

15,000 AT CITY RISE AND FALL OF A "LEADER" JOBLESS MEET

Called For 4:30 P. M. In Union Square; Lessons of the Meeting

NEW YORK — Between 12,150,000 workers attended the demonstration in New York on February 25 (International Unemployment Day) at Union Square. The demonstration, which has originally been called for midday, was later postponed to 4 P. M. and still later to 4:30 P. M. so that a considerable number of workers were able to come to Union Square immediately after work.

The effectiveness of the demonstration was greatly diminished by bad organization. The crowd collected some time before the speakers were ready, so that a certain amount of disorganization set in from the beginning. It should be noted, however, that the "fighting the police" idiocy which characterized all Communist Party demonstrations in recent months, was almost entirely absent at this demonstration so that the unemployment issue could come to the fore.

In the next issue of the REVOLUTIONARY AGE we will publish reports of the February 25 demonstrations in various parts of the country and abroad.

The Daily Worker reports 40,000 as the size of the demonstration in New York! One year ago, on March 6, 1930 when the first International Unemployment Day demonstrations were held, the Daily Worker reported 110,000 in New York; there actually was a splendid spontaneous mass demonstration of 40-50,000. The question all Party members and revolutionary workers should ask themselves today is: Why was the 1931 demonstration less than 25% as large as the 1930 demonstration? During the year unemployment has greatly increased, the misery of the unemployed intensified, and, if we are to believe the Daily Worker, the mass influence of the Party among the unemployed much "expanded." Why then the systematic and continuous decline in the unemployment demonstrations of the Party beginning with the high point on March 6, 1930?

RESOLUTION ON WORKING CLASS PAPERS ADOPTED BY THE SUPERIOR CO-OPERATIVE YOUTH LEAGUE, FEBRUARY 10, 1931.

As a result of the present economic crisis, there is an increased unrest among the workers. Workers begin to demand what is rightly theirs. The capitalist government, in order to do away with workers' united action, unions, political parties, and co-operatives, suppresses their organs.

The mailing rights of working class papers such as the Revolutionary Age, Young Worker, Young Pioneer, Viva Obrero, and Workers' Sports, have been cancelled by the government because they expose and fight against the capitalist system.

Therefore, be it resolved that the Co-operative Youth League of Superior, in its meeting, February 10th, goes on record demanding that these papers be restored their mailing rights and that in the future, all working class papers be given the freedom of the press, granted by the constitution.

Elma El, Secy.
Aaron Merila, Chairman.

"WHEN THIEVES FALL OUT...."

Sensational Exposure of Conditions in the A. C. W.

"When thieves fall out, the dirt is spilled...." When corrupt union officials fall out, the honest rank and file union members can learn something worth while.

Louis Selzer, member of Local 5 (coat operators), Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, former member of the Executive Board and chairman of the canvass branch, has issued an "appeal" to the members of Local 5 about the graft and corruption in their organization. It is certainly a remarkable document which all tailors should read carefully. What does Selzer say?

Selzer was a friend of B. Jackson, the former business agent and present manager of the coat makers; he was more than a friend—he was his henchman and agent in all of his graft deals and corrupt business. In the leaflet, Selzer tells how "at his (Jackson's) request I brought bosses to his house for him to trim them," how "I helped friend Jackson make a dollar on the side," how "I brought to him the boys who had received unemployment insurance to give you a few dollars," how "I brought to your house the boss Youngerman and you made a deal with him and received your first check," how Jackson helped the boss Youngerman (for a consideration of course) take away business from a number of other bosses, and so on, and so on.

Selzer gives the names of five clothing concerns from which he says Jackson received systematic graft.

During all this time the rank and file operators of Local 5 were making (as Selzer himself admits) an average of \$15 a week throughout the year, were grappling with unemployment and speedup!

Finally Selzer and Jackson quarreled over the charges brought against the former by a certain Rosenstein. Jackson, apparently, was quite ready to dump his "friend" Selzer overboard. Thereupon Selzer came to the General Office of the A. C. W. bringing with him a graft check paid by the canvass boss, Hoffman, to Jackson and demanded "protection" for himself and action against Jackson. This was "promised." But what happened? Selzer was expelled from his union for several years for bringing the informa-

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The True Story of Sam Weisman

At last the Party has been forced to act. In the recent Party Organizer (bulletin of District No. 2), the decision of the Control Committee announcing the suspension of Comrade Weisman (head of the TUUL food workers "union") for one year from all posts was announced. Reasons for his suspension are given as follows: (1) unprecedented bureaucracy; (2) electing himself as a delegate to the 5th R.I.L.U. Congress and using roundabout methods unbecoming a Communist; (3) using the finances of the Union in an irresponsible manner.

One has only to look back to the statement of Comrades Gitz, Consta, and Christman on the situation in the Amalgamated Food Workers, issued on May 10, 1930, to understand that it takes at least a year for the Party to acknowledge bankruptcy in practice.

In the statement we mentioned:

"The next act in the campaign of the Party against the Lovestonites in our union was to present us with a Messiah, Comrade Weisman. Comrade Weisman was put at the head of our union without consulting the members of our union, not even the Party fraction. A worse choice than Comrade Weisman could not have been made. Weisman's record in the Party is one of incompetency and one of opportunism.

"The regime of Weisman in our Union has been one of the most wasteful and extravagant regimes. A large number of paid officials are maintained in spite of the fact that the size of the union and the income do not warrant it. The \$23,000 that we realized from the selling of the mortgage of our union headquarters have been practically squandered."

"When we foretold the coming catastrophe in our union due to the destructive line of the Party, the line of corruption and bureaucracy that were personified in Weisman, the spokesman of the Party, we were called counter-revolutionaries, agents of the bosses, and the ever-stupid Comrade Anfer tried to raise a lynch spirit against those who fought the wrong Party line. It was then declared that those who fought the Weisman leadership were fighting the Party.

"Today the Party is forced to come out, very clumsily, to justify itself after it has ruined everything. The Messiah of yesterday is the scapegoat of today. The hero of yesterday, one who was entrusted to put the new line into effect, is today a bureaucrat using methods "unbecoming a Communist," "irresponsible" as to the funds of the union!

"When the Party fraction put their election in the union, Comrade Weisman gave the signal of the new line to the leading fraction. They went to three Greenwich Village and Harlem cabarets and got drunk to celebrate the "victory," spending \$150 and charging it to the union! Thus was Comrade Weisman initiated with a bang—and he fell with a crash!

"With the removal of Weisman the situation in the Food Workers Industrial Union is not cleared up by any means. Ever since the split no financial account was ever given out to the union. How about Kronberg and Obermeier? If they have their finger in the pie? If they did not, what sort of leaders were they to allow their union to go to pieces and

to be plundered in this manner?

The whole Party regime today breeds bureaucracy and corruption in the Party and in the Party-controlled organizations. As long as comrades that dare open their mouths and criticize the Party line are expelled and branded as "enemies of the working class," as long as the Party demands obedient puppets to be kicked about and used as scapegoats later on, just so long will the Party offer the greatest opportunities for petty bureaucrats and unprincipled corruptionists to exercise their talents.

Weisman's fate today should serve notice to Anfer, Johnstones, Bedachts, Minors, Statchels and Posters, Weisman serves as a scapegoat of the Party leadership. They will serve as scapegoats of the Profintern and the Comintern. As long as the Party line remains sectarian and non-leninist, so long will the system of scapegoats thrive.

But the Party leadership still has a good deal of explaining to do: (1) What is meant by "irresponsible in the finances of the Union"? What are the concrete charges? (2) What about the splitting of the Amalgamated Food Workers? Was it justified? Does the Party still approve it?

The food workers ask all these embarrassing questions. The Party should now indulge into a little self-criticism and speak openly to the workers. Did it make any mistakes in this matter and if it did, what are the proper lessons of these experiences? If no mistakes in policy were made, how is it that the A.I. of L. has succeeded in taking all the cafeterias away from the Food Workers Industrial Union and has now become the main union of the cafeteria workers, with over 300 shops?

A FOOD WORKER. THE "NON-SECTARIAN" W. I. R. IN ACTION

Expelled From W.I.R. Band As "Lovestonites" Without Trial or Hearing

February 8, 1931.

In Bath Beach there was a brass band that was part of the Workers International Relief (W.I.R.). Two members of this band were Jack and Bernie Broder. When it was discovered that the two Broders were sympathizers of "Lovestonism" they were suspended from the band by order of the W.I.R. Originally the charges against them were that they stole money and that they "misused" the reputation of the W.I.R. But afterwards these shameful charges were dropped and the W.I.R. came out openly that they could not go on the band because they were "Lovestonites." They were supposed to play at the May Day affair last year but at the last moment the order came that they were not to participate.

When they appealed against the measures taken, they were told to sign a statement condemning "Lovestonism" and everything would be all right. This they naturally refused to do, pointing out that the constitution of the W.I.R. provides that the organization is "non-partisan." Whereupon they were suspended for trial but the committee that was to try them never met and they remained in the status of "temporary suspension." Just before the Lenin Memorial Meeting 1931 the Broder brothers were approached by Comrade Keller and were asked to come back to the Band. Of course, they agreed. But a few days before the affair, on January 12, 1931, they received a letter from Beatrice Carlin, secretary of the W.I.R., telling them that "the action of Comrade Keller was entirely unauthorized" and that "your suspension still stands." In spite of all their efforts the Comrade Broder could not obtain a hearing by the W.I.R. or even a decision from it.

Just a few weeks ago they came to the National Office of the W.I.R. and demanded some definite action. They were told by Gibarti that "a statement would appear in the press about you" without trial, without hearing, without a chance of defence.

Such is the W.I.R. which bears as its slogan: *Non-Sectarian, Non-Partisan.*

one-third of the strikers were union men and that the walkout had closed at least fifteen of the city's mills. There are about forty non-union mills in the affected area.

In the course of the strike a girl striker was killed by a scab whom she was urging not to break the solidarity of the workers. This is the second case of its kind in Philadelphia in recent weeks. In general the strikers were met with the greatest brutality on the part of the police.

BIG HOSIERY STRIKE IN PHILADELPHIA

Girl Striker Killed by Scab; Second Case In City

PHILADELPHIA — More than 2,000 union hosiery workers and sympathizers walked out of twenty-five to thirty open-shop hosiery mills on February 16 when the general strike order of Alexander McKewen, strike officer of the Philadelphia full of the American Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers, became effective. Union officials said that probably

CATHOLICS HIT AT BIRTH CONTROL

Declare Sen. Gillett's Bill "Diabolical"; A. F. of L. Joins Chorus

WASHINGTON — Fifteen well-known Catholics in a written form denounced birth control in any form before the Senate Judiciary sub-committee, headed by Senator Gillett of Massachusetts, which is considering a bill by Senator Gillett exempting physicians, hospitals, and clinics from the provisions of the Federal laws forbidding the dissemination of contraceptive devices or information.

The lead in the attack on the Gillett bill was taken by the various representatives of the Catholic Church who branded birth control as "immoral," "vicious" and "contrary to the teachings of God." The bill itself was characterized as "diabolical and damnable" by R. F. Kerman, Jr. of the International Federation of Catholic Alumni and by William F. Montavon, assistant executive secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Council.

The American Federation of Labor was represented as opposed to the proposed legislation by John Magrady, speaking for William Green. But Senator Bratton of New Mexico insisted that neither the Federation nor any important labor body had ever taken a stand on this question.

Birth control was frequently denounced as "Soviet propaganda" at the hearing.

TEXTILE UNITY BODY FOR T. U. UNITY

Answer to Weisbord Shows Up His Sectarianism; Calls for Struggle

PASSAIC — In a statement issued on February 28, the Textile Workers Unity Committee explains the reasons that led to the resignation of Albert Weisbord and Vera Busch from this committee. It calls attention to the extreme sectarianism of Weisbord's viewpoint which declares that the "National Textile Workers Union is the only force possible to carry on the struggle against the textile barons," entirely disregarding the very existence of the other textile workers unions, with thousands of members. The statement of the Textile Unity Committee declares that "this is the viewpoint of despair and hopelessness."

The statement points out that it was the struggle against precisely such sectarianism as championed by Weisbord that led it into conflict with the bureaucrats of the NTWU and the TUUL. As against the sectarian viewpoint of Weisbord and the TUUL, the Textile Unity Committee proposes, in its statement, the policy of united front, united action and trade union field, pointing out our unions in the textile field, pointing out that precisely such a policy will make possible a vigorous fight against the conservative officialdom.

The statement concludes with a reference to the Philadelphia upholstery weavers' strike where the NTWU was forced to make a gesture at a united front with the United Textile Workers Union.

It was because Weisbord could not find any support for his extremely sectarian viewpoint in the Textile Workers Unity Committee that he resigned.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

TEN RADICAL STUDENTS EXPELLED FROM N. Y. CITY COLLEGE

Ten members of the Social Problems Club who were implicated in the publication of a handbill attacking the administration of the College of the City of New York for the recent suspension of Max Weiss, leader of the club, were debarred by order of Pres. Frederick B. Robinson.

Defiance of the ban he had placed last Thursday on the "unauthorized" publication of a six-page leaflet, "Frontiers," was the reason given by Dr. Robinson for his action.

The handbill, which was supplied to the students at street car and subway stations near the college, carried the signature of the Social Problems Club and demanded "the restoration of all extra-curricular rights to the Social Problems Club, the right of the college clubs to print and sell their own organs, returns of the copies of 'Frontiers' which have been confiscated by the authorities and the immediate and unconditional reinstatement of Max Weiss with full student rights and privileges."

Max Weiss was suspended last March because of the distribution of leaflets for the March 6, 1930 demonstration. He was reinstated after a strong protest from college, liberal and working class organizations. Upon his readmission Weiss was forced to sign a yellow-dog pledge to be "actively loyal in the support of constitutional government in the United States and in the State and in the City of New York and in this college; to preserve and even enhance the value of public property; to uphold the discipline and order of the college."

Resolutions of sympathy for the Social

NINETY WORKERS HEAR WOLFE IN BORO PARK

Affair for "Arbeiter Kampf" Planned for March 8

Coming Sunday, March 8, at 6:30 P. M. the Boro Park Youth Club will run an affair for the support of the Arbeiter Kampf at the club headquarters 4109-A — 13th Avenue, Brooklyn.

This affair promises to be a very lively one as there will be two bands of music. The Negro Jazz Band will play for jazz dancing and the club Workers Band will play revolutionary songs and Russian dancing.

Last Friday, some 90 young workers listened to Comrade Bertram D. Wolfe speak on the "Next War." The Revolutionary Age gets \$5.50 as a result of this lecture. The next lecture will be held on Friday, March 13. Subject a nd speaker will be announced in next issue of the "Age".

On Friday, March 6 there will be a membership meeting of the club.

The Situation of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh Region

A Letter from A Party Member

Uniontown, Pa. February 24, 1931.

Comrade Lenin wrote:

"The Party does not win the confidence of the working class in the twinkling of an eye or by the use of force against the working class. Trust is gradually inspired by the prolonged work of the Party among the masses. Thanks to the soundness of the Party policy, the Party is able to convince the masses by their own experience that its policy is sound, thus insuring the support of the working class and inducing the broad masses of the workers to follow its lead."

The question is: Is the leadership of the Party in this district (District 5, Pittsburgh), doing anything to bring this about? Is it honestly trying to form the cadres of revolutionary workers in this section or is it, after passing out so much hokum about the accomplishments here, taking another nap in the high-backed chair in the Pittsburgh office in order to conserve and increase its portly dimensions? There were many contests staged during the few past years in this country; there were marathon dancing contests, swimming and other affairs, but I can bet my last penny that if it comes to the sitting contest, the organizer in this district will come out with flying colors. His name should have been "Sitting Bull" instead of Max Salzman.

Let us take a look around here and see what has been done here since Comrade Pat Devine left this district and our "sitting champion" took charge. When Comrade Lovestone was the secretary of the Party things were moving here, new units were formed, sub-district conferences held, meetings arranged and generally, the organizational work of the Party was making a very satisfactory progress here. Since that time, many changes were made. I must give credit to Comrade Devine, our former district organizer, that he was making attempts to keep the work going on here, but since his departure from this district, there was not any attempt made to do any constructive work here.

The last sub-district conference was held here last March and since that time no one came here from Pittsburgh office and to state the truth, there is not one of the five former units left. A few conferences were held in Pittsburgh where, as usual, much noise was made about the building of local leadership, shop bulletins, unemployed movement, etc. The district organizer was instructed to start active organizational work, not from the office in Pittsburgh but by personal contact. Was this done? No! Even when applications for membership were sent to him he put them either into the waste basket or in some corner in his office where they are reposing till this day.

The only time we have those "distinguished visitors" here is when they are short of funds and come here to borrow some money and then forget all about this section. Yes, they are the leaders who, as Comrade Lenin wrote, are the ones to "inspire confidence and lead the masses!" The masses who are starving today, whose wages were slashed to the bone, who are looking for someone to show them the way out of their misery.

We wonder whether after reading this they will condescend to come down here and do some real constructive work, to give us the leadership which we badly need here, put the theory which they are preaching to the practical use here or will stay in the office and play the fiddle like Nero while the Rome is burning.

VOLNY.

THE G. E. SHOPS IN FORT WAYNE

A Letter from Hal Long

February 20, 1931

Like in several other cities, the works of the General Electric Company are the biggest in Fort Wayne. The G. E. is not far behind in the part-time work, lay-offs, and wage-cutting which all the industries of the city. Altho the works at Fort Wayne are less hit by the crisis than the company's other factories, most of the workers are working only four days a week and many hundreds have been laid off. The G. E., headed by two of the most "liberal" capitalists of the country, Owen D. Young and Gerard Swope has just "solved" the unemployment problem. It has put thru its unemployment plan acclaimed as a panacea by all the liberals including the reformist leaders of the S. P. According to this plan the employees are to contribute 1% of their wages to an "unemployment fund" and the company an equal amount. This fund is to be managed by an equal number of representatives from the employees and from the management (I wonder which of the two halves will be the boss!) An employee who has contributed to this fund for 6 months will get up to \$20 a week, after he has been out of work for two weeks. Altho contributions to this fund are supposed to be voluntary, they have now been made compulsory on account of the "emergency situation." Since the plan has not been in effect for six months as yet, all it has brought the workers is a 1% wage-cut, while an additional 3% cut is being planned under the same cloak. And when the time comes, the company can divide the body of workers into two parts, make each work two weeks a month, and keep their "funds" intact.

Moreover, the company will surely put thru most of their lay-offs before

ENLIGHTENMENT IN CANADA

The first Plenum of the C.C. held since the May 1929 convention of the Canadian C.P. has finally ended. Its outstanding achievements are:

1. Final decision expelling from the Party Comrades Buhay, Macdonald, and Margolies, members of the Central Committee and for years outstanding figures in the left wing of the Canadian trade union movement.
 2. Severe censures, in preparation for expulsion, of a number of comrades prominent in the ranks of the foreign-born workers. Among these is Comrade Tenhunen active among the Finnish workers.
 3. The launching of a new "Enlightenment Campaign" in the Party to drive out all those who are suspected of the slightest doubt about or critical attitude towards the present adventurist, sectarian line of the Party.
- In the Party ranks, already only a shadow of the former organization, there is chaos and paralysis.

RUTTENBERG MEET IN NEW YORK

(Continued from Page One)

to isolation and helplessness," said Comrade Zimmerman in his remarks.

A group of workers from the Sports Wear Shop donated \$50 to the Revolutionary Age. A general collection of nearly \$25 was also made. The meeting was very enthusiastic.

DISCUSS NEGRO AND COMMUNISM

Welsh and Muddall Debate On Negro and Garveyism And Communism

Before an intensely interested audience of seventy-five men and women, mostly colored, H. C. Muddall, editor of the Garveyite Negro World and Edward Welsh of the Communist Party (Majority Group) debated the question: Communism versus Garveyism as the solution of the problem of race discrimination. The debate took place Sunday afternoon, Feb. 15, before the Frederick Douglass Interracial Forum which meets on alternate Sunday afternoons at Howland Studio, 1665 Fulton Street, near Troy Avenue, Brooklyn.

Comrade Welsh contended that race and class distinctions both spring from the same source—the exploitation of man by man. He showed how Negro slavery and race discrimination had received the blessing and support of Church and State and painted a grim picture of the double racial and class exploitation of the Negro today. The vast continent of Africa, he showed, was also under the heel of European and American capitalist-imperialism. In the whole world, only the Soviet Union treated racial minorities as equals and showed the way to emancipation of black and white and yellow and brown alike. Welsh analyzed each of the other so-called solutions in turn—the ministers who say: "Don't seek for power of relief from suffering on earth; your reward is in Heaven!"—the Kelly Millers who urge the Negro to forget his "group interests" and devote himself to "making the country dry"—the Garveyites who teach religious superstition, who play capitalist politics, who seek to obscure class differences which cut thru all races, who urge running away from the struggle for racial equality in America, and who deny the necessity for a struggle against imperialism in Africa. To end the sufferings of the Negro masses, Welsh urged a united struggle of the exploited of all races and lands against the root of all race discrimination and all exploitation—the capitalist-imperialist system.

Mr. Muddall proved a very skilled debater. He avoided a direct clash with the Communist viewpoint, admitted weaknesses in the Garveyite philosophy, but justified them as "Machiavellian" (his own words) efforts to win backward Negroes to the Garveyite cause. Communism, he declared, is a good philosophy but made by white leaders (Marx and Lenin) for white workers. Garveyism is made by black leaders for black workers. He was in favor of Communism for Russia but not for Africa. The Negroes, he said, were discriminated against as a race regardless of class, therefore a class philosophy did not fit their needs.

When the debate was over, the audience continued the discussion in informal groups for some time.

LABOR AGE

The Voice of Progressive Labor Points to the Next Steps in the American Radical Labor Struggle

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Comrade Welsh contended that race and class distinctions both spring from the same source—the exploitation of man by man. He showed how Negro slavery and race discrimination had received the blessing and support of Church and State and painted a grim picture of the double racial and class exploitation of the Negro today. The vast continent of Africa, he showed, was also under the heel of European and American capitalist-imperialism. In the whole world, only the Soviet Union treated racial minorities as equals and showed the way to emancipation of black and white and yellow and brown alike. Welsh analyzed each of the other so-called solutions in turn—the ministers who say: "Don't seek for power of relief from suffering on earth; your reward is in Heaven!"—the Kelly Millers who urge the Negro to forget his "group interests" and devote himself to "making the country dry"—the Garveyites who teach religious superstition, who play capitalist politics, who seek to obscure class differences which cut thru all races, who urge running away from the struggle for racial equality in America, and who deny the necessity for a struggle against imperialism in Africa. To end the sufferings of the Negro masses, Welsh urged a united struggle of the exploited of all races and lands against the root of all race discrimination and all exploitation—the capitalist-imperialist system.

Mr. Muddall proved a very skilled debater. He avoided a direct clash with the Communist viewpoint, admitted weaknesses in the Garveyite philosophy, but justified them as "Machiavellian" (his own words) efforts to win backward Negroes to the Garveyite cause. Communism, he declared, is a good philosophy but made by white leaders (Marx and Lenin) for white workers. Garveyism is made by black leaders for black workers. He was in favor of Communism for Russia but not for Africa. The Negroes, he said, were discriminated against as a race regardless of class, therefore a class philosophy did not fit their needs.

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The Left Wing in the Workmen's Circle

Our Tasks in the W. C. Today

by Ben Lifshitz

The present economic crisis is reflecting itself in the fraternal organizations in two ways. While, owing to unemployment, thousands of workers are unable to pay their bills and therefore drop out of the organizations, there are many workers who, due to the insecurity of their jobs and also due to the fact that their savings have been all used up, are joining fraternal organizations for protection in case of sickness or death of the family.

THE RESULTS OF SPLITTING POLICY

The splitting policy of the official leadership of the Communist Party carried through in all the mass organizations, including the fraternal organizations, was especially disastrous in the Workmen's Circle.

The official Party leadership points with pride to their great accomplishments in the International Workers Order. They now claim a membership of 10,000 in the IWO. But it must be remembered, even accepting these figures for the sake of argument, that the IWO is the result of two splits in the Workmen's Circle and the Independent Workmen's Circle.

From the best available figures, the maximum number that split from the WC did not exceed 5,000. This includes a large number of petty bourgeois elements, especially those recruited in the smaller cities, where the former left wing branches of the WC and the Ind. WC were made up predominantly of petty bourgeois elements.

THE REVIVAL OF THE LEFT WING IN THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

For many months after the split many members who supported and followed the left wing on various issues of the class struggle were in a pessimistic mood tending strongly towards passivity and it was difficult to mobilize them for struggle.

It was rough sailing for those Communist elements who did not follow the ruinous destructive policy of the official Party leadership and remained in the fraternal organizations to continue the fight for the revolutionary class struggle which the left wing had carried on so valiantly since the split in the Socialist Party and especially after the Toronto convention in 1922, when the Jewish Socialist Verband and Forward leadership in the WC started their offensive against the left wing.

THE "YUGEND CLUB"

Since the split there has also arisen a pseudo-progressive movement known as the "Yugend Club." They are utilizing the situation created by the withdrawal of sections of the left wing from the WC and are putting forth the demand that the old guard should "open up" the doors of the various committees and allow some new blood to come in. This group is taking advantage of the dissatisfaction of large sections of the membership against the policies of the NEC in order to gain concessions from the old guard.

THE SPANISH PROLETARIAT

But industrial development has brought to the fore and strengthened another class in Spanish society which is capable of leading the revolution of the Spanish people against the monarchy and against the old regime with all its outlived institutions. Out of 23,000,000 people the industrial proletariat already amounts to 1,500,000, to which must be added almost an equal number of agricultural workers.

The progress of the revolutionary movement against the monarchist reaction depends upon the advance of the workers movement and upon the development of the beginnings of the peasant movement which made itself manifest last December. In Spain as in the Russia of 1905, the agrarian revolution occupies the front of the stage. To tear away the peasantry from reactionary influence, to win the large strata of the petty bourgeois for the revolutionary struggle, the proletariat needs a clear revolutionary-democratic program.

the branches don't know to whom the proxy cards are sent. The slate for the executive and even the chairmen of the various committees are certainly selected. Why, therefore, the whole play is democracy? Under these circumstances it would be nonsensical for us to accept the nomination and to help the demagogic play in making the average member believe that there is really democracy in the Workmen's Circle.

At the National Nominating Conference this group put up a very weak resistance to the policies of the N.E.C., centering mainly their objections on "purely Workmen's Circle issues, such as diverting by the N.E.C. of the Monetary Funds to cover up the deficit of the various committees, accusing the N.E.C. of using old practices in getting proxy cards to reelect themselves in power. Some of the delegates also raised the ob-

jections to the candidacy of Savetsky on the ground that he was a paper box manufacturer and one who had once broken a strike.

The main weakness of this group is that they do not carry on their fight on the basis of any program. They enter and over again emphasized that now that the Communist danger was over in the Workmen's Circle, the present leadership must allow other elements to come into the leading committees of the organization. The membership looks upon their fight against the N.E.C. as an inner fight between two cliques in the W.C. fighting for control of the organization.

(Concluded in Next Issue)

The Character of the Spanish Revolution

THE REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS IN SPAIN

by A. P.

The chronic governmental crisis in Spain shows that, in spite of the failure of the attempt at insurrection last December, revolutionary fermentation still continues to develop. The Berenguer government collapsed after even the liberal monarchists, under the pressure of the masses, announced that they would participate in the government parliament only to demand its dissolution and the convening of a constituent assembly. Simultaneously anti-monarchist demonstrations have broken out all over the country.

The Berenguer government was never anything else than the continuation of the military dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. The main task of this government consisted in continually projecting the return of "constitutional relations" into the undetermined future. After the events of last December Berenguer, in order to save the monarchy, promised the calling of a parliament. The Social-democrats, the bourgeois republicans, and the so-called constitutionalists (those monarchists who believe that the monarchy can be saved only thru a constituent assembly) declared that they would not participate in Berenguer's parliament. And when the liberal monarchists broke away, the government resigned and recalled the decree for elections on Government still continues.

The ultra-monarchist government has been formed but there is not even a pretense of stability. All sorts of rumors are wide-spread: rumors of abdication, of military dictatorship, and so on.

THE "1905" OF SPAIN

The situation in Spain is strikingly similar (in spite of some obvious differences) to the situation in Russia in 1905. Here also it is a question of a delayed bourgeois revolution. Like Russian Czarism, the Spanish monarchy represents the political domination of a semi-feudal clique, closely tied up with the clergy and with big capitalist strata. The analogy goes further. The development of the revolutionary situation in Spain has shown that the Spanish revolution too can only triumph as a revolution of the workers and the peasants, in which the working class is faced with the task of winning the leadership of the exploited peasant masses. The Spanish bourgeoisie cannot today, even less than it could in the 19th century, claim the historical role that the French and English bourgeoisies played in their revolution. It developed too late; it is altogether too dependent upon foreign capital; it is too directly connected with the brutal exploitation of the people—for it to play the part, even for the briefest period of time, of the leader of the "whole nation" against the old regime. In the December uprising the bourgeois republicans manifested the greatest fear of a mass movement of workers and peasants. With great justice the republican bourgeoisie fears that such a mass movement will not be content with the establishment of a bourgeois republican regime but will put into question capitalist property itself. The December events also show the inner weakness of the student demonstrations and officers' conspiracies as a means of fighting the monarchy.

OUR INTERNATIONAL TASKS

The international working class is faced with the task of supporting the revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses of Spain with every means at its disposal. The international working class is above all faced with the task of preventing the reactionary forces of the other countries of Europe from coming to the aid of Spanish reaction. At the last session of the administrative council of the Bank of International Settlements (the Young Plan Bank) considered the question of the "financial stabilization" of Spain. The heads of the big European banks composed the administrative council are apparently planning to extend loans to the Spanish monarchy to enable it to crush the rising revolution, just as the German and the French bankers in 1905 helped Czarism. The international labor movement must raise the sharpest protest against these reactionary plans to prop up Spanish reaction—and must express these protests in action.

The Associated Press Correspondent in Moscow has made the prize-winning comment on the five-year "If the world revolution should come to-morrow or even next year, the Russian Communists would be the most embarrassed people in the world, for it would mean disruption of the industrialization program."

THE SITUATION OF THE PROLETARIAT

Unfortunately, from the viewpoint of organization, the Spanish working class does not seem able to measure up to the tremendous tasks the present situation holds before it. The strongest trade union organization is anarcho-sindicalist.

THE BIG STRIKE IN VALENCIA



Heavily Armed Police Suppressing the Big General Strike in Valencia Last December. The Strike was Decidedly Republican in Character

SOME PERTINENT QUESTIONS

Addressed to the Present Leadership of the Comintern

Throughout the Communist International you have been expelling thousands of comrades on the ground that they are "opportunists."

Throughout the Comintern you have been forcing on the Communist membership incompetents and upstarts on the ground that they are better fitted to carry on and lead "a revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie." Throughout the Comintern you boast that you have now cleared the ranks of reformists and that in every section there is now in practice a real, militant fighting, revolutionary policy.

Then, please, tell us how come that the French Communist Party members of the Chamber of Deputies did the following: 1. Abstained from voting and thus saved and kept in office last December the cabinet headed by Steeg, former military governor-general of Morocco, known as the bloody butcher of the Moroccan people.

2. Did not vote against (registered as abstained) the last motion unanimously adopted in the chamber of Deputies to honor the memory of Joffre as the "savior of France?"

3. Immediately after this, abstained from voting against the motion creating a special fund of 100,000 francs to go to the widow of Joffre.

Was this the "revolutionary" policy that was to be made possible by expelling the C.P. of Alsace-Lorraine? What is the real reason for this series, in rapid succession, of cowardice and treachery, of the crassest opportunism? Of course, after the Steeg cabinet was saved by Cachin, the Political Committee of the French C.P., "self-criticized" itself. Then,

The Social Principles of Cristianity

We publish below the brilliant words of Karl Marx written nearly one hundred years ago as a fitting commentary to the brazenly reactionary pronouncement of the Pope a few weeks ago.

—THE EDITOR

The social principles of Cristianity have now had eighteen hundred years in which to develop. The social principles of Cristianity justified ancient slavery, idealized medieval serfdom, and are quite capable in case of necessity of defending the oppression of the proletariat—even the with a sad face. The social principles of Cristianity preach the necessity of a ruling and an oppressed class, comforting the latter with the pious wish for the benevolence of the former. The social principles of Cristianity project the compensation for infamies into the heavens and thus justify the continuation of these infamies on earth. The social principles of Cristianity explain the vile deeds of the oppressors against the oppressed either as just punishment for the original sin and other sins or else as a test which the Lord in his wisdom places upon the redeemed. The social principles of Cristianity preach cowardice, self-contempt, degradation, subjection, humility, in short, all of the attributes of the rabble, and the proletariat, if it does not want to be treated as a rabble, needs its courage and its self-respect, its pride and its sense of independence even more than it needs its bread. The social principles of Cristianity are sneaky and mean while the proletariat is revolutionary. So much for the social principles of Cristianity.

Karl Marx: "Deutsche Bruesseler Zeitung", September 12, 1847.

Before the Elections in the U. M. W. A.

Appeal to the Anthracite Miners

Issued by Provisional Committee of Progressive Anthracite Miners

The situation in which the Anthracite miners today find themselves is so bad that it should arouse all the militant miners to action. It is unnecessary to give details as to the black picture of what is going on in the mines today. We all know too well about these conditions. It is necessary, however, to call to the attention of all miners the fact that unless they wake up and do something to change conditions, the situation in the immediate future will become much worse. We can expect nothing from the reactionary leaders of the United Mine Workers of America except betrayal and treachery. It is up to the rank and file miners to organize themselves to fight against the bosses and to fight against the reactionary, corrupt leadership which is working overtime serving the mine operators.

Since the signing of the new 5 1/2 year agreement, the leaders of our union have been doing everything in their plans to speed-up the work-ers to cut wages, install longer hours and to degrade and impoverish the miners who are divided, unorganized and prevented from resisting the encroachments on their living conditions by the coal operators. The present leadership of the United Mine Workers of America is satisfactory to coal operators but it is not satisfactory to the miners who must dig coal in order to make a living. This leadership is responsible for the blackest crimes against our union. They have reduced the once powerful United Mine Workers of America to a mere shadow of a trade union organization. It no longer, under the leadership of these corrupt reaction-

ary officials, fights in the interest of its membership.

Every day more and more honest trade union members of the United Mine Workers of America and good fighters are beginning to realize that it is impossible to continue to have faith in the present reactionary administration on account of its open sell-out policy of the miners interests. Often they go into revolt against the terrible conditions that prevail as a result of the manner in which our union officials are conducting affairs in our organization. In order to effectively fight the bosses and the treacherous union officials it is necessary for the rank and file miners to get together and to put up an organized fight. In every mine, in every local union wherever there are miners, a rank and file organization should be set up to rid our union of its reactionary leadership and to make it possible for the rank and file to end the terrible slavery and exploitation which prevails in the mines today.

In June 1931 the elections in the United Mine Workers of America will take place. There will be elections for local as well as district officials. The nomination of district officials opens in the middle of March 1931 and closes in the middle of April 1931. Nominations open twelve weeks before elections and close eight weeks before elections are held. This means that elections will take place in the middle of June. It is necessary that the rank and file miners give very serious consideration to the elections and prepare to go to the elections in an organized manner.

The Duty of the Militant Miner Workers

Now as never before it is the duty of all honest union miners and militant miners to organize and to prepare for the coming big struggle which is facing us in the elections. It is necessary without further delay to call immediately a conference of all rank and file miners at which conference a program of action should be worked out on which can be mobilized the largest number of members of our union in the struggle against the treacherous reactionary corrupt leadership and the bosses. It should be the purpose of this conference to lay plans for the working up of a rank and file slate, for the local union elections as well as for election of district officials.

It means that the conference should elect honest, militant rank and file candidates for all positions in District No. 1 and board members for each of the four inspection sub-districts. Also nominations for all local union positions and other district officials such as treasurer, etc. So as to secure the nominations for the District No. 1 four inspection sub-districts, it is necessary to secure their nomination by seven respective local unions. In order to secure the nominations of the district officials it is necessary to secure their nomination by fifteen local unions. In this way will we be able to put a rank and file slate on the ballot for the coming elections. We are therefore calling upon all progressive rank and file miners to participate at this conference which should be called not later than Sunday, February 22, at 2 P. M., in Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania. It is the duty of all rank and file miners regardless of their political, religious or other opinions to unite and organize a rank and file progressive bloc to fight in the coming elections against the treacherous leadership and to prepare the workers for a struggle against the bosses for improved conditions in the industry.

ANGLING FOR FRENCH LOANS

In making his earnest demand that the budget be accepted in the interests of Germany's credit abroad, Bruening kept in mind the present credit negotiations with France. Bruening is willing, of course with the approval of the French government, to grant an advance of \$38,000,000 against preference shares of the German railways. This advance is to be only the beginning for more French loans. This shows that the German government—despite all contradictory news—is not willing to take a decided stand against France. Its partial alliance with Italy at the last session of the League of Nations does not mean that an agreement with France against Italy and, above all, against the Soviet Union, is impossible. The declaration Catusca made on the question of Upper Silesia was very carefully formulated. He carefully avoided touching questions which might make France, as an ally of Poland, nervous. Bruening's speech in the Reichstag on questions of foreign policy was very moderate. The German government obviously understood the hint given by France that the latter did not intend to give loans to foreign countries, if Germany should insist at this moment upon the fulfillment of her demands for revision.

GOVERNMENT POLICY ON SOCIAL QUESTIONS

As for the government policy on social questions, it is significant that a commission was elected with the obvious purpose of abolishing unemployment insurance as it exists today; another significant fact is the declaration of the Minister of Labor, Stegerwald, that the present wage level cannot be maintained. But the influential circles of the employers are not satisfied even with these steps of the government. When Bruening spoke before the Saxon industrial chiefs they protested against his "weakness" and demanded an end to the hit-theo "Socialist" (so they call it) economic policy, i.e., they demand the total abolition of social insurance, which a right wing paper calls the "inveterate evil of German economy." The German Steel Trust took drastic action to put thru the demands of the employers. It threatened to close a foundry at Meiderich (Ruhr) unless the workers "agreed" to accept a 20% wage-cut. In general the whole press of heavy industry fights against the system of wage-cuts, which, they say, are too inflexible, that is, they interfere with wage-cutting. The fight against wage-cuts is at the same time an agitation against the trade unions, whose prestige rests on the fact that they make wage-cuts possible. In this connection it is interesting to note that we have and more members of the Fascist Party are being systematically employed in the big factories with the purpose of destroying the influence of the trade unions there. In this connection we also have to take note of the rapid increase of terrorist acts on the part of the National Socialists. Not a day passes without Fascist attacks on members of the Social-democratic and Communist Parties. Part of these terror groups of the Fascists are brought from a distance. These groups consist mostly of unemployed, who receive a regular subsidy from the Fascists and are led mostly by former officers or students. The money for these mercenaries is provided for by the industrialists. German employers are, therefore, responsible for the Fascist attacks; it is reasonable to presume that the employers, being good business men, know very well how their money is being spent.

A Great Thinker

Abbe Dimmet is author of the Art of Thinking. He offered the following example of his "art" to the press: "America is soberer now (thanks to the depression) than she was two years ago. . . not only soberer but happier. . . Many people refrain from buying now because they know that others cannot buy. That means happiness. That is the Christian attitude." Being able to think like that is not an art. . . it's a gift.

especially in the Prussian government. To achieve this purpose they support the Bruening government and its program. The tactics of the Social-democratic Party find the strongest resistance among its followers because support of the Bruening government means reductions in wages and will eventually bring about a situation in which the trade unions will not fight against the encroachments of the employers' organizations and against wage-cuts by government arbitration. Prussian police are again and again sent into action against the Communists because only by such tactics can the Social-democratic Party stay in the coalition, while at the same time any serious action of this police against the Fascists remains impossible. The bourgeois parties as well as the government would not allow it (A few months ago Hindenburg forced the removal of the prohibition against the Stalhelm, a militant Fascist organization in the Rhineland.) At the same time Fascist influence grows stronger among the officials in the Prussian state. The only thing which could act as a real force against Fascism is powerful independent action of the working class.

The Economic Week

In certain industries slight seasonal gains were registered during the week. Hoover's National Business Survey Conference latest business review has made an optimistic report. But this is the same agency which just a year ago today (March 7, 1930) promised that the unemployment crisis would be over in sixty days. The stock market spurt, featured primarily by many corporations buying back their own stock, has ended and some recession set in. Against the insignificant gains registered in steel, car loadings, and electric power output can be set a continued sharp fall in prices, unfavorable bank clearings, and numerous failures. The automobile gain was be-

The German Crisis Develops WHITHER THE BRUENING REGIME?

by L. B. (Berlin)

On February 5 the German Reichstag met again to discuss the budget for 1931. The budget for 1930 closes with a deficit of approximately one billion marks. The balance in the new budget is also only apparent. The Reich Finance Minister is of the opinion that the balance for the new budget will be achieved on the assumption that in the course of the coming year, the economic situation of the country will improve considerably, in consequence of which increased revenue will be attained. The Frankfurter Zeitung differs with the minister and maintains that a quick improvement in the economic situation is very uncertain in the present world economic crisis and that even if it should take place, this would in no way mean an immediate increase in the tax income.

THE BRUENING GOVERNMENT AND PARLIAMENT

The Bruening government, which in accordance with the demands of the bourgeois parties and the employers organizations, wants to obviate the economic crisis by reducing wages, by removing the "burdens" on capital and by diminishing the expenditures for social services, does not draw the conclusion in this situation that the taxation of capital should be increased but demands that the Reichstag authorize it to make eventually necessary deductions from the budget without the special permission of the parliament. The "German People's Party" (Deutsche Volkspartei), the most influential government party besides the "Zentrum", asked an immediate reduction of 400 million marks in the expenditures for social services. The government came to the decision that these "savings" should be made from time to time in accordance with the proposed authorization law. In his programmatical speech Bruening declared that the government desires a parliamentary settlement of its financial law. It would be misleading however to conclude from this, as the liberal press does, that the Bruening government, which since its existence has successively diminished the rights of the parliament and even put thru its most important measures against the will of the parliament, would break with this attitude and return to normal parliamentary "democracy." Now the Reichstag has adopted an amendment to the standing orders which very much confines the rights of the parliament in general and of the parliamentary opposition in particular. By this amendment the right of parliament to decide financial questions is diminished and the immunity of the members of the parliament is made illusory. The Berlin Germania, the organ of the German Chancellor, in several articles threatened that the government would take further dictatorial steps should the Reichstag refuse the budget. The argument with which Bruening justifies his asking for parliament's sanction for his budget was anything but a profession for parliamentary democracy. Bruening declared that the approval of the budget by the parliament was necessary in order to raise Germany's credit abroad. For Bruening, parliamentary democracy is just a bit of decoration with which to impress foreign capitalists; if, on the basis of this declaration, Bruening is to be taken as a de-

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Was this the "revolutionary" policy that was to be made possible by expelling the C.P. of Alsace-Lorraine? What is the real reason for this series, in rapid succession, of cowardice and treachery, of the crassest opportunism? Of course, after the Steeg cabinet was saved by Cachin, the Political Committee of the French C.P., "self-criticized" itself. Then,

why within a couple of weeks or so after this anti-Communist behavior, did the "loyal Bolsheviki" feverishly repeat exactly the same sort of "mistakes" with renewed vigor? We admit we can't understand it. We would welcome a little more "enlightenment." Is this the new "revolutionary" line in practice? We are anxiously waiting. How long will we have to wait for an answer?

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WHITHER THE BRUENING REGIME?

by L. B. (Berlin)

On February 5 the German Reichstag met again to discuss the budget for 1931. The budget for 1930 closes with a deficit of approximately one billion marks. The balance in the new budget is also only apparent. The Reich Finance Minister is of the opinion that the balance for the new budget will be achieved on the assumption that in the course of the coming year, the economic situation of the country will improve considerably, in consequence of which increased revenue will be attained. The Frankfurter Zeitung differs with the minister and maintains that a quick improvement in the economic situation is very uncertain in the present world economic crisis and that even if it should take place, this would in no way mean an immediate increase in the tax income.

THE BRUENING GOVERNMENT AND PARLIAMENT

The Bruening government, which in accordance with the demands of the bourgeois parties and the employers organizations, wants to obviate the economic crisis by reducing wages, by removing the "burdens" on capital and by diminishing the expenditures for social services, does not draw the conclusion in this situation that the taxation of capital should be increased but demands that the Reichstag authorize it to make eventually necessary deductions from the budget without the special permission of the parliament. The "German People's Party" (Deutsche Volkspartei), the most influential government party besides the "Zentrum", asked an immediate reduction of 400 million marks in the expenditures for social services. The government came to the decision that these "savings" should be made from time to time in accordance with the proposed authorization law. In his programmatical speech Bruening declared that the government desires a parliamentary settlement of its financial law. It would be misleading however to conclude from this, as the liberal press does, that the Bruening government, which since its existence has successively diminished the rights of the parliament and even put thru its most important measures against the will of the parliament, would break with this attitude and return to normal parliamentary "democracy." Now the Reichstag has adopted an amendment to the standing orders which very much confines the rights of the parliament in general and of the parliamentary opposition in particular. By this amendment the right of parliament to decide financial questions is diminished and the immunity of the members of the parliament is made illusory. The Berlin Germania, the organ of the German Chancellor, in several articles threatened that the government would take further dictatorial steps should the Reichstag refuse the budget. The argument with which Bruening justifies his asking for parliament's sanction for his budget was anything but a profession for parliamentary democracy. Bruening declared that the approval of the budget by the parliament was necessary in order to raise Germany's credit abroad. For Bruening, parliamentary democracy is just a bit of decoration with which to impress foreign capitalists; if, on the basis of this declaration, Bruening is to be taken as a de-

SOME PERTINENT QUESTIONS

Addressed to the Present Leadership of the Comintern

Throughout the Communist International you have been expelling thousands of comrades on the ground that they are "opportunists."

Throughout the Comintern you have been forcing on the Communist membership incompetents and upstarts on the ground that they are better fitted to carry on and lead "a revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie." Throughout the Comintern you boast that you have now cleared the ranks of reformists and that in every section there is now in practice a real, militant fighting, revolutionary policy.

Then, please, tell us how come that the French Communist Party members of the Chamber of Deputies did the following: 1. Abstained from voting and thus saved and kept in office last December the cabinet headed by Steeg, former military governor-general of Morocco, known as the bloody butcher of the Moroccan people.

2. Did not vote against (registered as abstained) the last motion unanimously adopted in the chamber of Deputies to honor the memory of Joffre as the "savior of France?"

3. Immediately after this, abstained from voting against the motion creating a special fund of 100,000 francs to go to the widow of Joffre.

Was this the "revolutionary" policy that was to be made possible by expelling the C.P. of Alsace-Lorraine? What is the real reason for this series, in rapid succession, of cowardice and treachery, of the crassest opportunism? Of course, after the Steeg cabinet was saved by Cachin, the Political Committee of the French C.P., "self-criticized" itself. Then,

why within a couple of weeks or so after this anti-Communist behavior, did the "loyal Bolsheviki" feverishly repeat exactly the same sort of "mistakes" with renewed vigor? We admit we can't understand it. We would welcome a little more "enlightenment." Is this the new "revolutionary" line in practice? We are anxiously waiting. How long will we have to wait for an answer?

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HUNGRY WOLVES MUST HOWL

NOT since our Russian brothers first broke the chains of Czarism and capitalism has there been such stir over the Russian Soviet Republic in the camp of the bosses as there is today. It is not hard to understand why this is so. The entire capitalist world is in an acute economic crisis. The boss class is worried over the effect of the simultaneous tremendous growth of Socialist construction on the minds and hearts of the wage slaves and colonial masses.

A rapidly diminishing number of capitalists still ridicule the success of the Soviet power. A not insignificant number of the exploiting class pretends to be tolerant and to be, for a time, "with" the Soviet system. But a rapidly rising number of the decisive section of the ruling class in all capitalist countries is more loudly and frankly asking for immediate war of the "civilized world" against Bolshevik Russia. This is the significance of Briand's grain conference in Paris. This is the crux of the "anti-dumping" campaign now being waged against the Soviet Union. In this sense it is especially significant that the most influential organs of French and German heavy industry are now singing the same songs of "peace and harmony" between Paris and Berlin, to beat back the Moscow "trade invasion."

Still the most sinister type of attack on the progress of the building of Socialist economy in Soviet Russia is that which lurks behind a so-called "humanitarian" mask. Thus, opening a series of "liberal" articles on the Soviet Union, the New York Telegram, headlines the first story, "Soviet Pays for Communism in Human Lives and Suffering." Deprived of nearly all shams in their arsenal of fraud and slander against the first Workers and Peasants Soviet Republic, the upholders of the capitalist system are resorting to the last refuge of the imperialist scoundrel—"humanitarianism." "Communism costs too much," say these dollar-and-cents heroes. With this telling argument taken from the standard success manuals of Wall Street, they hope to prevent the workers from sympathizing with the Soviet Union and comparing it favorably with the "blessed" capitalism of the United States.

Now, what about this question of cost? Is there strain and stress on the working masses as a result of the great tempo of industrialization and the socialization of agriculture in the U.S.S.R.? Of course, there is. What about it? The hypocrisy of these would-be friends of the Soviet masses cried aloud, is the sheerest idiocy to have even the wildest dreams about the slightest tinge of sincerity in these "bitter cries" over the hardships the Russian masses find themselves in as a result of their rapid march towards Socialism. We might also say to these solicitous Wall Street "humanitarians" that "charity begins at home." Let them shed less tears over the Soviet Union and empty a little their own pockets and their government's pockets to help the starving farmers in Arkansas and the victims of American "prosperity" on the breadlines in "the Gay White Way," America's proudest spot.

But, historically speaking, there is an even more decisive phase to this question. The Soviet workers are engaged in the job of constructing Socialism under extremely great difficulties. We admit that under such circumstances considerable temporary strain and sacrifice by the masses are inevitable. However, the economic and social burdens temporarily borne by the Soviet masses in their speediest completion of the Five Year Plan of Socialist construction for the toilers are petty and insignificant when compared with the heavy price in life and limb, in dollars and cents, paid by the working masses in the cities and the country in order to build up capitalist industry. Who of us has forgotten the "Merry England" of Blackford with its agonizing child labor, low wages and filthy slums? Which American worker doesn't know of long hours and nerve-wrecking speed-up and murderous accident rates? And what about the millions of the flower of our class maimed and killed in imperialist war? All of these sacrifices, strain, and hardships are only part of the price the exploited masses paid and are still paying for building up and maintaining the capitalist system. Particularly in view of the growing danger of war against the Soviet Union is the cost of the accelerated Socialist construction entirely worth while and imperative. The capitalist wolves are howling. They are hungry. Hungry wolves must howl. The wolves in sheep's clothing may howl about the terrible price of Communism "in human lives and suffering." For all workers, poor farmers, and colonial masses there is but one job in so far as the Soviet Union is concerned. To see to it that the howling wolves of imperialism don't get the slightest chance to sink their teeth into the youthful and growing Workers and Farmers Soviet Republic. More than that. To hasten the day when this pack of hungry imperialist wolves can be driven to flight and sent to join Czar Nicholas II, Kolchak, Yudenich and the monarchists, kulaks and capitalists who once infested and darkened Russia—now the Soviet Union, the land of the rising sun for the working class of all countries.

WHAT IS SOCIAL FASCISM?

THE central mystery of the new sectarian course of the Communist International has always been the doctrine of "social-fascism". It is a formula to conjure with (and to drive away the masses of the workers!) but no one ever undertook seriously to define it since the ill-fated efforts of Bela Kun and others at the X Plenum of the ECCI (July 1929). But now, in one week, we have two essays in this direction: an editorial in the *Daily Worker* of February 20 (*What Social Fascism Is*) and an editorial in the *New York Times* of February 24 (*The Mosley Temper*).

The *Daily Worker* calls attention to the conduct of the Socialist Mayor and City Council of Reading, Pa., who met the demands of the unemployed for relief with the sanctimonious reply: "We would like to help you but what can we do. The law won't let us and we know the law." This, says the *Daily Worker*, is "social-fascism."

The *New York Times* calls attention to Oswald Mosley's recent attacks on the parliamentary system of Great Britain upon the Labor government which is today operating this parliamentary system, and then analyzes Mosley's manifestations in the direction of dictatorship and state capitalism. This, it says, is "social-fascism."

The conclusions of both editorials arise out of a fundamental confusion of ideas—in opposite directions. What the *Daily Worker* describes as "social-fascism" is social reformism, pure and simple. There is no element of fascism at all in the Socialist appeal to the "existing law" as an unanswerable argument; one of the essential characteristics of fascism (before its capture of power and even after) is its extra-legal character, that is, its open, preached and practised disregard of "existing law" with the connivance of the bourgeois legal authorities. Consider the history of Italian fascism, look at German fascism today!

What the *New York Times* regards as "social-fascism" is really the germinal stages of fascism, pure and simple. The Mosley tendency has no trace of Socialism in it; the only connection it has with Socialism is that its champions come from the Socialist movement. But this is an essential characteristic of fascism as such in its early stages. Mussolini was once a Socialist. Hitler was once a Social-Democrat. The fascist tendencies developed in bitter opposition to and not in agreement with the reformist Socialist parties.

Thus the basis for the fiction of "social-fascism" vanishes: on the one hand, reformist Socialism but not fascism; on the other hand, fascism but not Socialism!

Towards International Communist Unity

The International Conference

by Jay Lovestone

NOWADAYS there is one question that is uppermost in the minds of the class-conscious workers of every country: Why is it that the Communist International doesn't grow organizationally or politically under such favorable objective conditions as prevail today?

To ask this question is to touch the heart of the crisis in the world party of Communism. For, after all, the test of the tactics of any political party, particularly a revolutionary party, a Communist Party, is to be found in its practice, in its application in life. We, who gathered in the first International Conference of the Communist Opposition, were fully aware of this.

The First Conference of the International Communist Opposition

It was to answer this question in the interests of the international working class, it was to enable the Communist International to overcome its paralysis, to utilize the present world crisis situation to the maximum, that was our sole purpose in the conference. Not differing in principle with the Communist International but only in tactics, we gathered not to build a new Communist International but to re-unite the world Communist forces, to reconstruct the existing Comintern on a healthy basis. The extremely favorable objective conditions for developing the world Party of Communism, the growing menace of Fascism especially in Germany, the increasing danger of war against the Soviet Union, animated us only to redouble our efforts for unity of the Comintern and to continue our fight against the present non-Leninist tactical line of the Communist International—a line which is primarily responsible for the acute crisis in the Comintern.

Due to legal and financial difficulties not all comrades elected could come to the Conference. Their written reports and proposals were given thorough consideration. This was the case with the representatives of India, Austria, Finland and Italy. Representatives of the Communist Party of Sweden and of Alsace-Lorraine which were expelled from the Communist International as parties, from the Communist Party Oppositions of Germany, Switzerland, the United States and Czechoslovakia were present. Norway was fraternally represented.

The order of business for the three day conference (Dec. 16, 17, 18) was:

1. Consideration of oral and written reports of the various opposition sections.
2. Discussion and adoption of draft platform of International Communist Opposition.
3. Organization and press matters.

There was a certain vigorous revolutionary optimism running thru the deliberations of the Conference. Every report and reporter underscored the splendid objective situation for the growth of the Communist Party—the most favorable in years. Here were delegates who were the founders of the various sections of the Communist International, experienced fighters in the working class movement, militant battlers together with Liebknecht and Luxemburg, organizers of the Spartacus group in Germany, co-workers with Lenin in exile, leaders of the workers on the barricades fighting for Soviet Power. Ours was not an optimism artificially generated to hide defeats or to please bureaucrats. It was an optimism founded on Leninist understanding, on revolutionary conviction, sacrifice, and boundless devotion to our class, the exploited workers.

The spirit of the Conference, the manner of discussion, the method of settling differences, the genuine critical attitude pervading the deliberations, all were most encouraging signs of a better day drawing nearer in the life of the Communist International. Those dispirited difficulties, by temporary defeats, by the slowness of the developing world revolution, those who entertain "theories" about the degeneration of the world Communist Party certainly could find no evidence or support for their false conclusions neither in our discussions or decisions.

The Present Position of the Comintern

We faced the facts as we found them—and not as it would suit fancy—in the picture we had before us of the state of affairs in the Communist International. Like a red thread there ran thru all our work a feeling that the critical condition of the Communist International is the grave concern of the entire international working class—especially of the class-conscious workers.

An examination of the situation in the world Party of Communism shows how deplorable the present situation is. Let us start with the plus side of the ledger. The most important section of the Communist International is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is doing a mighty good job, under the most difficult circumstances, in speeding up the construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union. Together with the Young Communist League, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union totals about five million members. Truly, a powerful army! But in striking and painful contrast to this is the picture of the Communist International outside of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Here the situation is veritably catastrophic.

On paper the Communist International shows 50 sections. But which of these Parties is, today a mass Party or has mass influence over the workers? What more tragic case of paralysis could we cite than the Communist Party of Great Britain? With such extremely favorable conditions for the development of a mass Communist Party, we have a vanishing, sterile sect which plays no role in these decisive days of class war in England. In Czechoslovakia, where only a few years ago, the Communist Party was the biggest workers political party and of tremendous influence in the trade unions, we now have a helpless, uninfluential organization—a faint shadow of its former self. France tells a similarly dismaying story for our movement. As rapidly and as heavily as the Communist Party of France and the Red Federation of Labor (C.G.T.U.) have been losing members, the Socialist Party of France and the reformist federation (C.G.T.) have been gaining ground. In India the Communist International never had more than fragmentary strength. In China the Communist Party is bled white and has very little organized strength in the cities, which is decisive.

The situation in the United States needs little elaboration here.

It is true that Communist Party of Germany is still

a mass party. But it certainly is not availing itself of the splendid opportunities to wield initiative and give leadership. The ultra-left line, coupled with its rank opportunism in its dangerous brand of "national Bolshevism" in making the Versailles Treaty the point of departure of all struggles, has crippled this only mass Communist Party in the whole Communist International as an effective force to defeat Fascism. Should German Fascism win as it did in Italy—as is entirely possible in a short time—then it means the collapse of this one mass Communist Party outside of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

That with a correct line and unity the Communist International could today deal mortal blows to capitalism, to reformism and to Fascism, is shown by the growth of the Swedish Communist Party (Opposition) and the Alsatian Communist Party (Opposition). The only Communist Parties beside the C.P.S.U. to gain in membership in the last year, were the Communist Party of Sweden (Opposition) which gained nearly 4000 in 1930 and the Communist Party of Alsace (Opposition). And with correct Leninist tactics the Communist Opposition forces are now making real headway in India.

A Platform of Communist Struggle

Recognizing the different conditions and specific peculiarities in the various countries, yet, on the basis of fundamental principles of the Comintern, our general analysis of the present world crisis leads us to certain concrete tasks on a world scale.

First and foremost, in the light of the economic crisis, the imperialist war danger, the growing menace of an attack on the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, our platform emphasizes the imperative need for Communist unity in the revolutionary class struggle. In the eyes of the Conference this question of Communist unity was a life and death question for the working class. To achieve this party democracy, democratic centralism and Leninist discipline must be restored and guaranteed. All efforts must be made towards the development of a genuine international collective leadership in the Communist International. Our appeal for unity addressed to the Communist International and the international working class is in this strain.

The development of a united working class front against capitalist reaction—particularly against Fascism—along with the energetic unconditional defense of the Soviet Union were emphasized as central tasks. The Conference pointed out that it would be impossible to overemphasize in the present international situation the importance of preparing the working class, now and today, for what will face it in the coming imperialist war—the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war against the exploiters. In the same sense, the mobilization of workers in the "mother countries" for support of the revolutionary struggles in the colonies assumes inestimable importance.

Today it is particularly necessary to popularize the Soviet idea, the Soviet system as the highest democracy, as the only working class democracy, in the ranks of the workers by tying up its experiences and lessons with the concrete everyday needs and demands of the workers.

Our platform very correctly emphasizes the Leninist tactical attitude toward trade unions and the need for the militants and Communists working in the mass unions. The necessity of united front tactics, the need of the Party's winning the majority of working class are brought home very clearly.

The first International Communist Opposition Conference was possible only because of agreement on fundamental principles. The tactical differences among the various Communist Opposition groups were cleared up and settled mainly thru the practical political activities of our movement. Our international ideological homogeneity and unity were realized only thru a Communist co-operation and discussion and the application of the Leninist principles of Party democracy on an international scale. Our agreements were obtained only thru understanding and conviction and not thru the fear of bureaucratic measures as in the Executive Committee of the Communist International today or thru the worship of a supposedly "infallible" leader like Trotsky, as is the case of the vanishing remnants of the Trotskyists.

The International Center

The International Communist Opposition Center is thus not a new Comintern. It is only the organizational center of the struggle for the restoration and reconstruction of the Communist International. Today it is only in our ranks where the fundamental problems of the international labor and world Communist movements can be earnestly and honestly discussed.

Indeed, it is of the greatest historical significance that in this decisive hour for the working class, there should come forward an international force which shows the way to victory for the revolutionary labor movement. The International Communist Opposition Center is dedicated to the highest cause of the world proletariat. We are pledged to fight unwaveringly for the restoration of unity and a correct line in the ranks of the Comintern. Only then will the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat be able to inspire, organize and lead the working class of the world to victory over the capitalist class—to a new and better day—to the Communist society.

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BOOKS

WHEN THE WEST IS GONE, by Frederic L. Paxson. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1930.

There can be no adequate understanding of the history of the U. S. without a thorough understanding of the part the frontier has played in molding and shaping American life and its institutions. Those traits which are typical of the American are derivative from his frontier experiences. The frontier bred self-confidence, intense individualism, a sense of equality and a great admiration for the self-made man. It stressed the value of immediate experience and hence practicality. The buoyant optimism of the American can be traced to the frontier. The pioneer had to hope or else how could he press on and success reinforced his optimism. Leading of necessity a common life, the frontiersmen were resentful of those who assumed superiority or tried to be different. Uniformity of environment and uniformity of type (most pioneers were young, poor and hopeful) made for uniformity in habit and thought.

The frontier played a decisive role in the development of the working class. To it we owe that class fluidity which lasted to about 1890 and which resulted in the late emergence of a fixed proletariat. Live land lured the most rebellious and courageous who might have become the fighting labor leaders of their day. Our first gigantic class struggles took place between 1877 and 1894, almost forty years after Marx had written his famous manifesto. These great class struggles signified the closing of the frontier. The worker had no longer any escape but that of assault upon the bosses and the whole system of capitalism.

Professor Paxson in his book *When the West Is Gone* gives an excellent account of the history of the United States from 1763 to the present, with special emphasis on the importance of the frontier. He shows conclusively that the entire history of a given period (if we divide the history of the United States into periods) was conditioned by the economics of that period. The economics of slavery determined the whole history of the South; the economics of industrialism of the East; the economics of agriculture of the West. The history of the United States up to the Civil War was the history of these three sections with their mutual actions and reactions upon each other.

Just as the Civil War signified the triumph of industrialism over the slave-holding South, so the election of 1896 signified the triumph of industrialism over the whole country. The election of 1896 was the last powerful assault of the frontier West against the industrial East. The West lost not because of the "personal magnetism of McKinley" or the "organizational genius of Mark Hanna." The West lost because capitalism had secured the power or life and death over the entire country; because the destiny of America was ultimately tied up with the spread and growth of capitalism. The year 1896 marked the closing of the frontier and the defeat of the West. Henceforth industrial capitalism reigned supreme. The government and the whole of the life of the United States was the capitalists to shape and exploit.

The function of a bourgeois professor, especially in these hectic days, is to demonstrate to the bourgeoisie that history assures them eternal existence and the complete submission of the working class. This the author does in the last few pages. He correctly judges the fundamental problem of Europe as that of the conflict between capital and labor and that for the ordinary man there is "no probable relief except through the agency of revolutionary socialism."

But this is not true of the United States, he tells us! Here the frontier will save America from European experiences because due to its influence the worker is not class conscious. "He is an American first and a worker afterwards." "The United States elevates citizenship above class interest." The professor forgets what he has pointed out previously, that with the closing of the frontier, a fixed working class emerged whose members can no longer hope for social independence; that since 1877 the United States has witnessed gigantic class struggles; that the election of 1896 marked the defeat of the frontier West and the complete triumph of capitalism. But, answers Paxson: "Hope has remained" and "if not they (the workers—J.S.) save their children might hope to get ahead." Such pious hopes will never satisfy the millions walking the streets and their children doomed, under capitalism, to a life of wage slavery.

More words and constant repetition cannot hide the fact that the fundamental problem of America is the same as that of Europe, the conflict between capital and labor and that the solution of the problem for the American worker, as well as the European worker, lies in the overthrow of capitalism "through the agency of revolutionary socialism." J. S.

The American government's puppets in office in Nicaragua are in terror lest Stimson go thru with his bluff declaration to recall the American Marines some day. They are fearful of being left alone to face the wrath of their countrymen. Their message to Stimson and the marines is: "Oh, please don't go!" Stimson can be expected to yield gracefully to their insistent request.

The Economic Life of Soviet Russia

by CALVIN B. HOOVER

Duke University

PRICE \$3.00

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BETWEEN HAMMER AND ANVIL

The Virgin Mary Goes Hollywood

Four hundred priests and 6,000 Catholic laymen were taken in to the tune of \$2,000,000 in two years with the aid of the Virgin Mary. The National Diversified Corporation sold stock to promote "clean films" in line with the aims of the Catholic Church, had priests lecture on "clean films" and sold stock to the enthralled audiences. They declared they were producing a super-special thriller entitled *Mary the Virgin* but apparently couldn't find a virgin in Hollywood, for Mary a foot of film did many miracles, but this is the first time that her name has been involved in a modern racket. It's a pity the film was not made—*Mary the Virgin of Hollywood*; the immaculate conception as conceived by the pants-maker-magnates of the movie industry; the thrilling wreck of the train that carried the Holy Family to Egypt; how Mary took iodine because of the scandals whispered about her by Joseph's relatives; and the thrilling moment when the cavalry dashes up Calvary with Pilate's pardon in outstretched hand and the condemned man is taken down from the cross to fall into the arms of Mary Magdalene who turns out to have been a good girl after all, as the organ throbs to the fade-out.

Raised On Yeast

Judge Jean Norris, New York's only woman magistrate, got \$1000 for posing in full judicial robes for a testimonial picture explaining that although she had been sitting seven years on the bench, Fleischman's yeast prevented her from becoming constipated. She also said the yeast was good for insomnia and nervousness. She'll need to take a lot of it now.

Starvation a Passing Phenomenon

New consolation for the unemployed from the *New York Times*: "Totals of world unemployment begin to be less appalling as they continue to mount. As the figures assume epidemic proportions they lose something of their grim menace for the very reason that an epidemic is a passing phenomenon." Try that on your butcher and grocer.

\$50 in Gold

The directors of the Bank of United States were hard-working people. They met every week. Each director received \$50 in gold for each meeting attended. They earned the money by voting the depositors' money to themselves as loans. It's a great racket. No wonder the slogan of American capitalism is: "Only saps work."

Any one but an expert criminologist could see that the hold up in the Bank of the United States was "an inside job."

Law and Order

"She fainted when officers entered and told her the charge they would make against her." She was a nurse. A stout pigon went into her office, concealed marked bills on a shelf, started to talk to her. And then the police came in. . . . They "found" the marked bills. Told her she was charged with prostitution—a clear case—offered to let her off for a thousand bucks—"She fainted when officers entered. . ." She paid. Another racket. "Only saps work!"

Die Quietly Please

It isn't starvation and misery that worries the New York City officials but the public "display" of it. Solomon Lowenstein, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Welfare Coordinating Committee on Unemployment (the smaller the job the bigger the title) has issued a statement declaring:

"If children or whole families are without food, assistance should be given in their homes so that their poverty will not be advertised. . . . without the demoralizing effect of exposure to the public view." What the master class wants is humble starving workers that will die quietly in dark corners where nobody can notice them. It's the old story of "outward order and decency"—the "goodly apple rotten at the core."

And More Motis Would Help Woolen Trade

The profound economic wisdom of our rulers is once more illustrated by the words of the "head" of a great country. This time it's King George of England.

"Some laundries," said his royal nibs, "do use up tissues, but I suppose when it comes back with holes that's good for trade."

Activities of a "Labor" "Leader"

The "labor" activities of William Green are growing. In addition to opposing recognition of Soviet Russia he has now appeared before Congress to oppose a bill legalizing the spread of information on birth control.

SOUNDS FISHY!

The Poor Fish says (we mean Ham-fish):

"If this country recognizes Soviet Russia, American trade with the Soviets will decrease rather than increase." (Speech to the Economic Club, Hotel Astor.) You've got to admit the Congressman is well-named!

—B.D.W.