice. Then he decided to operate without a charter—and did it very well.

In fact, so well that he banked over \$300,000 in six years and courted trouble only when he failed to make a proper income tax return and was found out. What did he do then? Logically enough, he turned for financial aid to those responsible for his troublesome wealth. Each worker he assessed \$75 to pay his

income tax to the government. Three workers rebelled and had Mezzacaffo arrested for extortion. He was held and indicted. The original warrant for his arrest was issued by Chief Magistrate McAdoo. The hearing was conducted by Magistrate Flood who held Mezzacaffo for the grand jury. On February 1930, the Grand Jury indicted him.

But that is not all. In April, he was released for his defense Counselor Falls, the son-in-law of Koenig the Republican boss. Falls made a motion to dismiss without notice to the complainant. The motion was not opposed by the District Attorney or the presiding judge, Max Levine. Mezzacaffo went free.

Nor is that all. Mezzacaffo returned to his union indignantly and proceeded to assess the members \$1,000 counsel fee for the hearing in the magistrates court where he had been held and \$2,500 for his expenses in the General Sessions where the indictment was dismissed. And how again he reigns as Little Caesar of the sponging industry.

But not only that. He is a symbol of the predatory power which rules our society from top to bottom and which will continue to victimize the masses so long as the private profit motive determines our social organization. Mezzacaffo who sponges on the sponging industry has his prototype in Washington and Wall Street thruout America and Europe—wherever the few fatten while the many are munched and despised.

The investigating commission which goes after individuals is trying to empty an ocean with a tea spoon. The attitude of one of our public defenders is interesting in connection with this situation. When Crain was questioned by the commission as to his position on this case, he said: "AIP I was interested in was to get the jobs back for those three fellows who brought the complaints. Getting them their jobs back seemed to me the most important element in the case."

One is minded to worry lest our socially conscious District Attorney bears our Mayor company on those of his sleepless nights when he frets over that poor woman who didn't get her ashes collected. More inside stories about rackets and racketeering will be published in subsequent issues of the REVOLUTIONARY AGE.

Dr. Chamberlain's main points in the defense of capitalism were that the present economic organization is much the safest for the future. He further cited long figures on the number of telephones in use, on charities, schools, hospitals, mothers pensions, old age pensions, workmen's compensation, etc. However, as Lovestone later pointed out, he "forgot" to cite figures on bread-lines and flop-houses. In this connection he admitted that "nothing is ever devised under capitalist society except under pressure. He showed his absolute lack of knowledge of the development of capitalist society when he said that 'capitalism will develop not in the direction of too much concentration but of spreading out more evenly.' His final point was that in Russia there is no freedom of speech, thought, or religion while 'there is a greater possibility under the capitalist regime for a freer life, a freer way of thinking.' However when asked about the class-war prisoners and about the Post Office ban on labor papers he simply said that it was 'worse in the Soviet Union.'

Jay Lovestone pointed out the extent of the world crisis of capitalism, the fact that 30-35,000,000 are unemployed, that five-sixths of the world is in a deep economic crisis and that only the Socialist sixth is not in an economic crisis to-day. While it was granted that capitalism has been the most efficient form of production to date it was also pointed out that those days are gone, that capitalism is an anti-social system, bringing the masses nothing but misery, unemployment, starvation, and finally war. Lovestone pointed out that the workers share of the total income is constantly declining and not increasing, as Prof. Chamberlain had claimed. He also pointed out that the "the symbol of American democracy is the lynch rope."

Lovestone exposed the "Socialism" of the Socialist party as a pro-capitalist program and pointed out on the other hand that Communism is revolutionary Socialism. He showed the Communist system is a system of planned social economy, a system without classes.

Dr. Laidler, while saying that the "Socialists do not want the patch up system," tried to develop a system of planned capitalism. He cited parks, schools, and the Post Office as examples of the "evolution towards Socialism." He stated that Socialism must come about not thru revolution but thru evolution. He criticized the Soviet Union because of the lack of (bourgeois) democracy and said that Socialism must keep alive the "democratic impulses."

Dr. Chamberlain in rebuttal said that he agreed with Dr. Laidler's criticism of the Soviet Union. Comrade Lovestone pointed out the impossibility of capturing power by peaceful means, showing the weapons which the bourgeoisie has at its command. He further explained how the Soviet Union is moving towards Socialism and how there is true democracy in the Soviet Union. Mr. Laidler in rebuttal simply stated that the non-profit incentives are brought to bear with government-owned property. A lively discussion followed. The vast majority of the audience signed very clearly their agreement with Lovestone. It is as important for clear-thinking to keep religious fog out of science as it is for surgery to keep tetanus germs out of bandages. —With apologies to Ezra Pound.

WHAT WILL THE I. L. D. DO NOW?

An Exchange of Letters on the Bridgeman Case

May 8, 1931.

International Labor Defense New York City.

Dear Comrades: June 1st is approaching and the date set for the trial of the Michigan cases is thus drawing near.

Judging by publishing material which has appeared in the Daily Worker in connection with the Michigan cases as well as some of our previous experiences with the I.L.D. in its handling of different cases in which members of our group were involved, we are not sure what your policy will be in the coming Bridgeman trial. As you very well know a number of our members (Bail, Lovestone, etc.) are amongst those indicted and on bail in these cases and are very prominently involved in the whole affair.

Please let us know what will be your policy in the handling of the cases of such comrades? Will you provide for their legal defense as well as for most of the comrades under bail? Will you provide for meeting the expenses incurred in traveling to and from court? In the case of those comrades who are members of the Communist Party (Majority Group) will you provide for them as well as those who happen to be members of the Communist Party official organization to

We are anxiously awaiting a prompt and frank reply to these inquiries. You certainly must realize that the questions involved here are of the utmost importance not only to the I.L.D., not only to all sections of the Communist movement but to the entire working class. With Communist greetings, Benj. Gitlow, Secretary.

May 19, 1931.

Mr. Benjamin Gitlow New York City.

Replying to your letter of May 8th I would inform you that:

- 1. The policy of the I.L.D. in the Michigan cases is the same as that carried out in the first trial of the Michigan cases. 2. The I.L.D. will provide legal defense for all of those defendants who agree with the policy of the I.L.D. and place their cases in its hands for handling. 3. The expenses of the case will be handled according to the established practices. The legal expense and for mass campaigns is handled by the I.L.D., and individual expenses by the individual or his organization. 4. The I.L.D. makes no distinction between cases upon the basis of organizational affiliations but only upon the basis of the issues of the class struggle defense policy.

Yours very truly, International Labor Defense G. Ackerman

May 27, 1931.

International Labor Defense New York City.

Dear Comrades: Your letter of the 19th in reply to our request for information as to whether you will defend our comrades involved in the Michigan cases does not answer the fundamental questions we placed before you.

You state: "The I.L.D. will provide legal defense for all of those defendants who agree with the policy of the I.L.D. If you mean by this that you will defend those who agree with the policy only Party persisted in the Bridgeman trial in 1923, then there is absolutely no disagreement. However, if you mean that in order to have the I.L.D. defend them, a worker must agree with the general policy of the I.L.D. in addition to the concrete policy you mention for the Michigan cases, then the conditions are certainly unacceptable."

That would mean that you would defend only those who agree with the whole line of policy and tactics which have been narrowing down the I.L.D. merely to an apparatus, to an agency of a faction in the Communist movement. If this is what you mean, we would then be justified to conclude that you would not defend those of our comrades who are to be put on trial in Bridgeman (Lovestone, Bail, etc.) merely because they disagree with the present sectarian and the discriminatory policy of the I.L.D. as evidenced in the failure to defend workers (Leon Lewis, Soderberg, Merino, etc.)

Nor do we agree with you when you declare that in the handling of the Bridgeman cases "individual expenses" are to be met "by the individuals or his organization." We cannot see any "individual expenses" as such involved in a defendant's going to trial. The workers who contribute to the I.L.D. for the defense of class war prisoners do so with the understanding that all expenses, legal and otherwise, involved in defending workers are to be met from the funds raised for that purpose. Your position puts defendants into two categories—those from favored organizations who have all expenses of defense paid by the I.L.D. and those who are not so favored and who are discriminated against as far as the payment of defense is concerned.

Please answer us immediately and clear up the questions we have raised so that our organization, the Communist Party U. S. A. (Majority Group), the Communist movement as a whole, and all workers, may know definitely what the I.L.D. really intends to do in the Michigan cases.

With Communist greetings, Benj. Gitlow, Secretary.

GOOD OPEN-AIR MEETS IN NEW YORK

A series of excellent open-air meetings marked the activities of the Communist Party (Majority Group) in New York last week. On Wednesday, May 27, a meeting of over three hours, attended by 400 workers took place at 132 Street and Lenox Avenue. Welsh, Francis, and Bentall were the speakers. On Thursday, May 28, a crowd of 350 listened to Ben Gitlow and Nelie Kattus at Grand Street Extension in Brooklyn. On the same evening at 7th Street and 2nd Avenue, Joe Rosen, I. Zimmerman and Mary Lawrence spoke before a crowd of 200. Bill White was chairman.

On Tuesday, May 26, the Boro Park Workers Youth Club organized an excellent meeting with Chester Bixby and Barney Herman as speakers. "expelled." The speech of Mr. Ochs-Oakes is of significance as pointing out the way which all restraint and the forces of reaction will take in their offensive on the labor movement.

International News

Split in the French Trotskyites

When about two years ago the remnants of the various Trotskyist groups in France consolidated themselves into one organization and the Ligue Communiste (Communist League) was formed and the weekly Verite issued, we were invited by Trotsky and others to gaze upon this, the model organization of the "International Left Opposition" in which "firm unity is guaranteed by irreconcilability of principle." Now the Communist League has split wide open and a new cycle of disintegration with its groups and groupies is opening for the French Trotskyist movement.

The French Trotskyist group never was a very significant organization. Its influence was limited to some workers in Paris and to a small group in North France. The Verite never had a circulation above 1,000. Its influence in the trade unions never was strong and largely restricted to the teachers union.

About a year ago the Communist League (C.L.) organized in the C. G. T. U. (Red union federation) an opposition movement called the Opposition Unitaire (Unitary Opposition) with its support largely in the teachers union. The direction of the O. U. rested with elements around Dommanget and others, who were working hand in hand with the then leadership of the C.L. A group in the C. L., however, headed by Frank and Molinier, raised a fight against this leadership of the O. U. (and of the C.L.) on the ground that "the line of the O. U. ought to be identical with the trade union program of the League."

The leadership of the O. U. resisted the conversion of their organization into a tail-end of the League and a fight broke out in the League itself. Trotsky (the "International Secretariat") immediately intervened, wrote an article on The Mistakes of the Right Elements on the League on the Trade Union Question (January 4, 1931), and began a heresiological attack, "right deviations?" So much for the first issue.

Then came the question of trade union unity. A powerful movement is under way in France in the direction of trade union unity (amalgamation of the C.G.T. and the C. G. T. U., reformist and Red trade union centers). In the Unitary Opposition a reflection of this movement began to appear and voices began to be raised demanding that the O. U. and the League declare for trade union unity. The Frank group came out in flat opposition to its demand, insisting:

"The O. U. must reject this 'trade union unity' which can only be a snare and must oppose to it the slogan of proletarian united front."

Here again, Trotsky took the part of the Frank group and wrote an article (October 1929), against the "fetish of trade union unity", in which he said that "the real road to the revolutionary unity of the proletariat lies in the development of the revolutionary C. G. T. U. and in the weakening of the reformist C. G. T."

As against this viewpoint the O. U. leadership adopted the viewpoint of fighting for the amalgamation of the two federations on the basis of the acceptance of certain political principles, the class struggle chief among them. Then Trotsky and his faithful satellites in France made a "new turn" out Stalinizing Stalin himself. On February 27, 1931 the Verite published an editorial, The Centrists Lose Their Heads, declaring out of the clear sky:

"On the burning question of trade union unity, the only correct position is taken by us, the left opposition,

LOVESTONE AT N. J. DEBATE

Defends Communism; Hits Chamberlain and Laidler

About 175 people filled the Jersey City Y.M.H.A. to listen to the three-day symposium between Professor Chamberlain, professor of Law at Columbia, Dr. Harry Laidler, executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy and Jay Lovestone, editor of the Revolutionary Age.

Dr. Chamberlain's main points in the defense of capitalism were that the present economic organization is much the safest for the future. He further cited long figures on the number of telephones in use, on charities, schools, hospitals, mothers pensions, old age pensions, workmen's compensation, etc. However, as Lovestone later pointed out, he "forgot" to cite figures on bread-lines and flop-houses.

In this connection he admitted that "nothing is ever devised under capitalist society except under pressure. He showed his absolute lack of knowledge of the development of capitalist society when he said that 'capitalism will develop not in the direction of too much concentration but of spreading out more evenly.' His final point was that in Russia there is no freedom of speech, thought, or religion while 'there is a greater possibility under the capitalist regime for a freer life, a freer way of thinking.' However when asked about the class-war prisoners and about the Post Office ban on labor papers he simply said that it was 'worse in the Soviet Union.'

Jay Lovestone pointed out the extent of the world crisis of capitalism, the fact that 30-35,000,000 are unemployed, that five-sixths of the world is in a deep economic crisis and that only the Socialist sixth is not in an economic crisis to-day. While it was granted that capitalism has been the most efficient form of production to date it was also pointed out that those days are gone, that capitalism is an anti-social system, bringing the masses nothing but misery, unemployment, starvation, and finally war. Lovestone pointed out that the workers share of the total income is constantly declining and not increasing, as Prof. Chamberlain had claimed. He also pointed out that the "the symbol of American democracy is the lynch rope."

Lovestone exposed the "Socialism" of the Socialist party as a pro-capitalist program and pointed out on the other hand that Communism is revolutionary Socialism. He showed the Communist system is a system of planned social economy, a system without classes.

Dr. Laidler, while saying that the "Socialists do not want the patch up system," tried to develop a system of planned capitalism. He cited parks, schools, and the Post Office as examples of the "evolution towards Socialism." He stated that Socialism must come about not thru revolution but thru evolution. He criticized the Soviet Union because of the lack of (bourgeois) democracy and said that Socialism must keep alive the "democratic impulses."

Dr. Chamberlain in rebuttal said that he agreed with Dr. Laidler's criticism of the Soviet Union. Comrade Lovestone pointed out the impossibility of capturing power by peaceful means, showing the weapons which the bourgeoisie has at its command. He further explained how the Soviet Union is moving towards Socialism and how there is true democracy in the Soviet Union. Mr. Laidler in rebuttal simply stated that the non-profit incentives are brought to bear with government-owned property. A lively discussion followed. The vast majority of the audience signed very clearly their agreement with Lovestone. It is as important for clear-thinking to keep religious fog out of science as it is for surgery to keep tetanus germs out of bandages. —With apologies to Ezra Pound.

For Communist Unity

A VETERAN MILITANT SPEAKS UP!

(Continued from Page 1) began to drive them out. Then we could no longer stand it at all and last year our opposition to the sectarian policies and bureaucracy came out into an open fight. Immediately the Party bureaucrats answered our criticism with wholesale expulsions. Soon demoralization set in.

The Control Commission called me in and demanded I cut loose from the opposition. Foster, Johnstone, Mink tried every trick to break our ranks. They insisted I give up my opinions and criticisms. I answered: "You can expel me from the Party whose apparatus you have just grabbed hold of without getting the confidence of the membership, but you cannot expel me from the working class and the seaman's ranks with whom I have been since I was eighteen years of age." Then the bureaucrats purposely called me to attend a meeting of the Central Control Commission just when my union meeting was being held. But they couldn't fool me anymore.

When I stated my position in full against the destructive sectarian and adventurist tactics, I was instantly expelled from the Party and the Marine Workers Industrial Union, without even a hearing. When I came to my union meeting some of the workers didn't even know that I was the one expelled. I appealed to the National Committee which (with only 4 out of 25 present) demanded I denounce the opposition and when I again refused I was finally expelled.

From all my years of experience in the class struggle, I could come to only one conclusion: Resist the destructive, sectarian policies of the Party bureaucrats! Join the Communist Party (Majority Group)—which is fighting for Communist unity and the correct Leninist tactics which will unite the ranks of the working class for victory over American capitalism.

Rush Help! We Need It!

The financial condition of the Revolutionary Age continues most unsatisfactory. Some workers are coming across generously. Were it not for these loyal supporters we would have suspended already.

Working men and working women! Save your paper! Help us keep going! Help us get stronger! Join the Revolutionary Age army of boosters, who have given to make possible our paper.

Table with columns: MAY DAY GREETINGS, DAY'S WAGE ACCOUNT, DONATIONS, and RECAPITULATION. Lists various names and amounts.

URGES TO REPORT AND JAIL MILITANTS

Editor of "Current History" Attacks Labor on Radio

George W. Ochs-Oakes, editor of the very influential magazine Current History, denounced Communism at home and abroad in a radio speech on May

26 and called for an attack on the Soviet Union in order to establish a "sound, safe, modern republic on sane, moral, honest principles," i.e., a capitalist republic where the bosses rule and the workers are exploited and oppressed.

Mr. Ochs-Oakes demanded that foreign-born workers who hold radical doctrines should be deported and every native worker who takes a militant or revolutionary stand be jailed for sedition or

Norman Thomas Discovers America! III

Norman Thomas 'Abhors War'

by Ben Gitlow

Norman Thomas proclaims himself above everything else an apostle of peace. He may consider himself a Socialist but he wants you not to forget that he is a peace-loving Socialist. He just abhors war. He will not tolerate any kind of violence even for social ends. He is for peace first, last and all the time. Let us examine this Socialist dove of peace in order to determine what his pacifism really is.

Norman Thomas writes in his book, *America's Way Out*, as follows:

"When an audience in New York cheers Communist promises of inevitable war it presents a problem in social pathology rather than a demonstration of revolutionary tactics."

Really a very interesting statement. If one maintains that the present system of capitalism, world imperialism, leads inevitably to war, then, according to Norman Thomas, he is a case for the hospitals. And if more than one believes in the inevitability of war under imperialism then it is a problem of social disease. In other words, if Norman Thomas did not want to use polite language, he would have written the above statement as follows: All those who believe that war to-day is inevitable are crazy and should be sent to the lunatic asylum.

THE CONFUSION OF PACIFISM

As a social diagnostician, Norman Thomas is confused and contradictory. How can Norman Thomas subscribe to the above quotation in the face of the following from the same book:

"There are intelligent men who believe that wars—great wars—are inevitable. I believe it possible. But even the most optimistic among us can scarcely look at the world about us and say peace is certain."

Poor Norman Thomas! How will he extricate himself from the maze of his puzzling intellectual flings into logic. According to Norman Thomas if a Communist says war is inevitable he is a lunatic, and a Communist audience a pathological case. Still the same Norman Thomas says: "There are intelligent men who believe that wars—great wars—are inevitable."

Which is it, Norman Thomas? Are the Communists who believe in the inevitability of war under imperialism intelligent or are the intelligent men crazy because they believe in the same things the Communists do? But that is not all Norman Thomas says himself is not so positive. He says: "I believe peace is possible!"—but he has his doubts and is not so certain about it.

The pacifism of Norman Thomas has gotten him into a muddle. That would not be so bad if it would be confined only to Norman Thomas. Norman Thomas is a political leader. As such he is consciously trying with his pacifism to hide the real facts from the workers and to befuddle their minds.

of the imperialist war lords are greeted by Norman Thomas as follows:

"Nevertheless it is still possible to affirm that the struggle for peace, at least between nations capable of waging the most devastating sort and size of war, has some encouraging aspects."

This is a very definite statement to the effect that the countries capable of waging the most devastating war are for peace. The great imperialist powers are notably the United States, Great Britain, Japan and France. These countries are working overtime preparing for war. Norman Thomas sees in these imperial powers, encouraging aspects for peace. Such sweet music does Norman Thomas play to lull the unsuspecting victims to sleep. Let us look only at some of the encouraging signs.

Mr. Hoover said at the meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce:

"The world expenditure on all arms is now nearly five billion dollars yearly, an increase of about 70% over that previous to the great war. We stand today with nearly 5,500,000 men actively under arms and 20,000,000 more in reserves."

Encouraging aspects, Mr. Thomas! Looks like the world under imperialism is headed for peace, even if they have to fight like hell for it.

Says the *Literary Digest* of May 30 on "Uncle Sam's Peace Time Plan for War":

"Embodying the lessons learned in the last conflict it provides for swift mobilization of the nation's man-power and for an equitable distribution of the economic burden of war."

The *New York Times* reports: "Emergency war department plans for the mobilization of an army of 4,000,000 men thru conscription."

The *New York Tribune* says concerning the plans:

"The present skeleton force of 118,000 men in the regular army would be increased to 4,000,000 men in six field armies and supporting troops within a year of 7,000,000 more draft registrants to draw upon if necessary."

Very encouraging aspects for peace. Norman Thomas, the war plans of capitalist America calling for an army in one year thru conscription of 11,000,000 men! That is what I call feeding them to the jaws of the War God Mars and not to the Dove of Peace. U. S. imperialism rests upon its armed forces and prospers only thru recourse to arms. Its competition in a narrowing, contracting world market leads to clashes for world domination with other imperialist powers thru war.

But here is another assumption by Norman Thomas. He writes:

"The deadliest of modern war may be a deterrent, but fear is and has been a

likely to produce war as peace."
Note it is not the economic system, the system of imperialism that produces war but fear. If the imperialist countries would only not fear one another, then they could go on with their robbery, plunder, exploitation, enslavement and competition peacefully. The cannons could be melted, the armies and navies demobilized, and we could all live in an idyllic world.

THE "NEW REALISM"

Norman Thomas speaks further: "The new realism about war, the fact that no nation sings to-day of arms and the hero is good."

Where is this "new realism" in the capitalist world? Whom is Norman Thomas trying to mislead? If anything the capitalist nations thru their military organizations, boy and girl scouts, patriotic societies, schools, churches, newspapers, etc., military shows, parades, maneuvers, monuments, tombs of Unknown Soldiers are working overtime to glorify wars and raise upon the highest pedestals of national glory the military man, the so-called war hero.

Another Thomasonian gem. Writes Thomas: "Fear has more to do with modern war than hate. Nations fight for the Fatherland." What about imperialism, annexation of territory, mandates, spheres of influence, indemnities, special privileges? Modern imperialism war has nothing to do with fear, nothing to do with hate, nothing to do with fighting for the fatherland. They are war between imperialists for the partition of the earth to enable them to invest their surpluses wrung from human toil. They are wars to get more booty, more plunder, more profits from the enslavement and exploitation of millions of toiling masses in other countries.

In the last war the workers in the United States did not fight for their fatherland; they fought for the profits, property and investments of Wall Street. The capitalist fatherland is not the workers' fatherland.

Norman Thomas is against all working class revolutionary action for peace because it jeopardizes the imperialist and their "democracy," their right to plunder and exploit. He puts his faith in the hypocritical peace moves of capitalism rather than in the revolutionary action against capitalism and war. That is the essence of Norman Thomas's pacifism.

It is a program to pacify, confuse and make passive the workers against imperialism, against war. Thomasonian pacifism is not Socialism, is not working class in essence. It is petty bourgeois rubbish, old fashioned and out of place at a time when imperialist giants are just awaiting a favorable opportunity to plunge the world into a new war.

Now It Can Be Told!

From the recently published war memoirs of General Pershing we cull the following significant paragraphs.

"The view prevailed that the German Socialist propaganda was in a measure responsible for the Italian defeat at Caporetto. It was believed that by incultating the army with the same doctrines that had ruined Russia, Germany made the defeat of the Italian Second Army less difficult."

"At any rate, whether this view was entirely correct or not, there was sufficient reason for me to warn our War Department by cable that 'precautions should be taken in America thru the Intelligence Division, General Staff, also thru the Department of Justice, supplemented by counter-propaganda thru pulpit and forum in order to prevent similar attempts at corruption of our people and army.'

"Dissatisfaction in the army has rather continued to grow and was probably even encouraged by the French civil Socialist element, no doubt influenced by the German Socialists. It is generally known that several instances of mutiny have occurred among the troops and that it became necessary recently to execute some of the ringleaders, variously reported to number from thirty to one hundred and twenty."

"The Socialist element of the Chamber of Deputies itself has subjected the army to criticism that still further served to unsettle the minds of the people and add to the discontent of the army."

"The fact is that France is very tired of this war. The common people openly complain of the heavy taxes, and protest that they are being ground down to enrich government contractors, and possibly officials well up in government service. Prices of food are high, so that the general cost of living weighs heavily upon the civilian population."

"Complaints from families have their effect on the men in the ranks, so that the fighting ability of the troops may be seriously impaired by their discontent. The army authorities seem to be gravely concerned, as is indicated by the fact that General Petain last week asked me to meet him at the home of a mutual friend for conference."

"At this meeting, he told me frankly that affairs were not going well in France, and that something bordering on revolution might result."

ner is coming and the boys will be able to use the park to hang around. The stew-pot will stop boiling and Sizemore will retire to the Virginia mining village and with it will go the League. At present Friend Sizemore is making a deal with the Wobblies to hand his outfit over on a platter to the I. U. S. U. What will fall off the platter before the transaction is finally completed remains to be seen. We have a suspicion, however, that what the Wobblies will receive on the platter will be the outstanding bills for unpaid rent plus the stew-pot.

As to the Industrial Union itself or what remains of it. The whole thing must receive a thorough cleaning out. That part of the leadership imposed on it by the Party must be removed. The taxi drivers must be forced to join the taxi drivers union. The needle trades workers that have received stamped-up union cards in order to vote at meetings must be sent back to their union. A conference must be called by the national committee to re-elect those the membership has confidence in and throw the rest out of office. If necessary, a referendum vote must be taken from coast to coast on each and every one of these "officials". Those expelled for their opposition to the bureaucracy must be taken back into the union. Those shelved for various reasons best known to Mink, Foster, Johnstone, etc. must again become active. Later this summer, a national conference should be called where all the mistakes of the past should be thoroughly investigated and those responsible be removed. Make the union hall a union hall and not merely an auxiliary debating society pro or con the party. Lovestone group or Cannon group.

A union hall is mainly a union hall. The organization was never intended to be a clearing house for the Communist Party differences but an organization to fight for the economic interests of the workers. The union hall should be a place where ALL workers of the industry, no matter what their political opinions may be, should feel at home. And then, before all militant seamen, no matter in what organization, they may find themselves stands the big task: the unity of the marine workers and their organizations into one strong union in the industry.

About the XI Plenum of the C.I.

The Plenum of the "New Turn"

by Will Herberg

(Continued from last issue)
3. Social-Democracy and "Social-Fascism."

The section of the resolution on Social-democracy is singularly empty of all, even agitational, significance. Literally, not one word is to be found here about the acute crisis in international Social-democracy and the emergence of a leftward movement within it. (Elsewhere in the resolution one line is devoted to this phenomenon.) The theory of "social-fascism" is here in full flower, although peculiarly enough the phrase is only sparingly used—again the diplomacy of the "new turn."

"The whole development of Social-democracy from the time of the war... is an uninterrupted process of evolution towards Fascism."

On this we only want to ask two questions:

a. Haven't we had it dinned into our ears time without number in the last two years that it was the "changed situation of the third period" that "transformed social-reformism into social fascism" (Bela Kun at the X Plenum)? Now we learn that "social-fascism" has been developing since the war.

b. If "social-fascism" has been "uninterruptedly" developing since the war (i.e. before even there was Fascism!) why then did nobody (including Lenin) notice this development for the first fifteen years after the war and why did it remain for Bela Kun and Manuilsky to "discover" this astonishing phenomenon in 1927?

4. Tactical Line and United Front

But if the "new turn" diplomacy permeates the analysis of the situation and the estimation of the working class movement, there is no vestige of diplomacy or evasive phrases in the formulation of the tactical line: here the ultra-left course, which has led to disaster after disaster, is advocated in all its sectarianism, without any attempt to gloss over or to evade.

On the united front. The resolution tells us that there must be the "concrete application of the united front from before in preparing for mass actions." What this means is told with the greatest precision in the *Pravda* editorial (April 24, 1931) on the XI Plenum, which is even more authoritative than the Plenum itself:

"THERE CAN BE NO COMPROMISE OR BLOCK WITH THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC WORKERS AGAINST FASCISM."

In other words, in the struggle against Fascism, and therefore certainly in any other political struggle, there can be no united front ("block") with the Social-democratic workers! This is the most categorical repudiation of the tactics of the united front ever made by the most "left" of "leftists" in the Comintern. It even rejects the so-called "united front from below!" Not even a phrase is left of the united front.

On trade union tactics: Four distinct times we are told that the chief task of the Communist parties is the "consolidation of the independent revolutionary trade union movement", i.e. the continuation of the policy of splitting the mass unions and of the establishment of caricature "Red" dual unions and dual union centers. Of course, the usual complaints in the reformist unions, but this "work" is conceived of as the work of destroying the mass unions from within and not at the work of winning the unions for the revolutionary class struggle. In such a sense, "work" in the reformist unions is an essential part of the anti-Leninist splitting tactics and is just as harmful to the working class and to Communism.

Not a single phrase is to be found in the XI Plenum resolution to lend substance to the fraudulent "new turn" propaganda we meet on all sides today.

In striking contrast to the sectarian mess of the XI Plenum resolution on this question is the section on trade union work in the International Opposition Platform. In these brief but highly significant paragraphs are laid down the Leninist fundamentals on the trade union question; the general aim of the winning of the trade unions (the elimination of reformist influence); the concrete application of this aim and the struggle for trade union unity under various forms corresponding to the specific conditions in the various countries; and the categorical rejection of all splitting, sectarian tactics.

On the immediate task of the C.P.'s: It is hard to believe that the XI Plenum resolution literally declares that the "principal task that now (that is, immediate task and not long-range strategic objective. W.H.) confronts all the Communist Parties is to win the majority of the working class." Perhaps this may be valid for the German Party but can any sane man insist that immediate objective of the French or the Italian or the Czechoslovakian or the English or the American Party is to win the majority of the working class? Why, in actual fact, the immediate task of these Parties is to reestablish contact with the workers, to reestablish Communist influence in the workers organizations! Such a thorough, leftist estimate of the immediate tasks of the Parties can only lead to further and deeper isolation.

What About the C. P. U. S. A.?

A peculiar thing! The American Party is not mentioned once throughout the resolution. More than one party is praised for "achievements" (imaginary it is true) and some Parties are even slightly criticized. But not the American Party! It is treated as if it were nonexistent, in marked contrast to the praise lavished on it at the X Plenum. What can this sudden coldness mean? About this we will have much of interest to say very soon.

IS WAR INEVITABLE?

Is war inevitable under imperialism today? It is! Every imperialist country is armed to the teeth. The military preparations going on are for war not for peace. The preparations are for great wars, world wars. The character of the present imperialist order is that it is almost always at war. War in China, war in Egypt, war in Asia Minor, war in India, war in Nicaragua, etc., etc. War not peace characterizes the present situation. Is peace possible under imperialism? Categorically, no! Imperialism is based upon plunder and war. Imperialism is the climax of the capitalist competitive system based upon the exploitation and expropriation of the toiling masses. It divides the earth among the imperialist powers. The struggle between them for the booty of imperialist expansion and exploitation leads inevitably to war.

Concerning these questions and their answer all Communists, all true Socialists, have no doubts. They recognize the ugly facts and all they imply for the workers and toiling masses who supply the human material that is agonized, butchered and destroyed in imperialist carnage. Only by recognizing the fact, not by running away from it, can the workers be prepared, organized and mobilized to resist imperialist war. Not only to resist but to turn this resistance into revolutionary action for the abolition of imperialism, thus doing away with the causes, the inevitability of war!

THE PACIFISM OF NORMAN THOMAS

Preparing the workers to resist imperialist war is wrong, is lunacy according to Norman Thomas. The ideal of peace is so beautiful to the pacifists. But if you declare to the workers peace is only then possible when the workers have destroyed capitalism, have wiped out imperialism, have wiped out the system of society that leads to war, then you are shattering the ideals of peace and, if you are a Communist, you are a pathological case.

However, the pacifism of Norman Thomas, like the pacifism of Woodrow Wilson, is based upon full support to imperialism and hence is bound, if followed, to leave the workers and toiling masses helpless before the devouring imperialist war.

The imperialist powers behind pacifist slogans, conferences, good will tours, etc. are feverishly preparing for the eventuality of war. The imperialist powers endeavor to hide their militaristic war moves behind the curtain of pacifism. The most horrible life-destroying, men-wrecking machines and plans are being devised for the future wars in the name of peace. These detestable, hypocritical moves

Problems of the Marine Workers
WHAT ABOUT THE MARINE UNION?

by "Lookout"

(Concluded from last issue)

The New Orleans Strike
A rank and file strike within the I. L. A. started a little over a month ago in New Orleans. Harvey, Hines and others went down there again to get in on the tail end of "direct" and "lead" the strike. However, the New Orleans longshoremen have not forgotten the hinders of last summer and will have nothing to do with the Industrial Union. One cannot expect the workers to follow one's lead unless after calling them a bunch of "social-fascists" one day and good fellows the next.

The same occurs everywhere. The influence of the union is rapidly diminishing and in its place comes demoralization, disillusion and reaction. Every organizer that in the past was active, with a very few exceptions is today inactive. The union during its one year of existence has failed to develop a single organizer. Those comrades that have had past experience in organizing workers and leading strikes but who dared to ask questions at times and dared to question the correctness of the policy are being rapidly eliminated. Gildare, McGrath, Anderson, Morgan, Soderberg and many others are either expelled or more or less mysteriously eased out. All kinds of accusations and charges are being leveled against these comrades, openly and less openly. Only a shell of the union remains and even this shell is now finally cracking in places and ready to topple over.

What Is To Be Done?

We have tried in this article to point out the various blunders, the criminal errors committed by the party leadership and the union leadership. We have a few suggestions to offer to remedy this. We have learned many bitter lessons in this year of mistakes that has wrecked our union. We have learned how the wrong approach to the workers in the I. L. A. has lost us all our contacts there. We leadership has killed whatever chance there was for struggle. We have learned how the members have decreased from 4,000 to less than 300. We have seen how there is nothing but a shell left of the organization.

To what particularly can we ascribe these failures?
First, in the case of the longshoremen. Most of these workers are members of the I. L. A. Calling them "social-fascists" will not help. A strong left group must be organized within that union. A group that is sympathetic to our aims and ob-

ject. They must stay in that union and organize within it. Our slogan should not be the one Foster taught us: "If you cannot control the union, smash it". The I. L. A. is the strongest of all the waterfront unions today. The members of that union are by no means "social-fascist". They are workers like ourselves and our work should be to organize within that organization.

Secondly, the seamen. The I. S. U. still has about 6,000 members on the East coast alone. We can as little gain their confidence by calling them names as we can by calling the longshoremen names. It should be obvious that our place should be inside the I. S. U., following the line suggested in the I. L. A. previously.

Thirdly, the I. T. B. U., controlling as it does a large percentage of the harbor captains, forms an important link in the chain on the waterfront. Once this union was offered on a platter to the Industrial Union but Papa Mink thought otherwise! You can bet the I. T. B. U. is glad today it was not accepted. This offer occurred before the leadership had yet had time to make the name of the union stick in the nostrils of all honest marine workers. Some methods must today be followed in that union as suggested previously. The "Solidarity League". Well, summar-

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The C. P. Vote Falls from 1,100 to 360!
THE CITY ELECTIONS IN PASSAIC

by Eli Keller

The election of five commissioners every four years to run the City of Passaic is always very interesting. The campaigns are usually hot. This year it was an especially hard fought battle. Twenty-seven candidates fought it out for the five city positions. It is noteworthy that the manufacturers openly put out a ticket of their own. During the campaign they warned the workers and intimidated them: "Either vote for the Tax Payers candidates or we will move our mills!" The issue was high taxes. The manufacturers demanded that the taxes be shifted from them and on to the workers and small business men.

"Economy" In Practice

Their candidates were elected. Economy is already working wonders, of course for the bosses. The hospital appropriation is cut in half—that means less room for sick workers in the Passaic hospital next year. The Poor Department was cut one-third, with an ever increasing army of unemployed. The \$700 that was usually spent for flowers in the parks has been cut out altogether. Many workers will be thrown out of jobs in the Street Department. Garbage will be removed only once a week; and so on. The method and rate of taxation will be so worked out that the small home-owner

and the tenements will carry the bigger burden of the taxes, while the mills will be more and more relieved.

The Opportunities of the Elections

In this election more than ever before the Communist Party in Passaic had a chance to really make itself felt and gain the mass of workers to its side. With a proper approach to the unemployed and with some organized campaigning, the Party would have been able to become the leader of the masses against the manufacturers and their candidates. But the results are precisely the opposite. The election campaign that has just ended is a complete bankruptcy of the official Party leadership. It will also serve as a means of how much the Communist movement as a whole has lost since the change of line in America.

In the previous elections the vote cast for the highest Party candidate was 1,100. This time it was 366. In the previous election, the Communist Party had defeated the strongest capitalist candidate, Police Commissioner Prieskel, who had ordered gas bombs thrown at the textile strikers. Today Prieskel is back again with the highest vote of all candidates. The strike issue was again raised and played a big part in this campaign. But this time Col. Johnson of the Botany Mills won out. In the absence of all Communist Party candidates, some of the capitalist candidates put up a sham fight against Col. Johnson. Many workers were fooled by them. Some very active members of the strike committee, such as Ma Bresnak and others, were even agitating for Mr. Turner who had been police commissioner in place of Prieskel.

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The facts are that the official Party did not even intend placing any candidates in the Passaic elections. But they were finally forced to do so because our group notified them that if they didn't, we would put up candidates that would give voice to the needs of the workers. The Party entered into the campaign unwillingly and sabotaged the campaign afterwards. They nominated three candidates. One of them is a storekeeper who was ashamed to put the VOTE COMMUNIST sign in his store window. But he did, however, display several posters of different capitalist candidates during the campaign. None of the three candidates spoke during the entire campaign. Only two meetings by the mill gates and one in a hall. That comprised the whole Party election campaign. They

The C.P.-Majority Group

The Communist Party is not active at all around the mills altho they keep three steady paid officials in Passaic.

The Communist voice is heard, however, thru the Communist Party (Majority Group). Our group endorsed the Party candidates and went to work campaigning for Communism in real earnest. Two months before election we began holding open air meetings among the mills workers and in the Negro sections of the city. We had speakers at most of the election rallies of the capitalist candidates. We did, however, meet with some obstacles and shortcomings in our work which we must note right here. 1) Our failure to place our own candidates in this non-partisan election. We wasted too much time in coaxing the Party to do so. 2) We did not bring out clearly the differences between the Party policies and ours in the campaign. 3) We did not have sufficient printed material during the election campaign and insufficient speakers from New York

Regardless of those shortcomings, however, we made much headway. Our group name is now more popular among the masses. Many workers in Passaic now look up to us as the official Communists. Our group is looked upon as the only force that can lead the oppressed workers against their exploiters, the manufacturers and mill owners.

The Question of Unity

In the entire Plenum the question of the reunification of the Communist International was not once raised. Can any more damaging testimony of the political irresponsibility of the present "leaders" of the Communist International be conceived? At a time when the whole world movement and the Communist Parties of practically all countries are split in three different ways, when the whole labor movement is demoralized thru the fratricidal struggles within Communist ranks, when these deep divisions are not only undermining the revolutionary struggle against capitalism but also weakening the power of the working class to defend the Soviet Union—at such a time the official leaders of the world Communist movement find it possible to gather in plenary session without saying one word on the necessity for unity and the road to it! This alone is enough to brand the occasional "unity talk" with which the Party leaders "unofficially" accompany their "new turn" in the country for what it is—petty trickery, dishonest maneuvers, criminal irresponsibility.

The desire for the reunification of the Communist International is the animating force of the International Communist Opposition as expressed at the International Conference (December 1930) and in the International Platform. This reunification can only take place on the basis of a return to Leninist tactical principles and to a Leninist inner-Party course—to the achievement of those objectives the International Communist Opposition is dedicated.

CAMP SOLIDARITY IN SUCCESSFUL OPENING

Over a hundred workers gathered around the camp fire to celebrate the opening of Camp Solidarity. L. Becker, the chairman of the evening, explained the purpose of the building of the camp. An appropriate program had been prepared for the occasion. Among the speakers were Chas. S. Zimmerman, representing the left wing in the needle trades; Comrade Broder, representing the Boro Park Workers Youth Club, and J. O. Bentall, addressing the gathering in the name of the Communist Party (Majority Group).
Sunday morning two buses arrived, one carrying a group of the Boro Park Workers Youth Club and the other carrying workers coming out to spend the weekend. All in all about 150 were present. All present expressed full satisfaction with the arrangements and promised to come out again and bring their friends. All wishing to come out for week-end or excursion during the month of June should register in the city office of the Camp, 23 East 27 Street or call Bogardus 4-9399.

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GENEVA AND LONDON

THE League of Nations Economic Conference at Geneva and the International Wheat Conference at London were events of paramount significance in world history. Their achievements were nil. But what happened there and HOW it all has happened are of transcendental world importance.

These two conferences mark one of the most decisive moments in the post-war history of the world. Geneva and London are epoch-making in that they mirrored so decisively the breakdown of the whole Versailles system of post-war imperialist peace. The cornerstones of this nefarious system have been the encirclement and isolation of the Soviet Union and the imposition upon Germany of the most oppressive terms resulting from the defeat of German imperialism in the last war.

In the struggle against the Versailles system, German imperialism has played a dastardly, cowardly role. This could not be otherwise. That is why Germany is today in the toils of the victorious Entente imperialists. The German imperialists have attempted maneuvers with Italian imperialism, the "Customs Union" gesture with Austria, negotiations with British imperialism in order to get "better terms." Nothing came out of it all. And the German masses have had to bear the crushing burdens of the Versailles system. Only a revolutionary Germany could effectively resist the Versailles terms.

The Soviet Union, the revolutionary workers and peasants' republic, has shown the real way of fighting against imperialism. It has smashed capitalism in Russia. It has ceaselessly fought as the champion of the oppressed colonial masses. That's precisely why the notorious Brest-Litovsk Treaty is in the dust and the might and prestige of the Soviet Union are growing by leaps and bounds.

Naturally, French imperialism which now has hegemony on the continent, under the infamous Wilsonian Versailles Pact, has been the arch-enemy of proletarian Russia. The French capitalists have been, particularly in recent months, in the forefront of all attempts at an economic blockade, at a "cordons sanitaire," at the establishment of an imperialist bloc for war on the Soviet Union. It is true the Quai d'Orsay has succeeded in putting many obstacles in the path of the Soviet Union. But in general, in its main objective, French imperialism has been defeated by the U.S.S.R. Than this there could not have been a more serious blow struck at the Versailles system!

The Geneva and London Conferences showed world capitalism in desperate crisis and the Soviet Union, the land of Socialist construction, marching forward with seven league boots. "Little Ententes," "Big Ententes," "Ententes Cordiales," "Customs Unions," Briand schemes for a so-called "United States of Europe"—all of these capitalist panaceas were revealed in their complete bankruptcy as solutions. It is just these measures which have served to intensify the economic crisis and aggravate the war danger. The only gleam of light in the darkness of the world crisis gripping capitalism came from Litvinoff, the Soviet representative at Geneva. So appealing to the masses, now in acute suffering, were the Litvinoff proposals that Briand, Henderson and Company did not dare to reject them outright and were compelled to agree to consider them—later.

And at London the breakdown of capitalist economy was so clearly revealed in the proposal of the strongest capitalist power, the United States, to cut wheat acreage in order to "alleviate" the terrific agricultural crisis. Here Socialist economy showed its great superiority over capitalism. Under the Socialist system the more the workers and farmers produce the more they have. Under capitalism—especially in its decadent stage of imperialism—the more the workers and farmers produce, the more unemployment and misery they have.

Compare the powerful independent role and victories of the Soviet Union at Geneva and London with the cringing, cowardly role and smashing defeats of German imperialism at Geneva. Here are decisive lessons for the workers of all countries.

Geneva and London! Five-sixths of the world in a terrible crisis! One sixth of the world with no unemployment, with rising standards of living, with working class democracy, with constant, speedy Socialist progress! What a contrast! And what an inspiration! At Geneva and London the dying past of capitalism and the rising future of Socialism came to grips. And the Soviet Republic scored a glorious victory over world capitalism!

A DANGEROUS DECISION

By a vote of 5 to 4 the United States Supreme Court has denied citizenship to Professor Macintosh of Yale Divinity School and to Miss Bland, a war nurse, both Canadians, on the ground that they insist on passing judgment on the character of the next war before they engage in it. This decision to the effect that no one is entitled to citizenship in this country unless he or she unconditionally agrees in advance to participate in any imperialist war venture that the American ruling class may engage in is of tremendous import to the entire country and particularly to the workers. The logical next step will be to decree that all citizens who refuse to pledge themselves to fight for Wall Street in the next war will be deprived of their citizenship rights.

This step will be a signal for further most serious encroachments on the already dwindling civil rights of the masses. It might easily serve as the entering wedge of a campaign to rob hundreds of thousands of foreign-born workers of their citizenship and thus put them on the list for deportation. The case of Tapolskany, the Communist worker in Pennsylvania, clearly shows that the courts are prepared to take away citizenship from workers even on the pretext of alleged motives or intents or opinions at the time of their naturalization. It is not an accident that practically simultaneous with this reactionary decision of the highest court, the state legislature of Michigan has passed a law providing for the registration and finger-printing of all foreign-born workers. Let this decision arouse every workingman and working woman to the seriousness of the sharp capitalist offensive now being waged against the workers not only in wage-cuts but also in a systematic denial of all rights.

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Problems of the Negro Masses

Fifty Years of Tuskegee

by Sterling Spero

Sterling Spero is one of the best known writers on Negro questions. Together with Abram Harris he is the author of "The Black Worker", easily the best book ever written on the Negro proletariat in America. Mr. Spero wrote the article below especially for the Revolutionary Age.

THE EDITOR

Tuskegee Institute has just celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. The leading business men, bankers and politicians, including the President of the United States, have joined in a chorus of congratulations. Why? Tuskegee Institute is an industrial school for Negroes, situated in the heart of the black belt. Why should the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of a Negro industrial school be a national event? The answer is that Tuskegee has hitherto been the greatest single influence in American Negro life.

The Origin of Tuskegee

Tuskegee was founded by Booker T. Washington. Washington was a disciple of Samuel G. Armstrong who, in the sixties shortly after the close of the Civil War, had founded Hampton Institute in Virginia. This was the first important Negro industrial school and one of the first of the many institutions which the northern philanthropists, spiritual descendants of the Abolitionists, set up in the South for the relief, education, religion and moral uplift of the freed slaves.

Under slavery the number of Negro artisans and mechanics in the South outnumbered the white five to one. Black slave labor with the backing of the white master class and with its work reorganized to the master's benefit was able to compete successfully with white labor. But when the slaves were freed and the slaveholders lost their monopoly of political power, the situation changed. The black man was thrown on his own resources. Industrial changes and mechanical inventions made much of his skill and training obsolete. Opportunities to learn new trades and acquire new skills became increasingly limited since the trade unions barred him from membership and the white upper classes no longer found it to their profit to have him trained.

Two Lines of Approach

Two lines of approach to the solution of the problem developed. One school of thought, represented by Hampton and Tuskegee Institute, sought to fit the Negro for his "place" in the industrial world by industrial education, by a training of a directly practical character in the industrial arts and agriculture. The other demanded "equal citizenship", full social and political equality and equal educational opportunities with whites from the primary school through the university. Both programs were built on decidedly middle class ideologies.

The Spirit of Tuskegee

By the nineties the Tuskegee philosophy of education for practical ends became practically crystallized. In 1897 Booker T. Washington, in an eloquent address at the opening of the Exhibition at Atlanta, Georgia, brought it to the nation's attention as a considered solution for the Negro's economic problems.

"Ignorant and inexperienced," ran this memorable speech, "it is not strange that in the first years of our new life we began at the top instead of at the bottom, that a seat in Congress or the State Legislature was more sought than real estate or industrial skill, that the political convention of stump speaking had more attractions than starting a dairy farm or truck garden."

This coincided with the "best" opinion of the "New South," which hailed Washington as the great leader of his race. Had he not admonished his people to play no part in politics and to be satisfied with a lowly place in life? The salvation of the race according to the teachings of Tuskegee lay in winning economic independence thru the acquisition of industrial skill, thru the ownership and cultivation of the land and thru the establishment of Negro business and trade. Tuskegee thus became the principal agency in the land for diffusing among the Negroes the dominant philosophy of the white middle class, the winning of individual salvation thru the virtues of thrift, enterprise and efficiency.

The Significance of Tuskegee

It is here that Tuskegee has been so important. On its technical side circumstances have balked its efforts. The trades and crafts which it has tried to teach its pupils are being rapidly eliminated from industry by the machine. But while failing as a training ground for Negro workers the school has served as a model for Negro schools thruout the South and its graduates have played a tremendous role in the teaching of the Negro youth. While they have not been able to make this youth into efficient mechanics, they have taught him that an efficient workman is one who is "reliable" who gives a maximum return for his wages and who is loyal to his employer. Enlightenment on the problems of the wage earners in modern industry is something with which Tuskegee has neither the understanding nor the will to grapple. The very curriculum of the school is the product of the plantation rather than the modern factory. By emphasizing subjects whose "practical" ends can be demonstrated, it eliminates the consideration of fundamental social problems. At the same time it perpetuates the old master-slave tradition of pre-Civil War days. The Negro "does not like an organization," said Booker T. Washington, discussing labor unions, "which seems to be founded on a personal enmity to the man by whom he is employed."

The National Negro Business League

Tuskegee is not only the fountain-head of these doctrines of efficiency and loyalty to the employing class but is also the center of the National Negro Business League—thus completing the cycle. The worker must be "efficient" and "loyal" and "thrifty" and, if he is "efficient" and "loyal" and "thrifty," he can rise in the economic scale and himself become a business man! It is on this aspect of the Washington program that present-day Tuskegee lays its greatest emphasis. It teaches that by thrift, enterprise and efficiency the black race can create a self-contained, petty black economy within the confines of white capitalist society.

But how this is to be done when the white capitalists control basic industry, credit and the state apparatus is a question which is left unanswered. And, even if the Negroes could overcome these insuperable obstacles and establish these Negro banks, steel mills, railroads and oil companies, who would be benefited thereby? Obviously the owners alone—the shrewder, luckier and more unscrupulous members of the race. The great mass of Negroes would still till the soil or work for wages as they do now and it would make little difference to them whether the capitalists who employed and exploited them were white or black.

Rationalization and the Workers

PROBLEM OF AUTOMATIZATION

by Hal Long

The substitution of machine-power for man-power takes place, with very few exceptions, thru electric motors. They are superior to other motors for three main reasons:

- 1. They are more flexible; that means, they can adapt themselves better to any kind of working machines. They can be designed to be very strong at start as well as to a high speed, while steam and gasoline motors are strong only at one particular.
- 2. Electric transmission of power is cheap, simple, and efficient. Electric motors can be built down to very small sizes. This makes it possible to apply power anywhere inside a factory, independent of location. With non-electric motors a complicated and expensive system of gears, shafts and belts is necessary for power transmission, or else separate motors for each application, which is still more expensive. This possibility of applying power independently of location has played a part in the new arrangement of buildings and machines that was sketched in the previous article.
- 3. Electricity can replace not only human muscles, but also human brains. This is experienced in daily life thru the dual phone. Recently, airplanes have been sent up without pilots, directed by remote radio control. In industry, this is utilized thru automatic control of machines. They can be started and stopped, made to change their speed and tools, with definite time-intervals and without human interference.

Possibilities of Automatization

The bosses have seen the possibilities of automatization brought about by electricity. Here, in America, the capitalists are still strong financially and their resources have been used for investments in labor-saving machines. Anybody, whether shop or office worker, has seen machines come in and workers turned out, a process that goes on incessantly.

The bosses have also seen the possibilities of making the workers toil harder, of increased exploitation, brought about by automatization. Automatic devices are used as an excuse for speeding the workers up and also for directly lowering their standards of living. To a large extent, the aim of automatization is precisely this: to replace adult, male workers with women and children. A minor change on some machinery, technically rather insignificant, and out goes a worker, in comes his wife, if she's lucky, with family income reduced by a tenner or more a week.

Also, automatization serves as an excuse for increasing the duties of the workers. In a shop, remote control was installed on a crane and the workers were told to crane it themselves. Not only did the crane-man lose his job, but since the other workers had established piece-rates, their income was reduced. These stretch-out methods have been especially prominent in the textile industry, as can be seen from the article by Eli Keller in the Revolutionary Age of Nov. 22, 1930.

The Belt

As was mentioned in the previous article, the bosses have in recent times paid special attention to transportation within the factories. This transportation has to a large extent been put on an automatic basis thru the much talked and written about conveyor. Originating in the packing industry, the conveyor system has advanced by leaps and bounds, and is now used in all industries where mass production is possible at all. It is a simple and efficient way of handling material and eliminates storage and floor space.

The conveyor greatly increases the productivity of the workers and therefore promotes their well-being in industries that are owned by the workers themselves, such as in the case in Soviet Russia.

But the need has another side in industries that are owned by capitalist exploiters. It is technically unavoidable that lots of work, especially assembly, has to be done while the material is moving on the conveyor. Thus, the workers are forced to keep up with whatever speed the belt is moving. This has been utilized by the bosses, in whose hands the conveyor has become a most powerful means of speeding up the workers. Complicated clerical and piece-work systems and other work connected with it, are no longer necessary. Just a turn on a handle, the belt moves faster, and the workers will have to work faster too.

Capitalists look on management emphasizes this point, often in very cynical terms. For the capitalists the greatest virtue of the moving belt is not the efficient handling but the possibility of making the workers toil harder. Their books always add, however, that the speed is never so high that the workers overstrain themselves. What this means is the following: If a worker gets exhausted and breaks down, the whole line is held up. This means again that the whole factory system is out of equilibrium. All the gains derived from planning and modern management methods are wiped out. For their own sake, therefore, the bosses will keep the speed at a point that prevents immediate exhaustion of the workers. But they don't care at all how the workers fare in the long run.

The Belt At Fords

The moving belt is more extensively used in the Ford works than anywhere else. The complicated structure of the automobile makes for innumerable operations, assembly jobs and transportation in between. Moreover, the Ford car has been put more on a basis of mass production than any other. Hence a conveyor system whose fame has travelled all over the globe. Other employers in Detroit are said not to take in workers that have been with Ford for five years or more. They know such workers to be more or less wrecks, no good any more.

It has been repeatedly mentioned in these articles that rationalization makes for more monotonous jobs. It will be understood (and experienced) by lots of workers that a monotonous job, where the worker is forced to keep up with the speed of a moving belt, is far worse than one where he, to a certain extent, can determine his own speed. The conveyor line represents the peak of physically and mentally strenuous work.

The bosses will therefore pick the strongest and huskiest workers for such jobs and attract them with comparatively high wages. This explains Ford's famous wage raise back in 1914. At that time workers flocked to his gates for employment and he could select the strongest ones for the conveyor line, as well as the best mechanics to keep the machines in order. Since then, his wage has been rising slower than the cost of living; his real wages have been on the decrease. This is because unemployment has reached such proportions that he has been able to pick his workers without any extraordinary methods.

More machinery in the industries makes the work more hazardous because the bosses worry very little about safety-devices. The article by Albert Inkpin in the Revolutionary Age of September 1, 1930, shows very clearly that rationalization has had tragic consequences for the safety of the workers.



HENRIK IBSEN

by Frank Mehring

On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of Henrik Ibsen, who died in May 1906, we publish below paragraphs from the brilliant essay on Ibsen by Franz Mehring which appeared in "Der Wahre Jacob", July 17, 1900.

Leadership in the now awakened Scandinavian literature was assumed by Norway, thanks to the native small peasantry and petty bourgeoisie that had formed the ruling class in Norwegian society for several centuries. The Norwegian peasant never was a serf, as the Swedish and Danish peasant had been, and the Norwegian petty bourgeois derived from the free peasantry; Norway was the only country that preserved a democratic constitution after the triumph of reaction after Waterloo. Of course his petty bourgeois world, which allowed no room for the development of big industry, for the stock exchange and for all the other levers of the concentration of capital, had only a limited horizon, the horizon of the small peasant and the small capitalist.

A modern proletariat on a large scale could not develop in Norway and thus the revolutionary author of Norwegian literature was left without a key to the most profound contemporary problems. Henrik Ibsen says: "Mine is to question—answers I have none."

But because Ibsen knew how to place his questions, he arose as a European author of the first rank.

Of Ibsen it is above all true what he himself declared in his autobiography: "Everything that I have written is most intimately associated with what I have lived thru even if not experienced. Every new work served me the purpose of spiritual emancipation and purification, for one is never without responsibility and complicity in the society to which he belongs." These words characterize very strikingly the essence of his drama, on the objective as well as on the subjective side.

The author stands in the very center of society, with his finger at the very pulse of its life-process.

Yet insofar as the author lives in and with his creations, he does not arise above the limitations of their lives. He may be angry with them and quarrel with them but he cannot free himself from them. Hence lies the roots of Ibsen's well-known pessimism. In and for itself as little is said with this formula as with any other of its kind; it only gains real content and sense from its social basis. Declining classes are dominated by pessimism but in each individual case it is a question of which class is declining and in what manner. The pessimism of the German philistine Schopenhauer is quite different from the pessimism of the Norwegian petty bourgeois Ibsen: the former bows his head and suffers, the latter grows indignant and fights. It is precisely this element of struggle that gives the dramas of Ibsen such tremendous dramatic suspense. But the struggle is never crowned with victory; Ibsen proclaims the "new era" but he is not able to force its doors. And so his dramatic criticism of society always runs astray.

The more the weight of years robbed him of every hope of witnessing the rise of a "new dawn", the darker and more dismal did his world become. In about his sixtieth year Ibsen's militant pessimism was transformed into a mystical pessimism. This was the time when the overflowing money-bags and their mercenary writers were accustomed to sneer at Ibsen becoming more and more cracked, so incapable were they of understanding how fearfully the preface of a decaying society may affect the delicate sensibilities of a great author.

Ibsen is immortal and will remain immortal but only in those works in which he has been able, with the hand of genius, to penetrate life and to fashion it. But ever since economic development outstripped him, ever since he attempted to ascribe what is properly to be attributed to economic processes which he does not and cannot understand, to inscrutable powers which make men the playthings of their caprices, ever since he lost contact with real life, all the traces of genius which are still to be found in rich measure in the works of his old age will not be able to assure him his immortality.

300 HEAR LOVESTONE AT LABOR TEMPLE

Over 300 workers gathered at the Labor Temple, New York, to listen to Jay Lovestone report on "What Next in the American Labor Movement and a Program for Action."

The speaker outlined the international and general political situation in the light of the world crisis as the background for the problems of the American labor movement.

Lovestone examined the class-collaboration policies of the A. F. of L. leadership, the bankruptcy of the Socialist party and the mistakes and shortcomings of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

He dealt at length with the false secondary course of the Communist Party today and showed what a splendid opportunity for the development of a mass revolutionary movement in the United States was being thrown away by the Communist Party. He outlined a program for immediate action around which to rally the broad mass of workers and for the building of a genuine effective progressive left wing bloc in the American trade union movement.



BETWEEN HAMMER and ANVIL

"STRANGE INTERVIEW"

By James Meale
(Exclusive for the New Misdemeanor)
James Meale: How are you solving the unemployment problem?
Hoover: By rugged individualism.
J. O.: What's that?
Hoover: Public charity.
J. O.: Why doesn't the government do something?
Hoover: I appointed a commission.
J. O.: What did the commission do?
Hoover: Formed eight sub commissions.
J. O.: When will they report?
Hoover: If I get reelected.
J. O.: Why no unemployment insurance?
Hoover: Costs money. We must economize.
J. O.: But I thought you said people should spend more.
Hoover: They do. Taxes have gone up.
J. O.: What for?
Hoover: There's a deficit.
J. O.: What are you doing about that?
Hoover: Raising taxes and economizing.
J. O.: How are you economizing?
Hoover: Saving money on cavalry in the army. Substituting tanks. My wife's dog but a Marine in the part that should never face the enemy. Case of dope eat dog. Reducing the armed forces. Twenty-one hundred fewer jobs in the Post Office. Paying more for Post Office sites. Cut out using the Mayflower. Ride on battleships instead. Saving expenses on an Ambassador to Russia. Initiated a campaign to cure chibblans by inviting Bryan Unstead to the White House. Spread the sale of apple-sauce. Hope to save the public from the necessity of breaking in a new man in 1932. Appointed some more commissions. Substituted the prohibition problem by the problem of meaning of the Wickersham report. Wrote a copy for your paper. When you finish that, I'll have another report for you.
J. O.: Oh thanks, Mr. Hoover. I had no idea you were doing so much for the unemployed. I must run and tell them.

France Under the 16th Amendment

The mayors of eighteen American cities are now in France making that country safe for democracy. When a toast was offered in old champagne to the presidents of the two countries and cameras were set afire, the noble Mayor Porter of Los Angeles and his no less noble wife, stalked out, exclaiming: "We cannot permit ourselves to be parties to such law-breaking." Which reminds us of the fond American mother who asked her boy returning from residence abroad: "Well, son, how did it feel to live among so many foreigners?"

What We Need Is More Statistics

The world wheat parley has ended with the appointment of a commission to gather statistics and make a report. That will help the farmers a lot. And also the millions starving for the "surplus" wheat.

Capone a Small Potato

Al Capone's income for 1925-8 is reported by U. S. Attorney Johnson as \$6,077,460.15. Not so much! After all that's small time stuff compared with the big shakedowns made in the Stock Market.

Our Answer to Geneva

The \$3,000,000 air raid on New York was a frost. The only real accomplishment was to prepare the atmosphere properly for the forthcoming Geneva "dis-annuement" conference.

No More Speculation

New York City is out to crush gambling and speculation. It is raiding candy stores having slot machines which give candy for each nickel dropped in, and occasional extra dividends or prizes. When they get finished with the slot machines, maybe they'll tackle the Stock Exchange!

Sure Cure For Unemployment

The car ads explain it all: The unemployed lost their jobs because they had no sex appeal. Lacked Paris garters, failed to guggle their halitosis away with Listerine, coded B. O. for lack of Lifebuoy, had no pep because they hadn't formed the yeast habit, frightened the boss with wild hair which could have been kept in hand with Glostora, and had the "no hands wanted" sign stuck in their faces because they failed to polish their nails with Cutex.

Now we are waiting for some one to get out a patent medicine to cure unemployment. For example:

Indigestion only hits people after a big meal. Keep Bel-an around in case you should ever eat again.

Three times a day—chew Wrigley's after each meal and you will eat regularly.

Drink "Smoke" for depression.

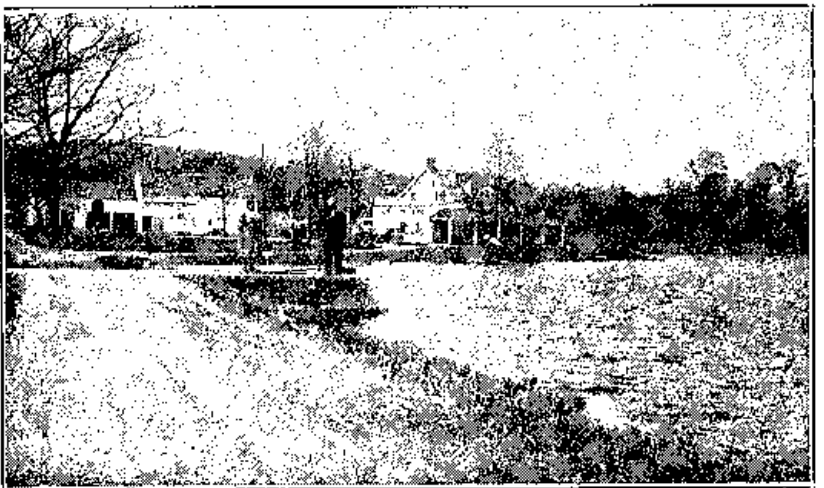
Carbolic acid stops unemployment in 15 minutes. Try a bottle today!

Try our applesauce for that commodity congestion.

\$50 reward to any one proving that 30 applications of Prospericide will not remove unemployment. Per bottle \$1.00.

Three meals a day keep the doctors away.

—B. D. W.



SCENE AT CAMP SOLIDARITY