

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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TOILERS! HAIL INTERNATIONAL MAY DAY!

CONSTITUENT CORTES IS CALLED IN SPAIN FOR JUNE 21

Conservatives Attempt To Stem Revolt, "Postponing" Reforms Until Assembly Meets; Only Masses Can Save Revolution; U. S. A. Recognizes Republic

MADRID.—Through a decision of the provisional Spanish Cabinet the date of the convening of the Constituent Cortes (constituent assembly) has been "tentatively" set for June 21. Before this Cortes, it is declared, will stand the following fundamental problems: the question of republic versus monarchy, the framing of a new constitution, the "reorganization" of the landowning system, the relations of Church and state, the reorganization of the army, the national question in Catalonia and the Basque region, etc. The Cortes will be elected by general male suffrage of all those over 23 years of age. Rumors are widespread throughout Spain that the Cortes will not convene on the day set—either it will be postponed or else it will be convened and immediately dissolved until the fall.

The Course of Revolution

The attempt to postpone all important questions of the revolution until some distant time when a constituent assembly will be called, is the age-old attempt of the conservative republican bourgeoisie to stifle the revolutionary energy of the masses and to lead the revolution safely into the channels of a reactionary bourgeois republic on the model of France and the U. S. A. If, for the next three to six months, the masses can be held in leash and restrained within the limits of "law and order," then it will be easy enough for the republican bourgeoisie to put through the constituent assembly, a "solution" of the important problems in their own interest.

The only way in which the masses of the workers and the farmers can reap the gains of the overthrow of the monarchy is by proceeding thru direct revolutionary action to force a solution of the problems of the revolution right now—without waiting for the promised constituent assembly. The working masses must be armed so as to be able to defend the revolution against all attempts at restoration. The hand must be taken over by committees of poor peasants set up in every village as the expression of the power and the will of the people. The Church and state must be separated without delay. Catalonia and the Basque region must be given the fullest rights of self-determination including the right of separation. The working class must immediately be guaranteed the most elementary reforms—the eight-hour day, unemployment insurance, social legislation, full freedom of political and economic organization, etc. And all this must come—and can only come—not thru the legal deliberations of a future constituent assembly but thru the independent revolu-

tionary mass action of the workers and peasants. The constituent assembly, when it meets, will have the task of ratifying the expressed will of the masses as shown in their actions—or else it will have no reason for existence. But such a program can never be that of the present conservative coalition bourgeois-Socialist provisional government whose only care is to steer the revolution into "safe" reactionary channels. Such a program can only be put thru by a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants. That the struggle to transfer the power into the hands of the masses is already beginning, is shown even in the censored and distorted reports in the bourgeois press which speak of "strikes and outbreaks" in the large cities and of an "intense propaganda campaign" inaugurated by the Communists to alienate the loyalty of the citizens from the new republic. Only a firm fighting alliance of the proletariat and peasantry, under the leadership of the former, ready to put thru in a revolutionary manner the elementary democratic demands of the people and to go even further, is today in a position to save the Spanish revolution.

As an immediate measure, the workers and peasants and all real democrats must demand the removal of the grossly anti-democratic restrictions on the elections to the constituent assembly. They must demand: universal, free, secret ballot, for both sexes, from the age of eighteen.

LONDON.—Following the lead of France Great Britain has recognized the new Spanish republic.

WASHINGTON.—Diplomatic recognition has been extended by the United States to the new Spanish republic. Former American Ambassador Irwin B. Laughlin will not be recredited because of his reputed friendliness to the monarchy.

LABOR REVOLT IN HONDURAS

Insurgent Masses Rise Against Regime; U. S. Rushes Warships

A powerful revolt has broken out in Honduras which has already succeeded in beating back the forces sent against the insurgents by the government and in seizing important sections of the Northern parts of the country. No reliable information is available as to the extent of the revolt, the size of the insurgent forces or the strength of the government.

The revolt is said to have arisen as a result of the unrest and discontent among the masses of the people as a result of unemployment and the miserable conditions of the Julio G. Lay, the United States Minister at Tegucigalpa, has informed Washington that "no prominent military political leaders have been identified with the revolt" and that the ranks of the insurgents are recruited entirely of "unemployed Communists and the riff-raff of Northern Honduras," by which he means to say that the revolt is not one of the military clique "revolutions" so common in Latin America but is a real uprising of the people.

The U. S. Navy Department immediately dispatched three cruisers to Honduran waters to "protect American lives and property," i. e., to crush the revolt. The State department makes no secret of its determination not to recognize the Honduran revolutionists if they should succeed in getting control of the country.

American investments in Honduras amount to \$70,000,000. The United Fruit Company has 95,300 acres in banana cultivation and the Standard Fruit has even more—164,000 acres in bananas and 250 miles of railroad. Besides the fruit companies, the heaviest investors are: Tropical Timber Company, New York and Honduran Rosario Mining Company, West End Ostececa Mining Company, U. S. Continental Mines Company, Copper Consolidated and American Chile Company. American investments in other Central American states are: Guatemala, \$69,000,000; Salvador, \$29,000,000; Costa Rica, \$22,000,000; Nicaragua, \$19,000,000.

Unite the Forces of Labor on MAY DAY!



MAY 1, International Labor Day, one of the proudest traditions of the American and the world working class, a day of militant struggle against capitalism, a day which foreshadows a new social system, a new life for the working class and an end to misery and exploitation, once again rings forth the call for a united proletarian struggle against the capitalist system.

The capitalist world is in a severe crisis—a crisis brought on by the chaos inherent in this system. But the sufferers in this crisis are not the capitalists, but the workers, the poor farmers, the toilers of town and country. Unemployment, starvation, sickness and disease are their lot. The demands of the unemployed for relief are met with wage-cuts, union-smashing and government terror. The social legislation which the workers won thru many years of struggle, is being destroyed. The American capitalist class is launching a deportation campaign against the foreign-born workers which aims to smash any movement on the part of the foreign-born to unite with the American workers for improvement of their conditions. But the capitalist class, which by such means is shifting on to the backs of the workers the costs of the crisis it has itself brought on, is growing fatter and more arrogant with wealth. Dividends, interest and profits continue to roll in. All sorts of government machinery is being instituted to protect and increase the capitalists' booty. The entire system of government is openly mobilized in the interests of the big trust magnates, financiers and bankers.

The Whole World Is On the Verge of War!

The whole world is on the verge of war! The antagonisms between the great imperialist powers are constantly sharpening—between England and the U. S. A., between France and England, between France and Italy, and so on. War is growing more imminent every day. And what for? To redivide the world again, to seize new markets, new spheres of exploitation, new sources of profits! Another world slaughter is being prepared, more gruesome than the first, for the benefit of the masters of capital.

Discontent Is Rising

The discontent of the workers with the capitalist system, the elementary in form and still weak, is rising. The capitalist class, in order to suppress the rising wave of discontent, is resorting to the most reactionary and brutal forms of repression. In the colonies it supports the worst butchers of the workers and peasants and openly boasts of daily executions, as in China. Hundreds of millions of workers and peasants in India, Indonesia, Indo-China, Africa and in other parts of the world are exploited and downtrodden by naked force. In Latin America, the iron heel of Yankee imperialism is felt by the masses. Every movement of the masses is brutally suppressed. In some countries, capitalism resorts to a particularly vicious form of

rule of open violence against the workers—Fascism. Fascism is today the advance guard of international finance imperialism and finds particularly enthusiastic support in the ranks of American finance capital.

The Soviet Union and the Workers

In the midst of this band of robber powers, standing as a beacon light pointing the way to the working class to a better world, there stand the international proletarian fatherland—the Soviet Union. Here, in contrast to the crisis and chaos in the capitalist world, there is a steady and continual betterment of the conditions of the workers, a continued development of Socialist industry and collectivized agriculture. In the Soviet Union, the working class, followed by the peasantry, is marching on the road to Socialism. The existence of the Soviet Union is a threat to capitalism and an inspiration to the workers of the entire world. The international working class must rally to the defense of the Soviet Union and defeat all efforts of the imperialist world to destroy the fruits of the workers' struggles—whether these efforts are in the form of armed intervention, of economic blockade or of "anti-dumping" campaigns.

For Working Class Unity

Only international unity of the proletariat can result in a real victory for the workers in the present situation. Only a united struggle can beat back the attacks against the conditions and standards of the workers. This unity is at present hindered by the fact that millions of workers are completely unorganized in any sort of working class organization. Other millions follow the traitorous policies of the "Socialists" and the reformist trade union leaders who are leading them into support of the capitalist system. The Socialist party is today the handyman of Fascism and prepares the way for the rule of Fascism. The Socialist party is one of the mainstays of capitalist oppression and exploitation in the colonies, as exemplified by the role of the "Socialist" MacDonald government in India. The Socialist workers who wish really to struggle for Socialism can only do so over the heads of their leaders and by defeating and giving up the present policies and theories of the Socialist party. Finally, unity of the working class is hindered by the disunity which exists in its very vanguard—the Communist movement, and by the sectarian and isolationist policies which the official Communist movement, the Communist International and the various Communist Parties, have adopted. No step toward working class unity can be taken by the Communist workers unless the Communist International once again becomes a unified international organization guided by a Leninist policy and working upon the basis of broad internal democracy and genuine internationalism and international leadership.

If May Day, International Labor Day, is celebrated

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GREEN WARNS BOSSES CRISIS DANGER TO CAPITAL

Says Wage-Cutting Convinces The Masses of Capitalist Breakdown; Wants To "Save" Slave System; Tries To "Organize" and "Plan" Capitalist Chaos

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.—In an address before the Harvard Business School Club here on April 21, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, came out for the cancellation of war debts and for a program that would "put an end to the present economic depression" and would "restore healthy economic relations." His proposals included:

- the cancellation or sharp reduction of War debts;
- the calling by President Hoover of a "national economic conference" of labor and industrial leaders to work out a long range industrial and employment program;
- the establishment of a "permanent Federal council to help keep industry stable";
- the general adoption of the five-day week;
- the "assurance of steady employment given to workers by plants employing them";
- the maintenance of "present wage levels";

Mr. Green declared that "notwithstanding its accomplishments and achievements in the field of production, industrial and financial management has failed in the field of the distribution of earnings. As a result, we have created a paradoxical situation—an abundance of available food, commodities, luxuries and clothing for millions of people who cannot buy. . . . Millions are hungry and inadequately clothed in the midst of plenty." Mr. Green emphasized his remarks by warning that "the despairing masses of the unemployed would not much longer tolerate an industrial system which permitted recurrent periods of depression and degradation." He declared that "steps must be taken by which employment might be stabilized and private industry justified." Mr. Green pointed out that the campaign of wage-cutting is producing great discontent among the workers:

"Nothing could happen," he stated, "that would so thoroughly convince the masses of the people of the complete breakdown of our existing industrial and economic system as would a widespread reduction of wages at this time!"

As Wall Street's chief agent in the

HOOVER BITTERLY HITS AT SANDINO

Calls Nicaraguan Leader "Bandit"; London Meets Wall Street Move

WASHINGTON.—The mailed fist beneath the newly donned silken glove was expressed by President Hoover on April 21 at regular semi-weekly press conference where he denounced Augusto Sandino, the Nicaraguan patriot, as a "cold blooded bandit" who "has placed himself outside the civilized pale" and who "must be ruthlessly destroyed." This comes only a few days after Secretary of State Stimson's declaration that the United States that the "general protection of Americans throughout Nicaragua would lead to difficulties and commitments which this government does not propose to undertake." On the one hand, soft phrases—on the other, bloody deeds!

LONDON.—As a counter to U. S. Secretary of State Stimson's declaration on Nicaragua, the British government, thru Arthur Henderson, Foreign Minister, has announced a policy of "non-interference" in the "internal affairs" of Nicaragua and other Central American countries in connection with the "protection" of British subjects. At the same time two British cruisers were dispatched to the Caribbean.

It is everywhere recognized that the American "silk-glove" declaration of Secretary Stimson was intended to stem the tide of Yankee unpopularity in Latin America and to make up as much as possible for the effect of the Prince of Wales tour in South America recently.

labor movement, Mr. Green is trying to call the attention of his capitalist masters to the danger of the present situation for them, arising out of the chaos, confusion and misery brought in by capitalism into the economic life of the country. Unless "something is done," Mr. Green is afraid the working masses will learn a lesson as to what the capitalist system really is and what it really means to them, a lesson that it will be impossible to make them unlearn again. And learning such a lesson would be the death-knell of the capitalist system to which Mr. Green is so deeply attached.

At the same time Mr. Green is not without hope that his radical phrases may strike a note in the minds of the discontented workers, inside and outside the A. F. of L. and thus check the growing disillusionment of these workers with the reactionary leadership of the American trade union movement. Mr. Green must adapt himself to the gathering unrest and rebellion in the ranks of American labor.

But what exactly is the value of Mr. Green's proposals? His fundamental idea is: to save the capitalist system by "stabilizing" it, by "eliminating" all those features of it that make for the poverty, misery and degradation of the masses without, of course, infringing on the profit rights of the bosses!

And of course, all of his proposed reforms he intends to get not by mass struggle of the workers but as a result of appealing to the "benevolence" and the "far-sightedness" of the capitalists!

The cancellation of War debts might have some effect on the relations between the various imperialist powers but it could certainly have no visible effect on the conditions of the masses.

The general adoption of the five-day week (without reduction in pay)

(Continued on Page 2)

NAT'L CITY HEAD FOR WAGE-CUTS

Roberts Declares Wage-Slashing "Necessary"

CHICAGO.—The prospect of a deep and widespread wave of wage-slashing was declared to be practically certain by George E. Roberts, vice-president of the National City Bank of New York before the Illinois Manufacturers Cost Association here on April 21.

"Nobody likes to say anything about reduction of wages," he said, "but equilibrium in industry must be restored in order to have full-time employment and real prosperity."

"The normal relationship between the industries must be restored in some way, and when it is restored there will be prosperity for all."

The National City Bank is one of the most influential institutions in the world and with great power over American industry. As reported in the last issue of *Revolutionary Age*, the National City Bank has already taken steps to put thru wage-cuts in all industrial concerns connected with it.

There is only one answer to the wave of wage-cuts and that is: Fight back! Strike against wage-cuts!

Wage levels of women workers in New York City have declined sharply since the fall of 1929, despite all statements to the contrary, according to the results of a survey made by the bureau of the Women in Industry of the New York State Department of Labor. Some of the figures are: Clerks: 1929—\$10-\$22 weekly, 1931—\$8-\$18; typists: 1929—\$15-\$22, 1931—\$12-\$21; stenographers: 1929—\$15-\$35, 1931—\$9-\$20; bookkeepers: 1929—average \$23-\$25; 1931—average \$15; domestic workers: 1929—\$40-\$70 monthly, 1931—\$15-\$35 monthly; laundry workers: 1929—\$14-\$16 weekly, 1931—\$10-\$12 weekly.

REV. AGE CASE IN COURT AGAIN

Hays and Medalie Argue In U. S. Court; Workers Must Support Paper

The appeal of the Revolutionary Age against the action of the United States Post Office Department in banning it from the mails was argued in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals by Arthur Garfield Hays, attorney for the Communist Party (Majority Group) and the Civil Liberties Union.

The hearing lasted for nearly two days. Mr. Hays appeared on appeal from the decision of Judge John L. Woolsey of the Federal Southern District Court of New York. The case for the government was represented by the office of the United States Attorney Medalie.

In arguing the appeal, Mr. Hays said in part: "The Communists believe that in the future if conditions warrant, the government of the United States be overthrown by force, if force be necessary and they further believe that force will be necessary."

The decision of Judge Woolsey against the Revolutionary Age has been called by the Civil Liberties Union "the most important free press case in ten years. No radical paper has been barred from the mails since the days of Postmaster General Burleson."

All workers and sympathizers of the working class movement are urgently asked to send their donations and contributions to fight against this sinister attack on the rights of the working class to the freedom of the press.

JIM-CROWING IN THE A. E. F.

by Captain, 92 Division

The action of the War Department in jim-crowing and insulting the Negro Gold Star mothers is a typical example of Americanism. Before they were killed the sons of these Gold Star mothers were humiliated and insulted daily. One of the most vicious Negro hating American organizations in France was the Y.M.C.A. At Bouca, France the Y set up a canteen where cigarettes, tobacco, cakes and many other things were sold. These Christian young men would not allow a Negro soldier to stand by a white soldier and buy a package of cigarettes. They set up two counters. Over one they hung a large sign "For Whites Only" and over the other: "For Negroes."

On August 7, 1918 Colonel Linard

chief of the French military mission with the Americans issued a confidential circular to French officers telling them how they should treat Negro soldiers and particularly Negro officers. A French captain of infantry on duty at the gas school at Gondrecourt had a copy of this circular in his possession and showed it to the writer while a student there. Here are some excerpts from the circular:

The American Negro is generally regarded as being unintelligent, indiscreet, lacking in civic or professional conscience, and soon becomes too familiar. The vices of the Negro are a constant danger to the American whites, who have to repress them severely. For example, the Negro troops have committed by themselves alone more rape than the remainder of the army together, and yet—only the best of them morally and physically were accepted in the army, the number of rejections among them having been enormous.

Negro officers are not to be treated on the same level with white officers lest the white officers be hurt profoundly. The French officers were also warned not to shake hands with Negro troops and not to praise Negro troops too highly especially before Americans. Further fear was expressed that the French method of treating Negroes would inspire intolerable pretensions in the American blacks.

An outstanding paragraph: "The indulgence and familiarity of the French with Negroes hurt Americans profoundly. They consider this manner of treating the Negro as an attack on their national pride and their national beliefs."

Credit is due the New York Amsterdam News for reprinting this circular in America for the first time.

Twelve years after the armistice a Republican administration and a Republican Congress decided to send the Gold Star mothers to France to visit the graves of their sons. But immediately an order was issued that Negro mothers were to be jim-crowed. A black mother could not even enter the city of the dead with a white mother. A Democratic administration had heaped abuse and insults upon the sons before they were killed and now a Republican administration poured out its scorn on the heads of the mothers.

What sane Negro will not curse a system that insults a Gold Star mother because she is black?

Captain 92nd Division
Meuse-Argonne.

GREEN WARNS OF CRISIS DANGER

(Continued from page 1)

would certainly be a great gain for the workers. But it can only be achieved thru militant economic action and thru class political action of the workers—and it is precisely Mr. Green who does his best to undermine the fighting power of the unions, to discourage and cripple strikers, to prevent the workers from breaking with the political parties of the bosses and organizing a Labor party. Mr. Green is "for" the five-day week—but what have the trade union officials done to eliminate the seven-day week dominating certain important industries of this country, now in the period of mass unemployment?

Mr. Green wants the "maintenance of present wage levels." He refuses to recognize that any wage-cutting has already taken place but he "fears" that it may. Every trade unionist knows that the only way to prevent wage-slashing is to fight back, to strike. But fighting back is exactly what Mr. Green will not allow the A. F. of L. to do. In the fall of 1929 Mr. Green, speaking for labor, made an agreement with President Hoover, who was evidently speaking for capital, that the A. F. of L. would allow no strike to take place in the crisis period and that on the other hand, there "should be no wage-cutting." But of course the wage-cuts began while Mr. Green was making his no-strike agreement—and Mr. Green knew very well that they would take place. The result of the agreement was that the A. F. of L. leaders have hamstringed the labor movement, have prevented it from fighting back, and have thus made the gigantic waves of wage-cuts possible.

The other suggestions of Mr. Green—the "national economic conference," the "permanent Federal industrial council," the "assurance of steady employment by the plants," etc.—all founder on the one rock—order cannot be established under the capitalist system whose very essence is chaos. The driving force of the capitalist system is private profit—whether it is the profit of the individual capitalist or that of the corporation or trust or merger. As long as the chief law of economic life remains "Every man for himself"—and it must remain that as long as private industry (capitalism) continues to exist—chaos and confusion and misery will remain the essence of the economic system. Only with the elimination of private industry (with the socialization of all the means of production)—as has been done in the Soviet Union—can economic chaos be eliminated and order and planfulness be brought into industry!

MAY DAY GREETINGS

From many cities we have received greetings to the Revolutionary Age. Individual members of our C.P.-Majority Group, units of the group, and working class organizations have joined in pledging support to the Revolutionary Age in its energetic fight for Communist unity and the working class interests in the present world crisis.

PHILADELPHIA
From Philadelphia we have just received a check for \$3.40 from Branch 118 of the Workmen's Circle saying:
"We greet the Revolutionary Age on May 1st, The International Day of Struggle. We are with you in your struggle. The Philadelphia District of the C.P.-Majority group greets the Revolutionary Age on May Day with a \$10.00 donation."

Branch Number 76 of the Workmen's Circle of Philadelphia joins in the greetings with a donation of \$8.00.

FROM THE ANTHRACITE
From the hard coal fields, the Anthracite District sends \$5.00 with a greeting in true May Day spirit.

Comrade P. Gallia, a well known militant in the hard coal fields, sent along with his May Day greeting a \$5.00 contribution to boost the Revolutionary Age.

"May Day is near, the International Day of the working class for struggle and fight against our oppressors, the capitalists. Our duty is to do all we can to defend the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the workers, and help our brothers in Soviet Russia build Socialism."
"For that purpose I am sending \$5.00 to the Age, the best defender of the Soviet Union and the best Communist paper in this country."

BOSTON
From Boston, Comrade Luis rushes \$2. to do her bit to celebrate May Day by strengthening the Revolutionary Age.

AND MONTREAL
\$5.00 has been sent as May Day greetings from a worker in Montreal.

NEW YORK
The Down Town unit of New York of our organization has given \$4.50 as an initial payment on its greetings. The Brooklyn unit has voted \$5.00. From the Bronx-Harlem unit, Comrades Chibka, Mesnil and Eichen have already sent in their May Day greetings. The Shoe and Leather Workers unit pledges itself to intensified work to bring the Revolutionary Age to the masses and as a start in its

vigorous activity gives \$5.00 to the Revolutionary Age.

A New York worker, B. P., sends out \$2.50.

A New York worker, E. B. M. donates \$2.50 along with May Day greetings.

The N. Y. Estonian Workers Club send heartiest May Day greetings along with a \$1.00 donation. The needle trade unit of the C.P.-Majority Group sends along \$10. with its greetings.

BORO PARK YOUTH CLUB
We have received the following from the Boro Park Workers Youth Club: The Boro Park Workers Youth Club Greet the Revolutionary Age MAY DAY, 1931.
We pledge, on the second anniversary of our existence, to keep up the struggle for the unification of the left wing forces. We are convinced that with united forces we will succeed in leading the working class to establish a Soviet government in America.

As we go to press not all the greetings have been received and we will print, in the coming issues, all greetings that are too late for the Special May Day issue.

MAY DAY IN SOVIET LAND

The Day of the Russian Worker Has Dawned!

May Day is the living pulse of the working class movement, reflecting its every phase of development, its every stage of struggle. And that is why May Day assumes a very different aspect in the Soviet Union from what it does in the whole capitalist world.

May Day In the Capitalist World

In the capitalist world May Day is a day of struggle, a day upon which the advanced sections of the working class demonstrate in international solidarity under the slogans of: **Against the capitalist reaction! For the 7-hour day! For the struggle against war! For the defense of the Soviet Union!** In the capitalist world May Day becomes the focus of the deep elemental revolt of the working class in the face of the constantly growing exploitation and the constantly intensifying oppression of capitalism. It is primarily the day of the revolutionary negation of the whole bourgeois order.

And In the Soviet Union

In the Soviet Union, May Day has undergone an historical transformation: it is today the day of triumph through the whole extent of the U. S. S. R. For in the Soviet Union the forces of capitalism have been definitely overthrown, capitalist reaction is smashed, the 7-hour day is a reality, the revolution is triumphant. All thru the Soviet land May Day is celebrated as a day of victory!

But even in the Soviet Union May Day still retains its fundamental character of struggle, for the struggle for Communism is far from over in the Soviet Union, while at the same time the Soviet Union has become the vanguard of the international army of labor, an integral part of its struggle for liberation.

The collective energies of the Soviet Union, the entire class forces of the toiling masses, are concentrated upon the grand task of building Socialism, of building up a gigantic large-scale industry and a collectivized agriculture on a Socialist basis. The tremendous successes which the 5-Year Plan—which is the playful embodiment of the historical striving for Socialism—has already achieved in the three years of its course, lends an especially triumphant character to May Day 1931 in the Soviet Union. But these successes have been achieved only thru the bitterest struggle against the class enemy forces at home—the exploiting rich peasants (kulaks) and NEP-bourgeoisie—and against the intractable enemy of the world bourgeoisie, against Papal incitements and anti-dumping, against concerted economic boycott, against menacing war preparations, against the threat of intervention and armed attack. May Day for the Soviet Union signifies the continued triumph of the revolutionary alliance of the proletariat and peasantry over its envenomed class enemies at home and abroad—and the triumphant continuation of the struggle to the end.

The Bond of Unity

The struggle for Socialism in the Soviet Union is indissolubly linked up with the struggle of the proletariat and peasant masses, in the advanced countries and in the colonies, against the intolerable domination of world imperialism. And today, as Rosa Luxemburg declared in 1907, at the head of the army of world labor stands the Russian proletariat. The glorious victory of the Russian proletariat at home only increases the responsibility placed upon it as the vanguard of the army of millions of the laboring masses struggling for their emancipation. The Russian Revolution—the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics—is the very cornerstone of the world revolution. And so, when the Soviet masses celebrate May Day this year, they will not only signalize their triumph over their own oppressors and their great victories in Socialist construction, but they will also unite themselves in bonds of international solidarity with the toilers of all countries in their common struggle against their

common enemy, the mortal enemy of the best interests of mankind—world imperialism!

The year 1931 presents a situation in which the fundamental common interests of the Soviet masses and those of the peoples of all countries come to clearest expression—the danger of a new world war. War is impending today as never before. And the only forces today really fighting against the menace of a bloody carnage that threatens the very existence of human culture, are the Soviet Union and the advanced sections of the working class in the capitalist countries. The struggle against war has always been one of the traditional slogans of May Day since the tense days before the Great War. And today the struggle against war becomes again the central issue of May Day, as well in the Soviet Union as in the capitalist world.

"The day of the Russian workers will also dawn!" wrote Lenin in the famous leaflet of the League for the Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class in the year 1896. "Our strong arm will rise and the chains of slavery will fall."

And just this has happened! And so May Day 1931 in the Soviet Union is the day of triumphant affirmation of the new Socialist order!

CURTIS ATTACKS FOREIGN-BORN

WASHINGTON.—In his keynote address at the national convention of the Daughters of the American Revolution here on April 20, Vice President Curtis made a demand for "much more stringent immigration laws" and for the "deportation of aliens," whose object is to overthrow the government." He also came out for the "registration of aliens in the United States."

Mr. Curtis remarks of course amount to a semi-official declaration of the policy of the administration.

CONCERT—ENTERTAINMENT
by
FEDERATION of S.N.P.J.
SATURDAY, MAY 2, 1931.
Luzerne High School Auditorium
Bennet Street, Luzerne, Pa.
Admission — — — 50 cents

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Letters from Workers

FROM THE ANTHRACITE

Wilkes Barre, Pa.
The word "abnormal" is well known to all the miners of the anthracite. When a miner is not able to make a day's wage in the place where he works then he claims that his place is in an abnormal condition and he goes to the boss demanding a day's pay by consideration work. At present not only are those places in the mines abnormal but the whole industry is getting into an abnormal situation. Dissatisfaction and frequent strikes result. A big factor in contributing to the responsibility for such a situation of the miners

they have almost destroyed the once powerful furriers union which has its credit many bitter struggles against the bosses and many splendid victories.

What then must be done? asks the declaration. The revival of the left wing around which should be grouped all honest workers who really want to build a union. The following minimum program is proposed:

1. For an aggressive policy against the bosses so as to be able to maintain in the shops the conditions won thru struggles.
2. For a struggle against the pest of finishing contracting.
3. For a campaign to raise the wages of every worker in every branch of the trade.
4. Against overtime in slacktime.
5. Against expulsion for political opinions.
6. For the unconditional readmission into the union with full membership rights of all those who were expelled according to the decree of March 4, 1927.
7. For a struggle against all cliques and for a real rank and file leadership.
8. For complete democracy—free speech and differences of opinion must be tolerated.
9. In order that the broad membership should be able to participate in union activity and begin with renewed forces a real struggle for conditions for the workers in our trade, there should be carried thru new elections under the supervision of a rank and file committee elected for that purpose at the local meetings.
10. All members of the union, including those expelled for the political opinions, shall be eligible in the elections.

is the 7 1/2 year agreement.

The Party and the National Miners Union. When the first strike broke out under the Glen Alden Coal Company, the situation demanded that the Communist Party and the National Miners Union should come out with a clear-cut policy as to whether or not the members and sympathizers of the Party and the N. M. U. should work within the reactionary U. M. W. A. In order to confuse the members and sympathizers, E. Borich, secretary of the N. M. U., and Jack Stachel were sent into the Anthracite to explain the Party line in the situation. And they surely did! They said: "It was wrong for us not to participate in the work of the reactionary union! The rank and file in District 1 demanded a special convention. (The Party didn't have any policy at that time.—P. G.) We must participate in the elections and put up a slate of rank and file militant left opposition!" This is what Stachel and E. Borich said. Then they called a meeting of Party members a week before the nominations were to close to have the members kept quiet. E. Borich and Stachel said: "You, you, and you—will be the candidates as militant opposition." A little article in the Daily Worker and it is all over!

Because the strike was on, phrasemongering was resorted to and this "new policy" was put forward. Two leaflets were issued by them in the name of the U. M. W. A.

But in fact the Party policy remains unchanged. There isn't the least bit of work in the reactionary union on the basis of actual conditions. Nothing except phrasemongering!

Consideration Is Given

Comrades Myerscough and Judson, who repudiated themselves recently, are sent into the Anthracite to give them a chance to prove that they agree with the sectarian isolationist policy. Their steps are being closely watched by Comrade Stachel who made a few trips to the Anthracite in one week. One of these special trips was made to take up the article of Comrade Vranesh in the Revolutionary Age on the strike situation and about the article in Age No. 17 (March 25) under the title: "The Spies Must Be Driven Out!" I want to call the attention of the Party and Comrade Stachel that in the Radnik (Party South-Slavic paper), No. 79, April 7, there is an article by M. Vranesh admitting he did say to N.K.: "You will get to a place where you will keep quiet!" Vranesh—who offers a \$100 to any one who will be able to prove the statement of the article—actually proves himself what the article says, by admitting the statement he made to N. K. But to be even more provocative, the writer of the article (Mike Vranesh) interprets the same N. K. to E. Kravich. He goes on to say that it isn't positively known whether he is reported or not (to the Federal authorities). You who wrote that article in the Radnik would be positive, I suppose, if you would see N. K. in jail or in the hands of the Jugoslavian murderers.

Peter Gallia.

FROM A TEXTILE WORKER

Providence, R. I.
Just a few lines to let you know about the conference of the National Textile Workers Union held in Providence, R.I. Apr. 4 and 5. The machine carried everything until it came to elect the board and then old wobbly, Jim Conroy, got the floor and spoke about saving the union. He wanted to have nothing but workers from the mills on the board but he lost. The C. P. machine was too strong for him.

VOTE ON END OF PRUSSIAN DIET

Fascist Move Carries; Now Referendum Coming

BERLIN.—Preliminary estimates indicate that the initiative on the dissolution of the Prussian Diet has been successful. More than the necessary one-fifth of the voters, or about 5,000,000 have signed the position. The initiative vote was called by the Prussian government on the position of the Fascist Stahlhelm (Steel Helmet League). The alternative is now placed before the Prussian Diet whether to dissolve itself or to submit the question of dissolution and new elections to a popular referendum. It is very unlikely that the Diet will agree to dissolve so that a referendum is pretty certain. A vote of about 13,000,000 is necessary for the carrying of the referendum. In the last Prussian elections the parties allied with the Stahlhelm polled about 10,000,000 votes but since then their influence has spread considerably.

The Prussian Diet and government is dominated by a Socialist-Center coalition which has recently become the special target of the attacks of the Fascists. The coalition has been growing more and more unpopular with the Prussian masses recently because of its miserable record in the economic crisis and unemployment. In the absence of an effective mass mobilization policy of the Communist Party it is likely that the Fascists will reap the benefit of the discontent of the masses.

The maintenance of the Socialist-Center coalition in Prussia has always been given by the Socialists as the pretext for its "tolerant" support of the Brüning dictatorship in the Reich—as a means of "staving off the advent of Fascism". The exact results of this capitulation policy are evident in the great growth of Fascist support precisely in Prussia.

They were scared for a while. They thought that he would throw the wrench in the works on them. When he was asked afterwards why he did not go further he said: "We have nothing to put in its place at present." The machine was scared all right for when he got thru speaking they had two Party members to go to him and they had a long talk while the secretary and chairman were trying to straighten the out with the rank and file. Whatever agreement Conroy and the two members came to I don't know but he got up and made an apology. I think it would be good if the Save the Union Committee of the Majority Group got in touch with a lot of the old members of the union. I think that we could do a lot of good with them. When there are some in New Bedford, Fall River, Maynard and Lawrence, also Providence.

R.

CORRECT CLOTHES

SOLOLOFF & FLAMM

Clothing Company, Inc.
For Men and Young Men
101-103 Stanton St., cor. Ludlow St.
New York City.

UNITE LABOR'S FORCES ON MAY DAY!

(continued from page 1)

in the spirit of international proletarian unity, then it can become a powerful force in the further development of the forward march of the world working class toward our final goal—the establishment of a world Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

The Communist Party (Majority Group), which stands with the International Communist Opposition in the struggle to unify the world Communist movement and rectify its line, calls upon the workers of America to come out on May Day and demonstrate their proletarian solidarity with the workers of Europe in their common struggle for the liberation of the toilers. The workers of the United States, the land of the most powerful imperialism, have a special duty to perform, to carry on the mighty work for the overthrow and destruction of their own masters and exploiters, who are today the exploiters of the entire world. On May Day, come out and fight; For a united front of labor to beat back the offensive

of the bosses! Fight against wage-cuts! For the freedom of the labor press! For the protection of the foreign-born workers!

For immediate unemployment relief! For unemployment insurance! For the 7-hour day!

Against lynching and jim-crowing! For the complete social and political equality of the Negro people!

For the recognition and defense of the Soviet Union! For the extension of huge long-term credits by the United States government to the Soviet Union!

Fight the danger of a new imperialist world war! Fight against the predatory policy of American imperialism in its colonies and in Latin America! For the immediate independence of the Philippines, Haiti, Porto Rico, and other American colonies! Out with the U. S. Marines from Latin America!

For trade union unity! For the organization of the unorganized! For the reestablishment of the left wing in the American trade union movement! For transforming the reactionary unions into real fighting unions!

Against the reformist misleadership of the Socialist party!

For the reestablishment of the unity of the world Communist movement! For a return to Leninism!

Hail May Day, International Labor Day!

CAMP SOLIDARITY

RAMSEY, N. J. Foot of Ramapo Hills
— A camp for and by workers —
LAKE FOR BATHING AND ROWING
Modern improvements - Room or tents - Excellent Food
Moderate rates
WILL OPEN FOR VISITORS
DECORATION DAY WEEK
Information: 25 East 27th St. — Bogardus 4-9399
Watch for our Sunday excursions

In The Communist Party

From A Pennsylvania "Hunger Marcher"

READING, Pa.—En route on Pennsylvania State Hunger March. As for the method of handling the present Y.C.L. discussion and the coming convention, you will probably see that in reality it is no discussion since basic political questions are not raised. That, furthermore, discussion is stifled. A revolt is brewing among the membership. The revolt, it is true, is mainly on organizational questions and on questions of bureaucracy—and the comrades do not yet look for the political reasons for these conditions—a revolt against the leadership of Patterson, Keith, Little, Minerich, Martha Stone, Andrews, et al.

As to the Hunger March. There are about a hundred Philadelphia "delegates". These "delegates" were gotten by the method of letting any one, who would volunteer, go. Thus, there are many "delegates" who were just picked up Friday morning at the Philadelphia City Hall. There will be about forty from Reading, none from Chester, some from Allentown, Easton, Bethlehem, Erie, the Anthracite and from the Pittsburgh District, all elected in the same manner, so that even should there be 500 marchers (which will not happen—the Daily Worker spoke of 430, but Philadelphia fell far short of the quota). You can see what it means.

On the question of "segregation" it is still going on full blast. The Daily reported 6,000 at the City Hall Friday (the marchers were given a figure of 5,000) but actually there were 1,000-1,200 at the City Hall. There was one platform and those on the edge of the crowd, and even 10 feet away from the edge, could hear the speakers at all times. The City

Hall Plaza was deserted. In Pottstown, we had 175 to 200 at the meeting; it was reported as 500. In Reading the City Hall Plaza was deserted. There was no one there except Philadelphia and Reading marchers. While ten or twelve open air meetings could easily have been arranged, arrangements were made for four, while only two materialized.

In a discussion on the Socialist Party the keynote was that the S.P. is the same as the Democratic and Republican parties (no understanding of the role of social-reformism). I also learned how many speakers (including Hattersley) in their effort to prove that the S.P. is "social-fascist" have proven it by speaking of how the Reading cops have clubbed workers (the fact that it did not occur means nothing to these comrades who must prove "social-fascism").

In the march the leadership is the very picture of bureaucracy. The comrades are consulted on absolutely nothing. Discussions are made by Lawrence and Simons, and then become decisions.

"The meetings have either three-fourths of the speakers introduced as Communists (Morristown) or we are told not to bring in the Party and League at all (Pottstown). The policies change according to contingencies of the moment—(reason given by the leading comrades for this). In other words if we commit a mistake we must correct it by committing a mistake in the opposite direction. All in all we can say that the organizational results of the march will probably be nil.

—M.

Down Tools on May Day!
National Council, Communist Party of the U.S.A. (Majority Group)
ALL OUT ON MADISON SQUARE AT 12:30 P. M. AND ON UNION SQUARE AT 4:00 P. M.
COME TO THE UNITED FRONT MEETING AT IRVING PLAZA.
Irving Place and 15 Street, at 8:00 P. M.

May Day And Labor

The Meaning of May Day

by Rosa Luxemburg

May Day is a living historical element of the international proletarian class struggle and therefore it has faithfully reflected for almost twenty years all the phases, all the factors of the class struggle.

Phases of May Day The inner history of May Day has passed through three great phases. In its early years, when it had to force the way open before it, it was greeted with the tense expectations and elevated sentiments of the proletarians of all countries.

against the workers in industry and the consolidation of all bourgeois parties for the petty-bourgeois lock-out of the working class. In France a brutal crusade of the "radical" government against the trade unions and a series of bitter wage struggles.

At the same time another factor steps into the foreground with vigor: the internationality of the cause of the working class. As long as the democratic show-room and as long as work lasted, the labor movement was dominated by the peculiarities of its national surroundings.

the internationality of the cause of the working class. As long as the democratic show-room and as long as work lasted, the labor movement was dominated by the peculiarities of its national surroundings.

Millions For War—Death For Children

MAY DAY AND CHILD HEALTH

by Albert Esten

The Communists still maintain May 1 as Labor Day. Hereafter May 1 will be known as Child Health Day.

More than a "Child Health Day" is needed to preserve the health and save the lives of the millions of working class children.

6,000,000 are improperly nourished, 1,000,000 have defective speech, 1,000,000 have weak or damaged hearts.

Tuberculosis and the Poor It has been definitely proved that tuberculosis results directly from poor living and working conditions.

Workers Bookshelf

THE MARXIAN THEORY OF THE STATE

by Sherman H. M. Chang Price \$2.50

THE BLACK WORKER by Spero and Harris Price \$4.00

SHORT STORIES OUT OF SOVIET RUSSIA collected by John Cournois Regular price \$2.50 Our price \$1.00

CAPITAL by Karl Marx in two volumes Price 90c each

THE BANKRUPTCY OF CHRISTIAN SUPERNATURALISM by Bishop W. M. Brown in three volumes Price 50c

LABOR LEADERS BETRAY TOM MOONEY by Tom Mooney Price 10c

REVOLUTIONARY AGE 63 Madison Ave. N. Y. C.

May Day Is American

by Alexander Trachtenberg

It was at the first congress of the re-constituted International, later known as the Second International, held at Paris in 1889, that May first was set aside as a day upon which the workers of the world, organized in their political parties and trade unions, were to fight for the important political demand: the 8-hour day.

Resolved by the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, that eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from May First, 1886, and that we recommend to labor organizations throughout their jurisdiction that they so direct their laws as to conform to this resolution by the time named.

At the convention of the Federation in 1888, the resolution on the walk-out for May First of the following year was reiterated and several national unions took action to prepare for the struggle.

From the free "advice" given by public officials, one would think that most sickness is due to the neglect of the parent— which really means the mother.

OPEN MEETING

JAY LOVESTONE will speak on the World Crisis and the Situation in the Communist International

SUNDAY MAY 10, 1931 at 3 p. m.

80 LEVERETT STREET BOSTON, MASS.

Admission—Free

Auspices: COMMUNIST PARTY Majority Group

On the question of criticizing the unions, the following was said: "At its last convention at Detroit, the A. F. of L. demonstrated again its incapacity to meet the mighty engines of destruction employed by capitalism against the working class with other weapons than those of winning ingrat protest."

On the question of working in the A. F. of L. and against dualism in principle, the following was said: "It is also a fact that a large portion of the unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. have become heartily sick of the stupidity and corruption of their leaders, but our dearly bought experience has taught us that such a truly Socialist labor movement cannot be initiated by a few deserters with out-and-out notions on the labor movement."

The Split in the S. L. P. The Socialist Party was born out of a split in the S. L. P. The trade union question was one of the important questions which made for this inevitable split.

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Problems of the Needle Workers

An Open Letter to Pres. Hyman

by Chas. S. Zimmerman

Dear President Hyman! In the April 13 issue of the Freiheit there appears an article by you entitled "The Lovestonites Have Landed In The Right Place." The impression this article makes upon the reader is painful indeed—not because of the attacks on us but because of the level to which you have sunk in making these attacks.

1. Why is it necessary for you to pretend that we tried to cover up our policy of building a left wing in the right wing union with evasion and pretext? You know—as does everybody else—that this was always our policy openly advocated, that we always fought for this policy in spite of the slander and abuse thrown at us? Is it not a fact that what you charge to us is your own sin? Is not the Industrial Union leadership today sending in members into the right wing unions stealthily without the courage to avow this policy openly?

2. Why is it necessary for you to pretend that our program consisted in the union must immolately strike for work-week, that Zimmerman never ceased demanding this at union meetings? Have we not made it clear enough that we regard work-week as a very valuable and very necessary acquisition for the workers but that under present conditions to make it an immediate demand in a strike would be unrealistic, impracticable and unattainable? Was not the last-minute change of demands of the union in the dress strike

a recognition of the correctness of our viewpoint? Did you stop believing in work-week because you agreed to the change of demands? Did you ever agree with the original demands? What was your opinion at the time when we were fighting vigorously for a modification of the strike demands? I will not bring up any private conversations—but will you deny that you agreed with us all along but did not have the courage to say so openly?

3. Why is it necessary for you to pretend to find a resemblance between us and Hendin? Why do you deliberately try to confuse the workers when you know better—when you know that Hendin deserted the Communist movement to become the lickspittle of Alie Cahane while we call for the most determined struggle against reformism and the trade union bureaucracy?

What Are The Real Issues? What are the real issues involved? Is it necessary to call them to your attention? 1. What is the real function of a union—especially of a revolutionary union? If you have already forgotten, President Hyman, let me remind you that the chief function of a union is to defend the economic interests of the workers in the shops and to fight for the improvement of their conditions. Is the Industrial Union today in a position to fulfill these functions and is it fulfilling them? Is it not a fact that today, in most of the sections of the needle trades, the Industrial Union has no shop control and is in no position to

defend the economic interests of the workers? Is it not a fact that even in those few shops that are under Industrial Union control, this control is being maintained by giving up union standards and union conditions? Are you not acquainted with the conditions of the Labenbaum Fur shop in which a "standard of production" was introduced with the knowledge of the union according to which the workers cannot go home until they finish the allotted work?—thus bringing in the worst speed-up system so hateful to the furriers? Are you not acquainted with the fact that even during the general strike at least one shop that I know (Jacobs Dress Company) was scuttled at a reduction on each garment of 3¢ for the operators, 3¢ for the pressers and 5¢ a week for the cutter? Are you not acquainted with shops working all kinds of hours with the knowledge of the union—the Maple Dress Company working daily to 8 P.M. and Saturdays to 4 P.M. and sometimes later? Do you want any more examples? If you demand them, I will give them to you.

We do not charge that you and the entire leadership of the union are willing to consent to the undermining of the conditions of the workers. We know that you are helpless in the situation; that your anxiety to maintain some semblance of shop control is responsible for your tacit consent to the reduction of union standards. Is this not equivalent to a confession that the Industrial Union can no longer function as a union? Why do you not have the courage to draw the unavoidable conclusion from facts known to everybody?

Looking Back Into The Past

SOCIALIST TRADE UNION POLICY

by Jack Rubenstein

One of the central questions of discussion at the recent New York convention of the Socialist Party was the trade union question. The traditional policy of the S.P. (Hillquit, Oneal, Lee) was carried by a vote of 62 to 42. The formal presentation of the S.P. stand on the trade union question was stated in part as follows:

"That the party as such no more desires to dominate and control the trade unions than it would permit the unions to dominate and control it. Either course would prove a disaster to both organizations. What is desired is a willing cooperation based upon education and mutual understanding. And this cannot and never has been obtained by either one over the other in any country."

One may take at random conventions of the S.P.—1904, 1908, 1910, 1912—and of more recent days—1923, 1928—to show that the S.P.'s policy on the trade union question has remained almost fundamentally the same since its inception.

The Split in the S. L. P.

The Socialist Party was born out of a split in the S. L. P. The trade union question was one of the important questions which made for this inevitable split. The period around 1898 saw great inroads of the "strong" ideas of the Social movement into the A. F. of L. The DeLeon leadership, however, did not raise a hand to organize the Socialist forces for a struggle against the class collaboration policies of Gompers. DeLeon refused to accept the labor movement as he found it as a starting point for work amongst the masses. He identified the workers in the A. F. of L. with the Gompers leadership—hopeless. The dual Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance unions were the only unions Socialists could belong to. DeLeon's policy was for withdrawing all revolutionary workers from drawing all revolutionary workers from the mass unions, leaving these workers to the had influence of the misleaders. Those who did not accept this policy were slandered and expelled from the S. L. P.

A Change of Position

The S. P. did not for long maintain the above stated union position, stood for a while to come, those who stood for this trade union position continued their membership in the S. P. Due to many objective difficulties, to opportunism in the ranks of the workers, to the lack of sufficient clarity on the question, the S. P. drifted into an opportunist trade union policy. Already in 1904, we can see the present trade union position of the S. P. developed and clearly enunciated. In the 1904 convention, the present day position of the S. P. was declared almost word for word. Upon Hillquit's motion, the 1904 convention defeated the resolution offered as an amendment by Delegate Ott which called for the denouncing

before the workers of this land the treacherous deceitful work of the conglomeration between several labor leaders so-called and the captains of industry, such as the National Civic Federation, . . . (thus) branding their federation as an instrument of the capitalist class."

The 1908 convention of the S. P. by a vote of 138 to 48 readopted its previous stand on the union question, defeating a feeble resolution which, in part, called for . . . the Socialist Party to point out to the workers that the industrial form of organization is best suited to developing working class solidarity . . .

The year 1910 saw a restatement of the 1908 convention of "not trying to . . . dictate to organized labor." However, revolutionary forces within the S. P. were more and more asserting themselves against the reformist leadership which was seeking a "sane costing of labor respectability and the good will of Gompers." Against him was the rising leadership of Bill Haywood. True, not always clear, but distinctly anti-reformist! The period around 1910-12 saw the rapid growth of the labor movement on all sides. This period saw many brilliant struggles of the labor movement, some of which were led by the I. W. W. under Haywood's personal leadership. These struggles demonstrated the limitations of craft unionism in the class struggle.

(Continued in the next issue)

On the question of working in the A. F. of L. and against dualism in principle, the following was said: "It is also a fact that a large portion of the unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. have become heartily sick of the stupidity and corruption of their leaders, but our dearly bought experience has taught us that such a truly Socialist labor movement cannot be initiated by a few deserters with out-and-out notions on the labor movement."

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The Economic Week

DEEP gloom prevails in the ranks of finance and industry. "Perhaps before the final turn manifest we will be obliged to shut down more plants and reduce more dividends," runs conservative opinion. Bradstreet says the "reaction of bitterness and gloom" is due to "exaggerated hopes, deliberately raised" by a less than seasonal spring increase. We hold that the gloom will be much deepened in the coming months by the fact that some of the biggest real estate mortgage houses which, in the aid of powerful banks, have so

far been holding out, will fail. New York and Chicago will be the main centres thus hit. The slump in stocks continues, with nearly all the spring bulge already gone and the lowest levels of last December in sight. The failure of Pynchon and Company will have even international repercussions. Prices are still falling. Crude oil has reached the lowest in forty years. Building contract awards are again ominously falling; the daily average is now less by 10% than in the previous month and 30% less

than in April last year. Ordinarily April shows a daily seasonal gain of 10 1/2%; therefore, the actual daily loss is over 20%. Electric power output and steel mill activity are continuing to recede. Failures are occurring at a most unfavorable rate. Export of capital by the U. S. for the first quarter of 1931, is only about one-third the volume of the corresponding period of last year. This is merely further evidence of Wall Street's lack of confidence in the economic and political situation especially in Europe and Latin-America.

On the question of working in the A. F. of L. and against dualism in principle, the following was said: "It is also a fact that a large portion of the unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. have become heartily sick of the stupidity and corruption of their leaders, but our dearly bought experience has taught us that such a truly Socialist labor movement cannot be initiated by a few deserters with out-and-out notions on the labor movement."

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The Next War

What's to Be Done?

**Refusal To Serve—"Answering" War With A General Strike
 To Fight War We Must Fight Capitalism--The Race
 With Death--The Workers Have A Country
 To Defend--For A Warless World**

by Bertram D. Wolfe

This is the concluding article in the series by Comrade Wolfe "The Next War" which will soon appear in pamphlet form.

Refusal to Serve

Next, there is the proposal recently given so much publicity by reason of its advocacy by Professor Einstein, of refusal of individuals to serve in the coming war. "If only 2% of the eligibles would refuse to serve," reasons Dr. Einstein, "there would not be enough jail to hold them." And no doubt the government would be kept so busy building jails that it would have no time to carry on a war.

It sounds easy—too easy! It was tried in the last war. Conscientious objectors went to jail by hundreds and thousands in the warring countries. Others agreed to go into hospital work, or munitions factories, or trench-digging. The war went on just the same!

Real resistance to war, involves an open struggle against it, against the warring governments and the cause of war, the capitalist system. It must be the work of masses, and not merely of individuals. Such a mass struggle of a revolutionary character would actually be held back if the most conscious opponents of war would refuse to go to the front. That is just where they are needed, to carry on their agitation against war among the soldiers at the front, and in the factories at home. To propose that they should go voluntarily to jail instead, is to propose to skin off the cream of the fighting spirits, to leave the masses leaderless when they are most in need of leadership against war.

"Answering" War With A General Strike

Another "solution" that sounds very "revolutionary" and makes it seem as if it were a comparatively simple thing to stop a world war, is the "solution" that says: "Don't worry. If they try to start another war, we'll answer the war with a general strike." This slogan promises too much and fools the masses into thinking that they need not do anything about war until it is upon us.

War is not so easy to stop by a single act. The ruling class prepares war very carefully, with much maneuvering, many peace conferences, much peace talk, and arranges things in such a way as to take the masses by surprise. The outbreak of war tends to sweep the people off their feet. The newspaper headlines tell only the government version of the "facts." The masses are all the more easily fooled and herded into the war if there has not been a long and continuous struggle on their part against it, previous to the outbreak of the war. A general strike doesn't come by newspaper proclamation. No, it can be called over night by those who have made no previous preparations and with no development of preliminary struggles. It would only be possible if it were thoroughly prepared in the same manner as the ruling class has prepared for war, in other words, if it is the culmination of a long series of sharp struggles against imperialism and against each step in the preparation of war.

A general strike is not an isolated action. Not only must the working class be prepared in an organizational sense, but the situation in the country, both objective and subjective, must be favorable to a general strike. Such a situation is more likely to exist after the war has run a while and the mass misery and mass discontent and resistance have grown. Any one who promises that the whole thing can be accomplished by a single act, a general strike the day war is declared, is covering his passivity or worse in not carrying on a relentless war against war, and is diverting the attention of the masses from the fact that if war is successfully begun by the masters, the struggle against it does not then cease but only begins in greater earnest. He is not fit of the workers who deludes them with such vain and empty boasts into believing that the struggle against the coming war is a simple matter.

To Fight War We Must Fight Capitalism

No, the struggle against the coming war is not a simple matter. War is the continuation of the politics of peace-time by other, by violent means. Imperialism is an outgrowth of imperialist policies, of the mad chase for oil and iron and gold and investment spheres and colonies. It is a product of the capitalist system that puts dollars above human lives and is willing to sacrifice the life blood of millions on the insatiable altar of the great god Profit. We cannot wait to struggle against that bloody system of profit-greed and robbery until it has driven us into the most terrible war in human history. That struggle against capitalism must be carried on every day. Whether the players rob the workers at home, or in the colonies, they must be fought at every step, and on every field. The working class must develop its unions, its revolutionary Communist Party, its fighting strength and consciousness, in a continuous fight to defend itself and strengthen its position. We must expose and fight every step in war preparations. Those of you who read these articles, who see clearly what is happening and what is in store for humanity, must awaken your shopmates and neighbors, circulate newspapers and pamphlets that will awaken

them, develop clubs and unions and a powerful Communist Party, unite the ranks of the divided and weakened working class, carry on a relentless struggle against misdeeds and agents of the bosses in the ranks of the workers.

And if, in spite of our efforts, war does come—and the likelihood is great—then we must go into the armies, into the factories, and continue our fight against war. If the capitalist system can not be abolished before it brings on the next war, then the struggle against it must continue in the war. There is no other way out of the war and the war system. There is no shorter road. There is no easy way.

The master class will put us in charge of artillery and tanks and planes and ships. They will put machine guns and gas grenades and bayonets in our hands. And they will bid us use them against our fellow workers, to destroy factories, wipe out cities, ruin farmlands, annihilate the physical basis of modern production and culture, and murder each other by millions and tens of millions.

The Race with Death

Under capitalism war is inevitable. The coming madness is being prepared with headlong speed. We may come tomorrow or be delayed a decade, just as the war of 1914-18 was brewing from the beginning of the century and nearly began several times before it broke out. We must relentlessly and untriflingly carry on our struggle against capitalism. It is a mad race with death. If capitalism succeeds in unleashing the forces of war, it will be even more powerless to end it, than it was the last war, which ended only after the

For a Warless World

In the last war the capitalists lost one-sixth of the surface of the earth. Now it is a race between war and revolution. If war comes first, we must end it once and for all, not by taking another sixth or two-sixths or three-sixths, but the other five-sixths of the earth and establishing throughout the earth a workers world!

Rationalization and the Worker

ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT

by Hal Long

The main tendencies in the development of factory organization during recent years may be classified under four headings:

- (1) Larger plants, employing more workers.
- (2) Standardization of methods and products.
- (3) Extensive planning inside the corporations.
- (4) Further specialization.

The first and last one of these tendencies have always prevailed in industry, while the two other ones have risen to prominence in the post-war period.

Larger plants make certain expenses, that are about the same for plants of different sizes, relatively more unimportant. Supervision and control is simplified, and transportation between plants is eliminated. Larger plants are also necessary for a successful application of the other three phases of organizational development.

Standardization of products, that means reduction of the types and sizes manufactured, eliminates clerical and technical work.

However, the greatest significance of standardization is the reduction of tools and machines needed in the processes of production, and the consequent thorough utilization of both. The number turned out of one single product is greatly increased, mass-production is made possible.

Standardization of methods embraces operations in the shop such as described in the previous article. It also covers technical definitions, tests and measurements, grades and units, etc. All these things are thereby made easier to remember and recognize, and management is greatly simplified.

Russian and German revolutions. Only the working class can end it. The New York Times has sounded a warning note: "It may be the end of a civilization that has been ages in the building." The only alternative is the turning of the imperialist war into civil war!

The Workers Have A Country to Defend

The coming war will likely begin as a war against the Soviet Union by the imperialist powers. Even if the imperialist powers go to war first with each other, when the revolutionary movements begin to develop, the ruling classes will join hands (as French and German rulers did in 1870 against the Paris Commune, and as Allied and German rulers did in 1917 against the Russian Revolution).

In a war between two imperialist powers, the worker-soldiers on the front must fraternize with each other and join in a common struggle against the common enemy, the capitalist rulers on both sides. The real enemy is not the worker of the "enemy" country. The real enemy is at home—the capitalist, the war-maker, the brutal, warbreeding system.

In a war of the capitalist powers against the Soviet Union, the Red Army of the Workers Republic must get the support of every class conscious worker in every imperialist country. There alone there is a real desire for peace. There alone is the profit system abolished and a socialist system being built up to make unemployment and war impossible. Up till 1917 the workers had no country to defend because no country belonged to them, there was no country in which they were not exploited and enslaved. But since 1917 the workers of the world have had a country to defend, one-sixth of the surface of the earth where the new social order is building—the Soviet Union.

For a Warless World

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LENNIN, by D. S. Mirsky. Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1931.

The introduction to D. S. Mirsky's biography of Lenin is a document of great political significance for it describes with clarity and almost touching frankness how a Russian Prince who fought with the White Guards as the bitter enemy of the October Revolution, began to grow more sympathetic to the Soviet Union under the impact of experiences abroad and developments within the U. S. R., passed through the stage of what might be called "Soviet patriotism" (support of the Soviet power because it has made the name "Russia great"), and finally arrived at a thorough appreciation of the revolutionary internationalism underlying the Soviet regime—and thus to Communism! In the case of Mirsky, a well-known and brilliant historian of Russian literature, the overpowering intellectual personality of Lenin proved a great factor in his approach to Communism for, as the author himself declares, his definitive "conversion" to the cause of the proletarian revolution came with the intensive study of Lenin's work.

Mirsky's biography is therefore a work of devotion—a work that signifies the end of one epoch in life and the emergence of another.

Mirsky's book is really a very good piece of work. It sketches in brief and accurate strokes the background of the life of Lenin, the social forces of revolution gathering in Czarist Russia. In one all too brief chapter it pictures Lenin the man and provides us with an interesting insight into his personality, into the outstanding features of his character.

The rest of the book is essentially a description of the political development of Leninism from the viewpoint of the personal activity of Lenin and the evolution of the Bolshevik party. This is done in a somewhat sketchy but generally accurate and substantial manner, although very little new is presented. Not all of Mirsky's political estimations and historical conclusions are to be thoroughly relied upon, however. For example, he tends to view all schisms and inner differences in the Russian Socialist movement, from the Menshevik split after 1903 up to the Trotsky crisis, as the reflection of the essential antagonism in outlook and method between the "Party workers" and the "Socialist intellectuals." But surely it is clear that this antagonism, however real it may be, cannot be the law of motion of the inner development of the Russian Socialist movement. Mirsky's inadequate acquaintance with his material, moreover, betrays him into certain unintentional inaccuracies and incongruities of expression, as well as into some actual misstatements—as for example, the declaration in the bibliography that "the Trotskyist view of Leninism is contained in Marx, Lenin and the Science of Revolution, by Max Eastman" (p. 221!).

The concluding chapter on "Leninism" is noteworthy as an attempt to represent the teachings of Lenin from a novel viewpoint and in a novel terminology. It will bear close reading.

The chief shortcoming of this book is the fact that it does not fulfill all the requirements of a biography. It is to much a sketch of the ideological development of Leninism and of the evolution of the Bolshevik party, while the figure of Lenin himself remains too vague and undefined. Now, of course, it would be ridiculous to expect a "personal interest" biography in the approved bourgeois-sentimental style. Lenin's life and the development of Leninism are one and indivisible—because Lenin's life and the Russian Revolution were one and indivisible. But a biography, as distinct from a political history, should examine this organic whole from the viewpoint of the personality. And this is insufficiently done in Mirsky's work. Nevertheless it remains the best sketch of Lenin's life in English.

X. Y. Z.

Herbert Hoover's May Day

President Hoover has been gracious enough to proclaim May 1 as National Child Health Day. The 1930 census reveals 1,060,878 admitted child laborers in mills, shops, fields and mines, 6,000,000 are reported undernourished in normal times of "prosperity." Such are the admissions of government bureaus! (Health for capitalism is Hell for children). The only way in which May 1 can be made into Child Health Day is by being made a day of international revolution against child-devouring, man-eating capitalism.

Postpone Labor Day To Help Business

What has come of the "American" Labor Day granted as a boon from the master class for the first Monday in every September, is evidenced by the recommendation of forty chambers of commerce to William Green that Labor Day should be postponed from the first to the third Monday to "add millions of dollars to the amount put into circulation by tourists and campers." As far as we are concerned, we would like to see Labor Day postponed for two months to occur on the greatest labor holiday of all—November 7th.

Hoover Hits at Wage Cuts

That eerie astral body, the Whitehouse Spookshow, has intimated that our pudgy president has been waging a terrific silent battle behind the scenes to prevent wage-cuts.

The little gladiator gave telling blows first in the shape of a battle to prevent any help being given to the unemployed, so that the misery of the jobless could be used to smash wages; second, by cutting wages and reducing forces in the navy yard; third, by replacing skilled civilian workers in the navy yards with enlisted men at navy "wages"; fourth, by reducing the post office force and speeding up the rest of them; fifth, by jacking up the tariff to make the cost of living higher so that wages should buy less sixth, by initiating deductions from payrolls to provide funds for charity; seventh, by hog-tying the labor movement thru such houndenants as Matthew Woll and William Green; eighth, by hamstringing trade with Soviet Russia which would have created more jobs for the American workers. Oh, yes, the President is waging a great fight against wage cuts!

Plain Words from Annie Matthews

Annie Matthews, Tammany woman leader of the 19th Assembly District told the New York City League of Women Voters something to remember:

"The district leader gets a chance to recommend a man for the position of judge at \$25,000 a year for fourteen years, and if he is a Democrat here or a Republican in Philadelphia he is sure of reelection so that he practically has the position until he retires for age.

"If somebody offered you a thing like that would you just say, 'Thank you' and not leave him a present? Would you really be such a rotter?"

Corruption has an ethics of its own. The worst offense among gangsters is to squeal; and among politicians, to neglect honest graft.

No Sum Too Small

Neil McCarthy, inspector for the department, humorously called, of "Public Welfare," has been grafting petty sums of \$5, \$8 and \$10 from the miserable pittance of old age pensions of poverty-stricken men and women over 70 years of age, as a rickoff for not "stopping aid." In this dirty grafting, robbing, exploiting capitalist world of ours, there is no misery so great as to be exempt from racketeering.

Jimmy, the Mayor from Tin Pan Alley

"I am not much of a historian." James J. Walker. But let me write the nation's sins, Jimmy might add, and I care not who writes her history.

Cut Rate Racketeering

"In many instances business men consider it better business to deal with racketeers than with law-enforcement agencies." Police Inspector J. A. Lyon.

The cut-rate racketeers should be driven out, or made to raise their scale of prices to the same level as the police. Or maybe the merger should be made more complete. Something's got to be done about the racket evil or the police will be deserted.

Cheap Stuff

Hoover is being "humanized." Having failed miserably as an engineer and prosperity-peddler, they're trying to make a man out of him. We get daily reports on how man fish he catches. A kid gets frost-bitten in a stalled bus and Hoover invites him to the White House to talk him out of his chillblains. Knute Rockne dies and Hoover issues a statement about the "great national calamity." But the only way he can be humanized successfully would be real farm relief, insurance for the unemployed, withdrawal of the Marines from Latin America, recognition of Russia. . . . But Mr. Hoover is too inhuman to favor them. He's trying to buy his humanity at too low a price and he's getting what he's paying for—cheap stuff!

Sure Cure for Communism

That music hath charms to soothe the savage beast, is an old story. But that it is also "the surest of all antidotes for Communism," it remained for Edwin Franko Goldman to discover and broadcast to a breathless world. How Russia could ever have gone Communist with so much fine music as floats around that singing land, is beyond us. Or maybe there wasn't enough brass in their bands, nor enough jazz in their music, nor enough Goldman as conductors.

B. D. W.

MAY DAY AND CHILD HEALTH

by Albert Esten

(Continued from page 3)

hose who live in the crowded slums "Keep them away from sick people." Should the children be placed on the street? Should they take the park benches as their beds? Or are subway seats perhaps more comfortable?

What insolence to suggest to the parents of the full or part time child workers! "Let them sleep from 11 to 12 hours at night, with a nap during the day." Take this advice, children! Don't listen to the foreman! Don't mind the roaring machine! Forget the gears and the belts! Take a nap! Sleep on your job! We take no fees for this counsel. . . . The care of child health can no more be entirely entrusted to the parents than education. Dr. Dublin says of this: "The parent, in so far as he acts as an individual, can do little more than repair the damage done by disease. . . ."

May Day and the Workers Children

Hundreds of millions of dollars are spent annually on war and war preparations. But only a very small sum—50¢ per person—is spent every year on the public care of health! Yet the government has the brazen effrontery to proclaim May First as Child Health Day. Yet in a real sense May Day is Child Health Day since only the united struggle of the proletariat—of which May Day is the symbol—can overthrow the brutal and murderous system of capitalism and establish a free system of life in which the welfare and health of the children will really be the first care of society!

Our Demands

On May Day we must raise united energies our demands for at least the minimum protection of the lives and the health of the working class children. We must demand:

1. The abolition of all child labor and the government maintenance of the children previously employed.
2. The free feeding and clothing of all workers children by the government

thru the schools.

3. The free, systematic and regular medical care and attention of workers children in the schools.
4. The establishment of modern and extensive health clinics in the schools for workers children.
5. The establishment of an extensive system of playgrounds for workers children, in the administration of which the children and the parents shall participate thru their organizations.

JERSEY CITY! — JERSEY CITY! Three-Cornered Debate CAPITALISM?

SOCIALISM? COMMUNISM?

For Capitalism:
DR. JOSEPH P. CHAMBERLAIN
 Professor of Public Law at
 Columbia University

For Socialism:
NORMAN THOMAS

For Communism:
JAY LOVESTONE
 Editor of Revolutionary Age

Monday Eve, May 25, 1931
 8:30 P. M.

JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER
 Bergen and Belmont Avenues
 Jersey City, N. J.

Auspices Jewish Community Center
 Jersey City

JERSEY CITY! — JERSEY CITY!