

WORKERS AGE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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SHOE UNION VOTE IN BOSTON

Progressives Sweep Ballot C.P. Slate Is Beaten

Boston, Mass.
The recent elections in the Boston organization of the National Shoe Workers Association, the union that is leading the heroic struggles of the shoe workers in New England, have resulted in a complete victory of the progressive forces supported by and including members of the Communist Opposition. The candidates put forward by the official Communist Party forces were everywhere defeated.

In elections for the Boston members of the General Executive Board, William Seligman won by an over three-to-one lead over his opponent in Cutters Local 11; Sidney Jonas, member of the Communist Opposition, was elected in Stitches Local 12; and John Christopher, in Lasters and Stockfitters Local 16. In the local elections of Stitches Local 12, Bernie McGovern was elected business agent, Sidney Jones chairman, Fred Pasche vice-chairman, Susie Wright recording secretary, and Marie Roby financial secretary. On the executive board were chosen Jack Aranberg, member of the
(Continued on Page 7)

May Day, 1933

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY FOR THE GERMAN WORKING CLASS, FOR TOM MOONEY, FOR THE SCOTTSBORO BOYS!

MAY DAY, International Labor Day, is one of the proudest traditions of the American and world working class. It is a day of labor solidarity and unity, of militant struggle against capitalism. It is a day which foreshadows a new social system, a new life for the working class, an end to misery and exploitation!

Today the whole capitalist world is in acute crisis. While a small group of money kings and parasites grow fat, at least forty millions are unemployed. Countless millions more are in the deepest distress, groaning under the weight of oppression and starvation. It has become evident that the "capitalist class . . . is unfit to rule any longer because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slaves within their slavery" (The Communist Manifesto.)

War is raging in the Far East. A new world slaughter is being prepared, more awful and gruesome than the last. And what for? For the benefit of the masters of capital, to redivide the world again, to seize new markets, new spheres of exploitation, new sources of profit!

The eyes of the whole world today are fixed upon Germany. There a brutal Fascist dictatorship is raging thruout the country, a dictatorship of the big capitalists and landowners, exercised by the barbarous Brown-Shirt hordes. All workers organizations are being destroyed and the toilers reduced to virtual slavery. The rights of the people, won thru years of struggle, are being nullified. Murderous pogroms are being organized against the work-

ers, the progressive elements, the Jews. Reaction, savage and unshamed, has the country by the throat!

And in the United States? The "New Deal" promised us by President Roosevelt, has already turned out to be no more than a swindle, a cynical double deal! The veterans are to be "helped" by cutting down pensions; the impoverished farmers are to be "aided" by cutting down production and raising prices; the nearly thirteen million jobless workers are to be "relieved" by means of militarized concentration camps where workers toil under peonage conditions for a dollar a day! In this, the richest country of the world, the most unrelieved misery, the most intense distress, are mounting on every side. In this "land of the free", Tom Mooney is languishing in jail for an act which everybody knows he never committed and the nine Negro boys in Scottsboro are being railroaded to death for the "crime" of being colored! Here, too, reaction is raging, altho still disguised in the cloak of a fraudulent and threadbare "democracy"!

The discontent of the workers with the misery and oppression bred by the capitalist system, tho elementary in form and still weak, is nevertheless rising, in the United States and in other countries as well. In order to suppress this rising wave of discontent, the capitalist class is resorting to the most ruthless forms of repression. The triumph of Fascism in Germany has greatly stimulated reac-

(Continued on Page 7)

ARRESTED FOR MILITANCY!

Leaders Of San Antonio Jobless Arrested

San Antonio, Texas.

A group of workers, the leading elements of the San Antonio Unemployed Association, were arrested on April 15 by Federal authorities, held apparently for deportation. Most of arrested workers are Mexicans.

The American Civil Liberties Union has undertaken the defense of the victims of the Federal attack.

The San Antonio Unemployed Association has made a splendid record for itself in defending the interests of the unemployed and in breaking down the color line in this vicious jim-crow state.

Zurich, Switzerland.

The movement towards a united labor front is making progress in this country. In Schaffhausen and in Zurich, conferences of the Social-democracy, the Communist Party and the Communist Opposition have been set up for the purpose of organizing joint May Day demonstrations.

The Challenge of Scottsboro

Every Worker, Every Farmer, Every One Who Prizes Progress And Liberty Must Fight Frame-Up!

The reconviotion of Heywood Patterson, the first of the Scottsboro boys to be tried, has sent a thrill of horror thru the world. Only those who have abjectly surrendered to barbarous race prejudice can have the brazenness to defend it; only those who have lost every scruple of justice and humanity can fail to raise their voices in loud protest!

Behind The Veil Of Democracy

The unspeakable spectacle of the trial, a veritable orgy of the hates and prejudices nourished by capitalism, has torn aside for millions in this country, but especially for the masses of the Negro people, the tawdry veil of "democracy" and "freedom" and has exposed, for a moment at least, the savage and repulsive reality of American capitalist "civilization" in brutal fact. Not only was a Negro condemned to the electric chair for a crime he obviously did not commit, upon evidence that did nothing so much as prove his innocence, but, in order to accomplish this feat of lynch "justice", it was necessary to whip up a mad frenzy of murderous prejudice against Negro and Jew and radical, against everything that does not stink of the slave-market that is the South today. For an instant, the witch's caldron of savage ignorance upon which our highly "cultured" capitalism rests and thrives stood exposed in all its horror.

The Challenge Of Scottsboro

Heywood Patterson was convicted and sentenced to death simply and solely because he is a Negro. In this "land of the free", today

as in Justice Taney's times, the "Negro has no rights the white man is bound to respect." The very "audacity" of the defense in questioning the verdict of the first lynch trial was enough to throw the guardians of white supremacy into the most bloodthirsty fury. For this reason, the Decatur trial itself, involving, as it did, the exposure of the completely illegal exclusion of Negroes from jury service and from other political rights and privileges, was a striking challenge to the whole barbarous system of caste oppression that is the fine flower of Americanism in the South and, to a somewhat lesser extent, in the North as well!

It is significant indeed that it was the Communist Party and the revolutionary defense organization, the I. L. D., which took up the cause of the Scottsboro boys when it looked as if they would be railroaded to death in obscurity and without protest, in the good old Southern tradition. The Communists have shown not only that the solidarity of the black and white toilers is a living fact in spite of the shameful prejudice of the backward sections of the white workers but also that the revolutionary movement today is the undaunted champion of all the oppressed, of all the persecuted, of all the unprivileged! The Communists have taken up the glorious banner that the Abolitionists raised so valiantly a hundred years

Workers! Celebrate May Day!

Down tools on May Day!
Celebrate the international holiday of the solidarity of labor!

March under the banner of the Communist Opposition! Come at 10 A. M. sharp, on Monday, May 1, to 51 West 14 Street. We will then march to Bryant Park to join the parade and demonstration organized by the United Front May Day Conference.

In addition, on Sunday even April 30, the "Workers Age" is arranging a May Day celebration and dance at its headquarters, 51 West 14 Street. The Club Valhalla orchestra has been obtained. Admission 25c.

ago!

The Scottsboro case has now developed into one of the most important issues in American social and political life. It is a burning challenge to the whole vicious system of oppression, persecution, discrimination and exploitation upon which our boasted social order rests. The cause of the Scottsboro boys must win the support not only of all workers and farmers but of all people who prize justice, liberty and progress!

Fight Against Forced Labor!

Hartford Association Of Unemployed Leads Struggle Against Mayor's Peonage Scheme

Hartford, Conn.

Recently the city administration here has discovered a new way of "relieving" the unemployed. It has been decided that all aid would be withheld from the unemployed unless the recipients of this relief do full-time work for the city! The plan also contemplates jail sentences for those refusing such work by charging them with non-support of their families. As soon as this utterly vicious slave scheme became public, the Hartford Association of the Unemployed, a militant non-partisan organization of the jobless, got to work and organized a big demonstration in front of the city hall. Between 1,500 and 2,000 workers were there, a tremendous number for Hartford. The protest movement is backed up by trade union forces.

The president of the Central Labor Union endorsed and participated in the demonstration.

The Hartford Association of the Unemployed appealed to William Green, head of the A. F. of L., to come out in public opposition to the peonage scheme of the Hartford authorities. Mr. Green's reply follows:

Washington, D. C.
April 5, 1933.

Mr. Harry Taylor, Asst. Sec'y,
Hartford Ass'n. of Unemployed,
Hartford, Conn.

Dear Sir:
I am in receipt of your letter dated March 25th, in which you

call my attention to a distribution of relief plan originated and sponsored by the Mayor of your city. During these trying times when millions of people are suffering indescribable distress because of unemployment, those who represent the government, whether municipal, of the state or of the nation, should be careful lest they take advantage of the distressed condition of working people to rob them of their rights and liberties.

If the idle are required to render service in exchange for unemployment relief they ought to be credited with earnings while employed according to the standard rates of pay which workers are allowed when engaged in private and public employment. People who are hungry and who are dependent should not be compelled to work one day, two days, or an additional number of days, in order to be eligible to receive a food order which can be exchanged for goods in certain specified mercantile establishments. Such a policy is indefensible; it tends to promote social degradation and to break down wage standards. Besides, the pursuit of such a policy means taking advantage of an unemployed worker's urgent necessities.

So far as I am able to understand the plan outlined in your letter and referred to in the press clippings you sent me and as originated and applied by the Mayor of your city, it could not be given the approval of labor, or of labor's friends.

Very truly yours,

Wm. Green.

MAY DAY CELEBRATION - April 30, 8 p.m. 51 West 14th Street

The United Front in Chicago

The Mooney Conference

Chicago, Ill. Thanks to the disgraceful attack made by the Socialist Party against the national and local Mooney conferences and to the sabotage of the reactionary trade union leaders, the local Mooney conference in Chicago was rather narrow, made up largely of left organizations. Only 12 locals of the American Federation of Labor were represented; only one branch of the Workers Circle, two of the Workers Committee on Unemployment, four branches of the I. W. W., one branch each of the Industrial Workers Unemployed Union, the Kentucky Miners Relief Committee and the Proletarian Party. These constituted practically the entire representation from "outside" organizations. The rest of the more than 200 organizations, represented by over 300 delegates, were largely party organizations or organizations very closely sympathetic to the party. The Communist Party (Opposition) and the Trotsky group were also represented by delegates who were seated without any question. Clarence Senior, national secretary of the S. P., sent a request that two of his representatives be permitted to sit as observers, which request was of course granted.

An Auspicious Beginning
The conference opened very auspiciously with a motion to elect a delegation to appeal to the Socialist May Day conference, which was in session at the same time, for support of the Mooney conference and movement. Also a few ultra-leftists spoke against having "anything to do with those people," this motion was overwhelmingly adopted. The delegation of five included Herbert Zam of the C. P. O. whose vigorous speech in favor of electing such a delegation received loud and vigorous applause. Had the conference proceeded in this manner for its entire duration it would have disarmed all the enemies of the Mooney movement and destroyed the weapons of the Socialist Party. Unfortunately this was not the case.

When the delegation reached the May Day conference of the S. P. and presented its credentials, a motion was immediately made by one of the S. P. standbys not to hear the delegation because its credentials were "fraudulent" that is, they were drawn up on stationery including the names of the I. L. W. U. and A. C. W. whose endorsement of the Free Mooney movement was a matter of dispute! The rank and file delegates at the S. P. conference were led to believe that some self-appointed individuals were trying to put something over on them! This action of the S. P. and its leaders merits the severest condemnation on the part of every worker interested in a movement to free Tom Mooney.

A Relapse Into Sectarianism
With the opening of the afternoon session, the Chicago, Mooney Conference made a sharp turn to the left. The resolutions committee, dominated by a few die-hard ultra-leftists, brought in a set of resolutions which tended definitely to push the conference away from its original purpose in the direction of the usual party united front which has become famous in the past three years—united front around the party. Resolutions were presented and adopted on every conceivable subject, some pertinent and some not. But no friction arose until the resolution on the political basis of the Mooney campaign was brought in. After analyzing the Mooney case and proposing the united front of labor in a campaign to free Mooney, the resolution went to declare that the basis of the campaign should be the struggle against war, Fascism, unemployment, wage-cuts, racial discrimination, imperialism and for the defense of the Soviet Union, for unemployment insurance, etc. (The individual items are listed from memory and there may be an error in one or two; the

general tendency, however, is accurately given.) In other words, the basis of the Free Mooney campaign was to be a complete political program of action which would be readily acceptable to radical workers but which might be unacceptable to less advanced workers. The Communist Opposition delegates at once moved to strike out that clause from the resolution. Our delegate, Herbert Zam, pointed out that the organizations present had come together because they agreed on the one issue—a united front campaign to free Mooney. If other issues were attached to this one, then it would require that these organizations, as well as their representatives, would have to agree on all of these issues "inside" organizations. The rest of the more than 200 organizations, represented by over 300 delegates, were largely party organizations or organizations very closely sympathetic to the party. The Communist Party (Opposition) and the Trotsky group were also represented by delegates who were seated without any question. Clarence Senior, national secretary of the S. P., sent a request that two of his representatives be permitted to sit as observers, which request was of course granted.

The party, of course, defended this clause, assisted by the Trotskyites, who were even more sectarian than the party on this issue. Edwards of the Trotsky group argued that to eliminate these points would be to eliminate the class struggle from the Mooney campaign! The report of the resolutions committee was finally adopted but not without opposition from a significant part of the conference, particularly from the delegates representing the non-party organizations.

About The United Front
Another tussle took place on the resolution on forms and tasks of the campaign. The Communist Opposition proposed the following resolution on this question: "The united front and campaign shall center on the demand for the release of Mooney and shall be carried on the basis of agreement on policy and procedure arrived at thru discussion by all participating organizations and tendencies. This requires full freedom of criticism of policies and actions, the loyalty of all participating organizations in the execution of decisions arrived at and the representation of all tendencies and types of organizations on all leading committees."

This elementary statement of the way in which a correct united front movements should function met with vigorous opposition from the party delegates and resulted in a lively discussion. The representatives of the Communist Opposition read from the letter of Tom Mooney on the question, dated March 8, 1933, requesting that the basis for the united front conferences be the Mooney issue and not his personal views on the various current questions. The maintenance of a real united front requires, the C. P. O. spokesman pointed out, not a majority vote but agreement of the participating organizations, should the issues be more than technical. The party representatives did not even care to discuss the contents of this amendment and it was defeated. But again it was supported by a substantial section of the conference, including many party members and sympathizers.

The Election Of The Executive Committee

The final work of the conference was the election of an executive committee. The credentials committee proposed a long list, from which were omitted any representatives of the Communist opposition groups. A number of proposals were made from the floor, many delegates moving that the Communist Opposition be given a representative, while the Trotsky group also nominated a representative. The party spokesmen made an effort to exclude both groups. The chairman of the credentials committee made the peculiar argument that the Communist Party would represent all the Communist groups and that it was therefore unnecessary to elect anybody else! In spite of the resistance of the party leftists, there was too strong a demand from the delegates to

(Continued on Page 4)

May Day

We publish below May Day greetings of a number of organizations of the Communist Party (Opposition). Branches not represented may send in their greetings to be published in a subsequent issue.—Editor.

MAY DAY GREETINGS from

DOWN-TOWN BRANCH
Communist Opposition
(New York)

BRONX BRANCH
Communist Opposition
(New York)

HARLEM BRANCH
Communist Opposition
(New York)

BROOKLYN BRANCH
Communist Opposition
(New York)

YOUTH BRANCH
Communist Opposition
(New York)

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

ANTHRACITE BRANCH
Communist Opposition

FT. WAYNE BRANCH
Communist Opposition

BOSTON BRANCH
Communist Opposition

PHILADELPHIA BRANCH
Communist Opposition

DETROIT BRANCH
Communist Opposition

CHICAGO BRANCH
Communist Opposition

SAN ANTONIO BRANCH
Communist Opposition

LOS ANGELES BRANCH
Communist Opposition

TROY (N. Y.) BRANCH
Communist Opposition

BALTIMORE BRANCH
Communist Opposition

PASSAIC BRANCH
Communist Opposition

HARTFORD (CONN.) BRANCH
Communist Opposition

TORONTO BRANCH
Communist Opposition

MONTREAL BRANCH
Communist Opposition

Individual Greetings

Sarah Rose
M. Fishman
Mauritz Cato
A. A.
D. Benjamin
M. De Baer
Clair Green
A. Sandrin
J. Anderson
M. Phillips

The May Day Conference

Chicago, Ill. The Chicago May Day Conference of the Communist Party held on Sunday, April 12, showed three important characteristics of the Communist Party today: (1) That the attitude of the Communist Party with regard to a united front of the workers and particularly, a united demonstration on May Day, as expressed in words, is correct and marks a sharp change from its previous position and practise. (2) That this change in words is not yet being carried out completely in deeds nor have the political conceptions which determine the form of action changed considerably over those of a year ago. (3) That the Communist Party, as a result of its four years of sectarian activity, has succeeded in isolating itself pretty thoroughly from the labor movement and from all other working class organizations.

The conference, according to the report of the credentials committee, was attended by 376 delegates representing 175 organizations. These organizations, however, were almost exclusively party organizations. Only two A. F. of L. locals were represented, one Y. P. S. L. branch and some branches of the Left Poale Zionists. These are the only ones which can be characterized as the "outside" organizations. For the rest, there were 77 delegates from the Communist Party, 125 foreign language organizations, 26 from the I. L. D., 21 I. W. O. Unemployed Councils, 2 U. U. U., 11 Y. C. L., and some from miscellaneous organizations. Both the Communist Party (Opposition) and the Trotsky group were seated. A Rainey, of the Communist Opposition, was elected to the credentials committee and Herbert Zam, also of the Communist Opposition, was elected to the resolutions committee. With the exception of one point, all decisions of the conference were unanimous.

Before the conference, the Communist Party had addressed a communication to the Socialist Party and the Y. P. S. L. urging that the organizations get together for the purpose of arranging a single May Day demonstration on a minimum program and asking that the Socialist Party elect representatives to negotiate with those of the C. P. When this proposal was made by the Communist Opposition last year and two years ago we were condemned with all the terms at the disposal of the "third period" vocabulary. That this proposal was correct is proven by the fact that the Y. P. S. L. set a letter accepting, declaring that they could not participate without the assent of the S. P. but that they were urging the S. P. to do so. The S. P. elected a committee to nego-

F. Lawrence
M. S.
E. Miller
M. Stewart
Bessie Newman
Alex Bail
Eva Stone
Nellie Edwards
Bessie Barash
Moe Stone
Rose Robbins
Al Epstein
Minnie Luyre
Lily Rubenstein
Alice Brent
Marian Grey
E. Frances
Sam Calderon
Reva Weisman
Anna Rubenstein
Abe Calderon
S. E. Rolland
L. Arlin
Gertrude Lipshitz
Marie Duke
Sophie Steinberg
Rose Arndt
Helen Taublieb
Helen Nahema
Sophie Mesil
Barry Linoff
Barney Linoff
Louis Hirschman
Sarah Gross
C. Drutt
R. Love

tiate but at the time of writing these negotiations have not yet begun. (We received private information that the S. P. committee was in favor of the proposal for a joint demonstration but that the Jewish organizations, W. C. unions, etc., had overruled the S. P. and that the S. P. would not break with them on this issue.)

In the resolutions committee, Herbert Zam presented a resolution approving the steps so far taken by the C. P. for the organization of a united demonstration, urging that work in that direction continue and authorizing the Committee of Action of the conference to make the necessary arrangements, such as considering proposals for the program, the setting up of a joint committee to direct the demonstration, and the allocation of speakers. This resolution was unanimously adopted in the resolutions committee and in the conference. (The C. P. representatives came prepared with about a dozen resolutions to the resolutions committee but a resolution on this matter was conspicuously absent.)

The report of Williamson on the political significance of May Day was a peculiar mixture of the old line with the new turn. He correctly gave the reasons for the joint May Day demonstration but in characterization of Social-democracy in general, he still stuck to the theory of "social-fascism"! It never bothered him to explain how it was possible to have a united front with "social-fascism"—that is, with a wing of Fascism, against Fascism! In discussing Germany, he still stuck to the old fantasies of the Comintern. The victory of Fascism "does not mean that the working class, the Communist Party of Germany, have been defeat-

(Continued on page 6)

HITLERISM IN GERMANY!

Jay Lovestone
will speak at

MASS MEETING
Wed. April 26, 8:00 p. m.

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Wages and Jobless Relief Slashed!

Jay Lovestone

I. L. P. VOTES TO JOIN C. I.

Defense Of U. S. S. R. Is Decided Unanimously

Derby, England. A marked swing to the left was the outstanding feature of the Independent Labor Party conference held here on April 15, 16 and 17. On April 16 the conference voted 83 to 79 to approach the Communist International for affiliation. The leadership of the party, John Paton, general secretary, and Fenner Brockway, chairman, opposed this proposal but they were outvoted.

The next day, April 17, the conference unanimously endorsed a resolution declaring that, in case of a conflict between British imperialism and the Soviet Union, the I. L. P. would strive to mobilize the workers in support and defense of the U. S. S. R. A general strike and other measures were discussed. This resolution is considered of especial significance in view of the strained relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

The I. L. P. claims a membership of 20,000, altho its effective membership is nearer to 12,000-15,000. The British Communist Party, claiming 5,000, has no more than 1,500 members.

The swing to the left of the I. L. P. membership, reflecting the rising radicalization of the British working class, has expressed itself not only in a growing adherence to Communist principles but also, unfortunately, in a marked tendency to sectarianism in tactics. Owing to the ultra-leftist policies dominating the official Communist movement today, the two are completely confused in the minds of most I. L. P. members and impeded the change of line but pointed out the dangers to the entire capitalist world credit structure are today infinitely more numerous and serious than ever before. For the United States it means further inflation. This is hailed now as a great remedy by the very people who out yesterday swore by the gold standard and more stable cur-

After weeks of foundering, the American dollar has officially gone off the gold standard because of pressure in the world money and commodity markets. For some time, it had been obvious that the loss of confidence in the stability of dollar currency was growing. Raids on the dollar and a steady turning to French francs and even British sterling were especially evident in the first half of April. On the basis of the actual gold reserve, the United States could have hung on to the gold standard a bit longer. However, Wall Street's key people saw in the Roosevelt-MacDonald-Herriot negotiations a timely move for cutting the dollar's anchor and the gold standard and thus hitting back at Great Britain and France, its two outstanding competitors. Thru its cheapened currency, England had some advantage over the United States in the world market. It was able to sell more British goods for less American dollars and other currencies which had not yet depreciated as much. France was more and more attracting the world's gold and dislodging the United States as the prime nation in this respect. By getting off the gold standard the Wall Street kings seriously undermine the efficiency of the whole system of gold as a stabilizer of world currencies and thus negate much of what the French bankers have won towards their key position in the international money market.

The outcome or even the next turn in this battle of currencies among the big imperial powers is still uncertain. It is ready quite certain that the dangers to the entire capitalist world credit structure are today infinitely more numerous and serious than ever before. For the United States it means further inflation. This is hailed now as a great remedy by the very people who out yesterday swore by the gold standard and more stable cur-

For Labor Unity Against Fascism

Real United Anti-Fascist Front Is Established By Workers In German Czechoslovakia—Socialist Party, Communist Party And Communist Opposition In Big Move Against Reaction

Asch, Czechoslovakia. The development of Fascism in Germany has, of course, greatly stimulated the resurgence of fascism in Czechoslovakia, especially in the German regions, which are very close to the borders of Saxony and Bavaria. Very close connections exist between the German Nazis and the National-Socialist Storm-Troopers are always to be found here perpetrating all sorts of outrages. Important sections of the bourgeoisie are helping the Fascists develop their work and advance their destructive campaign against the labor movement. In the recent elections here the Fascists have been making big headway, while the Social-democrats have lost heavily and the Communists slightly. In these elections there took place bloody battles between the workers and the Nazis Fascist hands.

At the same time the governmental authorities are placing the greatest difficulties in the way of political fugitives from Germany. No rights of asylum are granted and everything is made dependent upon the presentation of "proper" passports and papers, which, of course are unavailable to political exiles. In addition to all this, there are important issues in domestic politics closely connected with the question of Fascism. Forced labor for the unemployed, the reduction of relief to the unemployed, attacks on wages, and even the smashing of unions, are on the order of the day. The discontent of the workers is visibly rising and militant and fighting spirit are increasing.

The C. P. And Unity

For years, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the section of the Comintern, has done absolutely nothing about the Fascist menace or even about the offensive of capital. Its false trade union policies have led to the rapid integration of the R. I. L. U. unions and to its isolation from the masses. Locally, some meetings and demonstrations were held. On February 4, 1933, one such took place in Asch, where it was quite clear that a change of line was being put thru. The party spokes-

The further expansion of credit (of which there is no lack) will not mean an expansion of purchasing power for the workers. Rather, it will mean a reduction of the purchasing power because of a probable higher price level as against the present shattered wage scales. In the meanwhile, the executive department of the government thru the President, has taken full more power unto itself. Roosevelt will have full power to issue more paper currency, devalue the dollar by cutting down the legally required number of grains in the standard dollar, or have silver re- turn as a standard. Whether Roosevelt will resort to a combination of all these inflation moves or to one exclusively, will be determined by the resultant of conflicting social and economic forces operating behind the scenes of Congress. Serious divisions over these problems are now evident in the ranks of the capitalists. Besides, the entire agricultural crisis and the collapse of the much vaunted American wage levels and standard of living will also be much affected by the foreign and domestic currency policy of the United States government now being hastily set up in the midst of the acute world credit crisis.

The whole situation holds out grave menace for the workers of this country, employed and unemployed. Inflation, the already mounting cost of living mean an automatic cut in wages for the employed workers unless wage levels are driven up at least as much. They mean also an automatic cut in the meager relief that the jobless are getting. For the working people of this country, the collapse of the gold standard and the oncoming inflation must be the signal for united struggle for wage increases and for increases in unemployment relief!

men went so far as to speak of the "united front at all costs." Our speakers greeted the beginning of the change of line but pointed out the dangers to the entire capitalist world credit structure are today infinitely more numerous and serious than ever before. For the United States it means further inflation. This is hailed now as a great remedy by the very people who out yesterday swore by the gold standard and more stable cur-

Unity Is Established
On March 6 a very significant thing happened. As the regional committee of the Communist Opposition was in session discussing the German events and how to initiate a united front movement, a representative of the district committee of the Communist Party

Help! Help!

The news arriving every day from Germany is more disquieting than ever. Tens of thousands of workers have been arrested, thousands tortured, and hundreds murdered. Trade unions are being smashed. The pogroms against the Jewish masses are growing more intense, even the news about them is suppressed.

The victims of German Fascism, primarily the best sections of the German working class, appeal for help to their brothers in other countries. Who is your answer?

Remember that by helping the German workers resist Fascism in their own country, you are helping in the fight against reaction in the United States. HELP! HELP! HELP! The International Relief Association is the only complete non-partisan workers relief organization engaged in helping the victims of German Fascism. HELP! HELP! HELP! Send all contributions to: Jay Lovestone, secretary, International Relief Association, American Section, 51 West 14 Street, New York City.

also decided to address a letter to the central committees of the C.

came in and officially requested that we elect some one to accompany him to the Social-democratic committee for the purpose of establishing a united anti-Fascist front. We had just decided in favor of precisely this thing. Our joint negotiations with the Social-democracy resulted in a great conference of representatives of three organizations, held on March 10, where a united anti-Fascist committee was set up, made up of two members of each tendency, under the chairmanship of Comrade Bloss of the Communist Opposition. This new united committee was first tested in a sharp struggle with the Nazis who tried to hold a meeting in Asch. In spite of the intervention of the police on their side, they did not hold the meeting, then or later. The police were so brutal that they wounded many perfectly "respectable" people, bourgeois, lawyers, merchants, and even a judge. Great indignation arose thruout the whole district. A similar series of events took place on the same day at Krugsreuth.

On Monday, March 13, there were supposed to take place two parallel meetings at the Socialist People's House, called by the three organizations. The Fascists and bourgeois forces tried to prevent them but completely without success. Then, the Anti-Fascist Unity Committee arranged a tremendous joint regional demonstration for March 19. Like the others it was forbidden by the authorities.

On the same day there was held a great joint conference of the three political labor organizations, the German Social-democratic Workers Party of Czechoslovakia, district of Asch (in Czechoslovakia, the Social-democracy is organized along national lines.—Editor); the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, district of Asch; the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Opposition), German committee. Among the most important decisions were the following: a joint May Day demonstration, the organization of a joint anti-Fascist front to include the traditions and cooperatives, local and district demonstrations, direct measures against the Nazis, a campaign for the right of asylum, etc. It was also decided to address a letter to the central committees of the C.

N. Y. WOOD-HEEL MAKERS STRIKE

Natl Shoe Workers Union Leads N. Y. Workers

About 200 wood-heel makers employed by the New York Progressive Wood Heel Company, of 28 Quincey St., Brooklyn, N. Y., went out on strike on April 24, 1933.

The wood-heel makers generally vote among the most exploited workers of those employed in the auxiliary crafts in the shoe industry. In this particular shop, conditions have become absolutely unbearable. In a period of six months they have suffered two wage-cuts, one of 20% and another of 30%, so that, despite the fact that they work from 48 to 60 hours a week, the men average no more than \$7 to \$8 and the women \$5 to \$6 weekly.

After several preparatory meetings, they decided to strike against these slave conditions. Led by the National Shoe Workers Association, the strikers demand: (1) Recognition of the union; (2) a 50% increase in wages; (3) a 44-hour work week. The desperate efforts of the bosses to prevent a walkout by intimidation were of no avail. Despite threats of strong-arm terror and arrests the workers are determined to carry on their strike to a successful conclusion and put an end to sweatshop conditions.

SHIRTMAKERS IN BIG STRIKE

New York City. Several months ago a group of progressives in the Shirt Makers Union No. 246, Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, came together to a meeting and decided to make an end to the "dog eat dog" evil prevailing in the shirt industry. After this meeting, the progressive group, with Brother Alev Cohen the manager of the union, started an organization drive on the out-of-town contractors to bring cutting back to New York and, at the same time, to prepare the ground for a general strike. And today, as this is written, the shirtmakers are involved in a general strike. It is up to the workers as well as to the leaders of the union to utilize this opportune time to make an end to the sweatshop system existing in the states of Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Massachusetts.

In order that the manufacturer should not turn into a jobber, it is absolutely necessary to bring the cutting back to New York and thus make the manufacturer give up his office space and open his cutting factory in the city. That goes for the cutters and the pressers and as far as the operating part is concerned, which involves about 14,000-15,000 workers. And, when the organized shops are settled and go back to work, it must be seen that each and every shop elects a chairman to take care of the interests of the workers.

Attempts are being made in the states of Pennsylvania and Connecticut to help the shirtmakers in their general strike.

M. D.
P. and Social-democracy for the establishment of a national united front along the lines of the one established in the German regions. (Continued on Page 7)

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Fascism and the German Unions

New Tasks of the German Proletariat

by A. P.

Berlin, Germany. Having seized hold of the entire executive power and having launched a frontal attack upon the political organizations of the working class, Fascism is now organizing the offensive against the existing trade unions. For the present this attack is assuming various forms: the destruction of all trade unions that are independent of the Fascist state and the creation of new compulsory Fascist organizations, basically different in all respects from real unions. Time, place and circumstance determine the methods used to achieve this end but the general course is everywhere the same.

The Course Of The Nazi Drive

In the early stages of the Nazi seizure of power the movement was primarily directed towards the ruthless destruction of trade union offices and headquarters. Then came the arrest and mistreatment of union officials. Those officials who were known to have radical ideas or to be active in political organizations came first. Especial emphasis was placed upon trade unions in the vital industries. This first wave of attacks unquestionably had the objective of demoralizing and destroying what spirit of resistance there still remained among the workers. It was also a demonstration of the power of Fascism.

The next stage of the Fascist attack on the unions was the offensive against their positions of support in the factories, in the factory councils, and the inauguration of the system of "state commissions" for the trade unions (the Fascist party apparatus and the police. In Saxony, Berlin and elsewhere, government orders and, to some extent, the independ-

ent actions of the National-Socialist party organizations, have brought about the removal of Communist and Social-democratic factory council members and the elevation to power in the factory of the N. S. B. O. (National-Socialist Factory Organization). Side by side with these measures is proceeding also the extension of the control of the Fascist state directly over the trade union apparatus. In Bavaria, it has been decided, by an order of the State Commissioner, that the trade unions would be allowed to "continue" their work only on condition that they would abstain from all class action, of course, from all anti-Fascist action, and would "limit themselves to social service activities." At the same time, it was ordered that the trade unions must allow a representative of the state to supervise their correspondence, their finances, and their general activities, that membership meetings could be held only upon the approval of the police, notified forty-eight hours in advance, and even then only under police supervision. It is unnecessary to comment upon the meaning of these measures.

The Capitulation Of The Leadership

What has the leadership of the once mighty trade union movement

done in the face of this situation? What a miserable showing have they made! The top sections of the bureaucracy have surrendered in despair. At the very time that the trade union officers are being destroyed, that the trade union headquarters are topped with eagles, that trade union officials are being arrested and tortured; that trade union activities are being paralyzed, Leipzig, Grassmann and the others, have nothing better to do than to send miserable begging letters to Hindenburg in which they assure him of their "true German sentiments" and plead for the "protection of his justice." These letters have not even been dignified by an answer! The cowardly bureaucrats have gone further. They are shamelessly crawling on their knees before the Nazis and loudly announcing their readiness to make a complete capitulation, to accept all conditions. After the destruction of its headquarters in Bochum, the leadership of the miners union issued a statement declaring its "readiness to operate with the existing government." The Afa-League (Editorial of white-collar workers—Editor) has published a similar statement. The leaders of the Catholic unions have eagerly declared their readiness to "work for the

national regeneration of the people" and have even endorsed in principle the idea of Fascist corporations.

It is clear enough already that all this disgusting belly-crawling will not save the unions. The Nazis are out, by the very class logic of their movement, to destroy all non-Nazi social organizations, certainly all non-Nazi organizations of labor. It is only a question of time and conditions; no amount of capitulation will save the unions from the fate the Nazis hold in store for them.

Rising Sentiment Of Opposition

Against the incredibly shameful capitulation of the leaders, there is arising a strong opposition in the ranks of the trade union workers, including good sections of Social-democrats. The effectively hinders by the great weakness of the Communist Party in the unions and factories, a result of years of sectarian and union-splitting policies. Even worse, the C. P. G. seems to be determined to continue the sectarianism in spite of the frightful lessons of the events in recent months.

It is the task of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) to utilize every possible opportunity for the struggle against capitulation and the capitulators, for

the strengthening of the opposition movement in the unions, for the saving of the unions. We must face the situation realistically. Inevitably there will be strong tendencies on the part of the workers to answer the gross betrayal of the leaders with leaving the unions, refusing to pay dues, remaining away from union and factory meetings, etc., a tendency which is being strengthened by the trade union policies of the R. G. O. (the German T. U. U.—Editor). In order to meet the situation, the trade union opposition must concentrate its fire upon all expressions of capitulation, surrender, desertion and betrayal in the unions. It must tie this struggle up with the struggle against the Nazi commissioners and the Nazi factory organizations. At the same time, it must drive the unions forward to defend the most elementary interests of the workers (economic, social, political, etc.) and strive to establish some relations with political problems and the political situation. The struggle for the reestablishment of the trade union movement is organically connected with a struggle against the social bourgeoisie. Once the workers see that there exists a determined force, operating in spite of all difficulties, and exposing and branding every deserter, every capitulator, every toady to Hitler, the revival of the resistance of the workers will be greatly stimulated and a basis laid for the reorganization of the movement into illegal unions as concentration points of the class consciousness of the workers. The tactics of labor unity and the united front are the chief needs of the day.

It must be recognized that the condition of capitalism in Germany will not allow Fascism to corrupt very broad sections of the workers by special benefits and so make them active carriers of Fascism. By becoming the spokesmen and champions of the interests of the workers, by giving expression to their aims and strivings, we will be able to shorten the period of Fascist rule and drive forward to the final victory of revolutionary Marxism!

party's sectarianism is a weapon in the hands of the reactionaries of the Social leadership to use against the Mooney movement. If the sabotaging tactics of the S.P. leaders and the A. F. L. officials are to be combated successfully, then the narrowness and falseness of the party must be liquidated.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

The warning sounded by the Communist Opposition in the Chicago local Mooney conference has gone unheeded. Instead, the party representatives have proceeded to make proper use of the narrow national congress even more, and which in fact endanger the success of the congress. At the last meeting of the local Chicago executive committee of the Free Mooney conference (which has been constituted into the organization committee for the National Congress, therefore making all its actions of national importance) the party representatives, led by the district organizer, Comrade Gebert, proposed that the committee send regular delegates to the United Front May Day Conference in Chicago (made up of Communist and left organizations), thus committing the Mooney conference and its affiliated organizations to support of the party's May Day demonstration as part of their activity on behalf of the United Front. The representative of the Communist Party (Opposition) proposed the following motion:

"That we send a committee to the United Front May Day Conference to ask for support for the Mooney movement, but not to act as regular delegates at the conference."

This proposal was of course defeated, with the party's proposal carrying. As in previous cases, the representative of the Trotsky group voted with the party leftists on this matter.

REPORT RIAZANOFF DEAD IN EXILE

A shudder of horror must pass through the hearts of all Marxists, of all revolutionary workers, at the only too well authenticated news that N. Riazanoff, the world-famous Marxist scholar, has died in Saratov where he was living in exile. His death came as a consequence of the hard conditions of the Russian party apparatus and the police. In Saxony, Berlin and elsewhere, government orders and, to some extent, the independ-

ent actions of the National-Socialist party organizations, have brought about the removal of Communist and Social-democratic factory council members and the elevation to power in the factory of the N. S. B. O. (National-Socialist Factory Organization). Side by side with these measures is proceeding also the extension of the control of the Fascist state directly over the trade union apparatus. In Bavaria, it has been decided, by an order of the State Commissioner, that the trade unions would be allowed to "continue" their work only on condition that they would abstain from all class action, of course, from all anti-Fascist action, and would "limit themselves to social service activities." At the same time, it was ordered that the trade unions must allow a representative of the state to supervise their correspondence, their finances, and their general activities, that membership meetings could be held only upon the approval of the police, notified forty-eight hours in advance, and even then only under police supervision. It is unnecessary to comment upon the meaning of these measures.

It will be recalled that the attempt was made some time ago to implicate Riazanoff in the trial of the Menshevik sabotegers and damagers, by playing up some of his alleged carelessness in dealing with Mensheviks working in the Marx-Engels Institute of which he was the head. No one dared to intimate that Riazanoff was at all deliberately disloyal to the Soviet Union or to the revolution. Nevertheless, Riazanoff was immediately ousted from his position and exiled to Saratov. The saboteging engineers, Ramsin and the others, altho convicted on their own confession, are today back again in Soviet service!

N. Riazanoff was probably the most distinguished Marxist scholar in the world. He was instrumental in discovering and publishing many of the lesser known, but extremely important, writings of Marx and Engels. He initiated the scientific edition of the complete works of Marx and Engels. He almost single-handedly founded the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow. His critical and historical works are already classics. This is the man who, in the C. P. S. U. bureaucrats allowed to die in exile because of some suspicion of party opposition!

It is not necessary to agree with any of the opposition tendencies in the C. P. S. U. to protest against the shameful and anti-Bolshevik methods used by the party leadership in fighting them. The way to overcome errors is ideological struggle in the channels of party democracy and not bureaucratic and state measures!

Philadelphia, Pa.

BANKRUPTCY OF SECTARIANISM IN PAINTERS UNION

by L. Kramer

It is now about two years since the Painters and Paperhangers Union of Philadelphia was organized by the T. U. U. L. The pretext was "organizing the unorganized" but the real aim was to split the old union, the A. F. of L. Local 306. The left wing controlled this local 100% but what happened? The building of the new "union" started off with a bang. Anyone could join by making out a card, no dues and initiation fees were asked for about six months. Yet only about 175 members joined. At the same time the left wingers of Local 306 A. F. of L. started to drop out of the union and, when elections took place in the union, the left wing was defeated. The right wing carried the whole slate.

In a number of strikes, also, the disastrous strike strategy of the T. U. U. L. showed its effects. The union's position of paying dues came out of the union; it began to crack and, out of the 175 members, only 50 are left in almost two years of existence. The leadership of the union is in a panic now. After the 1931 plenum of the R. I. L. U. the new Messiah, Jack Stachel, came around with the new gospel of the "united front from below." They simply changed the name of the organization committee to "united front committee." Then they tried out these tactics in a certain shop where one of them belonged to the T. U. U. L. union. Conditions were ripe for effective work. The policy was that you don't have to belong to a union at all; all you have to do is to "join" the "united front committee." The greatest confusion resulted because the workers thought they were joining a union and then were told that this was not a union meeting but a "united front committee" meeting. The "victory" in this shop front Philadelphia Decorating Shop) which the "Daily Worker" was so proud of, did not last very long. The wage-cut was taken back and the shop committee (not any union!) was "recognized."

With no union defense, the workers were quickly fired and the conditions are now far worse than ever before.

Now as to the painters in the union. How can we reach the painters, was always being discussed at the "united front" meetings. This astonishing method was used: *An ad was put in the morning paper "Painter Wanted" and then the comrades worked out leaflets to those who applied for the imaginary job.* As a result, those who gave out the leaflets did not dare to show up because they would get beaten up. This ended the "united front" tactics of the union. On September 24 of last year, a special communication was sent to all members, especially to those belonging to the I. W. O., the party and the I. L. D. and the workers clubs, that if they failed to come to the meeting they would be automatically expelled from the union and their organization would not be notified. Then they tried to arrange a "mass trial." But nothing helped. The "union" did not grow; it did not gain a single member.

When one raises the question of why did not the "new union" grow, we must answer that it is a dual union and who benefits by the existence of a dual union? Only the bosses. What is the justification for the existence of a dual "revolutionary" union? They say they are against craft unionism but their own "union" is a craft

"I Accuse!"

by M. N. ROY

From the Suppressed Statement of M. N. Roy on Trial for Treason Before Sessions Court, Cawnpore, India. With an Introduction by ASWANI KUMAR SHARMA — 10c a copy — reductions for bundle orders Order thru the WORKERS AGE 51 West 14th Street New York City

MOONEY MEETING IN CHICAGO

(Continued from Page 2)

grant representation to the opposition groups, particularly to the C. P. O., which had played an important part at the conference, and the party finally had to give in on this matter, both the Trotsky group and the Communist Party Opposition being allowed their candidates to the committee.

The Half-Turn Of The Party The Mooney conference exposed the half-turn of the party on the united front, a turn being accomplished without changing the basic conceptions upon which such a turn should be made. Consequently, from time to time, in the midst of the turn, there is a relapse to the old leftism. This was true at the May Day conference in Chicago. It was true even more at the New York Mooney conference and also at the Chicago Mooney Conference. Should this practice continue thru the national Free Mooney congress, it will cause it serious injury and will defeat the very purpose for which it was called. The

"Marxism - Leninism - Stalinism"

The Birth of a New "Ism"

by Bertram D. Wolfe

When Lenin was alive, he permitted no talk of "Leninism." His fiftieth birthday was no signal for personal tribute, flattery or adulation. No town was named "Leninograd" during his lifetime. No resolution pledged "loyalty to the Central Committee under the leadership of Comrade Lenin."

When the heroic fighter, Clara Zetkin, reached her sixty-seventh birthday, the fifth congress of the Communist International, then in session, tried to make a festive occasion out of it. Her speech was far from "appropriate" to the occasion: "... Such official honors go against my deepest feelings. That I am old is my personal misfortune but not mine and not mine if they have really thought, for the thoughts of the revolution... that was the happiness of my life... To my thinking, every man and every woman, whether sixty-seven years old or older or younger, who call themselves Communists if they have really thought, deserve the same honor."

Engels surely contributed more to the development of Marxism than Stalin to the development of Leninism and was a closer collaborator with Lenin, yet Stalin cannot imagine Engels squabbling for the title "best disciple of Comrade Marx" or encouraging the invention of the term "Engelism!"

Thruout the Soviet Union today and thruout the Communist International a campaign is being carried out for the development of a new "ism"—"Stalinism." Stalin's fiftieth birthday was celebrated with incense and flattery. His picture is the favorite cover illustration of every periodical from "Kinok" to the "Daily Worker." His photograph appears as often and as universally on the Russian magazine covers as the "Gibson Girl" or Greta Garbo on the covers of American magazines.

Towns and factories and clubs are named after him. His speech on the Five-Year Plan was set to music! On his fiftieth birthday, the State Publishing House put out a 270-page book for 30 kopeks (15 cents) in 500,000 copies with the following list of contents: "The Bulwark of Bolshevism" by Kalinin; "Stalin and Industrialization" by Kuybyshev; "Stalin and the Party" by Kaganovich; "Stalin, the Leader of the Comintern" by Manuilsky; "Stalin and the Party" by Voroshilov; "Stalin and the Bolshevization of the Sections of the Comintern" by Kuusinen; "Stalin, the Theoretician of Leninism" by Adoratsky; "The Iron Bolshevik" by Orjonikidze; "The Steel Soldier of Bolshevism" by N. S. Khrushchev; "Stalin Organizer and Leader" by Bubnov; "Stalin Continues the Works of Lenin" by Saveliev. Such words were written, such speeches spoken of Lenin after his death and for reasons of a different order, but, apparently, Stalin insists upon being embalmed and worshipped while yet alive!

When Lenin defeated opposing viewpoints in the party, he carefully avoided any hint of a personal triumph. He was interested in defeating wrong views, not in annihilating opponents or scoring advantages. His method was not so much to defeat opposing comrades as to convince them and having convinced them, he did his best not to destroy but to preserve. Under the Stalin regime, opponents in the party are not convinced but silenced, not silenced merely, but compelled to make announcements on solemn occasions of the "new cult" type, ending with humiliation (not merely for them but for Communism) hymns of praise to Stalin's name. There must have been just a touch of irony in Bukharin's "confession" repeated for the third successive year when he recently declared: "Comrade Stalin has conquered (!) the right to the leadership of the party."

Nor is the situation any better in the other sections of the International. When Stalin "celebrated" the fiftieth anniversary of his entrance into existence, each party central committee was expected and directed to adopt a resolution and send a cable of adulation. When his wife died, the leaders of the various parties cabled condolences, for all the world like bourgeois diplomats cabling a ruler on the death of his consort. The press of the other sections of the Comintern aped the press of the Soviet Union. The "Daily Worker" of January 19, bears a picture of Stalin headed; "Points Out Tasks!" and beneath it are the headlines: "Stalin Fixes the Fault of Defect In Grain Areas—Stalin Analyzes Work in Village." —Blames Defects on the Party Members."

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Such pictures and such headlines are typical. They do not appear often, merely because Stalin rarely opens his mouth. But that does not prevent the "Daily Worker" from publishing resolutions of the "under the leadership of Comrade Stalin" and "best disciple of Comrade Lenin" type and even editorials like the one on the anniversary of the Workers School in which it is explained that the school teaches the principles of Marxism and Leninism as developed and interpreted "by the best disciple of Lenin, Comrade Stalin!"

Stalinites And The Stalinites Even the system spreads. In each party Stalinism begets its embryo Stalin who substitute power for genuine authority and build up their personality by press releases. So the German party has its Thaelmann (once removed as leader of the front against the stormtroopers, towards great class struggles, stopping into a second round of revolutions and wars, realizing its readiness for these conflicts, if all this is true, this is the historical merit of Comrade Stalin."

But to Manuilsky, leading member of the executive committee of the Communist International, probably go the flatterer's crown and the courtier's insignia of office. In his report to the twelfth plenum of the International on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution we find: "If the proletariat of the world is marching resolutely towards stormtroopers, towards great class struggles, stopping into a second round of revolutions and wars, realizing its readiness for these conflicts, if all this is true, this is the historical merit of Comrade Stalin."

For Labor Unity Against The Fascist Menace!

THE UNITED YOUTH CONFERENCE AGAINST FASCISM

New York City.

Fascism's triumph in Germany is a severe blow not only to the working masses of Germany but to the international proletariat as well. Fascism spells growing reaction in every capitalist country, a new wave of concentrated offensive against the U. S. S. R.

In this situation it is imperative that we create the broadest possible basis for a united front of labor against that of capital. In this tactical approach lies the strength of the working class. However, the demoralized state of the labor movement in general and the split in Communist ranks in particular, greatly injure the possibilities for such a broad appeal. As a result, we find springing up here and there isolated attempts at united front action, which are, at best, very much limited in scope, attracting not a cross section of the American labor movement, which it must do in order to be effective, but directing its attack more on the isolated working class or another, each acting by itself rather than displaying one united effort in the struggle against Fascism.

The Nature Of The Conference

With this in mind we approach the recent united front conference against Fascism which was sponsored by the Rand School Students Association. This conference started out primarily as a Workers Schools Conference. The delegation of the New Workers School expressed itself for broadening out this conference to include all youth organizations regardless of political affiliations and for this youth conference to approach the leading bodies of the political parties of the working class, the various tendencies in the labor movement, the trade unions, the Y. C. L., etc., that they take the initiative in the calling of a broad united front to appeal and to embrace all sections of the working class, of which the youth movement must and should be an integral part. This opinion prevailed and along these lines we proceeded to work for the broad conference scheduled for March 24 and the demonstration to follow on April 1.

Many forces came into play in the provisional committee set up. It must be recognized that the Rand School Students Association issued this call for united front in all

none-too-dignified struggle between Browder and Foster for the post of appointed party leader. And Comrade Amter, thru the accident of reaching his fiftieth year on earth while fiftieth anniversaries were on the order of the day, got a birthday celebration, a mass meeting on the subject and a central committee manifesto ending: "Long Live Comrade Amter! We have no objections! May he live to be a hundred! But not as a matter of principle! Not as a thesis! Not in a central committee manifesto! Not as an issue for a mass meeting or a slogan to rally the American working class!"

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Have You Read?

- THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, by Jay Lovestone 10c
- SOME PLAIN WORDS ON COMMUNIST UNITY, by Ben Gitlow 5c
- THE HERITAGE OF THE CIVIL WAR, by Will Herberg 5c
- FOR REVOLUTION, by V. F. Calverton 25c
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but the official action in abstaining from conferences and demonstration still remains a criminal one. Lip-service is far from adequate. Both the Socialist and Communist Internationals have declared in favor of a united front against growing reaction. This must not remain a theoretical expression. The members of the Young Peoples' Socialist League must not rest quiet at this time. This question must be discussed in the circles of the Y. P. S. L., a decision reached that would sweep the entire Y. P. S. L. organization into this united front movement.

Thru the efforts of the Communist Youth Opposition and the New Workers School, the conference preserved its unity in spite of the actions of the Y. C. L. We do not stop here. The permanent committee elected must proceed along the line of the resolutions adopted by the conference, exert pressure upon the organizations mentioned so that we might lay the basis for a united front that will be all-embracing, that will strike blows at the very heart of our own imperialist power and, in that way, give direct support to the revolutionary forces of the proletariat in Germany. Along this line we must work unhesitatingly, preparing the masses of the country for active resistance against the American bourgeoisie.

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The N. Y. Scottsboro Conference

The C.P. Makes a Big Turn In the United Front

New York City. Plans for conducting a nationwide campaign for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys were made at a conference of various organizations held Sunday, April 16, at the Harlem Masonic Temple, 310 Lenox Avenue. The plans include a Free Scottsboro Boys March to Washington, the collection of a million signatures on petitions to be presented to President Roosevelt, and a Civil Rights Bill to be presented to Congress calling for the enforcement of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments.

With the announcement of the Decatur verdict, Harlem became a seething volcano. Tens of thousands of protest signatures were collected, mass meetings and open-air meetings of all shades and character were held everywhere. "The Scottsboro Boys shall not die!" became the cry of the Negro masses in Harlem.

Due to the failure on the part of the official Communist Party and the I. L. D. to take any serious steps toward developing a broad united front movement around this issue, this upsurge was without proper leadership and guidance. These developments, however, forced a situation where a united front movement became necessary in order to marshal this militant sentiment and direct it along constructive channels.

An important step in this direction was made by the calling of Sunday's conference composed of 252 delegates representing 65 organizations. Among them were the International Labor Defense, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the C. P. L. A., the Harlem Interracial Forum and a number of Negro fraternal organizations, churches, etc.

Edward Welsh and Hordeell Griffith were the representatives of the Harlem Interracial Forum, an influential and progressive educational institution in Harlem. The Socialist Party was not officially represented although a number of Socialist Party members, such as Heywood Brown, were present and cooperated.

The call for the conference was issued by the Scottsboro Unity Defense Committee, a committee consisting chiefly of a group of intellectuals, having no mass base. Louise Thompson, its secretary, opened the conference and outlined its purpose. The following officers were elected: Benjamin Davis, Negro lawyer from Atlanta, Georgia, who had defended Angelo Herndon, was elected temporary chairman, Wm. L. Patterson, secretary of the I. L. D., and Heywood Brown was elected vice-chairman, Louise Thompson, secretary, and Belle Cazanov, assistant secretary. Mrs. Janie Patterson, the mother of Heywood Patterson, and Tom Mooney were elected honorary chairmen by acclamation.

Mrs. Patterson was then introduced to the conference, and in a brief speech urged the workers to get together and fight for the rights of the Negro and to free the nine Scottsboro boys. The main report was delivered by Wm. L. Patterson, secretary of the I. L. D., who traced the historical development of the struggle of the Negro masses from slavery on to the crisis beginning in 1929, the subsequent effects of the crisis, the increasing poverty, oppression and terror, up to the Scottsboro case (Note: not a word about self-determination!). He concluded by pointing out the importance of the march to Washington and the necessity of laying aside political differences and called for a real united front of all forces interested in the fight for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys. Discussion followed Patterson's report, whereupon Welsh took the floor and endorsed the report of Patterson. He drew attention to the splendid way in which the masses were rallying to the cause. He welcomed the

step towards unity and urged that the movement be made as broad as possible. On the question of the Civil Rights Bill, Welsh stated that every effort should be made to get permission for a committee elected from the march to present the bill to Congress. If this fails because of some legalistic excuse, Welsh proposed the marchers go to near De Priest's, Negro Congressman from Chicago, and demand of him that he present the bill and fight for its adoption. He emphasized his proposal by pointing out that, although De Priest claimed to represent Negroes, he has never raised his voice to champion his race or to protest against the travesty of justice in the Scottsboro case. This proposal was strongly applauded by the conference. The resolutions committee however replaced Welsh's proposal by a decision to make this demand of all Congressmen and Senators. Other delegates discussed various phases of Patterson's report.

The report of the credentials committee was presented and adopted by the conference. The wholehearted support of the Scottsboro Defense Conference and will do everything in its power to further its work. The Harlem Branch of the C. P.-O. has already affiliated to the conference and plans have been worked out to secure the affiliation of all organizations in Harlem in which it has influence.

JUST OUT!

German Fascism and The Workers

by Leo (Berlin)

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WORKERS AGE 51 West 14 St. New York City

The I. L. D., Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union, A. Clayton Powell of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, Mrs. E. J. West of the N. A. A. C. P. local of Harlem, Edward Welsh of the Harlem Interracial Forum, etc. Julius Gerber, Jr. of the Socialist Party was nominated but refused to accept. Places were left open on the Action Committee for later affiliation.

The Communist Opposition wholeheartedly supports the Scottsboro Defense Conference and will do everything in its power to further its work. The Harlem Branch of the C. P.-O. has already affiliated to the conference and plans have been worked out to secure the affiliation of all organizations in Harlem in which it has influence.

The Jewish Anti-Fascist Meet in New York

New York City.

On Sunday, April 16, took place the Jewish Conference Against Fascism and Pogroms, called by the provisional committee of left wing organizations that had not been admitted to the recent conference of the American Jewish Congress. This conference was the reorganization Communist Party conference of the past few years. Aside from three (1) locals of the F. of L., seven Workmen's Circle branches and less than a dozen Landsmanschaften, the 224 organizations declared to be represented were practically all the usual left wing bodies under C. P. control. The whole conference reflected its narrow base.

M. Weiner, who opened the conference, declared it to be the purpose of the gathering to unite the Jewish masses in a broad people's movement against Fascism and pogroms and then to broaden out the movement among the workers of other nationalities. M. Epstein, reporting for the provisional committee, pointed out quite correctly that such a movement would have to fight on two fronts, against the American Jewish Congress, controlled by the big Jewish bankers and following the orders of the U. S. State Department, and the leadership of the reformist Jewish labor organizations which is always to be found in the trail of the big

Jewish bourgeoisie. But, strangely enough, in the resolutions committee and on the floor of the conference, the spokesmen of the Communist Party forced thru a resolution endorsing the action of the left wing organizations in sending delegates to the conference called by the American Jewish Congress! Lifshitz and Freeman of the Communist Opposition sharply condemned this course and Sherman of the Left Poali Zion emphasized that, by having sent delegates, the left wing bodies had given moral sanction to the support that the right wing labor leaders were giving to the American Jewish Congress. The resolution presented in the committee even included a clause that the big Jewish bank was "neutral" on the question of Fascism as a regime in Germany. It was not very difficult for the representatives of the Communist Opposition to tear this and other arguments" to shreds.

The depth of the sectarian bankruptcy was reached by the conference when it rejected the resolution proposed by the Communist Opposition delegates as follows: "The conference expresses itself in favor of calling a conference of the world trade union centers, the Amsterdam and the International Union, based on the broadest united front action, for the defense of the trade union organizations in Germany." Louis Hyman, the spokesman of the Communist Party, opposed this resolution because it was "out of the competence of the conference" to deal with such matters! This was purely a "Jewish conference" and what has a "Jewish conference" to do with the fate of the trade unions in Germany?

The working class conference also exposed its thorough sectarian character. At the beginning an attempt was made to put up a show of "broadness" and both Lifshitz and Freeman, of the Communist Opposition, were elected to the nomination committee, they accepted Lifshitz's proposal to enlarge the continuation committee from the original committee of 35 to a committee of 50, thus allowing representatives of W. C. branches and other organizations to be included and leaving places open for future affiliations. But on the floor of the conference they repented of their "liberality" and decided that the committee was "too large" and then cut it down to 35 again, reducing it to the pure party slate!

Such was the Jewish Conference Against Fascism and Pogroms. It is quite clear that, in spite of all new turns of recent times, the party work, in the Jewish field at least, moves in the same old sectarian rut.

B. L.

Against the Sectarianism of the I. L. D.

In the February, 1933, issue of the "Labor Defender", there is a very significant article by Frank Spector ("The Problems of United Front Against Boss Terror"). This article is a bitter indictment of the extremely sectarian course of the Communist Party and the I. L. D. in the Scottsboro defense campaign. The following extracts are enough to show the character of the article and the issues it raises:

"In the course of the Scottsboro campaign, we have built numberless conferences. With a few exceptions those quickly petered out because they were organized with a united front purpose in words only. In deeds they were narrow, sectarian bodies, almost duplicating the I. L. D. itself, and containing, for the most part, the same people.

"What generally happens (at an I. L. D. 'united front conference') is that a few left wing organizations, defense committees, and conscious helpers of the ruling class, as the framers and jailers of victims of the class struggle!" However, the whole burden of Spector's criticism is correct—a thousand times correct!

But, we would like to know, why is one a "renegade" for warning two years in advance of the inevitable consequences of the sectarian course in the Scottsboro defense, as the Communist Opposition did, and why is one a "Bolshevik" for disregarding and spurning these warnings, expelling those who make them, plunging into to the very depths of sectarianism, indulging in an orgy of "self-criticism" and then promptly going ahead to commit the same mistakes in an aggravated form?

MAY DAY MEETING IN CHICAGO

(Continued from Page 2)

How Fascism can be credited with a victory without at the same time debiting workers with defeat, is rather difficult to figure out. Similarly, Williamson continued to describe the "growth of the revolutionary movement", etc. These remarks show that the Communists, here at least, have not yet digested the lessons of the Fascist victory in Germany and have not yet admitted the false political conceptions which led the

Communist Party and the Comintern to commit such costly blunders in Germany and elsewhere.

When it came to electing a Committee of Action of the conference, the old sectarianism again showed itself. Although the conference made provision to add to the committee representatives from new organizations which might adhere to it, it refused to place on this committee representatives of the Communist Opposition groups. Comrade Zam moved that the C. P.-O. and the Trotsky group be given a representative each on the committee (of 30). In answer, the chairman argued that the opposition groups do not represent anybody and only mass organizations should be represented on the committee. The chairman of the committee argued that the Communist Party already represented Communism on the committee and that therefore there was no need for any other Communist groups on the committee. In the entire discussion, as well as the session of the conference, the word "renegade" was not used nor any other of the opprobrious terms which have become so common in the movement. Obviously this represents a change in words (whether also in deeds is yet to be seen) in the attitude of the party to the opposition groups. According to Gebert's count, only 11 votes were cast for Zam's motion but private count showed at least twice that many. The small vote for this motion exposed, not the smallness of the Communist Opposition, was approached gives the conference a powerful advantage and the almost complete absence of "outsiders". Nevertheless a number of representatives of party organizations and some party members cast their votes for this motion. This shows a certain very significant trend.

The Trotsky group was as silent as the grave thruout the conference. Although they had six delegates, they did not make a single proposal, did not nominate anybody for committees and did not take the floor for discussion. Only when Zam made the motion on representation did one of them wake up sufficiently long to nominate Giganti, instead of supporting the

"What Is the Communist Opposition?"

by B. D. WOLFE

10 cents

In bundles of ten or more 7 cents

WORKERS AGE 51 West 14th Street New York City

C. C. F. MEET IN ONTARIO

Toronto, Canada.

More than 164 delegates, representing 66 organizations thruout the Province of Ontario, met at Toronto on February 26 to consider affiliation with the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. Of the organizations in attendance there were about an equal number of trades unions, both national and international, federated labor parties and independent labor parties. Socialist party locals, workers associations, women's and educational groups, and Workmen's Circle branches made up the bulk of the remaining affiliations.

Practically the whole of the day was spent in discussing whether the labor section would affiliate unconditionally or make affiliation conditional upon restricting the voting power of the C. C. F. clubs upon matters of principle. It was claimed that these individual membership clubs have been set up in violation of the federative principle of the C. C. F. There should be no such individual membership clubs, it was argued, but membership should be thru organizational attachment to one of the affiliate bodies. The conference agreed to link up without any strings.

Actually, there was no question of principle involved in the decision. Those who wanted to create the individual membership groups were chiefly concerned with building up the membership of the I. L. P. and saw in this move a possible means of augmenting the following in the I. L. P. convention was a barren kind of an affair. Little outbursts of sentiment about the length of service to the labor and socialist movement, lung-bursting calls for action from one or two of the delegates, meaning more urgent attention to the national situation, an attempt by a delegate to whitewash Vandervelde on his betrayal of the workers, the passage of a resolution calling for the repeal of section 98 of the Criminal Code and the release of the eight imprisoned Communist leaders, the confirmation of the provisions of executive and the day's work was done. The next convention is called for April 23.

ELECTIONS IN THE BOSTON SHOE WORKERS UNION

(Continued from Page 1)

Communist Opposition, Eleanor Argentina, Louis Bjork, Grace March, Jack Shapiro, and Susie Wright for the fanatical, anti-Union is leading militant strike movements in New England to unionize Lynn, Peabody and other shoe centers.

HAIL MAY DAY 1933!

(Continued from Page 1)

tion everywhere and not least of all, in our own country.

In the midst of this raging sea of reaction, standing like a beacon light pointing the way to a better world, is the Soviet Union. Here in spite of tremendous difficulties, there is no economic crisis, no unemployment, no starvation, no oppression, but, on the contrary, the steady improvement of the conditions of the masses and the systematic building up a new social order, by and for the working people. The existence of the Soviet Union is a bone in the throat of the big imperialist powers, who are always striving to form a united front against the workers of all countries and defeat all attacks of the imperialists against it, whether these attacks are in the form of armed intervention, of economic blockade or of diplomatic manoeuvring.

The whole situation today, the brutal wage-cuts, the mounting unemployment, the smashing of unions and liberties, demands the forging of a united labor front against reaction. The unity of labor against the forces of capital must be the watchword of the hour; Unfortunately, however, the labor movement in the United States and thruout the world, is not strong and united, but divided, confused, and some sections dominated by false principles and methods. The disunity and ineffectiveness in struggle of the labor movement have contributed very greatly indeed to the success of the offensive of capital. International May Day, the traditional day of working class soli-

Build a Broad and Effective United Front "Free Mooney" Movement!

Statement Of The Communist Party (Opposition)

New York City.

The continued imprisonment of Tom Mooney on one of the most barren sectarianism of the Communist Party. Again certain representatives of the Tom Mooney Molders Committee certainly did not help in the big task of realizing a broad united movement; they threw in their support to the blighting sectarianism of the official Communist Party. The New York and Chicago conferences are shocking examples of what the attitudes of the Socialist and Communist Parties have meant for the Mooney defense. Again only in those localities where it proved possible thru the efforts of the Communist Opposition and others, to carry out the wishes of Tom Mooney, were real conferences set up. And even these conferences had to contend with the unfortunate attempts of the representatives of the Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee to turn the movement shipwreck on the sands of sectarianism. Luckily, these efforts have proved of no avail.

Thruout this repeated sabotage, sectarianism and irresponsibility, tolerated if not aided in many cases by the accredited representatives of the Tom Mooney Molders Committee, the Communist Opposition has maintained steadfast its support of the movement along the lines laid down by Mooney himself. For this reason it has hidden nothing of the grave shortcomings of the movement to date and has made every effort to point out how these shortcomings can be overcome and an effective united front established.

The National Congress

On April 30, May 1 and 2, a great national "Free Mooney" congress is being organized to meet in Chicago. Despite the setbacks that the movement has met in the various national conferences, it is still possible to make this national conference a success the beginning of a movement such as Mooney has pleaded for. The Communist Opposition wholeheartedly supports this national "Free Mooney" congress and strongly urges all labor organizations, of whatever political tendency, to send representatives and take up the struggle to free Tom Mooney, labor's martyr!

The New Call

Recently, nearly two years after the first appeal, Tom Mooney made a new appeal for a united front movement for his release. Again it seemed as if a new start could be made and a united labor front established. But again these hopes for the hand pressers: Olive Taylor, for the linim makers; Jennie Salem, for the French cord pressers; and Rose Girard, for the e-table girls.

The National Shoe Workers Union is leading militant strike movements in New England to unionize Lynn, Peabody and other shoe centers.

were disappointed by the shameful sabotage of the Socialist Party officials and by the narrow, barren sectarianism of the Communist Party. Again certain representatives of the Tom Mooney Molders Committee certainly did not help in the big task of realizing a broad united movement; they threw in their support to the blighting sectarianism of the official Communist Party. The New York and Chicago conferences are shocking examples of what the attitudes of the Socialist and Communist Parties have meant for the Mooney defense. Again only in those localities where it proved possible thru the efforts of the Communist Opposition and others, to carry out the wishes of Tom Mooney, were real conferences set up. And even these conferences had to contend with the unfortunate attempts of the representatives of the Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee to turn the movement shipwreck on the sands of sectarianism. Luckily, these efforts have proved of no avail.

1. The united front should include all organizations and tendencies in the labor movement, all unions, working class parties, fraternal and cultural organizations, as outlined in Tom Mooney's call from prison.

2. In order to insure the cooperation of all these organizations, all tendencies and types of organizations should be represented in all leading committees.

3. To make the conferences truly representative, only the representatives elected by bona-fide labor organizations should be seated.

4. The campaign for the release of Mooney should be carried on on the basis of agreement on policy and procedure arrived at thru discussion by all participating organizations and tendencies. This requires, on the one hand, full freedom of criticism of policies and actions and, on the other, the loyalty of all participating organizations in the execution of decisions arrived at thru common agreement.

5. Every organization participating has the right to choose its own representatives and retains internal autonomy with the right to maintain its own full program, leadership and estimate of other participating organizations. The unity of the fight for Mooney's release can truly be hurt by an attempt to make the precedent of any of these rights a precondition to the united effort.

A PROTEST AND A REPLY

We publish below a letter from Frank L. Palmer, who was chairman of the New York Mooney Conference. Comrade Palmer's letter merely confirms the point of the "Age" article. For the conference to refuse to elect the representatives of the A. F. W., put forward by the union delegation and then to "invite" the A. F. W. to "elect

FOR WORKERS UNITY AGAINST FASCISM

(Continued from Page 3)

The letter follows: "To the C. C. of the German Social-democratic Workers Party of Czechoslovakia: "To the C. C. of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia: "The joint conference held on March 19 at the People's House in Asch, consisting of 177 delegates (S.-D. 58; C. P. 77; C. P.-O. 42) greets the will of the leaderships of the Social-democratic and Communist parties for joint action against Fascism, war and the offensive of capital. . . . The workers of the Asch region, the Social-democratic and the Communist functionaries, the leading committees of the respective organizations, have shown the fact that the creation of such a united front is possible and that Fascism can be beaten. The conference expects of the central committees the immediate initiation of the negotiations to the same end, the establishment of a common anti-Fascist defensive front on a national scale.

"This decision was arrived at unanimously." At this conference it was also decided that all demonstrations in the future should be joint demonstrations. The movement for unity is ad-

MALNUTRITION AND RELIEF

New York City.

Miss Murrah is a "nutrition expert" for the Red Cross. She is "surprised," we learn from the "New York Times", to find a rise of malnutrition (starvation) of children in the schools of over 80% since 1929. She advises mothers to feed their children stale bread, canned tomatoes and evaporated milk; she "shows" how a family of eight can "live" on \$3.50 a week. But she is "surprised" that there is an increase in malnutrition!

In the same paper, on the same page, there is a report about farmers dumping huge quantities of milk because they cannot make anything on selling this milk. It must be a crazy system indeed in which we are living when, on the one hand, children are starving because of lack of food and, on the other hand, food is being destroyed and allowed to rot away before the eyes of all!

S.

a member of the Congress Organization Committee", is merely to add insult to injury, politically speaking.

Nor does the provision that "no one party should have more than a third of the committee representation" mean anything at all, since the official C. P., which dominates the movement, can and does have any number of its members on the various committees as representatives of party-dominated organizations.

One more big effort to free Tom Mooney" is just what we need, but it will never be realized by such narrow, sectarian, disruptive methods which the C. P. officials use and which Comrade Palmer defends.—Editor.

March 29, 1933.

Dear Comrade: Apparently for the purpose of proving a point in your controversy with the American section of the Comintern, the regular Communist Party, you carry a story about the National Tom Mooney Conference which gives a totally untrue picture of what happened. Your point is that the conference did not take proper steps to set up a united front.

You say truly that the conference voted to put a member of the Amalgamated Food Workers on the Congress Organization Committee, which is continuing the work of the conference in preparation for the Free Tom Mooney Congress in Chicago, April 30-May 2. You say truly that the conference did not take proper steps to set up a united front.

FREE EDUCATION AND THE CRISIS

(Continued from Page 3)

Altho, there was an increase of 17,200 on the rolls of the public schools this term, there was a drop of \$20,000,000 in the budget for education. It is to be noted that while the enrolment in the senior high school has increased, the registration in the elementary and junior high school has decreased.

Both are to be explained by the effects of the crisis and the consequent unemployment. The student who graduates elementary school cannot find a job and so he attends high school. But the young child who is old enough to go to school is kept home longer for the lack of food and clothing. The falling birth rate and the restrictive immigration also account for the drop in the registration of elementary schools. The cut in the budgets has been accomplished by slashing the teachers wages, by neglecting repairs and by eliminating many essential activities.

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May 1, 1933.

COMMUNIST PARTY AND SCOTTSBORO CASE

NOWHERE is the "new turn" in Communist Party tactics, that is, the partial turn away from the old suicidal sectarianism, more speculatively evident and at the same time better defined or more genuine than in the Scottsboro campaign. The change of policy for the better was already foreshadowed when the International Labor Defense obtained the services of S. S. Leibowitz as counsel; subsequent events, particularly the transformation of the trial of Heywood Patterson into a vivid dramatization of the whole vicious system of racial oppression in the South, have already fully justified this step. But the real turn came only after the Decatur lynch verdict became known and in reaction to it.

The announcement of the unspeakable Decatur verdict was met with a gasp of unbelief on the part of the Negro people of this country and, of the people of the North generally. In the Negro communities this sentiment was soon transformed into a veritable wave of indignation and protest that engulfed even the most indifferent and conservative elements. For the first time in many years, almost all sections of the people in these communities, especially the poor and working people, were fervently united in a vigorous protest movement directed against the most sacred pillars of American "civilization."

Under the pressure of this overwhelming sentiment, which expressed itself also in an unformed but quite definite demand for unity, the Communist Party and the I. L. D. have undertaken a change of policy. The sharp criticism of the Communist Opposition, echoed by Frank Spector in a recent issue of the "Labor Defender," has not only been taken to heart but has actually been translated into fact—at least a beginning has been made! Cooperation with the N. A. A. C. P. has at last been rendered possible. The C. P. L. A. has been drawn into the movement and a very serious effort has been made to effect cooperation with the S. P., which, so far, has inexcusably rejected these advances. Working arrangements have been concluded with many churches and fraternal societies in the colored communities, especially in Harlem. How radical the change of line of the party in the Scottsboro campaign really is, is symbolized in the almost incredible fact that Heywood Broun, the particular devil of the "Daily Worker" in the last few years, was vice-chairman of the Harlem Scottsboro conference and that A. J. Muste, Roy Wilkins of the N. A. A. C. P., and a member of the Communist Opposition, were chosen on the action committee of the conference, while Gerber of the S. P. was asked to accept but declined!

But the very circumstances under which this turn has taken place indicate the great dangers ahead unless the logic of the change of policy is carried out to completion. The party has been forced into a partial correction of its tactics not thru a recognition of the necessity of the step but under the impact of mass sentiment. As a consequence of this fact as well as of the deep isolation into which it had manoeuvred itself thru years of sectarianism, the Communist Party and its affiliate, the I. L. D., have proved incapable of lending form and leadership to the spontaneous mass protest that came with the Decatur verdict. They are merely at the tail-end of events. Even the handful of Garveyites, loud-mouthed remnants of a discredited and bankrupt movement, have succeeded in driving to the fore more effectively than the official Communist Party and their vicious and degrading demagogues almost unchallenged. The wages of sectarianism is political impotence!

The very welcome turn to realistic tactics of unity in the Scottsboro campaign cannot be complete, really effective or permanent if it is limited to this field alone. How can a genuine policy of the united front be applied in one field of party activity and its exact opposite hold sway in all others? If the right hand does not know what the left is doing, neither can really accomplish anything! The new turn in the Scottsboro campaign, if it is to mean anything at all, must be accompanied by a right-about-face in the tactical policies of the Communist Party on all fields of mass work and by a revision of these policies along the lines advocated for years by the Communist Opposition. Otherwise the change of course in the Scottsboro campaign, correct and proper as it is in itself, will be stultified and turn to ashes; indeed more—unless the turn is made genuine and complete, it will only be the harginger of an even worse and more destructive relapse into sectarianism, with all its disastrous consequences. The Communist Party and the I. L. D. are at the parting of the ways in this situation. It must be the task and the duty of all Communists, of all friends and sympathizers of Communism, of all militant workers, to do their bit to see to it that the road is taken that will lead to the restoration of political health, effectiveness and unity of Communism!

THE "CONTINENTAL CONGRESS"

IN spite of the high-falutin verbiage in which its ballyhoo is enveloped, the "Continental Congress for Economic Reconstruction", called in Washington for May 5 and 6, is, on the face of it, nothing more than a transparent camouflage for the Socialist Party, an S. P. "Innocents Club", to use James Oneal's refined terminology. Its claim to "effect a complete mobilization and unification of the farmers and . . . workers" is more than absurd and no words need be wasted about its competency to "set up a national council of the people." It is the most sectarian sort of Socialist Party outfit, in the very narrowest sense of the term.

An examination of the signatories of the call will show that they are all S. P. members or close sympathizers. Not a single name is to be found to show that a broader movement is even contemplated. Only "responsible" organizations of labor and organizations of the unemployed are to be admitted and there cannot be the least doubt in the world that this extraordinary qualification was contrived for the purpose of excluding all militant and left wing bodies and will be used to that end. But the very pains which the Socialist officials are taking to delimit their movement to the left will only expose its purely party character and serve all the more effectively to delimit it to the right, that is, to drive away even the more conservative labor organizations. The whole "Continental Congress" will unquestionably end, as it has begun, in a parade of S. P. members in disguise for the self-gratification of S. P. members in the open!

What Is Real Americanism?

by Harry H. Conner

Fort Wayne, Indiana
When the capitalist system is rapidly going down the toboggan at an accelerated speed, causing widespread unemployment, starvation, and other unbearable conditions, we see the American worker expressing his discontent in the confines of the Siamese twins of capitalism, the two old parties. In the absence of any leadership from the Communist Party, thru their tragic, almost impossible tactics, they have completely isolated themselves from the broad masses of the American workers. To the leadership of the C. P., Lenin is just an old gentleman who once wrote so many pamphlets since gone out of date. In a previous article I pointed out some of the absurd propaganda the rulers are dopping the workers with, while on the other hand the C. P. is shouting vague phrases, such as Japanese imperialism, hands off the Chinese Soviets, etc. The worker is becoming more and more bewildered. It becomes the duty of the Communist Opposition to point the way out to the workers. The word Americanism is used overtime by the capitalists today. Let us look into it.

What Is "Americanism"?

The youth of today are being taught an oath of allegiance that we quote: "I will reverence my country's flag and defend it against enemies at home and abroad. I will respect and obey the President of the United States and the laws of the land. I will support in and out of school the American ideals of justice and fair play, including the rights of unhampered opportunity under the laws of the land. I will hold the ideal of rational patriotism above the loyalty to any political class, social class, or previous national connection. I will actively oppose all revolutionary movements such as bolshevism, anarchism, or any other movement antagonistic to the laws of the United States or to the Constitution of the United States." All the learned members of the ruling class are unanimous on this Americanism.

If the gentlemen are so anxious to put this doctrine out to the workers and their children, let us have it in plain language lest we be compelled to swear falsely. If they are right, the essence of Americanism that we got in our school days is all wrong.

The first thing we learn in our American history is that this country was discovered by Christopher Columbus, a rebel against popular belief of his day, that the world was flat. If Columbus had accepted the theory of the day America would not have been discovered—at least not by him.

We next study, with great excitement, the Pilgrim Fathers, who rebelled against a government that was trying to control their private thoughts. Remember that these rebels were a tiny minority, but they had the courage of their convictions. They braved the Atlantic

to encounter a battle against disease, cold, hunger and savages. They succeeded in establishing a colony where they were soon to have to rebel against intolerance and injustice.

Lessons From 1776

We now study, breathless and with great admiration, the American Revolution. You, learned gentlemen who defend the present social order, remember that this revolution laid the foundation for the present government. This was an armed resistance against the then legal government. The thirteen colonies were confiscated from King George, who up to that time owned them by established law and divine right of kings. Taxation without representation was drilled into me strongly, but I would not be surprised if the masses today are suffering under worse discrimination. We glorified over the Boston Tea Party when a group of rebels dumped a load of tea into the ocean and with it a duly enacted law. Today, with the masses starving, because there is plenty of food, we do not see them using any of these tactics of our good American forefathers. On all state occasions that American epic, the ride of Paul Revere, who rode into the night telling the farmers and workers to resist the armed force of the then legal government, is quoted. We learned revolutionary phrases from such revolutionaries as Adams, Madison, Jefferson, and Patrick Henry.

We follow up to the signing of the Declaration of Independence, signed by fifty-six traitors to King George and the British government. It was Benjamin Franklin who said: "We must hang together or we will hang separately." If you study this Declaration of Independence, it tells you that you will have all the liberties of a free country. Can anyone produce a plainer right for revolution today than this document? But still these learned gentlemen of capitalism dare to cut the revolutionary career of any frank, fearless American who refuses to swear against any revolutionary move. This writer feels that the changed conditions since the close of the eighteenth century have made this government a despotism in refusing his right to tell his fellow workers the truth about the conditions as they are.

Our educators must have forgotten that we once had a president by the name of Abraham Lincoln who on the occasion of his inaugural address on March 4, 1861, said these significant words: "This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending or their revolutionary right of overthrowing it."

These fakery, with their words, prove beyond a doubt that their Americanism is confined to the two Siamese twins of capitalism, the two old parties.



BOOKS
SANCTUARY, by William Faulkner. Modern Library Series, New York.

This is an unhealthy, cold-blooded book by an author possessing striking literary powers but also a malicious interest in human perversity and weakness that is positively reptilian. If he was striving to arouse a reaction of disgust in the reader, he has undoubtedly succeeded. That, however, might imply that the book had a purpose—to expose a rotten condition. Not at all! Again, the fact that it is included in the Modern Library series might imply that it is either great literature or a fine study of contemporary conditions in the South. Unfortunately, it is neither. It is great only as a savage example of the literature of decadence.

The hero, named Popeye, is a sexually impotent, ratlike half-caste who kills on slight provocation and indulges in various sadistic exploits which are scarcely printable. The girl (there is no heroine) is a foolish, sensual, pleasure-seeking creature to whom plenty of shocking things occur when she happens to fall into Popeye's lair. It is as if a silly goose had fallen into a cesspool inhabited by rats and snakes.

The author's sympathy seems to center in Popeye. At least he takes the trouble to explain his warped and disordered nervous system by his heredity and early environment. As for the girl, one imagines the author believes she deserved what she got. At the end one has the impression that she is hardly much worse by reason of her dreadful experiences than she might have been otherwise.

The characters who are not vicious are weak and incompetent. Thus, the lawyer Benlow, who tries to escape his dull life and shrewish wife, undertakes to defend someone wrongfully accused of a murder committed by Popeye. The result of his inept and futile attempts when confronted with the power of human perversity, prejudice, passion and ignorance, is that his client is wrongfully convicted and lynched while he himself is broken in spirit and returns to his wretched existence—defeated.

A book of defeatism, of perversion, of decadence, with too much strain for effect, robbing it of reality. The author knows a great deal about the low state of society in the South but this book leaves the reader with the impression that Mr. Faulkner has stirred up the dregs simply to get shocking and offensive material for his story but with no serious plan or purpose otherwise.

M. H.

A PROTEST AND A REPLY

(Continued from page 7)

ence defeated the candidate put in nomination by delegates from the Amalgamated Food Workers.

But you fail to report that the conference immediately invited the Amalgamated Food Workers to elect a member to the Congress Organization Committee at their own union meeting.

If you had added that fact, which every one of your delegates knew to be a fact, you would have shown that the conference was trying to build a united front. Even tho you had weakened your argument in your controversy with the Communist Party, it seems to one who has never been a member of the Communist Party and is not interested in your controversy that it would have been worth doing for the sake of the fight to free Tom Mooney.

Your readers may be interested to know that after the conference the Congress Organization Committee took note of the fact that it was not satisfactorily representative and voted to take immediate steps to see that no one party should have more than a third of the committee representation.

Let us all drop factional differences so far as this case is concerned for one more big effort to free Tom Mooney.

Sincerely yours,
Frank L. Palmer

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