

FOR COMMUNIST
UNITY IN THE
REVOLUTIONARY
CLASS STRUGGLE!

THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE

WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES
UNITE!

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING
THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS

ISSUED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY
(Majority Group)

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WAGES FALL 40% PRICES 15%

Huge Wage-Cuts Continue Unemployment Mounts

WASHINGTON.—Although the average cost of living of the American worker has declined no more than 15% as a result of fall in prices between 1925 and 1931, the total paid out in wages to the American workers has dropped over 40% in the same period—as a result of unemployment, part-time work and huge wage-cuts. Such are the conclusions reached by Ethelbert Stewart, United States Commissioner of Labor Statistics.

On the basis of living costs for December 1925 taken as 100 Mr. Stewart deduced that between then and June of this year wholesale prices of commodities fell approximately 35% but that the cost of living of a working man's family declined only 15%.

The monstrous wage-cutting campaign that was initiated with the announcement of a 10% wage-cut by the United States Steel Corporation, is now beginning to take on the proportions of a country-wide deluge. At the same time, unemployment has taken another big jump and the number of those employed part-time has greatly increased. Every industry is feeling the impact of both of these tendencies. As a result, the standards of the workers are being suddenly and catastrophically depressed. Unrest and readiness to fight are growing in the ranks of labor but of leadership there is none. The A. F. of L. officialdom has contented itself with issuing some general statements, carefully avoiding any reference to the necessity of fighting back and defeating the offensive of capital. The official Communist Party has so effectively isolated itself from the masses of workers and their organizations that it stands innocent in the situation. Above everything else the workers are beginning to realize that only a united front of labor can save them from the determined attacks of the bosses, who themselves are united into powerful trusts and associations and have the government behind them.

WASHINGTON.—Declines of 12.4% in employment and 20.8% in payroll totals of manufacturing industries in August below the same month last year were shown in an analysis issued on September 30 by the Department of Labor.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported also that the astounding number of 45% of the workers in the manufacturing establishments examined were working part-time.

PITTSBURGH.—A 10% slash in wages, effective October 1, was announced on September 28 by the Aluminum Company of America. The reduction will apply throughout the company and all subsidiaries. Nearly 4,500 workers are involved directly and many thousands more in the subsidiaries. The Aluminum Company of America, owned almost entirely by the Mellon interests, of which Andrew Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, is head. While Mr. Mellon, as head of the aluminum trust, puts thru the wage-cut, Secretary Mellon, as the firm pillar of the Hoover administration, "greatly deprecates the policy of wage-cutting."

SPRINGFIELD, Mass.—The United States Envelope Company, with main offices here and plants in other cities, (Continued on page 2)

Is the U. S. Army To Be Used To Murder Starving Workers?

Startling Revelations Made Public by "Revolutionary Age"

The following letter—*it speaks for itself*—has just been sent by the Revolutionary Age to the Secretary of War, Hurley.

October 2, 1931.

Patrick J. Hurley
Secretary of War
War Department Building
Washington, D. C.
Dear Mr. Hurley:

We are reliably informed that the War Department has in recent months worked out a complete plan for the extensive use of the Federal Army to break strikes and suppress the mass protests of starving, jobless workers throughout the country, in the coming winter months.

We have also learned from unimpeachable sources that a plan has also been worked out by your Department to rush, upon call by the respective state governors, Federal troops to put down protests of hard-hit farmers, especially the poor tenant farmers in the cotton belt during the winter.

These strike breaking plans, we affirm, were placed by President Hoover

before the biggest bankers of the country in his recent conference with them. The bankers approved and pledged full support to this program of Hoover to use the Federal Army to suppress ruthlessly any and all attempts of hungry workers and farmers to save themselves and their families from starvation.

The "Revolutionary Age" a paper fighting militantly in the interests of the working class, sees in this action of the War Department a most serious menace to the welfare of the toiling masses and direct support by the Hoover administration to help the bosses put over wage cuts, worsen working conditions, and intolerable standards.

We urgently request you officially to confirm or deny these facts which we have placed before you. We request that you make known publicly, as soon as possible, the full details of these plans of the War Department.

Yours truly

JAY LOVESTONE
Editor, "Revolutionary Age"

Roy Appeals to World's Masses From British Dungeon!

Indian Communist Addresses Manifesto Urging Support To Indian Liberation Struggle

In a powerful message from the District Prison of Cawnpore, India, where he is confined on the charge of "waging war against the King," Mahabendra Nath Roy, outstanding Indian Communist and national-revolutionary leader, appeals to the workers, peasants and radical intellectuals of the whole world to come to the support of the Indian masses striving for freedom and to demand the release of the thousands of Indian revolutionists in the dungeons of the British Raj in India.

G.O.P. TO CONTROL HEARST CHAIN

Mellon Already Negotiating "Sun" To Merge With "Post" In New York

For some weeks Andrew Mellon has been conducting negotiations with the Hearst interests to buy out all Hearst papers. The price offered by the Mellon interests is approximately \$10,000,000. The Hearst interests are now in bad financial shape and are having a hard time floating a new bond issue at 7%. It is not yet certain whether an arrangement for the sale of the Hearst papers throughout the country will be reached, the Andrew Mellon is bringing to bear all possible pressure.

There are likewise now proceeding negotiations for the merging of the *Evening Sun* with the *New York Evening Post* to be called the *Post-Sun*. The *Post* is now the only Republican evening paper in New York. Should the merger be completed as well as the Mellon purchase of the *Evening Journal*, then the Republican party will have two of the three New York evening papers.

Indian Communist and national-revolutionary leader, appeals to the workers, peasants and radical intellectuals of the whole world to come to the support of the Indian masses striving for freedom and to demand the release of the thousands of Indian revolutionists in the dungeons of the British Raj in India.

The declaration, dated August 23, 1931, starts out with a sharp condemnation of the crimes of the British "Labor" government. It describes the mass arrests and persecutions of Indian national-revolutionaries and Communists. It then proceeds to picture the growing movement of the workers and peasants to drive the liberation struggle beyond the crippling limits of Gandhism. It concludes with an account of the rise of the Communist Opposition movement in India, of the suicidal policy of the Executive of the Communist International and of the India "loyalty Communists."

Upon this basis Roy explains why he returned to India and how he was arrested.

Silk Workers Organize to Defend Strike Gains; Jacquard Fight Continues

General Strike Committee Recommends That Associated Strengthen Organization; Workers Pass Resolution For One Union In Shop; Women's Meet Held

Paterson, N. J. The Paterson strike which started on July 28, 1931 is now entering the eleventh week. It is the one outstanding strike during the economic crisis that has already gotten some gains for the workers. The wage-cutting drive has been checked in the silk mills. The 8-hour day has been established in a large number of shops. In the settled shops slight increases in wages have also been won.

By the manufacturers are determined that these gains shall not be enjoyed for any extended period of time. They are already laying plans for breaking down the 8-hour day, for lowering wages and for firing and discrimination against good union men. They reason that while the strike is on it is necessary to grant the few improvements in conditions. But that after the strike it will be different. Then the union will lose its hold on the workers in the shops and the bosses will have an easy time in breaking down conditions.

The silk workers, however, are not to be found napping this time. They have come to the conclusion that the maintenance of conditions is of equal importance to the successful carrying on of the strike. They have therefore decided to consolidate the gains for unionism in

FRANCO - GERMAN BLOC FORMED

Move Against Britain; Will Have Serious Results For U. S. S. R.

BERLIN.—The creation of a mixed Franco-German economic commission, in which France will play the role largely of financier and Germany of manufacturer, as the expression of a new Franco-German economic rapprochement, was the most outstanding tangible achievement of the conferences that have been taking place here in the last few days between Premier Laval of France and Chancellor Bruening of Germany.

In the joint communique issued on September 28 it was declared that one of the most important tasks of this commission would be to map out a large-scale scheme for joint exploitation of Eastern European export markets. The Eastern European markets referred to are the Soviet Union, in the first place, Poland, Hungary and the Balkan countries afterwards. The Soviet Union is specifically mentioned in the communique.

Throughout the negotiations, Premier Laval emphasized several times that the plans of collaboration were strictly confined to economic problems. This was taken as a reversal of the traditional French stand that political "guarantees" must precede economic collaboration.

The formation of the Franco-German economic bloc is a blow straight against Britain. Taking advantage of the deep crisis in which England finds itself at this moment, a condition in which it has nothing to offer to Germany, French imperialism has succeeded in putting thru an economic maneuver that is certain to prove very costly to British capitalism. The markets of English trade on the continent are to be seized by the new bloc under French hegemony. The steel cartel between Germany and France, with Belgium and Luxembourg in the tow of the latter, would normally produce 30,000,000 tons against the 7,000,000 tons of all the heavy industries in England. Furthermore, British industries are notoriously backward technically while German industry is highly rationalized.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, the new bloc and its East European trade policy will stimulate both the granting of credits to the U.S.S.R. and Soviet trade. But in the long run the Franco-German bloc is a serious danger to the U.S.S.R. since it not only definitely completes Germany's "Western orientation" but it greatly strengthens the economic and political power of French imperialism, the most open, the most bitter and the most inveterate enemy of the Soviet Union.

BIG MOONEY MEET ON OCT. 10

Giltlow Leaves N. Y. Body Because of Exclusion Of C.P. and I.L.D.

A monster mass meeting to call for the liberation of Tom Mooney will be held in New York City, at Union Square, on Saturday, October 10, 1931, at 1 P. M. The demonstration is under the auspices of the New York Tom Mooney Mooney Molders Defense Committee. All workers and workers' organizations, all individuals and groups anxious to defeat the most shameful frame-up in American labor history, should see to it that this mass demonstration is a huge success.

Upon the refusal of the Arrangements Committee of the New York Free Mooney Conference to repeal its exclusion of the official Communist Party and of the International Labor Defense on principle as organizations, Benjamin Giltlow, secretary of the Communist Party (Majority Group) and member of the Arrangements Committee, announced his withdrawal from this committee. The meeting of the Arrangements Committee at which this took place was held on Tuesday, September 29, 1931. At this meeting, Giltlow proposed the following two (Continued on Page 2)

British Workers Rise Against Dole Cuts; New Elections Coming

50,000 Demonstrate In Glasgow As Police Attack Masses; Street Battles In Lancashire, London; Parliament Ends October 7 With New Party Line-Up

LONDON.—Riots, mass meetings and demonstrations all over the country are giving expression to the profound unrest gripping the ranks of the working class. In Glasgow, a huge crowd of 50,000 workers paraded thru the city protesting against the anti-labor offensive of the National Government. John McGovern, Labor member of Parliament, was the chief speaker. The police charged the demonstration and provoked a bloody clash. Demonstrations all over the city continued for several days.

In Salford, Lancashire, a demonstration of unemployed marched thru the city to the Town Hall to protest against the cuts in the jobless dole. The police attacked this demonstration and dispersed it after some bloodshed.

In London, a large crowd of unemployed, organized a march upon the Bow Street Court, where charges

were heard against the men and women arrested for "disturbances" outside the House of Commons.

LONDON.—According to the announcement of Premier MacDonald in the House of Commons on September 30, Parliament is to adjourn on Wednesday, October 7. Nothing was said about the time for reconvening so it is generally believed that very soon it will be announced that Parliament is not merely adjourned but dissolved by the King, preliminary to new elections.

As things stand at present it is likely that the Conservatives will probably enter the elections—for which the camouflage of the National Government, with MacDonald and his ex-"Laborites" as fig-leaves. The Conservatives have agreed to withdraw temporarily the tariff question as the chief issue in the campaign. The "cabinet of 10" today stands divided five to five on the tariff question, with J. H. Thomas supporting the protectionist viewpoint. The Labor party will be the chief opposition party in the elections and will in the greatest likelihood emerge considerably strengthened. The Liberal party is in a crisis—facing another split. Half of the fifty-eight Liberals in the present House of Commons are willing to support the tentative steps of the National Government in the direction of protection, with the other half firmly opposed both to protectionism and to continued coalition. As a whole the Liberals are unitedly against an immediate election.

THE MARCH OF WORLD REACTION



JAPAN MOVES UP IN MANCHURIA

Aims To Convert Province Into Colony As Korea

Added military successes for Japanese imperialism in Manchuria, accompanied by the emergence of a fraudulent "independence" movement, mark the latest stage of the Japanese campaign to convert that part of China to a colony, such as Korea is today.

The objectives of the Japanese offensive, most obviously, are: the consolidation of the railway lines in Manchuria in Japanese hands and their extension, the removal of every obstacle to the export from Manchuria to Japan of coal, iron, and other products, with similar freedom for the importation of Japanese goods to Manchuria, the establishment of the unhampered right of Japanese and Korean immigration into Inner Mongolia, and the establishment of the right of renting land to Japanese and Koreans in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia. In the military aspects of these objectives, Japan is already successful.

Meanwhile, as a result of Japanese intrigues and under Japanese patronage, aided by the general chaos, three distinct "independence" movements have raised their heads in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, all aiming to break away these provinces from China. The leaders of these movements are of the most reactionary feudal-militarist elements and are working under the protection of Japan.

In Hongkong negotiations are under way for a "peace" between the Nanking and Canton cliques in the face of the Japanese offensive.

The first anniversary of the organization of the United Progressive League of Local I. L. G. W. U. will be celebrated by a social on Sat., Oct. 31. The celebration will take place at Astoria Hall, 62 East 4 St. Prominent figures in the labor movement of New York will be present. Admission is 75c.

All workers organizations are urged to keep this day open so as to help make the affair a success.

WAR ON REACTIONARY OFFICIALDOM BREAKS OUT IN I.L.G.W.U.

Locals 1, 9, 22 Reject G.E.B. Tax By Big Vote; Left Wing Center Bloc Pushes Forward War On Bureaucrats; "Unity And Militancy!" Is Watchword

New York City The struggle within the International Ladies Garment Workers Union between the left and progressive forces on the one hand and the reactionary officials of the International on the other, has broken out again in full force! The decision of the general executive board of the I.L.G.W.U. to levy a \$3.75 tax on all members to pay off the debts of the union was overwhelmingly rejected by the three most important locals of the organization which together embrace the majority of the membership—Local 1 (cloak operators), Local 9 (cloak finishers) and Local 22 (dressmakers).

The tax question has rapidly become the sharpest expression of all the great issues agitating the masses of the union membership. The tax had been decided in the most bureaucratic

manner possible by the union officials in order, as they said, to enable the I.L.G.W.U. to pay off its debt to the defunct International-Madison Bank and to meet the bonds issued by the union in 1928 when Schlesinger became president. As soon as the decision of the International officials about the tax became known, the greatest dissatisfaction and protest made themselves evident in the ranks of workers. Opposition to the tax immediately became the form in which the workers expressed their determined opposition to the reactionary leaders and their class-collaboration policies which had paralyzed the union and had brought about a situation in which the conditions of the workers were incredibly bad. In the three leading locals of the I.L.G.W.U., this (Continued on Page 2)

Don't Let It Happen Again!

THIS WEEK'S response to the Emergency Day's Wage call fell down so badly that only half the usual number of REVOLUTIONARY AGES were released by the printer on time. We were unable to send the AGE to the important strike centers. On the waterfront, the seamen and longshoremen, in Paterson the silk strikers, in the Anthracite the miners, did not get the AGE. Do you realize what this means?

The REVOLUTIONARY AGE must be sent to these important centers of struggle. Send in your Day's Wage today. Do not lag behind. Do not delay. Your delay was a serious blow to the AGE last week. Next week the AGE may not appear at all. What about YOU?

The following have already sent in their Day's Wage in whole or in part this week:

Two Montreal comrades\$5.00	Jay Lovestone\$3.00	A. Guss\$1.00
Sarah Gilles\$3.00	Celia Silverman\$1.50	Nellie Edwards\$2.25
Jim Cork\$1.00	Moe Stone\$1.00	M. Yablon\$5.00
Bert Wolfe\$.50	J. Ogas\$1.00	L. Rosenthal\$3.00
I. Steiner\$2.00	H. Linn\$7.00	Alex Bail\$2.40
R. Macklin\$7.50	Saby Nehama\$2.00	
Eva Stone\$4.00	S. Tauber\$2.00	
Frances Goldberg\$.75	B. Pinchuk\$1.00	
Bess Lerner\$2.00	Anna Fox\$3.50	
Eva Dorf\$1.00	L. E.\$5.00	
		Previous Total \$210.8
		\$283.2.

Sterling Spero Speaks on 'Negro and Labor', Oct. 11-63 Madison Ave.

The I. L. D. Helps British Imperialism!

I. L. D. OUSTS MEMBER FOR DEMANDING FIGHT FOR FREEDOM OF ROY

Al Schaap Expelled From Long Beach Branch

Long Beach, Cal. Branded as a "disrupter" because of his efforts made to have the case of the arrest of Manbendra Nath Roy, the Indian revolutionist arrested under charges of treason by the British government in India, taken up by the International Labor Defense, Al Schaap, charter member of the organization, has just been expelled from the I.L.D.

Schaap called the attention of the branch members to the facts concerning Roy's arrest, to his brilliant record in the international labor movement, to his devotion to the working class, and to the necessity of all working class organizations uniting in protest against the actions of British imperialism.

Ida Rothstein, district organizer for the I. L. D. in Southern California, gave as the "reason" for the passivity of the I.L.D. in the matter of the defense of Roy, that "he was a traitor, a betrayer, a bitter enemy of the Soviet Union and the Indian laboring masses."

To have all these charges hurled against Roy, who is charged with "high treason against the crown," shows to what extent the officials of the I.L.D. will go to the practical assistance of the hangmen of a true champion of the toiling masses.

Other charges were hurled against Schaap, who was educational director of the branch. Such charges as "inactivity," failure to contribute to miners' relief, etc. were made, but later the books of the organization made it necessary for those making such charges to retract them. In fact, the organizer of the branch, Omar Kinder, stated, after the expulsion took place, that "all of the charges of disruption, inactivity, etc., was a lot of humbug and that you were expelled because of your adherence to the policy of the C. P.-Majority Group!"

BIG MOONEY MEET ON OCT. 10

(Continued from page 1) motions: (1) that the Committee endorse the original call of Tom Mooney for a broad, all-inclusive movement in his defense; and (2) that on the basis of Mooney's call, the conference declare that delegates of the Communist Party and of the International Labor Defense will be admitted to the conference whenever these organizations are ready to change their attitude on the matter and to participate in a broad, all-inclusive united front movement.

The position taken by Ben Gitlow for the Communist Party (Majority Group) is in full agreement with the stand repeatedly taken by Tom Mooney as evidenced not only in Mooney's call but also in a number of letters written by the San Francisco Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee to the C. P.-Majority Group. Everywhere the same principle is emphasized: no exclusion of any labor organization which is willing to send delegates and accept the work of the Free Mooney movement!

The exclusion policy adopted by the leaders of the New York Mooney conference, who are all closely connected with the Socialist party and the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, shows that in their activities on behalf of Mooney, they place the narrow interests of their organizations above the general interests of the movement, that they are ready to cripple the movement for the sake of turning it as much as possible into an anti-Communist affair. The sectarian and idiotically suicidal policies of the official Communist Party, its refusal to have anything to do with any movement it does not completely control, its intolerable abuse and slander, play right into the hands of those who are trying to discredit Communism before the working class.

PALACE RESTAURANT 5 EAST 28TH STREET near 5th Ave. Club Breakfast — 25c. Club Dinner served from 11 A. M. to 10 P. M. — 55c. Large and comfortable Dining Room Famous for Good Food Since 1915

FASCISTS SWEEP HAMBURG

Make Huge Election Gains; C. P. Vote Increased

HAMBURG.—Sweeping gains for the National-Socialists (Fascists), a considerable increase in Communist vote, a slight rise in the Nationalist party vote, and catastrophic losses for the Social-democratic and Peoples parties, were the outstanding features of the municipal election held here on September 27, 1931.

The Nazis polled 202,405 votes as against the 147,660 in the 1928 municipal elections—again of over 1,300 per cent! The Communist Party polled 168,618 votes as against 114,000 in 1928—a gain of about 50%. The Nationalist party (Hugenberg) polled 43,269 against 31,376 in 1928—a gain of not more than 25%. The Social-democrats polled 215,509 votes as against the 247,000 in 1928—a loss of about 25%. The Peoples party lost half its votes, polling 36,920 votes.

The Nazi party is now the second strongest party in the Hamburg council. Together with the Hugenberg Nationalists, it is even the strongest. The Fascist danger has grown to monstrous proportions.

The sectarian policies of the Communist Party have hitherto prevented it from becoming the chief beneficiary of the deep fermentation and unrest in the ranks of the German masses. Now these sectarian policies will actually help the Fascists to ride into power. Instead of offering to form a bloc with the Social-democrats in the fight to form an anti-Fascist government, the official Communist Party, following the theory of "social-fascism," refuses any united fronts and thus makes the triumph of Fascism inevitable.

Get You Going And Coming. "Eddington deduces religion from the fact that atoms do not obey the laws of mathematics and Jeans deduces it from the fact that they do." Bertrand Russell.

RKO HIPPODROME 6TH AVE. & 43RD ST. TOM MEIGHAN in "SKYLINE"

Ingersoll Forum Phythian Temple, 135 W. 70th St. Sundays, 8 P.M. Admission 25c OCT. 11th: DEBATE "Is Atheism the World's Greatest Need?" Geo. Deuborough vs Joseph Brandon

A THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTION "HE" by ALFRED SAVOIR ADAPTED BY CHESTER ERSKIN

THE GROUP THEATRE PRESENTS House of Connelly By Paul Green Under the Auspices of Theatre Guild MARTIN BECK THEATRE 45th St. & 8th Ave. Evs. 8:30 Matinees Thurs. & Sat., 2:30

Stage and Screen

THOMAS MEIGHAN IN 'SKYLINE' AT THE HIPPODROME

Thomas Meighan returns to the screen at the Hippodrome this week in "Skyline" a new Fox picture. Hardie Albright co-stars with Meighan and is supported by Maureen O'Sullivan, Donald Dillaway, Myrna Loy and Stanley Fields. This new drama was directed by Sam Taylor and is an adaptation from Felix Riesenbergs' novel.

The vaudeville program is presenting the first New York appearance of Lucky Millinder and his Jazzolians, a band popular in Chicago. Other acts: The Wilton Sisters, Bayes and Speck, Eddie Hall with Ella Dearborn and the Royal Uyenzo Troupe.

'EAST OF BORNEO' SHOWING AT CAMEO

"East of Borneo," Universal's jungle romance, is now showing at the Cameo Theatre. The picture features Rose Hobart and Charles Bickford, and was filmed in the jungles of Sumatra. Georges Renavent, Lupita Tovar and Noble Johnson play leading roles.

THE GROUP THEATRE OPENS WITH PAUL GREEN PLAY

The Group Theater, a new organization of young actors, is presenting Paul Green's play "The House of Connelly" at the Martin Beck Theatre as their first production of their season. This group which is being sponsored by the Theatre Guild, includes among others Margaret Baker, Frenchet Tunc, Morris Carnovsky, Mary Morris, Stella Adler, Eunice Stoddard and J. Edward Bromberg. This fine "Theater" of "In Abraham's Bosom" has chosen as his subject the conflict between the old and new South.

STRINDBERG'S "THE FATHER" AT 49TH ST. THEATRE OCTOBER 8

Robert Lorraine, Haldee Wright and Dorothy Dix, play the leading roles in Strindberg's "The Father" and "Sir James M. Barrie's Curran raiser, "Barbara's Wedding" which will be presented by Lee Shubert at the 49th Street Theatre, beginning Thursday, October 8. These plays have been appearing in the double bill in London.

PHILHARMONIC SEASON OPENS OCT. 8 UNDER ERICH KLEIBER

The Philharmonic Orchestra, under the direction of Erich Kleiber, open their season Thursday evening, October 8, at Carnegie Hall. This is the nineteenth season of the organization. The program includes the following: overture to "Euryanthe"; Weber; Extracts from "Tefelnicus"; Tchaikoff; Three Symphonic Dances, Respice and Beethoven's Symphony No. 7 in A. This program will be repeated on Friday afternoon, Saturday evening and Sunday afternoon at Carnegie.

WAGES FALL 40% BUT PRICES ONLY 15%

(Continued from Page 1) has announced a salary and wage reduction effective at once.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Establishments numbering 221 in fifty separate industries reported wage-outs in the month ending August 15, according to the monthly report of the Labor Department. Over 20,000 workers were affected.

The reduction, which averaged 10%, involved 63% of the workers employed in the establishments concerned. The lumber industry, the food group, textile, iron and steel, and printing were the hardest hit in the order named.

The Department of Labor figures are notoriously incomplete and the actual figures for wage reductions are far greater.

The Struggle For Trade Union Unity FURRIERS UNITY MEET BROKEN OFF AS GOLD REJECTS REFERENDUM PLAN

Furriers Progressive League Presents Program

The irreconcilable opposition to unity on the part of the leaders of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union had led to its natural conclusion in disrupting the conference for unity in the fur trade that was recently constituted with representatives of all organizations, groups and tendencies in the field. On Thursday evening, October 1, this conference met in session in Webster Hall. An audience of about 1,000 was present, largely furriers but containing a good many workers of other trades who had been brought to the meeting by the Industrial Union leaders in order to pack it.

After the conference has been opened by the chairman, Cohen, the Industrial Union spokesmen again brought up their so-called "unity proposals," all simmering down to the proposal that the whole situation be taken over by a "rank and file committee of 100," fifty from the A. F. of L. union and fifty from the Fur Department of the Industrial Union!

SILK WORKERS TO DEFEND GAINS

(Continued from page 1)

which are still holding out is being intensified. The John Moll shop was effectively picketed. Fifteen were arrested. The large jacquard shops are worried about the militant mass picket lines. They are changing their hours repeatedly in order to avoid the picket lines.

At the mass meeting on Tuesday night, September 30, the following resolution was adopted:

"Whereas, the silk workers of Paterson have made a great advance thru the organization of the various unions, so that in the present strike, weavers, loomfixers, twistlers, warpers and the auxiliary crafts have all been working together; and

"Whereas, by this strike the eight hour day has been brought back into the Paterson mills and the wage level has been raised; and

"Whereas, the employers are again trying by the most insidious and vicious methods to cut wages, thus trying to drive the workers to accept longer hours as the only way to make a decent pay; and

"Whereas, the National Textile Workers Union has also made every effort to bring confusion and division among the workers and is now trying to spread the demoralizing doctrine that there can be more than one union in the shop; therefore, be it

Resolved, that we, the silk workers of Paterson, in mass meeting assembled, pledge ourselves:

1. To complete confidence in the general strike committee and hearty support of every effort to win the victory in all shops which are still on strike;

2. To the full and prompt payment of the \$1 per day assessment in order that the remaining strikers and their families who are carrying forward the fight on behalf of all may be supported;

3. To maintenance of the principle that there can be only one union in the shop and that all the workers in the shop must be members in good standing of the A. F. of L. amalgamated unions.

4. To resist every effort to cut prices and to increase hours and to refuse to work where the boss takes away any of the conditions won by the strike.

"We are determined to carry on day after day the fight to establish or to maintain organization in the Paterson silk industry and we promise all support to the movement to build a nation-wide organization of silk workers pledged to raise wages, shorten hours, and to protect our rights."

The women's meeting held Wednesday night at the Associated Hall was quite a success. Mrs. Budenz was chairman and Sadie Reich, of the Womens Trade Union League, and Minnie Luryc and Kate Gitlow of the C.P.-Majority Group were the speakers.

At the meeting on Friday night the proposal of the general strike committee to empower them to settle the jacquard shops at the best possible conditions was adopted with 86 votes against.

The greatest need now is to constitute the organization, draw the rank and file into activity, build the union, maintain conditions and prepare for more effective action in the silk industry in the future.

VANCOUVER—Federal unemployment relief, resistance by organized labor to wage-cuts, a five-day week and a shorter work-day, increasing taxation of the rich, are all urged in the annual report of the metal trades department of the A. F. of L. to the convention of the department, preceding the annual convention of the A. F. of L. to be held here soon. In presenting these demands, the metal trades officialdom are following the strategy of William Green, President of the A. F. of L., who has been issuing radical-sounding statements aplenty in the last few months. But like Mr. Green they have done nothing, nor do they seriously intend to do anything, actually to mobilize the workers for struggle against the bosses, for striking against wagecuts.

MANILA.—The Philippine Legislature unanimously adopted, on September 24, a memorial reiterating the demand for complete independence. The document was presented to Patrick J. Hurley, Secretary of War, now in these islands.

long discussion followed. In this discussion, Charles Stetsky, head of the Joint Council of the A. F. of L. union, declared that he was ready to accept any plan that would lead to unity in the furriers ranks provided (1) there is no "domination by any political party," and (2) the united union remains part of the A. F. of L.

In the discussion I. Shapiro spoke for the Furriers Progressive League, the attitude of which to the questions raised is indicated in the following statement:

"1. That there be constituted a committee consisting of two representatives of each tendency or group at this Conference.

"2. That this committee be empowered to arrange for and supervise the democratic election of shop chairmen in as many shops as possible.

"3. That the shop chairmen so elected shall work together with the above constituted representative committee of group spokesmen and shall establish their headquarters in the International Fur Workers Union office for the purpose of:

"(a) Arranging for the immediate unconditional reinstatement to full membership rights of all expelled fur workers.

"(b) The holding of a genuine democratic elections of local and international officers.

"4. Any member of the amalgamated union has a right to raise the question of further affiliation of the united International Fur Workers Union—the only union in the fur trade—by placing the question for decision by the membership of the union in a democratically organized referendum arranged for jointly by the representative committee and the shop chairmen.

"5. The newly elected officers of the united union shall take immediate steps to strengthen the organization, to build it into a militant mass union and to prepare for an energetic struggle against the fur manufacturers, against the present intolerable wages and working conditions in the fur industry."

Finally, Karp, for the Joint Council, declared that he proposed that the question of the affiliation of the united organization (whether to affiliate to the A. F. of L. to the T.U.U.L. or to remain unaffiliated altogether) be left to a referendum vote of the organized fur workers after unity had been achieved, with the understanding that both sides agreed in advance to abide by the decision of the fur workers.

Stetsky immediately arose and declared himself willing to accept this proposal if Gold (of the Industrial Union) was ready to join him in signing a written pledge to abide by the decision of the referendum and to liquidate the Fur Department of the Industrial Union if the referendum decided to affiliate to the A. F. of L. The Industrial Union forces were panic stricken at this turn of events.

Gold could find no answer except the cheapest sort of technical evasion, in which he was helped by shouts and disturbances among the Industrial Union supporters in the audience.

Hours were consumed in fruitless twists and turns on the part of Gold and his friends who, absolutely unwilling to accept any sort of unity, yet could not find any reason to reject the offer of a referendum.

Far into the night the conference lasted and finally broke up without result.

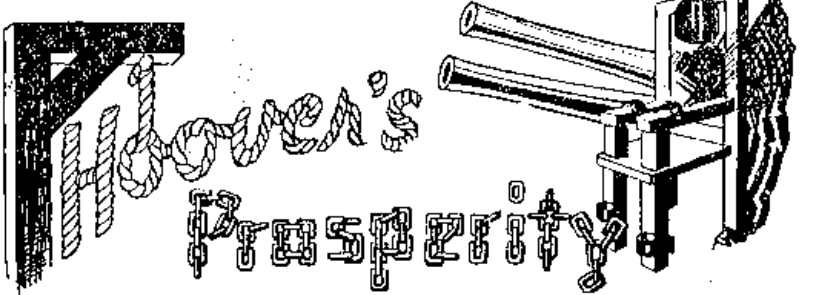
WAR BREAKS OUT IN I.L.G.W.U.

(Continued from page 1)

mass opposition to the tax was immediately translated into action, since in these locals the reactionaries have been defeated and a bloc of all progressive and left wing forces holds control.

It was pointed out by the opponents of the tax that, while the legitimate activities of the union must certainly be supported financially by all members and locals, this \$3.75 tax was unnecessary and harmful. Attention was called to the \$10 tax that had been voted in 1929 for the same identical purposes as the \$3.75 tax today—which tax, however, had not been efficiently collected and partly misused. The progressive and left wing opposition declared that by proper economies in the union—combination of the dress and cloak joint boards, abolition of superfluous locals and officials, etc.—the debts of the union

Banquet and Celebration of the 14th Anniversary Russian Revolution 2nd Anniversary Revolutionary Age REVOLUTIONARY AGE AT THE NEW HARLEM CASINO 116TH STREET AND LENOX AVE. SATURDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 7th, 1931. Admission 50 Cents At the door 75 Cents



HOOVER "RELIEF" The Labor Bureau has issued a report showing that the main purpose of all the Hoover relief proposals is "to protect the big incomes" and that the administration is "running a large risk of allowing many unemployed to starve". In New York City a minimum of 100,000 family heads are reported to be in such serious distress as to require immediate relief.

STEEL TRUST ACTS Wall Street has hailed the action of the Steel Trust and other big corporations in cutting wages "as the lifting of a long overhanging cloud", according to B. C. Forbes, the financial editor of the Hearst syndicate. The United States Labor Department records 221 officially registered plants as having cut wages in August.

BANKERS DETHRONE "KING COTTON" Cotton has fallen well below 6¢ a pound—the lowest on record. Last year the farmers in the cotton belt thought that their crop would never fall below 10¢ a pound. "King Cotton" is off the throne and the bankers are on.

STRIKE CURE Windham County (Connecticut) jail could be met without any tax and the union strengthened thereby. Above all was it emphasized that this \$3.75 would very seriously undermine the chances of financial preparations of the coming general strike. For all these reasons the left wingers and progressives decided to resist with the greatest determination the dangerous proposals of the International officials.

In Local 1, the largest of the locals, the meeting took place on Wednesday, September 10. The chairman was Zuckerman, chairman of the local. The I.L.G.W.U. officials apparently decided to concentrate on this local for they sent down their strongest forces, Dubinsky, Nagler, etc. After Zuckerman's preliminary remarks, the offensive against the G. E. B. tax decision was opened by I. Stenzor, member of the United Progressive League (the left wing organization), who explained the fundamental reasons for the opposition of the membership to the tax. Above all did he make it clear that it was no mere financial question but one which reflected all the problems of the organization. Gladstein of the United Progressive League, and member of the executive of the local, and others followed along the same lines. The defenders of the G.E.B. (the Student clique) were so unpopular with the membership that they could hardly get a hearing. Just before Vice-President Dubinsky was given the floor to answer the arguments of the members, Levy, manager of the local and leader of the Trade Union Center group, took the opportunity of making clear that the position of the attitude of the T.U.U.L. members, who declare themselves opposed "in principle" to voting any money to the union because it is a "company union."

The union must be supported and built but the \$3.75 tax proposal would do precisely the opposite! In his remarks Dubinsky refused to consider at all the fundamental issues that had been raised; he limited himself entirely to technical financial questions.

A vote being taken, it was found that 409 had voted against the tax proposal, with 87 in favor. The question of whether the local would or would not pay the tax was left to a later meeting.

In Local 9, the same evening, a similar struggle took place. The vote was 409 against the tax proposal, 1 in favor. In Local 22, which met on Tuesday, September 28, the vote was 239 against, 121 for.

Again the three locals against the G.E.B.—a revival in a new form of the glorious joint action struggle of a few years ago. The revival of the struggle against the class-collaborationist bureaucracy was made possible by two things—by the revival of the left wing movement thru the efforts of the Communist Opposition after the official Communist Party had done its best to destroy it, and by the fighting bloc formed by the left wing with the progressive elements for an offensive against the bosses and the reactionaries. The struggle is just beginning. It promises much to the workers. What is needed most of all today are: Unity and militancy! All left wing and progressive workers must now rally for the coming struggle against the officialdom, a struggle to save and build the union!

A TAX STRIKE In Indiana the farmers are ready to declare a strike against paying taxes. The farmers feel that most of what they have been able to save all their lives is now going under the Sheriff's hammer.

WORSE AND WORSE! In August the industrial output, according to the Federal Reserve Bank, fell sharply to a new low point, even lower than last December in the present crisis. This is the first time in almost a decade that the month of August did not show any rise over July. September and October are expected to make an even worse showing.

A NEW MERGER Big capital is rushing the completion of the united front against the workers. The National City Bank and the Bank of America have just merged to constitute the largest bank in the world—\$2,300,000,000 in resources and one and three-quarter billion dollars in deposits. At the same time the biggest railway interests have agreed to consolidate the entire railway system of the East into four lines.

IF NOT WALL STREET, THEN GOD... Failing to put across a new loan from Wall Street, the Bishop of Recife (Pernambuco), Brazil, ordered all Catholic churches in his diocese to offer special masses praying for divine help in bringing back prosperity.

"HAVEN OF THE OPPRESSED" Federal Judge Julian W. Mack, known as a "liberal", denied the writ of habeas corpus sued out for August Yokinen. To deport a Communist to Finland means to send him to death at the hands of the Fascist government.

WORKERS HAVE TOO MUCH LEISURE, ANYWAY! While Hoover was talking about a six-hour day, the Loft Candy firm in New York increased working hours of its employees from forty-eight to sixty hours per week. 3,000 workers spontaneously revolted against this prosperity cure.

BUT CAPITAL TAKES THE RISK Seven working men remodeling a tenement in New York City were seriously injured and narrowly escaped death when the side walls and part of the roof of the building collapsed.

A "NATIONAL GOVERNMENT" IN THE U. S. A.? The idea of a "National Government" is spreading like wild-fire among the capitalists. Julius H. Barnes, chairman of the United States Chamber of Commerce, has come out for this plan with the proposal that there should be declared a "mutorium on politics" in the crisis. Major-General Smedley D. Butler of the Marines announced that fourteen multimillionaires representing five billion dollars are ready to contribute half their wealth to help establish a dictatorship in the country. Butler swears that "Unless we do something we will find ourselves with the rest of the world overcome by revolutionary hordes."

MORE WAGE-CUTS Wage-cuts are getting to be as thick as a locust plague. The Delaware-Lackawanna and Western Railway has just announced a wage-cut. The Nicholson File Company of Providence, R. I., the Steward-Warner Company of Chicago, the Pittsburgh Coal Co., the Aluminum Co. of America have all announced wage-cuts of 10% or more. The building trades employers are laying plans for another cut in wages.

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Capitalist "Planning" and Socialist Planned Economy

The "Remedy" of Public Works

by Jay Lovestone

Nearly all "prosperity" plans agree on public works as a remedy for curing the crisis.

What Is The Plan?

What is the theory of "public works"? The economist, Professor Mund of Princeton University, says:

"Public works means the regular construction work of governmental bodies deferred or anticipated as to be undertaken in periods of depression."

These two ideas must be kept clearly in mind to understand the claims and practices of all public works ventures.

One of the best known public works champions is Otto T. Mallory, who proposes that "a reserve clause could be attached to each Federal appropriation for roads, reserving a part of the expenditure for a period of national depression and unemployment."

In the depression of 1893-94 many American cities resorted to such "relief" plans. Minneapolis then gave the unemployed a chance to chop wood.

Public Works—Another Big Bonus for The Capitalists

In actuality the public works program turns out to be a new subsidy, simply another avenue of profit for the biggest industrialists and financiers.

Taxation is the ultimate source for footing the bills for these public works. Suppose that short term serial bonds are used for raising money immediately.

"Public works is expanded during a period of depression, not as means of giving such employment to all but rather as the most efficacious means of injecting new purchasing power into the income stream of society."

Every worker knows who constitutes the "income stream of society." Clearly the public works proposal has as its aim the infusion of new life-blood, the inhaling of new oxygen into the usually comfortably-fixed and well-to-do section of society whose members desire to reduce their inconveniences to a minimum during a serious depression or crisis.

The expenditure of the funds, the control of the operations, the very volume of the appropriations itself are all in the hands of the biggest interests and their tools in the government.

ing has simply been staggering. The Department with its vast patronage has been used as a giant political machine.

Government Power Over Workers

Obviously, any extensive construction of public works implies a concentration of terrific power in the hands of the President, the government, the mayors—in the hands of the executive department of the government.

This in itself enables the government to aggravate the existing divisions among the workers. Besides, it gives the government the power to move workers about from place to place, to decide on what road, say, a textile worker should be employed, on which public building, in which county or state a miner should

be employed, etc. This gives the government bureaucracy unheard-of power over the livelihood and very existence of millions of jobless workers.

The establishment of public works entails a further expansion of the already huge cost of government. In 1929 Federal expenditures totaled about \$2,848,000,000; State expenses \$2,061,000,000; and government cost of 250 cities with a population of over 30,000 reached the figure of \$3,435,290,000—a total of about \$9,344,290,000.

Do They Take Themselves Seriously? The Daily Worker of August 29, 1931 contains what is called an "unemployment program."

The Fascist Movement in Austria

LESSONS OF THE HEIMWEHR PUTSCH

by Willi Schlamm (Vienna)

Vienna, September 14, 1931. The "Heimwehr-Putsch" is over. It was not smashed, nor suppressed; it simply came to an end. This is the decisive point.

Because it deals with Austria and because such a point of view conveniently eliminates unpleasant consequences, the journalists of the whole world treat the putsch as a comic opera affair.

September 13 can lead to the end of Austrian Fascism. September 13 can bring with it more extensive and more oppressive enslavement of the Austrian working class.

A Part of the State Apparatus Participates

In the early hours of September 13 the Styrian Heimwehr forces occupied the Leoben industrial region. Arrayed for warfare, heavily armed, with provisions for many days, with approximately eight thousand men.

It is quite clear that the putsch had been prepared a long time ahead and that this putsch had been prepared with the participation of a considerable portion of the government apparatus.

Incontrovertible facts prove this. In its own official communique the government is forced to declare: "Against all government officials involved, investigations have been initiated."

As far as the federal government is concerned, neither the domestic nor the foreign political situation is appropriate for a Fascist dictatorship in Austria; it therefore now makes every effort to deny the participation of high government officials in the putsch.

The fact that now, finally, at the end of the putsch, the leaders have been arrested and the putschist organizations "dissolved" (but so also have been the Social-democratic Schutzbund) shows that

a gesture is necessary. Austrian Fascism has not been destroyed; it merely made a wrong guess at the moment. Destroy it really, only the working class can.

The Significance of the Putsch

For the last year it has been pretty obvious in Austria that the bourgeoisie—its decisive sections at least—have no intention of putting the Fascists into power.

In Austria the leading elements of the bourgeoisie showed themselves strong enough to put thru their political and strategical aims despite this striving—this limit! But next time?

And the Austrian Working Class?

The Austrian workers stood—on September 13—entirely in the camp of Social-democracy: they were ready to fight—but passive! In Kapfenberg the workers did not "allow themselves to be provoked" but did let themselves be shot.

Doctors might prescribe certain authors in cases of persistent insomnia. Dean Inge of St. Paul's, Rightly. They could treat aggravated cases with works of theology.

ter the end of the putsch! The C. P. A. issued the slogan of mass strike. Not even the smallest factory paid any attention to this slogan.

Are These Workers Not Ready to Fight?

In their vast majority, the workers are ready to fight. A number of events in the past have shown this. But they don't see any center of power to lead them in struggle. The Communist Party of Austria? At 8 A. M. everybody in Vienna knew what happened.

Split in German S.-D. Party

According to latest information from Germany, a split has already taken place in the German Social-democratic party and a new centrist party is being contemplated.

Do They Take Themselves Seriously?

The Daily Worker of August 29, 1931 contains what is called an "unemployment program."

The Owners Offensive

It soon became apparent that these men were not going to stand for any wage-cuts or lengthening of hours in any shape or form.

The Workers Resist!

The union's counter-proposals are that the existing contract with a few additions, remain in force for another year.

For Unity!

As far as the rank and file is concerned, we must guard against any attempt of Maher to split their ranks by calling separate strikes.

The Sin Spot Theory

It is instructive to know that, according to the Rev. Dr. Will H. Houghton, pastor of Calvary Church, New York, "the cause of the present depression—the primal cause of all trouble and pain to man is that which the Bible calls sin."

The Economic Week

INFLATION is now being proposed as a newest remedy. This is especially caused by the collapse of the stock market, the levels of which have now reached those of 1925 in value.

The Struggle On The Waterfront

TOWBOATMEN PREPARE TO STRIKE!

by "Lookout"

New York City. Sunday, September 27, a mass meeting was called by the Associated Marine Workers (towboatmen's union) at Palm Garden to consider the proposal of the New York harbor arbitration board to slash wages and lengthen the hours of the men on the towboats.

The Owners Offensive

The wage-cut demanded by the owners varies from 37.00 to \$25.00, depending on the various ratings. The one-week vacation with pay is left to the owners to decide.

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The C.P.L.A. and the New Centrist Party

Riding Two Horses for a Fall

by D. Benjamin

In the September 1931 issue of Labor Age, official organ of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, there is an article entitled "Norman Thomas, the Communists and a Political Discussion."

The Main Issue

Norman Thomas puts the issue before the C. P. L. A. leaders in the following manner: If you "believe in dictatorship and the inevitability of large scale violence (you) should join the Communist Party and try to improve it"; if you don't,

then you should join the Socialist party. It might better be put: If you believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist state thru organized, large-scale violence, thru illegal and forcible methods, then you should join the Communist movement; if you do not believe in the revolutionary, forcible overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, then your place is in the Socialist party.

Evasions of the C. P. L. A.

How do the C. P. L. A. leaders answer this question? First they attack the Socialist parties of various countries and their leaders with such terms "betraying the workers", "bending all its energies on saving the capitalist system", etc.

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L.A. stands for the revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

But just one moment—see what the article says further on:

"Large-scale violence is not the only alternative to using the processes of democracy so-called to bring in a new order. There is, e.g., large-scale violation of injunctions, general strikes, passive resistance."

There are those who believe that it is highly probable that capitalists will force workers to fight for their own dictatorship or else to accept a Fascist dictatorship, but who do not believe that there is any historical law which makes this in every case "inevitable."

The "revolutionary" bubble of the C. P.L.A. leaders bursts and we see it for what it is—hot air! So it is only "highly probable" that the capitalists will force workers to fight for their own dictatorship? So the C.P.L.A. leaders do not believe that revolutionary struggle is, in "every case" necessary!

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The Owners Offensive

Revolutionary Age

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Vol. II, No. 45. October 10, 1931.

WHAT DOES THE FRANCO-GERMAN PACT MEAN?

CONTRARY to prevailing opinion in bourgeois and pacifist circles, the recently concluded Franco-German alliance is not a step toward world peace. It is a decisive move toward war.

In a large measure it is true that the key to the peace of capitalist Europe lies in the relations between imperialist France and imperialist Germany. The vanquished German capitalists and the victorious French exploiters still have much to fight over, many issues to "settle" between themselves, in the only way that capitalism can really "settle" economic and political questions—by force. Therefore, to the superficial observer the flirtations between Laval and Bruening and Briand and Hindenburg might seem a new turn in European and therefore in world affairs. The average liberal figures that all the German and French statesmen have to do is to decide that each "give up" something and presto, there's world peace. Applied to international affairs, this is bed-time story logic.

With capitalist statesmen and diplomats the thoughts and policies always run to INVESTMENTS rather than DIVESTMENTS. What has happened actually is this. The French ruling class coffers are stuffed with surplus gold and capital. The German capitalists are extremely hard up for liquid, mobile capital. So desperate have conditions become for the German capitalists that the worst menace to them—an aroused and revolutionary working class—is loomed ever more seriously on the horizon for them. Such a working class victory in Germany would in every likelihood rock France as never before. It is plain that purely out of self-preservation the French bourgeoisie must be hell-bent on working out some economic and political "accord" with the German imperialists. All "concessions" given to each other in this deal are only at the expense primarily of the French and German proletariat. This policy of economic rapprochement was first conceived and carefully reared by the big industrialists of Germany and the Comité des Forges, heavy industrialists and decisive ruling group of France.

This economic entente is certain to have, and sooner than most realize, its political and military expression. This is the iron law of the objective logic of international capitalist relations. In the present world situation such a Franco-German political alliance, with French imperialism more powerful than ever, can mean only this: complete capitulation of the German ruling class to the French in the scheme of relations, in the "balance of power" system, on the continent of Europe. In hastening to put over this arrangement, French imperialism certainly took advantage of the plight of British capitalism which is today in no position to help Germany with credit and whose prestige on the continent is at least momentarily severely undermined.

But against whom will this alliance be when fully consummated? Only against the common and most dangerous enemy of French, German and all imperialism—the Soviet Union. However, to make firmly effective such an alliance on the field of battle, the German working class must first be crushed. This job is left to the German Fascists who, in the coming winter months, will make great strides towards full power in Germany. Of course, the German working class will fight back and hit hard. At the "right" moment, the French military forces will march forward to secure their new investments, to help the Fascist dictatorship maintain interest payments, law and order.

The German bourgeoisie and its Fascist regime would then welcome the French imperialist army as "liberators" and as "champions of civilization." Without the active military and financial help of foreign capitalism, the German bourgeoisie and its Fascist schemes can hardly survive a major revolutionary proletarian onslaught.

Should the German working class be defeated in such a struggle, then the road thru Germany for a Franco-German military attack on the Soviet Union lies open. Judging by the despair which has gripped the ruling classes of the capitalist countries, this is almost certain to happen. Laval in his visit to Hoover will put the finishing touches on all such plans and plots against the U. S. S. R.

It is as clear as broad daylight that despite all temporary concessions which French or any other imperialism may make to the Soviet Union, the very chaotic and hopeless condition in which world capitalism now finds itself drives all imperialist powers for a frontal attack on the citadel of the international working class—the Soviet Union. The Franco-German economic rapprochement is only another decisive move in this direction—towards a war of world imperialism against the U. S. S. R. The outcome of such a gigantic struggle lies in the hands of the workers of the world.

JAY LOVESTONE

BEGINS HIS COURSE ON CURRENT EVENTS

The Labor Movement Today
FRIDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 9, 1931.

— 8 P. M. SHARP —

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A Discussion With an Intellectual

Communism and Intellectuals

by Will Herberg

We have received the following intensely interesting and characteristic letter from one of our readers, a prominent intellectual and well known educational worker.

"May I suggest that the Communist workers overlook one class of Americans which might be of great value to them. I refer to the professionals. Not the high-priced specialists and experts who are closely allied to the capitalists, but the modest doctors, writers, teachers, and others who serve humanity outside the trades. People from families of no great wealth but of generations of intelligence. These people are capable of understanding the ideals of Communism (which remain as occult as Einstein's theories to most others) and they are also capable of devotion and loyalty to ideals far beyond the common run of those interested solely in acquisition."

"Most Communists with whom I have talked suspect this class of an ineradicable snobbishness. That suspicion is not founded on reality, though superficially there may appear to be some reason for it."

"I know whereof I speak, since I come of the class I mention, and in my early youth harbored all the prejudices to which it is prone. But life has shown me their fallacy. I am no more virtuous or intelligent than any other descendant of doctors and teachers. I have merely been lucky enough to be exposed to education which my forebears did not enjoy."

"I started out with the old formula for a civilized person—White Nordic, Protestant and College-bred. And then life enlarged my understanding."

"My work first took me to the Ghetto. I had heard about those dreadful Jews who live like pigs. And I saw them living like pigs and was properly disgusted. But after working among them for a while I came to realize that they lived in this fashion not because they preferred it, but because they had no money with which to live otherwise. The cruelty of the reasoning that would stigmatize a class for a poverty forced upon them, made me blush. And as I came to know these people I became aware of their virtues, and more, I discovered that they were human! Some good, some bad, but just average human beings, much the same as those among whom I had spent my childhood."

"The result was that I lost every trace of the anti-Semitism which has been taught me."

"Next my work took me to Harlem. Since the class from which I sprang is more feudal in its psychology than capitalist, I had no hostility toward the Negro, but I had an attitude that was far more unintelligent. I was patronizing, protective, condescending. I regarded him with an amused tolerance. And then I learned many things. I found hundreds of colored mothers who toiled eight hours a day at household drudgery of the hardest kind, and then half the night on washing, which they took in, in order to earn money enough to buy for their children not merely food and shelter, but music lessons! That provoked my pity, at first. But in the face of such persistent gallantry and aspiration I felt that pity was an insult, and yielded respect. Once I experienced that emotion, the old chauvinistic attitude died fast. The Negro was no longer a lower type of person, to be treated kindly but condescendingly. He was a human being, just as I am."

"The last and strongest prejudice was left—that against the South European. I had never known any South European, so I felt certain that they must be the cause of all evil. But again destiny took my education in hand and sent me to work in the Italian section. History repeated itself. I plunged into a study of the ethnology back of the various types of Italians, and I understood them. With understanding came the inevitable fall of my last provincial prejudices."

"The conclusion of the whole matter is this. It is impossible to cherish race prejudice of any kind once you become well-acquainted with the race against which you have prejudice. Hate is the fruit of ignorance."

"And my experience has been duplicated by hundreds of others who started life with the same handicaps."

Two distinct, but related, problems emerge from this letter: the first centering around the relations between Communism and the intellectuals and the second, referring to the absorbing record of personal experience which forms the bulk of the letter.

1. Communism and the Intellectuals.

Which class of contemporary bourgeois society is best fitted, by its very nature and situation, to become the bearer of the "ideals of Communism"? Is it the modern proletariat, as the Communists maintain, or is it the class of intellectuals? Our correspondent believes that altogether too little attention has been paid to the latter class from this viewpoint. "These people are capable of understanding the ideals of Communism, which remain as occult as Einstein's theories to most others." But it is not mere abstract "intelligence" that determines the accessibility of a class to the "ideals of Communism" (a free, classless, stateless society in which the "free development of each will lead to the free development of all"); it is above all the ideological predisposition of class position. The "ideals of Communism" are, in essence, a generalized projection of the historical experiences and aims of the class struggle of the proletariat and therefore the proletariat is historically destined to become the effective bearer of these ideals. The intellectuals, on the

other hand, even the "modest doctors, writers, teachers and others who serve humanity, outside the trades," just as "naturally" manifest the inevitable signs of their class bias—a certain ingrained individualism and a contempt (even if unconscious) for the masses. When the typical bourgeois intellectual revolts against the barbarities and hypocrisies of capitalist system, he revolts in a characteristic manner, as an anarchist, as a septic, as a cynic, as the apostle of some fantastic and crotchety scheme for the regeneration of mankind.

We do not in the least wish to depreciate the spirit of sacrifice and service to humanity that animates the best of the professionals (and how few and far between are these best!). The revolutionary proletarian movement frequently finds among these elements valuable auxiliaries and sources of support. But the ideas of these professionals are not rooted in the far-sighted spirit of the Marxist worldview, or, in its implicit form, proletarian class consciousness. Therefore, it remains fruitless and ineffective and ultimately fritters away in futile utopianism and vain dreaming.

When any form of society reaches its historical conclusion, its dominant class begins to disintegrate and sections of it tear themselves away, become "declassified," and throw their lot with the cause of revolution. "Especially does this happen," declares the Communist Manifesto, "in the case of some of the bourgeois intellectuals, who have achieved a theoretical understanding of the historical process as a whole. In this lies the touchstone in the relations of the intellectual to the revolutionary labor movement. When the bourgeois intellectuals attach themselves to the proletarian movement," declared Engels, "the first thing that must be demanded of them is that they shall not bring remnants of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois prejudices with them, but unreservedly adopt the proletarian point of view." Here is the parting of the ways: the standpoint of the bourgeois, or the standpoint of the proletariat. No middle ground is possible in the long run and even more futile is the vain and inglorious attempt to stand "above the battle."

If the bourgeois intellectual definitely and consciously breaks with his class, if he definitely and consciously aligns himself with the proletariat, then he finds in the labor movement a sphere of "service to humanity" of inexhaustible value. In the Communist movement, moreover, a movement prominently and thoroughly of working class character, the declassified or "declassified" intellectual finds himself one among equals. "The worker, the peasant, the intellectual," declares Lenin, "once he becomes a Social-democrat (today we would say: Communist), is just a Social-democrat. Within the Social-democracy (Communism) no such distinctions are possible."

But even if the bourgeois intellectual does not break all his connections with his class and take an irrevocable stand with the proletariat, his relations to the proletarian movement may still be friendly, if he really remains true to his own ideals of "service to the people" and courageously resists the corrupting influence of capitalist society. Communists seek no quarrel with the humanitarian and idealistic doctor or teacher, no matter how confused or fantastic his social

outlook, provided only he does not try to force his vagaries upon the workers but is content to serve the masses simply and wholeheartedly. The attitude of the Soviet regime towards the intellectuals of the old regime—an attitude laid down in clear terms by Lenin and recently reformulated by Stalin—is instructive indeed.

In a word: The Communist movement is a working class movement thru and thru. The radical bourgeois intellectual can find a place within it by consciously surrendering his old class standpoint in favor of the standpoint of the proletariat, or else he may serve as an auxiliary, as a source of support to the movement from without. But two things he cannot do: he cannot hope to stand "above the struggle" nor can he aspire to mold the movement in accordance with his own private social conceptions.

2. "All Men Are Created Equal"

The account our correspondent gives of her Pilgrim's Progress along the road of understanding and social tolerance is worthy of deepest attention. Step by step, each monstrous obstacle of social ignorance, hatred and prejudice was overcome—and only he who has himself trod the thorny path can appreciate the difficulty of the task and the real heroism implied in its achievement. If the experiences of our correspondent have indeed been "duplicated by hundreds of others who start life with the same handicaps," this only brings out in stark contrast the hopeless degeneration of the bourgeoisie as a whole.

But is it not astounding that in a country at whose birth it was proudly declared that "all men are created equal," it requires an intense spiritual labor for a person of even superior intelligence to reach a level where the Jew, the Negro and the South European are regarded as human beings! So incredibly reactionary has capitalism become in the last stages of its development, that even to champion the ideals of "pure democracy" has become radicalism! Today, Jefferson would be "Red"—didn't he advocate a bloody revolution every twenty years?—and Tom Paine would be arrested (and deported!) under the criminal syndicalism laws. The bourgeoisie today rejects whatever is socially progressive in its own heritage!

But the appearance should not blind us to the reality. In contrast to the unrelieved reaction that dominates bourgeois thought today, the abstract ideals of democracy may indeed appear as revolutionary. But it is necessary to go beyond formal democracy. In the sight of the revolutionary proletariat, as indeed in actual fact, all men are NOT equal. Is the greedy Jewish sweat-shop exploiter, the corrupt Negro politician, the grasping Italian banker, a "human being, just as I am," "equal" of the worker or the farmer or humanity-serving intellectual? Not the class-conscious worker feels no human kinship with these exploiters. Not "human solidarity" standing seemingly "above classes"—a mere threadbare fiction—but the solidarity of the toilers! As against the revolting barbarism of race and national prejudice permeating our contemporary bourgeois social life, the fictions of the "pure democracy" of yesterday are surely progressive. But fictions they remain—they must give way before the stern realities of the class war thru which alone mankind can achieve the "realm of freedom."

Motherhood in Soviet Union

We reprint below an article taken—believe it or not!—from the New York tabloid newspaper The Mirror (September 8, 1931). When The Mirror takes to declaring "if the Russians are crazy, it must be great to be crazy," things must be bad indeed with American capitalism!

by EDWARD ORLEANS

Granting, for the sake of argument, that the Russians are slightly demented, and about 100 per cent wrong in most things that we contend are right, they show, nevertheless, a pronounced streak of sanity in quite a number of matters in which we may sometimes develop a bit of academic interest.

For instance, under the Soviet social system, the maternal mortality rate has dropped to 3.5 per thousand, comparing favorably with Switzerland, the United States almost on a par with Turkey and some of the backward countries of South America in respect to the scientific and laud, Holland and others of the most enlightened countries on earth. In the United States, by the way, 6.5 mothers in every thousand continue to lose their lives in childbirth—which humane care of the mother in childbirth in this country.

Interesting, also, it is to note that in Russia, where women and men work together in every variety of manual and clerical employment, the benighted Russians encourage maternity by "confinement vacations."

The woman who works at manual labor is awarded a two months vacation, with full wages, prior to confinement, and two months after her baby is born.

She also receives an allowance from the government for food and for a layette for the infant. Her child is examined each week by a competent baby specialist. And when the mother returns to work the law provides certain rest periods for her, during which she may nurse her child. The intellectual worker, however, is

allowed only six weeks vacation, which follows the birth of her baby. This must be pretty tough on a woman doing clerical, research or scientific work or who is teaching for a living.

It would be interesting to know whether our representatives in Washington ever heard of this modern idea of paternalism, or whether our innumerable "child welfare" societies are



PORTO RICO, A Caribbean Isle, by Richard James Van Deusen and Elizabeth Kaepple Van Deusen. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1931.



Just Around the Corner

This book is advertised as the "best and most adequate treatise" on the subject. If this is true it is indeed a sad reflection on the literature on Porto Rico. For this book is a shoddy piece of work. Not only is it written openly in the spirit of Yankee imperialism—one of the authors was secretary to the governor of Porto Rico—but even within these narrow limits the work is badly done. There is no serious examination of the economic conditions on the island, of the effects of American imperialist rule, of the multi-racial social relations. Of course, there is not even a whisper of the liberation struggle of the Porto Rican people. A superficial sketch is presented to us as "history" a lodge-podge of figures does serve as an "economic analysis"; some shallow observations take the place of an examination of social life; and endless pages filled with names and dates, under the chapter heading "Religious and Cultural Life," are paraded as a serious study of Porto Rican culture. A tolerable book on Porto Rican still remains to be written.

THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF MODERN NATIONALISM

by Carl J. H. Hayes, Richard R. Smith, Inc., New York, 1931.

In his usual pleasing style Professor Hayes presents us with a description of the development of modern nationalism from a novel viewpoint. A good deal of interesting information, including valuable sketches of important political thinkers, results but hardly a fruitful study of nationalism. The fundamental shortcoming of the book is Professor Hayes's complete failure to correlate the various phases of the ideology and philosophy of nationalism with the basic economic and social developments of the age. Indeed, Professor Hayes is quite uncertain as to the possibilities of such a correlation altogether. Naturally, out of such an attitude, no realistic approach to the problem, no fruitful results are possible only systematic uncertainty and sterile scepticism.

This book, written by a really outstanding figure in the world of American scholarship, only illustrates the sad state of historical science in the present stage of bourgeois culture.

"From Precedent to Precedent"

- Here is a catalog prepared by the Civil Liberties Union of additions during 1930 to our improvements on American liberties in the "land of the free":
 1. Barring pacifists from citizenship.
 2. Entrusting the gunner who murder strikers.
 3. Sentencing labor organizers in the Imperial Valley, California, to 42 year prison terms.
 4. New injunctions in labor disputes in Virginia, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere.
 5. Conviction of Communists in New York for "unlawful assembly."
 6. Conviction of two girls in New York for "desecrating the flag".
 7. Sustaining yellow-dog contracts for teachers in the State of Washington.
 8. Bible reading compulsory in Kansas.
 9. Doak deportation drive.
 10. Pardon again denied to Mooney.
 11. Post Office ban on Revolutionary Age.
 12. Dismissal of pro-Gandhi professor by Ohio State University.
 13. Tightening the radio broadcast dictatorship.

We could add a lot more but that will do to give an idea of the growth of freedom in the good old U. S. A.

familiar with the work done, and the revolutionary practices that are being put into operation under a form of government which we cannot even bring ourselves to recognize.

However, there is this to be said about it. If the Russians are crazy—as we are so frequently told these days—it must be great to be crazy.

New Workers School Forum

SUNDAY NIGHT, OCTOBER 11—8 P. M.

63 Madison Avenue, cor. 27th St. — Entrance on 27th St.

STERLING SPERO

Author, "THE BLACK WORKER"

The Negro and American Labor

Admission: 25 Cents

OCTOBER 18, 1931.

Bert Wolfe

Director, New Workers School

"ONLY SAPS WORK"

A study of the social basis of Racketeering

OCTOBER 25, 1931.

Frank L. Palmer

Editor, Federated Press, and

Author, "Spies in Steel"

"SMASHING THE LABOR SPY"

How the industrial spy operates and how to combat him.

Again as winter approaches the jobless ask for bread and receive... a commission. They demand unemployment insurance and get a report. They ask for jobs and get... optimistic estimates.

Sixty of America's leading business men, politicians and bankers having made a mess of their jobs and the running of America and the world, are now entrusted with "taking care" of the unemployment situation. They will produce columns of newspaper chatter, reams of reports and rosy clouds of optimistic hokum while the chill winds blow and the ragged jobless wait all day on unsheltered benches in sleet and snow for a dry crust and a bowl of slop. This summer during the intense heat hundreds were taken from the breadlines to the hospital with ptomaine poisoning from rotting and decayed "food". This winter will take its toll among the poorly clad and badly nourished creators of America's wealth in influenza and pneumonia cases. And the pudgy "engineer" in the White House will entertain reporters before an open fireplace with inspirational talks on ragged individualism, American idealism and the superiority of American breadlines to European unemployment insurance and American planlessness to Soviet planning. Such is the Herbert Hoover plan for "taking care" of the unemployed!

Some Relief

Hoover has been appointing commissions to relieve the unemployed now for the past two years, yet the number of jobless continues to grow. All they've been relieved of is their jobs.

It looks as if the unemployed are going to starve on commission instead of on straight salary.

Anyhow the commissions made a lot of jobs—for the committee members.

Mr. Campbell suggests that all jobless be taken into the army. We would suggest that they all be put on commissions.

The only permanent cure for unemployment that any of Hoover's commissions has suggested, is death by slow starvation.

We have too many farmers and too many workers and too much food and stuff. Now if the excess farmers and workers only starve to death and the food and stuff only rot away, everything would be hunkey-dory.

Prosperity is just around the corner but it can't make the turn as long as left turns are blocked.

If The Jobless Were Only Animals

The following editorial, entitled "Hard Times for City Pets" is reprinted from the New York Times:

This has been a hard year for New York's cat and dogs and canaries. Hot muggy weather has caused sickness and suffering among them. And continued depression and unemployment work hardships on pets as well as on people.

The army of unemployed includes starving animals, many of them accustomed to good homes. It is difficult to believe that families can become so poor that they are forced to give them up. But in a household where every penny must do double duty there are no saucers of milk for Tabble or scraps and bones for Fido. When there is no regular pay envelope even the best mouster and the most faithful dog find themselves out of a job—banned as luxuries.

Humane societies throughout the country gladly offer to find homes for pets. In New York the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals asks the opportunity to befriend unwanted animals. Its address is 50 Madison Avenue. The telephone is Ashland 4-9130.

Milking

Dr. Wynne, New York Health Commissioner, with the aid of a battery of high-powered lawyers and health "experts" is trying to cut out the cheaper loose milk and compel the city's poor to buy bottled milk at double the price. While New Yorkers are paying from 15¢ up a quart it should be noted that farmers in the milk shed region receive 2.7¢ a quart and even, in the milk used for cheese, as low as .0085 (8-10 of a cent) per quart. The cows and farmers give the milk "loose" and cheap, the bottling and high-jacking are done by the dairy companies. The farmers milk the cows; the companies milk the public.

The Right of Free Speechlessness

A theological student, Arnold Johnson, was arrested in Harlan, Ky., because he owned a Roger Baldwin pamphlet, "What Do You Mean, Free Speech?", and he is charged with the crime of criminal syndicalism. We ask you: "What do you mean, free speech?"

Don't Know Communism from Rheumatism

Judge Jones of old Kaintuck says: "I have been taught to believe all my life that the people of the mountains of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia, all of the purest (poorest?) Anglo-Saxon stock and Christian people, are believers in good government. We have our sins of course, but never until these snakes came here from New York and taught these doctrines have we been troubled by Communism." What, hez the jedje been drinkin'? B. D. W.