

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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## HOOVER & GREEN FOR WAGE-CUTS

Reliable Rumors Indicate  
New Wage-Cut Drive To  
Be Launched

Arrangements are being made by bankers and the highest government officials to launch a new concerted wage-cut drive on a most intense scale.

We learn from very reliable sources that Hoover and Green are going to come out with an open endorsement of wage-cuts. It is reported that in his message to Congress or even before, Hoover will plainly state that in view of the fall of the cost of living, wages should be adjusted accordingly. Hoover will insist that this is no wage-cut because, he will argue, actually the purchasing power of the workers will thus not be reduced. President Green of the American Federation of Labor, it is said, will fall in line with this proposal.

Mr. B. C. Forbes one of the prominent financial experts, let the cat out of the bag the other day when he said:

"The United States Steel Corporation is to readjust wages.

"Its example will be followed by other large industrial corporations.

"I learn too, the lowering of railway wages is also under serious consideration and likely to be brought to the front in the near future.

"The President, I am told, does not now feel that he can maintain the stand he has taken. If the cost of living has gone down 15% to 20% or more, it is easy to see that 10% lower wages would now purchase, not less, but more than the full wage rate of 1929.

"Another person whose attitude towards wages is of the highest importance, and who has been quite as outspoken as President Hoover in opposition to reductions has also, I hear, felt obliged to soften his hostility.

"This person is none other than President William Green of the American Federation of Labor."

At the same time everybody is expecting a worsening of the unemployment crisis in the fall. Mr. Gifford, the notorious open shopper, appointed by Hoover to direct the so-called unemployment relief campaign has just had one of his subsidiaries, the Western Electric Company, discharge the workers at the Kearny, N. J. plant at the rate of 100 a week. Likewise, the Anchor Line, in which Mr. Gifford is heavily interested, has just announced another sharp wage-cut.

## FORD WORKERS TO TURN FARMERS

King Henry Issues Decree  
To Subjects On Pain  
Of Starvation

IRON MOUNTAIN, Mich.—Henry Ford has issued an official decree to the effect that married men employed at the Ford works here who do not have vegetable gardens in the future will lose their jobs!

The Ford Company will offer "expert advice and guidance" on what types of gardening should be engaged in. For those who have no back yards garden plots will be "provided" by the company—at substantial rentals, of course.

Mr. Ford declared that his plan was a scheme of "self-help, which, if adopted throughout the country, would do away with any thought of the dole" (government unemployment relief).

The complete hollowness of the phrases of "democracy" under the capitalist system is fully exposed for even the blind to see by the high and mighty ukase of Henry Ford. Here are thousands of "free and equal" American citizens told by Henry Ford that unless they spend their "leisure" time as King Henry orders they will be thrown out of work and left to starve! Did ever an absolute monarch have greater power?

It is hardly necessary to call attention to the unbelievable absurdity of Ford's plan as a scheme to meet the unemployment situation and overcome the necessity for unemployment relief. But it is necessary to point out that even if carried out on the small scale among the Ford employees it will have a noticeable effect in accentuating the agrarian crisis and thus rendering the general economic crisis more acute. What the effect would be on the economic situation if the plan could conceivably be put thru on a large scale, can easily be imagined.

It is rumored that Ford's plan is not simply a silly attempt of a despot to exercise his authority to put thru some crazy crochets but is closely connected with some schemes of expansion in new fields now under consideration by the Ford executives.

## Destroy Cotton - Raise Prices Let Millions Go in Rags!

The Murderous Logic Of The Capitalist System

The government of the United States of America, the country of the most highly developed and powerful capitalism in the world, has openly proclaimed the bankruptcy of capitalism as a social system. What other meaning can any intelligent person attribute to the proposal of the Hoover Farm Board to destroy one third of the total cotton crop of the United States? After such a proposal from the government itself, can any worker still doubt that the capitalist system has outlived its usefulness; that the tremendous productive forces which it helped to develop have become, due to their concentration in the hands of a few rich parasites, a menace to the masses of the population? These productive forces, which should make the life of the masses easier and more comfortable, on the contrary add to their misery. Unemployment, hunger and starvation are rampant. The wages of those who work are barely enough to keep them alive and working, but when they demand a small increase, when they demand that some of the products which are being destroyed be given to them instead, not only are their demands rejected, but they are starved back by hunger or driven back at the end of the gun (the strikes of the miners in Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Kentucky, the strike of the silk workers in Paterson). In many cases they are shot down or thrown into jail and framed-up for long jail terms. And yet, so plentiful are the necessities which these workers demand, that millions of dollars worth of them are being deliberately destroyed regularly! Can a better proof be given of the necessity for overthrowing the capitalist system which is the cause of such a condition?

The proposal of the Farm Board is an expression of the manner in which the capitalist class intends to solve the present crisis. It is not an isolated case. The destruction of commodities in order to raise prices has been a regular practice of capitalism. But in the past, this was done on a rather small scale, and by individual capitalists or groups of capitalists. This is the first time that the capitalist class as a whole, thru its spokesman, the government, has dared to make such a proposal publicly and to propose destruction on such a wide scale. Cotton, of course, is not the only thing involved. In Oklahoma and Texas there is today martial law. Everywhere are troops with fixed bayonets, machine guns and poison gas. A war? No! The troops are there to prevent the operation of oil wells, to cut down the production of oil, so that the price can go up. Behind the troops are the sinister fingers of the representatives of the largest oil companies, at whose behest and in whose interest production is being cut down. If production can be shut off for a sufficiently long time, more millions will flow into the pockets of these oil barons, while the price of gasoline, kerosene, oil, and other products consumed by the masses will rise to the skies.

The spokesman of capitalism are brutally frank about the entire matter. Here is how one advocate of the destruction of cotton states the matter: "Just figure it out: 15,000,000 bales at \$25 will bring \$375,000,000. But 10,000,000 bales at \$55 (11 cents per pound) will bring

## FRANK HARRIS IS DEAD IN FRANCE

Great Author Succumbs At  
75; Had Just Completed  
A Biography Of Shaw

NICE, France. — Frank Harris, the great biographer, editor, critic, playwright and author, died here early on the morning of August 26, after a week's painful illness. He was 75 years old.

Frank Harris was born in Ireland on February 14, 1856. At the age of 14 he won a scholarship prize for Cambridge University but was denied it because of his youth. He replied by running away to America, practically penniless. In New York he became a hunchback, a porter, a general laborer and finally a sandwich man during the construction of Brooklyn Bridge. The experience he gained in this job he later wove into his book "The Bomb."

He then pushed on to Chicago where he became first a hotel clerk and later a hotel manager. As a result of contacts with cattlemen in Chicago, he drifted to the cow country where he became a cowboy. This phase of his life was later made the subject of a book of reminiscences. While in the cow country he met Wild Bill Hickock who became one of his heroes. Giving up the job as cow herder, (Continued on page 3)

\$550,000,000." By destroying one third of the crop, the consumer, that is, the worker primarily, will have to pay more than twice as much per unit of cotton material purchased; the price increase will make impossible the purchase of needed clothing by millions, who will therefore go naked. But what matters all that? The profits of the big plantation owners and of the cotton trust will be increased. Capitalism and "civilization" will be saved.

One governor of a cotton growing state even outdid the Farm Board in destructiveness. He declares that he is introducing a bill to prohibit the planting of cotton for next year altogether, and he requests the adoption of similar bills by all other cotton growing states. All these schemes are represented as means of bringing quick prosperity to the farmers. Everyone knows that these proposals will completely ruin the farmers, whose crops will fall into the hands of the big trusts and whose land will be foreclosed by the banks, just as has happened in wheat and corn growing areas. Only the spec-

(Continued on page 4)

## ROOSEVELT BANS JOBLESS AID

Only Public Works Plan  
Proposed; Signs New  
Immunity Bills

ALBANY—Every form of immediate government relief to the unemployed is rigidly excluded from the proposals forwarded on the unemployment situation by Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt to the State Legislature meeting here in extraordinary session. Instead, the Governor recommends the raising of a fund of \$20,000,000 to be used largely for public works on a state and local scale. The fund is to be raised by a 50% increase in income tax rate, general in scope and not limited to the higher brackets.

On the same day as he forwarded this message, August 28, the Governor signed the two immunity bills passed by the special session of the Legislature designed to give the Hofstadter Committee additional powers. In his message to the special session Governor Roosevelt had also proposed that the Legislature consider the question of appointing a committee to investigate the up-State communities under Republican control. In this way at least a partial peace was patched up between the Governor and Tammany.

## Huge Strike Mass Meet Pledges Continuation Of Militant Struggle in Paterson

2,000 Pack Roseland Hall To Hear Report Of Strike  
Committee; N. T. W. U. Disruption Defeated;  
Mass Picketing Continues And Grows

In spite of terrific thunderstorm and downpour of rain, over 2,000 strikers packed Roseland Hall, Thursday night, August 27, to hear the report of the general strike committee of the A. F. of L. amalgamated unions concerning its negotiations with a group of manufacturers representing the large plain goods shops of the city. The National Textile Workers Union leaders became so panicky on the eve of this meeting, that they issued a special leaflet on the supposition that the general strike committee was going to report a settlement. Their leaflet was a typical slanderous, lying attack, charging that the leaders of the amalgamated unions were going to report a settlement which was a betrayal of the strike.

The spirit of the workers ran high. Budenz acted as chairman. He reported on the progress of the strike. He stressed the importance of the pulling of the Doherty mill and the smashing of the Clinton injunction. The workers applauded loudly and long when he said no injunctions would stop the strike or break up the picket lines.

A. J. Muste reported for the general strike committee. He reported the fact that negotiations were had with an important and decisive group of plain goods manufacturers, that these manufacturers had agreed to the 8-hour day and recognition of the union, but that they refused to pay the price of 7¢ a yard for 60 picks and 1¢ for every 8 additional

picks, and proposed instead 5¢ and perhaps 5½¢ per yard for 60 picks and 1¢ for every additional 12 picks. He stated that the general strike committee had rejected the bosses proposal and decided to submit its stand for ratification by the strikers and that the decision of the general strike committee was embodied in a resolution by the secretary of the general strike committee, Brother Schweitzer.

Brother Schweitzer then introduced the resolution confirming the demands of the union, greeting the success hitherto achieved by the strike, pledging full confidence in the strike leadership and sharply condemning all false rumors.

The reading of the resolution was greeted with thunderous applause. It was presented to the mass meeting and was unanimously adopted. It was a fitting and resolute answer of the strikers that they would continue to strike until the bosses not only gave them the 8-hour day, and recognized their union but also agreed to pay a price that would assure a living wage in their silk mills.

After the vote was taken, Ben Gitlow was introduced. He stated that the strikers, because they had kept their ranks together, because of their militant mass picket lines, have forced the manufacturers to deal with the union. He said the bosses, the authorities and the capitalist press were doing everything in their power (Continued on Page 2)

## Wall St. Ousts British Labor Cabinet, Sets Up Coalition With Anti-Labor Program

MacDonald Heads "National Cabinet" and Plans to Cut  
Jobless Relief, Social Services, Wages - Labor Party  
Disavows Him - Labor Masses In Big Revolt

A loan of half-a-billion dollars, negotiated thru J. P. Morgan and Company, is to be American imperialism's first reward to the new "Cooperation Cabinet" of Great Britain for its program of "economics" and budget balancing at the expense of the working people of the country. Arrangements for such a loan are now being completed, reports from the

Morgan offices announce. Paris bankers are to share in the loan.

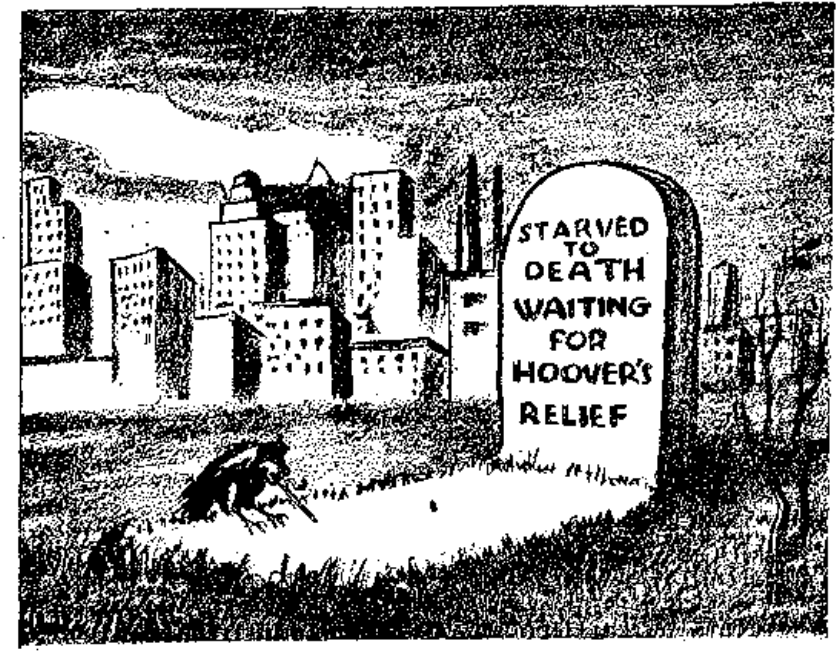
The collapse of the Labor government came over the question of at whose expense the budget should be balanced and the sterling exchange maintained. Wall Street and the heads of London finance capital insisted that the budget be balanced at the expense of the workers.

They proposed the following program: an all-around slashing of all social expenditures (health, education, etc.), a 10% reduction in all unemployment insurance, a 10% cut in the wages of government employees. MacDonald, supported by Snowden and J. H. Thomas, enthusiastically endorsed the ultimatum of the Wall Street and City bankers as the only way to "save the country." The workers, the "Socialist" Prime Minister declared, must show their "patriotism" and subordinate their own interests to the national emergency. But MacDonald's program produced an outburst of indignant resentment on the part of the millions of workers organized in the trade unions and supporting the Labor party. The trade union leaders, and the bulk of the Labor party leaders, feeling the pressure of the resentment of the masses and realizing that to support MacDonald would mean to break their connections with the labor movement, strongly opposed the MacDonald program and the Labor Cabinet was derailed. Finally MacDonald took the fateful step. On Monday, August 24, he forced the resignation of the Labor Cabinet and immediately set to work building up a coalition cabinet based on the anti-labor financial program dictated by Wall Street and the London bankers. A new Cabinet was immediately formed with MacDonald at the head, composed of ten members, four of the former Labor Cabinet, four Tories and two Liberals. The sole plank in the platform of this new government is to shift the burdens of financial crisis on to the shoulders of the workers. As soon as the budget is completed, the coalition government will dissolve and new elections held.

The hand of Wall Street, pulling the strings behind the scenes, was strikingly visible thruout the proceedings. Ernest Thurtle, former Junior Lord of the Treasury, informed the Daily Herald of London that "Mr. MacDonald at his interview with the junior ministers on Monday last told them that the proposals which the government had submitted to the Bank of England had to be telephoned to America to see if they could be approved there." The "restoration of confidence abroad" was given by MacDonald himself as an official reason for his actions.

The new National Cabinet and its program has met with the bitterest opposition of the official labor bodies in England. On August 27 a joint statement was issued by the Trade Union Council, the national executive committee of the Labor party and the consultative committee of the Parliamentary Labor Party. (Continued on Page 2)

## A MOUMENT TO HOOVER'S "SELF-HELP"



## CITY'S BATHING BEACHES POISONED; TAMMANY WHITEWASHES POLLUTION

All Waters Of New York Beaches Contaminated With  
Sewage; Tammany Realtor Day Owns Manhattan  
Beach And Tammany O K's Typhoid Water

The waters which bathe the beaches of the city of New York are one vast sewer, full of danger, disease and dirt. While the rich go to Carlsbad (with our non-stop-flight Mayor) or the Lido or the Hamptons, New York's teeming millions of city poor and people of moderate means are compelled to seek relief from the heat and summer recreation in waters polluted by hundreds of conduits pouring out filth and refuse day and night. From summer to summer the situation has been getting worse until now the menace of epidemics in the most crowded city in

America is actual and real. Tests conducted by the Eckroth Laboratory at the instance of the New York World-Telegram—as a clever news stunt—revealed:

"presumptive evidence that ALL the waters in the City of New York are contaminated with sewage and unsafe for bathing." ...

Wynne Whitewashes Sowers

The answer to the tests, tender as to dollars and callous as to human life, has been posted by Health Commissioner Wynne in all subway and elevated trains. It reads:

"Ocean bathing safe at Coney beaches."

"The waters on the ocean side of Coney Island, from Norton's Point at Sea Gate to Brighton and Manhattan Beaches, are safe to bathe in, and they are regularly tested by the Department of Health."

The Damning Results

Yet the city tests, as well as the World-Telegram tests, revealed just the opposite to be the case!

The city tests reveal:

1. That no tests of the waters have been made at or near the Sea Gate Norton's Point reserved realty developments—yet they are given a "clean" bill of health.

2. That the city standards of "safety" used are below the State standards also the more crowded cities need higher standards than the general state requirements.

3. That the "Health" department's tests showed 10 bacillus coli per cubic centimeter or more at the foot of Ocean Avenue in Brooklyn and at Canarsie. The tests at the foot of 36th Street in Coney Island (the nearest point that the Health Department ever got to Sea Gate) showed also 10 colon bacilli per cubic centimeter. And it takes about 250 cubic centimeters of water to fill an ordinary drinking glass, that means that a swimmer swallowing a half glass of water would swallow an average of 1,250 colon bacilli. Not to mention the millions of other bacteria likely to be present when the colon bacillus is!

(Continued on Page 2)

## ANTI-RED DRIVE IN CANADA

Leaders Arrested, Offices  
Raided In Attempt To  
Smash Party

Royal Canadian Mounted Police made a country-wide attack and raid on the Communist Party of Canada.

The leading figures of the Party have been arrested, the office raided, letters and pamphlets stolen and workers terrorized. Among those arrested are Tim Buck, secretary; Malcolm M. Bruce, editor; John Boychuk, organizer and leader of the Ukrainian section; Amos Hill, former editor of Vaupaus, Finnish paper and Samuel Cohen, speaker.

The raids were concentrated especially in Toronto where the uniformed thugs of the Canadian mounted police as well as the Ontario city police swooped down at midnight on the Party headquarters, the editorial offices of the Worker and homes of Comrades Buck, Ewen and Boychuk.

The attorney general, W. H. Price, is openly boasting that with the assistance of Hugh Guthrie, Minister of Justice of Ontario, the Communist Party of Canada will be wiped out of existence.

The entire capitalist press of Canada has greeted the raids and hailed them as the greatest services to "public safety." The reason that the raids were made was only to cover up the complete bankruptcy of the reactionary Bennett government in the present economic crisis. The unemployment situation is growing worse daily.

## FOR A UNITED LABOR FRONT AGAINST BOSS TERROR! Unite the Forces of Labor to Free Tom Mooney!

## TOM MOONEY CALLS!

California State Prison  
San Quentin, Cal.,  
August 18, 1931.

To All Militant and Revolutionary Labor Organizations and Groups: Dear Comrades and Fellow Unionists: The time for action has come. Too long have we been deceived with slick promises—away with them. From the cell where I have been buried alive for fifteen long years I appeal to every working class organization with a spark of militancy or revolutionary purpose—I appeal for united action.

The most flagrant "frame-up" this country has ever seen is dragging into its sixteenth year, and not even a glimpse of freedom is in sight. In fact, I am more securely imprisoned today than when

(Concluded on page 2)

comply this great end and snatch our brother from the dungeon to which the murderous capitalists of this country, supported by traitorous labor "leaders", have

condemned him. A united front of labor in defense of Comrade Mooney!

The united front of labor, to be effective, must be a genuine united front, as Tom Mooney proposes: a bloc of all labor organizations, without regard to nationality, color, creed or present political differences, ready to fight for the release of Tom Mooney. Such a united front can and will be effective.

Unfortunately we must record that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. has already hastened to reject the call of Tom Mooney!

In the Daily Worker of August 28 is published a declaration of the C.C. that should bring the blush of shame to the cheek of every Communist Party member and sympathizer. The proposal to form joint committees of delegates of labor organizations is rejected and is branded as a "sham." Instead the Communist Party leadership proposes its notorious "united front below" which is no united front at all: an appeal to the workers to follow the Communist Party and its mythical Unemployed Councils! Hardly is the ink dry on Tom Mooney's appeal when it is already sabotaged by the irresponsible and sectarian C. P. leaders!

Communist Party members! Communists! (Continued on page 2)

HELP FREE COMRADE ROY!



In the above picture are to be seen, from left to right: Radek, Bukharin, Lenin, Gurki, Zinoviev, ROY, Bombacci.

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL OPENS IN SEPT.

Plans For Expansion Are Announced

The New Workers School has just made public the plans for its third year. With courses for the fall term beginning the latter part of September registration week is set for September 14 to 21. The school has grown rapidly during its third year with an enlarged program. Among its instructors are: D. Benjamin, Jim Cork, Will Herberg, Barney Herman, Jay Lovestone, Bert Wolfe, and Herbert Zau, all of them instructors of long experience in teaching labor classes and active in many phases of the class struggle. The New Workers School offers more effective training for workers for the present world crisis. This series follows upon the series of the two preceding years dealing with "America Today" and "The Class War Today", both of which series were attended by over a hundred workers throughout their duration.

of the Communist Party (Majority Group) and is open to all workers interested in these problems that so vitally affect the working class in its struggles. The courses in Marxism-Leninism, Social History of the United States, and Marxist Philosophy, and other courses of interest to workers, will be announced in the next issue of the Revolutionary Age. Watch for it. Or better still, in order to get information on all courses and forum lectures, call, phone or write to the office of the New Workers School. The address is 63 Madison Avenue, corner 27th Street. The phone number is Bogardus 4-9399. In phoning for information, ask for Eva Stone, the secretary of the school. A post-card with your name and address will bring you all information without charge. The fees for all courses are extremely low, the school being supported by volunteer work, donations, etc. A three-month, once-a-week course is only \$2.50 and special arrangements are made for credit to the unemployed who need not pay until they secure work.

Three Important Courses

Some of the courses so far announced are: 1. The Labor Movement Today—A series of twelve popular lectures by Jay Lovestone, dealing with the situation in the American and international labor movement and the problems facing them in the present world crisis. This series follows upon the series of the two preceding years dealing with "America Today" and "The Class War Today", both of which series were attended by over a hundred workers throughout their duration.

Big Registration Expected

Owing to the greatly increased interest in Communism manifested at present and the spirit of social inquiry roused by the success of the five-year plan and the breakdown of capitalist "prosperity" a greatly increased registration is expected this year.

SHOE WORKERS RAP OFFICIALS

New York City, Aug. 28, 1931. At the last meeting of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union here a sharp attack was launched against the policies of the officialdom of the local. After a long discussion the members voted unanimously that the executive board of the local should demand the resignation of the organizer, Kaplan. But at the first executive board meeting after this local meeting, as soon as the board was then with ordinary matters, the chairman ran away from the meeting and the meeting had to be closed. The members of the Board and Shoe must demand at the next membership meeting that the decisions of the organization are carried out without further delay. —A Shoe Worker

ROME—Forecasts of an early "solution" of the Fascist-Vatican controversy centering around the Catholic Action society, are being freely made here. Negotiations have been going on for many weeks and were interrupted only by the recent Papal Encyclical.

OSERVATORE Romano, official Vatican organ, has printed the text of a speech recently delivered by the Pope to a group of Catholic youths in which he declared: "We do not know whether a solution will be reached in a short or a long time, but it certainly will be reached when the Lord wishes"—which is everywhere regarded as a hint that an agreement with the Fascist government is not far off.

Silk Strike Snapshots

The Story of the Morgan Family

From the outset I must warn you that these Morgans are not a part of the well-known Morgans, exploiters of labor and big world financiers. The Morgan family I described here is a family of the textile workers in Paterson.

Thomas Morgan, Sr., 62 years old, a pleasant looking old fellow, much younger than his age, is a weaver by trade. He has a family of nine children living and a wife. A son and daughter are already married. Seven are still at home.

Regardless of his age he is one of the most active picket captains in the strike. He is always in the front lines and fights hardest against all attacks upon the right of the strikers to picket, either by the police, bosses or scabs. For the last two weeks he has been carrying around his right hand in a sling, bandaged up, as a result of the fight that took place near the Doherty mill in Clifton when police refused to let the strikers picket the mill.

This is not Tom Morgan's first strike experience. He has a lot of stories to relate of the previous strikes in which he participated most actively. "In 1913 we were out fourteen months under the leadership of Bill Haywood and Gurley Flynn of the I. W. W. "That was some strike!" and he smiles as he tells of his experience in that big strike. "Then in 1918 I will never forget that strike—the



George Morgan, Thomas Morgan, Raymond Morgan.

strike for the 8-hour day in Paterson. We struck six months and after I was

blacklisted and could not get a job for many months. My whole family was in desperate need of food. Many a day we had nothing to eat. I began to wonder and doubt whether it was worth while. I was forced to move out of Paterson. Then came the 1928 strike. We lost again and conditions are unbearable. I am an old man but I am going to fight like hell until we win."

Tom Morgan's two elder sons are following in the footsteps of their father. George, 24 years, and Raymond, 22 years old. They are both weavers. Both have been on the picket line every day since the strike began. They are both captains of the picket line and have been arrested three times so far. Raymond carries a fractured wrist which he incurred as a result of speaking to a couple of scabs. But that's not saying what happened to the scabs. George had a rib broken in the fight to break the Doherty injunction against picketing and had to be taken to the hospital. The three of them, father and two sons, are back again on the fighting picket line. "Only one thing can stop us and that is hunger. We are willing to fight but we need food. Not much for ourselves. We'll get along on anything but remember many families have small children!" —Eli Keller.

CITY BEACHES ARE POLLUTED

(Continued from page 1)

What Is Bacillus Coli? The colon bacillus is found only in water containing human excrement. The only way of getting typhoid fever is thru swallowing water or other liquid contaminated by human excrement. Besides, typhoid the city is endangered by epidemics of eye, ear, and throat, dysentery and skin diseases and perhaps others by water so contaminated.

All Beaches Dangerous

The state standards require that specimens of water analyzed shall not even show an average of one colon bacillus per cubic centimeter. The state standards provide that if there is an average of more than 2/5 or a 1/5 col per cubic centimeter, the WATER IS UNSAFE. The Eckroth Laboratory random tests show that by these standards EVERY BEACH IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK IS UNSAFE.

Only in Rockaway did the test prove doubtful and indecisive.

Why The Whitewash?

Why is the Health Department of the city of New York giving its endorsement to these beaches? Why is it criminally pronouncing safe beaches which are polluted 25 times as much as the State Health standards allow? There are two big reasons. One of them the World-Telegram in its shadow-boxing with Commissioner Wynne with one eye on circulation and the other on the powers that be, has not dared to print! The one reason is that the city of New York, the richest city in the world, the city where millions of dollars are poured out like water every year in graft and corruption, is too poor to install sewage and garbage disposal plants such as every big European city has installed! The responsibility for the growing menace to the health of New York's totting millions lies squarely at the door of the Tammany administration and its annex and Siamese twin, the Republican party in the city of New York.

What the "Telegram" Dare Not Print

The other reason, the World-Telegram knows and does not even dare to hint at. It is this. Manhattan Beach is owned by Joseph P. Day, Tammany's real estate agent and moneymaker. Manhattan Beach is just around the bend from the Sheephead Bay—Coney Island Creek outlet. Orient Point, the new Manhattan Beach development, is the point where the bay and ocean meet. And Sheephead Bay is one big stinking polluted sewer which even Health Commissioner Wynne's classic standards have compelled him to close as unsafe! Manhattan Beach, right around the bend from this huge sewer outlet, washed by its sewer age-laden tides, is reported to yield over three-quarters of a million dollars "clean" profit annually to the man who made the purchase of its new site for Tammany Hall, to the man who has a finger in every realty pie in which Tammany is interested. And how could Tammany Health Commissioner Wynne find anything the matter with Tammany Real-ty Day's favorite realty developments? The old story—dollars above human lives!

Demand a Remedy

The thing can be remedied. Two things are needed: 1. The officials entrusted with the safeguarding of the lives and welfare of New York's millions must tell the truth. 2. Modern sewerage disposal plants must be built at once and the beaches made safe and clean for the poor people of the city. But the second will be made a pretext for delay and graft operations by Tammany Hall, while the first can never be expected from Tammany officials as long as there's more profit in silence or untruth. The real solution of this and kindred

TOM MOONEY'S CALL

(Continued from Page 1)

first arrested. The dictatorship of capital knows the economic conditions are so onerous that to issue a pardon at this time would be as though a fight were thrown into a powder keg. We must prove that neither will my continued imprisonment serve their purpose. Let this appeal be the spark which will start an unparalleled configuration—agitation that will arouse the masses to demand my unconditional pardon and the release of all class war prisoners.

I ask for a genuine united front. Every working class organization should elect delegates and be represented on Pardon Mooney Committees that will direct the activities of the workers in this fight. The task of such committees will be to call mass meetings, distribute literature and carry on monster public demonstrations, and engage in an energetic campaign that will make the ground tremble under the feet of the arrogant rulers of California.

One of the immediate tasks of these committees will be to force, through the pressure of an awakened public opinion, the publication by the Wickersham Commission of the suppressed report on the Mooney case, prepared by its experts. This report, I am given to understand, is a factual record and, when published, will definitely prove that the California authorities combined to organize the frame-up.

Too many working class groups divide and weaken their forces. The effect they quite naturally should have in combined numbers is lost when they quarrel among themselves. This case ought to serve as a common rallying ground for all revolutionary and militant groups, which should unite for effective work in the face of a common enemy.

I call upon the following groups, listed alphabetically, and other similar groups, I may overlook or forget in my haste, to unite and organize Pardon Mooney Committees in every city and state in this nation for immediate action: All the militant units and individuals within the A. F. of L.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The Communist Party, and all of its subdivisions including the Trade Union Unity League, the International Labor Defense, and other similar organizations.

All of the groups who have split away from the Communist Party, such as the Majority Group, the Communist League Opposition, and the Communist League of Struggle.

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action. The Farmer Labor Party. The Industrial Workers of the World. The Proletarian Party. The Socialist Party. The Socialist Labor Party, etc.

I have spent fifteen of the best years of my life in a California dungeon for the ideals and purposes all these groups represent and my fate is in their hands. When they fight for my freedom, they fight for their cause—the cause of labor. My continual imprisonment is the very best evidence of the futility and weakness of their divided efforts. Only by their combined strength can they defeat the common foe. I hail each and every one of my fellow workers and comrades in this struggle. Let us all work in common for the Social Revolution that will bring to an end this barbarous dog-eat-dog, profit-and-capitalist system. To each and every one of you I send fraternal revolutionary greetings. TOM MOONEY—31,921.

municipal problems lies in an effective movement of the city's workers and city poor to clean up the Tammany-capitalist-graft and crime administration, to clean up that monstrous super-sewer, Tammany Hall.

Because of lack of space the concluding installment of "The Truth About Scottsboro" has been omitted. It will be published in the next issue.

WALL ST. OUSTS LABOR CABINET

(Continued from page 1)

denouncing the new government and pledging opposition to it in and out of parliament as an "anti-working class and anti-socialist government." MacDonald himself has already been expelled by his local Labor party, the Hampstead branch of the I. H. Thomas, the head of the National Railwaymen's Union, has been threatened with expulsion from this union. Of the more than two hundred Labor party members of the House of Commons only about thirty are expected to go with MacDonald. Arthur Henderson has assumed the mantle of leadership of the Labor party forces.

Among the masses of the rank and file of the Labor party a deep swing to the left is taking place. The Independent Labor Party, which has constituted the main opposition in the Labor party hitherto, is rapidly increasing its influence among the masses of the workers. The Communist Party of Great Britain is practically out of the picture in a situation that is incredibly favorable. It has no more than a few hundred members and is literally without the least contact in the trade unions. To make matters worse, its policies are growing more and more sectarian every day.

The turn of events in England is certain to have serious reactionary repercussions in Great Britain as well as all over the world. In the first place, the National Cabinet is no more than a temporary transition to a straight Conservative regime. That the Tories will sweep the next general elections under the slogan: "Only a Conservative government can save the country!" is hardly to be doubted and a Tory victory means a sharpening of reaction in all domestic and foreign policies of the country. Second, the setting up of the coalition government is a striking victory for Wall Street, for American imperialism. Third, the offensive against unemployment, increased and other welfare services constitutes a grave setback for the struggle of the workers for social legislation, especially government unemployment relief, in other countries. In the United States the "self-help" apostles are already declaring: "See what the 'dole' has done to Britain; beware of it in America!" In colonial affairs there will be but a slight change since, as the British press in India well points out, "MacDonald was already a thoro imperialist."

The attitude of the Socialist International to the events in England has not yet been made public. Already, however, most Socialist organizations have taken a more or less definite stand against MacDonald. This position is not dictated by any consideration of principle; the Second International, for example, endorses the course of the German Social democracy which supports the ultra-reactionary Brüning regime. It is dictated by the hesitation to break with the very powerful Labor party of Great Britain, one of the pillars of the Second International.

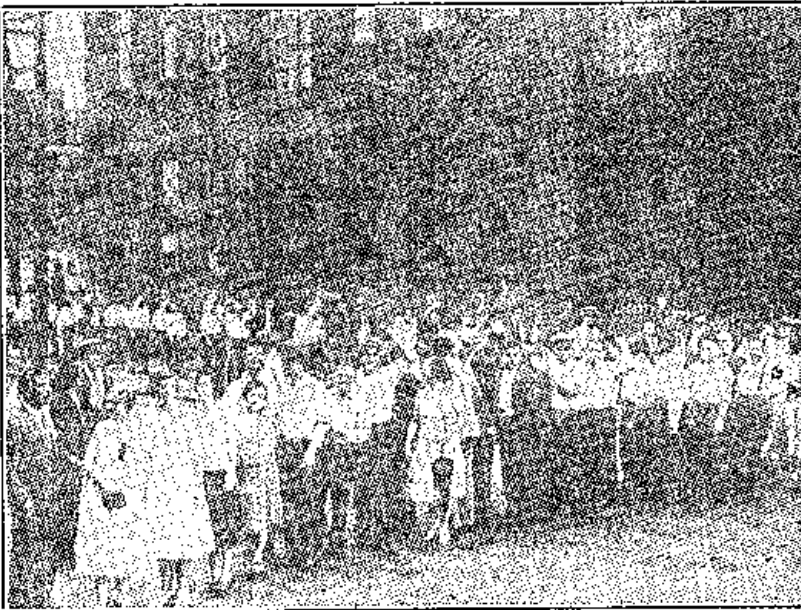
(Now turn to last page and read the editorial.)

UNITE TO FREE TOM MOONEY!

(Continued from Page 1) nist Party sympathizers! Now if ever must you take an independent stand against your leaders! Come out in support of Tom Mooney's appeal for a genuine united front! Force your leaders to stop their sabotaging activities, which only help the class enemy!

Trade unionists! Workers! Wake up! The cause of Tom Mooney's liberation is your cause, the cause of every honest working man and woman! Get your local union, your organization, on record for endorsing Tom Mooney's call and for sending delegates to Pardon Mooney Committees! All together now! United to free Tom Mooney! Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Majority Group)

ON THE PICKET LINE IN PATERSON



Charles S. Zimmerman on the extreme left.

HUGE PATERSON STRIKE MEETING

(Continued from page 1)

er to sow dissension in the strikers ranks and that so far the strikers had given a demonstration of working class solidarity and militancy which was bound to win. He showed how the leaders of the National Textile Workers Union, in the name of "revolutionary working class victory," were carrying on a campaign to divide the workers. He reported that a delegation claiming to come from the National Textile Workers Union wanted the floor. He stated that this delegation had been informed that they should present their credentials to the general strike committee, that, if they made genuine proposals for unity and a common struggle, the general strike committee would give them favorable consideration. He appealed to them to stop their libelous attacks and slander in the capitalist press, to stop their disruption, to join with the ranks of the strikers. He pointed out that as far as revolutionary working class action was concerned, the Paterson strikers were giving an expression in militant action of their dissatisfaction with the capitalist system of society and that they were learning and already taking the first steps in fighting for better conditions and for unionism to build up a working class power that would, when the time came, overthrow capitalism and give power to the workers.

The speech of Gitlow was greeted with a mighty applause. The so-called "rank and file committee" selected to break up the meeting consisted of J. Rubin, secretary of the N.T.W.U., Fred Biedenkapp, leader of the strike for the N.T.W.U., and other leaders. After the meeting his right-about-face but declared that an "inner voice" had told him that "it would be to India's interests to go to London conference."

STATE A.F.L. HITS JOBLESS AID

SYRACUSE, N. Y.—The reactionary administration forces scored a victory at the State Federation of Labor Convention here when they succeeded in getting the convention to go on record against any proposal for government unemployment insurance. The committee on resolutions eliminated a clause in a resolution by Abraham Lefkowitz of the Teachers Union which called for such insurance and the convention upheld the committee. The administration also succeeded in getting passed a resolution condemning the Labor Herald and Citizen of Rochester for criticizing State Federation officials. Other matter considered were prohibition and workmen's compensation.

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# The Soviet Union and Its Bourgeois Critics

## USSR and World Revolution

by Jay Lovestone

(Continued from last issue)

**Duranty Slanders Stalin**  
No matter how severely critical we may be and will continue to be of Stalin's ultra-left sectarian policies in the Communist International, still we cannot agree with Duranty when he says:

"But facts are facts, whether one admits them or not, and it is quite on the cards that the real source of the quarrel of Trotsky and foreign Marxist theoreticians with Stalinism is their realization that Stalinism, while retaining world revolution as an ultimate goal, has abandoned it as an immediate practical objective. It is completely at the early Christian Church abandoned the millennium or second advent when Constantine made it the official faith of the Roman Empire." (New York Times, June 18, 1931).

Somehow or other, no bourgeois thinker can rise above the lowest levels of thinking—faith and mysticism, which are the very antithesis of thinking. What Bolshevism—based on the stern realities of the class war—has to do with the fantastic concepts of any species of supernaturalism, it is impossible for anyone to fathom. Still, Duranty tries to be "dialectical." And here we see what happens to dialectics in the hands of non-Marxists—a mere shuffling of the cards. Says Duranty:

"The evolution of Stalinism toward 'Socialist' 'Socialist' at first made it important to retain such sources of support abroad as the foreign Communist parties aligned, and there was a period when the foreign Communist parties were severely disciplined by Moscow to limit their activity to the U.S.S.R. and America in a case, in point, as Messrs. Lovestone and Penner will bear witness." (New York Times, June 19, 1931).

Mr. Duranty is all wrong. No one will deny that Stalin's factional methods, both in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the Communist International, that the factional regime, its clique boasting and bureaucratic perversion of correct tactical policies with the consequent weakening of the Communist International, have given to bourgeois critics and experts, basing themselves on "temporary and superficial phenomena" plenty of talking points for such inventions and crudities as the idea that the Soviet Union is no longer interested in the world revolution and is concerned only with the problems of Soviet economic construction. Whatever be the criticism we may level against Stalin, yet we never stop to deny that it was none other than Stalin himself, who clearly said, in reply to Trotsky, at the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in December 1926, that:

"... the interests and tasks of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. are intertwined and inseparably connected with the interests and the tasks of the international movement in all countries, and vice versa, the tasks of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries are inseparably connected with the tasks and achievements of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. on the front of Socialist construction."

Regardless of how much the capitalists may wish, the fact remains that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, whether its outstanding leader be Bukharin, Stalin, or who not, fully recognizes the truth of Lenin's remarks at the XIII Party Congress:

"We live not only in a state, but in a system of states, and the labor movement in the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialism states for any length of time is inconceivable. Finally one or the other must conquer."  
But Duranty would have us believe that:

"As Soviet Russia has grown stronger and the need for such allies (the Third International) has increased, here has been a progressive concentration of Russian interest upon internal affairs and—whether Communist zealots like it or not—a corresponding diminution of the importance of the Third International." (New York Times, July 25, 1931).

At the very moment that the Communist International was organized, Lenin, who was its founder, said that the Third International was set up

"to carry out, to put into practice the beliefs of Marxism and to make the old ideas of Socialism and the labor movement a reality; this most characteristic feature of the Third International immediately asserted itself by the fact that the new, third, international movement, the Association began to coincide to a certain extent with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics."

**Stalinism is a Bourgeois Pitfall**  
In the present situation the role of the Communist International is decisive. Stalin knows this. The fact that Stalin's ultra-left sectarian tactics in the Communist International have brought paralysis to the Comintern, particularly in the present moment of splendid opportunities for revolutionary struggle against capitalism, does not mean that his intentions are bad or that his plans are to sacrifice the world revolution. It does mean that his present policies in the Communist International are wrong, are bad.

Apparently, the bourgeois critics of the Soviet Union, like some of the leadership imposed on the various sections of the Communist International, (for example, in the United States), think that the international revolution is a single act. For opposite reasons, of course, the wish is father to the thought with both of these types. With one the process of failure; with the other, the process of success. That is why those who mechanically transplant policies from the Soviet Union, as well as those "friendly" bourgeois critics who are always sure that in the end the U. S. S. R. will get to capitalism, both fail to understand the recent speech of Stalin about new tactics and plans in the improvement of the Soviet labor supply. Thus, the Daily Worker has actually kept silent until very recently about this very important speech, while the general bourgeois press stupidly hailed it as "a retreat from Communism and a return to capitalism." The trouble is that both view the international revolution as a single act and that neither type understands what Lenin meant when he said in 1917:

"The first phase of Communism still

cannot produce justice and equality; differences, and unjust differences in wealth, will still exist."  
"But the exploitation of one man by many will have become impossible, to seize as private property the means of production, the factories, machines, land, etc." (State and Revolution).

**An Old Menshevik Fairy Tale**

The theory of Duranty that the herculean efforts and success of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in its progress in Socialist construction mean giving up the international social revolution, the discarding of the Communist International, or that the tasks of the Soviet proletariat in building Socialism are in conflict with the tasks of the international proletariat in destroying capitalism, is really not a new theory. It is merely the other side of the medal, another phase, or the corollary, of that theory of Kautsky, Bauer, Parvus and Hillquit to the effect that "the realization of the Socialist revolution and Socialist construction are impossible" except on an international scale in general, and in the U.S.S.R. in particular. According to these bourgeois writers "the historical mission of the Bolsheviks is to serve as a bridge by which a Caesar or a Bonaparte or someone similar will come to power." And Trotsky spoke of Thermidor. Duranty concludes that this is already what has happened, that "Stalinism is an iron scepter," that Stalin is a sort of a Tzarclaire ruling the U. S. S. R. with an iron, Czarist hand.

It is not an accident that this most dangerous propaganda against the Soviet Union appears, in a new garb it is true, just at a moment when the bourgeoisie of even the strongest imperialist powers are weak in the knees and sick in the head. For the American bourgeoisie, Duranty's propaganda—regardless of his intentions or plans—tends to serve as a tonic, giving hope and the illusion that the Soviet system may work in the U. S. S. R. all right but not in the United States, that the very progress of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union tends to liquidate the revolutionary role of the U. S. S. R. on an international scale. Obviously, these are real quick-remedies, plain patent-medicines for the doomed bourgeois order now in one of the most dangerous and significant crises in its whole history.

**Basic Dangers Before Us**

What the Communists of all countries must guard against with special vigilance, in these dying days of capitalism as a world system, is ultra-left sectarianism—adventurism. This is the most deadly enemy of the international Communist movement in its present decisive combat with social reformism and Fascism—the two guardians at the death-bed of the decaying, but still far from dead, order of capitalist exploitation. Keeping this task in mind we recall (and return particularly to Stalin himself) the following excellent advice given by Stalin at the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, in reply to the Trotskyists:

"... And that, therefore, it is possible to keep over these facts and by elaborate slogans demonstrate the conviction of the tactics of the united front, the distribution of the role among movements in the West, etc. But what does it mean to ignore facts, to ignore the objective progress of affairs? It means to abandon science and resort to witchcraft."

It would be foolish to be discouraged by the slow progress of the proletarian revolution in the West in comparison with the rapid progress of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union. Let no one be dismayed even for a second by the difficulties and crisis in the Communist International, which take root primarily in this gap between the two armies marching toward Socialist victory. Were it not for the great Soviet success in Socialist construction, the international proletarian revolutionary front would today be infinitely weaker, would not be even anywhere near as strong as it is now. In the light of the present international situation and the outlook for world capitalism it is well to keep in mind what Marx that:

"In great historical processes, twenty years are but as one day—and then may come days which are concentrated essences of twenty years."

**Political Crisis in Latin America**

**WHAT'S BEHIND EVENTS IN CHILE?**

by Ibericus

The tremendous events in Europe have somewhat overshadowed the revolution that took place during the latter part of June in the South American republic of Chile, the course of which is certain to have considerable effect upon the entire labor movement of the continent. Chile occupies the position of third rank, considered from an economic and political viewpoint, among Latin American countries. Chile is a country of coasts and hills; agriculture therefore does not play anywhere the same role in this country as it does in Argentina, for example. The chief forms of wealth are the nitrate and mineral deposits in the North and the highly developed industry built upon them. In the central regions, big land-ownership is dominant; in the South, the remnants of the Indian aborigines, the Araucans, vegetate as small peasants.

**Class Alignments and Class Antagonisms**

Chile is today no longer a country of immigration, as is Argentina. Its population is primarily a mixture of Spaniards and Indians. A certain role is also played by the Germans, who make up the rich colonists and merchants. Class antagonisms are very sharply developed. At the top is a stratum of almost pure-blooded Spanish lords of huge estates, closely connected with the commercial and financial aristocracy of German origin. Then follows a rather extensive layer of middle class (mixed blood), represented in the middle class strata, the intellectuals and the officialdom. Rotten and spiritually decadent as the Chilean aristocracy is, it allows its rule to be exercised thru upstarts from these classes.

The bottom of the pyramid is formed here, as everywhere, by the toiling masses. But in Chile the working masses assume a quite peculiar stamp, corresponding to the special conditions of the country. The lowest rung in the ladder is occupied by the Indians, the descendants of the Indian slaves on the great estates. The *mapoyanos*, the land in-

"This gives rise to adventurism in the policy of the Opposition Bloc."

Emphasizing the same point we might also affirm with Bukharin: "When Vladimir Lenin worked in the Communist International, one of his warnings to those of us who were working there, was that we should on no account lose sight of originality in development, that we should not look at things in a stereotyped manner, that we should be able to distinguish and to perceive simultaneously both what is most general and also the minor peculiarities which sometimes play the decisive role in the subsequent transition on the road to Communism." (Lenin As A Marxist).

For us—especially in the United States—and for all Communists (whether nationally expelled or not) thruout the world, in the midst of the great economic crisis, in the midst of these decisive hours of our international struggle against capitalism it is of the greatest import to heed closely the advice of Lenin at the Third World Congress of the Comintern:

"... The Communist International is basing its policy on the proletarian revolution, but this by no means implies either dogmatically fixating the date for the revolution, or any pledge to bring it about mechanically at a set time. Revolution is a definite process, on the other hand, created conditions favoring the proletarian, which is the fundamental force of the revolution. The Communist International has been exerting all its efforts to take full advantage of these conditions."

"The distinction between the Communist International and the Social Democrats of all colors does not consist in the fact that we are trying to force the revolution and set a definite date for it while the others opposed any utopian and immature uprisings. No, the distinction lies in the fact that Social Democrats hinder the actual development of the revolution by rendering all possible assistance in the way of restoring the equilibrium of the bourgeois state and the Communist International, on the other hand, are trying to take advantage of all means and methods for the purpose of overthrowing and destroying the capitalist government and reestablishing the dictatorship of the proletariat."

"The fundamental tasks of the Communist Party in the proletarian revolution is to conduct, extend, widen and unite the present desperate fight of the proletariat and sharpen it towards the final political struggle in accordance with the course of evolution. Should, however, the pace of development slacken and the present economic crisis be followed by a period of prosperity in a greater or less number of countries, this would by no means be an indication of the beginning of the organic epoch. So long as capitalism exists, periodic vacillations are inevitable. These vacillations are going to accompany capitalism in its death agony as was the case during its youth and maturity." (Our program).

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**Conditions of the Masses**  
The cultural and living conditions of the Chilean workers are best indicated thru the designation that they give themselves as a class. They call themselves *los Rotos*, the "ragged ones." Alcohol is a bitter enemy of theirs. Criminality is shockingly high.

**The Labor Movement**  
Chile's wealth is nitrates. During the World War, the industries built on nitrates rose to the highest importance and indeed all branches of industry were remarkably stimulated. Almost overnight a modern labor movement arose, based primarily upon the mine workers. In 1920 this movement reached its highest

**The Economic Week**

THE end of August has seen by far the lowest general level yet attained in the crisis. But the basic indices point to even worse weeks ahead. The usual autumn improvement, signs of which normally appear in August, is conspicuous for its absence. Competent observers are thus already writing off autumn seasonal prospects. The National Association of Purchasing Agents survey sees no improvement in sight. Uncertainties of crop size and consumption de-

## Henri Barbusse Is Expelled!

Henri Barbusse, the world renowned author, has at last been expelled from the Communist Party of France!

A public announcement to this effect was made by Bouthonier at the Limoges Congress of the Teachers Federation of the C.G.T.U. Bouthonier declared:

"I declare here officially that Barbusse is no longer anything more than sympathizer of the Communist Party."  
Barbusse is editor-in-chief of the brilliant radical periodical *Monde*. Conflicts over editorial policies led to Barbusse's breaking with the Party.

How long now—for Michael Gold and his friends in America?

## A NEW SPLIT ATTEMPT OF THE T.U.U.

August 27, 1931.

On Wednesday, August 26, the Suit Case Makers T. U. U. called a mass meeting under the name of a "rank and file committee."

The chairman, in opening the meeting, declared that the meeting was called because the Suit Case and Bag Makers Union of the A. F. of L. was not functioning and that the meeting had, as its aim, the reviving of the union.

As soon as discussion from the floor began it became clear to the 50 workers present that the purpose of the meeting was quite different. The speeches of the Communist Party members and the resolution placed by them showed that they were out to smash the existing union and to build a new union.

The resolution called for the election of a "rank and file committee" whose task was to place an ultimatum to the union to organize the unorganized and improve the conditions in the shops. If the event of failure to get action satisfactory to them the rank and file committee was to disregard the union and take over its functions!

A number of workers, among them Razumovich and Arenoff, came out sharply against this union-smashing proposal and called for intensified work within the existing union for the improvement of working conditions. An interesting speech was made by one rank and file worker. He said he had been included towards the Socialists but now strongly leans towards the Communists. What keeps him from lining up with them, he said, was their policy of splitting and dividing the workers on the trade union field. The vote on the resolution was 24 in favor and 26 abstaining. The 24 consisted of Party and T.U.U. members. The so-called "rank and file committee" which they elected did not include a single worker not either a Party member or T.U.U. member.

**A Leather Worker**

point and there appeared a "Socialist Communist Party," gradually approaching the Communist International. There also came upon the scene new trade unions built on a modern industrial basis affiliated to the R. I. L. U. These were published about half-a-dozen labor papers and in parliament there were about a many Communist deputies. In contrast to other Latin-American countries this workers, here in large-scale mining industry, showed no serious tendencies toward anarchosocialism. (Only in Uruguay with its concentrated packing house industry, is the situation somewhat similar. The North American I. W. W. possesses some contacts among the marine workers.)

**Crisis and Reaction**

A short time after the World War, 4 days of prosperity gave way to deep and hopeless crisis. The newly developed large-scale chemical industry of Europe greatly limited the market for Chilean nitrates. As everywhere else, so here capital shifted its burdens lower down. The always questionable Chilean "democracy" became an open instrument of bloody repressions against the labor movement and peasantry. The lower middle classes offered no resistance and the working class, only just awakened to class consciousness, did not possess sufficient experience or inner powers to successfully defend. Its leaders were either murdered or else imprisoned on lonely islands in the Pacific. The military dictatorship crushed under its iron heel every effort of the working class to improve its conditions. And this military dictatorship was of course only a tool of Gugenheim and of the other kings of the dollar in Wall Street.

**The Hand of Wall Street**  
Chile is one of the most important Latin-American fields of investment for Wall Street. About one billion dollars of American money is invested in Chile, primarily in nitrates, copper and railroads. The military dictatorship in Chile was an openly avowed agency of Wall Street.

**The Overthrow of the Ibanes Regime**  
Financial difficulties brought the collapse of the dictatorship of Ibanes. Middle class elements, intellectuals, professionals, merchants, were united with the workers in overthrowing the Ibanes regime. But within these forces a rapid process of differentiation began and within the weeks following the overthrow of the military dictatorship the class struggle has sharpened tremendously.

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# The Sectarian Trade Union Line Continues

## Lessons of the Mining Disaster

by Jack Soderberg

In a recent issue of the Daily Worker we suddenly learn that the strike of the miners has now filtered down to involve no more than 10,000. Out of 40,000 only 10,000 remain on "strike." Nevertheless, despite the admission of the Communist Party bureaucrats that only 10,000 remain on strike, and despite their later admission that the strike is broken, we are patently informed in an official statement "that the strike is not called off" and "is still on." In other words, the strike is not called off—by the Party—only by the workers themselves!

**What Are The Facts?**

The actual facts are, that at no time was there 45,000 out on strike, not even 40,000 or anywhere near that many, but closer to 20,000. And the 10,000 Daily now claims are still out really amount to about 3,000, of which most are unemployed, plus a good many rank and file miners who have been victimized and blacklisted.

We learn in the Daily that the "local demands must now be the burning issue." A fine time to realize that now, after the strike has been broken! Had the Party bureaucrats been a little more concerned about these demands of the workers a little earlier, there might have been a different story to tell today, altho, of course, a fundamental change of tactics would have been necessary to accomplish anything. Had the Party leadership realized that the main course must be united action of all miners organizations against the operators, then the suicidal and demoralizing struggle of miner against miner, of union man against union man might have been avoided! Had the Party leadership realized that the question of having the miners "in the Party" should be a question to be taken up at a later date, after the miners had joined the union and then only the very best and advanced elements, perhaps things would have been different today! Instead, only a week after the outbreak of the spontaneous strike (and bear in mind this was not a previously organized and well-planned strike but a spontaneous revolt of the discontented miners) a leaflet was issued over the name of the union asking the miners to join—no, not the union—but the Party. Instead, from the very beginning the Party (and the National Miners Union under its control) made as its direct object of its attack not the "boss" but the United Mine Workers of America!

Later, the party leadership, instead of leading the miners on to real and planned sack picking (as applied, for instance, by the amalgamated silk workers unions a Paterson today) on the miners, led them away from the mines and on to "safety seats and mayors and what not."

Later the anti-work demonstrations and propaganda took the precedence and became almost the sole issue for weeks before August 1 and the actual struggle of the union and the demands of the workers were relegated to a very secondary place.

**Confusion Worse Confounded**

We will not here waste valuable space on various misleading statements in the Daily during the last two months. Every "striker" by now has learned and knows the habit of those controlling the Party today, to exaggerate and brazenly lie to bolster up their miserable errors and misleadership, and the workers have become accustomed to take, with a good nip of salt, anything they read in the Daily, especially anything under the signature of the Central Committee.

The statement of the strike appearing in the Daily bears anything for contradictions. In one paragraph we read that "this does not mean that the strike is ended but on the contrary is intensified." Another paragraph, in the same statement, tells us that "this is only a temporary retreat." And still in a third paragraph we are informed "that the sentiment for coming out on strike again is very good." In a later statement we learn that "the situation is not changed except that it is worse!" Now what in hell is it? Is it a retreat or is the strike still on? If the strike is still in progress, why talk about "coming out on strike again" or if the strike is still on why blabber about a retreat, organized or otherwise?

**The Real Causes**

What is the truth of the matter? We will supply the answer the Party leadership dares not give. It is all the inevitable result of a policy that aims to destroy the mass labor unions because they are under reactionary leadership and to set up "pure" little sects, called "Red Unions", as dual organizations. The inevitable result of a policy that makes a man a real union man only provided he is also a Party member. The inevitable result of a policy that makes the T. U. U. union hall a place of political propaganda primarily and pushes the question of unionism to a secondary issue. The inevitable result of a policy that makes it necessary to agree with every little whim of the Party leadership or a worker is expelled from the union, of a policy whereby all officials are appointed by the Party bureaucrats without regard to the wishes of the rank and file. Where the most elementary rights of the workers are utterly disregarded and held in contempt. There is the thriving ground for bureaucracy in its most despicable form.

**Who Is To Blame?**

For this deplorable situation, the Party leadership is primarily and foremost to blame. The Party bureaucrats have added another black spot to their already shameful record of union smashing, misleadership and incompetence. The Illinois failure, the Philadelphia disaster, the New Orleans fizzle, the dress makers "strike", were not enough for them, were not sufficient to convince them that their line is wrong, utterly and hopelessly wrong. All the closed locals of the marine union, the tremendous loss of membership in the absolute rush of members away from the T.U.U.U., have not yet taught these bureaucrats that they are wrong. The "line" is still pursued.

What are the results of the Party leadership refusing to heed the warning or to learn from their mistakes? One would think that after all these disasters they would realize that the only way is to work from within the existing unions, thereby having a mass base to utilize those unions and build a strong left wing in them.

**The Right Wing Under Pressure**

It is not by choice that the right wing is moving towards unity on a platform of class struggle. They are being forced to that position. The split took place on secondary issues. If concession is made on these issues, they can no longer hold out without revealing their real face. This they cannot afford to do: for in that case they would completely lose the control over their own unions. Even the middle group behind the Railwayman's Federation is not acting voluntarily. The leaders of this group are as untrustworthy as the open right wingers. Besides, most of them are bourgeois nationalist politicians who put on a faint tint of "Socialism" to deceive the masses. But the decisive

factor is not these opportunist politicians, but the numerous local officials of the unions under their control. These act under the pressure of the masses, and are therefore in favor of a programme of action to defend the immediate interests of the workers.

Supported by the largest section of the movement, the Unity Committee has proposed that the session of the Trade Union Congress should be postponed for three months, by which time the ground will be prepared for the holding of a widely representative session and for re-establishing unity on a platform of class struggle for enforcing the immediate demands of the workers. The leaders of the nominally existing Trade Union Congress, its Fascist president and Communist general secretary, however, are agreed to hold the session, which, under the given conditions, will be an empty show. But they have their motives—each his own. The former wants to kick the Communists out, which he will not be able to do when the Congress will be a representative gathering. In that case, the official Communists will go but they are likely to be replaced by others who will know how to influence the movement much more effectively. The latter wants to retain the empty office which he will surely lose, when the Trade Union Congress will again become the functioning organ of the united movement. For an empty office, these "pure Communists" do not hesitate to sabotage the process of uniting the entire movement on the platform of class struggle under a really revolutionary leadership. They may still do their best bit of mischief but that cannot hinder the rise of the functioning mass Communist Party as the leader of the masses. The day is fast approaching when the Communist International will have to choose between a handful of mercenary fanatics, who have done their level best to bungle and ruin the movement, and the real C. P., grown out of the conditions of the country and actually leading the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

**FRANK HARRIS DIES IN FRANCE**

(Continued from page 1)  
Harris attended the University of Kansas and was ultimately admitted to the bar of that state. Then he decided to devote himself to study and literature and left for Europe where he studied at Heidelberg, Göttingen, Strasbourg, Berlin, Vienna, Athens and Paris. After a brief period as war correspondent for the American press, he settled down in England where he edited and contributed to a number of papers.

The years of 1908 to 1914 Frank Harris devoted to his own writings. It was in this period that "The Bomb," "The Man Shakespeare," "The Women of Shakespeare," "The Yellow Ticket and Other Stories," etc. were published.

Finally he came to America and took up the editing of Pearson's Magazine. During the World War his radical leanings brought down the heavy hand of the government upon him and one issue of the magazine was banned by the Post Office Department while the others were closely watched. In this period, too, he conducted a vigorous activity as a critic of literature and art, by pen and word of mouth. His influence among the younger writers was very great.

He again left for Europe and began writing his memoirs. Soon his intensely interesting "My Life and Loves" appeared in three volumes and was of course banned in such highly moral countries as the United States and Great Britain. Harris's memoirs, however, immediately attained a wide circulation in spite, or perhaps because of the ban.

Among the most widely read of his works are his four volumes of "Contemporary Portraits" and "Oscar Wilde, His Life and Confessions", which is ranked as one of the best literary biographies ever written.

Just before his death, Harris had finished a biography of George Bernard Shaw, the proofs of which are now in Shaw's hands.

# Revolutionary Age

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## SHIPWRECK

THE MacDonald government of England has collapsed. In view of the present world crisis this event is of paramount international significance.

Only the silliest of fools can do, as the DAILY WORKER has done: dismiss the shipwrecking of the second Labor government as a mere maneuver of the British imperialists, as merely a step in the general conspiracy of the ruling class against the toiling masses. Such a conception is a crude misconception. It flies in the face of facts. It is a crude perversion of Marxism, of the type which our sectarian comrades have been guilty of so frequently in the last two years.

Some twelve years ago Lenin branded MacDonald as a post master in "those smooth, well-sounding stereotyped phrases, Socialism in APPEARANCE, which in all advanced countries have served for a long time to screen bourgeois policies within the working class movement."

The rapid development of the world economic crisis has only stimulated the decay of British imperialism, already evident before the present acute crisis. Today the contradictions of British capitalism have become more acute than ever. This was bound to have its political, its class reflections. This process of class realignments, of deepening the fundamental class antagonisms and divisions, has been going on for a long time. The fall of the MacDonald government only marks a point of decisive turn, a moment of acceleration in the tempo and intensity of the class war in Great Britain. As Lenin has shown, MacDonald has for decades been a traitor to his class. It was none other than Winston Churchill who, only a month ago, boasted about MacDonald: "He is the first Socialist Prime Minister we have ever had, and he has been Prime Minister twice over. Of course, he is not a Socialist, and is at this moment in active revolt against Socialism in all its forms" (SUNDAY PICTORIAL, July 26, 1931).

What has actually happened? British capitalism is in such desperate plights that the bourgeoisie are compelled, in order to hold on to their profits, dividends and power, to sharpen the attack on the workers standards and conditions. MacDonald served the British bourgeoisie within the labor movement as long as the imperialist interests demanded it. But the new demands of the English exploiters on the laboring masses are so obviously outrageous and MacDonald's veneer of Socialist phrases and demagoguery have become so thin that he could no longer historically serve as the lieutenant of capital INSIDE the ranks of labor. Most of the trade union bureaucrats in his cabinet, having closer contact with the masses, and realizing that the millions of jobless would not tolerate any further reduction in the unemployment insurance, simply dropped MacDonald cold when it became necessary for him to assume the role of a lieutenant of capitalism OUTSIDE the ranks of labor.

This is the logical evolution of all Social-democratic betrayers of labor. Working class history has thus vomited up the Milferlands, the Brindens, and Mussolinis. And thus MacDonald now no longer speaks softly or even in a whisper about the working class but shrieks nervously about "national duty"—as the patriotic "Socialists" of every country did on the eve of and during the world war. Likewise, it is welcome and instructive that MacDonald's own local (Hamstead) of the Labor party, in voting his expulsion, emphasized "his disloyalty to the Labor party and his open flouting of party discipline in joining the anti-socialist government formed for the purpose of forcing the Parliament anti-working class legislation."

It was the report of a committee set up by the Labor party's parliamentary members themselves (the Sir May Economy Committee) that precipitated the fall of the government and the inevitable split in the Labor party. Now, the most oppressed and worst-suffering section of the British working class will be the first one to be hit in the attempt to keep the prestige and power of "stealing", of the "pound", that sordid emblem of British capitalism. But the reduction of the unemployed insurance will only be the entering wedge, the prelude, of a drive to reduce the wages and worsen the conditions of all workers, of the whole working class. Capitalist "retrenchment" will follow along the whole line—"slewing down of all social services", wage-cutting, union-smashing, denial of civil rights, etc. Let no worker forget that it is the "Socialist" MacDonald who is still serving, in the "All-National Cabinet" as the loudspeaker for the British ruling class, championing this new offensive against the exploited masses.

From what is known of British working class history, we may therefore, look forward to a further radicalization of the working class, to a more quick growth of genuine radical sentiment in the class struggle along the whole front. In short, in the growing resistance of the masses to the new offensive of the bosses, to the axe which has been whetted for them by the MacDonald's "Economy" Committee, there will be created still more favorable ground for the growth of a mass Communist Party. For years, the Social-democrats of all countries always pointed with great pride to American imperialism as its model. From this angle, too much significance cannot be attached to the role of Wall Street in bringing decisive pressure to bear on the Bank of England and the MacDonald cabinet to cut unemployment insurance in England. American bankers brought this pressure to bear in order to help the American capitalists defeat all moves for unemployment insurance in the United States. This high-handed action of the Federal Reserve Bank will go a long way to disillusion millions of Social-democratic toilers with American imperialism and win for Wall Street the eternal hatred and damnation it deserves from every worker throughout the world.

No brush is thick enough to paint the crisis of British capitalism. The working class rights and interests are to be scuttled—shipwrecked on the hard rocks of British capitalist economic interests—IF THE MASSES WILL PERMIT IT. The masses are showing increasing resistance and militancy. Otherwise, the Hendersons and Shaws would never have broken with MacDonald. It is not loyalty to the working class—of this these bureaucrats are incapable of comprehending the A B C—but only mass pressure of the workers, the fear of the wrath of the rank and file that has caused the split and differentiation in the Labor party leadership. But where is the Communist and its British section—the Communist Party of Great Britain—in this acute crisis confronting the working class? Where is the Communist program to meet this situation?

In the answer to these questions lies another heart-rending tragedy for the international proletariat. The sectarian, adventurist line of the Communist International has virtually bankrupted the British and American sections and practically the entire Comintern in so far as effective utilization of the present world crisis for building a powerful victorious Communist movement is concerned. The British Communist Party is isolated from the masses. It has no contacts with the Labor party membership. The Hendersons, Shaws and Cooks will now again have a free hand to mislead millions of workers with new methods and maneuvers. The paltry few hundred members of the Communist Party have deserted the mass trade unions. The once powerful Minority Movement is now only a powerful memory engaged in the costly and criminal game of disrupting mass unions and putting up paper organizations parading as Red Unions which exist only in militant and revolutionary sounding manifestos.

Let us learn a lesson from this collapse of the MacDonald government as well as from the failure of the Communist Party of Germany to stop the growing menace of Fascism. Let us take every step necessary to make it possible to reunite the Comintern to restore it to a tactical line which will enable the various Communist Parties to fulfill their immediate and ultimate historical missions. These great tasks are to give effective revolutionary leadership, to inspire and arouse the masses to militant struggle against the exploiters and to insure the overthrow of the decaying capitalist system and its replacement with a virile Socialist Soviet System as in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

# In Reply to Dr. DuBois in "The Crisis" Communism and the Negro

by Will Herberg

When Dr. DuBois speaks you listen and ponder. For thru the lips of Dr. DuBois speaks not only the brilliant mind that has made a unique place for itself in the American Negro world and in the world of social thought; thru his lips speaks more or less authoritatively the voice of some of the most advanced elements of the Negro petty bourgeois intellectuals, destined to play a relatively important role in the epical drama of Negro emancipation in this country. Dr. DuBois's rather extensive remarks in the recent issue of *The Crisis* (September, 1931) on "Communism and the Negro", therefore, well deserve the most thoughtful consideration of every Communist and of every one interested in the perspectives of contemporary American life.

## Some Fundamental Questions

We must note in the first place that DuBois takes an unequivocal and outspoken position on the basic question agitating the world today: Capitalism versus Socialism.

"Present organization of industry for private profit and control of government by concentrated wealth is doomed to disaster. It must change and fall if civilization survives. The foundation of present world-wide power is the slavery and semi-slavery of the colored world, including the American Negroes."

The Soviet Union has in Dr. DuBois an avowed friend:

"The importance of the Russian Revolution cannot be gainsaid. It is easily the greatest event in the world since the French Revolution and possibly since the fall of Rome. The experiment is increasingly successful. The Negro must be sympathetic with Russia and hopeful of its ultimate success in establishing a Socialist state."

The paramount issue of contemporary society thus finds Dr. DuBois aligned on the side of progress and of the future, with the champions of social revolution.

But precisely because we agree with Dr. DuBois on these basic questions, it is all the more necessary for us to analyze clearly and to discuss frankly our differences on questions that may indeed appear secondary but are, nevertheless, of extreme importance today. To these questions we must now turn our attention.

## The Negro Bourgeoisie and the Negro Masses

Dr. DuBois bases his whole view of the inner relation of classes in Negro society on three main premises: (a) The Negro bourgeoisie is very weak numerically and economically and is not the really significant agency of the exploitation of the Negro people.

(b) The dominant leadership in the Negro field is not capitalist.

"The attempt to dominate Negro Americans by purely capitalist ideas died with Booker T. Washington. . . . Since that time there has never been a moment when the dominating leadership of the American Negro has been mainly or even largely dominated by wealth or capital or by capitalist ideals."

(c) The dominant leadership in the Negro field is made up of poor men.

"For two generations the social leaders of the American Negro are very few and have been poor men."

Now, it is quite true that the Negro bourgeoisie is very weak numerically and economically. It is quite true that the millions of Negro peasants and workers are being exploited not by the Negro bourgeoisie but by the white capitalists and that, fundamentally:

" . . . their emancipation will come from a wholesale emancipation from the grip of the white exploiters without."

Yes, the Negro bourgeoisie may itself be weak but it operates with borrowed strength—the strength of the white capitalists. The menace that the Negro bourgeoisie constitute for the Negro masses lies not in its power as an exploiting class, but in the fact that it, together with the conservative professional "race leaders" and certain sections of the petty bourgeois constitutes for the Negro masses of the white master class over the Negro masses. The narrow class interests of the Negro bourgeoisie and its allied conservative elements make them the eager champions of bourgeois ideals and bourgeois aspirations which are directly opposed to the deepest interests of the Negro people. The position of power and prestige within its own group, to which it is raised by the ready if somewhat contemptuous patronage of the white capitalists, makes the Negro bourgeoisie an especially dangerous factor on the Negro scene.

But, argues Dr. DuBois, the dominant leadership in the Negro field is not capitalistically inclined and has not been so since the days of Booker T. Washington. With natural diffidence, we are compelled to differ with Dr. DuBois on this crucial point. We believe an unprejudiced examination will show that the dominant leadership among the Negro people today is still substantially of a mind with Booker T. Washington on questions of fundamental economic outlook. Dr. Carter G. Woodson certainly represents a distinct, a significant trend in present-day Negro leadership. In a recent syndicated article "The Inconsistency of Students of Radicalism", Dr. Woodson, having "disposed of" Socialism with some indescribably silly arguments, actually makes the plea to the Negroes to make the effort to lift themselves to a capitalist status.

" . . . the troubles of the Negro are due largely to the fact that he does not belong to the employing class. . . . To say that the Negro cannot develop sufficiently in the business world to measure arms with present day capitalists is to deny actual facts to refute history. . . . The race, properly awakened, can do the so-called impossible in the business world and

thus help to govern rather than merely be governed."

Can a more frankly capitalistic outlook be imagined?

The late Bishop Carey, Professor Kelly Miller and Marcus Garvey are certainly, each in his own way, influential figures in the Negro world, yet each is identified with an avowed pro-capitalist program.

Nor, in our opinion, has the N.A.A.C.P. itself, inheritor of the Niagara movement, made a clear break with the economic philosophy of Booker T. Washington, even tho' the cleavage on political and social questions has been much more sharp. The whole fantastic scheme of trying to build a self-contained "Negro economy" and of "utilizing our buying power" to lift the Negro masses up by their own boot-straps, is conceived in a purely capitalistic spirit and yet it is endorsed, with considerable hesitation and qualifications, it is true, by Dr. DuBois himself (in the July 1931 *Crisis*)!

And is the fact that the dominant leadership in the Negro field is composed of poor men of any significance? Was not Alexander Hamilton the most class-conscious, the most far-seeing and the most capable representative of the American capitalist class has ever had, himself a poor man? It is not personal income but ideological orientation that counts—and the 'e' is no necessary, inevitable connection between the two at all.

No, Dr. DuBois is wrong. The Negro race cannot be considered as one homogeneous mass, without class divisions and divergent class interests. The Negro bourgeoisie and the conservative elements associated with it, are a menace to the best interests of the Negro masses and must be fought—precisely because they objectively serve as the real agents of the white capitalists within the Negro people.

## White Worker and Black Worker

The darkest page in the history of the white workers in America is their shameful record of discrimination against and persecution of the black man. Dr. DuBois is quite right in emphasizing this point—it cannot, indeed, be too much emphasized. But indignation, however righteous, is surely no substitute for understanding. And it must be said that Dr. DuBois really does not understand the roots of the matter.

The masses of the white workers are so horribly afflicted with the poison of race prejudice because they are so completely subjected spiritually to the bourgeoisie, so bourgeois-minded, so "backward". Dr. DuBois agrees that "backwardness breeds race prejudice, because he thinks in the terms of the bourgeoisie, as the bourgeoisie wants him to think. Every available fact, every bit of experience, shows us that, to the degree that the white worker becomes more class-conscious, to the degree that he frees himself from the spiritual influence of his masters, to that degree does he succeed in freeing himself also of the devastating incubus of race prejudice.

But, objects Dr. DuBois: "The capitalists are against mob-violence and would listen to reason and justice in the long run because industrial peace increases profits."

This is an argument utterly unworthy of Dr. DuBois. "Industrial peace increases profits"—but does that make the wage-cutting, union-smashing corporations ready to "listen to reason and justice"? "International peace increases profits"—but does that make the giant imperialist powers cease arming themselves to the teeth, cease preparing the ground for the inevitable next war?

The whole basis of argument is false. Dr. DuBois himself insists that it is "the slavery and semi-slavery of the colored world, including the American Negroes" that forms "the foundation of its (world capitalism's) present world-wide power. . . . Indeed the selfish economic status of the Negro peasant and proletarian serves as a valuable source of super-profit for monopoly capital—in a strictly analogous manner to colonial exploitation. At the same time it serves also as a point of support for the class domination of the bourgeoisie ('divide and rule')." For this reason, the race oppression of the American Negro has become an integral element of the bourgeois-imperialist system in this country. Now, class interests are directly transmuted into class ideology: this is a fundamental social mechanism. The caste status of the American Negro—so advantageous to the ruling class from the viewpoint of economic profit and social power—is transformed into the corresponding class ideology, the "theory" of the "inherent" racial inferiority of the Negro, race prejudice, etc. But "the ruling ideas of any age are the ideas of the ruling class" (Marx). Race prejudice thus develops into an element of the currently accepted social thought and is absorbed by the other classes of society to the degree that they are under the spiritual influence of the ruling class.

Here, obviously, Dr. DuBois has missed the point. Race prejudice today is in its origin and in its essence capitalistic and all talk of "reason and justice" in connection with the capitalist class as a class is really naive and fanciful nonsense.

What then can break down the race prejudice of the white workers? The widening and the deepening of the class struggle, primarily. The white heat of the class war will burn out the corruption of race prejudice. The fraternization of white and colored workers in the South during recent strikes, however hesitating, uncertain and unstable, is a straw in the wind. The slow but inevitable deepening of the class consciousness of the white proletariat, i.e., its growing ideological liberation from the bourgeoisie, will certainly deliver the white workers from the thoroughly bourgeois nightmare of race prejudice.

Here, as everywhere else, the Communists have taken upon themselves the hard task of showing the way. They thoroly realize the correctness of Dr. DuBois's remark that:

" . . . the first step toward the emancipation of colored labor must come from white labor."

But when they, in the face of the most extraordinary difficulties, rise to the historical level of initiating this first step, they are greeted by Dr. DuBois with something that looks altogether too much like a sneer.

Yes, the first steps in the struggle to break down the color line in the labor movement are hard, very hard. And success is not easy or immediate. But it is simply not so that the Communists "turn and accuse the Negroes of not sympathizing with the ideals of labor."

The Communists "accuse" next to the ruling class and its agents in the labor movement, the conservative trade union officials, such "race leaders" as Kelly Miller who advises the Negro worker to "stand shoulder to shoulder with the captains of industry", as Marcus Carey who urges him to "keep his scale of wages a little lower than the whites", as Bishop Carey who informs him that his interests lie "with the wealth of the nation and with the class of white people who control it." Between Kelly Miller, Bishop Carey and Marcus Carey, on the one hand, and the masses of the Negro people on the other, we must insist that a clear distinction be drawn!

(Continued in the next issue)

PARADOXY, The Destiny of Modern Thought, by Richard Rothchild. Richard R. Smith. New York, 1931.

This book naturally takes its place besides those of Eddington, Jean and Goldstone. It is another of the increasing row of desperate attempts to "stabilize" values, to salvage "eternal" truths from the ruins of a world tumbling about the ears. Infinitely inferior in ability and accomplishment, it is yet, in a sense, more significant, because of what it attempts—namely, a gathering together and synthesis of all the hints, half-hints, doubts and spasmodic ventures into a consistent idealistic attack against materialism, objectivity, determinism, causality and science itself. In this attack against science, needless to say, the doubts and vacillations of great scientists have brought grist to the mill of mysticism.

The development of the metaphysical doctrine is an eclectic rehash. For the most part, of all the old favorites—idealistic gems from Plato thru Berkeley, Kant, Hegel and Bergson. But it would be decidedly unfair to the author to accuse him of being a mere culler of the old. Oh, no! He is decidedly original and there are many intriguing variations on the old familiar themes. One of the most marvelous of his performances is his proof of the identity of knowledge and faith. It is granted that knowledge is certain and faith is subjective. He then proves that faith is certain and knowledge subjective. Q. E. D. Things equal to the same thing are equal to each other. Of a beautiful simplicity, no?

It is already apparent, is it not, where the argument is driving? The development of the purely metaphysical argument, is made antecedent to a pyramiding values with religion, of course, at the dizzy apex. And then comes mystery, the soul, God, the definite and all the rest of the holy abracadabra.

And this explains the enthusiastic and sky-high endorsement in his forward by the Rev. John Hayes Holmes, another pathetic figure searching among the ashes for a "new" soul, a "new" God, a "new" religion purged of all the old bad creeds and dogmas.

—Jim Cork.

ca to burn even a kerosene lamp. Yet in the United States troops are used to prevent the production of oil that prices may go even higher. In the United States more than five million children are undernourished because their parents cannot afford to buy milk for them. But the milk trust instructs the farmers not to give their cattle rich fodder so as to cut down the supply of milk and thus raise the price. All these measures are not only sanctioned by the government, but the government takes the initiative in proposing and executing them.

Why? Because the government is the protector of private property. Because the government, the servant of capital, must help gather bigger and bigger profits for the owners of wealth. Because under capitalism, production is carried on not for use, but for profit. When profits cease, production ceases, even if it means that millions starve. Because under capitalism, the means of production are in the hands of a few and are used to benefit these few. Because the planlessness, the waste, the inefficiency, the greed, the exploitation of the capitalist system can bring only misery, unemployment and starvation to the masses of the toilers.

THERE IS NO REMEDY UNDER CAPITALISM.

Only the destruction of capitalism and the abolition of private property of the means of production can do away with this misery. Only the establishment of Socialism and the institution of planned economy can harness the means of production and use them for the benefit of the entire population.

A New Dispensation

We have before us a leaflet issued by the "Committee of 25" (the new name for the Needle Trade Workers Industrial Union among the dressmakers). Believe it or not, we read:

"Our leaders have told us: Go and explain to the dressmakers. . . . Go and convince the dressmakers, our leaders have told us. . . ."

Go and show them. . . . our leaders have told us. . . .

Evidently a new stage has been reached in the development of the "revolutionary trade union movement" in this country under the inspiration of the new course—the stage of divine pronouncements from the "leaders" on high. Open the Bible to the Books of Prophets and you will read again and again:

"And the Lord spoke unto me saying: Go and tell the people of Israel. . . ."

God has been banished from the skies perhaps, but his place has been taken by the little tin gods of the T.U.U.L.

Cows and Women

"Comrade" Duranty reports that Stalin has issued a "decree ordering cows to give 60% more calves in 1932", as part of the five-year plan. Hoover's plan involves a million more babies a year from American women. It's clear that the Hoover plan is more human. That's why he's called the great humanitarian.



## BOOKS

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—Jim Cork.



## BETWEEN HAMMER AND ANVIL

THE TRAGICOMEDY OF RAMSAY THE GREAT

Ramsay MacDonald's parliamentary comedy is finished. It began with his majesty's "Labor" premier kissing the king's hand. It ended as it began with his majesty graciously extending his hand for the kneeling "representative" of labor to kiss. "Well, done, good and faithful servant," said his majesty, and the curtain fell.

The figures that strutted and cringed across the stage in that fateful comedy through strange shadows on the wall. The shadows, curiously reflecting the movements of the figures, proved to be enacting an unhappy tragedy.

The "Labor" regime was to solve the unemployment problem. The figures rose from 1,112,792 jobless when MacDonald first kissed the king's hand to 2,714,359 when he kissed it again last week. Well done, faithful servant! A tragic comedy, indeed.

The Independent Labor party promised two years ago to introduce Socialism in Great Britain "in our time". When their great leader Ramsay entered office he changed it to a thousand year plan. For these two years he has marched steadily, courageously . . . backwards! Now it's a thousand-and-two year plan. A few more such advances of labor, and England will be back into feudalism or the Britons will again be painting their bodies blue and fleeing before the legions of the invading Caesar.

Listen to the ringing voice of "labor's champion" as he prepares to "raise the cost of living with a tariff on necessities, to cut wages and to add to the torture and slow starvation of the unemployed so as to save British capitalism and its sacred symbol, the pound sterling:

"As the commerce and well-being, a large part of the civilized world, has been built up and rests upon well-founded confidence in sterling, the new government will take whatever steps are necessary to justify the maintenance of that confidence unimpaired."

"Large part of the civilized world" is no exaggeration. The bankers of America, who with the bankers of London, dictated the latest brutal attack on the British masses, rejoice as it makes easier their fight against unemployment insurance in America. The German Socialists, who are backing the Brüning cabinet in a similar attack on the German working class, echo the words of the King: "Well done, comrade!" The French warmongers, plotting an international attack on the working class and its world center, the Soviet Union, join the chorus with a "Wellcome, brother." And the hordes of White Russian grand dukes and emigres cry: "Bravo! Bis! Bravo!" with flaming enthusiasm.

As the applause dies down Stanley Baldwin steps forth to do the bowing. It was only a puppet show after all! Stanley pulls the strings while Ramsay does the dirty work. Hisses for Ramsay. Cheers for Stanley. And behind Stanley Baldwin who is pulling the wires that manipulate him, stands the grotesque figure of the king who "rules but does not govern". Now the cheers change to "Long live the King!"

But that too dies away as behind him appears the master showman who runs all the puppets, "Labor ministers", "Labor opposition", "Conservatives", "Liberals" and "king" alike—British capitalism. And pressing him hard trying to crowd him off the stage is American capitalism. A grand comedy indeed!

The slow moving body of the British working class stirs uneasily. Its chains jingle and snap off like pack threads. It advances with gathering determination against the whole crew of puppets, master-puppets and super-puppets and against the fat showman himself and sweeps the whole mess off the stage. That wasn't in the play. The comedy seems for the actors to be turning into tragedy. The audience is demanding its money back. It is taking possession of the stage. It is tired of the stale comedy played at its expense. The actors flee for their lives. The king's crown goes off. He holds desperately on to his head for fear that that will follow. Ramsay tries to clamber out of a window. The king pulls his leg. He climbs down. "Step on me, your majesty! I'll help you out." Faithful still! Faithful unto death! "Well done, faithful servant!"

But the enraged crowd sweeps on and over them both. "It was a great show while it lasted!" Sez you!

—B. D. W.

WASHINGTON. —A definite reputation of the wide-spread charge, eagerly cultivated by the reactionary "100%-Americans", that the foreign-born in this country are responsible for the extraordinarily high rate of crime, is contained in the final report of the Wickersham Commission presented to Hoover on August 23.

Basing itself on exhaustive reports by experts, the Wickersham Commission discovered that, in proportion to their respective numbers, the foreign-born "commutative born." In crimes of violence the rate is about the same for foreign and native born: in crimes of gain, the rate for native-born is very much higher.

On the other hand, the Wickersham Commission experts expressed the belief that the crime rate is exceptionally high among the native-born sons of immigrant parents, among those, that is, who have had all the advantages of "real Americanism."

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