

THE FURRIERS NEED UNITY!

by B. Baraz

New York City. The stir that was created recently amongst the furriers has brought out interesting things. On the one hand, there are the wranglings amongst the cliques in the right wing unions and the various alliances, and, on the other, the disguised appearance of the Industrial Union whose policy is determined by the new Party line. Concerning the clique-struggle, one hears of new maneuvers and combinations arising from conferences with Kaufman; but that will not bring order. There are too many candidates for the few jobs and they simply don't know to whom to give the job first.

How does the Industrial Union react to this? After a large majority of the furriers had registered with the right wing union, the leaders of the Industrial Union suddenly "discovered" the policy of the united front. But even here the new "baby" was rather deformed. At first they talked of a "united front of the workers in the shops." And then they talked of having a committee of 25 take the union away from Kaufman and finally they arrived at a policy of participating in the elections of the right wing union. From a superficial observation one would think that this is the policy that we had proposed long ago. And if that is so, why should we fight each other? But when one listens to the utterances of the so-called "representatives" of the united front, he hears quite a different language. At the meeting in Irving Plaza called by the "United Front Committee," the demagogue Winogradsky proposed that the furriers in the right wing union should build a section of the Industrial Union outside of the A. F. of L. He also informed them that "Gold would soon be here and save the situation."

Jack Schneider by cable had communicated with Messiah (Gold) and Messiah answered—and his answer was published as articles in *Freiheit*. Well, the pro-furriers from Moscow and lists all the evils, just like in the old, old times. But the difference is this: Whilst formerly Gold himself would have lived thru the sufferings and his talk with the furriers would have had the tone of one who has experienced them, today Gold proclaims from factory to factory in Moscow, far from the sufferings of the furriers of New York. Every furrier understands that even if Gold were in New York, but with a policy of isolation, with a line that strives to transfer the furriers into the Industrial Union, he would be unable to accomplish anything. And surely Gold cannot help the furriers of New York while he himself is in Moscow. Gold, it seems, knows very little about the new orientation, about the "united front committees," about the policy of participation in the elections of the right wing unions. This explains his fantasies. He is angry with the furriers who came to Irving Plaza. Why did not the "thousand" furriers immediately become members of the industrial Union?

Gold speaks of saviors and warns the furriers against new Messiahs. I wish to assure Gold that he remains the one and only savior. There is no competition for the crown. But Gold will have to listen to the fur-workers. He will have to understand that demagoguery and bluff can no longer fool the workers. He must show actual work. He must lead the struggle within the limits of the existing circumstances. With the worn-out phrases that are older than Methusalem, one cannot raise the spirit of the workers. It should be our task to enlighten and to educate the furriers, but under the present circumstances, when the ranks are broken, when the furriers bleed and sweat, and when

they lose their strength chasing after their daily morsel of bread, they do not betake themselves to theories from whomsoever they may come and however good they may be. It is our duty to listen to what the furrier has to say. Everywhere the cry is for: *one union in the trade*. We must bend all our energy to transform this heart-rending cry into a reality. It is true the furriers are passive, that they are awaiting a Messiah. But we must warn against Messiahs who, thru false policies and thru senseless and careless tactics, keep the ranks of the workers divided and shattered. We have no new "patents." Our method is old and tested: *A merciless struggle against the bosses for human conditions for the fur workers—unity in the workers ranks!* Mud-slinging, name calling, and other demagogical methods will not lighten the unbearable condition of the workers.

As it is, we are sure that Gold will continue to follow the sectarian line of the Party which will keep the fur-workers divided. And it will be our task to continue the struggle for the correct policy—the unification of the fur workers, leading them to new struggles against the manufacturers and thereby securing decent human conditions for the thousands of fur-workers and their families.

FORM INTER-RACIAL CLUB IN BROOKLYN

Officers Elected; Frederick Douglas Forum Closes

At Howland Studio, 1660 Fulton St., Brooklyn, a group of fifteen workers met on Wednesday night and took the necessary steps to organize an Inter-racial Club. Rothschild Francis, Rose Fisher and Lillian Maki were elected temporary chairman, secretary and treasurer, and a committee of three (Spear, Lawrence, and Nassy) was also elected to draft a constitution and report within the period of one week.

Every one present pledged unflinching support of the move and promised to bring friends at the next meeting.

After a very successful season the Frederick Douglas Forum will conclude with a symposium on May 10 at 4:30 p.m. in the Howland Studio, 1660 Fulton Street, Brooklyn.

Speakers from the Communist Party (Majority Group), Republican, Democratic and Socialist parties will deliver brief addresses on the subject: "Political Parties and the Negro."

A member of the American Civil Liberties Union will preside. Admission free.

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Thru A Sailor's Eyes

An American Communist in Morocco

by R. A. MacNamee

Casa Blanca, Morocco, French North Africa. Swarms of native laborers upon the ships, on the wharves, on the streets, other swarms of them lurking here and there looking for work, picking up scraps of food, begging, stealing... trying to live.

One in particular—a grizzled, fierce faced, grey haired native in dirty djellaba and dirtier turban. His name was Mustafa. Somewhere he had picked up a little English. He hung about the mess room watching each mouthful the sailors ate. When the meal was finished he offered to wash the dishes and clean the room for a meal of the scraps left on the plates.

"Please American Meester," he said when we were alone, "I listen you speak about Communists. Are you Communist?"

"Tell me then, is it true that Communists say: 'All land, all work and all profits must belong to the workers?'"

"Why do I ask? Look about you. This is my country, but it is NOT

mine. Those factories, the wharves, the warehouses, the banks, they all belong to the French. I am but a dirty Arab. I must pay tax—to the French. I must work—for the French. French bosses get 200-300-400 franc each day. I and my kind, who do the work, get eight to ten francs for twelve hours hard labor—when and if we can find a job."

"The French man kicks us, and spits upon us. We have no voice in government. We are dogs. Our beautiful country is in the hands of robbers. All natives, Moors, Arabs, Bedouins, Jews, are robbed and exploited. We own no land. We have no rights. Tell me please, American Meester, how can we learn to be Communists?"

He left me and wandered about among the workers, the beggars and the loafers, whispering a word here, another there.

Natives began to gather around me staring at me. Boarded men put out toil-hardened hands to touch my garments as I passed. Fierce looking men

crowded closer and closer. I did not know what to think.

"Mustafa!" I called. "Mustafa, what's the matter with these men?"

"Be not angry with them, American Meester," he replied. "They are good men. They only look upon Communist and think—think that some day perhaps, they too will learn how for workers to own their own country."

"That night Mustafa refused to leave me. When I went ashore he led me to a little cafe ("Cafe de los Amigos," run by a Spanish half-breed) away down in the native quarter. There Mustafa introduced me to a Spanish Moroccan, a Jew, and a Greek from the Island of Corfu. All three understood very little English. They wanted to learn about Communism. Those three homeless, downtrodden, almost starving men positively insisted that I have wine (at 2 1/2 francs per bottle) and absolutely refused to let me pay for it.

"No! No!" they shouted, "we pay, but you—please American Meester, teach us of what the workers should do. Tell us of Communism!"

Letters from Workers

Two Letters From Marine Workers

New York City

Recently some seamen, having some business of a legal nature with the International Labor Defense, visited that office to see Carl Haecker, the district organizer. On three different occasions when they arrived without having previously notified the office of their intentions to call, they were dismissed with the excuse that Haecker was not in. On the last occasion, however, they notified the office by telephone that they were coming.

Whether or not the I.L.D. district office has a bad conscience, we do not know, but upon the arrival of the seamen, a telephone call from the outer office was sent to the office of the Communist Party asking for a force of sluggers to come over at once as "three seamen thugs" were wrecking the office. Some of these burly gangsters arrived in charge of Joe Leston. It so happens, however, that Joe Leston is personally acquainted with these seamen, and also knew why the I.L.D. had reason to expect trouble.

Upon realizing the fact, Leston decided to play a joke on his masters, Brothers Apter and Sroka, and returned to the office of the Communist Party and informed them that the thugs had already captured the office and were holding everyone at bay with guns. In the meantime, a second riot call had been forwarded to the Party office, and several gangsters of well known fame, (Cooper, Pat Eisen, Abramowitz, and one other) were sent to the rescue of the suffering I.L.D.

The seamen, in the meantime, having decided to meet the boys half way, to save them the trouble of walking a block, went over to the Party office and received the boys in the street, where the "gangsters" were none other than their own comrades, well known in the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

May we ask an explanation of the somewhat peculiar action of the International Labor Defense?

—Marine Workers

New York City

Another revolt on the waterfront. At last the clouds of discontent seem to have gathered around the house of Sizemore and Morgan (the "Marine Workers Solidarity League") that was sure to come sooner or later, for if the so-called "Solidarity League" was to suit a half-way straight course it would never do it under the banners of Brothers Morgan and Sizemore, incorporated. It would have to be either Morgan or Sizemore, for these two seemed to be at loggerheads for some time. A short time ago it came to a head. And Morgan jumped the eminent Dr. Sizemore for getting drunk and it was even rumored around that the doctor used the money he held in trust for the organization to make this drunk a huge success. At the hearing where Sizemore was tried a committee was appointed to check up on the funds. A great sigh of relief went up by the members when the committee reported that the organization's 90 cents was still intact. Nevertheless the learned doctor was suspended.

It was not long before friend Morgan found that he bit off more than he could chew. Everything seemed to be going wrong. Even his cooks were on strike. He even went to the extent of closing down the lunch counter for 20 minutes one day. The dishwasher must have seen this coming and as he was a strong believer in the future, Morgan caught him cooking a little of everything in the place, such as tomatoes, potatoes, hamburgers and eggs, for himself, all in one pan. And that was exit for the dishwasher!

In order to save the situation it was decided to reinstate Sizemore once more. Still these two could not pull together. It was argument morning, noon and night. Now we find the glove on the other hand. This time it is Sizemore expelling Morgan. It's just like the old Socialist Labor Party where anytime two or more members meet, one is always trying to expel the other.

Let us look a little closer and see what the charges are against Mor-

gan. He has been proaching about bureaucracy in the other unions for a long time. And here we find him being expelled for proaching bureaucracy himself. Well you know what the old saying is: "All work and no joy makes Bill a dull boy." You know that we must have a little amusement once in a while, even on the waterfront. So we will just look into the Thimble Theater, every once in a while for it.

A PLEA FOR UNITY

Salem, Ohio.

You have been sending me your paper for some time and I have been reading it. Please credit my sub account with the check enclosed.

In your issue of March 21, I notice, under The Question Box, a message from "H" of South Bend, Wash. asking: "What is The Lovestone Group?"

Your answer was read with great interest. It is not my purpose to write a lengthy letter at this time but I beg to say that I am intensely interested in banding "groups" and establishing unity and harmony, in pushing forward the basic principles of our glorious cause. You will pardon me for not taking definite sides with either the Revolutionary Age or the Daily Worker. Both of you are my comrades. I speak for millions of comrades throughout the world who are bewildered by your attitude towards each other.

I ask both of you, if you are mutually willing to meet a committee of rank and file of our comrades, and, in a true spirit of fraternity, make up a pledge of unity and consolidate the two papers.

Yours, Comrade C. B., we are as anxious for unity as you are. We are quite ready to participate in such a committee as you propose. We do not ask that the whole Party should immediately adopt our proposals on tactics, even though we are firmly convinced that these are absolutely correct. All we ask is that we should have the right to express our opinions in the Party. But this the present Party officialdom refuses to grant!

SPLENDID BANQUET OF PASSAIC GROUP

PASSAIC, N. J. — On Saturday night, April 25, members of the Communist Party (Majority Group) held a banquet at its headquarters, 63 Dayton Avenue to raise funds for the *Revolutionary Age*. It was a success in every way.

The room was gaily decorated with the "hackle and hammer." After the *International* was sung Comrade Steve Gede in well chosen words explained the good work that the *Revolutionary Age* has done and is doing for the interests of the entire working class of the United States. He was followed by Comrades Eli Keller, Ellen Dawson, Rothschild Francis, and Barney Horman.

An orchestra then furnished select numbers. The main speaker for the occasion, Comrades Ben Gitlow, secretary of the Communist Party (Majority Group) took the floor and kept the audience, which numbered over fifty, keenly interested with his able analysis of the economic conditions of the working class in these United States. He discussed the lot of Negro workers in particular and concluded by a request for unity and militancy among the entire working class so as to hasten the establishment of a workers and farmers government.

It was noted that many workers from Paterson, seven Negroes and a member of the official Communist Party were included in the gathering. Several copies of the *Revolutionary Age* and other literature were sold.

This is not a war for freedom. It is not a war for the liberties of mankind. It is a war to secure the investments and profits of the ruling class of this country.

The only reason we are in this war now is because it is to the interests of the ruling class, the capitalist class of this country, to have us in the war, and I am going to show it to you...

—C. E. RUTHENBERG.

OLYMPIC STRIKE GOING STRONG

Workers Fighting Long Hours, Low Wages; Strike 100% Solid

Already in its fourth week, the strike of the workers in the Olympic Suitcase Company, 26 Blocker Street, is being conducted with great energy and complete unity.

The workers are fighting against the unbearable conditions which the boss forced upon them: long hours and low wages. Workers twenty years in the trade, who in the past made \$45 and \$50 per week of 44 hours, are now working 64 hours for \$18 and \$20.

The workers organized a committee and came to the Suit Case and Bag Makers Union, Local 27, with a request for assistance. The union formed a rank and file committee and declared the shop on strike. The workers came out 100%. A strike committee of five was elected and the following demands were drawn up: 1. 44 hour week; 2. Equal division of work; 3. Recognition of the union; 4. Settlement of prices by a committee of the workers in the shop.

The Suit Case and Bag Makers Union calls all workers in the trade to come to the shop, 26 Blocker Street, to help picket and win the strike.

SNOWDEN PLANS NEW BUDGET

LONDON—A tax-levy of about two cents on \$5 on land values to become operative in two years, an increase in the gasoline tax from 12 to 12 cents a gallon, the advance collection of next year's income tax, the withdrawal of \$100,000,000 of British government money from New York, and the drastic reduction of all social services, constitute the main points in the annual budget presented to Parliament by Philip Snowden, Labor Chancellor of the Exchequer, on April 27.

Mr. Snowden's proposals were enthusiastically received by both of the capitalist parties, especially by the Liberals. It is likely that the Conservatives will object to the land levy but since it is not to become effective before two years are up, the resistance is not likely to be very vigorous. On the other hand, the Liberals are frankly enthusiastic over the Labor party budget which, it is declared, is in "fullest accord with Liberal principles."

A vital part of Mr. Snowden's scheme is the "economizing" of all social services, that is, the paring down of the unemployment, old age, sickness benefits, etc. Considerable protest was expressed by the rank and file of the Labor members of Parliament at these proposals as well as against the absolute failure of the Snowden budget to tax big incomes or in other ways to make the capitalists bear some of the burdens of the crisis.

This madness will not stop, and this bloody nightmare of hell will not cease until the workers of Germany, of France, of Russia and of England will wake up out of their drunken sleep; will clasp each other's hands in brotherhood and will drown the bestial chorus of war agitators and the hoarse cry of capitalist hyenas with the mighty cry of labor, "Proletarians of all countries, unite!"

—ROSA LUXEMBURG.

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A NEW FRAME-UP IN PATERSON

by Eli Keller

Paterson, New Jersey, will soon be the stage setting for the biggest labor trial of the day. The State is trying to send five workers to the electric chair, because the silk manufacturers of Paterson and the textile bosses everywhere are determined to break up the last remnants of a very militant organization, the National Textile Workers Union.

The history of the present frame-up is briefly as follows. Max Urban, a cockroach silk boss, was known to be "liberal"-minded about allowing left-wingers and union men to work in his shop. He was even himself a member of the International Workers Order (the Party-controlled fraternal society) and a frequent visitor to the left wing Jewish Workers Center of Paterson. However, his whole left wing activity was only a cloak to cover up his greedy profit-seeking nature. A short time ago he ordered a wage-cut of a half-cent per yard for his workers. There are only five weavers in the shop besides himself. All were leading members of the N. T.W.U. and well known to and persecuted by all other bosses in Paterson. They could not get a job anywhere in the city, so they decided to swallow down this wage-cut without protest. A few months later Urban decided again to cut their wages a half-cent

and lengthen the hours of work from 8 to 12! This the five workers decided they would not stand for and went out on strike. For six weeks the five workers successfully picketed the shop; there were no scabs and production in Urban's shop was stopped. There were no profits for Max Urban; he could not get rich. The Bolsheviks have conspired against him; he must break them up. He must teach them a lesson.

On Monday morning, February 18, Urban, his wife and his nephew drove up in front of the shop where the pickets kept watch that no scabs should enter. Jumping out of their car, they severely attacked the pickets. Urban's wife is said to have had a stick in her hand and Mrs. Gershonovitz, a striker, was the victim of her blows. A crowd gathered outside. People became involved in a free for all fight. When it was over Max Urban was taken to the hospital, the five workers beaten and bruised were locked up in jail. Four weeks later Urban died. The five workers are held under an indictment of first degree murder.

One mill owner is dead and the textile bosses have seized on this as the best opportunity to smash the militant spirit of the textile workers by murdering five militant textile workers, five active union members, as an example. That the bosses are ready to railroad these workers to the electric chair or life imprisonment, that the prosecutor, judge, grand jury and the local press are prepared to railroad these workers is very obvious even now in the very first stages of the prosecution.

The grand jury had them indicted two weeks before the newspapers made it public. It is known that certain people were called before the grand jury to testify that the N.T.W.U. stands for "violence," "murder," etc. Testimony was also given that these five workers are Communists which is an even bigger crime in the eyes of the grand jury. Public opinion is meanwhile being prepared thru the press. On March 25 the Paterson *Evening News* carried an inflammatory editorial demanding the ultimate penalty for the five strikers, headed, "Violence Should be Paid in Kind."

The fact is that two of the workers under arrest were several blocks away on their way to the picket line when the light in front of the mill started. The well known "Jersey Justice" is working overtime to make sure that the five workers will be killed. Unless the workers of this county are aroused in time to prevent the wholesale legal murder, the silk manufacturers will go thru with it. Our Comrades Lieb, Bart, Kotzebuck, Harris and Gershonovitz must not die! We must all rally to their defense. The biggest and widest united front defense must be established. We must not allow another Sacco and Vanzetti murder, nor Mooney and Billings affair. The five textile workers must be freed!

(Continued in the next issue)

The Youth Movement

N.E.C. Reports "Progress" Thru Failures

by Minnie Lurye

In view of the impossibility of conducting a free pro-convention discussion in the official Y.C.L. organs, the *Revolutionary Age* is going to set aside a definite amount of its space in every issue up to the League Convention for this purpose. All League members are urged to write in their views, no matter what they are. Precautionary steps will be taken to protect the writers.

Several weeks ago, the *Daily Worker* carried the resolution of the National Bureau, Young Communist League. To every young Communist, seriously concerned with the building of a revolutionary youth organization, the present conditions in which the League finds itself, proves completely the bankruptcy of the present leadership, the new line and the innumerable new turns.

Examine the N.E.C. Resolution, which states: "The work of the League since the Platform continues to prove the failure of the line and methods of work started at the time of the Party convention."

Every honest Communist knows that that estimate is false! The Resolution itself proves it.

"We have NOT developed as yet partial demands for the youth in most important industries and for the unemployed."

FREDERICK DOUGLAS FORUM IN LYNCHING PROTEST

Workers Hit At Frameup Against Nine Negroes; Demand Freedom For Lynch Victims

On Monday, April 27, at 3:30 P.M., the Frederick Douglass Inter-racial Forum at its headquarters, 1660 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, held a protest meeting against the legal lynching of the nine young Negro boys in Alabama. Rothschild Francis, former editor of the *Virgin Island Emancipator*, the first speaker, outlined the real facts of the case surrounding the conviction, the face and the frameup in the railroad to death of these innocent Negro youths. He indicated the positive and reactionary role of the Negro Church and the Negro press. I. Zimmerman, active for many years in the Anti-Imperialist League, spoke more broadly. He went to the roots of lynching and indicated it as an inevitable outgrowth of the capitalist system of oppression. Only by the overthrow of the system of capitalism could lynching be eradicated, he said. He showed the necessity for solidarity of the Negro and white workers as a basic essential in the struggle against lynching.

The Negro and white workers present unanimously adopted a short but sharp protest resolution against lynching and the system that produces it, capitalism.

Tel. BOgardus 4-8873

B. & S. CAFETERIA

26 EAST 28th STREET NEW YORK CITY

Socialists have never been and can never be opposed to revolutionary wars. The bourgeoisie of the "great" imperialist powers has become thoroughly reactionary and the war now conducted by that bourgeoisie is in our opinion a reactionary and criminal war for the perpetuation of slavery. But how about a war against a war of colonial and dependent countries, oppressed by the bourgeoisie, for their emancipation? In article 5 of the thesis of the group of Internationalists we read: "There can be no national wars in the present era of uncontrolled imperialism." Obviously this statement is wrong.

—LENIN.

PHILADELPHIA WORKERS ATTENTION!

Here are some of the newsstands where you can get the *Revolutionary Age* in Philadelphia:

5th St. & Market
5th St. & Pine
11th St. & Market
13th St. & Market
15th St. & Market
19th St. & Market
Juniper & Market.

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.
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Karl Marx or Herbert Hoover Increasing Misery or Growing Welfare?

by Will Herberg

"Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time, accumulation of misery, agony of toil, misery, hunger, brutality, at the other pole, i.e., on the side of the class that produces its own product in the form of capital."
"Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation... of the working class."

ist mode of production or even by any adequate analysis of the available statistics. They could not do it, for they never felt they had to do it, for they could always rely upon ridicule and abuse—that is, they could in the end. The idea that the conditions of the workers are growing steadily worse seemed in glaring contradiction to the "facts" of the period of organic world capitalist development before the war and of the period of "prosperity" in this country which ended with such a crash nearly two years ago. Those were the days when European economists, statesmen and journalists would come in droves to these shores as on a pilgrimage to probe the secret of American prosperity in which millions were piling up in profits while the workers were receiving high wages, buying houses, automobiles and radios and eschewing Communism. These were the days of the Professor Garveys who "proved" with the greatest facility that all workers were rapidly becoming capitalists. Those were the days when Mr. Hoover had already "abolished" poverty and "done away with" unemployment. Those were the days when the "Socialist" leaders suddenly discovered that the "new capitalism" was giving substance to their reformist, gradualist, anti-revolutionary fantasies. Those were the days when even certain Communists showed the effect of the pressure of the "prosperity" gospel in their theories of "bourgeoisification."

to speak, in the period of organic development and in the period of prosperity. Nothing of the sort! The historical tendencies of the capitalist mode of production are rooted in the essential laws of the capitalist economy and remain perfectly valid for the whole course of its development, whatever may be the temporary conjuncture of circumstances—in the highest prosperity as well as in the deepest crisis. Any one who follows Marx's absolutely irrefutable line of argument, cannot miss this conclusion.
But even the "facts" (that is, statistical information), so dear to the hearts of the revisionists and upon which they place such reliance, confirm the Marxian analysis—confirm it but not prove it. For statistical information cannot in its very nature prove anything; it can at best serve to check and confirm.

The viewpoint that the course of development of the capitalist economy is accompanied by the increasing misery of the proletariat ("theory of increasing misery"—"Verelendungstheorie") has always been the particular bogey of the bourgeois antagonists of Marxism and of their allies in the labor movement, the "Socialist" revisionists. Again and again have they refuted it—philosophically, economically, sociologically, statistically, ethnically. In fact, no Socialist reformist or Marxist is regarded as having won his spurs until he has once more annihilated the so-many-times-refuted theory of increasing misery!

But those days are no more! The crisis came—and with it, unemployment, wage-cuts, starvation, misery. And all those fantasies were knocked into a cocked hat! Where is the "chilliest prosperity and the confidence of the future" (Ramsay Muir in America, the Golden, 1927) today? Has "the job of every man... been made more secure?" Have "our people... more to eat, better things to wear, better homes...?" (Hoover's 1928 speeches). Where are the jubilo singers of yesterday? They have crept back to their holes—and emerge only to stammer plaintively about the necessity of "stabilizing" the chaos of capitalism!

We intend in the following articles to examine the revisionist objections to the theory of increasing misery from the viewpoint of an analysis of the present deep economic crisis, it being obvious that if these objections can be shown to gain no confirmation from the figures of this period, then they would certainly find none in the statistics of the crisis.

The Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation
Of course, the theory of increasing misery is only a constituent element of an organic whole, the historical tendency of capitalist accumulation. As a result of his profound analysis of the inner workings of the capitalist mode of production, Marx was able to trace its essential tendencies of this mode of production as emerging inevitably from its basic process of accumulation (reproduction on an extended scale):
the concentration of the means of production and of the command over labor;
the centralization of capital;
the development on an ever extending scale of the co-operative form of the labor-process, of the conscious technical application of science, of the methodical cultivation of the soil, of the transformation of the instruments of labor into instruments of labor only usable in common, of the economizing of all the means of production by their use as means of production of combined, socialized labor, of the entanglement of all peoples into the net of the world market, and of this, the international character of the capitalist regime;

The Morning After the Crisis
The world economic crisis is the historical refutation of the post-war "prosperity" fanatics, just as the World War was the historical refutation of the Socialist revisionists and bourgeois reformers of pre-war days. But it would be a grave error to imagine that the Marxian analysis is only now beginning to become applicable and that it was "suspended," so

The Revisionist Objections to Marxism
Aside from more vague and indefinable impressions, the most intelligible objections that have been offered by the reformists of all stripes to the theory of increasing misery may be grouped under the following heads:
(1) There has been a constant and substantial rise in real wages in the last quarter of a century or more. (2) There has been a constant and substantial decrease in the hours of labor in the same period. (3) The security of employment and the security of existence of the working man have been greatly increased. (4) Living conditions in general have become considerably better. (5) There has been a great diffusion of stock ownership among the workers to such an extent that, on the one hand, the workers are becoming a factor in the control of industry, while, on the other, their wages are being substantially supplemented by their stock income. (6) The savings of the workers are mounting so high that it is no longer true to say that they possess nothing but their labor-power.

the growth, "along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation," of the "mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation" of the workers;
the simultaneous growth of the "revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself;
the transformation of the monopoly of capital into "a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it";
and then: "Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."

Another "New Turn"
On Saturday, April 25, the Daily Worker carried a leading editorial on the front page emphasizing and re-emphasizing that "it (the Communist Party) . . . calls again now for the support of every organization to unite on one issue alone, namely the fight to free the nine Negro boys in Alabama. No matter what differences exist on other questions there is room here for the broadest united front struggle." The editorial makes it quite clear that the united front desired is quite broad enough to include Negro ministers who are willing to join the struggle.

Each of these points have been belabored time without number in the last half-century by every variety of anti-Marxist. Is there any validity to any one of them?
2. What is the good of saying that "anyone will . . . be more than well-come?" Why not some action? There are hundreds of Negro organizations in New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, etc. which would be willing to join a defense movement on a united front basis. Why does not the Party see that such a movement is started? Why does not the I. L. D. take steps to call a real, broad, representative delegate conference for the defense of the Scottsboro victims? So far, all the Party has done is to say: All those who want to may support the I. L. D! But this is only the good old ultra-left caricature of the united front. Where is the "new turn" here?

The Unity of the Marxist Conception
The organic unity of this grand process is obvious upon serious examination but the Marx-critics have always attempted to split it apart, to isolate the elements, to counterpose one against the other. They have done this because some of the elements of the general process are so obvious, are so plainly confirmed by incontrovertible facts that they cannot be challenged with the best will in the world. Thus, who will today, in the age of trusts and mergers, challenge the reality of the processes of concentration and centralization of capital?—altho it was precisely on these points that Bernstein made his "strongest" arguments over thirty years ago. Who will today challenge the reality of the process of the class polarization of society or of the regular increase of the proletariat and the (relative) decline of the employing (bourgeois) and self-employed (petty bourgeois) classes? But other elements of the structure—which, could the revisionists but see it, are logically indissoluble from what is already admitted—are less obvious on the face of it—to those who will not see. Among these is the theory of increasing misery, which, as we have seen, Marx expressed in the following words:
"Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, . . . grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation . . . of the working class."

Another "New Turn"
On Monday, April 27, the Daily Worker republished an article on the Scottsboro case by William Pickens, field organizer of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The article was prefaced by an editorial note criticizing in a veiled manner certain very obvious shortcomings in Pickens' article while at the same time welcoming him into the fight.

What Is Correct
In the first place we must state: the tactics which the Party leadership outlines for the defense of the Scottsboro case are in general correct. It is correct to welcome the aid of Mr. Pickens. It is correct to welcome the sympathetic article of the Pittsburgh Courier, in spite of its serious shortcomings. It is correct to make use of the assistance of friendly Negro ministers. It is correct to propose such a broad united front as outlined above.

The Party membership asks itself: How come such "right wing" words? Making a bloc with Pickens, who only yesterday was called a "social-fascist"—at the same time sharply criticizing his organization! Welcoming the support of Negro ministers who were abused in measureless terms only the day before! Offering to engage in a common fight with all those who agree ON THIS ONE ISSUE, no matter how un-revolutionary or even anti-revolutionary may be their other opinions, political and economic! Aren't these tactics of the united front for defending which the "Lovestonites" were and are still being expelled and branded as "renegades"?

So much for the "new turn" as far as words are concerned. But before we can estimate the real significance of this "new turn," we think a few questions would be appropriate:
1. So, "anyone" . . . will be more than "welcomed" who is willing to lend a hand sincerely to fight to save these boys? Will the "Lovestonites" be welcomed? No one can doubt that the "Lovestonites" are at least as sincere in wanting to fight to save the Scottsboro victims as Mr. Pickens, as the Negro ministers, as the Pittsburgh Courier. But let any opposition Communist come and offer his help in the defense and he will be mighty lucky if he is not ejected by physical violence—even tho he comes representing a genuine bona-fide non-partisan organization.

Yet even words are significant—significant in showing which way the wind blows. For these phrases about the united front, about "anyone" being "more than welcomed," are only intended to allay, to head off, the rapidly mounting discontent in the ranks of the membership with the disastrously narrow and sectarian policies of the Party leaders. Temporarily this stratagem may have its effect but its hollowness will not long remain hidden; it will be exposed just as have been the many "new turns" of the Party leadership in trade union work—and the tide of discontent will rise even higher.

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The Depths Of Degradation

Garveyite "Negro World" Appeals To the "Honor" of the Southern White Ruling-Class Women

In an editorial in its issue of Saturday, May 2, 1931, the Negro World (Garveyite) finds it possible to make the following statement:
"Will the Southern white women sit quiet and see those tender boys (the Scottsboro frame-up victims sentenced to legal lynching—Ed.) burned to death in an electric chair? Will they not, they who have taken initiative in repudiating the curse of lynching, protest at this meeting of their own honor? . . . Will they not protest and try to save these boys?"

Was there ever seen such low and odious slave-like flattery? Appeal to the white ruling-class women of the South who demonstrate their "initiative" in repudiating the curse of lynching by revelling in savage glee at the tortured suffering of the unfortunate Negro victims of lynch-law? Appeal to the "honor" of the Southern white ruling-class women, which has become the hateful symbol of the concentrated misery and degradation of the Negro people! Is it possible that any paper which speaks to Negroes can sink so low?

Where is the "new turn" here?
2. What is the good of saying that "anyone will . . . be more than well-come?" Why not some action? There are hundreds of Negro organizations in New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, etc. which would be willing to join a defense movement on a united front basis. Why does not the Party see that such a movement is started? Why does not the I. L. D. take steps to call a real, broad, representative delegate conference for the defense of the Scottsboro victims? So far, all the Party has done is to say: All those who want to may support the I. L. D! But this is only the good old ultra-left caricature of the united front. Where is the "new turn" here?

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Problems of the Marine Workers What Happened to the Marine Union?

by "Lookout"

The situation in the Marine Workers Industrial Union today is a glaring example of the result that must inevitably follow the narrow, sectarian and bureaucratic tactics employed by the Party-appointed leadership in any union controlled by the Party today. In this article we shall try and trace the various reasons for the collapse of the organization. Step by step we shall show how this once so promising movement, has been sabotaged and often deliberately retarded by the incompetent leadership forced upon the marine workers.

The Marine Workers
The type of workers comprising the marine industry is somewhat different from that of any other industry. The natural result of their calling is an advanced international outlook. Coming as he does into contact with various workers of all nationalities, colored and white, in every country, his work on the ship throws him with as many as fifteen different nationalities confined in a space of 30 by 30 feet, eating together, sleeping in the same room, working in the same small confined space of a ship, here if ever, a seaman learns that the problems of the Swede are the problems of the Irish, of the American, of the Greek. This teaches the seaman that the only effective way of improving conditions is by organizing internationally. A seaman is also by the nature of his work more amenable to revolutionary class conscious organization than the average worker in other trades or industries.

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The Coming of the M.W.I.U.
Therefore, when the convention called went out last year in April calling for a convention of seamen and longshoremen to meet and form a new union, built on rank and file control and with a revolutionary objective, the response was indeed gratifying. 192 delegates from Portland, Maine, to Portland, Oregon, attended the convention. They had come on ships, on box cars, on the road and by various means, but they had come. All determined that this time we should have a union that would fight, a union that would enter into struggles, a union that every member should be an organizer of, in short, a union run and controlled by its members on the job and off the job.

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How A Union Can Be Built

For a revolutionary union to grow and be useful in any given industry five prerequisites are necessary. These are: First, a correct policy; second, it must have masses; thirdly, semblance of democracy is needed; fourth, confidence in the leadership; and finally, activity. Without the presence of the first two points mentioned the others cannot exist and cannot be brought about.

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MATTHEW WOLL "THREATENS"!

A GAIN, miracles are the order of the day! Matthew Woll, symbol of all that is corrupt in the labor movement, has just made a "militant" speech. If words, threats, and bombast are a measure, of one's radicalism, then, certainly, this union-labeled President of the notorious open-shop outfit, the National Civic Federation, has become an ultra-revolutionist.

But we have never been fooled by empty, high-sounding phrases—regardless of how revolutionary they may sound. Hence, we cannot bring home too forcefully the dangerous hypocrisy of Labor's Prince of Racketeers, Matthew Woll, when he recently thundered:

"There is too much law and order today. I want to see the shackles of injunction broken, if not by lawful methods, then, thru physical resentment."

We wonder whether the inventors and worshippers of the "third period" won't offer this as decisive proof that "general, deepgoing widespread radicalization" has set in.

What is the open-shoppers St. Matthew after? Let no one for a moment think that the vice president of the A. F. of L. was speaking for the workers. He was merely making a speech for the liquor interests whom he serves at a very high price. Just as it pays the bootleggers to be forbidden, it pays Mr. Woll to be against prohibition. We challenge Mr. Woll to deny that he is in one form or another on the pay-roll of the big booze interests. How loyal Woll is to his masters can be seen from his years of anti-working class activity, strike-breaking and anti-Soviet Union maneuvers. Mr. Woll, it will be recalled, was the prime mover in the campaign of the reactionary bureaucrats, the Signans, the Schlesingers, the Kaufmans, the Dubinskys, and the Hochmans, against the needle trades workers a few years ago.

"I am opposed to Communism, but if Congress is justified in socializing the conduct and habits of the nation then it is also justified in socializing property," rants on Woll. Why does Mr. Woll have to resort to such "fiery" methods of making whoopee with his employers? Can't he express his love for them in some milder way. No. Not in this case. The booze interests (anti-prohibition) as well as the militant section of the prohibition forces (the bootleggers) are now engaged in a life-and-death struggle. Both sides are desperate. There is so much at stake for them. Mr. Woll is here simply exploiting his connections and position in the labor movement to club one section of the capitalist class into agreement with another section.

In such situations it is an old trick of corrupt and reactionary labor bureaucrats, to fortify their own position, to feather their own nest, by talking "red", by raising the bugaboo of working class revolt and selling themselves at a very high price for "stopping" revolution.

When it comes to fighting for booze today, Mr. Woll says he is against "milk and water methods". The first thing the workers must learn, if they are to build a powerful labor movement is to stop using "milk and water methods" against the capitalist class and its lieutenants in the ranks of the working class. Mighty industrial unions, a labor party, a mass Communist Party will drive out such beer-runners from the labor movement as the Wolls, the Greens, and the Lewises.

And there can be no better time to take stock of our ranks, to clean house, than now. The economic crisis is acute. There is untold suffering in our midst. Millions of workers are jobless. We have nothing to lose but our breadlines. It would be a grand service to the working class to strike while the iron is hot—to forge now the weapons with which to build a clean, healthy, and militant labor movement. The labor movement can never go forward as the pawn of any exploiters.

"Out with the Wolls and their breed!" would be a most fitting inscription on the banner of such a class-conscious working-class army.

THE COMING SOCIALIST CONVENTIONS

ON May 9 there will take place the city convention of the New York organization of the Socialist Party in preparation for the coming national convention in Milwaukee.

Big issues face both of these conventions. The deep world economic crisis has thrown pitiless light upon the chaos and bankrupt confusion that is the essence of capitalism. It has pricked like so many soap-bubbles the fancy, rose-colored fantasies of the "new capitalism" that used to be the choice stock in trade of the Socialist "theoreticians." It has brought with it gigantic unemployment and a terrific offensive upon the working class—wage-cuts, political reaction, union smashing. At the same time, in the Soviet Union, the sensational success of the 5-Year Plan of Socialist construction has demonstrated in the most convincing terms of life itself the tremendously advantageous character of the Socialist system over capitalism in the matter of planned economy and the welfare of the masses.

The lessons of the economic crisis on the one hand, and of the 5-Year Plan on the other, were not lost on the rank-and-file membership of the Socialist Party of America any more than they were upon the masses of the Social-democratic workers all over the world. Signs of a distinct leftward movement, of rising protest against the shameful anti-proletarian capitulatory policies of the S. P. leadership, began to be manifest and became officially incorporated in the so-called "militant" movement. Soon a "militant" program began to develop centering primarily around the questions of attitude to the Soviet Union and trade union work. At the last city convention the widening schism within the S. P. was dramatized in a very striking manner.

At that time our analysis of the "militant" movement, which did not underestimate the positive significance of the movement, also did not fail to point out its dangerous shortcomings and the grave obstacles in the way of its forward development. We called attention to the basic failure of the "militants" to appreciate the objective significance of the issues they raised and of the course they had taken, to their fatal leaning to compromise and conciliation and their perpetual evasion of determined action, and to their dangerous illusions as to the "left" character of the Noeman Thomas elements who really make up the extreme right of the S. P.

That these warnings were well justified is unfortunately too obvious from the present situation in the S. P. After the flare-up at the last city convention a period of deadly calm set in. The issues which had been so passionately debated were almost completely "forgotten"—or rather suppressed. And for this suppression of these vital issues the "militant" leaders must take their responsibility along with the Hillquit-Onell clique—for they showed themselves deeply at compromise and concession, at self-peddling differences. The natural result of this conspiracy of silence is that now, a few days before the city convention and a few weeks before the national convention, there is absolutely no discussion taking place in the Socialist organizations, no discussion of issues which Hillquit himself declared were of such significance as to involve a split in the party. No discussion! That means that the S. P. membership will be lulled to sleep in the false confidence that "all is well." That means that at the coming conventions the right wing bureaucrats will have an easy job of it, for the semblance of resistance that the "militants" will be able and willing to put up will be very weak indeed without a strongly organized, enthusiastic and informed mass support behind it. The coming conventions will almost certainly register a sorry debacle of the "militant" movement.

Socialist party workers! The road to revolutionary Socialism does not lie thru blurring of differences of principle, thru unprincipled compromise and concession. It lies along the path of militant struggle, clear differentiation of ideas, honest and conscious pursuit of principle regardless of consequences. It must be clearly realized that this path will inevitably lead outside the official limits of the Socialist party which has become an incorrigible instrument of the roughest reformism. It leads straight to Communism—which is the revolutionary Socialism of today.

NOTE:—As we go to press we learn that the National Convention of the Socialist Party has been postponed indefinitely. The official explanation speaks of "financial reasons," but the political implications are obvious in the light of the above editorial.

The Crisis and the Workers

The Social and Economic Consequences of the Crisis

by Jay Lovestone

The present economic crisis is bound to have deep-going social and economic consequences comparable only to the effects of the last imperialist war. Being fully world-wide in character—for the whole capitalist system—it involves even more people than the War did. The bourgeoisie are plainly worried. Their most authoritative economists are puzzled not only how to manage to get out of the crisis but even to explain how the capitalist system got into it. And not even the most rabid follower of the new line of the Comintern today can screw up enough courage to talk of the present economic crisis as a "typical cyclical crisis in the third period."

THE WORST BLOT ON CAPITALISM

Of course, the most painful expression of the economic crisis is found in mass unemployment. Every spokesman of the ruling classes has been quick to see the social implications of millions of men and women jobless and hungry for many months. Owen D. Young has called unemployment "the worst blot on the capitalistic system." Daniel Willard, President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, has gone so far as to say that men should steal rather than starve. Only recently William Green warned the capitalists that there was dynamite for their whole system in the continuation of the unemployment crisis.

Obviously, in dealing with the unemployment problem we are dealing with the very heart of the acute world-wide economic crisis. But here we must reject the eclectic, the empirical, the piece-by-piece method, based on temporary and superficial phenomena, so universally resorted to by the bourgeois vulgar economists. These "theorists" have been doing lots of talking about various causes for unemployment. Nowadays, no university professor, or A. F. of L. bureaucrat, will open his mouth on the unemployment question without repeating in stereotyped, mechanical fashion all the stuff about "cyclical, seasonal, and technological unemployment." These gentlemen confuse the types of unemployment with the causes of unemployment. Only by viewing the problem organically, from the point of view of the capitalist system as a whole, historically, can such confusion be avoided and an understanding of the unemployment crisis and its social and economic consequences obtained.

Capitalist society is so organized that the machinery which turns out fabulous mass wealth also turns out staggering mass poverty. Somebody gets the wealth. And somebody gets the poverty. Marx analyzed this problem with striking accuracy when he said:

"... Within the capitalist system all the methods for increasing the social productivity of labor are carried out at the cost of the individual worker; that all the means for developing production are transformed into means of domination over and exploitation of the producer; that they make the worker a fragment of a human being, degrade him to become a mere appendage of the machine, make his work and his life a torment, and finally, as the accumulation of wealth increases, they destroy the conditions under which he works, subjecting him, during the labor process, to a despotism which is the more brutal because of its technicalness; that they transform his whole life into working time, and drag his wife and children beneath the yoke of his necessities; that they drive him to the production of surplus value as at the same time methods of accumulation and, consequently every extension of accumulation becomes a means for the development of the methods of production. The result is that in proportion as capital accumulates, the condition of the worker, be his wages high or low, necessarily grows worse. ... Thanks to the working of this law, every step in the accumulation of capital forces the accumulation of wealth at one pole of society involves a simultaneous accumulation of poverty, degradation, and moral degradation, at the opposite pole—where dwells the class that produces its own products as the form of capital."

Unemployment is a most vicious contradiction of the capitalist system. Except for war, it brings the worst plight to the workers. In unemployment workers are starved to death instead of being shot to death.

ORGANIC, CHRONIC UNEMPLOYMENT

The average worker in the U. S. is today producing more than half as much again as he did in 1919. A tremendous intensification of exploitation is now going on—speed-up, stretch-out, etc. Coupled with this process, there is proceeding a change in the organic composition of capital. There is an increasing proportion of constant capital (machinery) as against variable capital (labor-power) in the process of production. It is under these conditions that nearly half the world's work is done in the United States and that the average American worker produces from 3 to 7 times as much as the average European worker.

The very mass production, efficiency, rationalization, are producing a new, organic, chronic unemployment. This is a sort of "prosperity-unemployment"—an unemployment of the workers created by the very forces bringing augmented prosperity to the capitalists. The intensification of the exploitation of the workers, as well as the introduction of new machinery, reduces the number of employed workers. The tempo of the development of new machinery, of improved technique, of growth in the productive capacities of capitalist economy, proceeds

much more rapidly than does the development of new markets or the extension of old ones.

Capitalism, even in its "good" days, even in its pre-imperialist stage, had its huge permanent industrial reserve army of jobless. The new feature of the unemployment situation is that the problem of unemployment is no longer acute only in time of depression but is now acute also in time of prosperity. In certain industries the number of workers employed has fallen absolutely as well as relatively. Not only is unemployment a permanent problem today, but the existence of permanently unemployed is now a permanent problem.

SOME CONCRETE CONSEQUENCES

It is still too early to estimate all the social and economic consequences of the economic crisis, particularly as evidenced in the effects of the acute unemployment situation involving so many millions of workers and their families. But it is already possible to note some definite results which will have tremendous significance, decisive influence on the class relations, on the whole system of capitalist economy.



only in the United States. The existence of unemployment on a mass scale has brought about the following specific effects:

(1) **A sharpening of the basic contradiction of capitalism.** The gap between the productive capacities and the marketing possibilities is much widened by the unemployment crisis. Horsepower cannot have any purchasing power. In various countries this phenomenon shows its worst in different ways, but it is itself in the U. S., precisely because here we have the most intense exploitation of the workers, the highest development of scientific management, efficiency, technique and rationalization. Engels estimated this contradiction of capitalism with great precision when he said:

"While the productive power increases in a geometric, the extension of markets proceeds at best in an arithmetic ratio. ... The 1930 Census data now available indicate that over the last ten year period there was an increase of 48.5% in productivity, with a maximum rise of only 24.3% in wages. In the 1927-29 there was a rise of 9.1% in the value of manufactures while the wage increase in this period was only 3.1%.

As the unemployment crisis deepens, the domestic market narrows. As the domestic market narrows, the capitalists tend more and more to establish branch factories abroad. Already there are over 200 such American branch factories abroad. This reduces exports and thus widens still more the gap between the productive capacities and the marketing possibilities. At the same time, the unemployment crisis reduces not only the purchasing power at home of domestic manufacturers and other commodities but also of foreign commodities. Consequently, the widening of the gap between productive capacities and marketing possibilities in any big industrial country quickly tends to a similar result on a world scale. The basic contradiction of capitalism is thus made much more acute by mass unemployment.

(2) **The living standard is permanently lowered.** It is conservatively estimated that the unemployment crisis has already brought to the workers a loss of ten billion dollars in wages. But the lowering of the standard of living of the working masses and great sections of the middle class is not temporary. For the working masses it is permanent because the value of labor-power as a commodity has declined so seriously. L. C. Harrison, president of the Household Finance Corporation, recognized this when he recently said:

"Even this 1929 was a peak year, ninety-two out of every hundred Americans had their wages made to some extent to give them a personal income tax report. They averaged only \$14 a week (per family) while the remaining eight families collected an average of \$290 a week. Only eight out of every hundred families could be completely re-employed. ... For the vast majority of families who must get along on an average of \$40 a week, it is almost impossible to build up a reserve fund enough to meet emergencies—such as sickness or unemployment."

One can imagine the plight of the masses in the present acute crisis, if at the peak of prosperity only eight out of every hundred families were prosperous. Of course, the average is only a statistical myth which really does not exist. In reality, the \$40 average per family is much lower for the middle class because this figure is reached on the basis of a fairly large number of wealthy, comfortably fixed and millionaire families whose weekly income is many times that of the working-man's family.

Since the peak of prosperity, the worker's wages have been tumbled. The Bureau of Statistics of the Department of Labor reports for the month ending January 15, in fifty industries, 355 wage-cuts averaging 10% and affecting 80% of the workers. More recent data from the Labor Bureau reports 340 wage-cuts. But the wage-cutting drive has lashed the entire working class. The American Bankers Association, at the head of the wage-slashing campaign, frankly advocates wage-slashing as a "cure for the depression." The fruits of the bankers' efforts are to be seen in the report just issued (April 24, 1931) by the New York State Industrial Commission. Frieda Miller, head of the Division of Women in Industry, reported:

"Before the stock market crash wages of clerks ranged from \$10 to \$22 a week, with an average between \$15 and \$18. In February 1931 clerks were offered \$8 to \$18 a week and much higher educational standards were demanded. ... Wages for typists dropped from \$15 to \$22 a week to \$12 to \$21, with \$12 offering the more usual. Stenographers' wages dropped from \$15 for a beginner and \$37 for an expert to \$9 and \$20 respectively. ... Bookkeepers formerly offered \$23 to \$25 a week are now offered \$15. Waitresses in a large chain of lunchrooms who formerly received \$10 a week now receive \$6."

Wages for domestic workers went down even more. The unskilled, unorganized workers in the heavy industries have perhaps been hit hardest. Professor Wallace R. Donham, Dean of the Harvard School of Business, has seen fit to characterize this situation as follows:

"Even now we are in the process of lowering rapidly the standards of living of the American people by our stager system of layoffs. ... Not only is the present unemployment emergency and serious but any previous emergency but a permanent unemployment follows on a large scale and is increasing in its intensity. ... Selling from such unemployment and from restricted markets will bring about the total continuous unemployment of a substantial part of our labor or reduced standards for all ..."

The cumulative effect of this inherent feature of capitalism spells disaster for the workers. It is estimated that there are at least four million aged who are penniless and facing starvation. In the world's wealthiest city, called by Mayor Walker "The Imperial City," New York, there are 70,000 persons chronically ill, according to Dr. Linsky R. Williams, director of the American Academy of Medicine.

And capitalism is absolutely helpless about the whole situation. Its reformers and "social engineers" may try to find makeshift solutions but even its most conservative economists who have been doing some thinking on the whole crisis in which world capitalism now finds itself are showing signs of despair. Thus Professor Donham in his recent book *Business Adrift* says:

"The social problem will become insoluble and the clarity change incalculable. If something is not done which changes the situation, we may well be facing an immediate major breakdown of capitalism. ... If business today attempted to give security to American labor it would bankrupt business on a very widespread scale and the end result would be a long time reduction in the standards of living of the American people."

Indeed, this is new talk from the Harvard School of Business, the oracle of American high finance, the home of Professor Irving Fisher who did more to boost all the "New Era" nonsense and unbounded faith in the stock market than any other person! (continued in the next issue)

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



ILLITERACY IN THE UNITED STATES, by Sanford Winston. The Chapel Hill, North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1930.

In spite of the unavoidably technical character of the discussion, the material provided in this book and the conclusions drawn are certain to prove of the greatest value to anyone interested in the conditions of social life in the United States. For, although illiteracy naturally occupies the center of attention in these pages, many other social phenomena are briefly but incisively treated in relation to the main object of discussion and a great deal of striking information and suggestive ideas emerge.

Through an effective utilization of statistical devices Professor Winston succeeds in bringing out in the clearest manner the essential facts and relations. He first deals with "the general problem of illiteracy as it exists in the United States at the present time, together with the trend of illiteracy for the past fifty years, and a brief summary of the data on illiteracy prior to 1870. The comparisons in regard to age, sex, urban and rural environment, race and nationality, (the author here refers to Negroes and immigrants), and social classes are also investigated in some detail. ... Part II studies illiteracy in its relation to certain selected social phenomena. These latter include birth-rate, family marriage, infant mortality, size of family, urbanization, mobility to other states, and suicide. It would be impossible to give any adequate account of the results of the investigation which are so well summarized in Chapters IX and XVII of the book. It is, however, interesting to note that the birth-rate rises with illiteracy, as does infant-mortality, number of early marriages and the size of family. On the other hand, the opposite is the relation between illiteracy and social mobility (percentage of inhabitants born in state and living in other states) and suicide, which decrease with illiteracy. It is hardly necessary to add that a negative correlation is found between illiteracy and urbanization—which, it appears, operates to decrease illiteracy by bringing with it more, longer, and more efficient schooling.

Aside from certain questionable statistical methods in three or four cases, the chief shortcoming of Professor Winston's book is his astonishing neglect of class division in modern society and its overwhelming significance for all social phenomena and relations. For example, the author wants to trace the relation between illiteracy (and other social phenomena) and the "economic factor" (by which, it is to be supposed, he means economic status) and so he chooses as the index of the latter, the state per capita income! Now it is obvious that per capita income tells nothing as to the actual economic status of the inhabitants of the state for it is precisely in states with a high per capita income (the industrial states) that the contrasts in economic status between rich and poor, between proletarian and bourgeois, are sharpest. Surely it is no indicator of the economic status of the wage-worker in the slums that his employer is very rich and thus raises the per capita income figure for his state! This blindness as to the class structure of American society runs thru the whole book and detracts considerably from the information and conclusions presented in it.

Professor Winston's discussions make clear the essential role and very definite limitations of the statistical method in sociological investigation. For the statistical method only scans the surface of social life; it cannot plumb its depths. Furthermore, the statistical method, in all its refinement, can only supply the materials for casual interpretation; such interpretation it cannot itself yield. Professor Winston realizes this fact, although he does not always strictly adhere to the limitations it imposes.

In spite of its limitations, the statistical method is a very valuable tool for the sociologist. It is only when its limitations are last sight of, when it is transformed into the philosopher's stone of all social research, that it becomes a source of confusion and actual misrepresentation, a scientific menace.

X. Y. Z.
MEMOIRS OF LENIN, by Nadezhda K. Krupskaya. Translated by E. Verney. International Publishers, New York, 1930.

The *Memories of Lenin* by Krupskaya—which does not pretend to be a systematic biography—is one of the most absorbing political documents we have ever read. In the anecdotes and stories recounted in these pages Lenin, the man, the revolutionist, actually lives and acts, and with him a whole group of other revolutionists identified with the earlier periods of Russian Social-democracy. Here we have the real materials for an adequate biography of Lenin. Unfortunately in English there is now available only the first volume of these *Memories* extending only to the end of 1907. We are eagerly awaiting the following volume.

Of particular interest and value are the appendices: "Lenin's Method of Work," "Lenin On How To Write For The Masses," "Lenin and Chernyshevsky," and "The Kind of Fiction That Pleased Ilyich."

X. Y. Z.
Our Wet Navy

"Foreign ships cannot compete with our own, even in the liquor aboard." F. C. Bezdner.

The Illegitimate Daughters
 The Daughters of the American Revolution have spent several days proving that they would arrest their "fathers" if those fathers of the country were now alive. These revolutionary daughters adopted resolutions against revolution today, against the "Reds," in favor of alien and sedition acts such as Jefferson fought so bitterly, against recognition of the Russian revolution, for a policy of imperialism towards Haiti, Nicaragua, etc.—similar to the British policy against which the American revolution was fought. It has been truly said—the only thing the Daughters preserve of the American Revolution is the tea party.
 B. D. W.



Saving the City's Fair Name

Now that Mayor Walker has made a Communist out of Rabbi Wise and a Soviet out of John Haynes Holmes, the city has been saved and women can be framed, judges and judges benches bought and sold, racketeers can wreck and gangsters can bang, undisturbed and all will be well. The mayor is defending American institutions against insidious propaganda.

But the most adequate expose of the dangerous red plot has been made by the conservative (and Republican) Evening Sun and we leave the last word to their editorial writers:

Details of the Red Plot
 "With his natural conservatism, Mayor Walker told only a little about the Red plot to us. It is generally known, of course, that the Legislature voted the city investigation at the dictation of Stalin. The Appellate Division was delayed two weeks in the appointment of Referee Seabury through waiting for the approval of Moscow. Governor Roosevelt was persuaded to investigate Mr. Crain, not by the City Club but by Moe Antovitch, the Bolshevik lobbyist at Albany. Ten thousand Russian troops, with snow on their boots, marched up Third (International) avenue early this morning on their way to send barracks under Central Park there to await the Day.
 "Once the Red forces have put through the revolution predicted by the Mayor the subway will be extended, by way of Bering Strait, to the Red capital, with the last station in front of the Kremlin; Stalin has pledged his right hand to the five-cent fare. The Five Year Plan will include the destruction of the City Hall Post Office. Free borshah will be served in every Tammany clubhouse. The program is long, definite and thrilling."

Just Too Heartbreaking!
 "It is the complaint of the housewife that writes to ask why her ashes were not removed, that give one sleepless nights." —James J. Walker.

Outside Civilization
 "Sandino has placed himself outside the civilized pale, as a murderer and bandit," says President Hoover. But history will class Sandino as one of the heroic figures of our age and Hoover as the murderer of thousands of Nicaraguans, Chinese, Hungarians and jobless Americans. If Sandino remains true to the cause he is fighting so valiantly, Hoover may some day be remembered by Latin America as King George III has been remembered by the United States—as the man who declared Sandino was an outlaw. By the same token, even Senid Stimson has a chance for a shabby immortality.

Feeding the Spirit
 In his brief speech to the Red Cross, President Hoover used the word "spiritual" twelve times to describe Red Cross relief. Guess he had to call it spiritual for it certainly isn't physical.

Hoover Gets A Tip
 Hoover sent for the frost-bitten blizzard hero, Bryan Cutick, because he wanted advice. He expects to be snowed under himself next November.

The Faith Cure
 Abram Newman, circulation manager of the New York Evening Post has "it"—he has found the way out of the depression. Newspapers, says this economic wizard, need only keep up a "constant, well-founded good times bally-hoo."

This bally-hoo is to be made up as follows:
 1. Don't publish the number of unemployed, but print rather the number of those who are still not unemployed.
 2. Stop talking about the wage cuts. Tell about the hundred great corporations that made more money in 1930 than in 1929.
 3. Don't chronicle the sufferings of the starving but record the pleasures of those who are stuffing their bellies full.
 It is given to America as to no other nation to work harder and to have greater faith in her future when surface conditions seem to point only to darker times ahead.

Now, try that one on your grocer and your butcher! And if you're hungry and out of a job, all you need to do is read the Evening Post.

Who Said "Depression"?
 While U. S. Steel earned a net profit of only five cents a share for the past quarter year, it ordered a regular quarterly dividend of \$1.75 a share on both preferred and common stock. For the workers, a wage cut for the stockholders, "Business as usual!"

McCree's has a bargain in alluring and irresistible odors that will make you outcharm Clara Bow—Kenau's Rare Amber Oriental Perfume, \$1920.00 a flask. Buy a flask for Mother's Day! Put a hundred dollar drop on the tip of each earlobe and make the boss faint and dizzy with admiration. It comes high but it's guaranteed to bring results.

Our Wet Navy
 "Foreign ships cannot compete with our own, even in the liquor aboard." F. C. Bezdner.