

FOR COMMUNIST
UNITY IN THE
REVOLUTIONARY
CLASS STRUGGLE!

THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING
THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS

ISSUED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY
(Majority Group)

WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES
UNITE!

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WOLL IN NEW ANTI-SOVIET DRIVE

'Labor' Leader Forms Body For Attack Against Workers State

Matthew Woll, acting president of the National Civic Federation and vice president of the American Federation of Labor, has announced the organization of a "committee of 100" as the American section of the International Association to Fight Against Communism. Bishop William T. Manning, Cardinal Dougherty and John W. Gerard are the leaders of this committee along with Matthew Woll. At the same time Philip Root's name has just been announced at the head of a list of more than 600 reactionaries in support of the National Civic Federation resolution against the recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States—"until the regime has ceased its subversive activities in this country, has compensated the American nationals for confiscated property and proved itself fit to associate with civilized nations." This announcement comes on the heels of the announcement by Morris Hillquit, "Socialist" leader, that he has accepted as chief counsel for Czarist oil interests in the United States now seeking compensation for property taken over by the Russian workers.

Matthew Woll openly boasts that "the committee is part of a wider international movement seeking among other things the proclamation and enforcement of an international boycott against Soviet goods and the organization of the conscientious, moral and patriotic forces in a campaign of resistance against Soviet political and economic encroachment."

The International Chamber of Commerce, the Bankers Club and former Prime Minister Theunis of Belgium are among the leading spirits of the violent anti-Soviet move. Others included are: Mrs. Henry P. Loomis, sister-in-law of Secretary of State Stimson; Ellis Searles, editor of the United Mine Workers Journal; Mrs. Haley Fiske, wife of the former president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.; Rev. E. A. Walsh, vice president of George Washington University; Dr. Fred B. Robinson, president of the College of the City of New York; Morgan J. O'Brien, financier and judge, Appellate Division Supreme Court of New York; Dr. Cyrus Adler, Jewish Theological Seminary, Philadelphia; J. B. Small, president, executive committee New York State Chamber of Commerce; William Lobe, vice president of the American Smelting and Refining Co.; James D. Forgan, jr. vice president of the First National Bank of Chicago; Joseph P. Ryan, president of the Central Trades and Labor Council; J. C. Adkinson, president of the American Manganese Producers Association and James S. McCulloch, president of the New York Telephone Company.

PICNIC FOR "AGE" ON JULY 25

Response Grows; Splendid Program Planned; All Out on July 25

Working men and working women from all parts of the city and from many labor organizations are joining in an excellent response in the sale of tickets for the Grand Picnic and Dance of the Revolutionary Age. The picnic is to be held on Saturday, July 25, 1931, at the spacious Clinton Park, Maspeth, Long Island. The location of the park being only 30 minutes from Union Square, is an additional attraction to workers.

The arrangements committee has provided for an excellent dance orchestra as well as a program of elaborate sports, games, contests and varied entertainment. The park is equipped with a magnificent dance hall and the orchestra secured will render splendid performance. Tickets are only 35c. Admission at the gate will be 50c.

All workers are asked to get tickets now. We guarantee loads of fun, a real good time. Besides here is your chance to help the Revolutionary Age and to strengthen the working class cause. We especially urge groups of workers to get together and come to the picnic as solid bodies. The best way to get to Clinton Park is: Take the R.M.T. subway, 14th Street line to Grand St. Station, then change for the Grand St. car for Maspeth, Long Island. Get off at Rust St.

Labor Must Unite Against Woll Anti-Soviet Drive

Appeal of the Communist Party (Majority Group)

Matthew Woll, acting president of the National Civic Federation and vice president of the American Federation of Labor, has named a committee of 100 to work, as part of an international organization for a world boycott against the Soviet Union, against recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States government and for fighting Communism in the United States.

The committee is headed by Bishop William T. Manning, Cardinal Dougherty of Philadelphia and James W. Gerard to do the following:

1. Enforce an international boycott against Soviet goods.

2. The organization of commercial, moral and patriotic forces throughout the world in a campaign against the Soviet Union.

Mr. Woll said: "Only by a counter movement (counter-revolution) of international scope could Soviet Russia's announced purpose to bring about world revolution and the destruction of civilization be defeated."

The committee is made up of the most vicious anti-labor capitalists and bankers of the country. It is blessed with the names of ministers, priests and rabbis. The most reactionary organizations are represented. Its roster includes the names of prominent labor officials. The Woll committee is the latest step taken by American imperialism to establish an international united front of the imperialist powers against the Soviet Union.

The Woll Committee proposes widening the scope of the Hoover method used in crushing the revolution in Hungary. It strives thru international boycott to impoverish Russian workers and peasants and to defeat the 5-Year Plan for building Socialism. The challenge of the Soviet Union, in the building of Socialism, in the elimination of unemployment in social improvement and betterment of the workers conditions, puts the capitalist world in an indefensible position.

Already capitalism in Germany is on the verge of collapse, the collapse is mentally being averted by the Hoover moratorium on war debts and reparations. In the colonies mighty revolutionaries are taking place.

Discontent among the army of millions of unemployed grows ever larger. Starvation, poverty and misery are increasing. In the workshops and on the farms it is the same grim picture of destruction and want. The demands of the

toiling masses are met with violence. The toll of murdered martyrs to the workers cause is rising. The class war rages brutal, violent and bloody. The hands of the capitalists are gory with the blood of the workers. The capitalists have one solution for the crisis and that is imperialist war. They have one solution in the fight against the 5-Year Plan and Socialism and that is—war against the Soviet Union. The Woll committee is an imperialist counter-revolutionary "black hundred" committee to prepare one of the most criminal, bloody international attacks upon the first Workers and Farmers Government in the world. It has the backing of Wall Street and the United States government.

The Hoover moratorium had for one of its objectives, the enlistment of Germany and all other capitalist countries in a united front of the capitalist world for a war against the Soviet Union. The Woll committee is an initial step to unite all reactionary labor, patriotic, religious and cultural organizations in an ideological campaign of preparation for the war against the Soviet Union. It will, in the United States, be the instigator of the most vicious reactionary and repressive measures against the labor and Communist movements.

The workers must realize that the Woll committee will back up the drive of the bosses against the workers living standards by creating an "anti-Red" movement of the Palmer and Fish type with jails, raids, deportations, etc. to wipe out all opposition to the capitalists.

The Woll "black hundred" committee must be fought. Against the united front of the reactionary forces must be welded a united front of labor.

Rid the labor movement of Woll and his bureaucratic reactionary regime in the trade unions.

Demand the recognition of the Soviet Union.

Defend the Soviet Union.

A united front of labor to crush the Woll Committee of 100.

Maintain living standards.

For adequate unemployment relief.

Build the unions as weapons of struggle for better conditions.

Fight against an imperialist counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union.

Fight against a new imperialist world war.

United working class action will defeat the plans of the imperialists and (Continued on page 2)

TROOPERS ATTACK R. I. STRIKERS

Use Tear Gas on Textile Workers Resisting Wage Slashes

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—State troopers armed with machine guns have been ordered in to Central Falls to help suppress a strike of several hundred textile workers now in progress under the leadership of the National Textile Workers Union. National Guardsmen are being mobilized all over the state ready to be sent to the same town.

Attacks have already been made on strike pickets by local police and state troopers using tear gas bombs. The strike broke out in the General Fabrics Corporation as a protest against wage-cuts. On the second day over 1,000 employees of the Royal Weaving Company also walked out. Mass picketing and militant strike activities began immediately.

The Polish-American Citizens Club, a reactionary business man's organization, has made an attempt to introduce confusion into the strikers ranks and thereby to break the strike but without avail.

MERGE PATERSON TEXTILE UNIONS

Amalg. Silk and U. T. W. To Fuse as Preparation For Big Drive

PATERSON.—The movement for the amalgamation of the two leading silk workers unions here, the Associated Silk Workers and the United Textile Workers of America, has now reached the stage where the proposition is all ready to be submitted to a vote of the membership of the organizations. Weeks of negotiations have preceded the conclusion of the arrangements. The amalgamation of the two unions is being concluded as a preliminary to launching a general organization drive in the silk industry here.

After announcing the agreement for amalgamation, the statement of the joint amalgamation committee goes on:

"The conditions among the silk workers of Paterson have become so intolerable that organization is a crying need. This organization can be effected only by united action on the part of the bona fide labor organizations in the field.

"It has taken time and effort to prepare the ground for such action as will lead to an organization drive that will be vigorous and will be of real benefit to all the silk workers of Paterson.

"The general organization drive connected with our wily effort shall be started at the mill gates and in other centers. It will be vigorous and effective, in having behind it in reality the united forces of the union silk workers of this city and vicinity."

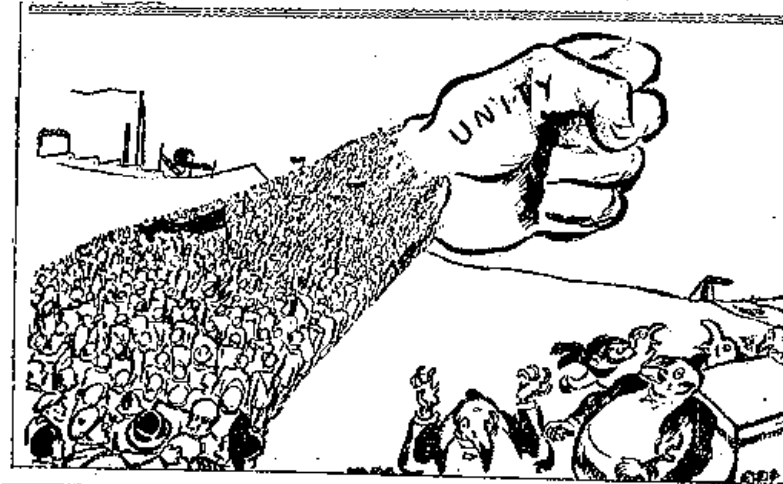
COMMUNISTS WIN IN BULGARIA

Illegal Party Gets 10,000 Votes as Against 22,000 Of Leading Party

The reactionary Bulgarian government has met with a severe defeat in the recent elections. The Communist Party made great gains both in the popular vote and in the number of members elected to Parliament. The Socialist party lost heavily. The Communist Party which is illegal put forward its candidates on the Independent Labor party list.

The National Bloc received 22,282 votes, the government coalition 13,831 votes and the Independent Labor party 3,658. Under the conditions of extreme terror this is a big success.

UNITY OF LABOR AGAINST THE BOSSES



BUKHARIN EXPLAINS SOVIET POLICIES SOVIET PARTY PLENUM MEETS

Declares No Retreat in Economic Line Involved, but An Intensification of Drive for Socialism, C. P. S. U. Joint Plenum Considers Important Problems

"Stalin's speech in regard to individual responsibility cannot in the least be interpreted as an admission that there was anything wrong in the previous policy. On the contrary, the success of the Five-Year Plan enabled us to intensify our application of a principle which we had already been applying for years."

This was the declaration of Nikolai Bukharin, now in London, as a delegate to the International Scientific Congress, in his comment upon the recent speech of Stalin at the conference of Soviet industrial executives. The capitalists throughout the world have been hailing this speech of Stalin as a break with Socialism, as a return to capitalism.

In his speech Stalin proposed the further elaboration of the category system of wage payments which has always prevailed in the Soviet Union. More pay will now be given to certain types of skilled labor of which there is an acute shortage. It is also proposed that those of the former capitalist intellectuals who are ready to serve loyally the Workers Government, should be allowed to render such service.

Factories are permitted to discard continuous operations and to interrupt work with a complete shut down by the factories every sixth day.

Stalin said in part: "We have not yet reached our Communist goal. Meanwhile, emergency measures are necessary. Endless writing of papers

23,000 Miners Strike in West Va.; Rank and File Meet in Illinois

West Virginia Mine Workers Union Calls Big Strike; Lewis Continues Strike-Breaking Tactics; 200 Mine Locals Represented at Belleville

Over 23,000 miners in Southern West Virginia in the Kanawah fields have gone out on strike and tied up coal operations complete. The strike is under the auspices of the West Virginia Mine Workers Union led by Frank Keeney working together with Alex Howat. The coal operators refuse the union's request for a confer-

ence on wages and working conditions which have become increasingly unbearable for a long time. The addition of the thousands of coal diggers to the army of striking miners in Western Pennsylvania and Ohio will lend a great spirit to the entire strike movement in the coal fields on a national scale.

The John L. Lewis machine of the U.M.W. of A. promptly denounced the strike conducted by the West Virginia Mine Workers Union. The government is throwing in armed forces and the coal companies are deputizing sheriffs to terrorize the striking workers. At the same time the flares of resentment against Lewis are spreading in the Illinois coal field. Over 100 delegates, representing over 200 locals of the U.M.W. of A. preparing for the Illinois District Convention, just gathered in the sub-district conference at Belleville. The delegates representing 31,000 or 70% of the total membership of the Illinois district, emphatically demanded that John L. Lewis be thrown out of the union as a disrupter and enemy of the coal diggers. E. M. Zeigler was chairman of the Convention and William Keck, from East St. Louis, secretary. The amendment to have Lewis and Walker appear before the convention and state their position was overwhelmingly rejected in favor of the more militant motion. The sentiment amongst the delegates was for affiliation with the West Virginia Mine Workers Union.

The Red Cross has refused any sort of aid to the starving miners and their families in the strike area. In answer to the appeal in behalf of the miners, John Barton Payne, head of the Red Cross, declared that the Red Cross was "unable" to grant any relief because the relief to "natural catastrophes" and to situations arising as a result of "acts of God." And since very obviously God didn't call the miners strike, the Red Cross just can't do anything about it!

MANY S.P. LOCALS HIT HILLQUIT

Anti-Hillquit Resolution Is Beaten in City Executive By Majority of One

Assembly Dist. No. 23 branch of the Socialist party has decided, by an overwhelming vote, to condemn the conduct of Morris Hillquit in becoming the lawyer for expropriated Russian monarchist oil interests and to demand that he withdraw from the case. When this resolution came up before the City Executive of the Socialist party in New York a heated discussion took place with the result that the local resolution was tabled by a majority of one vote.

Many other S. P. organizations, in New York and outside, have already passed anti-Hillquit resolutions.

It is rumored in Socialist circles that Norman Thomas has made an official declaration that if Morris Hillquit continues as official legal advisor of the Russian monarchists, either Thomas or Hillquit will have to get out of the S.P. Other versions of the story declare that Thomas has sent in a written protest to the National Executive of the Socialist party.

The revolt in "militant" circles that resulted as a reaction to the shameless anti-Soviet conduct of Morris Hillquit, chairman of the Socialist party and delegate to the International Socialist Congress, and which expressed itself in a number of resolutions against Hillquit passed in Y.P.S.L. and S.P. organizations, is now in danger of being suppressed by the political timidity and hesitation of the "militant" leaders. An unofficial but fairly well authenticated report indicates that the top faction leaders of the "militants" have decided to put an end to the anti-Hillquit agitation "until Hillquit returns (Continued on Page 2)

SEC'Y STIMSON TOURS EUROPE; U.S.A. IN DRIVE AGAINST FRENCH HEGEMONY

Stimson and Mussolini in Secret Conference in Rome; Rumors Current of Big Loans to Italy

Secretary of State Stimson and Premier Mussolini have just held a secret conference at Rome. After the deliberations, Premier Mussolini and his Foreign Minister Grandi, issued a declaration that "Italy wants peace and is ready to follow the lead of the United States government in all peace moves and disarmament negotiations."

The tour of Secretary of State Stimson is looked upon with suspicion in many European circles, particularly in France. The prevailing opinion is that Stimson is aiming at the organization of a powerful bloc against French hegemony on the continent and in this way to follow up the great influence and strong position won by Wall Street imperialism in European affairs thru the Hoover Debt Plan. The antagonisms between Italy and French imperialism have

for some time been growing sharper and sharper. Stimson's negotiations with Italy aim to bring the Italian government much closer to the Wall Street foreign policies and to have Mussolini serve as a still more effective barrier against the extermination of French influence and strength on the continent.

Very probably the deal arrived at between Stimson and Mussolini will provide for a huge loan to help bolster up the shattered finances of the Fascist government now in great financial distress. French imperialism is awake to the developments and is planning counter moves against the advance of U. S. hegemony. The conference on debts and reparations called by Great Britain for July 17 will mirror very clearly the various antagonisms among the leading imperialist powers.

NOTICE!
MEMBERSHIP MEETING
of the
COMMUNIST PARTY
(Majority Group)
New York District
THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1931
63 Madison Avenue
Subject:
REPORT OF THE PLENUM
Only members in good standing will be admitted

Picnic and Dance, Saturday, July 25, Clinton Park, Maspeth, L. I.

GERMANS ASK FOR FRENCH LOAN

Dr. Luther Visits Paris to Consult French

PARIS—Negotiations for a French loan to Germany are proceeding rapidly here. Dr. Hans Luther, president of the Reichsbank, has just concluded his two-day special trip to Paris for a conference with Clement Moret, governor of the Bank of France. Of course, the Luther-Moret conversations were merely preliminary since political and not financial questions are primarily involved. The French government has made it clear that "substantial political guarantees must accompany and very extensive assistance to Germany from France." The possibility, even probability, of a visit by Brüning to Paris to consult with Premier Laval over the political questions, is indicated.

The situation is growing more acute every day. President Hindenburg has already made it quite clear that not only will the Brüning ministry go but he himself will resign if France refuses to extend the necessary financial help without any political strings.

TUUL Fights Constructive Program in Local 1

"Left Wing Group" Fights Plan of Action for Next Season and Proposes Scheme to Destroy Union

New York City. On Thursday, July 2, there took place a very important membership meeting of Local 1 (Cloakmakers) of the I.L.G.W.U. The most important matter considered at this meeting was the plan of action for the coming season as brought in by the Executive. This plan of action was originally proposed by members of the United Progressive League to the Executive Committee and, after the Executive had adopted it, it was brought to the membership meeting.

The main features of this detailed program of action were:

1. A determined struggle against piece-work. The immediate stopping of all shops working piece-work. This campaign is especially necessary as a counter-offensive to the plan of the bosses to introduce piece-work officially into the next agreement.
2. A campaign to put the unemployed to work.
3. No overtime on Saturday and Sunday under any circumstances.
4. No reorganizations or wage-cuts.
5. A rank and file, voluntary organization committee of the local (together with Local 9) in order to re-

store union conditions to help organize the unorganized.

6. The setting up of block and building committees.

7. The mobilization of the entire membership of the local for union work.

When this program was presented to the local meeting the lively approval of the membership was obvious. Everybody was astonished therefore when the so-called "Left Wing Group" (the T.U.U.L. organization) presented a prepared statement rejecting the plan of action before even considering it! The two most important features of the "Left Wing Group" declaration were: (1) The calling of strikes by Local 1 without regard to what is done by the other crafts and locals in the trade; and (2) the setting up of an "organization group" of 250 that should (a) conduct strikes, (b) supervise settlements, (c) watch union conditions, (d) supply work for the unemployed. As many union members quite correctly pointed out, this last proposal implies the replacement of the union and its functions by this "organization group"! Such is the logic of the T.U.U.L. position of union smashing!

Of course the membership rejected the "Left Wing Group" proposal and endorsed the plan of the Executive. It is interesting to note that Shelley and his friends, who really represent the Schlessinger elements, as well as the old right wing clique around St. dent, both maneuvered all they could to help the schemes of the "Left Wing Group." Shelley threw the membership into an uproar of amusement by proposing that the local should select a committee to go to Schlessinger and ask him to "dismiss" all of the officers of the international union and, if he refuses, the local administration should resign—out of spite, I suppose. But it was not very difficult for the membership to see thru Shelley's "clever" maneuvers. And this is the ally of the "Left Wing Group."

Now that the Executive's plan of action has been adopted, it remains to carry it thru. The plan on paper will not do much good. The plan carried thru into life with great vigor is what we need.

SPAIN - CATALAN CRISIS SHARP

Macia Party Proposes New Autonomy Plan; Unrest Among Workers

BARCELONA.—The relations between the Catalan administration of Marcia and the provisional government in Madrid have been strained to the extreme in the last few days. The upper circles of the Macia party are discussing the new Catalan constitutional project which will be presented to the party very soon. The plan is calculated to give Catalonia complete regional autonomy. It abolishes the present form of government, known as the Generalidad, and establishes the Catalan State, headed by a president with supreme executive authority. A Cabinet is also created, with ample executive power. A Catalan Parliament, Catalan judicial tribunals and the control of education, previously decided upon, remain intact.

The civil governors of the four Catalan Provinces, appointed by Madrid, must disappear, and the Central Government's representation, it is understood, will consist of delegates in different departments of the government whose position will be largely consultative.

No compulsory military service will be permitted and Catalans will not be permitted to leave their territory to fight for Spain in case of war.

The conservative provisional government in Madrid is understood to be in bitter opposition to the demand of Catalonia for complete autonomy. The Zamora government plans to keep the non-Spanish nationalities in Catalonia, Galicia, Biscay, etc. under the heel of Spanish rule in the same ruthless fashion as did the old monarchy. Since, however, the Macia party has just received an overwhelming vote of confidence from the people of Catalonia in the recent elections, a sharp political crisis seems to be maturing.

MADRID.—The rapid spread of labor revolt in the large cities of Spain and of dissatisfaction among the poor peasants and agricultural laborers, is admitted by the provisional government here. Strikes are breaking out every day in all parts of the country in spite of all attempts of the conservative labor leaders of the Socialist trade unions. The government is feverishly at work concocting some sort of agrarian laws to head off the dissatisfaction of the peasantry.

Slovak Labor Society Hits Splitting Policies

Uniontown Local, S. W. S., Passes Resolution Against National Office and Against "Rovnost Ludu"

We publish below the resolution adopted by Branch 80, Slovak Workers Society, against the bureaucrats dominating the organization, who, in line with the present policy of the Communist Party leadership, are planning to split the S.W.S. and attach a fragment of it to the International Workers Order—all under the slogan of "unification."

WHEREAS, during the last few weeks we see that the officials of the National Office of the Slovak Workers Society and also our official organ Rovnost Ludu are with all their might pushing forward the question of affiliation of the S.W.S. with three other organizations and want by any means and against the wishes of many of our members to accomplish it!

WHEREAS, any one from among the members of the S.W.S. who dares to oppose this move or to criticize it, is slandered on the pages of our organ Rovnost Ludu as has happened to our old and well known brother and co-worker, Comrade J. Bucko;

WHEREAS, the resolution of the conference of the District No. 2, held May 24th, 1931, in Charleston, Pa., which was adopted by the vote of 12 to 6 in opposition to the special convention was not published in the Rovnost Ludu while the resolutions put

forward by the officers of the National Office of the S.W.S. were published;

We, members of the Branch No. 80, S.W.S., protest emphatically against the actions of the officers of the National Office of the S.W.S. who are squandering the funds of our organization by travelling from place to place (from organization to organization or branch to branch of the S.W.S.) in order to force upon our members the merger about which our members can't have the right of free discussion;

We protest against the unspeakable attacks on our honored comrade, Julius Bucko, and we demand that MacKovic who wrote this unspeakable letter shall be disciplined by the Executive Committee of the National Office of the S.W.S. and the editor of Editorial Committee of Rovnost Ludu which knew about this letter;

We demand complete vindication of Comrade Julius Bucko as published in Rovnost Ludu and at the same time we remind the officers of the National Office of the S.W.S. and the editor of Rovnost Ludu that they must not assume the position of dictators and if anyone at all is to dictate, it will be us workers, who are building our organization and at the same time the Rovnost Ludu;

All letters and resolutions are to be published in Rovnost Ludu without comments by the editor.

Resolution is signed by:
President: Andy Barless
Fin. & Rec. Sec'y: Karol Bogdan
Treasurer: Anton Kravak
(Seal of the organization)

U. S. FORCES WIN AT ZION MEET

Brandeis Scheme Carries; No Chance for Election Of Dr. Weizmann

BASILE.—The pro-American forces are winning all along the line at the hotly contested Zionist congress here. On June 10, the group of American Zionists led by Judge Julian Mack and Justice Louis D. Brandeis won a ten-year battle by winning the approval of the World Zionist Congress for the complete separation of the private economic development program in Palestine from the political program. A similar proposal had been put forward in 1920 by Justice Brandeis at the London congress but was rejected by the Weizmann pro-British leadership.

The Brandeis plan greatly strengthens the hands of the American Zionists by making it possible to carry on Zionist economic work completely independent of the British-controlled political machinery.

BASILE, Switzerland.—Dr. Weizmann was apparently eliminated as a possibility for reelection to the Presidency of the World Zionist Organization by the developments in the meeting of the political commission of the congress. The Laborites, constituting a united bloc of seventy-seven delegates, the strongest in the congress, decided that they would withdraw their support of Dr. Weizmann.

The Laborites acted when they realized that further support of Dr. Weizmann would endanger their own position in the congress. After the viewpoint of the Laborites became known, the British delegation, Weizmann's strongest supporters, gave up the cause as hopeless.

The definitive withdrawal of Weizmann as candidate marks a great victory for the pro-American forces in the Zionist congress.

BUKHARIN EXPLAINS SOVIET POLICY

(Continued from page 1)

liberated upon and recognized good results in the Spring sowing campaign. Thus, the growth of collectivization was immensely helped and is now completed in the most important grain belts. More than half of the peasant households (about 54%) in the sugar belt as well as cotton and grain belt sections are also collectivized. The great decisive achievements in collectivization have affected the class relations of the peasant population fundamentally. The resolution points out that: "The kolkhoz peasant has become the leading figure in agricultural industry. The kolkhoz has become the chief producer not only of grain but of agricultural raw materials, cotton, beet, sunflower, etc. The owners of the individual households, the middle as well as the poor peasants, play a secondary role in agricultural industry. The kulak, who is the last vestige of capitalism, is gradually being exterminated as a class and this process is nearing its completion."

The cultivated acreage has been doubled in comparison with last year, rising from 3,200,000 to 8,000,000 hectares. The condition of the railroad transport was considered thoroughly. It was emphasized that the railroad system, which is closely connected with the industry of the country, has greatly developed during the last few years in still behind the tempo of the general development of the country. The Central Committee endorsed the decision of the Political Bureau that two engineers now be responsible for the safety end of the locomotive; formerly, nobody was responsible. The Plenum decided to work out plans for the urgent reconstruction of the existing transport facilities.

The question of municipal economy was considered at great length because it involves the welfare of the workers. The question of housing, the improvement of housing conditions, as well as the building of new cities required by the further development of industry and of Socialist reconstruction of agriculture, were all examined. In regard to the inner situation, the Plenum simply repeated its previous assertions that "few individual members of the Party are still under alien influence and have not yet completely given up the struggle though they refuse to take up an open fight."

UNITE AGAINST ANTI-SOVIET DRIVE

(Continued from page 1)

will make possible the victory of Socialism throughout the entire world. Down with the Wolf "black hundred" committee. Long live the international solidarity of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world! On with the building of Socialism. Full support and loyalty to the Soviet Union.

LABOR AGE

Published Monthly by the CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE LABOR ACTION
25 cents a copy
104 FIFTH AVENUE

Party History

Material on the History of the Communist Movement in the United States

On Communist Trade Union Policy

We publish below the most important paragraphs of the "Letter on Trade Union Work" sent by the Communist International to the Communist Party of the United States (then called the Workers Party), on April 30, 1925. A more reading of this letter is enough to show: (1) how far the present leadership of the Communist and our Party have deviated from the traditional Leninist line of the Communist International, and (2) that today only the International Communist Opposition champions and defends the well-tried tactical principles of Leninism.

To the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party of America. Dear Comrades:

It is of extreme importance to the life and growth of the Workers Party that its members as a whole realize better the necessity of more intensive work in the labor unions. The labor unions are the basic mass organizations of the workers. They wage war against the employers as one of the most important sectors of the front of the class struggle. The capture of the leadership of the labor union masses in their struggle is vitally necessary not only for the strengthening of the Workers Party at the present time, but also for the ultimate victory of the revolutionary struggle. The capture of the labor unions is our first and foremost task. If the unions are weak and are dominated by the reactionaries, it is the business of the Communists to strengthen them and to wage a relentless fight against the leadership and the policies of the reactionaries. In those places and industries where no labor unions exist the Communists must take the initiative and organize unions. The organization of the masses into labor unions is the historical task of the Communist movement in America.

It must be firmly fixed in the minds of every Party member that no worker in an industrial country like America can be a real Communist unless he is an active labor unionist.

The work in the labor unions must be regarded as the basis which will determine the success of the Party in most other spheres of work. The Workers Party must also do everything within its power to prevent itself becoming isolated from the masses. It must resist the tendencies to reduce the Trade Union Educational League to the position of an exclusive organ of the Communists and their close sympathizers irrespective of whether such tendencies are a result of pressure from outside or of pressure on the part of the Party members anxious to keep out non-partisans. The Party must strive to convert the League into an extensive left block organization, lining up all the revolutionary and progressive elements in the labor unions against the reactionary bureaucracy.

The Communist strategy in the labor unions must be to unite, thru the medium of the Trade Union Educational League, all the left wing elements against the old officialdom and their policies. Every struggle of the workers and all everyday activities must be directed to this object. One of the important features of the work in the labor unions is without fail to utilize the elections of trade union officers and of the delegates to the local, district, national and A. F. of L. conventions. Among the so-called progressive elements there is a growing tendency to develop an opposition against the reactionary labor union bureaucracy and to put up their own ticket in opposition to them at elections. This tendency must be stimulated and developed by the Workers Party as a means of bringing the

MURDERS HIGHEST IN NEW YORK

The number of homicides per 100,000 of population in New York City in 1930 was virtually double the rate for the rest of the State and is the highest ever recorded, according to statistics made public by Commissioner Thomas Parran, Jr. of the New York State Department of Health.

In New York City in 1930 the vital statistics record 494 homicides, compared with 204 in the rest of the State of which 147 took place in urban communities.

This is the first comparison of the homicide figures of New York City and State, although the city figures alone were made public in the recent annual report of the Police Department, which also noted the 1930 increase of 18 per cent over the 1929 figures for the city.

The homicide figures in New York City were 368 in 1927, 401 in 1928, 425 in 1929 and 494 in 1930.

No better indication of the disintegration of the moral foundations of capitalism in the era of its decay can be found than the mounting murder rates in the large cities.

FINE OUTINGS AT CAMP SOLIDARITY

300 at "Age" Affair; Camp Overcrowded on Weekends

Over 300 workers gathered at Camp Solidarity on June 28 in an enthusiastic and highly successful outing arranged by the Communist Party (Majority Group). A large delegation of workers from the textile mills of Paterson and Passaic.

The workers had a fine time in swimming, boating, hiking and having a good meal. A comradely spirit prevailed. Comrades Gilroy, Lifshitz and Halpern addressed the workers at the close of the day which was enjoyed by all.

During the July 4 week-end, Camp Solidarity again had a very successful turn-out. The camp was overcrowded. The turn-out of workers was far beyond even the most optimistic expectations and beyond the facilities and housing capacities of the Camp.

However, arrangements were made to accommodate all and everybody was satisfied. Over 125 workers turned out for the week-end. They expressed full satisfaction with arrangements and treatment.

The congenial atmosphere, beautiful location, fine facilities and treatment, and the extremely low rate are drawing many workers to Camp Solidarity.

Hilferding Sues Galm, Opposition Leader

The notorious German Social-democrat Hilferding, member of the Reichstag and Hesse Landtag, has brought in criminal charges of slander against Heinrich Galm, leader of the Offenbach Communist Opposition and outstanding figure of the Offenbach labor movement. The charges were brought in by Hilferding in connection with the bitter attacks made upon him by Comrade Galm in the Offenbach municipal council, of which he is a member. The Hesse officials are taking steps to remove Galm's parliamentary immunity.

MANY S. P. LOCALS HIT HILLQUIT

(Continued from page 1)
from Europe and is able to defend himself." The world has been passed along into the hands of the "militants" but the signs are that the rank and file will decline to heed the timid counsels of their leaders and will refuse to give up the interests of Socialism and of the workers to a fictitious political etiquette that really hides an attitude of conciliation to the reactionary leaders and policies of the S.P.

START NEW WAGE CUT DRIVE

Babson Lists 213 Slashes; Strikes Also Growing

Despite all talk of "turning the corner" which is not taken too seriously in responsible financial circles, the wage-cutting drive is being extended throughout the country. In recent weeks the fall of prices has reached not only wholesale but also the retail field. It is because of the latter phenomenon that the employers are spending in the wage-cutting campaign.

In the last month there has been a substantial increase of wage-cuts. There has been a noticeable increase in workers resistance in the form of strikes to these wage slashes. Babson's last report points out: "Increasing spread of wage reductions thruout general industry; growing unrest of labor with probable upturn of strikes during the last half of 1931. . . We have listed 213 wage cuts covering 23 industries during the past months. Wage-cuts are now meeting more active resistance on the part of labor and as a result we expect to see the strike toll from this source show a marked increase before the end of the year."

In his confidential report Babson goes out of his way to push his wage-cutting campaign and at the same time demagogically put in his lick for the re-election of Hoover when he says:

"As to government policy on wages: the best option seems to be that the present attempt of the administration to hold up wages scales at existing levels will continue until after November 1, 1932. . . Should the Democratic party carry the 1932 elections, there will doubtless be frantic wage reductions in all industries at that time. If, on the other hand, the Republicans are successful in the elections, there will then follow a certain amount of wage-cutting in those industries which have previously not adjusted their wage schedules in line with the majority."

The building trades are now being especially hard hit by wage-cuts. A recent investigation by Engineering News Record in forty-five cities shows that actual building wage rates at the present are running from 14% to 27% below official union scales. It is expected that the wage scales in the building industry will go much lower yet. In the shoe and paper industries there is also a considerable number of wage-cuts running from 6% to 20%.

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Norman Thomas Discovers America. VI

What Mr. Thomas Proposes

by Ben Gitlow

Norman Thomas says: "Violence arising as a result of national war and breaking into class war would result in such a catastrophe that I have no idea what would emerge."

That is a frank and honest statement. It is the kernel of the Norman Thomas position. According to Thomas the greatest calamity would be for the workers to turn a capitalist (national) war into a class war (proletarian revolution).

Norman Thomas views as a catastrophe an armed working class using its power to make a revolution to wipe out capitalist rule. Certainly that would be a terrible catastrophe for Norman Thomas.

He would have to accept working class rule or suffer the doom of the capitalists. He would not be free as a bird sitting on a limb to chirp all day long the glories of capitalist democracy, while millions starve in the midst of plenty, while the sound of policemen's clubs and the rattle of bullets claim the worker victims in the battle for bread, while motherhood is robbed of its joys, while the flower of working class youth is stunted, dwarfed, crippled and distorted for life in capitalist industry, while the masses of workers are deadened intellectually, kept in ignorance and polluted by capitalist agencies of religion, school and press, while prostitution, graft, corruption, dishonesty are regarded as virtues, and loyalty to the poor and honesty of conviction is a crime.

The essence of capitalism is ruthless violence against the working class. Its logic is the actual, the real, the real catastrophe, hell of life for workers during so-called capitalist "peace" time and a hell of death during capitalist war-time.

Because Norman Thomas loves capitalism so much, because it permits him to weave phrases and to offer them as constructive, wise proposals, as a way out of Socialism thru revolution, Norman Thomas, the "Socialist", rejects Marxism, rejects the class struggle, rejects a working-class revolution against capitalism.

His "Way Out"

Instead he offers to the workers of America his own program. Let us examine his way out for America.

Now can one expect Norman Thomas to work out a program for the working class of the United States when his whole conception of the average American is a petty bourgeois conception, the conception of Main Street, of the small business men. He writes of the Calvin Coolidge "prosperity" period the following: "The average American still preferred working others to productive labor." Is the average American an employer of labor, a business man, or a worker who engages in productive labor until he is incapacitated or dies? Mr. Thomas evidently does not speak of the average American who is a worker but of the average American who is a small merchant or manufacturer, who hopes thru the exploitation of labor to get where the big capitalists are. Norman Thomas's program reflects the interests of these "average Americans", these would-be big capitalists.

Norman Thomas begins with the idea that the workers can gain more thru American capitalist democracy than thru working class action and revolution. To prove his contention he makes the following statement: "Here we can at least point out that even in plutocratic America no political democracy has acquired without revolution the right to impose a most unwelcome income tax on the rich which opens the door to some real shift in economic power and privilege."

Before American capitalist democracy, political democracy as Norman Thomas calls it, adopted the income tax, European capitalist governments, of kings, emperors and Kaisers with autocratic power, had found it expedient and necessary to adopt income tax measures. But in no instance has there come as a result of this measure some real shift in economic power and privilege. The income tax didn't stop the growth of millionaires and lessen poverty in the United States. The Rockefellers and Morgans remain. In spite of the income tax they have become more powerful and wealthier. The governmental power has not shifted away from the specially privileged. It is today a more rapacious, more reactionary, more brutal strike-breaking capitalist force than it was when the income tax was first passed. But if this is not such a convincing proof of the effectiveness of capitalist democracy, Norman Thomas offers you this one: "Without straining unduly the far from perfect analogy between the struggle of an unprivileged sex and a somewhat similar struggle of dispossessed classes and nations, it may be said that the emancipation of women without war—save in a rhetorical sense, is worth consideration by those who would dispose of the possibility of peace simply on the basis of the unwillingness of a privileged group to renounce power and privilege."

The above reminds me of the little adage: If at first you don't succeed, try, try, again. Norman Thomas wants to say: If men gave women the vote without a fight, then we can expect the capitalists to give us their privileges without a fight. But even women suffrage was not gained without a violent struggle. But women suffrage did not involve the taking away of privileges from the capitalists. It did not challenge the economic base of capitalism. To expect the capitalists to give up their privileged position without a fight is to fly in the face of history and glaring facts. A strike today for a few cents more pay, for shorter hours, for recognition of the union, becomes a veritable battle field with tear bombs, machine guns, Cossacks, police, militia. In Pennsylvania today

the soil is red with the blood of coal miners. No, Norman Thomas, you offer no convincing arguments that the so-called democracy of the U. S. government can be used effectively for the workers against capitalism. It is the hub of the capitalist wheel keeping it together. It is its most effective agency of terrorism, suppression and violence against the workers in a mild gradual manner. He is also for the recognition of the Soviet Union, for the United States becoming part of the League of Nations and for the wiping out of war debts. There is nothing Socialist in his program. The liberals can accept it. LaFollette is even more radical.

Writing of public ownership Norman Thomas expresses himself as follows: "If it comes peacefully it will—indeed it must—come gradually." Norman Thomas is in no hurry for Socialism and it must come peacefully without revolution to have his support. He states further that he is for buying the industries from the capitalists; he is for compensating the capitalists. He puts it this way: "After all a great many owners are

Mild Liberalism Norman Thomas is for consumers co-operatives, for government ownership of certain basic industries, for the single tax, for free trade thru a gradual reduction of tariffs, for income and inheritance taxes. He is for the attainment of these reforms in a mild gradual manner. He is also for the recognition of the Soviet Union, for the United States becoming part of the League of Nations and for the wiping out of war debts. There is nothing Socialist in his program. The liberals can accept it. LaFollette is even more radical.

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The "New Turn" in Trade Union Line

TWO LETTERS FROM THE R. I. L. U.

by A. P.

The diplomatic "unity drive" being conducted under the direct inspiration of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, in Germany as well as in the United States, is primarily based upon the widely heralded "new turn" in trade union work. And yet such is the contradictory character of bureaucratic "self-criticism" that even this "new turn" has to develop in an antagonistic form: "unofficially" it is zealously propagated in order to head off the criticisms of the Opposition and to break its ranks; officially the "new turn" is denied and the documents connected with it are even suppressed.

No better illustration of the essentially superficial character of this "new turn" and of the utterly unprincipled manner in which it is being carried out can be found than the recent scandal centering around the letters of the Red International of Labor Unions to the Communist Parties of Germany and the United States of America.

The Suppression of the Documents

On May 18 a full-page letter of the R.I.L.U. was published in the Daily Worker. The letter dealt with very important problems—as important as Communist documents can deal with these days. It sharply criticized the work and the results of the work of the T.U.U.L. and the Party. And yet this letter has not yet (two months later) been published in the Freiheit, the Jewish organ of the Party, read by most of the Party trade union workers. In the two months time not a single article has appeared in the entire Party press, commenting on, explaining or dealing with this letter of the R.I.L.U. in any form. It came—and it was printed—and that's all! As a matter of fact, it can be safely said that the good portion of the Party membership is still ignorant of the contents of the letter, if not of its very existence.

To the German T.U.U.L. (called the R.G.O.) a letter also came from the R. I. L. U. For two weeks it was suppressed and communicated only to leading functionaries. Then when the Opposition paper, the Arbeiterpolitik, published a summary of the contents of this letter on June 21, the Rote Fahne finally published this letter—but with a totally altered introduction, changing entirely the direction of criticism and the intent of the letter. To date, the original letter has not yet been made public in the Party press in spite of open demands of the membership.

The Content of the Letters

What, then, do these Letters say that they have been dealt with in such a manner?

1. The American Letter cannot hide the practical collapse of Communist trade union work under the new trade union line. "The revolutionary unions and the T. U. U. L. have been declining in numbers and have lost considerable positions in the ranks of the working class during recent months". In other words, in a period of great objective possibilities, which the Letter emphasizes, loss in membership and influence! The German Letter is a little less frank. It also emphasizes the good objective conditions. "The objective conditions are such to drive the workers to us", and it also refers to the "great weaknesses of our movement", to the tremendous disproportion between the influence of the R.G.O. and that of the reformists despite their

guilty of no worse crime than playing the game by the established rules and exercising a function by permission of society which society has not exercised."

Norman Thomas is deeply concerned about the capitalists. They played the game. The must be paid. Who will compensate the workers for their misery, poverty, for their crippled and killed in industry, for the ruthlessness of the class war, and for the millions crushed and slaughtered in the greed for profits and in capitalist war?

But Norman Thomas is not concerned about the workers whose lives have gone into the building of industry; he is concerned about the capitalist and says:

"Purchase of great industries will cost money but at an immediate saving to the public."

The political reforms advocated by Norman Thomas show him up as a very mild progressive, a really conservative liberal. Al Smith could run on this program with the endorsement of Raskob of General Motors and Owen D. Young of General Electric.

Norman Thomas wants the election of president by popular vote. He is against the abolition of the United States Supreme Court. He writes concerning this outstanding capitalist institution: "Just how to amend the constitution so as to limit the power of the Supreme Court is a matter for more discussion by more groups than it has had."

(Concluded in the next issue)

Oppression Breeds Long Memory

The New York Herald-Tribune decided to show the Negro masses of the United States why they should celebrate the "glorious Fourth," the day upon which this country "won its freedom." So, on July 4, it published the following item:

"Detroit, July 3.—Folded into a tiny coop where his chin rests on his knees and his arms cannot be stretched full length, Ike Morrow is hauled back to Texas and prison. The Negro was shoved today into a heavy wire cage like those on the rear of a dog-catcher's cart.

"The cage is right over the rear wheels of a small truck. A grim-faced Texas prison agent who broke his taciturnity only to exclaim, 'In Texas we don't fool around with niggers,' snapped two heavy padlocks on the door that had closed on Ike.

"The prisoner in his 4 by 4 cage will be carted through eight states—1,100 long, dusty and humpy miles—before they pull up at Huntsville, whence Ike escaped. He slipped his shackles and swam a stream, eluding bloodhounds and bullets. This trip back is to be a lesson to him."

"In Texas we don't fool around with niggers," declared the prison agent. No! And when the Negro masses of this country, in alliance with the working class, white and black, discover their own power and throw off the parasites who have sweated and bled them for centuries, they too will not "fool around" with the murderous white slave masters. A little "lesson" is also in store for them! Oppression breeds long memories!

trade union question centers around the elementary question of objectives in trade union work. We champion the Leninist tactics. The trade unions must be captured! The reactionary leaders must be defeated! The unions must be converted into militant organs of labor struggle! The Party has now adopted the old ultra-left tactics. The reactionary unions are not workers organizations; they are "company unions"! We must destroy these unions! The workers must be brought into the "Red" unions (T.U.U.L. unions). These viewpoints are fundamentally different.

Has the Party made any change here? No! Its objectives still remain the same: to destroy the mass unions, to organize the workers in dual "Red" unions. Only—in the past the attempt was made to destroy the mass unions from without—by withdrawing the Communists and sympathizers from the unions and urging all workers to leave them. Now the method has been changed—the attempt is being made to destroy the mass unions from within—by building up groups which, at the proper moment, will bring about a split and carry over workers into the "Red" unions. Not the least change in fact: the ultra-left objectives still remain!

2. A no less fundamental tactical difference is the question of trade union unity. Leninism maintains that Communists must always fight for trade union unity, that Communists must fight against every attempt to split the trade union organizations. The reformists profit by splits—the Communists by unity. But today the sectarian Party course insists on splits in principle, as a method. Has there been any change here? No! Not one word in the R.I.L.U. Letters!

3. And then the questions of "new unions." Leninism maintains that the Communists must push the organization of the organized thru the existing trade unions. In fields where there are no trade unions the Communists must take the initiative in organizing the worker into trade unions, outside of the A. F. of L. if necessary, but simultaneously the fight must go on to integrate the new unions into the general trade union movement (the Passaic experience is very instructive). The sectarian Party course insists on the formation of "new" unions as dual unions, as a principle, without regard to possibilities and mass basis. And, of course, no one would dream of fighting to affiliate the new unions organizationally under Communist influence to the A. F. of L. On the contrary, just as "Red" unions are organized as dual to the mass unions so is the T.U.U.L. organized as dual to the A. F. of L. Could any greater difference of policy be possible?

For A Real Change of Line!

No! There has been no change of line at all—not in essentials, not even in important secondary features. The "new turn" is a mere diplomatic maneuver that can only make the situation worse. It leaves the root of the crisis untouched.

Only a real change of line—only a return to the tactical fundamentals of Leninism, can make an end to the absolutely intolerable situation into which the Communist Parties and the Communist International have gotten themselves.

The Economic Week

THE wind has practically dropped out of the sails of the stock spurt caused by the Hoover Debt and Reparation Moratorium Plan. This was shown by the fall instead of rise of stock prices when the Franco-American agreement was reached on the Hoover proposal. Steel operations are still falling and no signs of a rise are in sight. June unfilled orders for steel fell by 141,129 from the previous month. Bank clear-

ings declined 16.4% last week. Wheat again reached new lows—the lowest levels since 1896. Freight car loadings are lagging and have been reaching levels touching the lowest totals since the War. Class I railroads net income dropped 39.1% in five months. June iron output dropped 44.75% below the corresponding month of 1930. Prices are stagnant and it is still too early to speak of any halt in the

The European Crisis Deepens Germany and the Moratorium

by August Thalheimer (Berlin)

I. The New Appearance of Imperialist Questions.

Between the emergency decree and the debt-moratorium proposed by Hoover there is a small difference—the emergency decree really goes into effect on July 1 while the moratorium still remains merely a prospect. When this prospect will be realized—and under what conditions—is not yet clear. The main resistance comes from French imperialism and this resistance is not to be estimated too lightly. For, in the first place, France will have to give up about 400 million marks, the difference between German payments to France and French payments to America. But that is not all—nor is it the most important. The proposal of Hoover already signifies the collapse of the Young Plan because, in effect, it proposes the postponement of the non-repayable annuities as well, which is entirely impermissible according to the Young Plan. Of course, this is exactly what the French bourgeois press emphasizes. If the Hoover Plan is put thru—they say—the entire Young Plan is in danger. In the German bourgeois press we find the following line of argument: If the moratorium will lead to an alleviation of the economic crisis or to a new upward swing, then it would be insane to occasion a relapse into the crisis by a resumption of payments. If the moratorium will bring with it no alleviation of the crisis, then the resumption of payments will obviously be impossible. The moratorium is regarded as a lever to liquidate the Young Plan and the system of war tribute in general. It need not be emphasized that opposition

so such an idea will be vigorous and obstinate. But still this is not all. In connection with the bringing forth of these economic and financial phases of the imperialist peace treaties, a whole series of political and military problems come to the fore. The proposal of the United States is an offensive against the imperialist position of power of France on the European continent, against the system of alliances which France has constructed on the basis of the Allied victory. It is an attempt of the U. S. A. to create the political conditions for clearing from the way the obstacles and hindrances put up by French imperialism for American capital export to Europe. Today France is defending its World War victory against the U. S. A. and against Germany to a slighter degree, the same also is true of Italy. Both powers face the "danger" that the interference of America at their expense and further that America is only using Germany to make a breach in the system of imperialist relations in Europe all along the line for the benefit of Dollar Imperialism.

2. Independent Line for the Working Class!

From this it follows that the entire matter is not quite so "simple." The working class is facing a deepening controversy of the imperialist powers, a profound regrouping that brings with it a crisis of the present imperialist system. The working class must utilize this developing crisis for its own class purposes. It can only do this if it makes its

Marxism and the World Crisis

THE MARXIAN THEORY OF CRISES

by Eugene Varga

(Continued from the last issue)

The decisive antagonisms between the big imperialist powers (Great Britain v. United States, France v. Italy, France v. Germany) are on the increase, added to them are a great number of fresh antagonisms among smaller states, some of them already assuming the form of open tariff wars, e. g. Germany v. Poland (in spite of the ratification of the trade treaty), Hungary v. Czechoslovakia, Germany v. Holland.

At the same time, there are counter-tendencies of great significance. Great states undoubtedly are, they nevertheless form a united front against the bourgeois-democratic risings in the colonies and the proletarian revolutions, in their countries.

Thus the crisis, bridging for the time being the aggravated differences among the bourgeois states, leads, in close connection with the development of the revolutionary crisis at home, to an extreme continuation of the antagonisms between the two systems, an accentuation which makes the danger of an armed intervention against the Soviet Union particularly acute.

Prospects for the Future

The further development of the crisis depends in the first place on how the class struggle shapes. The more determined, resolute, and comprehensive the fight of the proletariat is against the bourgeoisie (which attempts to shift all the burden of the crisis onto the working masses), the longer the crisis is likely to last. So much is certain: the year 1931 will constitute a critical year for the capitalist world.

Of this fact there are the following tangible proofs: The super-abundant stocks—in so far as can be judged on the strength of inadequate statistics—have so far means yet disappeared from the market. On the contrary, in regard to certain important raw materials, they are greater than at the beginning of the crisis. The maintenance of the retail price level, the incredible extent of unemployment and the decrease (by reason of the agrarian crisis) in the purchasing power of the broadest peasant class, are the main factors rendering difficult the absorption of the surplus goods and thereby a return to depression.

Meanwhile, Marx's dictum that "there is no such thing as a permanent crisis" also obtains in the period of the general crisis of capitalism. Sooner or later the critical phase must come to an end. If, however, the growing revolutionary crisis in certain countries greatly impairs the economic position, if in important areas decisive struggles for power ensue, this would mean a prolongation of the critical phase. If, on the other hand, the

appearance independently, apart from the bourgeoisie and against it, but in an international united class front. It must fight most sharply against what the Social-democratic parties of all countries attempt to bring about: that in every country the working class should be an appendix and a supporter of its own imperialism.

The working class strives for the liquidation of the imperialist robber treaties but not at its own expense, not for the benefit of American and German imperialism, not to increase the imperialist war danger nor to intensify the counter-revolutionary offensive against the Soviet Union.

The imperialist reactionary liquidation of the imperialist robber treaties is countered by the working class with the proletarian-revolutionary course; the relations of imperialist dependency, with the self-determination of peoples; the strengthening of capitalist exploitation, with its abolition; the power of the dollar, with Socialism.

3. Capital Cashes In—The Workers Lick Their Lips

The working class has a simple and reliable means of orientating itself as to its own class interests. It only has to observe the conclusions drawn by capital from the situation. First of all, capital is cashing in on all stock exchanges of the world in the form of gigantic price rises. These are direct gains for capital, but they are also a sort of barometer. Thru these price rises the stock exchanges of the world announce their expectation of a deepening of capitalist exploitation as a whole, of increased capitalist profits. The stock exchange deals with the blood and sweat of the working class. The essential content of stock exchange speculation is the prospect of capitalist exploitation. These prospects are improving. So much is told by the stock exchange figures.

The real language of capital, expressed in dry figures, is the critical refutation of the hypothetical phrases with which the bourgeois and Social-democratic press is attempting to fool the workers; that what is good for capital is also good for labor, that the working class is to expect improvement in its situation from the American Hoover Messiah. Equally clear speaks the fact that the bourgeois press in Germany, in unanimous chorus, insists that the emergency decree is "not yet" to be touched.

Capital is cashing in now on the prospects of an alleviation of the burdens of tribute. But the working class is licking its dry lips. The workers are comforted with promises for the "future." But "later" capital will "prove" that the interest on American and other foreign capital investments must be taken care of.

The capital offensive will therefore not be broken off for even a moment; on the contrary, it will continue. On the occasion of the Young Plan, the working class was deceived, primarily with the help of the Social-democracy with prospects for the improvement of its situation. For the third time, now, the game is being played.

4. Immediate Abolition of the Emergency Decree!

The working class must give a practical answer to capital. It must declare: You are already cashing in on the prospects of improvement. You are comforted with the future—as you have done again and again. But we are thru with this swindle. We are thru with "prospects"; we want something tangible. We demand the immediate abolition of the emergency decree and the covering of the differences at the expense of the possessing classes whose condition has already been improved.

If this is rejected, then we know where we stand. We know that the "prospects" with which we are fed, are mere swindle. And therefore we will add the more energetically take up our struggle for the abolition of the emergency decree.

5. The Proletariat Does Not Gain by a Capitalist Breathing Spell

But, in the last analysis, it is not our job, not the job of the proletariat, to play "doctor" to your wonderful capitalist system; it is our job, rather, to shake off this nightmare as quickly as possible. We have no interest in providing you with a breathing spell—which, for us, will be no breathing spell but rather a new loss of blood, a continuation of the death struggle of the capitalist robber economy, a continuation of capitalist chaos and proletarian mass misery.

On the basis of the "new situation" it is necessary now to resume with greater energy the struggle in the proletariat mass organizations against the emergency decree, against the Brüning regime, against Fascism.

6. The Fascist Danger Is Not Overcome!

Fascism has not been destroyed by Hoover, as the liberal and Social-democratic press now again imagine. It is waiting for its hour.

The Fascist danger is not to be conjured away. The Brüning semi-dictatorship is now making its "last attempt" which involves the greatest risk. If the workers do not take up action, then the hour of Fascism can come with the greatest rapidity.

Therefore, the working class must, without delay, mobilize its forces for the struggle for the removal of the emergency decree. In critical situations, rapid action is sometimes decisive.

Economic Crisis in Canada

Mr. J. A. P. Haydon, the Canadian correspondent of Labor has made a thorough survey of Canada and finds that "unless something unforeseen happens within the next two months to effect a revival of employment, Canada will probably face one of the gravest domestic situations in her history."

Mr. E. J. Vaz, of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropists in Montreal, declared that "unemployment is 60% higher than at any previous time in the history of the Federation." In Edmonton, Alberta, troops are now stationed "as a precautionary measure" against unemployment riots. In the seven suburbs of greater Winnipeg at least 25% of the population will be without means of support next winter.

There are also reports according to Toronto newspapers that "a battalion of unemployed is drilling with rifles" and that the situation is so desperate "that armed unemployed will plunder stores to secure food and clothing." The Montreal Star, in summing up the situation, says "The country faces a crisis of thousands of men and women out of work. The farmers can't sell their products. People are losing their homes and finding themselves unable to pay their taxes and other public service charges to say nothing of their private bills."

The Conservative Bennett government, which has been particularly brutal in its attack upon the workers, has been losing prestige very rapidly in recent weeks because of its bankruptcy in the sharpening economic crisis.

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THE SCOTTSBORO CASE

THE Scottsboro case bids fair indeed to become another Mendel Bailliss affair—a tragedy of universal significance, focussing the eyes of the whole world upon a revolting example of the ruthless suppression of a whole people. Eight Negro boys have been convicted and sentenced to death for "raping" two white prostitutes—convicted upon evidence that cannot even be dignified as flimsy because it is really non-existent, sentenced by the howls of an armed lynch-mob outside the court-house. Nothing very unusual in the bloody South! The case was rescued from the obscurity to which the dark story of the oppression of the Negro is usually condemned only thru the devoted activities of the Communists. It was the local organizer of the Communist Party that brought the case out to public attention. It was the Communist-led International Labor Defense that immediately took up the cause of these unfortunate victims of lynch-law. It was the Communist and sympathetic press that broke the conspiracy of silence and made the case ring from one end of the land to the other. It was the Communist movement in other parts of the world that transformed the "incident" into an international affair, in Paris, in London, in Berlin, in Moscow. The political courage and the personal devotion of the Communists thereby achieved historical levels.

By taking up the defense of the unknown Scottsboro victims, in the face of difficulties beyond imagination, the Communist Party again confirmed the profound correctness of the fundamental Leninist conception of the revolutionary proletariat as the dauntless champion of all the oppressed and exploited. A glorious page was thereby added to the long and painful struggle of mankind for emancipation.

But such is the poisonous blight spread in every direction by the new sectarian policies dominating the Communist Party today, that even this glorious page has been darkened by its ominous shadow. False and suicidal tactics have well nigh undone the achievements of profoundly correct principles! When the I.L.D. initiated its Scottsboro campaign, it outlined a program of great promise. A broad and real united front movement was planned with slogans that would draw in the most backward masses and their organizations, both white and black. An end to the insanity of "social-fascism" and a cessation to the orgies of irresponsible abuse were promised. But the promises turned into ashes . . .

It did not take very long before it became clear enough that the Communist Party leadership had no conception whatever of what the united front really is. At the beginning, every friendly word in the Negro press, every sympathetic gesture was hailed in the columns of the "Daily Worker" as the "broadening of the united front." Then suddenly everything changed. Only those who accepted the ultimate slogans of the Communists and subordinated themselves to the I.L.D. were regarded as "in the united front"—all others became "staunch allies of the white masters." There was a fundamental failure to make a distinction between specifically Communist demands and "partial" demands on which non-Communist masses could be mobilized (new trial, change of venue, etc.). At no time was the united front conceived as what it really is: A BLOC OF ORGANIZATIONS ON AN EQUAL PLANE FIGHTING ON THE BASIS OF A MINIMUM PROGRAM.

Coupled with this altogether false conception of the united front came an equally false estimation of the role of petty bourgeois organizations among the Negroes as an oppressed people. Nor was any sign exhibited of an appreciation of the importance of gaining a labor base among the white workers. The same old story resulted—"conferences" which represented nobody, "united fronts" based on appeals to "follow" the Communist Party, discredit, isolation . . .

The whole tragic train of consequences is dramatized in the relations between the I.L.D. and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The N.A.A.C.P. is a petty bourgeois organization, with wide following and great influence among the more advanced elements of the Negro masses. Among the Negro people in this country, as among all oppressed races, nations or peoples, the petty bourgeoisie still has great progressive potentialities and cannot be compared with the white petty bourgeoisie of contemporary society. Any Marxist should know this. And since, as any Marxist should know also, the Negro petty bourgeoisie (especially the intellectuals) represents no homogeneous mass, the leadership of the N.A.A.C.P. shows a profound inner differentiation on political lines, exhibits, in fact, what is equivalent to a right, a center and a left wing. The determined and heroic stand of the I.L.D. for the Scottsboro boys immediately attracted the sympathy of the more left elements of the N.A.A.C.P., such as Pickens and others. Pickens indeed publicly endorsed the work of the I.L.D. But the fatal logic of sectarianism soon did its work. Not only was grist brought to the mill of the conservative elements in the N.A.A.C.P. leadership but Pickens himself quickly lost his admiration for the I.L.D. and began to move rapidly towards a more and more conciliatory and right-wing position. . . . It did not take long before, on the one hand, the very center of the I.L.D.'s bitter assault shifted from the murderous white master class to the N.A.A.C.P. and before, on the other hand, attacks on the I.L.D. became an ever-present element in the N.A.A.C.P.'s press services. Thus the masses of the Negro people are presented with the demoralizing and discouraging spectacle of disunity and mutual recrimination, and even physical encounters, among the two main forces claiming to be fighting for the lives of the Negro boys in Alabama. Thus has the Communist Party again gotten itself into the unenviable position that it has been in altogether too frequently in recent months—that of a force for disunity and splitting.

It is not yet too late. The cause of the Scottsboro boys demands it; the cause of the oppressed Negro people demands it; the cause of the well-tried tactics of unity which will not only concentrate all forces of the toilers for hammer blows against bloodthirsty American lynch-capitalism but will also restore the Communist Party to its rightful position as the recognized champion of all the exploited, of all the unprivileged, of all the oppressed!

The Communist Opposition in India

The Indian Masses Fight On

A Letter from Bombay

Bombay, India, April 1931.
 All the political activities of the country are taking place on the background of a severe agrarian crisis which is driving the peasant masses to revolt. The Congress utilized this factor as the decisive weapon in its bargain with imperialism. Having made the compromise, it wanted to check the peasant forces of peasant revolt obliged the Congress to seek compromise with imperialism on the terms of complete capitulation. The peasant revolt, however, is not to be controlled. It still develops under the flag of the Congress, but defies all its frantic efforts to keep it under control. We are taking advantage of this transition stage for capturing the leadership of the movement. Active workers in the villages still remain faithful Congressmen, but are driven by the circumstances to disregard the ideology and policy of the Congress. They were all confused when the Congress called off the no-tax campaign. In view of the conditions of the peasantry, they know that the movement cannot be called off. Still they are not yet ready to revolt against the Congress leadership. We have provided them with a program of immediate action which does not directly conflict with the Congress policy, but is sure to intensify the class struggle in the village. The result will be that those working on the spot will be forced to break away from the Congress leadership, unless they prefer to oppose the peasants openly, which they are not doing to date. We have succeeded in getting together the peasant movement actual- in the village. In these conferences the program of action proposed by us has been adopted. The program is: (1) 75 per cent reduction of land rent for the present year of depression; (2) a permanent reduction of 50 per cent when normal conditions return (this is not likely to happen); (3) complete exemption of land rent for poor peasants cultivating such small plots of land as cannot provide them with the barest means of subsistence; (4) annulment of the peasant indebtedness in cases when the money borrowed originally has been paid off with 6 per cent interest; (5) no interest to be paid for the present year; (6) hereafter the rate of interest not to exceed 6 per cent; (7) establishment of Village Councils elected by the peasants, artisans, small traders and land workers; (8) abolition of all feudal dues. The Congress leaders do not like this program, but cannot oppose it openly, fearing to lose the confidence of the peasants. On the other hand, we must be very careful in our attitude to the Congress, which commands a tremendous authority. The peasants believe that the Congress is more powerful than the government, and are not afraid of any struggle provided it takes place under the Congress banner. Our struggle with the Congress leadership is on the basic question of organization form. The Congress wants that the peasants should be organized as its members. We insist that there should be separate Peasant Unions under the Congress flag. We are putting thru our line in many places. We will not deliver the peasants to the mercies of the Congress. But for the time being, we cannot set up organizations openly rival to the Congress. It might be done, if there were a Communist Party with sufficient force at its command. As it is, we are obliged to win over the Congressmen working in the village. In this we are succeeding. We are gradually driving them to a position where they will either have to defy the Congress or lose the confidence of the peasantry.

The Congress and the Peasants
 Until now, we have been able to work only in two provinces, Bombay and the United Provinces of the North. The movement is strongest in these two provinces. Two distinct types of landownership obtain in the two provinces. In Bombay the peasants are directly tenants of the state. In the U. P., feudalism. Just at present we are concentrating upon the U. P. for the purpose of sharpening the contradictions inside the Congress. The Congress leaders are very reluctant to do anything against the landlords. They want the present movement to be confined in the provinces where the State is the landlord. So, they are placed in a rather disagreeable position when the movement develops against the landlords also. They are sure to disavow this movement eventually. That will enable us to win over a large section of the rank and file, provided we can be with them and retain their confidence in this period of transition. This we are doing very successfully. During the last two weeks we had large mass meetings practically every day. An area about as large as Holland has been covered. Every meeting was attended by 5-8 thousand peasants coming often from 15 or 20 miles away. In several cases the landlords planned to break up the meetings with the help of hired ruffians but did not dare owing to the unexpected (by themselves) magnitude of the movement. In every meeting we put forward the demands contained in our program which were enthusiastically hailed by the peasants. After that we had conferences with the Congressmen working in the village. They had no other alternative than to endorse our program. Now we are planning conferences of active workers in particular districts with the object of setting up party groups. These may in the beginning take the form of left wing groups inside of the Congress; but under the given conditions they are bound to develop in the direction desired by us. In any case, this is the only way of building up the party. Otherwise, we shall have to function as isolated propaganda groups as do the "official people" (i.e. the "loyalists" Editor). We shall have the first conference on May 1.

The Petty Bourgeoisie
 Our activities among the urban petty bourgeoisie have not borne much fruit. The revolt of the Congress rank and file against the peace policy of Gandhi has collapsed miserably. An analysis of the Karachi Congress is given in the current issue of the *Masses*. Our plan of bringing about a division in the Congress on the issue of peace did not succeed. But we have managed to sharpen contradictions inside the Congress as a preliminary. The "loyalists," specially financed for the purpose, tried to set up a parallel show which failed miserably. For their hostile demonstrations against Gandhi they could not get more than 200 people; our resolution against the Peace Pact was endorsed by more than one hundred delegates. We had nine comrades as delegates to the Congress and two of them actually got the floor. One of them was Sheikh whose speech condemning the Pact and proposing the program for a revolutionary struggle for national liberation was enthusiastically applauded to the great chagrin of the Mahatma and his coterie. We carried the fight even inside small enclaves of the Dictator. The bureaucratic machine was fully utilized to prevent our resolution coming before the open session of the Congress. As a counter-move the working committee (something like the inner circle of leaders) itself came out at the last moment with a resolution defining Swaraj. The resolution was branded as "Socialist" and provoked fierce opposition. This has given us the opportunity to open the eyes of the trusting rank and file. Of course, the resolution is a swindle and will do great harm, unless exposed in its true nature. But here again we can utilize the resolution of the Congress against itself. For example, in presenting our program of action of the peasant movement we disarm the opposition of the Congress by the argument that our proposition is but the concrete form of the principle adopted by the Karachi Congress. Of course, exposing the real nature of the resolution.

The Trade Union Field
 All our forces having been occupied in the Congress work during the last month, little new progress has been made in the trade union field. Our position has become rather difficult owing to the determined effort of the reformists to drive the Communists (official) out of the Trade Union Congress. In this fight we cannot but support the latter, thus prejudicing our chances of capturing the T.U.C. The middle group in the trade union movement, with the support of which the "loyalists" captured the machinery of the T.U.C., is very friendly towards us. By its foolish habit of abusing everybody, the "loyalists" have alienated the sympathy of their former ally. Disgusted with the Communists, the middle group now tends to swing to the other extreme. (Continued in the next issue)

Youth Under Capitalism

FORCED LABOR IN THE PUBLIX CHAIN

by Herbert Dawn

Chicago, Ill.
 Typewriters have been worked overtime of late as the boss press floods its sheets with the concoctions of forced labor in the Soviet Union. While headlines screech, and the Pulitzer-prize reporters work themselves up into a frenzy, it is time indeed to tell the story of how thousands of young American workers are actually held in bondage by one of America's greatest theatre corporations. The plight of these young workers put to shame even the stories of the best Riga-Berlin-Paris correspondents.

While the stockholders in Paramount-Public Theatres have just collected their dividends (6% on the dollar), while the profits of this corporation were greater in 1930 than ever before (despite the depression), the wages of the ushers have been slashed, their hours lengthened, and extra pay for overtime abolished. Formerly, the ushers received \$18 per week; today, they receive \$17. Formerly, the ushers received 48c extra for working the midnight show on Saturdays; today, this has been abolished—they are told it is for "the welfare of the company." Every time a new device comes into being to intensify the labor of the ushers, the same tune is sung. *Seven days a week they toil—no respite from the crushing monotony of this labor, no chance to even see the sun.* Day in, day out, pale and anemic youngsters are overworked, underpaid; while the John Balaban and Sam Katz ride in their limousines, with two chauffeurs to the car. While Mr. Dave Balaban, another of the big stockholders, indulges in the sexual exploits for which he is famous, thousands of ushers must toil gratis. Never a single evening or afternoon for themselves, from 1 o'clock in the afternoon to 10:30 every evening they must slave, and on Saturdays from 1 to 11:30.

your job. Your job is in demand, you must work hard; don't complain, you know it is not easy work, and you need not be frightened as to your job." Since then these words have again and again been hammered at the usher forces. "Work, accept everything with a smile, or you can get the hell out of here—there are plenty of guys that want your job"—this is hurled at them at the slightest complaint. On certain holidays, etc., they are forced to work from 12 to 13 hours, particularly in the houses classed as B and C—the seating capacity ranging from about three thousand to less than a thousand.

Yet here the tale does not end. . . . Lobbies must be decorated anew, occasionally; advertising must be distributed; and so the ushers put in still more time for "the welfare of the company." At the usher meetings which take place in every theatre of any size, after the regular working day is completed, of course, they are subjected to an orgy of criticism and are told, that if they work still harder "the management shall feel grateful." Last winter an assemblage of all the ushers working in theatres under the general supervision of Mr. Carl Strodel were treated to a piece of oratory that they will long remember. Said this worthy: "This will be a cold, dark, and miserable winter, thousands of young fellows are marching the streets who are willing to work just for their food. You should feel grateful that you have a job in such a period. But you must not forget that you must do what you are told, that you must work hard and efficiently if you wish to hold

These conditions which exist in the Chicago area (Marlboro, Northside, Uptown, Granada, etc.) are typical of conditions elsewhere. Not only the Public Corporation but the equally infamous Radio-Keith-Orpheum corporation also promotes this slavery.

The system of spying is carefully nourished; any remark of an usher against the management is invariably reported, especially if he is careless as to whom he addresses his remarks. Various titles and favors are distributed so as to promote the most basic type of servility—directors, lieutenants, captains, etc., so that if a theatre has eight ushers, five of them are "big shots." "These rats," as the ushers not infrequently call them, become the most vicious slave-drivers, and will, for a 16-minute increase in their lunch period, drive the force to the point of exhaustion. Many times has the writer witnessed the force after a night's toil—they could scarcely stand on their feet. In the wealthier neighborhoods, these ushers have, as a direct contrast, the youth of the wealthy class—carefree, full of laughter and the joy of living, gliding down the streets in long, low and costly roadsters, arrayed in the finest and most beautiful toggery.

Discontent is rampant; but so are timidity, ignorance, and the mythology instilled by the system (the belief in "opportunity," the "eventual rewards for hard labor," and that disease by which they seek to rationalize their plight "Well, if I had the brains I wouldn't be an usher.")

The forces have been cut twice since the beginning of the company's "retrenchment policy." Small wonder that with a docile labor force and mounting profits, Mr. Sam Katz, president of the corporation, gleefully gills columns in *Public Opinion* about how Public "has successfully withstood the business crisis," etc.

The Young Communist League has splendid opportunities amongst these young workers who are ground so mercilessly by toil and its consequent tortures. Splendid opportunities to bring to these young workers the true facts of the Russian youth and expose the prostitute press. Yet the sleeper has not yet awakened. Opportunity is apparently knocking at the wrong door!

Mr. Brawley's book, on the other hand is a disappointment. It is a sketchy, superficial account of the lives of prominent Negro exponents of the fine art in America, filled with superfluous and irrelevant details but lacking much necessary information, making no attempt a social-historical or esthetic analysis of any sort. Its general intellectual level is that of a high school text. Of somewhat more value are the three essays appended: "The Negro in American Fiction," "The Negro in American Literature," and "The Negro in Contemporary Literature."

Matthew Will says: "The time for action has arrived. We need to meet the cold-blooded Communist Five-Year Plan with a warm-blooded ten-year plan of democratic idealism." That's hot stuff! Matty would have said "red-blooded" but—you know how it is.

Then there's Ramsay MacDonald with his thousand-year plan for building Socialism in Great Britain. As we have already explained, it's nothing the first year and twice as much the next. Only a revolution could interfere with Ramsay's plan.



ANTHOLOGY OF AMERICAN NEGRO LITERATURE

edited with an introduction by V. F. Calverton. The Modern Library, New York, 1929.
 THE NEGRO IN LITERATURE AND ART IN THE UNITED STATES, by Benjamin Brawley. Fifth Edition. Duffield and Company, New York, 1930.

No subject, it appears to me, so commends itself as worthy of profound consideration on the part of the student of American culture as the contribution of the Negro to American life. For I believe that Calverton only states an almost obvious truth when he declares, in the introduction to the first of the works we are reviewing (p. 3), that: "It is no exaggeration whatsoever to contend that they (the contributions of the Negro to American culture) are more striking and singular in substance and structure, than any contributions that have been made by the white man to American culture. In fact they constitute America's chief claim to originality in its cultural history."

The first snare that betrays the student of the subject is the well-nigh universally accepted but altogether false supposition that the "Negro genius" roots in and derives from Africa just because the remote racial ancestry of the American Negro is to be found there. The most casual acquaintance with the formative factors in human culture as well as with the facts in the case is sufficient to expose the unscientific mystification involved in such assumptions as (Brawley, p. 7): "There is something very elemental about the heart of the race, something that finds its origin in the African forest. . . ." Such an hypothesis can find no better basis of support than the occult myth of "racial determinism"; it, moreover, stands in crying contradiction to the well known fact that, as Calverton notes (Anthology, p. 8): "The art of primitive peoples is often very opposite in spirit to that of the American Negro. The art, for instance, of the African Negro, is entirely without the exuberance which is so emphatically dominant in the art-expression of the American Negro." In fact, no real conception of the role of the Negro in American civilization is at all possible unless it departs from the point of view that the manifestations of his cultural life are the direct outgrowth of the nature and conditions of his life in this country.



Those Damn Bolsheviks

Damn those Bolsheviks! "American plans after the Russian model," complains the Baltimore Evening Sun, "have been sprouting so rapidly lately that it is impossible to keep up with them all."

Diabolical Dumping
 It's plain dumping, that's what it is. Every American intellectual seems to be a little mad and to have a 5 and 10, or 15 and 20-year plan in his pocket. Professor Beard and Stuart Chase, Nicholas Murray Butler and Glenn Frank, Doc Ely and Prof. Donham, Scripps and Hearst and McGraw-Hill, Schlichter, Green and the Engineering Council, Sugar Trust, Spreckels and Melvin Traylor, Matthew Wall and LaFollette and Gerard and even the phoney engineer in the White House, have their "American plans" to talk us out of the present depression. Then there's the Dawes Plan, Young Plan, Stagger Plan and Morris Plan. It's time for some Manny Gomez to come forward with the slogan: "Stop the flow of plans!" It's a bad case of overproduction and underconsumption of plans, like measles. Everybody's got 'em and nobody wants to take 'em from anybody else.

Plans for Lost Lambs
 "Peoples of the Western nations are wandering aimlessly like sheep without a shepherd," cries Dr. Glenn Frank. "If they lack a shepherd, anyhow they have lots of wolves."

Hot and Cold
 Matthew Will says: "The time for action has arrived. We need to meet the cold-blooded Communist Five-Year Plan with a warm-blooded ten-year plan of democratic idealism." That's hot stuff! Matty would have said "red-blooded" but—you know how it is.

Ramsay's Millennium
 Then there's Ramsay MacDonald with his thousand-year plan for building Socialism in Great Britain. As we have already explained, it's nothing the first year and twice as much the next. Only a revolution could interfere with Ramsay's plan.

Down With Papa Marx
 "These Slavs seem to think that they discovered national planning," growls Stuart Chase, "that unless one knows Papa Marx backward he cannot locate an industry near its source for raw material or untangle a problem in cross-hauling. Not knowing 'Papa Marx' either back ward or forward, Stuart Chase thinks you can keep capitalism and still have planned economy! That you can keep private profit and exploitation and still have the producers consume all they produce! These Slavs. . . ."

The Prize Plan
 But the first prize of a cut-glass fly-swatter is awarded to Herbert Clark Hoover for the greatest plan of all. None of your five-and-ten stuff. A twenty-year plan for America!

Baby Came Without a Plan
 Still you don't have to read "Papa Marx" or even "Comrade" Duranty to know that babies are one of the things that are usually produced without planning. Especially with American birth control laws. And there's no market for the present supply. Maybe the President plans to consume the enormous supply in a new world war. He figures he'll need the whole 20,000,000. Anyhow it should keep the women of America busy for awhile and maybe they'll be too busy to complain about the depression. Now Curtis or Mutooney should raise the slogan: "Hoover's 20-year plan in five years!" A master stroke. . . .

Red Tomato Sauce
 Meanwhile the "Slavo-Marxist" five-year plan forges dangerously ahead. And according to Pulitzer Prize Knickerbocker they can already undersell Ford in tractors, Germany in razor blades, Britain in textiles, while for Italy:

PICNIC and DANCE
SATURDAY, July 25, 1931
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