CLASS STRUGGLE!

UNITE

PRICE 5 CENTS

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 25, 1931.

THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE

Cape Gracias a Dios Won by

Insurgents; U. S. Rushes

Battleships To Scene

PUERTO CABEZAS, Nicaragua.--The renewed drive of the Sandino liberation

forces within the last week registered :

considerable triumph, on April 15, in the

capture of Cape Gracias a Dios, a port just south of the Honduran border. Prev-ious to this, the Sandino bands had met

in combat with groups of United States Marines, in all of which the Nicaraguan

Official reports declare that in the last

few months, especially after the earth-

quake, the Sandino movement began to

gua for the "protection of American

property and lives", i.e., for the suppres-

PREPARE FIGHT

Union Meeting Shows Fine

Militancy; Workers

Make Demands

At an exceptionally well-attended

mass meeting of the International Pockethook Workers Union, it was

unanimously decided to stand by the

demands proposed to the manufactur-

ers by the union and to reject the demands of the union.

The attendance and the spirit of the

meeting proved once more that the

workers are very much alert to their conditions and that they are ready to

strike to defend their union and their demands. At this meeting, however,

the workers once more had the chance

to see the insincerity of the union

leadership. With the help of mili-

tant phrases the officials demanded a

two days tax to be paid within two

tax. But they demanded very loudly

that the union should immediately

call shop meetings as well as a meet-

ing of all unemployed to elect dele-

gates to a strike committee to control

he money coming in on the tax. But

the officials refused to give in to this

demand, fearing even to take it to a

vote. Instead they put thru a propo-

sal giving full powers to the officials

was adjourning so that every one ris-

ing was counted as voting for, with no chance of voting against.

manufacturers expires on May 1.

The present agreement with the

The union demands, among other

points: 40-hour week, unemployment

insurance, control of machinery, etc.

The boss demands are: a 25% wage

The workers must demand the im-

mediate organization of a strike com-

The workers voted for thi

weeks.

sion of the independence movement,

government that was established

nationalists were victorious.

ion movement.

VOL. H -- N. 21.

BIG ANTI-SOVIET **PLOT REVEALED**

International Chamber of Commerce Plans General Anti-Soviet Action

Feverish preparations are now going on for the opening of the International Chamber of Commerce Convention in Washington next week. It is already clear that the Soviet Union wil receive considerable attention and will be the central problem of the

The various International Chambers of Commerce have been confidentially circularized in preparation, with three important questions. These are:

1. Are you willing to supply detailed information regarding your imports from Russia?

2. Would your country agree to concerted international restriction

of credits granted to Russia?

3. Are you willing to discuss with other countries a joint intervention prohibition of imports

Apparently the plans are afoot for organizing a rigid boycott of the Soviet Union by commercial agencies affiliated with the International Chamber of Commerce. Echoes of these preparations were also heard the other day, when John J. Tigert, form-er Federal Commissioner of Education called upon the American Legion to fight against the 5-Year Plan "as a direct challenge to the economic structure, the security and safety of American standards and ideals. Upon

at the third Annual Institute of Business the other day. Dean Madden spoke against the so-called "dumping" menace and declared that "the Rus-sian system would succeed unless other nations cooperate."

HOOVER DEFENDS HIS AID REFUSAL POLICY

Declares Farmers Relief To Be "Dole" And "Spiritually Flarmful" To People

WASHINGTON .- In opening the Red Cross, President Hoover defended his notorious opposition to any form of public relief to the unemployed or the starving farmers of the drought-stricken regions. Financing of relief with public funds would have "destroyed the spiritual attributes of our people", he declared. The refusal of the Red Cross executive to accept the money offered by Congress "blocked the path to a dole", Hoover cmphasized.

True énough! The Red Cross blocked the way to a dole-to relief for the starving farmers. And so the "rug-ged individualism" of the farmers was

BAGMAKERS IN N. Y. STRIKE

Local 22 Leads Strike Of Olympic Co. Workers for Better Conditions

A 100% strike in the Olympic Suitcase Company, 86 Blocker Street, continues in force. The strike is against low wages and long hours, The strike was called as a result of the

Bagmakers Union, Local 22, in which a rank and file committee was organized. The strike was called as a result of the many complaints of workers against the Olympic shop. Experienced men, who

for years had made \$50 to \$60 for a 44. hour week in a union shop, were working there for 60 to 70 hours for between \$15 to \$35. The Negro workers especially were exploited, many of them getting from \$8 to \$11 a week.

Until now the bosses have been using the method of trying to divide the ranks of the workers by having conferences with some of them. But they failed in this scheme. Then they tried the method of sending out raw materials (leather, carital) out of which we make Gladstone bags to open shop centers. Then the bosses turned to the police force—but

also in vain. But the workers of the shop and the rank and file committee leading the strike and the union as a whole are der the recent emergency measures which termined to make this strike a success.

U. S. Government Sends Two Workers to Certain Death

Threaten the Deportation of a Japanese and an Italian Communist To Murder Lands

allow Guido Serio, Italian Communist, U. S. government to certain death! to go to the Soviet Union so as to avoid being deported to Italy where a death sentence awaits him, was de-clared to be "impracticable" by the immigration authorities who are hold-ing Serio for deportation. The same decision was made by Harry E. Hull, commissioner general of immigration, in the case of Sadaichi Kanmotsu, Japanese Communist, to whom a reurn to Japan means certain death.

America—the "land of the free!"
America—the "free asylum for the victims of tryanny"! For being in this country "illegally"—the penalty is:
DEATH! Here are two militant workers, who have committed not the ers, who have committed not the slightest crime, even according to capitalist standards, who are being de-

Gen'l Grievance Committee Decides End of Strike

WILKES BARRE - According to the decision of the sub-committee of 14 of American standards and ideals. Upon the defeat of the 5-Year Plan depends the continuity of the American scheme of things."

The same note was struck by John T. Madden, Dean of the School of Commerce of New York University, at the third American School of Plant, and discuss the grievances and then the third American School of the School the General Grievance Committee the meet each individual grievance committee of each colliery to settle the disputes of the miners favorable to the latter. The general opinion of the miners is that the miners will emerge victorious from these negotia-

The miners feel that the strike was successful, for three reasons: (1) It exposed the district officials and changed the rule that the company does not meet anyone except International or district officials of the union. In this case the company is sports organizations will participate in the negotiating with the grievance comprogram. Admission will be 10c. mittees. (2) The strike was pulled The joint committee organizing the 100% with the greatest success in

WASHINGTON.—The request to liberately and consciously sent by the Is this anything but "legal" murder? Is the government that does such things anything else than a murder-

> The workers and farmers of America, and all liberty-loving people, must wake up. The government is conducting a drive against the labor movement in the interests of the bosses. The foreign-horn workers are the first to be hit. In this drive the government is ready to go to any extreme-even to murder!

We must smash the blood-thirsty schemes of the government! Serio and and Kanmotsu must not be sent to death! A united front of labor against the offensive of capital!

NEW YORK—More than 1,100 foreign-born workers have already been deported from New York City since the middle of January this year Secretary of Labor Doak announced on April 10. He declared that it was his aim to deport 100,000 foreign-born by the end of the year.

UNITED FRONT IN N. Y. POCKETBOOKERS

Many Labor Organizations Combine To Arrange Meeting At Irving Plaza; Gitlow to Speak

A dozen different labor organizations in New York, including the Communist Party (Majority Group), the LW.W., the C.P.L.A., and the Analgamated Food Workers have made arangements for a oint May Day meeting on Priday, May 1, at 8 p.m. in the large half of Irving Plaza, 15 Street and Irving Place. Among the speakers will be Alex How-

att, the miners' leader in Illinois; Ben Gillow of the C.P.-Majority Group; A. . Muste of the C.P.L.A.; Conners of the I.W.W.; Ghose of the Labor Priends of India's Independence, and speakers from German and Italian organizations. Louis F. Budenz will be chairman. There will he choral singing, and the German labor

meeting is issuing a statement calling for spite of the sahotage and opposition unity of the labor movement against the of the district officials. (3) The call-ing off of the strikes has not left the the necessity of united struggle against miners demoralized. On the contra- the wage-cutting drive of the bosses, the ry, they feel encouraged and the attack on the foreign-born, the war dan-been very much impressed by it. ger and attack on the Soviet Union.

HITLER SMASHES REVOLT IN OWN RANKS; AIMS AT CABINET POSTS to negotiate an agreement with the manufacturers. They took a vote on this question while the meeting

Stennes Expelled and Replaced by Major Schulz, the Notorious Murderer; Fascist Menace Grows

Serious divisions have broken out | martial law in Germany are aimed at in the Fascist ranks in Germany, the a greater enemy, "the enemy on the Nazis. But judging from the devel-left." opments and results in Berlin where Stennes, the head of the Sturmabteiexpelled Stennes and 900 of his followers who criticize Hitler as a betrayer of the Pascist program. Some superficial observers have taken this incident and the forcing out of Frick, Fascist Minister of Interior from Thuringia, to signify the collapse of the Nazis. This is utterly false. Hitler has appointed as Stennes' successor, the notorious Schultz, who was associated with the murderous "Feme" bands who murdered many Contmunist leaders. Schultz also was the contact man between the Reichswehr and the Pascisti in 1928.

All indications seem to point to the Fascist party, under the direct instructions of the biggest capitalists, is planning to enter the Cabinet and help in the formation of a new extremely reactionary government. Reports are widespread and undenied in Germany that Hindenburg and Bruening have been holding secret conferences with Hitler. Likewise it is commonly known that Roehm, the chief of staff of the Fascist army known as the stabilielm, has been working closely with Hammerstein, chief of staff of the Reichswehr. Marx, leader of the Center Party (Catholic) has openly declared that have brought about a virtual state of

cists are simply adjusting their tacties for a new attack on the workers, chinery will have to be organized.

Despite these significant and omincut, 10% reorganization twice a year, ous facts, the Social-Democratic Parand joint control of the employment lung (a sort of a strong-arm squad) ty burocrats and, in a large measure section of the Fascist party) has also the official Communist Party bu-come in conflict with Hitler, the lat-rocrats, are spreading notions that ter has been fully victorious. Hitler the Fascist menace is over. Nothing is further from the truth. The Fasmittee. There is no doubt that if the demands are maintained, a strike ma-

News from Everywhere

from California, from Philadelphia, the Day's Wage appeal has met with much "small matter" to put up to you. With GER LINE. This is an old line for us, us it's an everyday matter. We are sort It's the line of suspension of our fighting

And our special "Soldiers' Bonus," or of used to it. You know what we mean. paper. Help us lose sight of this line. anti-war, issue has hit every note. From Now that we've got a good start, that everywhere we are getting news about it. we really are pushing things, give us a OLUTIONARY AGE. Strike a blow Come to think of it, by the way, what little more push, a little more help, some for your class. Join the army-of the did you do about boosting this issue? Do more donations, some more subscriptions. REVOLUTIONARY AGE builders and you think you'd be doing right by your It may be just your contribution that will boosters. Here are last week's bets:

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SANDINO MEN WIN REPUBLIC IN SPAIN; ALFONSO 'STEPS NEW PORT TOWN OUT'; CONSERVATIVES AT HELM

Big Mass Demonstrations Mark Overthrow; France Recognizes Republic; New Regime Issues Reactionary Program

The huge republican landslide in the

ISSUED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY

(Majority Group)

tions a low days before had shown gain increased popularity among the in the most un-people of Nicaragua. The complete dissemistakable man-credit into which the Wall Street pupper oner that the posisome tion of the monyears ago by the U.S. Marines is being archy was hope-commented on as a factor making for less, that among commented on as a factor making for less, that among the broadened basis of the Sandino libera- all sections of the Spain the demand

The emiser Asheville and the light was overwhelm-cruiser Memphis have left the Canal ing. Deprived of Zone under orders to proceed to Nicara every

apport, its old foundations having the monarchy already rotted away,

On Tuesday, April 14, Spain became [collapsed] Alfonso, the last of the The new Spanish republican regime was ping aside"-altho not officially abdicating, and followed this declaration by leaving Spain for France on the way to England. The monarchy fell leaving a mass

On the morning of the fourteenth the stremely conservative republicans in Spain woke up to find the power in the lead. Niceto Alcala Zamora, only rehands of the leading elements of the cently a monarchist, is President of the republican junta, the signers of the Der Republic as well as Premier, and most cember republican manifesto. The collapse of the monarchy and the institution lapse of the monarchy and the institution of the new regime were accompanied by the wildest rejoicings and demonstrations on the part of the whole people to whom it seemed that a new era of "freedom and happiness" was opening. The "honey moon period" of the revolution.

Bourbons, issued a declaration "step- almost immediately recognized by over a

The New Regime and Its Program The new government represents a co-alition of all bourgeois republican elements together with the Socialists, with of the new cabinet are of the same type. The Socialists, who have control of a relatively strong labor federation, are acting as the tailend to the bourgeois republicans and are providing them with

the workers that they have. The new republican government immediately announced its political program:

whatever organized mass support among

1. "Law and order is our password," declared President Zamora. And this is the first point in the platform of the bourgeois republicans in control of the government of Spain. "Law and order" neans that the revolutionary fervor and pontaneous activity of the popular masses must be suppressed—once it has elevated the new rulers into power! The revolu-tionary drive of the masses will now be-"anarchy" and "dangerous to law order." The subduing—even the and ofter. The schotting—even the crushing—of every form of revolutionary mass movement is the first objective of the bourgeois republican clique now in

2. "The sanctity of property must be preserved."—"There can be no expropriation of any private property," states the first manifesto issued by the Zamora government. That means: the merciless Deccing of the peasants by the big landlords is to continue and, of course, the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists. The change from monarchy to re-public is to have no effect upon existing property relations, even upon the obso semi-feudal landownership. course, this declaration is accompanied by some pious phrases about "the alleviation of the condition of the peasantry." if the "sanctity of property" is to be pre-

3. The "financial obligations of Spain will be completely met," continues the pronouncement of the new government. the peseta." This means that the strangle-hold of the harpies of international finance will be maintained and the blood of the Spanish people will continue to fill the coffers in the banks of Paris, London and New York. For the specific gravity of foreign capital in Spain is very

4. A "hill of rights" has been promised—personal, civil, religious, and political liberty. But in the same breath the Vatican is semi-officially assured that "the (Continued on Page 2)

WAGE-CUTS SWEEP THE COUNTRY; BANKS LEAD IN ATTACKS

"I thought he said we were fighting for democracy."

"Well—this is it!"

THE WAR FOR "DEMOCRACY"

Wages Down 20%, Living Costs 13%; Agricultural great. Workers Hardest Hit; Workers Must Hit Back

Under the direct instigation of the The excuse now given by the big biggest banks, the wage-cut drive manufacturers for their wage cutting every industry thruout the country, nificant fact which is never men-Such big banks as the Chase National tioned in the capitalist press columns and the National City have written is that the wage cuts have been much their clients, not only advising but more numerous and heavier than has actually insisting on wage cuts.

known as Eusiness Week finally decalled the National Industrial Conference in its last issue:

| Show Bank of U. S. Steal clares in its last issue:

quickened since the turn of the year, appears almost inevitable."

humdinger—if you make it possible. Now do. WE ARE STILL VERY

Now do.

Strike a blow for the REV-

which has been on for some months is that business "came back" after has now assumed a sweep engulfing having wage cuts in 1921-22. A sigbeen the decline in prices during thi The influential financial paper crisis. The open-shop organization Wage cutting has been consid- the living cost has declined about 13% erably more widespread than is since the stock market crash, wages generally realized... A marked in have dropped about 20%. The United crease in wage cuts accelerating States Department of Labor indicates still further the trend that has that out of the 13,000 manufacturing concerns reporting wage data to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, about thority sums up the situation as fol-Of course, not! Then, we have one MUCH TOO CLOSE TO THE DAN- lows:

"It is pointed out that wage cutting. . . . acts like a snow ball. The farther it goes the bigger it gets and the harder it is to stop. Many think wage-cutting has already passed the controllable stage; that it must go on now to its bitter

Keeping Right with Israel's God

Rashinsky rollhed only synagogues vestigation be proceeded with to any and sold the prayer scrolls to a synagogue supply house. Now that he is in jail, he demanded matzoths in place Company, as well as the Chelsea Bank of the traditional bread and water, will be looked into. State Banking of the traditional bread and water. He is the only Jewish prisoner in Mincola jail but if he is kept long will no doubt demand a "minyon" or prayer quorum of at least ten other good Jewish inmates.

will be looked into. State Danking Department Superintendent Broderick is very gloomy over the prospects of the investigation. His predecessor, Frank H. Warder was convicted for an offense of a similar character.

BRODERICK MIXED IN BANK SCANDAL

Had State Approval

As the trial of the directors of the Bank of the U. S., which defrauded more than \$400,000 depositors proceeds, it becomes clear that the scan-1,000 admit wage cuts. The farm hands fared worst of all, with a wage cut of about 30%. The United States is the pace setter in the wage cut movement today. Real wages have fallen even faster and leven then are added to a result of the state of the state Legislature has authorized. fallen even faster and lower than any ed \$25,000 additional expenses for a Things picked up a little in the last class, by the workers, if you didn't put insure our coming out with a Special May couple of weeks. But not enough. From in your lick to spread this splendid propassaic, from San Antonio, from Boston, paganda against imperialist war?

Things picked up a little in the last class, by the workers, if you didn't put insure our coming out with a Special May where else. The outlook is that wage—out drive will gain still further monomation and the splendid propaganda against imperialist war?

Takings picked up a little in the last class, by the workers, if you didn't put insure our coming out with a Special May where else. The outlook is that wage—out drive will gain still further monomation and the special investigation of the State way.

Takings picked up a little in the last class, by the workers, if you didn't put insure our coming out with a Special May where else. The outlook is that wage—out drive will gain still further monomation. A well known financial authority of the state way.

The special may be a special investigation of the state way. U. S. collapse came after a whole series of bank failures in which workers and small business men lost years of savings. Steuer in proceeding with the prosecution of the Bank of the U.S. directors is anxious to involve Broderick in the mess as the latter is

one of Governor Roosevelt's hench-

men in the Democratic State machine.

Hitherto in the controversy between Steuer and Broderick, Gov. Roosevelt gave support to the State Banking Department head. Startling revela-Being a good Jew, Mohradehel tions will be made should such an in-

VIRGIN ISLERS HIT **HOOVER SLUR**

Declare Poverty Due To Wall Street Rule

ST. THOMAS, Virgin Islands.—The greatest resentment is being expressed here against President Hoover's insult to the Virgin Islands in describing this possession of the United States as a "poor house."

That the Virgin Islands are today practically a "poorhouse", as far as the poverty and misery of the masses

are concerned, is not denied but it is pointed out that it is precisely the domination of the United States that domination of the United States that has turned the once flourishing islands into the state they are in today. The United States has destroyed the basically important rum industry in these islands and so has impoverished almost the entire population.

The importance of the islands to the United States is as a naval base, as President Hoover recently declared.

(Continued from page 1)

new Spanish government has the highest

promise has been made for the separation of Church and state but even this is

5. A Constituent Cortes (constituent

convention) is promised.

The overthrow of the Spanish mon-archy and the institution of the new re-

publican regime has met with extraordin-

arily favorable response in the bourgeois

press, especially in the United States. The "peacefulness," the "bloodlessness" of the change, the "reasonableness" and

"moderation" of the new government, the "unity of the country"-are made

dry thru taxes and rent; the workers,

suffering from the crisis and unemploy-

ment: the intellectuals and the bulk of

the professionals, chafing under the gall-

ing restrictions of the corrupt monarchy;

the Catalonian and Basque national move-

ments; the army-the men and all but the

highest officers; large sections of the lib-

eral landlords and industrial and commer-

cial bourgeoisie. Nor was the interna-

tional position of the Spanish monarchy

any too strong. To the international bankers with huge sums invested in

Spain, Alfonso could not promise the

Italian orientation of the Rivera dictator-

ship were obstacles to the powerful drive

French imperialism is now conducting for

begemony on the continent-and had to

And so the monarchy fell! Two roads

lay open which Spain could traverse with

the fall of the monarchy: (1) The road

of a reactionary bourgeois tepublic (on

the model of the U.S. A. or France)

which aims to replace the court camacilla

and the social elements upon which it

rested by a class bloc of the liberal land-

lords and the bourgeoisie with powerful

international support—a change which

(would perhaps even intensify) the many

archy. (2) The road of a revolutionary

democratic republic which will undertake

a radical solution of the democratic tasks

beyond them. Such a republic can have

as its class base only the workers and

But the second road cannot be travers

ed except under the leadership of

strong mass Communist Party leading an

organized and class-conscious proleta-

riat in alliance with peasant masses. Un-

fortunately not one of these prerequisites

is present in Spain today. The Socialist

party and its unions are completely at

the service of the bourgeoisie. The an-archist and syndicalist elements, no mat-

ter what their intentions may be, are un-

able to play any significant part in the

events because of their anti-political, anti-

party prejudices, which become especially

dangerous at the present time. And the

Communist Party is unfortunately "feeble"

(according to Pravda)-in fact, prac-

tically non-existent. Even more serious

is the Party's lack of flexibility, its in-ability to operate in a difficult and delicate

situation which is the direct consequence

of the ultra-left course of the Comintern.

And so the Spanish revolution takes the

the farmecs.

respect for the Catholic Church."

STREET FIGHTING IN VALENCIA

REPUBLIC RULES IN SPAIN

est opposition of practically all elements property, class domination) and because of the population: the peasantty, bled it feats the unleashing of any mass move-

requisite "stability." The pro-British will mean much for the future develop-

orientation of the monarchy and the pro- ment of Spain and for the progress of

would maintain the masses in their misselfanded estates whose owners are the backerable condition and would not solve bone of the monarchist party—if the new

of the revolution and will even proceed ry dictatorship is inevitable.

BASIC PRINCIPLES

The International Communist Opposition stands on the basis of the fundamentals of Communism. It fights for:

1. the establishment of the profetarian dictatorship in the form of the Soviet state as the necessary transition to a class-

What Now?

What now? The present coalition

conservative republican government has

the support of the overwhelming bulk of

the possessing classes. Thru the Social

ists it has an important base among the workers. It has important international

support in French and American finance

capital. At the present time too the rev-

olutionary enthusiasm of the masses, still

unclear as to the character of the change,

expresses itself in confidence in and sup-port of the new regime. But pressing

problems face the bourgeois republican

question will inevitably be raised: Who

has appropriated the fruits of the revolu-

tion? And, growing rapidly sober, their illusions exploded, the masses—the peas-

ants, workers, the city poor-will pro-

ceed to embittered class battles and the

republican bourgeoisie to brutal repres-

sions. The situation continues acutely

revolutionary and the next few weeks

The Menace of the Restoration

Furthermore, there is a serious danger

of monarchist restoration or military die

tatorship. If the new regime, in its fear

to "disturb order" fails to break up the

military and berocratic apparatus of the

monarchy, dismiss the loyalist generals,

disarm monarchist officials of the old re-

gime, and above all break up the great

regime fails, as is quite likely, to under-

take these measures with energy and dis-

patch, then it will not last long and a

monarchistic counter-revolution or milita-

The only way really to safeguard the

f a restoration is: to unleash the rev

olutionary energy of the masses, to pro-

ceed courageously to solve the problems

of the revolution from the point of view

of the masses without regard to the inter-

ests of the tiny handful of landowners

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imperialism . . .

and big capitalists allied with international

the world revolution!

We interrupt the reports we have been publishing of the recent confer-ence of the International Communist Communist Opposition" at the Inter-Opposition in order to place before all Communists and militant workers of 1930. The formulation below was this country the PLATFORM OF drawn up under instructions of the THE INTERNATIONAL COM-International Conference on the basis of the discussion.

MUNIST OPPOSITION. This platform is the result of the discussion of the discussion.

—THE EDITOR

tralism, is the indispensable binding force of the Communist Parties.

tratism, is the indispensable binding force of the Communist Parties.

Democratic centralism means:

1. that the decisions be arrived at on the basis of discussion and the participa-tion of the Party membership. The dis-cussion must, of course, take place within the bounds of Communist fundamentals.

2. that the functionaries of the Party be elected by the membership and can be removed by the membership at any time in the proper manner.

3. that the decisions arrived at by the Party committees in such a manner are

Party committees in such a manner are unconditionally binding upon the member-

to the necessity of the action (but not as to the necessity of the action (but not as to the manner of carrying it thru) cannot

take place.

5. that after its conclusion every action is submitted to discussion and examination by the membership.

Revolutionary discipline must serve the carrying out of a correct Communist policy. But if discipline extends in the service of a false bodies, then it becomes near accessing fund. if discipline stands in the service of a false policy, then it becomes mere grotesque foolishuess (Lenin). Whereas, with a correct Communist policy, the formation of fractions or tendencies is impermissible in a Communist Party, yet when the attempt is made to put thru a wrong policy by disciplinary measures, the formation of fractions becomes a revolutionary duty. Discipline within a Communist fraction or tendency must be even stricter than within a Communist Party.

The International Communist Opposition carries on an encompromising struggle against open reformism and against hidden reformism (centrism). Its aim is the complete destruction of the influence of reformism upon the working class.

the working class.

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The International Communist Opposition aims neither at building new Communist Parties nor a new Communist International.

It aims to overcome the crisis in the existing Parties of the Communist International and in the Communist International as a whole, to save and to restore to health the Communist world movement, to reestablish its unity and fighting power upon the tactical principles of Leninism.

1. Where the Communist Opposition who who is the majority of the old Communist Party and where the Communist International organizes a counter-party against it, there the Communist Opposition takes over to the fullest extent the tasks of the Communist Party. It has the task of eliminating the minority outside of its ranks as a separate organization. In this case, the Communist Opposition Is, on a national scale, the Communist Party and on an international scale, a component part of an international Communist tendency.

2. Where the Communist Party (ulera-

part of an international Communist tendency.

2. Where the Communist Party (ultraleft tendency) is rooted among the masses or is still a mass party, there the Communist Opposition, acting as an organized Communist tendency, has the objective of winning the Party.

3. In a country where the official Communist Party is not rooted in the masses, the chief task of the Communist Opposition is to create the basis for a Communitarians party out of the existing elements.

The International Communist Opnosition whether inside the Party or expelled, whether majority or minority of the Communist Parties, is therefore a part of the Communist International and its sections. It is an organized tactical tendency of Communism,

the "unity of the country"—are made the subjects of long effusions. A "real revolution" according to the taste of the bourgeoiste!

Two Roads

The collapse of the Bourbon monarchy was inevitable. The corrupt ruling clique of aristocratic landlords and burocrats in alliance with the Church was completely bankrupt and was faced with the bitter; est opposition of practically all elements. The Communist Opposition likewise it fears the unleashing of any mass movement as the very devil itself.

It will not be long before the masses will awaken from the "honeymoon to the ultra-left course which necessarily must lead to opportunist deviations ("conciliation"). dreams" of the "glorious and peaceful revolution" and "national unity." The

SITUATION OF WORLD CAPITALISM

The International Communist Opposition cases its tactical views and demands upon the following estimation of the situation of world capitalism:

world capitalism:

The chief stages in the development of apitalism since the world war are the following:

1. The post-war crisis, which was accompanied by the first outbreak of the world revolution. The post-war crisis expressed itself in the absolute diminution of production, in the decline of world trade, in the distuption of international credit, and in the collapse of the fixed values and standards in a number of comvalues and standards in a number of countries. The first open outbreak of the world revolution led to the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union. In Contral Europe the developing proletarian revolutions were beaten back with the aid of the Social-dentocracy. In a number of countries the boargeois counter-revolution, however, but an end, more or less, to the still unsolved tasks of the boargeois revolution (Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland). The first open outbreak of the world revolution was closed with the overcoming of the post-war crisis and the reestablishment of the political domination of the boargeoisie in values and standards in a number of com-

relation was accompanied in Europe by the overcoming of the inflation was accompanied in Europe by the overcoming of the inflation crisis in Germany in 1923-24; in Asia, by the defeat of the involutions of the revolutionary workers and peasants by the Chinese houngeoisic (1927). 2. The so-called stabilization of capital-ism. It rests upon the overcoming of the

JUST OUT!

republic and to destroy the chances INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION

COMMUNIST OPPOSITION

New Series (German)

Nos. 2-3

Contains valuable material on the Communist and labor movements all over the world. In this issue: Appeal of the In ternational Conference, the Platform of the International Communist Opposition, The Situation In Sweden, The Elections In Zurich, A Collection of Material on

India, etc.

Order from; REVOLUTIONARY AGE post-war crisis and the reestablishment of the domination of the bourgeoisie, hitherto-shattered,

The so-called stabilization of capitalism is, therefore, no mere economic phenomenon. It signifies the reestablishment of capitalism, economic and political. Relative stabilization is only a phase in the period of general decline of capitalism does not mean, however, that capitalism is in decline at an equal rate in every country or has already declined to the same extent in all countries. The decline of capitalism proceeds unevenly in the individual countries, just as did its rise. Thus, e.g., the collapse of capitalism in America. Huitanity is faced with this question: either progress thru the world revolution or relapse into barbarism thruthe destruction of all the achievements of mankind. The so-called stabilization of capitalism

Platform of the International Communist Opposition

manding.

The end of relative stabilization is characterized thru a new outbreak of the world revolution, i.e., thru the working class and its allies passing to immediate attack against the domination of capital,

The next outbreak of the world revolution is inevitably approaching. The revolutionary struggles in India and China show that the world revolution is already in progress in the East.

The objective prerequisites for the resump-tion of the immediate stringgle for power, i.e., for a new acute revolutionary situation, can be created either thru economic crisis or war. or created either thru economic crisis or war. An economic crisis does not in itself mean the end of the so-called stabilization. It eatly signifies such an end if the working class makes use of the objective revolutionary possibilities created for overthrowing the rule of capital.

For the bourgeoisie there is no situation in itself without a way out. If the working class fails, then the bourgeoisie will overcome the economic crisis at the expense of the toilers, under certain conditions, thru the triumph of extreme counter-revolution.

It is incorrect to speak of a special third period of post-war capitalism, duting from 1927—as does the Communist International, The adoption of the third period does not rest upon a real analysis of world capitalism but upon a schematic transference of the chief stages of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union. In the economic development of the U.S.S.R. the following three chief stages are to be distributed.

1. the period of War Communism.
2. the representation and Communism.

1. the period of War Communism.
2. the restoration period in which it was a question of putting the old establishments into motion again and reaching the pre-war level of production.
3. the reconstruction period in which production is extended on the basis of new establishments.

The transference of these periods to the development of the capitalist countries is false:

1. because, it is in general false to estimate capitalist communities is false:

2. because, in most of the capitalist countries as of such destruction of the productive apparatus took place as in the Soviet Union during the civil war.

3. because, in the capitalist countries the pre-war level of production had already been reached on the basis of a renewal of the productive apparatus.

The idea that a special third period of the shattering of stabilization must be assumed, is erroneous:

erroneous:

1. because, the impression is thereby created that capitalist stabilization itself has no contradictions or shocks.

2. because, it serves as the basis for the thesis of the immediately immigrant the thesis of the immediately imminent revolutionary upsurge, of the immediately imminent revolution, which has been continually announced by the Communist factorizational. In reality it depends on the working class and on the correct policies of the Communist Parties whether objective revolutionary possibilities can lead to a revolutionary upsurge and to the struggle for power. If the working class makes no use of the revolutionary possibilities, then, the shaking of the stabilization passes and thereby also the third period, which, according to the Commutem, was

passes and thereby also the third period, which, according to the Cominteen, was supposed to be the stage immediately before the revolution. The practical harm of the fiction of the third period consists in the effect it has in decalling the Communist Parties from their task of carrying that the organizational and political preparations of the struggle for power. The consequence of this is either putschism or passivity.

Between the daily struggle and the immediate struggle for power of the working class there is no Chinese wall. But the struggle for power can arise only thru the sharpening and intensitying of the daily struggle. The transition of one to the other takes place not thru empty talk and high sounding prophecies but thru the careful and systematic cutes but then the careful and systematic utilization of the daily thruggle to awaken in the working class an insight and understanding of the struggle for power and the organization of this struggle.

TACTICAL PRINCIPLES

From the estimation of the situation of world expitalism as well as from the view-point of the factical fundamentals of International Community Opposition:

1. The readoption of the factics of the united front. The tactics of the united front rest upon the railying of the workers, without regard to political or other views, for partial stringle for daily aims and demands.

The tactics of the united front have for

and demands.

The facties of the united front have for their aim neither a lasting alliance with Social-democracy nor the organizational fusion of the Communist Parties with Social-democracy but rather the winning of the majority of the working class for Communistics.

The factics of the united front have for their aim the mobilization and the concentration of the masses for struggle against the bourgeoise and the bourgeois state. The utilization of the united front factics therefore signifies to approach (gentlag nearer) to the Social-democracy and reformism in general but rather a practical enlightenment of the masses as to the anti-shor character of the policy of collaboration with the bourgeois state (especially the coalition policy) which is carried on by Social-democracy. Wherever Communist labor organizations exist side by side with labor organizations basing themselves on other principles (reformist, amarchist, Christian), the tactics of the united front constitute an indispensable means for winning the majority of the working class for the fundamentals and aims of Communism, i.e., for the struggle for the Soviet power.

2. The tactics of the united front require for their execution the setting up of such daily slogans or partial demands which correspond to the existing conditions and to the existing stage of understanding of the unisses of the toilers as a whole. With such daily demands which are definite and serve immediate aims for action, is to be tied up propaganda for demands which concretely prepare the minds of the workers for the transition to the struggle for power (revolutionary transition slogans) as well as the propaganda of the Communist fundamentals and aims.

3. The activity of the Communists in tordonement and municipal councils must The factics of the united front have for

The activity of the Communists in arthment and municipal conneils must --side by side with basic revolutionary propaganda-aim at the organization of the authentic strength of the workers in extra-parliamentary struggle. Parliamentary activity must be subordinated to extra-parliamentary striggle, and must be adapted to the conditions of the extra-parliamentary stringde. tary struggle.

THE NATIONAL QUESTION

On the national question, the Communist Opposition stands on the basis of the thoses of the tl World Congress of the Communist International and, therefore, lights:

1. against all concessions to bourgeois chauvinian and nationalism, i.e., all attempts to subordinate social questions to national questions and to liquidate or even to weaken the class antanguism become

the struggle against national oppression in the individual countries.

THE COLONIAL QUESTION On the colonial question the Communist Opposition stands on the basis of the Theses of the I Congress of the Communist International. Therefore, it fights the ultra-leit deviations in the Communist today on this

TRADE UNION WORK

Revolutionary work in the trade unions, with the aim of creating united trade unions participating in the general class struggle of the working class for the overthrow of capiparticipating in the general class struggle of the working class for the overthrow of capi-talism and, after the solution of Socialism, is the most important tactical demand of the futernational Communist Opposition. For this it is necessary to eliminate the reformist in-fluence in the trade unions and to make Communist influence dominant (winning the trade unions).

names in the trade unions and to make trade unions). Here several distinctions must be made:

1. Countries in which the trade union movement is still united (Germany, Sweden, Finland, England, etc.). Here the Communist Opposition is against the formation of new "revolutionary" trade unions; it is for tactics that will make it as difficult as possible for the reformists to realize their splitting purposes.

2. Countries in which "red unions" exist. Here also the general course must be for the reestablishment of trade union unity. But this reunification must not be fought for as a capitulation of the red unions before the reformist unions but rather along the road of strengthening the red unions.

3. Countries in which mass trade unions are only just beginning to be established (India, etc.) or in which the trade unions consciously prevent the organization of definite groups of workers, (especially unskilled workers, as, in the U.S.A.).

In the last named countries the Communist uposition contracts.

O.S.A.).

In the last named countries the Communist
Opposition pursues the following tactical
riewpoint in its revolutionary trade union

i. It must use as a basis for the formation of trade unions all existing trade unions which have a mass character.

2. New trade unions should be organized in those industries in which no trade unions exist as yet or where the existing trade unions have no mass basis at all.

3. The general question of organizing the unorganized most be connected with the question of forming a left wing in the existing trade unions. All efforts most be made to utilize the resources of the old unions for the organization of the unorganized into new unions or for winning them for the old unions.

"Fighting leaderships" established in opposition to the majority of organized workers involved are to be rejected. Communists must strive to win the leadership of economic struggles thru winning decisive influence among the organized workers of the factories involved.

If a strike takes place where the participali. It must use as a basis for the for-

relyed.

If a strike takes place where the participaling workers are not organized then the strike committee must see to it that the strikers are organized in the trale union movement.

STRUGGLES AGAINST FASCISM STRUGGLES AGAINST FASCISM.

The struggle against fascism can only be conducted in an effective manner if the Communists strive to win the non-Party and reformist workers for this struggle. This is impossible as long as Social-democratic workers are ascribed fascist desires (theory of social-fascism). The "theory of social-fascism"—because it rests on a false estimation of class forces—prevents an effective fight against real fascism. Communists must be leaders in the defense of all rights, organizations and institutions of the working class against fascism which wants to destroy them.

INTERNATIONAL ACTIONS

The International Communist Oppositions calls attention to the necessity of the organization of international political campaigns to mite the international movement of the working class and to serve the struggle against the international politics of the bourgeoisie. On this field the following questions are especially noneworthy:

1. The struggle against the Young Plan.

Plan.

2. Against the international anti-Soviet campaign—for the defense of the Soviet Union.

3. Against the international fascist dancer.

3. Against the international danger.
4. Against unemployment,
5. Against imperialist armaments and war preparations,
6. Against the imperialist oppression in the colonial contaries. For the support of the colonial struggle for freedom.

THE INNER-PARTY REGIME The Communist Opposition fights the present inner Party tegine in the Cl and its sections. It lights against the replacement of democratic centralism by burocratic centralism.

sin.

The Communist Opposition demands of the Johnmunist International:

1. The extension of the right (existing in the statutes but not in fact) of criticism—which today exists only for the leadership of the CI.

2. The preparation of important decisions of the CI thru international discussions.

sions.

3. The abandonment of the mechanical transference of the points of view and inner-Party differences in the CPSU to

LOVESTONE SPEAKS IN BALTIMORE

Reports At Workers Educational Club and At College Meet

Nearly one hundred workers gathcred to listen to Jay Lovestone speak on "The Crisis in Europe and the Communists" under the auspices of the Workers Educational Club of Bal- and stickers. No other motions or ward demands for immediate relief, timore, on April 10. The speaker was well received, asked, especially by Party sympathiz- of struggle, May I were made. It ers and members.

Conference on Unemployment, held order of the Daily. at the John Hopkins University. Sev- | A motion again was made to march at the John Hopkins University, Several hundred were present. Love-stone, speaking on "The Economic Consequences of Unemployment", made a Marxian analysis of capitalism and unemployment crisis, showed the only real way out to be in the overthrow of the capitalist goverament and the destruction of the whole capitalist system and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship and Soviet system along the lines of the Soviet Union. He emphasized the role of the Negroes in the revolution ary movement and made an energetic plea for the Negroes to fall in line

with the Communist movement, There was considerable response to this address and many questions followed.

In the evening session, Norman Thomas spoke, representing the So-cialist Party viewpoint. Levestone followed him and sharply exposed the plans and policies of the Socialist to weaken the class antagonism between plans and policies of the Socialist les Auxiliary of projectariat and bourgeoisie in the interests of so-called national unity.

2. against national middism, i.e., tack of attention to the concrete questions of the C.P. U.S.A. (Majority olutionary Age.

the other sections and of the consideration of the questions of the individual sections primarily from the point of view of the differences in the CPSU.

The questions of the individual sections must be examined, estimated and decided from the viewpoint of the special conditions of the class slruggle in the individual constitutes.

tions of the class struggle in the individual countries.

4. The replacement of the actual monopoly of the CPSU in the leadership of the Comintern by a real collective and, at the saute time, united and centralized international leadership based upon Party representatives who are in the position to pass their own judgment upon the class collations in their countries and who are not merely officials of the international leadership but actually trusted representatives of their sections.

5. The legal sections of the Comintern must raise their own means for regular Party work. International financial support shall be given: (a) to liberal Parties; (b) to legal Parties for special campaigns and for the production and distribution of international propaganda literature.

bution of international propagation acci-ature.

6. The international leadership shall have as its tasks: (a) the leading of in-ternational actions; (b) the working out of general tactical lines; (c) the super-vision and control of the carrying thru of the fundamental principles as well of the general tactical line by the individual sec-tions. The international leadership cau-nor replace the leaderships of the sections. The international leadership should lead but not hold in apron strings. but not hold in apron strings.

7. The withdrawal of all expulsions against the opponents of the ultra-left course.

THE PARTIES

In the sections of the Comintern the inter-

In the sections of the Comintern the intertional Communist Opposition demands:

1. In legal times the election of functionaries thru the membership.

2. The election of Party Congress delegates and the delegates to the international congresses thru the membership
after a foregoing discussion.

3. The right of discussion of all Party
questions within the bounds of the Conuninist fundamentals and discipline of
action.

4. The removal of all corrupt elements
from the Party apparatus. from the Party apparatus.

AGAINST TROTSKYISM

The International Communist Opposition fights Trotskyism because of its fundamental deviation from the Communist standpoint and because of its fundamental deviation from the Communist standpoint and beasic deviation of Trotskyism manifests itself in the complete or partial denial of the character of the Soviet Union as a proletarion state in which Socialism is being built. In respect to tactics Trotskyism shares the ultra-left viewpoint in a whole series of questions.

GITLOW SPEAKS AT BROOKWOOD

Discusses Unemployment And Labor Program

On February 10, Ben Gitlow lectured before the student body of Brookwood Labor College on the unemployment situation and a program for labor. The students and faculty present showed a keen interest in the questions raised. Gitlow dealt with all the ramifications of the question, stressing especially the effects of rationalization in industry and agriculture upon the unemployment situation. Pointing out how the increased productivity of human labor, speedup methods and new machines greatly augment the permanent army of the unemployed (a striking feature of present day capitalism), Gitlow also pointed out how the mergers and trustifications going on under capitalism, the development of chain stores, etc., were declassing thousands of middle men and reducing them to the status of workers thus further swelling the labor market.

Gitlow laid special emphasis upon the program of the capitalists to overcome the crisis by a drive against the workers living standards and by an intensification of imperialist expansion. He showed that the whole reactionary drive against the workers and the war preparations were an aftermath of this program. He showed that the effect of the capitalist program would be to produce great discontent in the ranks of the workers, that the reactionary burocracy would do everything in their power as agents of the bosses to stifle all militant working class actions, that the Socialist Party would on the economic field support the reaction-ary trade union officials and politically support a petty bourgeois reformed movement. He criticized the official Communist Party for its sectarian policy which makes it impotent to mobilize the masses of workers today. He showed the inadequacy of the C.P.L.A. movement because of its divergent elements and conclud-Before the Communist International and its sections there stands the alternative either, with the correstrained continuation of the ultra-left course, complete destruction as a mass organization ourside of the Soviet Union, which would also mean a serious danger for the Soviet Union, or, thru the basic correction of this course, the reestablishment of the unity of the Communist Party and the continuation, on the basis of the tactical teachings of Lenin, of the now interrupted progress to the victory of the world revolution.

In The Communist Party

Another 'United Front' Conference

by M. KRAMER

The Philadelphia May Day united front conference called by the Party for Sunday, April 11, was another glaring example of the impotence of the Party to mobilize and rally to its support masses of workers, despite the splendid objective condi-

tions May 1, 1931 is of utmost significance. It comes at a time when ever larger masses of workers are being thrown into the streets to join the already enormous army of unemploycd. It comes at a time when ever

greater misery and starvation are becoming the lot of millions of workers. It comes at a time of greater brutality of the bourgeoisic and ever growing attacks upon the workersmass deportation, lynchings, imprisonments, red raids, and hysteria are on the order of the day and as a result of this, ever growing consciousness and resistance on the part of the workers. And despite this situation not one non-Party organization was represented at the conference. Not one organization of workers outside of those controlled by the Party and when the Communist Party (Majority Group) sends delegates, the delegates are rejected and the most vicious at tack made against them.

The conference was characteristic of the failure to take up concrete tasks for mobilization of large masses of workers. The only motion that one of the national figures Alfred Wagenknecht made, was that every workingelass organization should pay proposals tending to mobilize masses was more like a Party unit discuss-Saturday afternoon, Lovestone ad- ing the question of how to cover the crossed the Intercollegiate Liberal price of the stickers and the bundle

to city hall, etc. One who remembers some of the May Day conference organized by the Party in the "second-

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Group). Thomas retorted with an attack on the Soviet Union.

Among the other speakers were Prof. Barnett and H. W. Laidler. On Sunday night Lovestone spoke at the Third Anniversary of the Ladies Auxiliary of Branch 117 Independ-Party as based on capitalism. He ent Workmen's Circle. Nineteen dolalso presented the unemployment pro- lars were collected here for the Rev- food relief which they had hither-

great miracles of the "third period".

E. C. C. I. Worried Over the Amercan Party Situation In a recent leading editoral in the ravda there appeared a significant estimate of the situation in the International, referring to conditions in the Communist Party of the United

States. The Pravida declares:

"The day-to-day work of the Communist Party of the United States still bears a purely propaganda character. The Party has as yet come out before the masses only with general slogans, failing to concentrate attention on the immediate every day demands of the masses. The trade unions have in fact, only duplicated the party. The result of all this has been a considerable weakening of the Party's contact with the masses, passivity, and lagging behind the general mass movement and a consequent strengthening of opportunistic tendenoies especially the right danger in various sections of Party." (Pravda's emphasis)

New Letter From the Profintern and

Comintera Some weeks ago the Political Comnittee of the Party received a new etter from the Profintern endorsed by the Comintern. It deals with the following:

1. A condemnation of the previous unemployment work of the Party, especially attacking the general stract slogans centering around the much heralded petition campaign and for 500 copies of the Daily Worker the failure of the Party to put foractual food and shelter for the hun-Many questions were of workers for the support of this day gery jobless workers. The letter further orders that the W. I. R. should get into soup kitchen work.

2. The Party was instructed to see to it that at least some pretense of democracy should be introduced in its own unions, the new unions. 3. Insistence was placed on the im-

mediate preparation of the Party's agricultural program and organizaperiod" cannot but wonder at the tional proposals were made for changes in the status of the practically defunct agrarian organ of the Party.

There was considerable opposition to the letter in the Political Committee, particularly in regards to the unemployment activities. The letter was suppressed by the Central Committee for a number of weeks and an appeal was sent to the Comintern. It was rejected. A second appeal followed, the ECCI again rejected it. Then the letter was placed in strictest confidence before the District Committees which arranged a discussion under the direction and control of the Central Committee representatives. A third appeal was sent by the Polcom. In the meanwhile, the new instructions are being carried out. That explains the flood of articles by Browder, Amter and Wagenknecht for immediate

to condemned as opportunist.

Two Years of the New Line

Statement of the Young Communist League (Majority Group)

of the most tried elements.

Let the Facts Speak!

These two years that have passed have given ample opportunity to show wheth er the new line and the new leadership can build the Young Communist League. Let the facts speak for themselves. The objective conditions for work among the young workers have not been better since the immediate postwar days: "The situa-tion in the U.S.A. puts great tasks be-fore the American YCL, but at the same time creates exceptionally favorable conditions for its growth and development." (YGI Letter, April, 1930). Since last spring, conditions have grown steadily better for us. Yet in this time, the League has declined in membership and influence among the young workers. From March 1926 to April 1929, the League grew steadily. In December 1928, a registration of the League membership showed 3,479 members, an increase of 80% since the 4th National Convention (November 1927), when the League had about 1,900 members; an increase of about 250% from March 1926, membership about 1,000.

The Convention call issued by the National Committee says: "From 1,000 members at the time of the Party Conven tion (June, 1930), we have grown to more than 2,000 members." So that we see, as the result of two years "growth" a loss of over 1,000 members.

The League in the Struggles of Labor In the period from 1926 to 1929, the League acted with increasing frequency as the leader of the young workers in struggle. In the Passaic strike, in the miners' strike, in New Bedford, in the plumbers' helpers strike, in a number of needle trades strikes, and in many less important strikes down to Gastonia, the young workers, under the guidance and inspiration of the League, took a notable part in struggle. A number of successful and genuine youth conferences were Among the conferences were successful young miners' conference is Pittsburgh, a textile youth conference in New Bedford, and miners' relief confer-ences in a number of large cities (New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, De troit, San Francisco, and elsewhere).

Today, industrial work on the part of the League is practically non-existent. The youth section in the needle trades no longer functions. All activity among the young miners and textile workers has ceased. In recent strikes (needle trades Lawrence, the Anthracite) the League may have issued a manifesto or so, but so lar as mobilizing young workers in the struggle, it has done nothing. Nor has the League made any progress in the struggle against unemployment. No youth program, no youth demands have been popularized among the young work-The problem of unemployment has not been carried into the schools. When the slogan of food and clothing for the children of anemployed workers to be supplied thru the schools would have ral-lied thousands of workers' children, young and adult workers, behind it, it has not bee raised, or if raised at all, i has not been made a fighting issue.

Anti-Militarist Work

1929, a successful break was made with the people at any rate. the pacifist traditions of the past. Consocranic number of League members will never voluntarily abandon the were sent into the army, navy and National Guard to carry on work. Compades were sent to the CMTC and some headway was made in the struggle against ROTC in the schools and colleges. Num will never voluntarily abandon the difference position of power and privilege. Nor lusion will be set up only to be shattered by the realities, and concessions gained by the fortunate few will be ROTC in the schools and colleges. Num bers of leaflets were issued and frequent anti-militarist demonstrations were held.

Our Pioneer work was so notably successful that it was singled out by the YCI for praise. Ours was one of the few League in the YCI which had a Pioneer movement larger than the League. To day, the line laid down by the YCI fo the Pioneers is for the affiliation of entire groups to the Pioneers (not on an individual basis), thus giving up the con-ception of the Pioneers as a leading organization. The school and shop unit plan has been abandoned.

In September 1930, the League could claim only 1,000. Pioneers! In May, 1929, the membership was between 4,500 and 5,000!

In the past, a number of district schools were held each summer where several hundred young workers received training for the class struggle. Last year, not one such school was held.

The League Organization

Organizationally the League has suf-The membership has greatly de-The League has ceased to be a national organization. It no longer exists, except on paper, in a whole serie districts (Connecticut, Boston, Mid-West, Pittshurgh, Detroit). In other dis-tricts (Superior, Scattle, Philadelphia, California, Cleveland, Chicago) it has greatly declined in size, activity and influence among the young workers.

Bluff and Fakery

The real situation in the League is unknown to most of the members. The leadership has elevated bluff and fakery The into a system in order to conceal the losses the League has suffered. The leadership continually makes false claims as to its past gains and sets unrealistic and fantastic goals for immediate accomplishment. At the time of the 5th National Convention, May 1929, the League had a membership of around 3,500. After a year of the new line, in the Daily Worker of May, 1930, we find in a statement of the NEC: "During the recent recruit' struggle for freedom, therefore de-

Two years has passed since our last the Convention call, the NEC admits themselves in the Fascist youth organiconvention, since the expulsion of the there were but 1,000 members at the time zations, there to be used against the in-old leadership of our League and of some of the Party Convention (June 1930). terests of their own class, to be used as One step forward; ten steps backward!

> The last two years have been years of disintegration and decay in the League. In spite of frequent changes in the leadership in the center (including the removal as "degenerates" of the very "proletarian leadership" forced on the League at our last Convention, Harvey, Rijack, etc.); and in the districts, in spite of frantic "shock plans" and "shock troops" the League has been unable to halt this isastrous downward course,

Today, in every country there are unisual opportunities for Communist work, A world-wide economic crisis exists. The bosses seek to place on the workers the disassociated from the general crisis in entire cost of the crisis. War clouds no the Comintern. But there are important longer hover on the horizon but rather fill the entire sky. Relations between a number of capitalist countries are becoming ever more strained. World capitalism looks with increasing eagerness to they have had experiences only in the a war on the Soviet Union as a possible In the ranks of the Socialdemocratic youth, in American and internationally, there is a considerable left opposition movement. Yet nowhere have experience. Thus, everywhere, they tend the Leagues been able to have any of to find uniform conditions and to lay fect upon the young Socialist organizar down uniform methods of work. But this tions in the direction of winning over the best elements to Communism.

In America, the overwhelming majorty of the organized young workers are organized under the control of the bourgeoisie. In a number of countries, thousands of young workers are enrolling

the tools of counter-revolution instead of til it makes common cause with the being the most valiant fighters for the Irish, indeed until it takes the initia-

"The proof of the pudding is in the no less in the revolutionary cating' movement than in the kitchen. A line which results in chaos, in decay, in loss of membership and influence, in the weakening of the position on the Young Communist League cannot be a correct line, theses and manifestos to the contrary,

Why is it that the Leagues of every country have policies forced upon them which have resulted so disastronsly? The crisis in the youth movement cannot be contributing factors arising from the situation in the YCI alone.

A few Russian comrades are the conrolling element of the ECYCL. Since Soviet Union, never under conditions existing in capitalist countries, it is inevitable that they should see the youth movements as a whole in terms of the Soviet experience. Thus, everywhere, they tend seeming uniformity is only the result of their own uniform ignorance of non-Russian conditions.

The Russian comrades see and admit the crisis in the other sections. In seeking to remedy these conditions, they place

(Continued on Page 4)

The Revolutionary Movement In India

WHAT NOW IN INDIA?

A Declaration to the Congress Rank and File

We publish below a leaflet by a tion that can lay down the basis for All-India National Congress on the the following principles. occasion of the capitulation of Gandhi before the forces of British impower to the people;
nerialism (the Gandhi-Irwin pact). 2. Abolition of the Native States The leaflet shows the sentiment of a large section of the Congress rank

3. Freedom of the peasantry from and file, especially among the worls all exploitation and exaction so that ers and the lower petty bourgeoisie the greater part of their surplus proof the cities. The line of the leaflet is duce remains in their possession; entirely in the spirit of the Indian Communist Opposition group.

---THE EDITOR

It is highly regrettable that Con-gress leaders should agree to consider the reforms proposed by the Round Table Conference. All the talks and negotiation for peace only confuse the situation brushing aside the cardinal issue. The Round Table Conference has sketched the plan for a compro-mise with imperialism on the basis of minimum concessions to the upper strata of the Indian people. agreement even to consider the plans betrays willingness for a compromise with imperialism. This is a crass violation of the principle of national possible only after capture of power freedom. No compromise with foreign by the masses. Political power is be the reforms gained, can ever be tomatically. This basic issue must be In antiemilitarist work, from 1926 to independence, not for the masses of grasped, once for all, by those who

No Elements of Freedom

Looked at from the point of view of: the proposed reforms cannot be interpreted as containing the most rudi- eign imperialism must be confronted mentary elements of freedom. The with and challenged by the organized masses of the Indian people are lan-guishing in the lowest depths of ab-ject poverty. The peasantry is bank-icet poverty. The peasantry is bankrupt, pauperized, sunk deep in ruin- to promulgate the Organic Law of the ous indebtedness. The workers in Free National State. The struggle ing them in the face thruout life. The the country committees composed of class are hardly any better. The standard for national freedom is concrete improvement of these conditions of the majority of the people. The proposed reforms will not free the peasantry from the grinding burden of imperialist tribute, feudal levies and usurious indebtedness; they will the workers, they will not confer minimum political rights as might enable the masses to defend and further their interests; in short, they will not in the least alter the condi tions of the great majority of the people

As far as the great majority of the people are concerned, nothing what soever is offered; so they cannot share the opportunist view:—"Let us take what is available and fight for more!" Therefore the rank and file of the Congress, representing the popular urge for liberation from the foreign yoke, must categorically disyow the policy of peace and continue the fight with greater determination and more effective methods.

Confusion of Issues

The present confusion of issues arises from ambiguity about the nature of our goal. As an abstract conception, the ideal of independence remains open to all sorts of interpreta tion. Further development of the ing drive, the League won 1,000 new pends upon a clear view of the goal, members". This makes a total of 4,500 The ideal of independence must be members claimed by the NEC. Today, in I given a concrete shape. A Constitu-

roup of well-known members of the real freedom must be constructed on 1. Unconditional transfer of all

and parasitic landlords; 4. Nationalization of land, public utilities, mineral resources and

5. Repudiation of debts contracted by foreign government;

6. Provision for an irreducible stanthe introduction of minimum wages, limited hours of work, healthy conditions of labor, insurance against unemployment, sickness, old age, etc.; 7. Control of the economic life of the country by the workers and peasants so that the fruits of national freedom may not be usurped by a for-

The reorganization of Indian society on the basis of these principles is imperialism, however "liheral" may never transferred, voluntarily or austrive for real national freedom. The foreign rulers of our country Otherwise popular energy will be wast

Constituent Assembly

The condition for the capture of nower is the rise of an organ incorthe great majority of the popoulation, porating revolutionary democratic authority. The autocratic power of fortowns and villages, live and die in for the capture of power shall begin indescribable misery, starvation star- with the campaign to set up all over conditions of the numerous middle delegates from the organizations of the various oppressed and exploited classes, workers, peasants, artisans, small traders, employees, poor intel-lectuals, and eventually policemen and soldiers. These organizations of the oppressed and exploited classes shall be brought into being in the course of the struggle for enforcing not guarantee a human existence to their respective partial, immediate demands (minimum wages, eight hour

mittees, these will elect deputies to a others.

National Assembly as the RevolutionBombay, February 25th, 1931.

Karl Marx on ireland

to knock it into the English working class-that it (the English working class) will never be able to do anything decisive here until it breaks in the most determined manner with the Irish policy of the ruling classes, unlive in the dissolution of the union of 1801. . . And this should be done not out of sympathy for Ireland, but in the interests of the English proletariat. If this is not done, then the English people will remain attached to the apron strings of the ruling classes thru making common cause with them against Ireland. . . . The first condition of emancipation here the overthrow of the English land oligarchy-remains impossible for its positions here cannot be stormed as long as it maintains its hold upon its strongly intrenched positions in Ireland. There, however, just as soon as the matter is put into the hands of the Irish people themselves, just as soon as it is made its own legislator and ruler, just as soon as it becomes autonomous, the destruction of the landed aristocracy (largely the same persons as the English landlords) is nfinitely easier than here, because in Ireland it is not simply an economic roblem but also a national question, the landlords there not being, as in England, traditional dignitaries and national representatives, but bitterly hated national oppressors . . .

The English Republic under Cromwell foundered on-Ireland. Non his in idem! (Not twice the same way.-

-Letter To Kugelmann, November 29, 1869,

5. Question of the Resolution of the General Council on Irish Amnesty. England is the bulwark of European landlordism and capitalism; the point where official England can be hit hardest is Ireland.

For Ireland is the bulwark of English landlordism. If it falls in Ircland, it must fall in England. . Landlordism in Ircland is maintained solely by the British army. The instant that the compulsory union between the two countries ceases, there will break out a social revolution in Ireland, altho in antiquated forms. English landlordism will not only lose a great source of its wealth but will also lose its moral power, i.e., its position as the representative of English domination over Ireland. On the other hand, the English proletariat looks upon its landlerds as practically immune from attack as long as they maintain their power in Ireland,

Again, the English bourgeoisie has not only exploited Irish misery in order to push down the conditions of the English workers by the forced emdard of living for the workers thru igration of the Irish poor; it has also split the proletariat into two antagonistic camps. The revolutionary fervor the vigorous but slow power of the Anglo-Saxons. Just the reverse, in all great industrial centers of the country there is visible a deep antagonism be tween the Irish and the English proetarians. . . . These antagonisms are artifically nourished and maintained by the bourgeoisie which realizes that this split is the true secret of the maintenance of its power. —From A Circular of the First International, written by Karl Marx.

BRAUNSCHWEIG - AND NOW EFFELDER

In the town of Effelder (Sonneherg district) the municipal delegation of the Communist Party of Germany joined with the bourgeois parties to elect a may or who is a registered member of the National-Socialist (Fascist) party. The municipal council is composed of four Social-democrats, three Communists and bree bourgeois. In the elections there were two candidates: a Social-democrat and a National-Socialist. Quite the contrary to what happened in Braunschweig, where the C.P. voted for a Social-demo crat, here the Communists voted for the Fascist! In again-out again!

ary Democratic Sovereign Authority This is the only road to the conquest of National Freedom.

Signed by: Sit Achut Balwant Kolhatkar, President of the last War Sardar Kartar Singh, President of the Akali Dal, Partin, Trasi President of the local Akali Dal, Sjt. Muhamed Ibrahim, President of the National Workers' League, Sjts. G. L. Kandalkar, Abdul Majeed, V. K Tande of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Red Flag Union, Stit. Marcel Fernandes A. Subba Roo and P. M. Shetty of the B. B. & C. I. Railway Emday, reduction of rent and taxes, inquidation of the poor peasants' indebtedness, control of usury, unemployment relief, freedom of press, Chetty, Sunder Kubadi, A. Dhairyaman, Umanath Putli, Mrs. Shashikaman, Umanath Putli, Mrs. Shashikaman, Umanath Shaikh, Charles Mas-When the country will be covered la Pulli, A. T. Shaikh, Charles Maswith a net work of such local Com- curenus, Dr. P. M. Shetty, and many

Fifteen Years After the Easter Uprising

Significance of the Irish Revolt More and more have I come to the

by N. Lenin

ialdemokrat, October 1916. -THE EDITOR

The War has been a period of crisis for the West European nations, for imperialism as a whole. Every war makes away with all conventionalities, it brushes aside all pretensions, sloughs off the outlived, and uncovers the more deep-scated motive forces. What has it taught us from the standpoint of the movement of the oppressed nations? In the colonics there as occurred a whole series of attempted uprisings—the news of which the oppressing nations have tried in every way to suppress with the aid of the military censorship. In Europe it reached the stage of an Irish uprising which the "freedom-loving" Englishmen tried to "pacify" thru executions.

War and National Revolution

sympathies and antipathies have suc- det, A Kulischer, who branded the ceeded in coming to expression in spite uprising as the "Dublin putsch"? of all threats and draconic repression. In the scientific sense of the term At that time, the crisis of imperialism a "putsch" can only mean an attempt

On the occasion of the fifteenth an | was still far removed from the stage at uprising that is the work of a tinersary of the heroic Easter Rising of its highest development; the power; small circle of conspirators or lunain Ircland in April 1916, me publish of the imperialist bourgeoisic had not ties, evoking no sympathy whatever petow the most important paragraphs yet been overcome (the war "to a fin-among the masses. The Irish national that section of Lenin's article on ish" can bring that about; at present al movement, with centuries behind it The Results of the Discussion on it has not yet gone that far). Prole- has already passed thru many histor-Self-Determination" published in So-tarian movements are still very weak in the imperialist states. But what of class interests. It found an expreswill take place if the war leads to full exhaustion or if the power of the bourgeoisie is shaken under the blows of the proletarian struggle, as hap-pened to the power of Czarism in

In the Berner Tagwacht (May 9, there appeared, on the occasion All of these facts show that the wonder that this monstrous estimaflames of national uprisings have tion of the Irish uprising, with its flared up in connection with the crisis pedantry and its doctrinairism, hapof imperialism not only in the colonies pens to agree with the estimation of but also in Europe, and that national the Russian national-liberal, the Ca-

Was the Easter Rising a Putsch? of the Irish uprising, an article signed with the initials K. R. under the title: The Song Is Over! In this article the Irish uprising is tersely disposed of as a "putsch" on the following basis:
"The Irish question was an agrarian question," the peasants were conciliated with reforms, the nationalist movement then became "a purely urban petty-bourgeois movement, with very slim social support in spite of the great noise it made." Is it any

Rationalization and the Worker

WHAT IS THE TAYLOR SYSTEM?

by Hal Long

making the workers toil harder, is as necessary movements and makes it old as all written history. However, systematic attempts to improve the things more easily than before. Tay output of the individual worker, in a lor used the elaborate method of trial more or less scientific way, did, as and error, did the job over and over far as records go, originate with the again, and measured the time used in studies made by F. W. Taylor.

Taylor's Work

Taylor was a mechanical engineer working in various places, and everywhere endeavoring to improve the speed with which the work was handled. His first hit was making the workers pay a fine for each breakdown of machinery, thus considerably cutting down the time lost on break-downs. He is further known as the inventor of high-speed steel, of the Celtic worker is not united with, and for the studies he carried on in order to make the workers handle their tasks more efficiently.

For instance, at the Bethlehem steel works in 1898, he studied the loading of iron bars on a railroad car. He picked the huskiest worker, paid him extra wages for doing exactly as he was told, and directed every move he made. The worker was told how to pick up and hold a bar, how fast to walk, how often and how long to rest, By letting him do the job in different ways, Taylor determined the most hundreds of operations break-down efficient way, and was finally able to or slowing up of one man may hold reduce the number of workers on that up the whole line. Attention has therejob from 75 to 20. While previously each worker had loaded on the av- fatigue and exhaustion, a point that erage, 260 100-pound bars on the car Taylor didn't care much about. This a day, the figure was now 900. How- reflects itself in the methods of wage ever it must be kept in mind that the payment. A clever worker, who could twenty were selected, strong workers. In the same place, Taylor also im-

proved the shoveling done in the plant. as much as the ordinary time-rates, He determined the proper length of But the work was more tiresome, such the spade handles, how much to take as, for instance, in the case of loadon at a time and so on. While previling the car. The standardization of ously the same kind of spades had been used all over, Taylor introduced different spades for ore, sand and coal, and all together reduced the number of workers on shoveling from

Taylor worked along the same lines in the shops, improving the tools and tive-payments", but the chance the way they were handled, and also high carnings are not so great. introduced the so-called differential piece-rate system, with higher piece rates above a certain output. output was made so high that even the most skilled and strong workers had difficulties in attaining it.

The Analysis of Operations

Taylor's ideas were later amended, as well as refined, and applied on a much larger scale. Manual operations have been dissolved into seventeen different kinds of movements, so-called according to the labor turned out but perialism in the interests of the therbligs, such as search, find, select, grasp, and so on. For different jobs these therbligs are again classified into finger-movements, finger-wrist movements, etc. General rules have been laid down about the best way of doing them. This has to a large extent been made possible by using

The simplest way of getting more movie cameras. A slow reproduction per man without any expense, that of of an operation clearly shows all unpossible to find the best way of doing

The camera and the stop-watch are the two main instruments of job-analysis, recording motion and time. Frequently they are assembled into one unit. While time-studies are conducted in most factories, motion studies are of more recent origin, and are not yet introduced all over, However, they are making rapid headway, and they give results.

Other Problems

Not only are the jobs themselves studied, but also everything that may influence the worker on the job. Stools are designed to make the worker assume the right posture. Temperature and ventilation are often taken care of as a means of improving the performance. Very important are studies of illumination: how to place lamps so they don't blind the worker, but show him the work to be done.

fore been paid to the questions of put out enough for Taylor's highest rates, could earn two to three times movement makes work more monotonous, while it oftentimes also requires keener attention. But fatigue studies limit in many cases the strenousness of the work. Now, as before, the workers are made to stick to the new methods by various kinds or "incentive-payments", but the chances for

Output and Wages Thus, in a factory where motion

studies were made, the output was inreased by 60%, the pay only by 0%. In the foundary of the Nugent Steel of the Socialist proletariat.

Castings Co., motion-study was applied to core making, and while the aries indeed if, in the liberation strugout-put increased by 68%, the pay gle of the proletariat for Socialism, was raised by 211/2%. This striking—we did not understand how to make by confirms the Marxian theory of use of every wind of popular movewages, that the workers are paid not ment against individual abuses of imto the labor-power put in. Roughly sharpening and the extension of the speaking, this again will depend on crisis, the amount of time they work, and it is significant that piece-rates are The Misfortunes of the Easter Uprising mainly determined by measuring the time necessary to do a job. Since the unit of time for wage payments is the hour, special stop-watches are made volt of the European proletariat was for this purpose, graded not in not yet mature. Capitalism is not so minutes and seconds, but in thous-andths of an hour. harmoniously constructed that separ-ate sources of revolt can suddenly

This article has dealt with the main methods of improving the efficiency of the individual workers. One way of doing this, by means of psychology will be treated later. The next article will deal with methods of improving the efficiency of the plants and fac-tories as a whole.

Because of lack of space we have the next issue.

ical stages involving varying relations sion in the well-represented Irish National Congress in America which came out for the independence of came out for the independence of Ireland. It found expression in street battles involving part of urban petty bourgeoisie and a section of the work-ers, after a long period of continued agitation among the masses, after lemonstrations, after the prohibition of papers, etc. Those who can term such a rising a putsch are either the worst kind of reactionaries or hopeless doctrinaires, incapable of imagining the social revolution as a living nkenomenon.

To assume the possibility of a socal revolution without risings of small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without revolutionary outbursts of the petty bourgeoisie, with all their prejudices, without movements of the backward proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against the oppression of the landowners and the church, against monarchist and national op-pression—is equivalent to denying the social revolution! Only from such a pedantic and ridiculous point of view would it be possible to call the Irish uprising a putsch!

The Course of the Socialist Revolution Whoever expects a "pure" social revolution will never live to see it; he is a revolutionary only in words and understands nothing of the revolution

The Russian revolution of 1905 was bourgeois-democratic revolution. It consisted of a series of battles in which all dissatisfied classes, groups and elements of the population participated. Among these elements there were backward masses, dominated by the wildest prejudices, pursuing aims quite unclear and phantastic. Objecively the mass movement led to the shattering of the structure of Czarsm and to the opening of the way for democracy and therefore the classconscious workers took over its lead-The Socialist revolution in Europe

cannot be anything but an outbreak of mass struggles in which all participate who are for any reason oppres-sed or dissatisfied. Sections of the petty bourgeoisic and of the backward workers will inevitably participate in it-without such participation mass struggle is impossible nor is revolution in general possible—and just as inevitably will they bring with them into the movement their prejudices, their reactionary phantasics, their mistakes and their weaknesses. Considered objectively however, they will attack and fight capital. And the class-conscious vanguard of the revolution, the advance sections of the proletariat, which gives expression to the objective truth of the mass struggle, will understand how to unite all these elements to strive to seize power, to take possession of the banks, to expropriate the hated trusts and to realize all other dictatorial measures, which together amount to the over-When a piece of work passes thru throw of the hourgeoiste and to the victory of Socialism-which cannot be freed all at once from petty bourgeois dross.

Revolutions and the "Small Nations" In this respect it is not possible to

counterpose Europe and the colonies as against each other. A struggle of oppressed nations in Europe which is in a position to go to the point of uprisings and street battles and to damage the iron discipline of the army and the state of siege-such a struggle will sharpen the revolutionary crisis in Europe to a much greater extent than a much bigger uprising in a distant colony. A battle of the same strength, which hits at the power of the English imperialist bourgeoisie thru an uprising in Ireland, has a hundred times greater political significance than if it took place in Asia or Africa.

The dialectics of history is such that the small nations, weak as an independent factor in the struggle against imperialism, play the role of ferment, in freeing the true forces against imperialism and thus come to the aid

we did not understand how to make

The misfortune of the Irish lay in the fact that their rising did not come at the appropriate time since the reand spontaneously unite without failure and defeat. On the contrary, precisely the difference in time, the difference and dissimiliarity in the place of the risings act as a guarantee for the greatness and depth of the commen movement. It is only by untimely, partial, dispersed and therefore unsuccessful attempts at revolutionary risings that the masses will gain experience, learn, assemble their forcs, recognize their true leaders, the Socialist proletariat, and thereby preomitted the continuation of the Anti-Fascist Program of the German Com-munist Opposition. Watch for it in basis for the general attack in 1905.

The Economic Week

What we have said some weeks ago is now recognized and admitted by the majority of the economic observers: Practically no hope is now held out for any signs of recovery until the summer is over at the earliest. R. G. Dun & Co. and the National Credit Office now find that "general business did not respond to the stimulus of Spring in the customary fashion." The continuous fall of the stock market coupled with widespread frank plans for deep wage slashes are getting the greatest attention. There was a fur-

ther recession in employment for March. Commodity prices have not yet hit bottom: last week saw another reaction. Copper is now the lowest in 35 years. March exports were 381/2 % below and imports less by 30% than in the same month a year ago. Steel operations are continuing to decline and are now running at 51%. Electric power has, for the first time in weeks, registered a drop. Car loadings again fell. Wage cuts will very likely soon be proposed for the railway workers. The hopes for financial "blood transfusion" by Wall Street

and Paris are not materializing. French bankers are especially skeptical of the European conditions for credit. So pessimistic is the general outlook for the coming months that the NEW YORK TIMES, the leading paper in the country, has just been compelled to say editorially: "It is a time for our business men and financiers and great industrialists and farmers-yes, and public men-to put a cheerful courage on . . . " Such whistling is now common in the financial and in-

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THE SITUATION OF THE MINERS

THE recent events in the coal industry bring out once again the need of formulating a correct trade union policy for the coal miners and for the workers generally.

The conditions of the coal miners are beyond description. Over 300,000 work only part time. Wages have been slashed. In the mines the miners are subjected to the lash of the mine boss to work at an inhuman speed, and their small pay is reduced by hundreds (of petty schemes and fines of the operators. Starvation, frightful poverty and misery stalk in every miners community.

The burocracy of the United Mine Wockers of America, with John L. Lewis at its head, maintains its grip over the organization by base subserviency to the coal operators, by open treachery to the workers, by corruption, and by gangsterism and terrorism flaunting the will of the rank

The result of these conditions has been, as for as the U. M.W.A. is concerned, defeats, the spreading of open-shop mines and open-shop conditions in the coal mining industry and a large drop in union member-

As a result of all this wide-spread discontent prevails which recently on a number of occasions has flared up in revolt against the coal barons and their lackeys, the reactionary U. M. W. A. officials.

The most noteworthy events indicating a condition of readiness to treaties and Hague conferences, that prerevolt and to fight against the oppressive, abominable conditions were

- 1. The Illinois movement against John L. Lewis which challenged his right to represent the organization by constituting the U. M. W. A. under its hegemony as the legitimate organization with Alex Howat as its
- 2. The organization of the West Virginia miners in defiance of the coal operators and the John L. Lewis burocracy.
- 3. The rank and file strikes in the Anthracite led by the General Grievance Boards, the Pittston strike and later the strike of the Glen Alden Coal Company mines involving 22,000 workers.
- 4. The strike at the Hillman Mines in Western Pennsylvania under the leadership of the National Miners Union as well as its strike a years and a half ago in the Illinois district.

All these events prove one important fact conclusively and that is, that the time is ripe for action; that the coal diggers and their families will fight for better conditions. This fact shows how necessary it is to develop such united action as will make possible the kind of a struggle that will save the miners from the hell which is daily their lot.

While the conditions are favorable for the development of a mighty rank and file fight against the operators and the reactionary officialdom, the rank and file miners are divided, making impossible, if the present conditions are maintained, the unity of action essential for such a struggle.

The National Miners Union under the leadership of the Communist Party has given ample proofs in the few strikes it conducted that it has no forces, no ability to lead, and that its policy results in further division instead of unity in the ranks of the coal miners. The Illinois and Hillman mine strikes were defeats which exposed the whole sectorian ineffectiveness of the National Miners Union.

Th Anthracite strike demonstrated the willingness of the workers to struggle and the readiness of the rank and file in the U.M.W.A., in spite of and in opposition to its reactionary officialdom, to fight. It showed that they form the basic potential force for action in the coal mining in-

The organization of the West Virginia miners indicated a readiness on the part of the unorganized to organize and join hands with the organized in a common struggle against the miners enemies-the bosses and the reactionary officials.

The Illinois situation shows very graphically how not to proceed to do not tackle the cause of war. organize a fighting rank and file movement. We early pointed out that are ignorant of or lie about the causes the movement would succeed only if based upon the rank and file and of war. For them the London Treaty, given over to a determined struggle thruout the U. M. W. A. to organize is "a step forward." The fifty-two peace a left rank and file movement. Neither was done. The movement compacts of 1930 are a "step nearer peace." promisd with arch-reactionaries like Fishwick, Farrington, Walker and The nearer war comes, the more "vice others of that type with the result that they soon betrayed the movement tories" they see --until war comes, and others of that type with the result that they soon betrayed the movement overwhelms them. They are the peo-and the rank and file by making a deal with John L. Lewis. The organization of the rank and file in other districts, notably the Anthracite, was ery. They serve only to disarm the workers who listen to them. They buzz like sacrificed for alliances with Fishwick, Farrington and Walker,

Today the Fishwicks have the Illinois organization and the masses. The Howat wing is faced with either a correct appreciation of the events or the adoption of a course that will lead to further demoralization and

The St. Louis convention has already shown that the Howat wing has not succeeded in keeping the bulk of the miners of the Illinois organization. The organized miners are still in the U.M.W.A. On the other hand the National Miners Union is no factor. It is a union in name only. And the West Virginia miners, tho they attempt to maintain an independent on Armistice Day, 1930, that they must existence, offer no base for a new national organization.

Therefore, what is to be done? Only one thing! To organize now a new national union of coal miners would only increase the division sailles treaty; a weapon of the impersaland confusion in the rank of the workers.

The fight therefore must be taken up in spite of all difficulties in the perialist war on the Soviet Union; the U, M. W. A. to organize a left wing—to organize a rank and file opposi-The fight therefore must be taken up in spite of all difficulties in the tion. That is the only solution.

The building of a left wing in the U. M. W. A. must not be separated from the need of developing and organizing a left wing in the A. F. of L. and existing trade unions.

The formation of a left wing will make possible the unification of the forces of the rank and file, and will bring about the unity which will make possible class action.

HEAR BEN GITLOW "THE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNISTS"

FRIDAY APRIL 24th, 1931 at 7:30 P. M.

AT LABOR TEMPLE 242 East 14th Street - New York City

Auspices: COMMUNIST PARTY (Majority Group)

The Next War

What's to Be Done?

Peace Pacts - Pacifism - Religion - Refusal to Serve-To Fight War We Must Fight Capitalism The Race with Death - For a Warless World

by Bertram D. Wolfe

dozen times as you were reading these been Christian churches and Christian the Russian Mensheviks supported the startling revelations out of the mouths we, what can I, do about it?"

Let us examine some of the answers that are being given to that question.

serve a double purpose; 1) to keep the masses, who are opposed to war, in a stupor of confidence till the ultimatums and airplanes begin to fly; and 2) to put the "enemy" in the wrong, to prove that "our" country wanted peace and only armed "in self-defense."

Is your memory so short, reader, that you have forgotten the epidemic of peace pacts. Nobel prizes, Bryan arbitration pared the last war? The fruit of the Kellogg pacts, the Washington, London and Geneva treaties, and all the disarmand talk, is the largest expenditure on armies and navies the world has ever known, many millions more than in 1914, a billion-dollar naval building program by 1936 for the United States alone, 30,000,000 men under arms and in trained reserves, waiting for the last peace pact and the first war move.

"1930," boasts a Times dispatch from Geneva, dated February 27, 1931, Times dispatch "was a banner year for peace treaties." There were fifty-two bilateral pacts, eighteen more than in 1929. The nearer we get to war, the higher the figures on peace pacts:

In 1927 there were 6 In 1926 there were 15 In 1929 there were 34

In 1930 there were 52.

States and Great Britain is unthink-Or in the words of George Adam who wrote in the Century Quarterly (Spring,

"Just as the fevered efforts to create peace machinery before 1914pacts and protocols are more a sympthey are likely to be a cure,"

flies on the axle of the wheels of the great war chariot and cry "What a dust we are raising."

They fuss with putting salves on the

symptoms, and do not touch the disease. They tie pink ribbons on the cannons and say: There now, that looks more

Here is the "good" Mrs, Russell telling the Brooklyn League of Women Voters hasten America's entrance into the League of Nations! As if the League were not a product of the iniquitous Verist powers against China, India and the colonial peoples; a League for waging imcomedies; a battleground on which the diplomatic maneuvers and skirmishes are being conducted that are leading the world headlong towards the next world

Toy Pistols and Tin Soldiers

Or here is the good Mrs. Summerfield, telling the same Brooklyn Woman Voters

"Toy pistols instill in children's minds the instinct to kill . . . Tin soldiers create the idea of enmity and revenge. Ban the manufacture of toy pistals and tin soldiers and you will aid world peace!"

That's disarmament for you! Take away the cap pistols! Spike the pop-guns! Demobilize the little tin soldiers! Such fluttering puttering with toy guns and tin soldiers while the cannon are being wheeled into position and the laboratories are breeding germs and making gases, can disarm only the masses that should be struggling against capitalist war and its causes.

Religion

Third, there are the churches. "Apply the principles of Christianity" they tell us. "Love your enemies. Talk peace, think peace, have peace in your hearts,

The question has been on your lips a pray for peace, and you will have peace." tish Laborites and French Socialists supstarted, and even led? Is our memory so short that we can-

not remember the role of the churches in the late world war? Have we forgot-Peace Pacts

First there are the "disarmament" conferences and peace pacts. But these, we have seen, do not avert war. They are symptoms of the approach of war. They are symptoms of the approach of war. They drives? Or the prayers for victory in the state world war? Have we torgot ten the Kaiser's "Gott mit uns"—"God with us and we shall win?" Or Wilson's war message ending: "Here we stand. God willing, we can do no other?" Or the army chaplains? Or the church war symptoms of the army chaplains? Or the prayers for victory in the conference of the prayers were torgot ten the Kaiser's "Gott mit uns"—"God with us and we shall win?" Or Wilson's war message ending: "Here we torgot ten the Kaiser's "Gott mit uns"—"God with us and we shall win?" Or Wilson's war message ending: "Here we stand. God willing, we can do no other?" Or the army chaplains? Or the prayers were torgot with us and we shall win?" Or the state of the church war message ending: "Here we stand. God willing, we can do no other?" Or the army chaplains? Or the prayers were torgot with us and we shall win?" Or the state of the church war message ending: "Here we stand. God willing, we can do no other?" Or the army chaplains? Or the prayers for victory in the state of the church war message ending: "Here we stand. God willing, we can do no other?" Or the army chaplains? Or the prayer were the control with us and we shall win?" Or the prayer we torgot with us and we shall win?" Or the prayer we torgot with us and we shall win?" Or the prayer we torgot with us and we shall win?" Or the prayer we torgot with us and we shall win?" Or the prayer we torgot with us and we shall win?" Or the prayer we torgot with us and we shall win?" Or the prayer we torgot with us and we shall win?" Or the prayer we torgot with us and we shall win?" Or the prayer we torgot with us and we shall win?" Or the prayer we torgot with us and we shall win?" Or the prayer we torgot with us and we shall win?" Or the prayer we torgot with us and we shall win and we shall win and we shall symptoms of the approach of war. They drives? Or the prayers for victory in the part of the war preparations. They this "holy war?" Or the war work in the serve a double purpose: 1) to keep the churches? The four-minute men who, having learned to speak in the pulpit, sold war bonds ("Liberty" Bonds) in the market place? The blessings on the work of mass murder?

Or if our memory is too short for that, can we forget the war offensive of the churches against the Soviet Union in the summer of 1930? How Pope and Patriarch, priest and rabbi, minister and moderator, metropolitan and bishop, united their warring creeds, for the first time in the history of Christendom, for the sake of a united drive against the Sovjet Union? Is it not clear that in a war on the Workers Republic they would not only bless the sword as of old, but with Cross and Star of David and Crescent of Allah in the van, chanting masses and prayers and hallelujahs, they would themselves lead the crusade?

The "Socialist" Parties

ional, the "International" of the "Socialist" Parties, that is neither Socialist nor international. Its leaders are the 'statesmen" who are helping the ruling class of their respective countries pre pare the next war. Ramsay MacDonald, What they are worth can be indicated George and his majesty King Capital, with Pope and Priest and Rabbi, urging by the words of Ramsay MacDonald just Leon Blum, French cabinet minister, moving the destruction of the workers' governpefore he became Prime Minister (The Nation, January 10, 1929):

"The usual committees of friend-the Belgian-French alliance for a new war, ship are being formed-always an and the preparations for war on the Sovominous sign, and the usual signals set government. Braun and Wells and of a faith in doubt are being flown, Hilferding and Loebe and other loyal such as: 'War between the United ministers of the capitalist-imperialist gov ministers of the capitalist imperialist gov-ernment of Germany, etc. etc.

Their Record in the Last War

Those who cannot understand the neaning of these men's acts because of their fine words, need only remember their actions in the last war. When such as the Hague Conference, and Clynes and Thomas entered the British disarmament propaganda of those days war cabinet; when Vandervelde entered were due to a world apprehension the Belgian; Guesde and Sembat the of the imminence of war, so today's French; Ebert and Scheideman the Ger-When the German Social-demotoms of the world's war-disease than cruts voted the Kaiser's war credits; Bri-

and writings of statesmen and generals: nations. When have they stopped war? Czar. When Mussolini (then a Socialist)
"What can be done about it? What can How many wars have they blessed, and supported the King of Italia. After the war, when the Kaiser was

overthrown and the German capitalists to form an could no longer rule openly in their own name over the outraged workers and solplotting with a rascally servant to expose diers in revolt, it was Noske, Ebert and the "bad faith" of a British Minister, Scheidemann, German Social-democrats, who took over the government, murdered the Spartacan leaders, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and drowned the German Soviet Revolution in blood. And it was the Italian Socialist Mussolini who organized the Fascist movement and crushed the Italian working class. And the Russian Menshevik Socialists who tried to prevent the working class revolution and workers' rule in Russia. And in New York, the Socialist Aldermen endorsed the "Liberty" Loan drive, and approved the appropriation of funds for 'victory" of the American army sent o invade Soviet Russia at Archangel!

The Second or "Socialist" International died in the treachery of the world war. It became the ally of imperialism in herdng the workers into a criminal war and the butcher for capitalism in putting down the working class revolution that brought the war to an end. Only the left wing Socialists (the Bolsheviks in Russia, the Spartacans in Germany, the Socialists Propaganda League and Left Wing in the United States, etc.) remained faithful to Socialism, to internationalism, and Fourth, there is the Second Internation to the working class. Out of their ranks came the Russian Revolution, the Communist parties and the Communist or Third International.

In the next war, the "Socialists", who have long since abandoned Socialism execept as a catch phrase, will not only try

This does not apply to the masses of honest workers who follow the "Socialist" parties really believing they will fight for Socialism. But it applies to the leaders of the Socialist International, to MacDonald and Vandervelde and Blum, o Kautsky and Hilferding and Baner, to Abramovitch and Dan, to Hillquit and Abe Cahan and Norman Thomas and the whole pack of enemies of the Sovict Union, betrayers of the working class and heroes of counter-revolution. honest rank and file workers in the So-cialist parties will break sooner or later with these misleaders and rally to the parties of revolutionary Socialism, the Communist parties of the world.

(Concluded in the Next Issue)

PASSAIC MAJORITY GROUP HOLDS MEET

Passaic Comrades Participate In * Election Work Campaign

ner of 3rd and Hudson Streets. Com. ply to the youth movements in capital cial basis and no roots in the country at rades Keller, Herman, and Francis spoke. its countries the methods which are sucrades Keller, Herman, and Francis spoke. ty copies of the Revolutionary Age were sold at each meeting.

The Passaic group is to hold at least Comrades! The Ameri

wo meetings per week during the elecion campaign which is now going on its Passaic for City Commissioners. Our comrades are reaching many hundreds of workers with the exposure of the capitalist candidates and calling upon the works rades have penetrated the election meetings of the various candidates, taken the floor there and put a Communist mes-to bring about such a change, sage across. The official Communist Party group is putting on the most lifeless sort of a campaign, so that the result will be nothing short of disgraceful when compared with previous elections in which our Party participated.

The Passaic C.P.-Majority Group is Secretary of the Majority Group, will of those comrades expelled for fighting speak at the affair. An entertaining propagainst the line they foresaw would be grain is being prepared, as well as redisastrous to the League. Fight for freshments. Admission is 50c.

CAMP SOLIDARITY

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DECORATION DAY WEEK

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— A camp for and by workers —

TWO YEARS OF NEW LINE IN THE YOUTH

(Continued from Page 3) before the League various schemes for drawing them out of the crisis.

Several hundred workers attended. Twen cossful in the Soviet Union-shock plans, conduct, their plans and their slogans.

Comrades! The American League Conrades! The American League is not integral part of the International. We ulations on the conacipations of Ireland. cannot change the conditions in the Mot mass action but "clever" shemes, man-American League without also bringing about a change in the YCI. But our spiracles, course detait, that was the es-League could call to the attention of the YCI in such a manner as to bring about a change the disastrous results of the new line. And our League could make no greater contribution to Communism than

Comrades! Demand an accounting rom your leaders. Ask yourselves and last two years the League has not made headway, has suffered disastrous defeatsin a period that offers unexampled opportunities for our League to grow.

holding a social for the benefit of the sion in the League. Refuse to be silence off. Revolutionary Age on Saturday, April 25, Jed any longer with fantastic claims and 8 p.m., at 60 Dayton Ave. Ben Citlow, outright lies. Demand the reinstatement

BOOKZ

Death of Roger Casement, by Denis Gwynn. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. New York, 1931.

crvice of the British Crown,

who became actively engaged in the cheering for Carson,

who wrote speculative articles on Ireand and world politics based upon the

who went to Cermany, at the outbreak of the war, with the object of enlisting German aid for Irish freedom and ol winning hard-boiled professional Irish soldiers away from their British allegiance "Itish Brigade" but who spent most of his time and energy in phantastic

who, when insurrection was actually being prepared in Ireland, suddenly lost all courage and confidence, grew panic-stricken, bent all his efforts to "cancel" the insurrection even to the point of trying to warn the British authorities,

who managed to get arrested the mo nent he set foot on Irish soil, and

who, in the dock on trial for treason, made it his greatest care to prove that "a man, who, in the newspapers, is said to be just another Irish traitor, may be a gentleman''!

What is this man-a rattle-brained visionary, a week-kneed Don Quixote? No-merely a petty bourgeoisie revolutionist in a world that has passed far peyond his comprehension!

line of this extremely sympathetic biogr

The Irish nationalist movement, at the time of Casement's participation in it, was of extremely heterogeneous composition and possessed a broad social base as became a real all-national movement. The "Irish question" presented itself at one and the same time as: an agrarian question, a labor question, and a national question. The Irish movement therefore had its roots among the peasant masses, among the workers, among the city petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals, and among builder of the British navy, murdered to builder of the British navy, murdered to metal to need the Soviet Union, they will be in the state of the British navy, murdered to need to need the soviet Union, they will be in the control of the state of the state of the great strength of the frish nationalist movement. But such an all-

national revolutionary bloc could serve as the effective lever of Irish liberation only within it the working class exercised leadership and led the movement in the direction of determined mass struggle broshing aside all the funciful crochets and unrealistic schemes of the petty bourgeois revolutionaries which only hid their lack of clear perspective and firm revolutionary temper. In Ireland in 1914-16 the begemony of the proletariat in the national revolutionary movement was only beginning to make itself manifest under the brilliant leadership of James Con-nolly. The leadership of the working class was not yet established altho it was strong enough already to challenge the exclusive position of the radical petty bourgeois Sinn Feiners. The political basis of the Easter uprising was a bloc between the Socialist proletarian organizations (the Irish Socialists, the Irish Transport Workers Union and the Irish [Citizens Army—the labor military organ ization) and the petty bourgeois revolutionary groups (the Sinn Feiners, Fenians, and the Itish Republican Volunteers) The bloc was formed but its leadership

remained dual thruout its short existence. Two successful open air meetings were held by the Passaic C.P. Majority Group on Saturday, April 4 and 11 at the corner of 3rd and Huden. Street. their entire system of ideology, reflected their socially unrooted character; the Irish masses-the workers, the farmers, the city spiracies, coups d'etat: that was the essence of their revolutionary strategy. Such was Casement-a man utterly strange to the masses, utterly foreign to their needs and aspirations, utterly unap-preciative of their role in the emancipation of Ireland. It never seems to have Ireland could effect their own liberation ask your leaders why it is that in the For, when he saw his phantastic expectant two years the League has not made tations as to German aid blow up into nothing, he suffered an inner collapse, morally and ideologically: everything contanties for our League to grow. turned black, there was no longer any Comrades! Demand a genuine discus hope, the insurrection must be called

> Mr. Gwynn's biography has at least is true, it brings out the essential features in the political character of Sir Roger Casement. But Mr. Gwynn shares al of the 'narrow-minded prejudices and pitiful futilities of his subject and even vulgarizes them-for he has not the least touch of the deadly carnestness and the profound pathos that have cast a halo around the memory of Sir Roger in spite of everything. And therefore, it must be declared that the author manifests about as much understanding of the historica significance of the Irish national revolu tionary movement, of the Easter uprising and Sir Roger's role in them, as does a blind bat of the color scheme of the

To the perspicacious Mr. Gwynn Pat rick Pearse was a "visionary schoolmaster" and James Connolly (to whom he devotes a paragraph of sixteen lines in a 400-page book!) was a "bloodthirsty fan-Need more be said as the character of the book?



Dr. Elmer V. McCollum, Professor of Chemical Hygiene at Johns Hopkins, told the American College who spent most of his adult life in the of Physicians that baby rats lacking manganese would not be loved or suckled by any mother rat and moth-Irish nationalist movement in 1912 and er rats tacking manganese would not helped organize the extra-legal Irish Vol-love or suckle baby rats with or withunteer Army at the same time that he led out it. From which he concluded that manganese is the basis of maternal affection and further "that some of our most highly valued social instincts mputed "benevolence" of German im may depend on such trifles as the presence of infinitesimal amounts of certain substances in our food.".

The "scientists" that strain at dia-

ectical materialism swallow the gross mechanical manganese materialism whole without gulping. Now we can expect the Doll Man-

ifacturers Association to demand a law making the feeding of manganese (American, of course not Soviet manganese) compulsory for girl And Guggenheim will hasten to make a corner in mother love, while

Henry Ford will push experiments to find what metal or vitamin makes workers rebellious. After which her will have guaranteed rebellion-free robots, with the Soviet Union smug-gling in bootlegged doses of metal X to provoke a world revolution. Indeed, the master class would

seriously propose the castration of proletarians to make them more docile after the fashion of truck horses. but so far they have invented no alternative process for making a fresh supply of worker-children.

For the present they are content-Such was Sir Roger Casement, as reging themselves with a plan to bar vealed in every act of his life, in every Soviet manganese in the hope that American working class mothers, on a dict free from proletarian manganese will smile indifferently at child labor in the American factories.

In passing, (Dr. McCullom has overlooked the fact that what causes proletarian parents to neglect their children's care, feeding and education, is not lack of manganese, but shortage of a more precious metal.

A Timely Earthquake Ruined

Just when Hoover and Stimson were jubilant over the Nicaraguan earthquake because it made it appear as if the Marines were there as angels of mercy beloved of the Nicaraguan people, Sandino and the patriot army of liberation went and spoiled it all by attacking and defeating the angels of mercy near Puerto Cabezas.

The Wisdom of our Rulers "The success of the Five Year Plan will mean the end of Communism in Russia."—George Paish.

But, Butler!!!

"As matters stand, we have achieved well-nigh a miracle of unrepresenta-tive government. ****To continue to exalt ambitious simpletons and when exalted, to extol them as possessing the wisdom of Aristotle, the spiritual curnestness of St. Paul, the courage of Horatius at the bridge, the calm judgment of Washington and the sober patience of Lincoln is only to make ourselves a laughing stock." From Speech of President Butler of dumbia to the University of Califor-

The golf links lie so near the mill That almost every day The little children at their work

Can see the men at play.
—Sarah Cleghorn.

For Christ's Sake!

The C.P.L.A. observed Easter Sunday by a parade of jobless workers up Fifth Avenue. Imagine the consternation of the wealthy churchgoers when this revolutionary banner greeted their eyes:

"CHRIST IS ARISEN: WOE TO THE RICH!"

Norman Thomas should have carried the banner and, celebrating Passover as well as Easter, Rabbi Wise should have closed the rear guard

"CHEESE IT, PHAROAH, HERE COMES MOSES!"

EAST SIDE EPITAPHS (Found on Tomb-stones in a City Graveyard)

5. In Potters Field Hunger waits by my grave, Hunger will never leave me, I was born hungry from a hungerwasted mother and father. Hungered on watered milk, On gutter crusts, On ash can delicacies. Never had any other friends, But hunger was faithful, never left me, followed me everywhere,

Followed me here. Now hunger waits by my grave. 6. Fifi

Here I lie little me-Fuzzy wuzzy. Used to sit on my mistress's lap

I was a dog with a delicate appetite.

No flea was ever allowed to come near me.

Feed on chicken livers.

I had a groom and a maid and a mistress. She spent enough on me to feed a family with fourteen children.

Dry-cleaned, manicured, dainty, delicate
But I died of dysentery with three doctors around me And here I lie next to her in the

---B. D. W.