

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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N. Y. GUARDSMEN PERSECUTED

Colonel Orders Arrest Of Young Men Unable To Attend Drill

A scandal that exposes the incredibly callous brutality of American militarism has come to light in Bronx, New York City. According to the State law, members of the National Guard, convicted by court martial for absence from drill, may be imprisoned in a civil jail if they fail to pay their fines. Lately a number of young guardsmen have been forced to miss drill, some because they were so weak from undernourishment and lack of shelter as a result of unemployment, that they simply could not drill. But the sword-rattling Colonel Paul Loeser of the 258 Field Artillery, determined to maintain the best traditions of old Prussian militarism in America, is far too superior in his caste arrogance to take such things into account. And so he has ordered the arrest of a number of young workers, who, since they could not pay their fines, were ordered imprisoned!

When these "prisoners" were brought to Sheriff Robert L. Moran of Bronx County, that official, with a keen eye to his popularity, refused to accept these young men on the plea that he would have to place boys of from 17 to 20 years in cells with hardened criminals! One of these boys was so undernourished, the sheriff said, that he had to be taken to the hospital! Colonel Loeser, in true military fashion, demands his rights under the law and has made application to Supreme Court Justice George W. Mullan for a writ to compel the Sheriff to imprison the youngsters! Justice Mullan has reserved decision. Colonel Wright, chief of staff for Major Haskell, commandant of the New York National Guard, strongly approves the conduct of Colonel Loeser.

2 YEARS JAIL FOR HISSING FASCISM

Phila. Worker Convicted In Record Time; N. Y. Paper Raided

PHILADELPHIA. — Without the jury leaving the box, Orlandi Sparatco, young anti-Fascist, was found guilty of "incitement to riot," for shouting "Down with Fascism!" "Down with Mussolini!" "Down with Grandi!" in the course of Dino Grandi's procedure thru the city. The judge, Justice Henry S. McDevitt, immediately pronounced maximum sentence, two years, "as a warning to Communistic elements!"

NEW YORK CITY. — On November 26, the newspaper, La Stampa Libera, an Italian anti-Fascist paper of very mild variety, was raided by the Alien and Seditious Squad (we seem to recall the Alien and Seditious Acts!) because the police heard "that the newspaper was going to publish articles in criticism of Signor Grandi!"

And in the United States, the country that harbored Garibaldi, the champion of Italian national unity, that welcomed Kossuth, the hero of Hungarian emancipation, that protected the Irish Fenians, who not only maintained a steady and annihilating criticism of British imperialism, but who also organized armed expeditions for the invasion of Canada! Such is the measure of the black reaction that has engulfed this country!

ANTI-BRITISH TERROR IN INDIA

LONDON.—Information from India indicates that the campaign of terrorism has been revived in reaction to the miserable bankruptcy of the London Round-Table Conference.

The situation in Bengal is said to be "especially critical," according to the statement of the Under-Secretary of State for India, Marquis Lothian, in the House of Lords. The extent of the terrorist campaign has become so great that the Viceroy, Lord Willingdon, now travels by airplane instead of by train.

"Drastic action," that is a new and more brutal campaign of repression, was urged by the Marquis of Lothian.

Lovestone - Russell Debate

1500 Hear Discussion Of Road To Freedom

Central Opera House was crowded on the evening of November 27 with 1500 workers and radical intellectuals, including groups from outlying places as far as Baltimore, who came to hear Jay Lovestone, editor of the Revolutionary Age, and Bertrand Russell, English philosopher, scientist and educator, discuss the question: Is the proletarian dictatorship the road to freedom? And, as the big crowds were leaving the hall, nearly four hours later, expressions of enthusiasm and satisfaction at what the evening had provided were heard on all sides.

After a few preliminary remarks by Bertrand D. Wolfe, director of the New Workers School, under the auspices of which the debate was held, the chair was taken over by Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union. Mr. Baldwin, in an impassioned introduction, in which he denounced the salient "neutralist" supposed to inhere in a chairman of a debate and after paying a tribute to the Soviet Union, introduced Jay Lovestone for the affirmative, who arose to speak amidst great applause. Lovestone opened with a brief but thorough exposure of the nature of bourgeois democracy as bourgeois dictatorship and then proceeded to show that the hope of depriving the capitalist class of its political and economic power along the legal road (that is, as laid down in capitalist law) is a silly fantasy which can only lead to the most catastrophic results. Lovestone analyzed the nature of the parliamentary institutions of the "free democracies" of Western Europe and America and showed that the possibilities of the revolutionary proletarian winning peaceful majority control of these institutions (and especially in the U.S.A.) were very slim indeed and even that if such a majority were obtained it would be as a broken reed before the formidable power of the bourgeoisie and the civil and military bureaucracies still in its control. Even in such a case an iron

dictatorship of the working class is the only road to freedom.

In the name of Communism, Lovestone categorically rejected any form of isolated minority action, any form of quietism. Not only is the conscious and active support of the decisive majority of the proletariat necessary for a successful revolution and overthrow of the bourgeoisie, but the Soviet form, once established, becomes the expression of the broadest, most inclusive and most effective democracy for the toilers ever known in human history. Lovestone concluded by asking a number of decisive questions for Mr. Russell to reply in his presentation.

Bertrand Russell opened with an analysis of the relative merits of legal (parliamentary) and illegal action. With a naive and absolutely startling in a sceptical philosopher, Mr. Russell argued the possibility of utilizing the parliamentary apparatus of the capitalists as an instrument of working class power. He disclaimed being a pacifist in the sense of opposing all wars and all force under any circumstances and circumstances, declaring that he favored force when: (1) employed in a good cause, and (2) employed with a chance of success. But according to Mr. Russell's analysis the working class in West European capitalist countries would practically never have a chance of success against the bourgeoisie. Mr. Russell denied the toilers democracy in the Soviet Union, also he proclaimed strong sympathy with its aims. Mr. Russell urged the proletariat to proceed along legal ways so as to win the sympathies of large sections of the law-abiding population! Mr. Russell concluded by stating his fears that a world-wide revolutionary civil war might destroy the whole of society and reduce mankind to savagery.

It was not very difficult for Lovestone, who received the floor in rebuttal, to show the superficiality of Russell's arguments, especially his (Continued on page 2)

MACDONALD WINS BY 350 TO 50

Carries Against Tory Bitter Enders on Question Of Dominions

LONDON.—By a vote of 350 to 50 the Tory-controlled National Government succeeded in defeating a bitter and Tory insurrection under Winston Churchill and in passing thru the House of Commons a new dominions act enlarging the legal independence of the dominions. The bill, which came as a recommendation of the last Imperial Conference, provided for "complete self-government under the Crown" for the self-governing dominions (Canada, Irish Free State, the Australian states, South Africa) and is largely a formality since these dominions have already acquired virtual independence thru the development of an independent capitalist economy. The "unreconciled" Tories, under Winston Churchill, determined to make this bill a point of departure for an offensive against MacDonald as the head of the National Government and against Stanley Baldwin as the head of the Tory forces. They therefore introduced an amendment which would have excluded the Irish Free State from the operations of the bill. Stanley Baldwin and J. H. Thomas led the fight for the government. Upon a vote the Churchill Tories could only muster 50 members. The Laborites, under George Lansbury, of course voted with the government on this issue.

The defeat of the Tory insurgents, while numerically crushing enough, is more apparent than real. The whole structure and political complexion of the present National Government requires it to move with ever greater speed in the direction of the bitter and Tory. The differences between MacDonald-Baldwin and Churchill are differences in tempo and not differences in aims or objectives.

SECOND HARLAN CASE UP

First Acquittal Sharpens Fury Of Bosses Against U.M.W.A. Miner

MOUNT STERLING.—In an attempt to make up for the escape of William Burnett, who was recently acquitted after a brief trial, from the claws of Kentucky "justice," the local authorities here, completely under the domination of the mine operators, are rushing ahead with the trials of the other miners under arrest as a result of an attack made by a sheriff's posse upon miners meeting early this year. The first trial to come up is that of W. B. Jones, United Mine Workers Union organizer, who went on trial before Circuit Judge H. R. Prewitt on the charge of having "aided and encouraged" the killing of a deputy sheriff. The defense is in charge of U.M.W.A. attorneys and is also participated in by B. R. Golden, legal representative of the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W.

After the Jones trial, the cases of ten other miners charged in a similar manner will be brought up.

LEIPZIG.—Karl von Ossietzky, responsible editor of the anti-militarist paper, Die Weltbuehne, and Walter Kreiser, writer, were found guilty on November 23 by the Federal Supreme Court on the charge of "betrayal of military secrets" and were sentenced to a year and a half in prison each.

The trial was in connection with the publication in the paper two and a half years ago of an article by Kreiser attacking the German government for its military expenditures and exposing the nature of these expenditures. The question of secret aircraft production was prominent in Kreiser's article.

Kreiser's trial was secret. Although he was defended by some of the leaders of the German bar his conviction was pretty well assured because of the insistence of the military authorities.

This is the "democratic German Republic" with the "toleration" of the Social-democrats, following with touching fidelity in the footsteps of the old Prussian police state. Thus is another Liebknecht case being enacted.

Japan Moves to Chinchow in Clash with U. S.; Tokyo For "Truce" with Reservations

SET UP BODY TO FIGHT FRAMEUP

Labor Papers And Boatmen Union Unite To Defend Marine Workers

Preliminary steps have been taken to organize a broad united front committee for the defense of the marine workers recently arrested by the police on a "dynamite" frame-up. A meeting of a provisional committee, consisting of representatives of four weekly newspapers and the Independent Tide Water Boatmen's Union, was held on Saturday, November 28, at the call of Carlo Tresca, editor of *Il Mariello*.

The plans thus far made by the committee call for a statement, to be widely distributed, exposing this frame-up and a mass meeting to be held on Thursday December 17.

Formal invitations to various labor organizations to participate in the defense of these workers are now being prepared and will be issued shortly.

LONDON.—William Shepard, 25 years old, woodworker and George Allison, 36, trade union organizer, were found guilty at Winchester on November 26 of trying to provoke a mutiny in the Royal Navy. Allison was sentenced to three years and Shepard to twenty months hard labor. Shepard was a member of the editorial staff of the *Daily Worker*.

The cases of Shepard and Allison arose in connection with the recent sailors revolt against wage-cuts.

For "Truce" with Reservations

Sharp Struggle Between Civil And Military Bureaucracies Within Japan; Native City Of Tientsin Shelled By Japanese And Italians; New Split In Canton

The sphere of action in Manchurian affairs shifted southward in the last week. In spite of previous "assurances" on the part of the Tokyo government, Japanese troops began advancing towards Chinchow with the intention of taking that important city. Airplanes preceded the general army movement and began circling over the city and bombarding it. The sudden southward action on the part of Japan was immediately regarded as a serious menace by the United States. As long as Japanese military activities were limited to the northward penetration of Manchuria, the United States was able to maintain a benevolently aloof attitude, covering a secret agreement. The Chinchow offensive, however, produced a marked change in the tone of American imperialism. Secretary of State Stimson declared that he was "at a loss to understand the reports that General Honjo's army was moving South . . ." and referred to the Japanese army as "running amuck." This produced a furious reaction in Tokyo but after some negotiations it was semi-officially announced that the Chinchow offensive was to be stopped.

The zig-zag policy of Japanese imperialism is to be associated with the new stage in the traditional struggle between the military and civil bureaucracies in Japan. Apparently the civil bureaucracy stands for an understanding with the U. S. A. and is ready to make the necessary concessions, while the military bureaucracy believes that the effectiveness of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria should be capitalized to the maximum at the present moment without regard to Wall St.

Japanese Invasion of Manchuria Continues
The Japanese troops continue to occupy more cities and territory in China. This movement is not confined to Manchuria. On November 26, the Japanese troops shelled the native city of Tientsin from the Japanese concession. Machine guns and mortars were used by the Japanese troops and later one-inch guns were mounted on roofs in the Japanese concession and poured a heavy fire into the native city. While the casualties are unknown, this incident is very reminiscent of the bombardment of Nanking by the foreign imperialists in 1927, as the Italian troops are reported to be supporting the Japanese. The Japanese are rushing reinforcements, including an aircraft carrier, to Tientsin.

Further North, the occupation movement by the Japanese troops is also continuing. Sianmin, a few miles from Mukden, is already in the hands of the Japanese and in the near future all the important cities and railways in Manchuria, outside of the Chinese Eastern, will be in the hands of the Japanese.
The Southward movement is also continuing. While the occupation of Chinchow, an important center on the Peiping-Mukden Railway, has been delayed by the protest of England (this is a sphere where British capital predominates), the movements in the neighborhood of Chinchow continue and the city may be occupied in spite of British protests if the Japanese can find a sufficient pretext.

PRAGUE.—Nine persons were killed and fifteen badly wounded as a result of an attack by Czechish gendarmes upon a big demonstration of workers demanding relief for the unemployed and starving in the town of Freiwaldau, in Czechoslovak Sillesia.
In response to an appeal of the Communist Party the workers of Freiwaldau went out on general strike and formed a strong demonstration. The police ordered the demonstration to disperse and then immediately fired into the crowd of workers. A sharp clash followed.
A parliamentary commission, formed by the government the next day, "exonerated" the police.
head of several sugar companies, had contributed heavily to both the Republican and the Democratic national campaign funds in 1929, according to evidence submitted by John Holland to the Senatorial Committee investigating lobbying.

SENATORS WATSON AND DAVIS TOOK SUGAR STOCK AS LOBBY REWARD

Illinois And Pennsylvania Senators Received Shares In Big Sugar Companies In 1928-29; Dahlberg Donated Heavily To Both Boss Parties

WASHINGTON.—The searchlight of the Senatorial lobbying inquiry was turned on November 23 on the 1928-1929 stock investments of two Senators, James E. Watson (Rep., Ind.) and James J. Davis (Rep., Penn.), disclosing evidence that both had made big profits on sugar stock they purchased on credit from sugar companies in whose interests they were actively working on tariff matters.
In brief the Davis transaction was described as follows: Davis signed a note for \$22,500 in April 1928 for 250 preferred and 500 common shares of the Southern Sugar Company. In April 1928 Watson signed two notes of \$12,500 for 125 shares each of common and preferred stock in both the Southern Sugar Company and the Southern Coast Company. The deals were engineered thru B. G. Dahlberg, president of a number of sugar companies. In September 1929 Dahlberg notified Davis that, because of a rise in the stock, his note was cancelled and he would receive 250 shares in Southern Sugar as profit. Both of Watson's notes were similarly cancelled in 1929 and the Senator received 250 shares of common stock for each of them.
The committee investigator, John Holland, declared that S. S. Eveland, vice-president of a Dahlberg company, had told him that he had heard Dahlberg order \$10,000 to be sent to Senator Davis. Further details on this transaction were not available.
Senator James E. Watson, who profited so much from his convenient transactions with the sugar companies, has the following voting record in 1930 on sugar tariff proposals:
January 16: Voted against the Harrison amendment to reduce sugar tariff.
January 17: Voted against proposal to replace tariff on sugar by bounties to U. S. producers.
March 5: Voted again against a similar proposal.
March 5: Voted for Smoot amendment for increasing the tariff on sugar.
March 13: Voted against the motion to reconsider the vote on the Smoot amendment.
Senator Davis's record is similar. WASHINGTON.—B. G. Dahlberg,



Woll Calls for New Laws Outlawing Militant Labor; Hunger Marchers to Be Deported

As Civic Federation Head He Issues Open Letter Urging The United States To Follow Canada And To Adopt Laws Suppressing Communism

WASHINGTON. — A fantastic hodge-podge of unimportant facts, distorted and magnified beyond all recognition, and pure inventions without any relation to fact at all, was served up on November 27 by the United States Secret Service in the form of a "confidential report" on the National Hunger March converging from various parts of the country upon this city. In this report it is announced, with all appearance of making public a great discovery, that the Communist Party is behind the Hunger March—a fact that might have been ascertained by reading any issue of the DAILY WORKER, official Communist Party paper, within the last few weeks. Allegations are also made as to instructions to the Hunger Marchers to "throw stones" and "use violence"—very obviously crude frame-ups.

The purpose of these "sensational disclosures" is to pave the way for a renewed attack upon militant labor in this country, and in particular for repressive action against any movement in behalf of the unemployed.

WASHINGTON.—The entire committee of fourteen that preceded the 1,500 Hunger Marchers to this city, was arrested on November 27 by the capital police.

Three of those arrested were reported to be non-naturalized foreigners and their cases were referred to the Labor department for deportation proceedings. In this way the government hopes to turn the injunction weapon against labor not only in the strike field but also in suppressing the protest of the unemployed.

In a most vicious open letter addressed to "the members of Congress, the members of the President's organization on unemployment relief,

the United States Chamber of Commerce Committee on Continuity of Business and Employment, the trade unions, the charity organizations and all bodies that may be misled by the hypocritical appeal of the Communist Party for aid to the unemployed" Matthew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor and acting president of the labor-hating National Civic Federation, calls for the complete outlawing and ruthless persecution of Communism and the militant labor movement of this country. Taking the Communist Party Hunger March as his theme, this reactionary labor leader urges that the American government copy Canada's anti-labor legislation and enact new laws to make any effort of progressive labor struggle, every form of resistance of the workers to the onslaughts of capital, impossible! The letter concludes:

"Fortunately, our neighbor on the North has shown us what to do and how to do it. First, she got the necessary law which enabled her to put her secret service agents into the underground Communist movement. . . . Today all those Communist leaders are on their way to the penitentiary and the rest of the party will be kicked out of Canada as rapidly as they can be apprehended. . . . Canada may give a hint in her seditious conspiracy idea!"

In the clearest possible manner Matthew Woll is proving to the workers that the reactionary A. F. of L. leaders of his stripe are not representatives of the workers but open and conscious agents of the bosses against the workers! They spend their time and energy not in considering ways and means of strengthening the workers power against the bosses but in discovering methods of crippling the workers struggle for better conditions and for freedom!

Matthews Speaks on "Europe", Dec. 6, at 63 Madison Avenue

LEFT BLOC WINS IN LOCAL 1

Win Majority On Elections Committee Against T. U. L. And Rights

New York City
On November 24 there took place a meeting of Local 1 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union for the purpose of electing an elections objections committee of seven to supervise the coming elections of local officials and joint board general manager.

The meeting was easily the largest the local had ever held. There were 1466 workers registered in the hall, while 400 to 500 workers were outside unable to get in because of fire regulations.

Three separate slates for the elections objections committee were presented: the slate of the Student (right wing group), the joint slate of the left wing (Progressive League) and progressives (Center group), and that of the self-styled "Left" group (the T. U. L. group). In the voting a most curious circumstance developed. After the right wing group had voted for six of its men, its spokesman got up and withdrew the rest of its candidates. And then twelve candidates of the "Left" group had been voted upon, a spokesman of the Student group actually had the audacity to "appeal" that the other candidates be withdrawn! In the subsequent voting, the followers of the right wing group voted solidly for the candidates of the ultra "revolutionary" T. U. L. group!

After the counting of the votes, it was found that the progressive-left wing bloc had elected 12, the "Left" group 4, and the right wing group one.

JAPS AGREE TO "TRUCE"

(Continued from page 1)
clause against "further fighting" by providing for "exceptions in the case of suppression of bandits". In the second place, Japan has demanded a modification of the phrase that the League of Nations considers the evacuation of Manchuria by Japanese troops "as a point of the utmost importance."

The Nanking government has not yet accepted the "truce" proposal but its agreement is expected under American pressure, perhaps in some "face-saving" form.

Of course, in fact, this "truce" agreement means that the U. S. A. will "tolerate" (even lend tacit support to) Japan's seizure of Manchuria while Japan will allow Wall Street a clear field in the struggle to obtain hegemony over China proper at the expense of Great Britain primarily. American support to Japan's resistance to the demand for evacuation shows how far Washington is ready to go in support of Japanese aims. The secret agreement between U. S. A. and Japan, which was outlined in previous issues of the Revolutionary Age, is now becoming clearer and clearer.

At the same time it is a guiding line of American policy to attempt to embroil the Soviet Union with Japan, if not in a war at least in a serious diplomatic conflict. According to the Pravda an important objective of Wall Street policy is the "desire to push Japan into an armed conflict with the Soviet Union". In this U. S. imperialism has three main aims: "the end of the depression by selling their surplus raw materials and manufactures; to smash the Five Year Plan and endanger the Soviet Union; and to weaken Japan as a future rival of the United States in the Pacific".

SHANGHAI—Wellington Koo, former prime minister, former minister to Washington and London, has been appointed acting foreign minister of the Nanking government.

CANTON, China—Admiral Chen Chaik, commander-in-chief of the Cantonese navy, declared martial law on November 26, following a split in the South China government on the question of attitude towards Nanking. The recent South China Kuomintang Congress rejected the agreement made between the Canton delegates and the Nanking representatives for "peace". The reins of power of the Canton government have fallen into the hands of the faction bitterly opposed to Nanking.

The struggle is basically over attitude towards Japan. The dominant faction is predominantly pro-Japanese, while the "conciliatory" faction leans towards Nanking.

An increase of suicides in New York City last year to nearly twice the number of cases for 1920 was reported recently by George LeBrun, secretary of the Chief Medical Examiner's office, in a talk before the National Save-A-Life League, an anti-suicide organization. Mr. LeBrun said there had been a steady increase in the number of suicides in the city for the last ten years. Before 1920, he said, an average of 750 persons a year took their lives but in 1930 there were 1,471 suicides, with a probability that there would be more this year. According to Mr. LeBrun, the great increase in suicides, quite out of proportion to the increase in population, is to be attributed primarily to the increasing confusion and complexities of modern civilization and, secondarily, in recent years, to the economic crisis.

For A United Front Of Labor TWO "FREE MOONEY" CONFERENCES

Reports From The Anthracite And From New York

Expelled For Fighting For The Unity Of Labor

Three of the most active and outstanding builders of the International Labor Defense in the Anthracite have been expelled from that organization because of our successful attempts to rally all workers organizations in the Anthracite to the struggle for the liberation of Tom Mooney.

As a result of the call for united action, issued by Tom Mooney on August 29, 1931, a conference of labor organizations was held on November 6 at Union Hall, Wilkes Barre, Pa. The conference was very enthusiastic. Resolutions demanding the immediate release of Tom Mooney and Billings were adopted. An executive committee of 25 was elected and designated as the "Anthracite Free Tom Mooney Committee".

F. Vratovic, Borich and Gallia were amongst the most active workers in initiating and calling this conference. We went to fraternal organizations, the International Labor Defense, the executive board of the United Mine Workers of America, local unions, etc., carrying Tom Mooney's message and appeal to ALL labor organizations for united action in the fight for his liberation.

Weber (formerly Judson) and Antonio, claiming to be representatives of the City central committee of the I. L. D., came to the provisional committee which had called the "Free Tom Mooney Conference" and "proposed": (1) that the call for the conference be withdrawn by the provisional committee; (2) that a letter be sent to all organizations to whom the call was sent informing them of the withdrawal, and (3) that names and addresses of all the organizations as well as the names and addresses of the delegates already elected, be turned over to Judson and Antonio, for the I. L. D., since only the I. L. D. has the right to call such a conference! Judson and Antonio also declared that I. L. D. members who are on the provisional committee must support these three propositions. Any member of the I. L. D. who would vote against these three propositions would be automatically expelled.

Vratovic is a delegate from the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Branch 34, Borich represented the S. N. P. J., Gallia and Antonchak represented the Luzerne Branch of the International Labor Defense on the provisional committee. These comrades refused to support the idiotic propositions of Judson and Antonio. Their proposals meant the narrowing down and disrupting the conference. Their proposal meant division instead of unity.

At the meeting of the Luzerne Branch of the I. L. D., Antonio, who was not even a member of the I. L. D. when he was appointed its organizer (he was appointed organizer on October 6 and on October 7 he first filled out an application for membership), informed the meeting that he would "take charge" of the meeting, that the C. C. C. (self-appointed, consisting of Judson and Antonio) had expelled Vratovic, Borich and Gallia! By the way, at this meeting of the I. L. D. Judson's application for membership in the I. L. D. was supposed to come up. Both Judson and Antonio, neither of them members of the I. L. D. but appointed as organizers in the most bureaucratic way, take it upon themselves to expel those comrades who built the I. L. D. in the Anthracite. The Luzerne Branch was instructed to approve the expulsion or they would be "ACTING AGAINST I. L. D. POLICY", which, of course, means a threat to expel the entire branch.

Are we guilty of the charges that we are accused of? That is, that we want to eliminate the I. L. D. from the conference? The Luzerne branch sent representatives. Weber and Antonio were invited to participate. They were given unlimited time to make and make their propositions. The conference held on November 8 represented 50,000 Anthracite workers. The I. L. D., thru taking part in such a broad movement, would undoubtedly gain in influence and prestige amongst the workers. Instead these so-called representatives of the I. L. D., Judson and Antonio, do everything in their power to disrupt the conference. They have since issued their own call for their own narrow conference and are visiting organizations that sent delegates to the "Free Tom Mooney Conference" asking them to withdraw their delegates, manufacturing lies and slanders about the conference and individual comrades.

The Luzerne Branch of the I. L. D. voted 17 to 1 in favor of the motion that we continue with the original arrangements for the "Free Mooney Conference" and that we ask Weber and Antonio to unite with us and work for the success of the Mooney movement in the Anthracite.

The following organizations were represented at the Conference held on November 8 and a decision made that a larger, broader and better conference be arranged for January 10, at Union Hall, 12 East Market Street at 2:00 P. M. sharp, Wilkes Barre: U. M. W. A. Locals 1616 (Plains, Pa.), 1672 (Olyphant, Pa.), 1150 (McAdoo, Pa.), Slovenian National Benefit Society Branches 447 (Nanticoke, Pa.), 204 (Luzerne, Pa.), 613 (Scranton, Pa.), S. S. P. Z., Luzerne and Nanticoke Branches; Independent Italian Society (Plainsville, Pa.); Italian Cooperative

Store (West Wyoming, Pa.); Giuseppe Garibaldi Society (Olde Forge, Pa.); Italian Mutual Aid Society (Luzerne Pa.); Rama Society (Plains, Pa.); Amalgamated Italian Mutual Aid Society (Luzerne, Pa.); Tuscan Mutual Aid Society (West Wyoming, Pa.); Communist Party (Majority Group); Anthracite Dist.; Workmen Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Branches 140 (Nanticoke, Pa.), 34 (Luzerne, Pa.); Ukrainian Toolers Organization, Branch 32 (Olyphant, Pa.); Socialist Party, Wilkes Barre Branch; International Labor Defense, Luzerne Branch; Slovenian National Benefit Society, Anthracite Federation; Croation Fraternal Union, Branch 16 (Luzerne, Pa.); Lithuanian Chorus (Wilkes Barre Branch).

The Second Conference In New York

New York City
The New York Tom Mooney Conference met Friday, November 20 at 3 W. 16 Street. This conference was considerably smaller than the first conference. There were no more than 100 delegates in all. All new delegates (including those of the C. P.—Majority Group, were seated without opposition.

It was quite evident that the Walker maneuver made an impression on the conference. The mistaken view that the conference was interested in the simple liberation of Mooney no matter how it comes about, was expressed by some delegates. A delegate from the Frederick Douglass Interracial Club pointed out that Mooney cannot be separated from the labor movement, that the Mooney case is part of the class struggle.

The administration committee of the conference proposed that a national conference be held in Washington, D. C., on February 12 (Lincoln's Birthday). The affiliated organizations are to be asked to send delegates to this conference. Several delegates pointed out that the conference should not satisfy itself merely with the coming conference in Washington but should carry on militant action in the meanwhile.

In the discussion that followed the report of the administration committee, Benjamin Lifshitz declared that only a solid front of labor could save Mooney. He reminded the delegates that the officials of the A. F. of L. were largely responsible for the imprisonment of Tom Mooney. Delegate Lifshitz emphasized the significance of the Mooney case as a classical labor frame-up. A powerful movement for Mooney, he said, will also aid in the struggle for the other class war prisoners. He called upon the conference to correct its previous error of excluding the Communist Party by calling a conference in which all elements of the labor movement would be included.

The administrative committee also recommended to the conference that the organizations contribute as much as possible for the financing of the work of the conference. A boycott of California goods was offered for consideration. The delegate from the New York University Social Problem Club ridiculed the boycott move as ineffective. He declared that the administrative committee was trying to cover up its inactivity by harmless proposals of boycott which cannot rouse the working class. Other delegates also dwelled upon the ineffectiveness of the measure. However, the proposal was adopted.

Two telegrams demanding the release of Mooney were sent to Governor Rolfe and another telegram of encouragement to Mooney. At this point Lifshitz proposed that the A. F. of L. council be asked to join in the demand for Mooney's freedom and the affiliated unions be asked to do likewise. The various local bodies should initiate local conferences, it was proposed.

A motion by Lifshitz to call an enlarged conference in which all tendencies of the labor movement should be included, was ruled out of order. Before the adjournment of the meeting, the chairman called upon the delegate of the N. Y. U. Social

JOBLESS PARADE IN NEW YORK

2,500 At City Hall Present Demands To Aldermen

NEW YORK CITY.—A parade and demonstration of over 2,500 workers, mostly unemployed, before the City Hall here took place on the afternoon of November 24 in connection with the National Hunger March being organized by the Communist Party. The chief demands of the demonstrators were that the city set aside a fund of \$200,000,000 for unemployment relief, that the unemployed be supplied with free food and rent, and that the salaries of all municipal officials be cut down to \$5,000. A delegation of six presented these demands before the finance committee of the Board of Aldermen, which was then in session.

Over 300 policemen, including mounted patrolmen and armored motor cycles, massed against the demonstration but could not provoke any disorder.

Four measures on how to raise the \$200,000,000 fund were proposed: (1) the stoppage of all payments to city bondholders; (2) the withdrawal of all appropriations for the naval guard and the naval militia; (3) the cutting of all salaries of city officials to \$5,000 a year; and (4) the taxation of all incomes above \$5,000.

RAILWAYS TO PUT THRU WAGE-CUT

Executives Declare Slash Will Be Forced Unless Unions Accept It.

Following upon the rejection on the part of the Railway Labor Executives Association of the proposal for the "voluntary acceptance" of a 10 per cent wage-cut in railroad wages, an ultimatum on wage reductions for all union employees was issued on November 24 by L. F. Loree, president of the Delaware and Hudson Railroad in a statement representing the decision of a conference of the executives of the leading railroad companies of the country.

The railroad officials conference decided to "give" the railway unions the "opportunity" of cutting their own wages. If the unions refuse again, the railroad executives declared, a wage-cut will be forced thru by concerted action. Action, however, will be deferred until after December 8.

A conference of representatives of the railroad brotherhood unions will meet very soon in Chicago and will take up the wage-cut question.

Problems Club to make suggestions for the conference, since he had criticized the administration committee. He accepted the offer and suggested that each organization affiliated with the conference should supply speakers to canvass as many labor organizations as possible, the schedule to be worked out by the speakers committee, that attention be paid to arousing the 150,000 students in New York colleges, that the college faculties should be canvassed to sign petitions. He contrasted the recent weak efforts on behalf of Mooney and the tremendous and inspiring demonstration for Sacco and Vanzetti. He endeavored to show that this was due to a great extent to the exclusion of the militant section of the labor movement and to the general disunity. But he was called to order at this point.

Enthusiasm was lacking at the conference. And those in-charge blamed the working class for the apathy and indifference displayed in relation to this case instead of accepting responsibility for their inactivity and dividing tactics. The official Communist Party and International Labor Defense made no attempt to send delegates. Here is another example of the costliness of disunity.

Alfonso has given his son all his rights to the Spanish throne. It's like giving away a zero with the rim tipped off.

The Crisis In The Party WHAT'S HAPPENING IN YOUNGSTOWN?

A Letter From Youngstown

(Continued from the last issue)

The Communist Party in Youngstown has made such "big progress" here that we feel you should know a little more about this "progress". The "Hunger March" to the County Building, on November 3, which was to have been composed of unemployed workers from the entire Mahoning County, proved the bankruptcy of the leadership. When it first started marching from the Party headquarters there were only a handful, a few dozen in their ranks. In the Party press they claimed that over 2000 workers took part in this Hunger March. The real truth is that barely over 2000 workers were present in all at the County Hall, and this was because on Mondays you will always find some few hundred workers gathered in front of this building looking for jobs. For these workers, also for the curiosity onlookers, comprising around 250 in number, the Party claimed credit, and by padding of figures they raised the total to 2000.

One would think, however, that the Party would take advantage of the few hundred workers gathered on that day near the County Hall, for jobs and not for the "Hunger March", but whom the Party nevertheless claims as its own and utilize the situation to make known to them the fact that a celebration for the successful Soviet Revolution would take place on November 7. But no, this bankrupt leadership apparently does not care for the masses any more. In short, nothing was proposed to call the attention of these unemployed workers to the fact that the Communist Party is still alive, that the 14th Anniversary of the Soviet Union would be celebrated just within four days and no attempt to invite these workers to attend was made.

The first celebration of the Soviet Revolution in any city in the United States was celebrated in Youngstown. And what a celebration it was! For Youngstown has for years been the center of the steel industry of America and the workers here are known for their class consciousness and militancy. This year, the celebration was held in a small hall, on Oak St., a small, obscure side street of the city type, almost no publicity had been given to this proposed celebration and the few who knew of it were not even aware as to where Oak Street was located. Some comrades from Cleveland spoke. The very small number of workers in attendance did not know the speaker, they had not heard of him before. A small program was given by a few boys from Struthers, Ohio, and that was all. This year the celebration for the Soviet Union was a complete fiasco.

The leaders of the Party in our city are either too ignorant or else they do not care for members. We are inclined to think they are both. They have Edwards as District Organizer and his office "secretary", Mary Fradin. Comrade Fradin's abilities are none; her ignorance is complete. She has had no political training, and this incompetent comrade acts at present as an arch-bureaucrat, a sort of "Youngstown's Stalin". Comrade Semblis is T. U. L. organizer. Due to the Party's sectarian policies he can do nothing. No attempt is being made by the T. U. L. to draw in any workers and the united front is considered here as elsewhere, as a "right-wing" policy. For such reasons the T. U. L. exists only as a very narrow organization, a sect composed of Party members and a very few close sympathizers.

Edwards, the D. O., is now here, the Party having had no less than five D. O.'s in Youngstown since the wave of expulsions began. One of these D. O.'s, Joseph Green, was expelled afterwards in the Daily Worker as a blackmailer and provocateur and expelled from the Party. These "leaders", irresponsible and unintelligent were sent here to such an important proletarian center as Youngstown and, following the wrong policies of the Party, they succeeded in isolating and discrediting the Party to such an extent that workers here not only do not follow it, but actually laugh at it.

Let us tell you something about the Party's recent election campaign in Youngstown. This election campaign was a real disgrace for the Communist movement. The Party placed on the ballot one Pierrogiovanni as its candidate for mayor of Youngstown. This Pierrogiovanni does not even know the first fundamental principles of Communism. This Communist candidate for mayor submitted to an interview in the capitalist press for publicity, an interview that stinks with disgrace for our movement as a whole, and not only for Youngstown. It happened this way:

The D. O., Edwards, having been criticized as to why he did not make up and also secure publicity for the Party during the election campaign replied that the capitalist press will not publish anything submitted to them about the Party. They would, however, he stated, publish personal interviews of the candidates themselves. So he instructed Pierrogiovanni (the Communist candidate for mayor) to submit to an interview. And here is the sum and substance of this interview.

He stated that he became a Communist because he heard Joseph Green (the same Joseph Green expelled from the Party as blackmailer and provocateur) speak at the March 6, 1930, demonstration in Youngstown, and became so enthused that he decided to join the Party and that a year and a half later, becoming a leader, he was put on the ballot by the Communist Party as its candidate for mayor!

(Concluded in the next issue)

AUSTRALIA LABOR GOV'T FALLS

Scullin Defeated By 37 To 32 On Confidence; New Election Dec. 19

CANBERRA, Australia.—By a vote of 37 to 32 the Commonwealth parliament, on November 25, defeated the Australian Labor government on an apparently minor issue of alleged leakage in the Treasury Department but nevertheless leading to the dissolution of the Parliament and the fixing of new elections for December 19.

The combination that defeated Prime Minister Scullin was composed of the National, the Country, the Progressive parties, the Independents as well as the Lang left wing group in the Labor party.

LOVESTONE - RUSSELL DEBATE

(Continued from page 1)
touching faith in democracy. Nor was it difficult for Lovestone to show the truly democratic character of the Soviet state in the U.S.S.R. Russell's rebuttal added nothing to his previous arguments, while Lovestone's concluding five minutes were devoted to a brief summary.

The audience was one of the broadest and most representative ever seen at a political meeting here. Socialists, anarchists, Communists of all factions, and non-partisan workers formed the crowd.

THE FRUITS OF DUAL UNIONISM

New York City.
Let me show an example as to just what dual unionism means for the workers.

The A. H. Rosen millinery shop employed fifty workers, trimmers, composed of two elements: members and sympathizers of the Industrial Union, and workers ready at any time to fight for the immediate conditions in the shop but not ready to strike for union recognition and openly opposed, before the boss and the workers, to any organization of the shop.

In the very slow season six workers were suddenly and quietly fired without giving them any reasons at all. Immediately, all workers got together and decided to fight for the reinstatement and elected a committee to present our demands to the boss. The boss, knowing the two different elements in the shop, took for granted that the girls would not actually fight and rejected our demand. As soon as we found this out, all girls as one stopped working and were actually ready to go down on strike. The shop, the boss, seeing the unity of the workers, was compelled to reinstate them and all workers went back to work. After that, all active girls of the shop met in the office of the Industrial Union and decided that some committee should be set up to act on daily issues in the shop and that meantime we should all work quietly among the girls and gradually bring them closer to unionism in preparation for organization of the shop when the time was ripe.

What happened?
Instead of working quietly as decided, just a few days after the stoppage in our shop, the Industrial Union, in its great anxiety to precipitate a strike for union recognition, without the consent of our committee and the workers, issued a leaflet to the millinery workers telling them about the incident in our shop and coming out openly with our organizational plans. The workers were very much antagonized. It is obvious that this leaflet gave the boss a good opportunity of fighting against us and gave him sufficient time to look for all ways and means to break the unity in the shop.

Immediately he started to discriminate against the most active girls and

showed favoritism to those who he thought would be with him in case of a strike. The discrimination against many workers grew to such an extent that it was forced upon us to go down on strike altho some of us were formerly opposed to a strike because of the slow season which divided the workers in two shifts.

As soon as the strike was declared the boss signed up with Local 24 of the A. F. of L. union since two of his other shops were already Local 24 shops.

Local 24, altho "the" millinery union of the industry, instead of coming over to the picket line and urging us to join Local 24 and explaining the necessity of having one union and telling us that only then would we be able to win our conditions—the officials ignored us and led up their own members to our shop to scab on us and break our strike. So this strike was no more against the boss for better conditions, but a fight of the workers against a union—workers against workers—and the boss was left out of it.

The workers then realized that the strike no more involved their interests because they were not fighting the boss. They got demoralized thru the irresponsible work pursued by the Industrial Union and by the open scabbery of the officials of Local 24. These actions have demoralized and driven away the workers from unionism. Both unions are equally responsible for the demoralization of the workers who could have been won for militant struggles if there were one union in the industry.

A STRIKER

BIG BANQUET DANCE IN PATERSON

About 100 workers of Paterson attended the first Banquet and Dance arranged by the Paterson Section of the Communist Party (Majority Group) on Saturday Nov. 21, at 64 Lafayette Street.

Speeches by Jay Lovestone, Ben Gitlow and Ellen Dawson were received with enthusiasm by the workers present.

The workers, particularly applauded when Jay Lovestone explained the purposes and aims of the Communist Party (Majority Group) and appealed for the unity of the American Labor movement in general and the Communist movement in particular. Ben Gitlow, who was greeted with a thunderous ovation when he arrived, appealed to the workers to participate actively in the work of the union and to elect leaders who will lead them in militant struggle against the silk bosses. Joe Rosen was chairman.

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The American Dole System - For Whom?

The Big Ship Subsidy Graft

by R. Macklin

The rankiest example of the American dole system for capitalist interests is the government shipping subsidies which have been handed out ever since 1915, mostly in the form of lucrative mail contracts. The shipping capitalists have always maintained that these doles were never large enough to meet effectively foreign competition, so long as the wages of the American marine workers remained on a higher scale. They, therefore, cried for ever larger subsidies and, at the same time, hammered away at the wage standards of the American seamen and waterfront workers.

The Influence of the War

The World War, which gave so tremendous an impetus to American industry in general, made it especially necessary to create, without delay, a merchant marine that could adequately take care of the emergency war needs of the country. With its entrance into the war, the United States began a feverish shipbuilding activity. Over 3 1/2 billion dollars of Federal funds were made available for the purpose. With the end of the war, the government, fearful of the political and economic effects of a sudden cancelling of its shipbuilding contracts, continued building. The peak being reached a year later. The American steam tonnage registered for foreign trade increased 15 times from 1914 to 1931. The government, loath to sell its ships into private hands, as was its oft-avowed aim, demanded prohibitive prices for its vessels. The reason was evident. The high ocean rates of the immediate post-war period, made it profitable to operate almost any kind of ship over almost any route.

The Shipping Board Fleet

By 1920 the Shipping Board owned 2600 vessels and operated 229 services, mostly between U. S. A. and foreign ports, and some even between foreign ports. The greater portion of this fleet was operated by private companies acting as agents of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, subsidiary of the Shipping Board, on a strict commission basis. This was plain graft. No risks were involved, but profits were assured. It is needless to say that many trickeries were openly indulged in to enhance these profits. So long as the ocean rates were so lucrative, the Federal Shipping Board jubilantly felt that its brand of government ownership was a huge success. However, there came a rude awakening. Foreign shipping soon became a challenging, in fact, a dominant competitive force on the seas once more. Ocean rates crashed. Soon the Federal Shipping Board, always a stink hole of graft, corruption and inefficiency, was operating at an enormous deficit of 15 million dollars a month, or almost 200 million dollars a year.

The Harding Administration inherited a bankrupt concern. In the recent years, the government fleet has been considerably reduced, the deficit still runs into the tens of millions of dollars. These losses clearly represented a subsidy to the foreign trade of the country. The government became anxious to get out of the shipping business. Vessels were scrapped wholesale. Whole lines were sold, preferably to their operators, despite higher bids of others. In 1919, the Shipping Board demanded as high as \$225 per dead weight ton as a sale price. In 1931 it was glad to sell the American Diamond Lines to its operators, The Black Diamond S. S. Co., at the ridiculously low price of \$16.25 per ton, including a bonus in the form of valuable long term mail contracts. Other lines were sold on the same basis. By June 1931, 2400 of the 2600 government ships had been scrapped or sold into private hands for a song. Favoritism and graft played their roles.

Creating a Merchant Marine

However, the mere existence of so many ships did not solve the merchant marine problem of the U. S. Many were obsolete, most of the rest were unfit to compete successfully with the speedy giant vessels of foreign shipping. How to create a merchant marine that could capture a fair share of the foreign trade? That was the problem confronting our profit-hungry shipping interests. The answer to this was the Jones-White Law of 1920 (Coolidge Administration), creating a subsidy dole system in its crassest form.

The Jones-White Law provides a government loan service for the financing of ship construction for private ownership, thru a revolving fund of 250 million dollars. A private concern could borrow up to three-quarters of the cost of construction of new vessels, or overhauling of old ones, or for the purchase of government lines. As further inducements, valuable mail subsidies were provided thru the Post Office Department. The very form of this loan service readily lent itself to the characteristic capitalist abuses of graft and corruption. The interest rate of these loans was lower than that of government bonds, the difference being decided by a present to the shipping interests. They could invest in government bonds and borrow the money right back at the lower interest rate, thus assuring an

initial profit at the expense of the Federal Treasury.

The government became a huge mortgagor. If the merchant fleets, made possible thru the Jones-White Law financing, proved profitable, shipping interests would wax fat. If not, the Federal Shipping Board would be left holding the bag with a number of vessels in its hands, which it would be forced to sell at a low price, and even to finance the sale in the usual way, sometimes, to the very same interests who represented the original owners and operators of these vessels, as in the case of the U. S. Lines.

The Case of the U. S. Lines

In 1929 the P. W. Chapman interest, operating as the U. S. Lines, acquired government fleets, including such liners as the Leviathan, the price being 16 millions dollars three-quarters of which was in notes extending over a period of twenty years. The U. S. Lines proceeded with the construction of even more ships thru government financing. It soon, however, was operating at a deficit and it found itself in difficulties. Before long, the Shipping Board, holding millions in mortgages, was forced to ask for open bids on the Chapman Fleet. The handling of this was characteristically to the advantage of the dominant shipping interests. It has practically arranged for the sale of the U. S. Lines thru the formation of a giant monopolistic merger, headed by the powerful Morgan controlled International Merchant Marine, together with the western Dollar-Dawes S. S. Lines, and the Chapman interests are also included as a party to the merger.

Since 1923 a total of 107 millions dollars has been borrowed from the Federal Shipping Board. Of this, 16 millions have gone to the U. S. Lines, almost as much to the United Fruit Company, and about 11 millions to the Dollar S. S. Co. Very little of this has been repaid. Indeed, the Shipping Board expects very little to be repaid.

Mail Subventions

As for mail subventions, it is well to keep in mind that their avowed purpose is to aid private shipping operators to compete in foreign rather than in coastal trade, which is to encourage the building of faster ships, mail rates are granted commensurate with the speed of the vessels and are as high as \$14.50 per mile. At such a rate, a million dollars in mail alone, will be made in seventeen transatlantic trips. However, the following unsavory examples of how the government grants mail subventions speak eloquently for themselves.

The Export S. S. Co. has, up to date, made almost two million dollars in mail contracts. In one case, it chartered ten government vessels for the price of \$22,408 and was paid \$146,042 for carrying mail, making a clean profit of \$123,634, exclusive of freight, etc. One of the ships, the "Gateway City," was chartered for \$2,182, and got \$14,915 for carrying 12 pounds of first class mail and 3,295 pounds of parcel post. These contracts run for ten years in slow ships that cannot possibly carry first class mail. Indeed, the owner of the company, a Mr. Herberman, a friend of the chairman of the Shipping Board, was soon able to buy up the whole chartered fleet after the government had reconditioned it, and, mind you, at a price lower than the cost of reconditioning.

The American Line S. S. Co. was granted mail contracts, presumably to help it compete in foreign waters. Instead, it operates exclusively in intercoastal trade. Its supposed official destination of Balboa, Panama, is a fake. Actually, it discharges its mail at Colon, from where it is carried to Balboa by the U. S. owned railroad. For this service it is so grossly overpaid as to amount to almost 4 million dollars in ten years.

The Moore-McCormick Co., another pet of the Shipping Board, with slow steamers, got \$538,000, and did not carry a single first class letter. (Continued on page 4)

New Words-Old Deeds

According to a report we have received of a meeting of Party trade unionists in Chicago, at which W. W. Weinstein spoke as the representative of the Central Committee, the change in trade union line of the Party which is so far only verbal, and is contradicted by action of the Party members in the unions is much deeper than is indicated in the new resolutions. In fact it seems that quite a substantial chunk has been borrowed from the trade union policy of the "renegades". For instance:

Weinstein declared that in those industries where unions already exist, no "new" unions are to be organized!

If the "new" union is only a union in name, then it should be liquidated and its members asked to join the reformist union. Specifically, in Illinois, the National Miners Union is to be abolished, and the Communists are to work in the United Mine Workers of America.

Left wing groups are to be organized in all existing unions.

Weinstein further declared that at present only the "Lovestonites" are carrying on a fight against the bureaucracy in the old unions but that as soon as the Party organizes a fight inside these unions, then the "Lovestonites" will line up with the bureaucrats.

So! When the Communist Party (Majority Group) fights for the whole of the above program, we are "renegades", "agents of the bourgeoisie", "servants of Matthew Wolf", etc. But now that the wise man of the Pelecan are adopting our program, it becomes 100% Leninist and "third period" strategy. According to Weinstein, the Party will now move in and take the place that the "renegades" are occupying today, and therefore we will have to move further to the right. But is it not more logical, Comrade Weinstein, to declare that when you move into the place now occupied by the "renegades", you become also "renegades" of the same kind as we? And don't you think that your own admission that you are adopting the policies of the "renegades" should compel you also to change your opinion as to the "renegades" of the "renegades"? The Party membership and the Communists generally will yet have something to say on this question.

Everywhere do we hear of the "new trade union line" of the Communist Party. The old sectarianism and union splitting, we are told, are being "revised" and the point of view of the C.P.-Majority Group is being "accepted." Let us see about this.

In the Freiheit of November 27 there is an article "What the Cloakmakers Must Do Today," by A. Weiss. Towards the end of the article we read:

"... We will not recognize any sort of agreement concluded by the Schlesinger-Dubinsky gang. And in order to convince the bosses and the company union agents that the cloakmakers mean business and that we will not allow any new treason, the cloakmakers must cease to pay dues and taxes to the company union and must not recognize its business agents when they come to the shops. They must not take any instructions from the company union."

Not to pay dues or taxes—not to recognize officials—a fine change of line!

Detroit Educational Forum

at the HISPANOS HALL, 2105 Third St. Cor. Elizabeth St. Sunday, Dec. 6th, 1931 at 7:30 P. M. Debate: "Is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Necessary for Social Progress?" Affirm. W. Miller, Negat. Barto Provo Sunday, Dec. 13th, 1931, at 7:30 P. M. "Christmas" Howell S. England Sunday, Dec. 20th, 1931, at 7:30 P. M. "Work" William Mansfield Lectures every Sunday at 7:30 P. M. Questions and Discussion Admission Free Public Invited

significance but the constant development of the symptoms we have analyzed. They are only slight clouds on the horizon but they forebode the coming storm. . . .

The Economic Week

FURTHER liquidation of the optimism propaganda was stimulated by the sharp drop in the economic index during the week. Sharp drops in car loadings, auto production and the already severely depressed steel output were the primary factors for the accelerated downward trend. Commodity price decline has resumed all along the line. The hoped-for seasonal spurt in auto production has now been totally discarded. Serious consequences

are in store for the motor industry due to the new wave of tariff restriction in the principal European countries, particularly England. Within two weeks there has been a decline of 25% in prices on the New York Stock Market and averages have already gone below the previous record lows of October 5. Railroad securities have been especially hard hit and the wage controversy is far from settled. The realty mar-

The World Offensive of Capital

Communism Trial in Canada

from The Report Of The Workers Jury

Eight workers have been declared guilty of membership in an unlawful organization and of seditious conspiracy. Deportation awaits the foreign-born at the conclusion of the prison terms. The Communist Party of Canada is now an outlaw body; such property as it may possess is to be confiscated. In brief, these are the immediate results of the eight day trial.

No need for elaboration here on the counts against the prisoners. Section 98 of the Criminal Code has scope enough to allow the Crown to prosecute with confidence any working class body which is at all militant, or which was under the suspicion of having been under the influence of the Communist Party.

The Prisoners

Maintaining a steady interest in the proceedings thruout, each of the imprisoned comrades exhibited a calm and analytical approach to the thousand and one items which were brought forward. Unflinching alike under examination and sentence, unemotional when Goliniski was released upon establishment of his non-party membership, the prisoners presented the front of men who had long been convinced that courts held nothing else but promises of class "justice" for workers, but, notwithstanding, would pursue their own investigations into social conditions and prosecute the results of their findings. In defence, the comrades were the scorners. Social conditions were the results of capitalist misrule. A socialist state, with workers and farmers in control, would ensure security for these now exploited by and in the interests of the capitalist class. Capitalism could promise nothing else but crisis. As Communists, it was their duty to prepare the workers and farmers for that period when capitalism would collapse.

The Addresses To The Jury

Comrade Buck was first to address. His three hours speech was in keeping with the attitude of the defendants thruout the trial. Still analytical, still accusing, Buck maintained

that force and violence characterized workers demonstrations only when the police interfered. The users of force were the representatives of "law and order". There was irony in the impatient threat by the judge, was "wandering far afield" and that he "did not want to stop you, or call the police to stop you, but this harangue has nothing to do with the evidence".

Hugh J. MacDonald followed. Insistent that the Party had followed peaceful paths in face of many provocative situations, stressing the ended quotations on force and violence, but no actual record of any of the accused ever having committed an overt act, the defence claimed it was not the men who were on trial, but the Communist Party. The government had had regular reports. The Communists had been open and above board in their activities, had contested elections, published their beliefs, and yet the jury was being asked to convict them of being members of an unlawful body and of seditious conspiracy.

The Crown

Somerville was less restrained. His was the attitude of one who had everything on his side. Public opinion, so-called, as shaped by the institutions of a ruling class, the beatings of the press, the voluminous quotations, the uniforms, blue and marlet, his own satisfaction with the established order, these all served to contribute to his cocksureness. His final appeal to the jury and passionate denunciation of those in the dock who "spoke the language of Russia who referred to the U. S. S. R. as the workers fatherland" were the trimmings which were used to sway the jury, climaxed by the references to standing in the shadow of Remembrance Day, which recalls to us the sacrifices that have been made to save our state and institutions from the hand of the enemy. . . . I have no doubt as to the answer you will make to Moscow this day. . . . Justice Wright reviewed the evidence, in a ninety minute address to

the jury. That the Communist Party had at one time worked underground, in a secretive manner, was proof that the organization was ready to resort to any means of deception. The jury were not to consider the nature of the law, were not to judge the possible harshness of that law. All laws are the result of the collective judgments of the members of parliaments. "It is not for you or me to consider whether it is harsh or unreasonable or not." Two or more persons may enter into a seditious conspiracy. "Sedition consists of acts, words or writing intended or calculated to disturb the tranquility of the state by creating ill-will, disaffection, discontent, hatred, dissatisfaction or contempt towards the constitution or parliament, or exciting ill-will between different classes of the King's subjects, or encouraging any class of them to defy or subvert the laws or do any acts of violence."

"Guilty"

It required less than two hours for the jury to eat supper and bring down a verdict of guilty. Announcement of the sentence to the following morning was proceeded by the motion of the Crown that the property of the Communist Party of Canada be sequestrated and that the terms of imprisonment be accompanied by deportation where possible. The sentences were announced next day. It is interesting here to quote the Toronto Star on the department of Justice Wright and the general court surroundings.

"Not in years have the police been so meticulous in the scanning of those seeking to enter a court. The corridors had policemen every few paces. None might pass unless having business. . . . Mr. Justice Wright entered and took his seat. There were no preliminaries. "Let the accused stand up," rumbled the portly judge in casual tones. The accused stood. "Have you anything to say? went on the judge's easy rumble "why the sentence of the court should not be passed upon you?"

Mac Donald said a few words. The men were not criminals. They had decided views against the capitalist system. These views had brought them into conflict with the state. Tim Buck quietly expressed the collective opinions of the accused. It was with no suggestion of bravado that they faced the court. He hoped that the sentences would face and serve the sentences with the same determination with which they had carried out their work in the interests of the working class. The judge became magisterial. "In imposing sentence, I have in mind its depressing effect on those like-minded to you. . . . You are not political prisoners, for you strike at the very roots of society. It is a species of treason, a very detestable offense." Seven of the comrades would serve five years on two counts, and two years on the charge of seditious conspiracy, the sentences to run concurrently Comrade Cacic would be held for two years, the sentence of one year for seditious conspiracy also to run concurrently. The foreign-born workers are recommended for deportation.

The Workers Jury

This is the close of an historic trial. The Workers Jury is of the opinion that it is a true reflection of the justice of a ruling class. The setting of the whole state was one which helped to show up the accused as devotees of force and violence. From the early exclusions from the courts to the close watch at the end, these were the by-plays which carried suggestion. The very casualness of the judge reflected a mind satisfied with the existing order of society. Bourgeois justice, then, demanded, (correctly according to its laws and the ruling class beliefs), that a verdict of guilty be returned. What is the verdict of the working class?

Not Guilty!

If it be a crime to struggle for better conditions, to visualize a better order of society, if it be a crime to declare that the capitalist system is the successor of a previous system and the fore-runner of another, then the imprisoned comrades are guilty. But the Workers Jury cannot share the beliefs of those who, after the careful consideration of the evidence presented, declared eight of the nine accused guilty. The accused, so it seemed to us, were students of sociology. Their analyses were sound, their investigations were deep-rooted and not superficial. Their earnest desire to organize and prepare the workers for the day when the present order would be in collapse, is a desire that this Workers Jury can endorse. We find that the evidence did not disclose one single overt act, against the accused. We find that the accused did not conspire. There can be no conspiracy in the eyes of the working class when all the proclamations, all the discussions, all the speeches are advertised and published. We, the Workers Jury, call upon the fellow members of the same class to which the prisoners belong, the working class, to analyse the verdict and the sentences in the light of its previous experiences. When this has been done, it will be revealed that there have been previous attempts made to crush organizations. (Buck declared in court (Continued on page 4)

Europe As I Saw It

SPAIN - A STILL-BORN REVOLUTION

by Quincey E. Doyle

We publish below the article of Quincey E. Doyle on Spain. We think, however, that Mr. Doyle's comparison between the American Revolution of 1776 and the Spanish revolution of 1931 is very unfortunate. Both were bourgeois revolutions indeed, but the former was a profoundly "revolutionary" revolution, that manifested itself in a long and painful war, that completely transformed the basic political relations of the country and had deep-going repercussions in all social spheres—while the Spanish revolution, as Mr. Doyle himself characterizes it, is a still-born revolution reflecting the present-day social impotence of the bourgeoisie and its complete inability to lead any fundamental social transformation.

Barcelona, Spain.

There is always a danger that "Kerenskyism" may be mistaken for a "revolution" by many of those whose discontent aids in the overturn of the established order. It is one thing to expel a monarch and quite a different thing to establish the power of the workers. Alfonso was a croak and George III was an in-belle. It was well to push the latter off the Atlantic seaboard, and the former off the Castilian plateau. But for the one deed we would have no "Dames" and "Daughters" of revolutionary descent! The other deed may lead to no more than the formation of a D.A.R. who clamor over their tea cups for restoring the Armada to parity with the workers of Spain carry on to the overthrow of the Castilian bourgeoisie.

I reached Barcelona this morning (September 4). Yesterday the syndicalists called a general strike. The city is in turmoil. Street cars and taxicabs are not running. Shops are closed. The population is on the

streets. Many strikers have been killed and scores wounded by the police and by the troops which have been landed from other parts of the country. The latter are walking the streets with bayonets fixed and finkers on the trigger. It all impresses an outsider as a gesture of futility. Tomorrow or the next day the workers will go back to their work with the loss of a few comrades and with much revolutionary impulse spent in a strike that served such ill-defined purposes.

What is happening here in Barcelona today goes back to the historic struggle between Marx and Bakunin which rent the Socialist movement of Europe almost two generations ago. Much of the Spanish movement followed Bakunin into the fold of the anarcho-syndicalists. This is not the first general strike they have called in Barcelona.

During the coming weeks the new constitution of Spain will be written. Some liberal gains will be made. The Church will certainly be stripped of much of its power. But like the monarchy, it may be overthrown without breaking the power of the bourgeoisie and setting up a workers republic.

There are rumors of a growth of real revolutionary strength in the country. At present, however, the potential forces of revolution are divided into numerous shadings of anarchists, syndicalists, liberals, Socialists and Communists. The real revolution is yet to come when the futility of the "Kerensky" rule is more evident and the shallow "victory" over monarchy and monk is perpetuated in the trivialities of some Spanish Dames alone.

The unpleasant truth for the people of this peninsula is that Spain plays an inferior role in the life of Europe. Nature was not kind to them with its meager allowance of fertile soil. Its rocky plateaus are not suitable for great agricultural development nor convenient for lines of communication so essential to great industrial progress. Every distinctive feature of its geography militates against its economic power. The regions around Valencia and Barcelona alone have had modern developments of industry and agriculture.

Neither has modern history been favorable to Spanish development. Since the Napoleonic Wars there has been a succession of political upheavals. In 1808-9 the Spanish Crown went begging for more royal heads of Europe to try it on. Bourbonism came back finally in 1875 and lasted until the spring of this year.

In view of these geographical and historical factors, I am inclined to think that the future of revolutionary success in Spain depends to a large extent upon what happens in the rest of Europe. In a concluding article I shall give my opinions on that subject.

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ALL EYES ON RAILWAY LABOR!

FORTUNATELY, the wage-cutting negotiations between the railway union officials and the railroad magnates have broken down. The likelihood of one of the best organized sections of the working class resisting the onslaught of Wall Street is thus much greater.

No praise is due to the union chiefs in their handling of the wage question. So far, they have done everything to pave the way for wage slashes on the railways. Their exceedingly friendly dealings and deals with the rail bosses, their refusal to take even the smallest steps in preparation for a strike in defense of the workers interests, their close collaboration with the railroad presidents, along the lines of the Baltimore and Ohio plan, have gone a long way to cripple the fighting capacities of the organized and unorganized workers. The only reason these union chiefs have not—so far—openly assented to an immediate wage-cut for the workers is that they don't dare do so for fear of a mass revolt against them by the rank and file.

Thus, the conference of 1500 union chairmen to be held in Chicago on December 8 to consider the ultimatum of the railway corporations for an immediate direct 10% wage-cut assumes paramount importance for the whole working class. If these spokesmen of the railway brotherhoods and associated organizations stand by the interests of the rail workers, they will vote solidly against new wage-cuts, they will take steps to organize a broad democratic strike machinery to battle for shorter hours and higher pay and will thus render decisive service to the whole working class. Should they allow a free hand to their bureaucrats or should they self-peddle the wage issue, then the railway workers—organized and unorganized—will suffer another heavy blow and the entire employing class will be encouraged to intensify the drive against labor.

The railway unions have been sapped of much of their strength in recent years, because of the betrayal policies of the reactionary officialdom, these organizations are still the strongest, the most able to take the initiative on a mass scale, on a nation-wide basis, to hit back and hit back hard, against the bosses. In the last crisis, ten years ago, the railway unions, despite betrayal and corruption by the Frijozdals, Johnsons, Shepherds, Robertsons and Stones, did yeoman service for the entire working class. The bosses are taking no chances with the railroad situation today. Already Daniel Willard of the B. & O., who recently said that if HE were hungry he would steal, has seen Hoover and expressed hope for a "compromise"—at the expense of the workers, of course.

In the railway wage crisis are reflected with painful accuracy the present class relations, the condition of the labor movement, and the strike-breaking role of the government. When the railway profits were mounting sky high, the railroad unions were bound hand and foot by the Watson-Parker law for making any effective demand or striking for higher wages. As soon as coupon-clipping came under the shadow of the general economic crisis, the rail workers were fired by hundreds of thousands, their conditions were taken away, their wages were slashed to the bone. Perhaps no group of workers was as hard hit by the efficiency epidemic—even before the "prosperity" bubble burst. The moment the rail profits showed signs of weakening, the government got on the job to take energetic steps to maintain the flow of rail dividends unbroken. Nor does Hoover even find it necessary to make the slightest pretense at defense of the maintenance of wage standards. Instead, the federal government's vast strike-breaking machinery is now being oiled to work with deadly speed and efficiency against the railway workers. That Wall Street is proceeding so ruthlessly against a section of the working class in whose ranks is found so large a proportion of the labor aristocracy only shows what depths the present economic crisis has reached.

We can only hope and work for the best. Momentous responsibility rests on the fifteen hundred railway union spokesmen in their coming Chicago conference. A decision for a militant strike against the boss attacks will bring a breath of fresh life and militancy into the entire labor movement and may mark a real turning point in the immediate situation of the whole working class. Should the reactionary bureaucracy continue its policies and domination, then the capitalist class on the railways and throughout all industry will only be inspired and encouraged to new and more fierce assaults on the standards and conditions won by the toiling masses thru many years of bitter struggle.

All eyes on railway labor!

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The Saviors of Capitalism Meet

What Did the Socialist Congress Do?

by Observer

This second article on the Vienna Congress of the international Social-democracy is written by "Observer," an active American trade unionist who was present at the Congress. The first article appeared in the October 24, 1931 issue.

The Commission on Disarmament was first to report. Their resolution sounds strangely reminiscent of previous resolutions of capitalist gatherings:

"There should be a drastic reduction and a strict and general limitation of all naval forces. Further and in particular, the convention drawn up by the Disarmament Conference should provide for the measures necessary to bring about the total abolition of all warships over 10,000 tons, of aircraft carriers and of submarines with such adjustments as may be necessary in consequence of the new forms and strength of naval governments, it being understood that the solutions proposed shall form part of the whole."

The champions of this resolution wasted a great deal of fine oratory impressing the august assembly with the horrors of war. As one speaker followed another reiterating these horrors, the observer began to watch and wonder who this audience was that the speakers seemed to think ignorant of the significance of war. However, he soon discovered that he himself was ignorant of its significance. For it was not alone the tragedy and futility of a proletarian world sacrificing life in the settlement of disputes caused by capitalism, and for the benefits of capitalism, which worried these "Socialists." To those leaders, who are supposed to be waiting for the opportunity to build a Socialist state, another war meant not the possible chance to overthrow capitalism, but on the other hand the absolute destruction of Social-democracy. Therefore, the Social-democrats are attempting to prevent war in order to save the present system from collapse, instead of preparing the workers of the world to be ready for the collapse of capitalism.

What Did They Have To Offer?

And after they got the horrors of war off their chests, what did they have to offer? Reminders that one nation could not disarm unless others disarmed—reminders that they could not speak sweepingly about disarmament since they were responsible parts of governments. Reminders that, Socialism or not, Great Britain is Great Britain, France is France, Germany is Germany and so forth. Denmark may have a tale to tell of real disarmament, of setting the example and beginning at home. But how could one expect English and French and German Socialists to be so rash as to advise such a policy for their governments? It is not at all surprising that a weak resolution to appeal for reduction of armaments was all that was brought forth by the commission.

And how did these Social-democrats expect to attain even this reduction? They went on to urge the workers to sign petitions to their respective governments and to the coming disarmament conference to bring about this real reduction of armaments. This is what the congress, en masse, would have us believe is the most the champions of the working class can wisely and sanely do—appeal to the capitalist world to please reduce armaments! Only a few Independents (England), who were scorned by the Congress, presented effectively the absurdity of Socialists appealing to capitalism, which must be armed to protect itself and its imperialistic policies, to reduce armaments. They were the only ones who cried out to the Congress that as Socialists, they must appeal not to capitalists but to the workers of the world never attain to fight in Capitalist war and, if they were forced to fight, to turn the war into a class war. They were the only ones who saw a war as a possible means of overthrowing the capitalist system, overthrowing the Independents and the Social democrats, responsible members of capitalist governments. They merely constituted an incongruous part of the futile Congress.

The German Situation

Even a clearer manifestation of the fact that the Social-democrats are the ones who are striving to maintain the status quo is the manner in which they handled the second question, that of the German situation. They are asking foreign capital to aid German capital out of this crisis. And by some strange logic this is to help the cause of Socialism! For, they said, it is not "wise" to attempt to build a Socialist state upon the ruins of a capitalist state. Such an attempt would undertake unnecessary burdens. Therefore, it seems, we must first strengthen the capitalist state and then when it is at its apex the Social-democrats will step in. Two important fallacies appear in this logic. Strange that Socialists still have enough faith in capitalism as to believe in the possibility of revitalizing it. Strange again for Socialists to wait for capitalists to announce that they have had their share and to bid the workers to please step into their place. This reasoning

would be strange for any who were attempting to usher in Socialism—but it seems that there is a vast distance between Social-democrats and Socialism.

The World Economic Crisis

The third resolution dealing with the world economic crisis contains a number of revolutionary phrases. However, the mode of attack, the sequence of thought, the composite whole, portray the true character of the resolution. The first part of this resolution, which is divided into three sections, states the severity of the crisis, the chaotic state of capitalism, the misery of the working classes. It explains the failure of the various means attempted by capital to combat this crisis. Good! But the last sentence of this section combines these ideas and gives them a different character.

"It (capitalism) has shown itself incapable of organizing the economic system and administering the wealth appropriated by it, so as to promote the general welfare."

There is an assumption underlying this statement which is certainly foreign to any who recognize the sharp division between the classes and their respective interests. It does not seem to recognize the fact that capitalists view the crisis differently from the class-conscious proletariat, that the attempts of capitalism to overcome the crisis have been an attempt to preserve capitalist interests only, not the well-being, the economic security of the masses, but even at the cost of the masses. "Incapable to promote the general welfare" assumes an attempt to do so. We must certainly understand the term "general welfare" to mean the well-being of all people regardless of class. Do Socialists who speak of the class struggle, minimize the divisions between classes to such an extent as to believe that the ruling class even attempts to work in the interests of the class which it rules? If it does, perhaps we should help it, not fight it. Assuredly it is not the ability but the unwillingness of capitalism, in fact the inherent clash between capitalism and the proletariat, which is the basis of the class struggle.

The second section of this resolution, dealing with the necessity for economic changes opens!

"The anarchy inherent in capitalism as an economic system can not be abolished without abolishing the capitalist system itself. . . . the capitalist system has got to be replaced by a definitely planned world economic order. It is the task of the international Socialist parties and labor organizations to work towards the realization of this idea by revealing clearly the underlying causes of capitalist mismanagement, pointing the way to the achievement of a Socialist economic order and taking advantage of the present crisis to wage a systematic fight by the workers against capitalist class domination."

A generalization—but how do these Socialists who claim to be sane, sound and practical, plan to carry out this idea? First, the Congress "welcomes the undertaking given by Great Bri-

tain to ratify the Washington convention on working hours before the end of 1931. The Washington convention must spur on the organized working class to fight for the progressive reduction in working hours." What are American Socialists doing to strengthen organized workers? And what about unorganized workers? Then: "Without undervaluing the advantages which may result from the action of the League of Nations. It can only become a fully effective organ for the building of a new economic system when the organized workers have won a leading part in its direction." Do the Social-democrats then expect to build a new economic system thru the League of Nations?

Finally, the resolution calls upon the Socialist parties to place in the forefront of their fight against the crisis, the socialization of key industries, the creation of state or cooperative trade monopolies, and the nationalization of banking and credit. The struggle for these things, "the struggle against the crisis, is at the same time a struggle for political power." But we know from the past and present how ineffectual the Social-democrats in political power, such as they can hope now to attain, are in making even these steps toward Socialism. We have seen that, because of the very nature of their so-called political power, the activities necessary to attain and preserve this power, not only make these state-ments of the "practical" Socialists more gestures but in fact militate against them.

It seems almost impossible that even in such an assemblage, decidedly middle class and comfortable, there should not have been some who disagreed with the proposals. There probably were some, but the Congress as a whole never heard of them. All important discussions took place at commission meetings. Speeches at general sessions were more matters of form and lessons in oratory than a means of convincing delegates. After all no speech made any difference in the decision. It is interesting to note that many individuals who had intended to vote one way, found at the end of the meetings of their respective delegations that they had voted with the whole delegation, in a contrary manner.

One French delegate who voted in opposition must have heard from his delegation during the next twenty-four hours, for he attempted to withdraw his vote the next day.

The British and German Socialists came to Vienna to explain why and how they had to save capitalism, to explain themselves away. Several people knew what they wanted to say. Several hundred people gathered to say it for them, and to say "Amen!"

A tragic comedy—this Second (Socialist) International Congress—Vienna 1931. Several young men were sitting beside the observer towards the end of the Congress. They had thought they were Socialists. But they were young, active and sincere. One week of the Socialist Congress and they knew otherwise. "Too impatient," said the older delegates. "Nonsense," said the young men. These youngsters thought they knew better than the "experienced" delegates. They did.

THE BIG SHIP SUBSIDY GRAFT

(Continued from page 3)

Panama-Pacific Lines got a mail subsidy of \$402,000 for carrying mail in waters where its trade did not encounter foreign competition. These examples could be multiplied. In fact, the U. S. Shipping Board has in many cases increased mail payments as high as 50% to ships operating exclusively in coastwise trade.

The present depression finds world shipping in a bad way. It is cursed with an over supply of shipping tonnage which has increased from 49 million tons in 1913 to 70 million tons today, or an increase of 43%. Despite that, shipping construction goes on. Dr. Cuno, German shipping capitalist and politician, declared that transatlantic shipping has yet to reach its lowest level.

The American marine workers are hit hardest of all. Their share of unemployment is as great, or greater, than any other section of the working class. The living conditions have undergone terrific pressure from the capitalist exploiters. Collective bargaining no longer exists for the seamen, who work under horrible conditions of low pay, rotten food, and harsh discipline. All along the waterfront, the workers are faced with wage cutting offensives of the shipping moguls, whom the New York Longshoremen, thru a solid front, have, thus far, successfully resisted. The condition of these workers means nothing to Mr. Hoover & Co., the executive agents of the ruling class. They very generously continue to increase the dole to the capitalist shipping interests. Besides the huge loans that are being granted, shipping mail subsidies will amount to more than

35 millions dollars yearly. Mr. Hoover & Co. do their duty by their masters.

COMMUNISM ON TRIAL IN CANADA

(Continued from page 3)

that trade unions had been broken in Toronto in 1872.) But that, despite these attempts, these imprisonments, these transportation and deportations, the working class movement had grown from local to district importance, from district to national, from national to international. It had done this, not because of the organizational genius of the working class, but because of the changing material conditions of capitalist society. And change they will because social production clashes violently with the condition of unequal distribution. The working class will finally be forced to take action aimed at the control of society in the interests of the major group in society.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS Interracial Forum

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December 6, 4 P. M.

JAMES E. HARRIS
 Civil Liberties Union

"BLACK JUSTICE"

A study of legal and social discriminations against Negroes.



THE MOBILITY OF THE NEGRO.
 A study in the American labor supply, by Edward E. Lewis. Columbia University Press, New York, 1931.

In recent years hundreds of thousands of Southern Negroes have migrated to the industrial centers of this country, primarily to the North. This volume of Mr. Lewis is a study of the economic causes of the movement. It describes the disorganization of agriculture in the Cotton Belt and the demand for industrial workers in the North. Aside from the technical interest in the statistical analysis, the book is certain to be of interest to all students of Negro life and of the problems of the American labor movement.

WOMEN FOR SALE, by Chile Acuna. William Godwin, Inc., New York, 1931.

In the general system of decaying capitalism, a confession of one of its steel-pigeons makes little if any difference to the continuation of the corruption in the system.

Acuna's "soul-cleansing confession" is only a tiny broken link in the rusty entangled chain. Police brutality greed and graft cannot be made whole or clean by the betrayal of one of its emissaries. Even the acknowledged guilt of the whole force and all the self-righteous noble-minded, conscience-smitten spies, with the assistance of an army of reformers, can do but little, besides playing their historic role of intensifying the decay of capitalism.

Prostitution will go on. Not so long as Acuna tells us—always: "Men demand it and pay for it." But so long as women are forced into it by hunger, starvation wages, unemployment, ignorance and, in the case of bourgeois prostitutes, greed for luxury. So prostitution will go on as long as capitalism lasts.

Chile Acuna writes his story and the evidence he gives is enough to sicken the reader with the lowliness and cheapness of some of the human species, including the writer himself.

REPORT ON HOUSING AMONG NEGROES

An incredibly low level of Negro housing conditions in practically all parts of the United States is pictured in a report which the Committee on Negro Housing of the Hoover Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership is to present at the national conference in New York on December 2.

From an analysis of studies made in recent years in all centers of Negro population, the committee found "overcrowding, dilapidated structures with primitive sanitary arrangements, high rents and unusual difficulties in financing home ownership are the rule rather than the exception in Negro housing."

The committee stated that studies made in New York, Chicago, Detroit, Minneapolis and Albany show that only from 9 to 50% of the buildings meet "moderate standards." The Negroes in the large Northern cities also have to pay excessive rentals, "considerably higher amounts than are paid by white families who preceded them, or who are living in similar properties," and this "is the result of the limitation of available dwellings for this element of the population"—that is, segregation.

The average rental per room for housing of low-income groups in New York is \$6.67, whereas for Negroes it is \$9.58, the committee found.

"During the past decade the Negro population in urban centres increased 32.3%, whereas the rural areas showed a decrease of 3.3%. Typical of this movement is the increase in Negroes in New York from 91,709 in 1910, to 327,706 in 1930."

What happens to the Negro immigrant to the Northern industrial cities is thus stated by the committee:

"The level of Negro income points him toward the sections of low-priced dwellings. From the new developments Negroes are almost universally barred. The available houses thus are limited to these run-down areas. Few repairs are made and eventually a point is reached at which it is more profitable to admit Negroes than to lower the rentals further. Few new houses are built in the Negro areas. The standards embodied in building ordinances and sanitary codes thus cannot easily be applied to their dwellings. The chances for improvement are extremely rare. Property is difficult to buy because land takes on new valuation in areas potentially useful for business."

The miserable housing conditions of the Negro people in the large cities of this country are a reflection primarily of the inferior caste status to which they are condemned in modern capitalist society. On the one hand, they are forced into the worst paid positions and are frequently paid lower wages than white men holding the same jobs; on the other hand, the system of segregation leaves the poor and middle class Negro at the mercy of the most greedy capitalist leeches, the landlords.

Something to Be Thankful For
 There's nothing wrong in Wall Street. Only waiting for the Spring lamb season and a new crop of suckers in the autumn.



BETWEEN HAMMER AND ANVIL

Which Are the Renegades?

History has played some bad jokes since the Communist International's official leadership abandoned the path of Leninism in favor of a sectarian line. But the *Impresso*, organ of the International, hits a new high when, in Vol. II, No. 55, it publishes a "Statement by the Young Workers League of India" denouncing Comrade M. N. Roy while he is on trial for his life. The statement thinks it "a pity that in spite of a long role of service to the cause of world imperialism and to British imperialism in India the prosecution (British government) should have brought a charge of sedition against Mr. Roy. . . it is still more a pity that the learned Judge of Cawnpore should have rejected his bail application."

"We hope," adds the League statement with withering scorn—withering to the Communist reputation of the writers and publishers of this vicious document. "We hope that the imperialist government will come to a better recognition of its allies and reward Mr. Roy's services to the measure of his service to counter-revolution."

Funny how the capitalists don't appreciate the "services" of the "renegades." Funny how they clap Roy in jail, refuse him bail and charge him with sedition. And how Washington stops the *Revolutionary Age* while the *Daily Worker* retains its second class mailing privileges. "The statement of the learned Judge of Cawnpore that Mr. Roy was 'prima facie' the organizer of the Communist Party, comes as a surprise to us," write the brilliant authors of the Young Workers League statement.

And no doubt the Indian revolution will yet come as a surprise to these individuals. Their denunciation of an Indian revolutionary leader, charged with sedition and denied bail, has nothing in common with Communism. And the American official Party is not guiltless for it was a "brilliant" American faction leader that went to India to inspire such tactics and to gather together this anti-Communist statement in the name of "The Young Workers League of India," which, judging from this sample, is neither young, nor of workers, nor a league, nor of India.

The "Times" Gives Thanks

The *Times*, aided by inspiration from that servile soul, Epictetus, who tried to find reasons for being thankful as a slave in ancient Rome in decay, has offered the following as reasons for thankfulness on the part of the jobless victims of capitalism in 1931:

"Great is God, who has given us hands, the power of swallowing, a stomach, imperceptible growth, and the power of breathing while we sleep."

Further, thinks the *Times*, the rich should be thankful that there is no unemployment insurance tax, only the degrading, starveling passing of the hat. "Another thing, we should be thankful for is the splendid fortitude shown by those who have had to face hard conditions and have done so uncomplainingly. (Thank God, the starving do not revolt!)"

Finally, returning to the jobless, the *Times* explains that, even if you have nothing to be thankful for, yet "to give thanks is good."

The Holiday Spirit

The Y.M.C.A. gave unemployed workers a turkey dinner on Thanksgiving for 15c. Now they won't need to eat again till Christmas.

The Noble Savage

The honest red man has at last been infected by the universal spread of corruption among the whites in America. The police are now searching for Edward A. Davis, Keeper of Wauwaton, of the New York Section of the Improved Order of Redmen who disappeared four weeks ago from the Albany Night Boat after the Board of Great Chiefs began putting accountants on his trail. Alas, the day of the honest red man, the noble savage of Rousseau, is no more. It has lost his pristine honesty as the Sacred Nobles of the Mystic Shrine have lost their sacredness, their nobility and their mystery. Sic transit gloria mundi.

Comrade Jesus Joins the Legion

"Had Jesus lived in 1917, he would have been the first to volunteer in the American Army, to wear a gas mask, shoulder a rifle and enter the trenches," the Rev. Dr. T. Andrew Caraker, pastor of the Universalist Church of Our Father, said at a banquet in Baltimore given by the American Legion.

So Jesus has been drafted at last! And no doubt when he got back he voted for Harding and Normalcy, Hoover and Hoovey and Roosevelt and Run. After which he married Aimee Semple MacPherson and opened a soup kitchen where salvation is sold in the soup to jobless workers.

The Opinions of Dumb Dora

Dumb Dora says: "The Japs are willing to meet the League of Nations half way. Aren't they already 400 miles nearer Geneva than they were when their invasion started? If all goes well, they intend to meet the European powers somewhere near Moscow."

—B.D.W.