

WORKERS' AGE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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The "New Deal" and the Workers

We publish below the first of a series of articles by Jay Lovestone on "The 'New Deal' and the Workers". The second article will appear in the next issue.—Editor.

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It has been some time since there has been as catching a slogan in American politics as the "New Deal." So popular has this Roosevelt battle-cry become that even beauty parlors and undertakers have adopted it as their call to business.

No doubt the despair surrounding the Hoover administration has in a large measure, been replaced by illusions and hopes aroused by Roosevelt's "New Deal." With such a transformed mood in its favor, and with the election months behind it, the Roosevelt administration, unlike Hoover's, has been quite free to act, to propose and dispose. With no heritages of a dead past, of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover, to stand in his way, the Chief Executive has been given every opportunity for a "free hand and initiative." Hence some superficial observers and interested liberals have begun to parade Roosevelt's administration as "the Second American Revolution."

* * *

So far Roosevelt has gone full steam ahead. The Republican heavy artillery on Capitol Hill firing 158-word sentences, each containing a dozen or more clauses, has failed even to rock, let alone sink, the Roosevelt boat on the inflation issues. "Let's give Roosevelt a chance!" is repeatedly heard even among militant farmers and discontented workers. The country's two outstanding Socialist leaders, Thomas and Hillquit, have visited the President, congratulated him on his "prompt and vigorous action in the banking crisis"

1. How the 'New Deal' Is Put Over

by Jay Lovestone

and expressed their heartfelt grief that he had not gone further on the road he had started.

Yet all of this does not account for the speed with which the Roosevelt administration has been able to go ahead with its program. There is a more decisive factor. This is the realization of the gravity of the situation dawning upon many of the most articulate spokesmen of the ruling class. Professor Irving Fisher, Yale University, one of the best known prosperity drummers, is thus compelled to confess plaintively: "Few realize the gravity of our present situation. Our very national existence is at stake, even more than it was in the world war. Halfway, traditional and timid measures will no longer do. If the price level is not speedily raised, so that business, industry and agriculture can be run again at enough of a profit to make sure that they are run at all... this country will soon be over the precipice with bloodshed and revolution."

Unfortunately there is more fear of revolution among the "busted" bankers and the discouraged and discredited stock market tipsters than there is desire or readiness for it among the American workers and impoverished farmers. Clearly it is this growing acuteness that explains the strategy and technique, the whole program and drive of the "New Deal."

* * *

Before analyzing the "New Deal" let us

examine the strategy of the present Democratic administration, the technique with which Roosevelt is putting over this program. The main features of the Roosevelt tactics are:

1. ACT QUICKLY—ACT OFTEN: After the first few days of floundering, the new regime has operated on the basis of acting quickly and acting often, both in its domestic and foreign policies. We are not now examining the merits or demerits of the concrete acts or actions. All we are stressing is this: Because of the impending elections, the Hoover administration, particularly in the last twelve months or so before November, was naturally hesitant, slow and nervous in its acts as well as in its failures to act. This hesitation and vacillation, dictated by political calculations soon became painfully evident. Particularly, liberals and their kin who based their conclusions on temporary and superficial phenomena, soon began to protest against this inaction. They soon began to yell for ACTION AS SUCH, action regardless of whom it reacted upon, or of how reactionary it might be in effect.

The months of White House inactivity, culminating in Hoover's exit, brought a clamor among great masses of people of all political stripes FOR ACTION FOR THE SAKE OF ACTION ITSELF. Roosevelt sensed this all the time. He was quick to capitalize it. He decided to give

the country plenty of "action". This was the obvious strategy in the bank crisis.

2. CONCENTRATION OF POWER IN THE HANDS OF THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE: The tempo and volume of concentration of power in the hands of the President have astounded most observers. So rapid and decisive have been some of the changes in the American government structure that it can really be said that in the United States we have now AN UNCONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY. Roosevelt has more power than any President ever had. Congress has been giving up whatever rights and powers it has under the Constitution. The bank bill was adopted by the House of Representatives without its even being read. But it is not only the House which has been shorn of its power in order to strengthen the executive arm of the government. The Senate has fared no better. The procedure has been something like this: The White House wants a bill. It calls upon a member of the "Brain Trust" to draft it. A draft is produced. The White House then sends the bill to the Senate which usually acts on it without even knowing what it is all about. One capable Washington correspondent sized up the situation in this fashion: "There has never been anything quite like it in the history of the Senate... being always ready with new legislation, never showing the slightest hesitation or doubt. He (the President) keeps the country's attention fixed on his program and the Senate follows his leadership because it is unprepared and lacking in confidence, while he is always prepared and brimming over with confidence."

While this explanation may be a bit shall-

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MAY DAY IN NEW YORK

New York City

About sixty thousand people took part in the great United Front May Day Conference demonstration held at Union Square on the afternoon of May 1. The demonstration was one of the best and most enthusiastic witnessed for a long time. The United Front May Day Conference included representatives of the Communist Party, the C. P. L. A., the I. W. W., a number of unions and labor organizations, the Communist Opposition, the Communist League (Trotskyites), etc. Two long lines of march, totalling over 30,000, led to the demonstration.

Just previously the Socialist Party in alliance with some labor organizations had held its own demonstration on Union Square with about 20,000 present. The Socialist Party officials had categorically refused to join in with the united front May Day demonstration, in spite of the strong sentiment for unity among the S. P. members.

A spirit of labor fraternity and

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NOTICE!

Reserve for your enjoyment the night of Saturday, June 3! Ask for details at the office!

Defend the German Unions!

HITLER LAUNCHES DRIVE TO SMASH UNIONS, AND CUT WAGES WORKERS ALL OVER WORLD MUST UNITE IN DEFENSE!

The organized drive against the workers, their organizations and conditions, from the very beginning one of the cardinal aims of the Nazi dictatorship in Germany, has begun. In his address at the Fascist travesty of the International May Day celebration, Chancellor Hitler already outlined the main points of the immediate program: forced labor for the German working youth, a systematic and large scale wage-cut, and the "loosening" (abolition) of the collective agreements between the unions and the employers bodies.

On the very next day, May 2, the assault on the trade unions began and events showed that it had been carefully prepared in advance. Acting under orders of the strike-breaking National-Socialist Factory Organization (N. S. F. O.), headed by Dr. Robert Ley, Nazi Storm Troopers swarmed down upon trade union headquarters and journals, took them over and arrested all outstanding leaders. While attacks on the unions have been going on for many weeks previously in various parts of the Reich, on May 2 the drive against the labor organizations took on national

proportions. Within a few days, all of the unions, great fortresses of German working class strength, built up thru the toil and sacrifice of many generations, were in the hands of the barbarian hordes of trust-capital. The reformist leaders of the unions, hoping until the very last minute that their belly-crawling capitulation to Hitler would be accepted, put up no resistance; the masses of the workers, bewildered and lacking unity and leadership, could not go beyond sporadic and ineffective actions in protection of their organizations.

FASCISM TRIUMPHS!



With the unions, those under Catholic leadership as well as those under Socialist leadership, taken over, the Nazis are now proceeding full speed ahead in their campaign to smash them and to replace them by Fascist "corporations", fake "unions", worse than company unions. The Nazis realize that as long as real unions remain, no matter how conservative the leadership, there exist centers of organized strength and resistance of the workers. These must be eradicated if Fascism is to remain!

The attack on the German workers, their organi-

(Continued on Page 4)

RIVERA OUSTED FOR MURAL

New York City.

Over 200 radical workers, including many of the Communist Opposition, demonstrated spontaneously before the Rockefeller Center against the ousting of Diego Rivera, the great Mexican revolutionary artist, whose mural, representing the emancipation of mankind thru science, was declared "unacceptable" by the Rockefeller family because it included the figure of Lenin, joining the hands of a soldier, a worker and a Negro and a background of May Day and other realistic pictures of present-day capitalist civilization. The demonstration was brutally dispersed by the police.

When the news that Rivera had been summarily discharged and access to his paintings barred, members of the Communist Opposition immediately got in touch with the Trotsky group, the C. P. L. A. and the Communist Party-controlled Workers School. In the most shameful manner the Workers School refused to do anything. The other organizations agreed and the demonstration took place.

Indignation at the vandalism of the Rockefeller interests is growing among the workers and all progressive elements.

* * *

On Sunday, May 7, Diego Rivera addressed over three hundred people at the New Workers School Forum on the subject of "Art Appreciation."

The Installation in Local No. 22

Zimmerman Outlines Program of Unity and Struggle

New York City. In existence, even the one union might not have as many members as the other, it was necessary for the union to confer with the Industrial Union and find a basis for joint action. If failed, however, to state definitely and concretely how the unification should take place.

Zimmerman Presents the Program of Unity and Militancy

In introducing Zimmerman, the newly elected manager, Bluestein said: "When the Zimmerman group came into our union, we watched them, but we soon saw that they came in to work for the dressmakers. There were very serious differences between Zimmerman and myself, we worked together in the union. This proves that there is a possibility of cooperation between Communists and other elements."

"Installation meetings," began Zimmerman, "are not holidays but gatherings where problems are to be discussed. All those who spoke tonight remarked that they did not raise any controversial questions but everyone of them raised precisely these questions."

"Brother Antonini spoke about a truce in the union but there can be no truce. The struggles in the union revolve around the questions of policy and tactics. These differences of opinion exist and they cannot be stopped. However, regardless of differences, there are certain elementary points that all must unite upon, such as fighting the boss, picketing, organizing the unorganized workers, improving the conditions in the shops."

"As speakers raised the question of one union. We have at the present time four distinct proposals: from the Industrial Union, from the 'Left Group,' from the G. E. B., and the one we put forward during the campaign. We oppose all so-called unity that really leads to further splits."

"It is possible to have two unions, let us say in the building trades (for instance the electrical union and the steamfitters), to participate in one strike, but we cannot conceive of two different electric unions, fighting one another, calling on one strike. Such a situation would not establish unity but rather friction and sharp fights during the strike."

"The 'Left Group' also came out with a proposal for unity—that Local 22 should take the initiative in calling a conference of both unions, International and Industrial. This proposal, unfortunately, can lead only to further splits. Let us say that Local 22 accepts this proposal and calls such a conference. Let us also say that the International will not come (and it is certain that it will not come as long as the dual union policy is continued). Then it would only be a conference between the Industrial Union and Local 22."

"How then can this lead to one union? It would only mean that Local 22 would split away and unite with the Industrial Union. This would increase the chaos because only a section of the dressmakers would go into the Industrial Union, the other section remaining with the International. It would therefore bring further splits and not unity."

"As far as the proposal of the G. E. B. is concerned, I believe that the G. E. B. is not justified in issuing an ultimatum that the Industrial Union must first liquidate itself and only after that a conference can be held on the question of unification. The important proposal is unity and not the form. The Industrial Union leaders should come out and state that in principle they were willing to give up the dual union policy, then we could get together at a conference to take up the question of merging the two unions by taking in the members of the Industrial Union in a block, having new elections and recognizing those elected as the new administration of the unified organization."

Dubinsky Speaks For The G. E. B.

Referring to the friction of the previous Bluestein administration of Local 22 with the G. E. B., Dubinsky stated that it had not been a fight of principle. Of course he realized, he said, that there were fundamental differences between the G. E. B. and the "Lovesone" elements. He expressed the hope that the local executive would carry on the work of organizing the dressmakers and building up a strong dressmakers union.

After the speech of Dubinsky, Bluestein was elected chairman of the executive board for the coming year against Rosenberg, the candidate of the so-called "left block." In replying to Dubinsky's speech Bluestein stated that the struggle that Local 22 had carried on against the G. E. B. had been based on real questions of principle. It was the opinion of Local 22 that the present organizational form of the union did not serve the workers. It was necessary to give up the craft divisions in the union, where some crafts were getting better conditions at the expense of the workers in the other crafts and that industrial unionism was the medium thru which the workers would improve their conditions.

The chairman then read telegrams of congratulations that came from nearly every local of the I. L. G. W. U. of the city and from many dress shops. There was a variety of speakers at the installation: Hochman, the secretary of the dressmakers' Joint Board, Antonini, manager of Local 89, Levy, manager of Local 1 and Cooper, manager of Local 9. Hochman was quite pessimistic in this talk.

Strangely enough, the speech of Levy of Local 1 did not differ much from Hochman's in the estimation of the situation. The whole tenor of his speech was to place the entire responsibility for the present conditions of the cloak-makers and dressmakers on the leaders out of any responsibility.

On The Question Of Unity

On the question of the proposals for unity made by the Needle Trades Industrial Union to the G. E. B. and to the various locals, all the speakers for the administration, Dubinsky, Hochman and Antonini, stated that sooner or later the union would have to face the question of the so-called "united front," that is, of the situation in which members of the I. L. G. W. U. were active in organizing shops and then turned them over to the Industrial Union, that while they were members of the I. L. G. W. U. they are working for the destruction of the union.

Quite characteristic was the speech of Cooper, manager of Local 9, a member of the "Left group." He dealt with the unity proposals made by the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. He criticized the G. E. B. for not allowing the committee to present their proposals. He had, however, too, realized that two unions could not carry on one strike but that a strong union could do it. He based his argument, however, on the premise that there were two unions

"What Is the Communist Opposition?"

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10 cents
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WORKERS AGE
51 West 14th Street
New York City

With the Working Youth

Reign of Terror in Bronx Y. C. L.

by A. Epstein
New York City
In the Bronx Y. C. L. a reign of terror has broken out. A new "Enlightenment Campaign"! One comrade, Joe Davis, has already



THE COMMUNIST YOUTH DEPOSITION SECTION IN THE UNITED FRONT MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION IN NEW YORK.

official speech before the Y. C. L., called for discussion on the German situation in each unit. Whereupon Comrade Davis took him at his word and pointed out, during a unit discussion, what every thinking Communist must realize,

that certain of the party's tactics in Germany were incorrect and must be recognized as such. Comrade Davis, who seemed to have had some premonition of the fact that in the League at the present time a discussion period is not time to discuss, stated explicitly that he was only presenting his view point during a discussion period and that he would stop talking the

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CURRENT EVENTS. Lecturer: Jay Lovestone.
Four lectures on Fridays, begin June 9, 8:15 P. M.
Each session: 55c
MARX AND AMERICA. Instructor: Benjamin D. Wolfe.
Four sessions on Thursdays, begin June 1, 8:20 P. M.
Fee: \$1.00
WHICH PROGRAM FOR REVOLUTIONISTS? Instructor: D. Benjamin.
Five sessions on Thursdays, begin June 1, 7:00 P. M.
Fee: \$1.00
LANDMARKS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MARXISM.
Instructor: Will Herberg.
Five sessions on Fridays, begin June 2, 7:00 P. M.
Fee: \$1.00

REGISTER NOW!

"Free Mooney" Congress in Chicago

Communist Opposition Fights Strangling Movement Thru C. P. Sectarianism

Chicago, Illinois. As a result of the Tom Mooney Congress held in Chicago April 30-May 2, a new organization was born in the United States—the "NATIONAL TOM MOONEY COUNCIL OF ACTION (A UNITED FRONT FOR WORKERS RIGHTS AND FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE)" That this step was taken by the overwhelming majority of the delegates present, against the opposition and warnings of a small minority, including the Communist Opposition, does not in the least prove that it was correct, that it will bring the hoped-for results, and that it will serve to unify the struggles of the workers and the Negro people. The Communist Opposition, which led the fight against converting the Mooney Congress into anything else, declared after the defeat of its proposals in the Congress that the majority report that it would remain in the newly established organization and do everything in its power to build and develop it. This by no means is to be taken as meaning uncritical support of the Communist Opposition. The Communist Opposition states very frankly that on the basis of the manner in which the entire arrangement was put thru, the change in the nature of the Congress from the purpose for which it was originally called, the manner in which the Congress was conducted, the undemocratic methods used and the refusal to give minority opinion representation on the committee of action, it has serious misgivings as to the future work of the Council of Action. It therefore reserves its full freedom of criticism and action and declares that the exact nature of the support we will extend will depend entirely on the future activities of the Council, and on whether

it will overcome the errors made at the Congress itself.

The Character Of The Congress

The report of the credit committee showed approximately one thousand delegates present from almost 700 organizations. This was a lower figure than the most sober estimates of the organizers of the Congress, in spite of the last-minute instructions to "double and triple the number of delegates" which went out from the Chicago office. The real weakness of the Congress was shown in the figure of only 114 local unions of the American Federation of Labor, only four locals or branches of the Socialist Party, and a few scattered non-Communist organizations here and there. The bulk of the delegates came from the left organizations, large-

ly organizations controlled or influenced by the Communist Party. It was obviously not a Congress representative of the American working class. It was not even representative of that section of the American working class which was willing to struggle in a militant manner for the liberation of Tom Mooney. The Congress was far too narrow even for an effective Free Mooney movement, let alone for a "united front for workers rights and for the rights of the Negro people." Estimating the composition of the Congress, the delegation from the Communist Party (Opposition) proposed the following motion:

"This Congress considers itself as only preliminary. One of its main tasks should be to set up the machinery and representative committees for the organization of a

monster FREE MOONEY CONGRESS in the near future to set in motion the entire American working class in the fight for the freedom of Tom Mooney. For this purpose the bodies elected by this Congress shall approach labor and liberal organizations in an effort to secure agreement and united action."

It is obvious to any objective and non-factional participant in the Congress that this was the only road the Congress could take which would bring any positive results. The majority of the delegates, however, influenced by the leadership of the Communist Party, were deaf to persuasion and blind to facts. They substituted their own enthusiasm and desires for reality, were goaded on by a sort of hysteria worked up by the leadership of the Congress, and

A CHALLENGE!

"LABOR—Organized labor now has the chance of a generation to fix wages into the general scheme of production costs and to promote collective bargaining. Labor leaders do not seem to see it, however. You, as employer, seem safe in assuming continuing stupidity of labor."

— Kiplinger Washington Letter

April 29, 1933.

Trade unionists! Workers! How long are you going to let this "stupidity" of the labor leaders to continue to play into the hands of the employers? Wake up! Make your unions into real weapons of defense against the bosses!

Make your unions powerful and militant organizations to win better conditions of life! Take up the cynical challenge of the bosses! Act!

Militancy Wins in Ft. Wayne

Chamber Of Labor Elects New Leadership Standing 100% For Workers—Big Drives Under Way

by A Reporter
Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Just as the first batch of men were being put to work on the scrip plan and their illusions about getting 50c an hour for a 30-hour week were being shattered, the new administration took place in the Chamber of Labor here that was sponsoring this scrip plan scheme. The scrip plan had been the chief hobby of the former officials of the organization and put only very few to work, it was the sole topic allowed before the membership. Indeed, some officers even said that taking up relief grievances of the jobless was not the business of the Chamber of Labor!

By the time the first batch of workers had gone to work and had struck the very first day against a 9-hour day for \$3.00 there was already a new administration to back them in their fight.

Elections came up to fill two vacancies on the executive board. The chairman of the meeting, one of the champions of the scrip and barter scheme and justly suspected of being hand in hand with the Chamber of Commerce, objected to elections because he felt the sentiment of the membership was defeated and nominations made and then the chairman tried to defeat the will of the membership with all sorts of constitutional tricks. But these didn't get him anywhere either. Finally two workers, Conner and Wyborn, were chosen. They had been active in the unemployed movement and their interest in the workers cause was known. This enraged the leadership of the Chamber of Labor and they made one more attempt to keep these workers out of the executive and even out of the organization itself by proposing a gag law, an amendment to constitution which would prevent members from defending their views. The amendment was

What Is This Confusion?

Shoe Workers Rise in N. E. Causes Of Great Strike Wave—Role Of Communist Opposition—The N.S.W.A. Faces The Future

by Jack Ellenberg
Boston, Mass.

The workers of the shoe and leather industries in the New England states are in the grip of bitter struggles against the shoe manufacturers. For the first time in many years, New England is witnessing such heroic struggles as are taking place today. As a result of these battles, thousands of workers, men and women, young and old, of various nationalities are flocking into the National Shoe Workers Association.

The Conditions In The Shoe Industry

As part of the general crisis in the United States, with the continuing decline in prices, the shoe and leather industries are facing a chaotic condition. The cut-throat competition, raging among the shoe manufacturers, is being carried thru at the expense of the shoe workers, thru many wage-cuts and long hours. The shoe and leather industries are operating on piece-work basis. Piece-work is a form of voluntary speed-up. It is shocking, almost unbelievable, to learn that an experienced shoe worker, who has given away his best years to learn making shoes, is now earning on the average of \$10 to \$12 per week. Girls are forced to slave for \$2 and \$3 per week. The humiliating yellow-dog contract has long been employed by manufacturers as a means of chaining the shoe workers and preventing them from resisting the merciless attack of the bosses.

No wonder the shoe workers rebelled.

The Course Of The Struggle

The walk-out was to a large extent party slide back into the swamps of sectarianism! Don't let the new turn be scrapped! Insist that the united front tactics be saved and applied on all fields of the labor struggle!

tolerated only with great exasperation the expression of any differences of opinion on this or other matters.

How The Congress Was Run

The first two and one half days of the Congress were extremely wasteful. Only at 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the final day of the Congress did the resolutions committee report and the discussion and action on the report of the resolutions committee, the election of a Committee of Action and related matters were compressed into a single short session of the Congress. This was due entirely to the manner in which the Congress was organized. The reports dealt not with specific proposals or a program of action but were agitational, inspirational, blah, blah. The discussion on these reports, which continued for two and one half days, followed, with some exceptions, the tone set by the reports. Not until the afternoon of the second day was the resolutions committee elected, beginning its work on the morning of the last day. In spite of this, an effort was made to have the Congress adjourn on May 1st, but this was defeated.

With the election of the resolutions committee, it became clear that the leaders of the Congress, the leaders of the Communist Party, had no real intention of conducting the Congress in a democratic and representative manner. It was agreed that the presidium, which had been elected without any opposition, should propose nominations for this committee, then nominations were to be made from the floor, and the final committee elected from all those nominated. But this was not adhered to. Only two nominations were permitted from the floor, after which a mc

(Continued on page 6)

Fascism, the U. S. S. R. and the C. I.

In Series: Fascism and the Soviet Union

by A. P.

Berlin, Germany. It is intelligible enough that now, with the German working class subjected to the awful martyrdom of the Fascist dictatorship, the question should arise, partly in hope and partly in despair: "What can the Soviet Union do for us? What is the Soviet Union doing for us?" Nor is it surprising that, in what remains of the German Social-democratic press and in the Social-democratic papers throughout the world, the same question appears in a mocking tone: "What is the Soviet Union doing for you now?" The bourgeois and reformist papers maliciously distort and misrepresent every declaration of the Soviet government about "normal and peaceful relations" with Hitler Germany and in this they are aided by the official Nazi propaganda. The Trotskyites are also busy scattering dark hints about the "duties" of the Red Army in Germany. No wonder that great confusion reigns on the question of the relations between Fascist Germany and the Soviet Union.

Some Basic Distinctions

As Communists we must analyze the problem independently of the special interests of the Communist movement in Germany; we must examine it from the standpoint of the international and general interests of the Communist world movement, undisturbed by vague hopes or feelings of despair. Soberly we must face two questions: (1) What can and must be the attitude of the Soviet Union toward Hitler Germany? (2) What are the tasks facing the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as a section of the Communist International?

These questions must be kept apart very strictly. The distinction between the Soviet Union as a so-

FASCISM IS SMASHING THE UNIONS

(Continued from Page 1) zations and standards, is only beginning. It is a matter of concern to the workers of all lands. To the degree that labor is weakened and capitalist reaction strengthened in Germany, to that degree will labor all over the world suffer in its struggle with capital. For this reason it is necessary for the workers and trade unionists in the United States to raise their voices in protest against what is happening to their brothers in Germany and to organize to help the victims of the Fascist terror. President Green of the American Federation of Labor has already voiced his protest against the union-smashing activities of the Fascists in Germany. But more than talk is necessary. President Green should call a conference of trade union and other labor organizations to aid the German workers. The A. F. of L. also should take the initiative in having a world conference of trade union organizations called to organize an international struggle against German Fascism. The German workers are crying out in their torture! There is no time to lose in coming to their aid!

Labor Must Speak Up!

The Labor Section of the Canadian Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, composed of trade unionists, Socialist Party, Independent Labor Party and Labor Party groups, educational societies, etc., in the province of Ontario, went on record, on April 23, 1933, scoring the Nazi attacks on the trade unions and urging united trade union action against the Fascist regime in the United States and Canada. Other labor organizations are taking similar action.

The National Committee of the Communist Party (Opposition) has ratified the expulsion of J. Goldman, former member of the Bronx (New York) branch, because of his publicly expressed anti-Soviet position, incompatible with membership in any Communist organiza-

tion. The distinction between the Soviet Union as a section of the Communist International? These questions must be kept apart very strictly. The distinction between the Soviet Union as a so-

cialist state in a capitalist environment and the C. P. S. U. as a member of the Communist world party, is no mere diplomatic fiction. The distinction is especially important from the international Communist viewpoint. The distinction here is not that between the "national" interests of the Soviet Union and the international interests of communism as the bourgeois and the Social-democratic press try to make out and as the Trotskyites chime in. The distinction is between the policy of Communism which is in possession of the state power and has to defend it, on the one hand, and Communism which has still to win the state power, on the other. There is, of course, no difference in principle between the two; but there is a great difference in concrete policy, in the application of the fundamental principles to different situations. Whatever is valid today for the Soviet Union will be quite valid tomorrow for any other country, in which the working class, led by the Communist Party, takes power!

We, the Communist Opposition, have always been objected to the false and illegitimate interference of methods applicable to a country in which Communism is in power to the struggle of the Communist parties in countries in which the workers still have to fight for power; in brief, we have

For A United Labor Front Against Capitalism!

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE UNITED FRONT

by H. W.

As long as the official Communist movement violently rejected the tactics of the united front, in form and in content, it was very easy indeed for the Socialist leaders, in Germany and in the United States, as elsewhere, to parade around virtuously as the true champions of unity and united labor action. But the recent new turn in official Communist policy on the united front, which is phrased in the following terms: "The reasons" raised for rejecting the advances of the Communist Party of the United States have at least had this effect that it has punctured the pretensions of the right wing Socialist leaders on this field and has exposed, completely as the bitter enemies of any sort of labor unity whatever, short of unity within the Socialist movement. The sectarianism of the official Communist Party is amply demonstrated, at least it is amply demonstrated by a revolution, by the cross sectarianism of the Socialist party has no such redeeming feature. It is essentially a means of defense against revolutionary vigor; it is the mechanism by which the hopelessly reformist turn in official Communist policy is a cordon sanitaire, a blockade around the Socialist workers to prevent them from being "contaminated" with the virus of Communism!

The Socialists International and United Front As usual the cue has come from the experienced politicians of the Socialist International, those artful dodgers whose skill in crawling out of any situation threatening a shift of forces to the left, has been sufficiently appreciated. On February 19, 1933, the Executive of the Socialist Labor International (S.L.I.) addressed a generalist appeal to the Communist Party in the fond expectation that it would meet with nothing but slander, abuse and raving about the "united front from below"; quite in the customary style of the C. I. in the last four or five years. Imagine the embarrassment of the S.L.I. chiefs when the Executive of the C. I. issued the now well known manifesto on March 6, which, in spite of all the very grave shortcomings noted by us, was a big step in the right direction, a definite recogni-

tion of the necessity of the tactics of the united front. The bluff of the S. L. I. had been called and the spokesmen of the Socialist International were now faced with the embarrassing job of getting out of their own proposal for united action. In the brief statement issued by the S. L. I. the following are the "reasons" raised for rejecting the advances of the Communist Party: (1) The C. I. has placed "conditions" in its appeal for the united front; (2) The C. I. is not sincerely after an "honest and loyal agreement" and has, in fact, "thrown insults at the Socialist parties" in its very manifesto; and (3) only negotiations between the two Internationals can lead to anything, until these negotiations bear fruit nothing can be done in any country.

One Objection Examined

It is not difficult to see that the first objection is an objection to the united front as such. Obviously, a united front can be formed only on the basis of a program of action, in other words, on the basis of "conditions." Of course, this program of action must be such as to be readily acceptable to the organizations embraced and, if the objection of the S. L. I. were merely to the character of the program of action proposed by the C. I., it would have been another matter entirely. But the S. L. I. objects

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by
M. N. ROY
From the Suppressed Statement of N. N. Roy on Trial for Treason Before Sessions Court, Cawnpore, India.
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naturally very painful to many Communist workers in Germany suffering under the awful terror of the Nazi Brown-Shirt hordes. But, painful or not, this viewpoint corresponds to the interests of the Communist world movement, and therefore, in the last analysis, also to the interests of the revolutionary struggle of the working class in Germany.

The Tasks Of The U.S.S.R.

The essential point here which must be placed supreme from the interests both of the Communist world movement and of the Soviet Union is: **Above everything else, the Soviet Union must maintain the proletarian state power intact.** The proletarian state power in the Soviet Union must be strengthened and consolidated and, under no circumstances, endangered. This must be the guiding line of Soviet policy in the interests of the international Communist movement as a whole. How is this policy to be carried out concretely cannot be determined by our wishes, hopes or fantasies but must depend upon the concrete situation of international politics as a whole, that is, upon the relation between the Soviet Union to the imperialist powers and upon the state of affairs in the international class struggle.

These questions we will consider in the following article.

Hillquit Echoes The S. L. I.

There is nothing the least bit original in the trickery with which Hillquit and his friends are countering the very weak united front moves of the official C. P. today. The attitude of the New York and Chicago Socialist Party chiefs to the Mooney and Scottsboro campaigns must surely turn the least sensitive of Socialist stomachs and their conduct in connection with a united May Day demonstration is positively unbecomable. And under what pretext? "Falsehood" and "insults" on the part of the Communists! The "Daily Worker" blames Hillquit and the Communist Party for the murderous attack upon the left wing fur leaders and therefore—mind you, therefore—the Socialist Party cannot join in with the C. P., the C. P. A., the I. W. W., etc., to celebrate May Day together, or organize the "United Front" of Mooney and the Scottsboro boys! And the people who make such arguments are the first to charge others with "insincerity!"

The gross sectarianism of the S. P. expresses itself not only in a blanket rejection of any united front proposals coming from the Communists but also in the official recognition by the S. P. of the now discredited official Communist Party tactics of the "united front" around the party. In the words of Hillquit: "The period," the C. P. spokesmen used to shout (and the echoes have not yet died away!): "The only united front possible is a united front around the Communist Party, a united front of the Communist Party and party-controlled or sympathetic organizations." Of course this form of unnatural relation is no united front at all for the very essence of the united front, the very purpose of its being, is the formation of an alliance or block of labor organizations of different political views.

What the official Communist Party is beginning to discard, at least in words, the Socialist officials are picking up and refurbishing for their own use! The S. P. of New York, imitated by S. P. organizations in other cities, is stumbling all over itself calling "Labor and Socialist conferences" consisting exclusively of its own organizations. Indeed, all efforts are made, and strong-arm methods are not withheld, to keep out organizations of other political views, no matter how important or how genuine these organizations may be! And it is in these narrow, utterly sectarian gatherings that the unity of the workers is to be expressed! What is the Continental Congress, but a rehashed version of the old "united front" conferences the C. P. used to call "around the party?"

ally carried out. Who will be loyal or disloyal from this viewpoint can only be learned thru experience and the Communists are ready to stand the test!

It is perfectly true, finally, that a really effective united front movement must culminate in an international agreement but, just for that reason, it must begin in the individual countries. To insist that no steps towards consolidating the ranks of labor are to be taken until international agreements mature in the future, is to condemn the German proletariat to inaction precisely at the time when Fascism is consolidating its power and when proletarian resistance would be most effective. In other countries of the world, the danger is fundamentally the same, if not as acute.

It should be noted that even this diplomatic rejection of the united front on the part of the Executive of the S. L. I. proved too "conciliatory" for the leaders of the German Social-democracy. One of the public reasons for Otto Wels's shameful resignation from the Executive of the Socialist International was that the S. L. I. had even considered the possibility of a united front with the Communists, thus "damaging the position" of the German Social-democratic Party, that is, compromising the belly-crawling "Socialist" leaders who are trying to make good their capitulation to Hitler.

These questions we will consider in the following article.

The Negro and Communism

Workers Rule and Race Prejudice

by Will Herberg

One of the questions that is persistently flung at the radical who appeals to the Negroes to join white workers in a revolutionary struggle against capitalism, is: "What guarantee have we that, once in power, the Communists will not forget us, betray us?" The following representative quotations well define the point at issue:

"Even assuming a great proletarian revolt, uniting black and white workers, to snatch power from the capitalists, what reason is there to suppose that white supremacy will not begin to assert itself. . . ." (George S. Schuyler, in August 1932 "Opportunity")

"Black brothers, how would you welcome a dictatorship of this proletariat" (referring to white workers who had just forced some black workers out of jobs?) (W. E. B. DuBois, in 1932, "The Crisis")

There seems to be a tendency in some quarters to dismiss these objections as impertinent, as signs of bad intention. This is a great mistake, I think. The argument is, really a serious one and well deserves thoughtful consideration.

The conduct of the backward white workers in the United States (and the big bulk of the workers are backward) is certainly not such as to reassure the Negro masses. These white workers, together with the farmers, make up the lynch mobs, keep up the poisonous "lily-white" demagogues and politicians in the South, bar the colored laborers from the trade unions and thus drive them into almost inevitable scabbard. After all, then, why should the Negro look forward with enthusiasm to a situation in which these very workers and farmers will be invested with supreme power? Just because the Communists declare themselves against race discrimination and promise complete equality for the colored man. By the Negro is only too well acquainted with the broken promises of white political organizations, given to him when his help was needed and then promptly forgotten. Why should the Negro believe the Communist pledges any more than the pledges of the Republican party which, too, were once given in sincerity but are now a hollow mockery? This is the way the question poses itself to a great many thoughtful Negro radicals.

Revolution And Peonage In The South

However plausible it may sound, this line of argument seems to me, nevertheless, to be completely false at all points. I propose to examine very sketchily some aspects of this problem from the point of view of Marxism.

The American Negro is oppressed, disfranchised, mistreated, discriminated against and deprived of rights, precisely because he has never been completely emancipated economically from his slavery, in so far as the emancipation of the chattel slave is possible in capitalist society. As I have shown elsewhere "The Civil War in New Perspective", in the "Modern Quarterly", Summer 1932), the failure of the Civil War to accomplish more than a half-emancipation condemned the Negro farmer, then substantially the whole Negro people, to a semi-serf condition and this status of inferiority he brought with him when he came into industry later on. Upon this foundation of economic subjection, the whole edifice of social and political subjection has been reared; destroy the basis and the superstructure is no longer so firm!

Now, if there is one thing a working class revolution in this country is absolutely certain to do, if only in the farthest interests of self-defense and self-maintenance, it is to destroy in the most radical manner the antiquated and oppressive conditions of Southern agriculture, to confiscate and nationalize the land of the planters and other exploiters and to distribute it, in large part at least, among the actual cultivators of the soil. In this way, the very roots of the caste subjection of the American Negro will be eradicated

and the possibility of real social and political freedom and equality established.

Race Prejudice And Bourgeois Ideology

Sociologically considered, race prejudice is essentially the justification, thru racialization, of the Negro's inferior social and economic status in the present American scheme of things; as such, it naturally comes to form an integral element of the prevalent ideology of this country.

The average American worker of today is indeed dominated by race prejudice but this precisely because he shares completely the fundamental views of official capitalist society at all points, because he is backward, because he does not understand his own class interests, and his own class interests, because he thinks in terms of current conventions and prejudices, because, in short, he is bourgeois.

The American worker forgets ahead out of his backwardness, to the degree that he becomes radicalized, to the degree that he sheds his capitalistic ideas and grows class conscious, to that degree does he free himself from the nightmare of race prejudice, for it is just accidental thru which they are rendered class

The Struggle For Chinese Unity And Freedom

WHO ARE THE ENEMIES OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE?

by Soong Ching-ling

We publish below the speech of Soong Ching-ling, the widow of Sun Yat-sen, delivered at a recent anti-imperialist meeting in Shanghai after the fall of Jehol to the Japanese. The sentiments of Mme. Sun Yat-sen reflect the attitude of the best sections of the Chinese people. She is a woman of the natural ally of the Chinese proletariat in the struggle for social and national emancipation.—Editor.

Before reviewing the conditions in China, I should like to make a few remarks about the international situation today. The world crisis of capitalism becomes ever deeper. Workers and peasants starve; the middle class is ruined; banks and business concerns crumble. Only in the U.S.S.R. there is an entirely different picture. Unemployment is abolished; industry and agriculture are developed on a socialist basis; exploitation is done away with; the cultural and economic level of the masses is being raised. The Five-Year Plan is a huge success. Vainly some capitalist countries are trying to adopt certain features of the Five-Year Plan for themselves. But they cannot succeed because the laws of capitalist production, the rule of the bourgeoisie, prevent it. Only the working class, in alliance with the peasantry, can build the socialist society.

The more precarious the existence of capitalism becomes, the more vicious becomes the ruling class against the workers and peasants. Fascism is spreading in Europe as the last desperate attempt of the bourgeoisie to maintain the existence of a bankrupt system by brutal terror.

The greater the antagonism between the imperialist powers, the greater the enemy against the U.S.S.R. becomes, the greater become the preparations for new imperialist world wars, for wars of aggression against the colonial and semi-colonial countries, for a new war of intervention against the U.S.S.R.

Famine And Oppression In China With this international background in view, how are the conditions in China? Economically, the workers are unemployed, starving with miserably wages, long hours, no protection. Peasants suffer, starve and are robbed

thru on earth. I am astonished that Negro social thinkers in this country have paid so little attention to the recent history of the Jews in Russia; the lessons and analogies are so obvious and so significant. In the old Russia of the Czars, the Jews were a subject and despised race, very much as are the Negroes in this country today, in spite of many obvious secondary differences. The discriminations under which the former suffered, went strikingly like those under which the latter are laboring today. The pogroms were as ferocious and even more bloody than the lynching bees in the "land of the free". But what is most important is that in Czarist Russia, too, anti-Semitism found strong support among the peasants and backward workers, who made up the pogrom mobs, just as the white workers and farmers make up, to a large extent, the lynching hordes in this country. In Russia, too, there were Jews who were extremely sceptical as to what would be the fate of their people should the Russian workers take power and dominate the country—with equal appearance of justice!

The same problem may be regarded from another angle. It may be readily admitted that, were power suddenly to fall into the hands of the mass of American workers at this moment, there might be some ground for anxiety on the part of the Negroes. But to approach the question from such an utterly artificial standpoint seems to me to miss the whole significance of the mechanics of revolution. It is the very backwardness of the workers today that keeps them from taking hold of political power. On the other hand, the very process thru which the backward, unrevolutionary workers clarify themselves as to their prejudice level, the very process thru which they are rendered class

conscious, are radicalized and brought to the point of a mass struggle for power, this very process is simultaneously a process thru which these workers are purged of their race prejudice, thru which their whole outlook and spirit are changed. Karl Marx repeatedly emphasized that the process of revolution involves not only an "external" change of social structure and functioning but implies likewise an "inner" transformation, a revolution in the "human nature" of the masses:

"A revolution is needed not only because there is no other way to overthrow a ruling class but also because the class that does the overthrowing is able only thru a revolution to cleanse itself of all the filth of the old regime and thus to become capable of building up a new society."

Let Us Learn From Russia!

This whole line of argument is not "merely" theoretical. It has been completely substantiated by one of the most stupendous historical experiments ever carried

thru on earth. I am astonished that Negro social thinkers in this country have paid so little attention to the recent history of the Jews in Russia; the lessons and analogies are so obvious and so significant. In the old Russia of the Czars, the Jews were a subject and despised race, very much as are the Negroes in this country today, in spite of many obvious secondary differences. The discriminations under which the former suffered, went strikingly like those under which the latter are laboring today. The pogroms were as ferocious and even more bloody than the lynching bees in the "land of the free". But what is most important is that in Czarist Russia, too, anti-Semitism found strong support among the peasants and backward workers, who made up the pogrom mobs, just as the white workers and farmers make up, to a large extent, the lynching hordes in this country. In Russia, too, there were Jews who were extremely sceptical as to what would be the fate of their people should the Russian workers take power and dominate the country—with equal appearance of justice!

In 1917, these same Russian workers and peasants succeeded in establishing a working class regime committed to the task of transforming the capitalistic order into a socialist one. What, then, happened to the Jews? Did anti-Semitism remain a dominant sentiment among the new ruling class? Were the Jews condemned to remain in their subject economic and social status? Did anti-Semitism "begin to assert itself"? Did pogroms and discrimination continue? No! The new regime, based upon the working class, in whom the fires of revolution had burned out the poison of race prejudice, at least as far as the decisive, advanced elements were concerned, immediately decreed the end of all discrimination against the Jews and other formerly subject peoples and declared their freedom and equality. As part of its general program, the government destroyed the "special" economic positions in all spheres of all their troubles, and integrated them into the rising socialist economy of the country. All avenues of public life were immediately thrown open to the once despised people and active anti-Semitism was made a serious offense against the state, against the revolution.

Today, the liberation of the Jews in the Soviet Union is absolutely complete, for the first time anywhere in the world in many centuries. Today, Jews occupy the most important positions in all spheres of life; recognized racial discrimination is a thing of the past; pogroms are regarded as relics of barbarism; unheard of for more than a decade; even the most minor signs of anti-Semitism are found only in dimly remembered among the most backward elements of the peasantry or among the remnants of the old world and are then visited with the sharpest legal and social disapproval. Such has been the profound revolution in life wrought by the proletariat in power!

The Road To Emancipation

So that its force may be more obvious, let me recapitulate the argument of the above paragraph. (1) A working class revolution in the United States would make possible an end to the economic emancipation of the Negro by destroying the economic roots of the servile status of the race. (2) Since anti-Negro prejudice is a form of bourgeois ideology, the advance of the revolutionary idea tends to destroy this prejudice and to open the way for the elimination of race lines in the labor movement and in the whole period of its preparation, the working class must free itself of the fifth of the old regime", in this sense, above all, of race prejudice. (4) The historical example of the Soviet Union provides a striking confirmation of all these contentions.

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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The National Free Mooney Meet

(Continued from page 3)

tion to close nominations was carried with dozens of delegates on the floor demanding to be permitted to make nominations. This meant the Communist Party (Opposition) was not even permitted to nominate one of its representatives, let alone give the delegates an opportunity to vote on its candidates. A petition later circulated to give the Communist Opposition a representative on the floor. This was signed by a large number of delegates, including the representatives of the Progressive Miners and of the Women's Auxiliary, of the Detroit and Anthracite Free Mooney Congress, the United Workers Party, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, the Workers League, the Fort Wayne Chamber of Labor and the Fort Wayne Labor Party, the I. W. W., Louis B. Scott, Mooney's personal representative, and a large number of other organizations. All these delegates were not necessarily in agreement with the position of the Communist Opposition but they were of the opinion that the Communist Opposition was entitled to a place on the resolutions committee. It is important to note this list, as it is pertinent to a later event. Muste of the C. P. L. A. brought up the question of permitting the Communist Opposition a representative on the resolutions committee after the delegation protested and the resolutions committee decided that it had no jurisdiction in the matter!

Throughout the Congress such undemocratic methods were utilized, juggling of the speakers list, booging and hissing differing expressions of opinion, steam-rolling through the use of the ever-present majority for the party, denying minority opinion representation on the important committees. It is obvious that no working class gathering which proceeds in this manner can make a broad appeal for support in labor organizations.

The Main Point Of Discussion

The main discussion in the resolutions committee was over precisely the question raised by the Communist Opposition: Should the Congress remain a Free Tom Mooney Congress, or assume other tasks? The position of the Communist Party representatives was that the Congress must "broaden" (7) out beyond itself on additional issues, particularly on the Scottsboro issue, and consequently they favored the transformation of the Congress as already mentioned. Most of the non-party members were opposed to this plan and favored confining the Congress to the Mooney issue. Among these were included the representatives of the Proletarian Party, the I. W. W., the Philadelphia local of the S. P., several representatives of A. F. of L. locals and Cannon of the Trotsky group. A test vote showed ten against the party's proposals. But as the discussion continued, the weak strikers began to fall. The first to capitulate was Cannon, who had entered like a lion, but behaved like a jackal, contenting himself with the bone of membership on the resolutions committee and the Committee of Action which the party threw him, along with a few choice compliments. Whatever prestige the "Left" (Trotsky) Opposition still had among the non-party delegates present sank to the vanishing point as a result of this vote on the "principledness."

There can be no doubt that the pressure of the party upon the non-party delegates was very great. Even Comrade Renner of the Proletarian Party, who held out to the last in the resolutions committee and decided to make a minority report, withdrew his minority report at the last minute, under the persuasive magic of Hathaway's oratory. But the existence of this pressure does not in the least justify any capitulation. Those who are afraid of being in a minority have no business coming to conferences or playing at oppositions. It is one thing to sit in one's own office and issue

broadsides; it is quite another thing to get up in a congress and defend a point of view which is opposed by the overwhelming majority.

The resolutions committee finally presented a majority report, and minority reports were presented by Cannon, on the question of non-aggression, and Statman of the I. W. W. on the issue of the general strike and boycott. Neither of the minority reports touched a question of principle. While the Communist Opposition supported Cannon's minority report, which was practically identical with a similar proposal introduced by us, we must recognize that the differences with the majority were largely over formulation. As to the strike and boycott, the majority proposed not to defeat the proposal, but simply to delay action till some time in the future when a mass movement had developed. The main issue, as to what type of movement should emerge from the Congress was therefore not even touched in the reports of the committee. Nor was the matter touched in the discussion, due to the manipulation of the speakers list which kept the representatives of the Communist Opposition from the floor. Consequently, when Hathaway began his summary, he was entirely justified in declaring that no programmatic differences had been expressed, but when he extended this to include the proposals of the Communist Opposition, he was interrupted by Herbert Cannon who pointed out that there was a principle difference between our proposal and those of the majority, that we could not make a minority report as we had no representatives on the resolutions committee and were not permitted to discuss the report of the committee by the factional manipulation of the list. (It must be remembered that this interruption and the statement took place in the midst of booging, hissing, shouts of "sit down," "throw him out," and other threats of physical violence.) When the matter was placed thus sharply, Hathaway had no other recourse except to move that Comrade Zam be given five minutes (!) to defend the point of view of the Communist Opposition. (The point of view of the majority received hours, both in the discussion as well as in Hathaway's presentation and summary.) When Comrade Zam obtained the floor he introduced the following motion:

"The campaign for the release of Tom Mooney and for the mobilization of the American

workers behind this demand shall be the central work of the Free Mooney movement and of this Congress. At the same time the Congress should express itself on other cases of capitalist oppression, including the Scottsboro case and other cases of working class political prisoners, without changing the basis upon which this Congress was called by Tom Mooney. The organization of a Council

of Workers Rights and for the Rights of the Negro People at this Congress is premature."

Comrade Zam pointed out that "broadening out" means restricting the number of issues and not extending them. The more issues on which agreement is necessary, the less agreement can there be. The omission of any aspects of the class struggle from the program of the Congress does not mean opposition to them. The program does not contain a demand for the proletarian dictatorship but would mean that the representatives of the Communist Party are opposed to it? The class struggle does not come in a single package. Every working class organization, not only revolutionary, but also the less advanced ones, must be able at any particular time, to select those issues of the class struggle which provide the greatest possibility for moving masses. The Mooney issue at the present time is a key with which we can lead the organized labor movement. To unite this issue with others would, at the present time, seriously hinder the effectiveness of our future work.

Comrade Hathaway proceeded to defend the point of view of the party, according to which narrowing down the program was out. Hated front still means "around the party." A Communist International May Day manifesto, which again called for the united front "from below," Hathaway interpreted to mean joint demonstrations by the workers on May Day. At the same time he declared that since 1928, the Communist Party had not changed its united front policy. It did not make any united front with leaders; it negotiated with them "to expose them and not to unite with them." Asked about those who played a big role at the Congress, and about other leaders, Hathaway answered that there were "leaders and leaders." Presumably a leader who agrees with the party on any one thing is a leader "from below" and therefore a united front with him is permissible.

By the time the vote on the report of the resolutions committee was taken, no more than 600 delegates were left at the Congress. Again some steam-rolling was attempted. Patterson, who was chairman of the session, attempted to take a vote on the report of the majority of the resolutions committee before submitting any other proposals to vote. This, however, was squelched, Patterson was shoved out of the chair by

Fraud on Petty Scale!

The May 6 issue of the "Militant", the organ of the Trotsky group, features the following headline: "Left Opposition Scores at Chicago Mooney Congress — 39 Delegates Representing 45,000 Workers in Solid Left Opposition Block." And the article glories: "Therein is the measure of our strength and influence!"

Of the 45,000 workers in the "solid Left Opposition block", we are told, 30,000 were the miners in the Progressive Miners of America. (On the same page, two columns away, the membership of the P. M. A. is given as 15,000!) It was the uncompromising demand of these miners, and not, as some malicious rumors have it, his capitulation to the gross sectarianism of the official Communist Party, that put James P. Cannon on the permanent national committee of the conference! A very inspiring tale indeed!

But we also have before us the May 5, 1933 issue of the "Progressive Miner", the official organ of the Progressive Miners of America. There is a long report in it about the Chicago Mooney congress, written by Gerry Allard, the editor of the paper. (By the way, is or is not Gerry Allard a member of the Trotsky group?) In the entire report the name of the Left Opposition or of Comrade Cannon is not even mentioned! In the list of bodies represented, every sort of organization is mentioned but not the Left Opposition! How come? Did Gerry Allard forget about the "solid Left Opposition block"?

Whom is the "Militant" kidding? Its readers? The Trotskyites? The C. P. members? Perhaps Trotsky? What do its invectives against the "Daily Worker" for its exaggerations, misinformation and bombast amount to, in the face of the performances of the "Militant"?

Whom is the "Militant" kidding?

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Hathaway, who saw that his stupid steam-roller methods were having a bad effect on the non-party delegates present. The proposal submitted by the Communist Opposition received 57 votes. (The official count; some individual counts placed the vote at considerably higher, but the exact number is of no consequence.) The representatives of the Proletarian Party voted for this proposal, as Comrade Hathaway's final defense had demonstrated that the party was sticking to its original proposals 100% with no basis for compromise. But Cannon attacked the majority report. He hadn't compromised; he held out completely. Nevertheless, the vote showed that a substantial number of delegates agreed with this proposal, as at the time the vote was taken, only about 12 of the delegates were members of the Communist Opposition. The minority reports were all defeated, the vote varying from forty odd to sixty odd.

The Role Of Muste

The chief ballyhoor, standpatter and defender of the party's sectarian course at this Congress was none other than A. J. Muste, who likes to parade as proponent of "democracy" in the labor movement. During his presence at the Congress, he supported every steam-rolling act by the official leaders of the Congress. As the official reporter of the resolutions committee, he was the chief defender of factional discrimination against minority viewpoints. He even went so far as to insist that Cannon was representative of the Communist Party (Opposition) on the resolutions committee and no other representative was necessary! Later when he was confronted with this, he said that he had become "confused".

This brings to mind the role of Muste at the Mooney conference of the Socialist Party in New York a little more than a year ago. At that time Muste was also the chief ballyhoor, for the Socialist Party and against the Communists! He defended very vigorously the exclusion of the Communist Party and of the I. L. D. from that conference. He was a member, Comrade Muste? Or was it because you were "confused"? Isn't it time you stopped being a "face" for such anti-working class methods inside the labor movement?

The Council Of Action

The final work of the Congress was the election of a Committee of Action. The presiding committee brought in a proposal for 42 members, nine additional ones were nominated from the floor, including that of Herbert Zam, of the Communist Party (Opposition). Instead of voting, a proposal was made by Hathaway that one additional nominee be elected and that it be the representative of the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W. This was carried, and the committee was settled. In spite of the fact that the Communist Opposition had presented a distinct point of view at the Congress, that its proposal had received about ten percent of the vote cast and about 5% of the total registered delegates, it did not receive a single representative on the Committee of Action; more, the delegates were not even permitted to vote on whether it should receive a representative or not. When we take into consideration that smaller and less influential organizations received representation (the Trotsky group, for instance), it became clear that no arguments could be given to stifle the Mooney movement with their sectarianism. The Eastern Office of the Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee sent a telegram to the bona-fide conference here demanding that it solve the case, and the Workers' Sick and Death Benefit Society, the Italian Beneficial and Cooperative Society, the Lithuanian society, etc. The work of the conference was very constructive. The president was Patrick Brennan of Local 466, U.M.W.A. Winter of the S. P. was vice-chairman, Frank Vratric secretary and Peter Gallia treasurer. An executive committee was elected composed of

one representative of each organization. Patrick Brennan and Louis Casterline, a miner who was recently expelled from the U.M.W.A. for fifteen years for his militancy, were chosen as delegates to the national Free Mooney gathering in Chicago.

Both Dan Slinger, for the dual Free Mooney conference, and Reeve of the I. L. D. were present. They were allowed to take the floor and say what they had to say but all delegates were convinced of the harmfulness of their sabotage and dualism.

Just as in New York and Chicago, the representatives of the Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee acted in such a way as to help solve the case, and the Workers' Sick and Death Benefit Society, the Italian Beneficial and Cooperative Society, the Lithuanian society, etc. The work of the conference was very constructive. The president was Patrick Brennan of Local 466, U.M.W.A. Winter of the S. P. was vice-chairman, Frank Vratric secretary and Peter Gallia treasurer. An executive committee was elected composed of

We, on our part, are going ahead with courage and past year and a half mobilizing the workers in the great struggle for the liberation of Tom Mooney!

—FRED.

(Continued on Page 7)

Rise of the Shoe Workers Of New England

(Continued from Page 3)

Lowell and Newburyport are under the leadership of the Shoe Workers Protective Union. The reason the S. W. P. U. has succeeded in getting in the strike situation is that, a few weeks prior to the rise of the shoe workers, they had issued a public statement expressing their willingness to amalgamate with the National Shoe Workers Association. The workers of Lowell and Haverhill are still on strike. During the strike the Protective invited representatives of the N. S. W. A. to speak at their meetings and to discuss with them the N. S. W. A. will have to bring more pressure upon the leaders to unite both organizations into one powerful union.

The Hyde Shoe Strike In Cambridge

The Hyde shoe factory employs nine hundred workers. Over five hundred are out on strike. This strike is conducted under the leadership of the N. S. W. A., directed by William Seligman. The strike has been on now over five weeks. The Hyde shoe factory is considered the strongest open shop place in New England, numerous attempts have been made to unionize this place but each time the various unions that tried failed. Mr. Hyde, the owner of the factory, is spending hundreds of thousands of dollars in an effort to break the strike. To date, there has been scabbing have received 50% increase in pay. Most of them have been working there as long as ten and fifteen and twenty years. In spite of these obstacles the union is succeeding in taking down the strike more workers every day. The N. S. W. A. is determined to win and the militancy of the strikers is a guarantee for victory.

Industrial Unionism vs. Craftism

The reason the N. S. W. A. has succeeded in organizing so many workers in such a short time is the fact that although it does not call itself an industrial union, it is in fact such a union. No restrictions or difficulties are placed in the way of workers desirous to join the union. Starting with the skilled and going down to the most unskilled there is a flexible rate of dues payment, 25¢ per week for the skilled and 15¢ for the unskilled. Consequently, no workers will stay away because of high initiation fees or high rate of dues payments as is the case with the antiquated bureaucratized craft unions. Why has the strike leadership proved so successful in this movement? There are three chief reasons:

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The British I.L.P. And the C.I.

London, England.

The reports current in the American press that the Independent Labor Party decided, at the recent Derby Conference, to affiliate to the Communist International and to adopt a Communist program, are greatly exaggerated. On April 16, the I. L. P. conference did indeed decide to disaffiliate from the Socialist Labor International. As far as the Communist International is concerned, it was decided "to approach the Secretariat of the Communist International with a view to ascertaining in what way the I. L. P. may assist in the work of the International." It was specifically declared that this was in no way equivalent to a decision to affiliate.

The next day the proposal to include a clause on the "workers defence" in the program was decisively defeated.

The chief arguments against closer relations with the C. I. were primarily those based on the utter sectarianism of C. I. policies, the bureaucracy dominating the movement, and the complete failure of Communist tactics exhibited in the German situation. The out-and-out Communist group played but a small role at the conference.

REIGN OF TERROR IN BRONX Y. C. L.

(Continued from Page 2)

minute his unit voted to accept the party line. This, however, did Comrade Davis no good! Two days after he had spoken at the meeting, he was expelled by the Lower Bronx section committee. No specific charges were brought against him that he "slandered the Comintern", "is petty bourgeois", and "reads too much." (!)

When the Comintern was expelled from the Bronx section committee, the expulsion of the section committee sent out a communication to all League units in the Lower Bronx, advising the Y. C. L. members to shun Comrade Davis like the plague.

NATIONAL MOONEY CONFERENCE

(Continued from Page 6)

situation was punished for its principlelessness. Can and will the Council carry on and assume the tasks which the Congress made its own? It must be frankly stated that the doubts of this exist. The impression is very strong that once again the party has just captured itself. It will require not only the efforts of the Opposition, of the non-party elements, but also a serious change in the methods of work of the Communist Party to prevent this Council becoming just another party auxiliary in the near future. Will the party make this change? Or will it proceed in the spirit of the May Day manifesto?

Comrade Davis was not given the floor to defend himself. All in all, this expulsion recalls the wave of expulsions of 1929. It constitutes, we suppose, a new step in the "bolshevization" of the League.

The ironical part of the whole business is the fact that Comrade Davis was once one of the staunchest defenders of the party line, a bitter enemy of the Communist Opposition. Comrade Davis was

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DANGER AHEAD FOR THE WORKERS!

THE synthetic ballyhoo now being raised on all sides about the "upturn at last" and "America's face towards the future" is not only a cynical deception of the people; it is a grave, tho as yet hidden menace to the masses, above all to the unemployed.

It is certainly not out of the question that there may be a pickup here and there within the next few months but who is there brazen enough to pretend that the permanent agrarian crisis will be seriously alleviated, that the many millions of jobless will be reemployed, that wages will be restored even to the miserable levels of "prosperity" days? But the very partial and temporary improvement in the economic situation may well turn into a boomerang unless the workers see clearly what is ahead.

A menacing rise in the cost of living is now a certainty; indeed, it is already under way. With the onset of inflation, the break will become a veritable runaway. For the workers to MAINTAIN their present thoroly deflated wage levels in the face of rising prices, it will be necessary for them to fight with all their strength for constant INCREASES in wages. If the workers do not awaken and organize their forces for aggressive strikes and wage struggles, if they fall victims to the organized advertising campaign that wages are rising all by themselves, automatically and without effort, so to speak, then they will find that their wages will actually be further slashed in the end. The workers must keep on driving ahead, even to remain in the same place; once they slacken in their drive under the influence of th widespread propaganda about "wage increases," they will fall behind rapidly and disastrously.

The situation is even more grave as far as the millions of jobless are concerned. Under cover of reports about the "pickup" and "increasing employment," the miserably meager relief that the various local and state agencies are dispensing is being cut to the bone. In New York City, the Emergency Work Buro has discharged thousands with the comforting "hope" that they will have little difficulty in finding a job in view of the "upturn." Meanwhile, in view of rising prices, the actual relief the unemployed are getting, in food tickets or in money, is being automatically slashed. There is the greatest danger that, under the impact of the "upturn at last" propaganda, the public pressure responsible for what little relief there exists, will be slackened and the suffering of the jobless and their families greatly intensified. The unemployed, too, thru their organizations, must keep driving ahead merely to remain in the same place!

The fact of the matter is that the great object of the whole "New Deal" campaign of Roosevelt and his "Brain Trust" is simply to find new and more palatable ways in which to put over the offensive of capital, to concoct new and more "popular" forms of continuing the old game of shifting the burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the masses of the people. No wonder the emissaries of Mussolini and Hitler, those past masters of demagogic reaction, have so enthusiastically complimented Mr. Roosevelt for his adroitness in the same game!

It is time for the workers to sit up and take notice of what is happening. It may very soon be too late!

WHOM DOES SELF-DECEPTION PROFIT?

THE "Daily Worker" of April 28 features a two-column headline "Nazi Base Narrows-Crisis In Steel Helmets." Under a Berlin headline, these words follow: "The breakup of the Nazi support is further accentuated by the crisis with the Steel-Helmets, with Colonel Duesterberg, vice-chief of the Stalhelm, ousted by Franz Seldte, commander-in-chief." Let every Communist, let every worker consider these words carefully; let him ponder the enormity of this bit of distortion and misinformation! As even the experts of the bourgeois press were able to realize, the removal of Duesterberg marked the eclipse of the influence of the Nationalists in their own stronghold, the Stalhelm, and the beginning of the systematic absorption of this reactionary veterans organization into the Nazi Storm-Troops under the direction of Hitler. Clearly enough, therefore, what is happening to the Stalhelm is broadening the mass base of Fascism and actually destroying the mass support of the only rival of the Nazis in the camp of the nationalist reaction. Whom is the "Daily Worker" fooling in speaking of the "breakup of Nazi support" and of the "narrowing of the Nazi base" as a result of the ousting of Duesterberg? Does it think that, by some hocus-pocus of magical words, it can change the objective situation by a hair's-breadth? Who gains by such childish deception?

Nothing can so hinder and demoralize the necessary revival of the workers struggle against Fascism as a refusal to look facts in the face, no matter how unpleasant these facts may be. Unafraid realism is the first requisite of effective revolutionary policy, especially in so difficult a situation as exists in Germany today.

"A party that hides the truth from the people is no party but a clique of deceivers, condemned to destruction." These words of the Stalin of 1926 should be seriously taken to heart by the Stalin of 1933 and by the "responsible" leadership of the Communist International.

What Do the U. S. Farmers Want?

Platform Of Farmers National Relief Conference

We publish the platform of the Farmers National Committee of Action, as adopted by the Farmers National Relief Conference at Washington, D. C., on December 7-10, 1932.—Editor.

We farmers, 250 strong, represent the struggling majority of the farm population in 26 states. For the first time in history, we come ourselves, face to face with Congress without high salaried "farm leaders" or lobbyists standing between to becloud and divert our purpose. And our purpose is to demand immediate action. We are determined to stop a ruthless pressure from creditors who threaten to sweep us from our land and homes.

For the last three years, a world economic crisis has sharpened the effect of ten years of post-war farm depression. Our last reserves have been taken from us. We are not responsible for the universal breakdown that forced seventy millions of Americans into economic distress, uncertainty and want in the richest country in the world.

We know that the relief funds are largely squeezed from the worried balance of the population who still may have jobs. We know that fantastic costs of local, state and federal governments are also squeezed from them by taxation while the big incomes and corporations escape. We know that actual starvation is more and more frequently admitted in spite of bulging banks and storehouses of food. We have seen food destroyed and everywhere our crops rot on the ground in a marketless country because hungry millions have lost their purchasing power.

In the face of this social calamity "farm leaders" and politicians dare to talk of "surplus", dare to base legislation on a theory of reduction of acreage that will fit the present starvation markets. Finally this bankrupt leadership dares to advocate the abandonment of our scientific and technical advances in farming and recommends that we return to a primitive, self-sufficient form of peasant farming.

We declare that this country is in the throes of a permanent farm crisis which threatens us with degradation and poverty unless we enforce abrupt changes in our economic setups. We declare that such an emergency can be met only by putting into effect the following demands which must be considered as a whole. We ask Congress to suspend its rules and to permit the delegation from the Farmers National Relief Conference to read these demands to Congress and that Congress shall immediately proceed to the enactment of emergency legislation on the basis of these demands.

We demand:

I. Federal Cash Relief

To raise all rural families to a minimum health and decent standard of living, a minimum fund of \$500,000,000 must immediately be appropriated for the relief of that section of the distressed farm population in need of immediate relief, regardless of race, creed or color.

II. Federal Relief In Kind

Food products and supplies needed for relief of city unemployed should be purchased by the Federal government directly from the farmers at a price which will insure the cost of production plus a decent standard of living.

The processing and transportation of these food products and other relief supplies shall be regulated by the Federal government so as to prevent profits to the food monopolies and transportation companies during the period of economic crisis.

III. Administration Of Relief

Federal cash relief and relief in kind to be administered by local committees of farmers in each township, precinct or other local

unit selected by a mass meeting of all farmers needing relief.

IV. Government Price Fixing

A price-regulating body controlled by actual consumers and producers, must be immediately elected whose function shall be to reduce prices for all farm products sold. This adjustment to be made by deduction from the swollen profits of the profiteers who stand between field and family.

V. Theory Of "Surplus" Production

While millions of our population are undernourished thru loss of purchasing power, the acceptance of the surplus theory is a crime against farmers and workers.

VI. Credit

The enactment of legislation which will provide production credit for all farm families so as to insure a basis for national consumption at normal levels. This credit is to be administered as in Section III (above).

The defeat of all proposals and the repeal of all legislation now in force which provides credit only for well-to-do farmers and corporations with collateral.

VII. Debt Holiday

A moratorium on mortgages, interest and rents for all farmers whose volume of production has until recently sustained the farm family at a decent standard of living.

Cancellation of mortgages, interest, feed and seed loans and debts for supplies and furnishing for farmers whose volume of production and economic unit has always been too small to carry the debt load and support the family at a minimum health standard. (Marginal farmers, share croppers and others.)

Cancellation of back farm taxes and moratorium on future farm taxes during the crisis.

VIII. No Evictions

During this national crisis Congress must declare all foreclosures, seizure of property and evictions illegal.

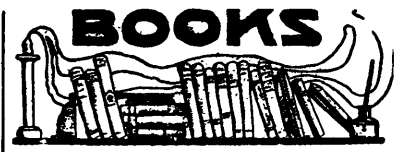
We farmers have no collateral, but we represent the majority of the farm population. We have at last been forced to organize and present to this Congress our final demands. If our duly elected national representatives and senators fail as did the local, county and state authorities, then we pledge ourselves to protect our fellow farmers from suffering and their families from social disintegration by our united action.

MAY DAY IN "RED VIENNA"

Vienna, Austria.

In this city, the "pride" and "fortress" of world Socialism, not a single outdoor May Day demonstration was held for the first time in over forty years! Steel-helmeted soldiers of the Austrian army, in full battle array, descended upon Vienna's streets, ready to prevent any outdoor meeting. The Social-democrats, who include the great bulk of the workers of the city, never even made the least attempt to maintain the right of the workers to celebrate their international holiday in the accustomed manner. An indoor meeting was held by the Socialists.

The unity embraces between Shachtman-Cannon and Weisbord are very affecting indeed. What we would like to know, however, is what has become of the "gentleman with a police whistle", the "police provocator", against whom the "Militant" used to launch such bitter attacks. Wasn't his name Albert Weisbord?



BOOKS
SOUTH CAROLINA DURING RECONSTRUCTION, by Francis Butler Simkins and Robert Hillard Woody. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1932.

The Age of Miracles is not gone. Two South Carolinians have written a history of Reconstruction in their State, which, in spite of some weaknesses and shortcomings, is worthy of unstinted praise. It is absolutely honest, exhaustive, authoritative, accurate, almost untouched by the reactionary pro-Southern (really pro-slavery) bias that has poisoned so many recent books; above all, it is permeated by a strong appreciation, even tho not always explicit, of the real historical significance of the Reconstruction period in the history of this country and of the South.

The authors first describe Reconstruction, Presidential and Congressional, in South Carolina, on the background of the social and economic ruin brought about by the war. An analysis of the Radical government follows, its composition, its policies, its practical course; first in general, and then in special regard to public finance, transportation, agriculture, commerce and industry, education and religion. The rising opposition of the former ruling class is depicted, its methods of fraud and violence unhesitatingly laid bare and the climax of 1876 graphically told. A chapter on the "Heritage of Reconstruction" concludes the remarkable volume.

Only those who are intellectually blind can read thru Simkins and Woody's book without recognizing as beyond the shadow of a doubt that "Reconstruction was in fact a revolution. Like all revolutions it had its seamy and tragic sides, but also, like others, it marked an advance in the long struggle for human liberty and equality" (Benjamin E. Kendrick's review of the book in "The Nation" of July 20, 1932). But unfortunately it was a revolution that was scotched and crippled before it could be carried thru to completion, as can readily be seen by comparing the present status of the Negro in the South with the Black Codes set up by the ex-slaveowners immediately after the Civil War (pages 48-50). Without a radical change in the economic base, that is, without the confiscation of the land of the ex-slaveowners and its division among the freedmen and the poor whites, no serious transformation in political and social relations was possible; but on such a really radical course the Northern bourgeoisie, in its decisive sections, were utterly unwilling to embark in view of its inevitable implications for their own economic position. Radical Reconstruction was therefore really defeated in advance in the South. What, fundamentally, could it accomplish when "the landlords, who were the owners of the land and the inheritors of many social privileges, were in a position to sit in judgment . . ." (page 251). It was really inevitable that the repeated attempt to accomplish the impossible, to remake the political and social structure without completely transforming the economic basis should lead to demoralization and this is the key to a great deal of the corruption that has been charged against the Reconstruction governments. Making bricks without straw is neither exhilarating nor uplifting.

And yet, in spite of almost insuperable obstacles, the Reconstruction regime did accomplish a great deal, almost wonders, to read the account in this book. In the general struggle for democracy, in education, in agriculture, industry and commerce, in social life, its achievements were many and some, indeed permanent. These the authors point out without attempt at evasion.

No real student of American history, no American worker interested in the revolutionary traditions of his country, can afford to miss this book.

WILL HERBERG.