

FOR COMMUNIST
UNITY IN THE
REVOLUTIONARY
CLASS STRUGGLE!

THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING
THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS

ISSUED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY
(Majority Group)

WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES
UNITE!

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 25, 1931.

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MURDER NEGRO AT ALABAMA MEET

Sheriff Attacks Protest
Meet of Negro Farmers;
1 Killed, 3 Wounded

CAMP HILL, Ala.—One Negro was killed, three Negroes wounded, and seven Negroes arrested as a sheriff's posse brutally attacked a meeting of Negro farmers and workers near here on July 17. Two white officers were also hurt. A large gathering of Negroes, mostly share-croppers, gathered in a small church in the woods near Waverly, Ala. to protest against the "legal" lynch murder of the eight Sotterboro boys. The meeting was called by the newly organized Share Croppers Union. As soon as the affair came to the attention of the authorities, a posse of lynch-mad whites was raised and the meeting hall raided. The assembled Negroes put up a brave fight and did not surrender until completely outnumbered. Armed posses, really murderous and bloodthirsty gangs, are now roaming the surrounding country, attacking Negroes, destroying houses and property and spreading terror generally.

The fury of the white land-owners, merchants and usurers was especially aroused by the recent attempts of the Negro share-croppers to form a union for the defense of their economic interests.

The heroic action of the group of Alabama Negroes in making a desperate effort to break thru the bloody terror and dark oppression under which the Negro people in the South have groined for generations and to win for themselves the most elementary democratic rights supposed to be guaranteed them under the Constitution, will be a rich source of inspiration to the Negro masses all over the country who are beginning to awaken to their condition and to their strength.

ALL OUT FOR BIG "AGE" PICNIC!

Workers Preparing for Big
Affair on July 25

From the looks of things just now the Revolutionary Age Picnic is sure going to be a banner affair, a hum-dinger. Judging by the fine response in the sale of tickets so far, by the excellent entertainment talent we have so far managed to get together, the picnic to be held on Saturday July 25, at the big Clinton Park, Maspeth, Long Island, will rally the biggest and most enthusiastic crowd we have yet had.

A worker in the Boro Park Workers Youth Club shows the spirit that's going into insuring the success of this picnic and dance when he informs us: "I have sold fifteen tickets already and more are coming. We'll put this picnic over big all right." Besides a group of militant Passaic textile workers are coming in to show their solidarity with the Revolutionary Age now under fire in the United States Supreme Court because of the decision of the Post Office Department denying us second class mailing privileges.

Of course, all New York and Brooklyn and Harlem and Bronx workers should turn out in full force to join us at Clinton Park this Saturday, July 25. Why? First of all every working man and working woman and working class youth and child will have a grand time there. Good refreshments, open air dancing, fine grounds, peppy games, delightful entertainment, sports, etc., are on the order of the day. And all of this for only 35 cents. What a bill! And what fun!

Besides, the Picnic Committee lets us in on a big secret. All proceeds will go to help save the Revolutionary Age which is now very much up against it. Needless to say, we are counting on a lot of proceeds from this picnic. The manager of the Revolutionary Age goes even further. He promises that if the picnic turns out as good as it should and as well as it now looks, the workers will be all the more likely to get the big pleasant surprise we have in store for them in the fall insofar as the Revolutionary Age is concerned.

Do you want to know what it's all about? Do you want to have a barrel of fun and a jolly good time? Of course, you do. Get your Picnic and Dance ticket right now at the Revolutionary Age office.

Come on! Come on! All out for the Revolutionary Age Picnic and Dance.

When: Saturday, July 25, 1931.
Where: Clinton Park, Maspeth, L. I.
What's there: Sports, Games, Con-

For a United General Strike Movement in Paterson

STATEMENT OF C.P.-MAJORITY GROUP

The textile barons have taken full advantage of the economic crisis to make one drive after another against the living standards of the textile workers. Especially is this true of the silk manufacturing branch of the industry. Wages have been slashed; speed-up has been intensified and the hours of labor greatly prolonged.

The numerous spontaneous strike which have flared up in the silk industry have as their basis the discontent of the silk workers over their intolerable conditions. The struggles in Allentown, in Central Falls, R. I., in Connecticut and elsewhere indicate that the workers have taken the course of militant action to end the slavery that prevails and to better their conditions.

It is very evident from an objective survey of the workers conditions in the silk industry, of the traditions of the class struggle in the textile industry, of the many organizations that have contested the field for the organization of the workers, that the most urgent need for the silk textile workers and indeed for the textile workers as a whole is a united movement of all organizations and all elements for strike action to better conditions and organize the textile workers in one organization.

This united action the Communist Party (Majority Group) has been cham-

pinioning for months as the most effective means of fighting the bosses, improving the workers conditions and organizing them into a union.

In Paterson the silk workers have the rottenest conditions. No other silk center has cut wages to such a low level. The workers get as low as \$14.00 per week and work as many as 14 hours a day. The speed-up is terrific and the regime in the shops is most despot.

If the conditions in the textile industry for the workers are to be improved, the abominable situation in Paterson must be ended. The workers recognize this and are ready for a struggle. Our group early understood that in Paterson an effective united front could be made that would mean a turning point for all textile workers.

Recently, steps were taken to organize a genuine united front organization campaign of the Paterson and vicinity silk and dye workers.

In the preliminary work the following organizations participated: the United Textile Workers, the Associated Silk Workers, the Communist Party (Majority Group), and the Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

One positive achievement of this has

(Continued on page 3)

Deportation Threat to Strikers in N. Y., and R. I.; Serious Menace to Labor

Anna Burlak Arrested in Pawtucket, To Be Deported
To Poland; 25 Strikers in White Plains Held For
Deportation; All Labor Must Unite

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—Anna Burlak, National Textile Workers Union organizer and leader of the textile strike in Central Falls and Pawtucket was arrested in Pawtucket on July 15 and held for Federal officials who threaten to deport her to Poland. The representative of the International Labor Defense, Israel Prager, has announced that he is in possession of evidence to prove that Anna Burlak is a native American citizen and so cannot legally be deported.

At the same time, Manuel Perry, a second organizer of the National Textile Workers Union, was arrested and ordered by the local police to "remain away from the strike area."

According to the information given out by the Royal Weaving Company itself, none of the participants in the original strike movement have as yet returned to work. Only 200 of the original 1,300 employees of this firm, the company admitted, are back at work.

The success of the strike and the complete failure of the reactionary Polish-American Citizens Club to interfere with the development of the strike, have driven the police into a fury. On July 13, Chief Charles F. Hill ordered the Pawtucket police to shoot strikers and strike sympathizers and to shoot to kill. No picketing or strike activities of any sort will be permitted, the chief declared.

WHITE PLAINS, New York.—One striker was shot and several badly hurt when police attacked a group of 750 road workers on strike here. Two inspectors of the United States Immigration Bureau came down here on July 15 to state proceedings to deport the militant strikers who are mostly foreign-born. Mayor Frederick C. McLaughlin declares he is determined to "get rid of the agitators who are inciting the workers to fight." Twenty workers are already held for deportation. The police are also raiding all halls and centers where workers congregate with a view to arresting foreign-born workers for deportations. So far, it has been announced, over 250 workers have been picked up this way.

Louis Francis Budenz, adviser to the strike committee of the Construction Laborers Union of Westchester County, issued a statement in the name of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action of which he is secretary, condemning the raids on the foreign-born and declaring that "the raids on workers homes and

tests Entertainments, Refreshments. Cost: Just 35 cents a ticket. At the gate 50 cents.

How to get to Clinton Park: B.M.T. 14th St. Line to Grand St. Station. Change to Grand Street Car for Maspeth, L. I. There stop at Rust Street.

MOONEY CASE IS CALLED SHOCKING

Wickersham Report Flays
Procedure of Courts in
Frame-Up Case

The long suppressed sections of the Wickersham Report on the Mooney case have finally been made public. In this part of the report, entitled "Criminal Procedure," it is declared that the Mooney-Billings case had been handled in a manner "shocking to one's sense of justice" because the California law courts would not allow a motion for a new trial on the ground of newly discovered evidence or upon evidence of perjury committed by material witnesses discovered after judgment—all of which occurred in the California affair.

The Wickersham Commission report attempts to shift all responsibility for the horrible crime being committed against Mooney and Billings and the entire American working class to certain defects in the legal procedure of the state of California! Every intelligent person will see thru this sham. It is curious indeed that these "imperfections" of legal procedure never operated to keep a capitalist in prison for something he did not do; it is even more curious that these "imperfections" never operated to help the workers in their struggles against the bosses. Strange enough these "imperfections" manifest themselves only in keeping two militant labor leaders in prison for something that every single person in the world who knows anything at all about the case, knows they had nothing whatever to do with.

Tom Mooney and Warren Billings were brazenly framed up by the ruling capitalist clique in San Francisco and in California (aided by the reactionary labor leaders) because of their courageous activities in behalf of the labor movement. It was only a storm of world-wide mass protest that saved Mooney and Billings from death. Today it can only be the mass power of the American workers and farmers that can save Mooney and Billings from a living grave.

LONDON.—The "New" party of Sir Oswald Mosley officially announced its general opposition to the Labor government by leaving the Labor benches and striding across the floor of the House of Commons to the Conservative benches. Four members followed Sir Oswald in this march—Lady Cynthia Mosley, E. J. Strachey, and Dr. Forgan—all former laborites, and W. E. D. Allen, former Conservative.

This gesture of the New party was greeted with hoots and jeers from the Labor benches.

WASHINGTON.—The Federal Farm Board has refused to consider the offer made by the Amtorg Trading Corporation to buy about 250,000 bales of cotton on credit. Carl Williams, vice-chairman of the Farm Board, declared that the offer was refused because the United States does not recognize the Soviet Union.

4-Power Conference Called on German Situation; Hoover Plan Proves Complete Failure

Big "D" Banks Fail in Germany - Schacht Joins Cabinet And Fascist Offensive Grows - Mass Demonstrations All Over Germany - Crisis Felt Everywhere

Statesmen and diplomats of the big imperialist powers, after a hurried week of panicky flying about, gathered in a Four-Power Conference in Paris to handle the sharpening crisis in Germany.

The week was characterized by:

1. The failure of one of the big "D" banks in Germany—the Danat (Darmstadter and Nationale), which

had profound repercussions in all Central Europe with banks closing in Hungary, Roumania, etc.

2. The definite failure of the Hoover Plan to lend an impetus even to a brief German recovery has caused the United States to be drawn more actively, openly, and aggressively in European affairs than at any time since the Versailles Treaty.

3. Wall Street is brutally assert-

ing its world hegemony, driving now against French and then against British imperialism. Thus the Macdonald-Henderson return visit to Berlin has been called off for the Four-Power Conference attended by Mellon, Stimson, Bruening, Briand, Henderson, Laval, etc. Hoover is maneuvering not only to cover the heavy American investments in Germany running into over three billion dollars but is also playing for an unquestionable upper hand in forthcoming "disarmament" negotiations in which Wall Street is determined to pit England against France and thus clinch its own military and naval hegemony. The U. S. is likewise maneuvering to concentrate an effective bloc of the biggest powers against the Soviet Union.

4. While the capitalist statesmen are haggling over a half-billion dollar loan to Germany, the class war is sharpening with mass demonstrations of unemployed and the middle class masses becoming increasingly desperate.

5. Hitler's Fascist bands are multiplying their murderous attacks on the workers organizations, especially the Communists. The "Nazis" are emboldened by their key-man, Hjalmar Schacht, becoming virtually a cabinet member with prospects of being appointed "money czar" for all Germany. In view of the decision to reintroduce the Rentenmark based on property and commodity collateral instead of gold, such an appointment would give the Fascists a decisive position in the economic life, particularly as a moment when this is most critical and decisive.

6. The congress of the General German Trade Union Federation to be held in mid-August is looked upon with great interest as the question of

(Continued on page 2)

AMERICAN CIVILIZATION



—From The Crisis

ROAD WORKERS IN BIG VICTORY

Win All Demands of Strike;
Affiliate to A. F. of L.

WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.—A big victory has crowned the sharp struggle of the several hundred road workers that have been on strike here for the last week and more. Nearly one-third of the contractors have agreed to all of the strikers demands: the 8-hour day, \$5 a day pay (the contractors wanted to reduce wages to 30¢ an hour!), extra pay for overtime and, above all, recognition of the union.

Thru a vote of the workers, the union which had been formed in the course of the strike decided to join the American Federation of Labor. Louis F. Budenz, secretary of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, was advisor to the strike committee.

The men rejected the suggestion of the T.U.U.L. organizers sent here to stay out of the A. F. of L. and to affiliate to the T.U.U.L. instead.

The victory of the road workers, in the face of the bitter assaults of the bosses aided by the government, will be an inspiration to workers all over the country to answer wage-cuts in the only effective way: Strike against wage-cuts!

"their untiring efforts in behalf of the Philippines."

Altho the demonstration was carefully utilized by the reformist and conciliatory "politicos" (native politicians) for their own political advantage, it at the same time clearly emphasized that almost the entire population of the Philippine Islands is desirous of freedom and determined to obtain it. It will not take very long before the masses of the workers, peasants and city poor will begin to realize from their own experience that independence cannot be expected from the good will of American senators or from the maneuvers of the "politicos" but only from the determined struggle of the masses.

FROM OUT OF THE CALIFORNIA JAIL:

Tom Mooney to the German Opposition

California State Prison,
San Quentin, California,
July 6, 1931.
Communist Party of Germany
(Opposition)

H. Brandler,
Berlin, Germany.

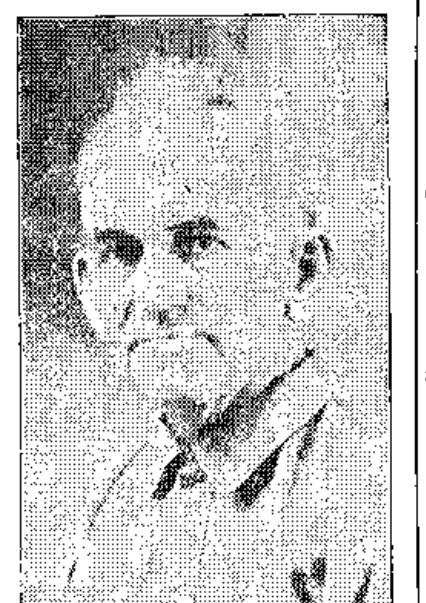
Dear Comrade Brandler:

I greet you from the stone and iron tomb into which the master class of California cast me fifteen years ago because I too persistently shouted out the grievances of the proletariat.

Fifteen years in the poisonous atmosphere of a dungeon have impaired my health, but my spirit is still glow. I hold my head high before the enemy. I keep my teeth set against him defiantly. The agents of capitalism in this stone hell may one day have it to say that they witnessed the dissolution of my body, but they shall never be able to say that they observed any cooling of the flame of rebellion within me while I breathed.

I have shown them with what a full measure of defiance and scorn a rebel can carry himself while held in their steel traps. And if fate decrees, I shall show them how unflinchingly a rebel can die in their iron bondage.

In this, the fifteenth year of my imprisonment, they come and look at me



TOM MOONEY

thru the bars of my cell for a sign of a break in my spirit, and I laugh in their faces. I call them to witness that during all the years they have held me in a wrack I have never by trucking word or cringing attitude brought shame to the cause I represent.

A man can think and see more clearly in isolation and stronger than ever before I feel the necessity of broadcasting the rebel yell of the proletariat.

"WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE! YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS, AND A WORLD TO GAIN!"

I am in jail because I voiced that sentiment fifteen years ago while trying to organize the slaves of the United Railroads, San Francisco's most powerful and unscrupulous corporation. It was a detective employed by that corporation who caused my arrest and subsequent conviction on a charge which lacked the slightest foundation of fact.

They have bound me round with stone and steel, my tongue remains free so that I can send pealing over the grain and similar institutions were represented in the monster parade.

Resolutions were adopted for immediate and unconditional independence, as well as thanking Senators Hawes and Pittman (Nevada) for

Picnic and Dance, Saturday, July 25, Clinton Park, Maspeth, L. I.

ANTI-WAR RALLY ON AUGUST 1

Danger of War Imminent; Workers Must Fight Back

Preparations are being pushed forward all over the world by the Communist Parties for monster mass demonstrations on August 1 against the danger of a new imperialist world war and of armed intervention against the Soviet Union. This day has been fixed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International as the day for revolutionary anti-war rallies all in every part of the world.

In the United States the demonstrations will take place under the auspices of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. The Communist Opposition, the C.P. Majority Group, has issued a statement endorsing the August 1 demonstrations in this country and pledging its support. The statement declares in part:

"The extreme instability of international relations which characterizes the present world situation not only does not diminish the danger of war but even accentuates it. Especially is the danger of an imperialist attack upon the Soviet Union, the land of Socialist construction, a great menace to the working class of the whole world at the present time. Therefore the Communist Party (Majority Group) calls upon the workers of this country to rally in masses to the anti-war demonstration called by the C.P. U.S.A. for August 1."

4-POWER MEET IN PARIS

(Continued from Page 1)
An effective general strike movement will be taken up there. In the meanwhile the Social-democratic party is straining itself to the utmost to hold the masses back from revolutionary action and to save the tottering capitalist regime of Bruening.

Despite all frantic efforts of the German and international financiers, the world's biggest bankers are becoming more and more hopeless and helpless about the situation which involves capitalism far beyond the German frontiers as well. Thus the president of the Bank of England, Montagu Norman, in a recent confidential letter to Governor Morot of the Bank of France, said in despair:

"Unless drastic measures are taken to save it, the capitalist system throughout the civilized world will be wrecked within a year. I should like this prediction to be filed for future reference."

And the well-known liberal, Lord Lothian, echoing these ruling class sentiments a bit more positively, has just declared:

"I confess that the prophecies of Marx and Lenin about the inevitable development of modern western society are being realized with utmost accuracy."
Among the American bankers and industrialists a similar hopeless feeling prevails regarding the significance of the German developments. Hoover has lost a good deal of his recently gained prestige. The collapse of the Danat Bank tied up with the powerful German textile interests in which Wall Street magnates were heavily involved, has precipitated a further flight of American short-term funds from Germany and has dampened all ardor for any further export of capital to Germany.

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The Struggle of the Communist Opposition THE RESULTS OF THE JULY PLENUM

by Ben Gitlow

The Plenum of the National Council held July 4th and 5th gave very serious consideration to the organization question. The main task of the Plenum was placed squarely in the Plenum resolution when it stated:

"The central task of the July Plenum is to examine seriously the condition of the organization of our group, to devise ways and means of speedily removing the present weaknesses, of correcting mistakes, and ending the organization crisis."

The questions involved in a discussion of the organization question were discussed with brutal frankness and in a spirit of constructive self-criticism. The members of the National Council who were present felt very keenly that the position and influence we had gained to date in the mass organizations made it imperative for the group to function as a more responsible and better disciplined Communist organization.

The Plenum recorded the fact that despite the progress we had made ideologically, despite the fact that we had clarified our position on the most important questions, especially in trade union work, despite the gains we had made in the trade unions and despite the group's growth in political influence and prestige, the organization has not made sufficient headway, has been unable to keep pace with our political progress and is today not in as good a position as it should be.

The Plenum not only made clear the existence of an organizational crisis; it also made an exhaustive examination of the causes, objective and subjective, of this situation.

The Plenum, however, could not avoid recording the progress and successes of the group. We have defeated ideologically and politically the new line of the Comintern and the Party. The so-called "change" in trade union line, the twists and turns of the Party bureaucracy attest to their frantic efforts to cover up and hide the bankruptcy of the ultra-left sectarian line of the Comintern and the Party leadership. Our group has every reason to be proud of the work which we have done on the ideological field especially in the contributions we have made to a Marxist analysis of important questions before the working class.

The tremendous significance to the working class of the application of our line in trade union work cannot be underestimated. Not only have we exposed the character and logical results of the Party's sectarian policy but we have been able to translate into life our policies in the trade unions. We have made the beginnings of left wing organization in the trade unions and have already, due to our correct policies, gained important posts in a number of unions (needle trades, miners, building trades, marine, etc.).

The enlargement and improvement of the New Workers School, the forum lectures and mass meetings held indicate the progress made in these particular fields. The establishment and maintenance of the weekly Revolutionary Age is an achievement of which the group has every reason to be proud.

The development of our unity program and united front activities from abstract discussion to concrete application is bound in the immediate future to make our group a factor in mass struggles and to materially widen our contacts with the masses.

The out-of-town districts of the group are not in a good condition. The Plenum called attention to this fact and directed the National Bureau to send suitable organizers into the out-of-town districts to improve them and better their functioning.

The Plenum very seriously discussed

the International Platform in addition to the situation of the group and its tasks.

1. To constitute a New York district committee and appoint a New York district secretary.
2. To recommend to the National Bureau to change the name of the group.
3. To reduce the National Bureau to nine members and four candidates.
4. To give full power to the National Bureau to change the name of the Revolutionary Age if it finds it necessary to do so.
5. To establish a literature department which shall start the publication of suitable pamphlets for the group.
6. To tax our membership \$1.00 a year to pay our dues to the International Communist Opposition.

The Plenum viewed the situation in the country as very favorable for Communist activity and for increasing and broadening our activities. The Plenum recorded the fact that the economic crisis would continue and become worse, that the conditions of the masses would become still more unbearable, that the discontent of the workers would grow. The Plenum realized that a period of sharp class war was before us as evidenced by the marked increase in spontaneous strike action, clear evidence of the rebellious attitude growing in the ranks of the working class. In these conditions the Plenum saw the opportunities for our group to give leadership and to gain influence and power, especially because our line applied in action is bound not only to vindicate our position but to win for us eventually the approval and support of the workers, the best guarantee for the liquidation of the crisis in the Communist movement and its unification.

TOM MOONEY TO GERMAN OPPOSITION

(Continued from Page 1)
rings today when we observe the worldwide misery created by capitalist greed.

In our "free" United States of America, millions of unemployed wage slaves are starving. Insane asylums give up the strikers of proletarian mothers who break under the strain of hearing their children cry for bread and the cupboard bare. Banks and chain stores are doubling their guards in the faces of famished wage-workers growing daily more desperate. Penitentiaries are crowded with working men who were forced to resort to what the masters call theft as a means of feeding their young.

Prison fare is lean, comrades, and jail beds hard, but countless working men enjoying capitalist "freedom" in the United States and elsewhere are not as well off as the so-called felons in the matter of food and shelter. And the master class of the United States, find comfort in the knowledge that Tom Mooney is not at large to bring home that fact to the legions of suffering wage-workers.

Anaesthetize all the prison wardens of the world into one huge man presiding over a vast prison, have this towering giant of a jailer stand up before the famished millions of the "free" proletariat and shout: "Come unto me all ye who are hungry and homeless and I will give ye bed and board. You'll be better off in than out."

That is the sum total of what capitalism has done for mankind.
From my dungeon I listen to sounds from without. My ears are keen from long barking in my solitude. And now I hear from the outside the drums of the revolution growing louder apace. I hear the fanfare of the red heralds of a brighter day. I hear the call of the Red Chanticleer announcing the approach of the dawn of a New Era, the day of the triumph of an enlightened proletariat.

And I say to you, comrades, carry on!

Fifteen years of imprisonment is a bitter dose, but it is easier to endure when I am told that working men the world over have interpreted my punishment as a major expression of master class barbarity. I have come to symbolize militant labor being flayed by masters who resent a challenge to their greedy and brutal dominance, and that being so, my suffering has served a purpose.

But I do not wish to die in jail. I have a message for the proletariat of the world, and it will sound clearer without the interference of the granite walls.
I want the satisfaction of confounding the sleek labor politicians of California who have been parties to my continued imprisonment and have boasted that I will never get out unless I accept the shackled "freedom" of a parole.

I want to tell the American proletariat by word of mouth all I know about these tools of Big Business cloaked as leaders of labor. I have already exposed these worthies in my latest pamphlet, "Tom Mooney Betrayed by Labor Leaders."
My petition for a pardon is soon to be presented to the new governor of California, James Rolph, Jr. This petition will be more likely to bear fruit if preceded by mass protests at home and abroad against my continued imprisonment.

Anything you can do, Comrade Brandler, to create interest in my case among the workers of Germany and elsewhere will be deeply appreciated by me and my Defense Committee. Let the European States agencies send word to the United States that the European proletariat is concerned over by prolonged imprisonment and my cause will be well served.

With best wishes to my militant comrades of Germany, I am
Yours for a better day,
TOM MOONEY

DEPORTATION THREAT AGAINST STRIKERS

(Continued from Page 1)
should be called. Department Against Labor) get on the job, sends down its "investigators" to make raids among the strikers and among the workers in general, pick out the leading and militant elements and hold them for deportation. All important sections of the American working class contain large numbers of foreign-born workers and all strikes and other labor struggles find these workers in the front ranks. For many of these workers (those who come from Italy, Finland, the Balkan countries, etc.) deportation often means long imprisonment or even death. The bosses calculate that by getting their handymen, Deportation Desk, the head of the Labor Department, to arrest the leading elements of any strike movement for deportation, they can throw a scare into the foreign-born workers in general and thus break the ranks of the strike.

The new weapon of the bosses is a menacing one and shows in the clearest

LABOR AGE

Published Monthly by the CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE LABOR ACTION
25 cents a copy
104 FIFTH AVENUE

I. L. A. MEETS IN NEW YORK

Burecrats Turn Union Meet Into Democratic Rally

Over 150 delegates gathered in the convention of the International Longshoremen's Association here last week. The reactionary bureaucrats, headed by President Ryan, had complete control of the convention.

President Green of the A. F. of L. harranged the delegates, uttering lots of words about resisting wage-cuts, and "the danger of revolution" if no jobs are forthcoming. He didn't say a word about his pact with Hoover against strikes, his resistance to unemployment insurance and the whole policy of the A. F. of L. Executive Council to sell out workers in struggle.

Ryan and Green tried to turn the convention into a sort of rally for the Democratic party and against the Hoover administration in preparation for the 1932 elections. Senators Wagner and Copeland, notorious Tammany politicians, were brought down to address the convention.

From the mood of the delegates, many of whom were handicapped, it was evident that there is a growing discontent in the International Longshoremen's Association with the policies of the administration in accepting wage-cuts and in worsening conditions. There is great likelihood of spontaneous mass resistance to wage-cuts among the longshoremen in the coming months. So far the bureaucrats have shown only a reckless cynicism towards the workers' militant sentiments, as indicated by the convention's decision to raise the salaries of the officers of the union while the longshoremen's wages are being slashed to the bone.

The Child Under Capitalism TORTURING FEDERAL CHILD CAPTIVES

From the Wickersham Committee Report

The Wickersham Law Enforcement Commission report contains a section dealing with the treatment of child prisoners sentenced for violations of Federal laws. It is well worth reading and pondering. It uncovers the full horror of the ruthless trampling of child lives under the iron heel of American capitalism. At the same time, it exposes the disgusting hypocrisy of a government that mouths pious phrases about "child welfare" while it condemns millions of children to murderous toil and subjects its helpless captives to indescribable torture.

A detailed examination was made of prisons in which 2,240 young victims of the Federal laws were confined for the six-month period ending December 1930. All of the 2,240 were under eighteen years of age; some were not yet fourteen years.

Our enlightened Federal "justice" does not recognize any such thing as juvenile delinquency. It treats its child prisoners without any regard to their age—or rather it treats them worse because of their helplessness and miserable condition.

Out of all the reformatories visited only one was "passed" by the examiner as "tolerable." Of the rest it is reported that the "best" are overcrowded, are much given to the infliction of beatings and floggings, have "unsuitable" sleeping and living quarters, etc. The "worst" of the reformatories are positively indescribable. In the Washington State Reformatory, for example, the youthful prisoners are thrown into "dark cells" without light or bedding for such "crimes" as talking in the dining room or laughing in the cell block—for what indeed is there for these children to laugh about?

Another "special punishment" in vogue there is the "drill." Prisoners sentenced to the ordeal are required to "keep moving" about the prison yard for the duration of the time

imposed, interrupting their weary march twice daily for a meal consisting of a slice of bread, a spoonful of potato and some water.

At the Industrial Reform School in Chillicothe, Ohio, three to six days in the "guardhouse" are meted out for such "offenses" as possessing a two-cent stamp, talking in mess-line and concealing an apple in a sleeping-bunk!

And the Wickersham Commission has the brazen audacity to conclude this section of its report with the words:

"The precise nature of legislation required to accomplish this result (change the above-described situation—Editor) will have to be determined by expert legal research."

But it does not require any "expert legal research" to enable rich malefactors, who, by some inexplicable accident, happen to find themselves in Federal prisons, to get transferred from Atlanta or Leavenworth to "five, roomy, convenient open-air prisons" established on the sites of some old army camps. It does not require "expert legal research" to enable imprisoned racketeers to carry on their extensive activities right from their "cells." No, indeed not! "Expert legal research" is required only in the attempt to eliminate the brutal torture of helpless children by "their" government!

In the Soviet Union, where the workers rule, there are no child prisoners at all! Children who happen to infringe the laws of social conduct are treated as cases of social maladjustment and not as objects of punishment and torture. If, for any reason, they cannot be "cured" in their normal surroundings they are sent to free children's colonies where they learn how to grow up into happy and useful citizens of the Workers Republic.

Letters from Workers

The Boro Park Club Stands for Unity

New York City
It is about a year and a half that the Boro Park Workers Youth Club has existed. This club was established as a result of the uncomradely splitting tactics of the leadership of the 43rd Street club, by expelling those who built the organization simply because certain members did not agree 100% with the official Communist Party line then adopted.

The leadership of the 43rd Street club carried on a campaign of slander, lies, frame-ups, but did not succeed in isolating us from the workers in Boro Park. The Boro Park Workers Youth Club became popular in the neighborhood for its broad non-partisan working class character. All workers regardless of their political beliefs, or affiliations, could belong to the club and express their opinions freely. The club supported the Communist and left wing movement as a whole, without regard to factions. At the same time, the club criticized the officialdom of the Communist Party and left wing when they refused to seat our delegates at conferences called by them inviting all workers organizations (leor). In a word our club proved in practice that it is a real non-partisan workers organization. During this time the 43rd Street club for the last year and a half stagnated and became a department of the Communist Party, no real activity being carried on, the little work they did carry on was in the form of counter-activities to the affairs of our club. Whenever we arranged an affair or lecture or outing they (the 43rd Street club) also arranged one.

The fraction of the Communist Party in the 43rd Street club became desperate and organized a group in our club. This group carried on a campaign that our club should depart from the policies which have made it grow, that the club should become an auxiliary to the official Communist Party. Of course, this meant a departure from the very principles on which our club exists. In this campaign, this group did not spare slander and name-calling in the usual style of the Communist Party officialdom. They even went as far as supporting the worst elements in the club to gain support, conspired with leading members of the 43rd Street club and worked out plans how to destroy our organization. Despite its constant attempt to break up the work of our club, this group was allowed to occupy important positions in our club, the overwhelming majority of the

club opposed their policies; nevertheless, they were not removed from their positions.

To our astonishment on Friday, June 26th, this group presented a resolution in the form of an ultimatum (that the club) should condemn the "Loveston" and support the Communist Party officialdom. Members of the club pleaded with them that we postpone discussion on this question for a few days, that is was an important question, and that a special meeting was necessary, in which the entire membership should participate.

But this group, knowing the sentiment of the membership from previous experiences got up, eight of them and walked out of the meeting. Later this group dug up names of members who dropped out of the club (Jack Schneider) and of others who had only been in the club from two to four weeks.

This whole situation proves conclusively the unworkable, splitting tactics of the officialdom of the Communist Party; this shows how the left wing was destroyed in the trade unions and fraternal organizations; it throws light on the general loss of influence and prestige of the Communist Party in all existing mass organizations.

Every class conscious worker must fight against these wrong policies of running away from the masses. The Boro Park Workers Youth Club will remain as before a real non-partisan workers organization.
Executive Committee,
Boro Park Workers Youth Club

slate of their own choice. McDonald is the new president, Parker the vice president and Soderberg the secretary.

The new slate was elected despite the most vicious slander by the old machine headed by the chief fucker Flynn and his allies. Every known method of convincing treachery was resorted to but the members refused to be fooled or bulldozed any longer. They had had enough of seeing Flynn crawl on his belly to McLine and other bosses and of the handshaking policy of the old administration in general. An attempt by the "Stew Pot League" to burn in at the last minute with a miserable and mispelt leaflet attacking individuals of the new administration received the welcome any such outfit could expect. They were completely ignored.

It is the new administration keeps up the good work it has started, it is sure to get all the support and co-operation it wishes from the members. The harbor boatmen want to see some action. They have had enough of stew-pots and class-collaboration and fakers generally, no matter in what form they may appear.

In this part of the industry where the exploitation is shown in its most brutal form there certainly is need for a real class-conscious fighting organization. It is up to the new administration to deliver the goods or they will soon find that the members will make short work of them.
A. Member

(Future issues of the Revolutionary Age will contain articles on the Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union elections and on the International Longshoremen's Association convention.)

Elections in the I.T.B.U.

New York City
Last Sunday, July 9, the annual election took place in the Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union. The rank and file showed, in no uncertain manner, their attitude towards the belly-creeping class-collaborating policy of the old administration of the Flynn-Hudson crowd. They gave them their answer by rejecting the old slate and electing a

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FARMERS PROTEST HOOVER RULE

G. O. P. Press Grumbles at Administration; Farmers Demand Moratorium

A serious revolt against the Hoover administration is breaking amongst the farmers in the Middle West. Wheat prices have been on the toboggan for the last two years and have reached the lowest levels in three decades. The farmers are in such desperate straits that they are glad to sell wheat at 25 cents a bushel. Wheat prices have just reached an all-time low level.

The hostility to Hoover's rule has been so marked that even the official Republican press like the *Kansas City Star* is compelled to do considerable grumbling. The farmers are increasingly voicing a demand for a moratorium on all mortgages and debt payments. There is developing a sweeping opposition to the Federal Farm Board which has so far acted only to serve the interests of the bankers. The farmers are now asking that the bankers should do a little waiting for bills. They demand that the machinery companies should extend them credit or grant them a moratorium. Such stalwart champions of Hoover as Senator Capper of Kansas are plainly worried.

The conditions amongst the great mass of farmers in the wheat belts as well as in other areas is desperate. Farmers are piling the wheat on the ground for storage. In most cases the wheat crop is now mortgaged and the farmers are having their hands full raising funds and borrowing additional funds for harvest. In many cases the farmers are telling mortgage holders: "Come get it out of the fields if you want it."

In an increasing number of cases the machinery companies have tied up wheat at the elevators. Because of this terrific price collapse and the general chaos in industry, starvation is menacing hundreds of thousands of farmers in the Central West and the South. This situation will reflect itself decisively in the 1932 election campaign and the Republican party machine is very seriously concerned in the latest developments in these rural areas.

For the Rebuilding of the Y. C. L.

Appeal to League Convention

Declaration of the Communist Youth Opposition

July 11, 1931.

Dear Comrades: The 6th National Convention of the Young Communist League, meeting more than two years after the last League Convention and more than a year since the last Party Convention, has a big task before it—the task not only of evaluating the work of the League in the last two years and the perspectives of future work among the youth—but also of evaluating the work and possibilities for future work of the Communist movement as a whole.

The Situation of the C. P. As a result of the crisis the possibilities of Communist work in the last two years have been very great. But today, with unemployment on the increase, with millions of workers already looking forward to a winter of yet greater misery, there is no significant movement of the unemployed under Communist leadership. Communist influence in the reactionary unions has disappeared and the new revolutionary unions have declined until even the R.I.L.U. is forced to admit that the Party has "lost considerable positions in the ranks of the American workers." The Party has ceased to be the leader of the workers in mass struggles. The few strikes conducted by the Party were marked by serious errors and disastrous bungling.

As a result of the weakening of the roots of the Party in the masses the Party itself has lost in membership. Instead of going forward, the Party has stagnated and gone backward.

The Situation of the League The general weakness of the Communist movement has shown itself to an even greater degree in the youth movement. The Convention Call of the League claims a membership of 2,000, a loss of nearly 50% since the 5th Convention, but the real membership is much lower. When one takes into consideration the recruits gained for the League, then it must be admitted that, except for the leadership, district and national, the old League has almost gone out of existence.

The League has participated in no mass struggles. Youth work in the trade unions, new and old, is only a memory of the past. At a time when war preparations are at a higher stage than ever before in peace time, the League has dropped all effective anti-militarist work. Practically no work is being carried on among the young workers and in the armed forces. The leadership of the anti-militarist work among the students, where considerable favorable sentiment exists, has been allowed to fall into the hands of the pacifists, the Ypsels and the League for Industrial Democracy.

Our Pioneer movement, which was a banner organization in the Y.C.L. in 1927-29, has been "reorganized"—in actuality replaced by a loose federation of children's clubs and organizations of various kinds, of great value as an auxiliary to the Pioneer movement, but not a substitute for it. The condition of the League has been growing continually worse. The superficial remedies (continuous changes of leadership and functionaries, open letters, changes and twists of the line, scape-goat hunting) have served only to expose the organic ills, not to cure them. The decision recently made that the Party and its organs are to be directly in charge of youth work marks a step in the direction of liquidating the League as the vanguard organization of the young workers, and in its place setting up youth sections of the Party.

This is the culmination of the brilliant successes to which the "new line" has brought our League. And in the Y. C. L. This situation is not confined to the American League. Practically every League has suffered catastrophic changes since the introduction of the new line. Some Leagues have been completely wiped out of existence. Why is it that during a period of world economic depression the Young Communist Leagues of every country have declined instead of advanced? A wrong line and an incompetent leadership have been forced on every League, on every Party, one after another.

What Must Be Done In this situation we need an open and free discussion in the League and Party, from the basic units to the highest committees, including the ECCI and the EGYCI and World Congresses. Instead of this, in the American League as elsewhere, we find a system of bluff and fakery, a refusal to face conditions, the denial of the right of comrades to criticize. We see "victory" piled upon "victory"—in the *Daily Worker* and the *Young Worker*, with reckless disregard of a possible accounting. Account? To whom? A worker questions the policy of the League? He is a "social-fascist"! Down with him! A League member dares to question—to criticize? He is a renegade, a counter-revolutionist! Out with him! A simple solution. But it does not build the League. On the contrary, it weakens the League, it betrays the name of Communism before the workers.

This Convention closes a discussion period in the League. During such a discussion every League member is supposed to have the right to raise the most fundamental and basic questions. Even this right is denied League members. A League member

who raised such questions was immediately expelled (Elmer Smith of the Philadelphia district).

Comrades! These are not methods to build the League. These are methods to smash the League. These are not methods to hasten the victory of Communism. They are methods to isolate Communism from the workers, to prevent the victory of the working class.

Two years ago, when some comrades first raised the fight against the introduction of the new line, of the new methods and policies, those comrades were denounced and expelled. For every comrade expelled, a hundred quit the League in disgust. The total result was incalculable harm to the League. Today, the line for which we of the Y.C.L.-Majority Group fight stands vindicated. The objective logic of the new line has compelled the Party, in making its maneuvers, to take notice of our line. Today, things we were called for saying are tacitly accepted by the Party and League, not openly with admission of errors and criticism of mistakes, as Communists should correct their mistakes, but under cover, with maneuvers and zig-zags and name-calling of those who have fought consistently for a correct line—accepted in a fashion which brings confusion and makes impossible the drawing of a correct line, the laying down of correct policies and the existence of correct methods of work.

The Young Communist League

(Majority Group) appeals to the 6th National Convention for the readmission of those comrades expelled for fighting for a correct line, for a new discussion in which those readmitted comrades shall be allowed to participate with full rights. Demand that the Party take similar steps. This is the prerequisite for the adoption of a correct line for the League.

The weaknesses of our League, its great losses, its present isolation, are due to a basically false, ultra-left line and to incorrect methods of work, to the complete abolition of inner-League democracy. No superficial changes will bring any improvement. Only the abandonment of ultra-left phrase-mongering and the adoption of a Leninist line, the re-establishment of internal democracy, the active participation of the membership in formulating policies, the selection of leadership from below, the cessation of expulsion for differences of opinion, in short only a thorough revision of the policies and methods of work of the League, will really lay the basis for a mass Communist youth league in the United States and throughout the world.

With a League and Party united on a correct line, the Communist movement will be able to go forward once more, forward as the leader of the workers in daily struggles, forward to the final victory of the workers.

For Communist unity in the revolutionary class struggle,
YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE
(Majority Group)

The Communist Opposition in India

THE INDIAN MASSES FIGHT ON!

A Letter from Bombay

(Continued from the last issue)

They hoped to drag us along in that path of discredit. Concretely, the violation of forces in the trade union movement is as follows: The right wing, which has split away from the T.U. Congress and has constituted itself into a parallel body—the Trade Union Federation, today controls an absolute majority of the organized workers. Practically all the largest and best organized unions are in the Federation. The stronghold of the official Communists was the Red Flag Union of Bombay and a large railway union (membership nearly 40,000). Now the Red Flag Union is completely with us. The leader of the railway union belongs to the middle group. He has just come out of jail and shows tendencies towards the right. Possibly we shall be able to manage him. Thus, the loyalists remain in control of practically no important unions. Still in possession of the General Secretariat of the T.U.C., they nominally occupy a position of prestige in the trade union movement. But the president of the T.U.C., put in that office by the loyalists, is a petty bourgeois nationalist with distinct fascist inclinations, and is now conspiring with the right wing to oust the Communists. In this situation, to insist upon unity would be practically handing over the T.U.C. to the reformists. Therefore, we have changed our tactics. First, we propose to clear the position inside the T.U.C., which represents a small minority (about 30 percent) of the movement. Once the T.U.C. is consolidated under Communist leadership, purged of the curse of ultra-leftism, it will regain its prestige. The middle group will be won over. Then the work of unity of the entire movement can be taken up without running the risk of strengthening the position of the right wing. Inside the T.U.C. the loyalists retain their position only thru the control of the apparatus and intrigues. Together with the middle group we shall have the majority. As soon as an agreement has been reached with the middle group, we shall insist upon an immediate session of the T.U.C.

Our Organization Work Continues Organizationally, our groups are growing numerically and new ones are created. We are now functioning under two forms, legally as *Committee of Action for Independence*, which is made up of left wing groups inside the Congress; and, illegally, as the *Committee for Organizing the Revolutionary Working Class Party*. Generally we are known as the Communist Group following Roy. This group has acquired the reputation of being the "sensible" and "honest" one. The loyalists have given up fighting us politically. They have taken refuge in mere slander and calumny. We disregard them. For example, the recent telegram of the British Communist Party associates Comrade Kandalkar (President of the Red Flag Union) with Nehru, which is a brazen lie. Against Roy the meanest possible propaganda is carried on. In addition to all the political charges, he is accused of having stolen money, taken bribes while in China and of being an agent provocateur, for "otherwise he could not be where he is now."

We have decided to come out as the Communist Party but will not do so until we are able to function as a party. We expect to attain this stage in another half a year, if everything goes well. In addition to all other difficulties, the loyalists have declared it to be their revolutionary duty to

destroy the "renegade and his henchmen by all means"—which include denunciation to the police, and this has already been done. This makes the situation extremely dangerous, and therefore might retard our progress. But we are very confident.

In the line of propaganda, we have made satisfactory progress. Besides an Urdu weekly for the Muslims, *The Masses* which is printed now illegally, we have published numerous leaflets in English and Indian languages. Lately, we are publishing one weekly in Hindi and another in Bengali, both legal. From May 1 we shall publish legally a weekly organ (in the local language) of the Red Flag Union. Further, an organ of the peasant movement (in Hindi) and a T.U.C. paper for the northern provinces (also in Hindi) are in preparation. Oh, yes! an Urdu weekly for the Musselman workers of Bombay is already a month old. Finally, we are investigating the possibility of publishing a legal weekly in English. Two pamphlets—one in English (program of the party) and the other in Hindi (popular version of the same)—are in the press. We do not get any subsidy. All the publications are self-supporting. As against this the loyalists have no regular publications but once in a while issue leaflets to abuse us.

With Communist greetings.

RAY O'HALL FIRED FOR REFUSAL TO LIE

Ray O'Hall, formerly of the Bureau of Finance and Investment of the Department of Commerce, has just been dismissed because he refused to carry out the instructions of his chief, J. G. M. Jones, to falsify statistics, particularly in the report on the working of the tariff. O'Hall refused to use official figures in his preparation of the trade balance report regarding exports and imports of goods and securities for the year.

He charged that the official figures were too optimistic by \$274,000,000. He further charged that the Department of Commerce with wanting to eliminate \$3,000,000 capital movements. The Department of Commerce officials are incensed at the accusation. The Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Lamont, has decided to investigate the whole matter and is especially enraged at the accusation of O'Hall that the Department of Commerce refused "to permit any explanation of resulting discrepancies as they apparently feared that the United States would be accused of contributing to the world depression by causing a sudden deflation in Europe."

What 'New Turn' Really Means

"Split the Unions", Urges Thaelmann, "But from the INSIDE!"

The real character of the new trade union turn (that is: retreat) of the Communist International is being exposed more and more thoroughly for what it is—an unprincipled maneuver leaving untouched the real foundations of the suicidal ultra-left course.

At the recent meeting of Hamburg functionaries, Thaelmann, general secretary of the Communist Party of Germany and authoritative spokesman of the new leadership of the Communist International, declared:

"We have learned much—above all that it is extraordinarily hard to win unorganized workers for the R.G.O. or for the Red unions. The dreams of a stormy development have disappeared. In place of a rapid tempo things are developing at a snail's pace. . . . The time is not yet ripe. Events pushed the R.G.O. into an offensive-defensive against wage-cuts. No successes were achieved. On the contrary, there exists the danger of sectarianism and growing inwards. . . . If the R.G.O. is to become a mass movement it must turn its face to the seven million organized workers. The turn to the unorganized has hitherto proven itself ineffective. . . ."

Sounds like a complete "change of policy"—doesn't it? But Thaelmann concludes:

"WE CANNOT SPLIT THE TRADE UNIONS BY STANDING OUTSIDE OF THEM. THE SPLIT MUST COME FROM WITHIN."

And here we have the real face of the "new turn"! Split the trade unions!

The Communist Party And the Hillquit Affair

A valuable lesson is in store for every Party member and Communist sympathizer who examines the manner in which the present C. P. leadership handled the Hillquit anti-Soviet scandal in the Socialist party.

1. The rise of the opposition ("militant" movement) in the S. P. was met, in the columns of the *Daily Worker*, with cheap ridicule and senseless abuse. No attempt whatever was made to examine the reasons for the rise of the "militant" movement, its significance, etc. Above all, no attempt whatever was made to utilize the situation in the Socialist party in the direction of widening the gap between the reformist leaders and the rank and file, in the direction of winning as large a section of the S.P. membership as possible to Communism.

2. When the news came out that Hillquit had accepted as counsel for non-architect elements against the Soviet Union, the *Daily Worker* contented itself with a small item, stuck away in a corner, treating the whole question in the usual abusive and superficial manner.

3. Then quiet while the whole Socialist movement in New York especially, was seething with protest against Hillquit's conduct, the *Daily Worker* had not a word to say. The whole thing was of no importance to the *Daily Worker*—merely a case of the "militants" trying to foot the workers.

4. Then, after the Revolutionary Age had featured the situation very vigorously and had taken the initiative in rousing the honest rank and file elements in the S. P. and the Y. P. S. L. against the shameful anti-labor conduct of Hillquit, the *Daily Worker* began to limp in, confusedly, haltingly, uncertainly—as if convinced that the whole business was a "right deviation" and the less one had to do with it, the better.

5. Finally, exactly one month after the situation arose, the Communist Party at last got around to issuing a leaflet. And what a leaflet! The same old abuse, the same old superficiality! The leaflet does not even allude to the S. P. members who have resolutions in their branches against Hillquit!

What better example could be wanted of the paralyzing effects of the sterile ultra-leftism that has captured the Party?

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The Economic Week

ONE of the most tense weeks in international capitalism has just passed, the prospects for the worse at hand. German currency has fallen to the lowest level since its establishment while sterling sagged to the lowest since 1925. The coming months will likely see the U. S. as the only gold-standard country because of the extreme financial disruption now prevailing. All evidence points to at best a sub-normal, very low, autumn seasonal rise in the U. S. Commodity prices have definitely resumed their downward course. Unemployment and wage cuts rose substantially during the month. Steel output is hovering around 30% with no

Leninism and Trade Union Tactics

Question of Trade Union Unity

by I. R. (Berlin)

We publish below the main sections of the article "On the Question of Trade Union Unity" by I. R. that appeared in the theoretical organ of the German Communist Opposition, *Gegen den Strom*, June 6, 1931.

Already at the V Congress of the Communist International (1924), Zinoviev, the recognized leader of the Comintern, made the following declaration:

"In spite of all political splits we (the Russian Bolsheviks) never split a single trade union, either before or after the revolution. . . . Why did we not split a single trade union? Certainly not because we were in love with the Mensheviks or because we believed that the trade unions were a sacred form of organization that must not be touched! No, not for these reasons—but because we understood that the trade unions are concentration points of the proletarian masses, of the whole working class."

The kernel of the whole question of trade union unity is touched in these words. In their very essence the trade unions are organizations of the entire working class. If they are to fulfill their task of representing the immediate material interests of the workers as the objects of capitalist exploitation, then they need a membership embracing as much of the whole working class as possible. The trade unions must embrace the workers not according to political viewpoint but according to their class position—which is the same for all workers no matter what is the rate of wages. The

organizational unity of the working masses in one trade union center is a prerequisite to their victory over the bourgeoisie.

Maintenance and Reestablishment of Trade Union Unity

From this viewpoint the necessity for the struggle for the maintenance of trade union unity at all costs is obvious. And, since trade union unity no longer exists internationally or nationally in a large number of countries, the reestablishment of trade union unity becomes the aim of our struggle.

As simple as the question is in theory, just as difficult is it in practice. At present the question is especially complicated thru the fact that not only have the reformists no interest in the maintenance of trade union unity but that today precisely the R.I.L.U. and the Comintern have become the initiators of splits in the trade union movements of the various countries. The reformist bureaucrats have no interest in the unconditional maintenance of trade union unity because they stand not on the basis of the class struggle but on the basis of co-responsibility in the bourgeois state. In these circumstances, revolutionary agitation is not only a hindrance to their activities but also a positive danger which must be eliminated at all costs. The R.I.L.U. and the Comintern, on the other hand, instead of carrying on determined activity in the mass organizations for the political mobilization and education of the workers, are attempting today, thru the adventurous formation of their own trade unions with a small minority of workers,

to force thru what can only be accomplished by the struggle of the great and decisive majority.

With or Without a Political Campaign?

But after all, the question today is not the maintenance but the reestablishment of trade union unity. The recent events in France and our experiences for many years in Germany indicate to us the importance of the question in this form.

The central question at issue now in the French situation is whether the establishment of trade union unity should be stimulated and realized without tying up this purely organizational question with political mobilization, with a program of action, in short, with definite conditions of unity. Among some comrades in Paris there exists the opinion that it makes no difference even if the necessary campaign for trade union unity is bound up with a false political program such as is represented by the syndicalist Charter of Amiens, now resurrected by the Monatte people.

What is the situation in France today, and more or less in the other capitalist countries? The C.G.T.U., affiliated to the R.I.L.U., is disintegrating and is rapidly losing its influence while the reformists are reaping all the advantages. If, under such circumstances, the question of trade union unity is put only organizationally, without saying what the workers should unite for and what their immediate joint tasks should be, then only the reformists would gain thereby.

With the numerical superiority of the reformist trade unions in the capitalist countries, a trade union fusion, carried thru without a campaign as to the aims and tactics to be followed by the united organization, would in practice be merely an affiliation to the reformist organizations and not a merging on a new basis. Thus, in a campaign for trade union unity on a purely organizational basis, the important factor of a simultaneous mobilization of the masses of membership of the reformist unions for trade union unity on a new basis, on the basis of the class struggle, is left altogether out of consideration. Such an approach not only spreads the impression of a capitulation before the reformists but also breeds confusion among the membership of the Red and reformist unions, both.

The Revolutionization of the Trade Union

But it would be quite false to draw the conclusion from this conception of the method of the campaign for trade union unity that the recognition of a revolutionary policy and a revolutionary program of action on the part of the reformist trade union leaders is the condition of trade union unity.

The transformation of the reformist trade unions into revolutionary organs can never be accomplished merely by propaganda from without or by placing conditions. This transformation can and will be the result of the establishment of trade union unity and the conscious revolutionary work within the united trade unions. This does not stand in the least contradiction to our demand that the campaign for the establishment of trade union unity must contain a program for the real revolutionary mobilization of the masses.

Such a program for trade union unity must be adapted not merely to the revolutionary section of the working class. Demands must be put up which appear necessary and realizable to the membership of the reformist unions as well, such demands as are, e.g., contained in our anti-fascist program. If the membership of both trade union organizations are thus mobilized for the establishment of trade union unity and the reformist leaders are forced by their own membership to participate in the unity negotiations, then it is indeed of little consequence if this or that demand, originally put up by the leaders of the revolutionary trade union movement, is allowed to drop or if this or that concession is made to the reformists. These questions also will then be brought to the masses and the main thing, the establishment of trade union unity with the simultaneous mobilization of the masses of the workers in the direction of Communism, will be achieved. Such a campaign can be not only a big stimulus for real unity of the working masses but can also at the same time be the best basis for the further mobilization of the working class and for the further development of the new united trade unions into organs of the class struggle.

FOR A UNITED STRIKE IN PATERSON

(Continued from Page 1)

been the amalgamation of the Associated Silk Workers and the United Textile Workers.

However, the delay occasioned in bringing about the amalgamation of the Associated Silk Workers and the United Textile Workers into one organization affiliated with the A. E. of L. thru the refusal to start an organization campaign simultaneously with the amalgamation negotiations, has been very costly.

Our group from the very start raised the question of an immediate organization campaign and the general strike.

The representatives of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action share responsibility in this delay because they did not take a decisive enough stand for an immediate organization campaign.

This failure in the Paterson situation made it possible for the National Textile Workers Union, a union without a mass base in Paterson, a union which pursues a sectarian, disruptive course, a union which has rejected every genuine unity move, to assume leadership and to take the initiative in calling a general strike in Paterson. The hesitation and delay have also made it possible for the National Textile Workers' Union to enter the Allentown strike situation and spread dissension and disruption there.

Our position is that the amalgamated unions must immediately call a general strike in Paterson. Our position is that this strike to be effective must be a united movement of all the organizations and elements in the industry. It must be militantly conducted for the purpose of improving conditions and organizing the workers. The strike must be based upon the most active participation and leadership of the rank and file workers.

National Council
COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.
(Majority Group)

HELP BUILD THE
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Norman Thomas Discovers America! VI

WHAT MR. THOMAS PROPOSES

by Ben Gitlow

(Continued from last issue)

The United States Supreme Court is evidently too valuable a capitalist institution to threaten!

About the first necessity for a Socialist Administration and Congress which wanted to get anywhere would be to discover that Supreme Court judges were too few and overworked and so increase the size of the Supreme Court."

The poor judges, with their lengthy vacations, work too hard protecting capitalism! Appoint more judges, establish equal division of work, and relieve the poor overworked judges of their toil! This, unobscuringly, Norman Thomas proposes. A flood of wisdom—behold, fellow-workers and brethren—flows from Socialist oracle, Norman Thomas.

Speaking of the Senate, Wall Street's House of Lords, Norman Thomas answers the demand for its abolition by stating: "I still think such a system desirable."

Norman Thomas's program does not even dare to approach its demands for reforms the social measures already in force in European countries.

The Socialism of reformism, however, has not ended capitalist misery and oppression, poverty and starvation for the masses. It has not been a guarantee for peace and against militarism. The Socialist reformist leaders were the first to lay the shield of capitalist militarism and lead the masses into imperialist slaughter. Socialist reformism of Europe has guaranteed the peace of death in rivers of blood. Norman Thomas offers us nothing new.

Norman Thomas's "new unionism" is a glorification of Hart Shaffer and Marx-Amalgamated Agreement which today involves speed-up, wage reductions, trade union racketeering and increased unemployment. He is for a progressive third party, even if the name of Socialist party is to be given up. He avoids the Negro problem. He has not one word to offer, one suggestion to make to meet the problem of lynching, race discrimination and economic servitude which are the lot of the eleven million Negro toilers in America.

Finally Norman Thomas, in grandiose language, admits he has no solution.

Our government he writes: "To sum this matter up. Neither public opinion nor opinion within the Socialist movement is ready immediately to outline an ideal governmental structure."

Norman Thomas cannot outline anything for immediate action. He is the apostle of hesitancy, in social politics. Then he follows up with this conclusion: "The only thing left is the possibility of achieving Socialism by democratic processes and without world war. It is a possibility not a certainty. It must be worked out."

By democratic process Norman Thomas means: within the frame work of

The Bolsheviks 'll Git You

Little Hammy Fish is come to our house to stay and shoot the Daggoes off the porch and brush the "pinks" away. And all us Nordic children, when the supper things is done, we set around the kitchen fire and has the moosest fun a 'bitchin' to the witch talks 'at Hammy tells about, an' the Bolsheviks 'at gits you, if you don't watch out!

Pie In The Sky

Rabbi Goldstein told the world last Sunday over WPCB (he wouldn't use the radio on Saturday) that rabbis are "seeking a middle ground between capitalism and Communism and trying to establish an understanding between capital and labor." Thus inspired by the Pope's Encyclical and encouraged by the successful career of Rev. Norman Thomas, Rabbi Goldstein is rallying his colleagues of the chicken-killers union into the Second International for a united front against Communism and the Soviet Union. The congregation will now rise and sing that beautiful hymn entitled: "In the Sweet Day and Day."

Revolutionary Age

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WHITHER GERMANY?

WHEN Hoover first entered the lists of "saviors" of Germany and all reactionary, liberal and "Socialist" apologies of capitalism were signing paeans of the chief executive of Wall Street imperialism, we said editorially:

"The Hoover Plan, assuming even that full agreement is arrived at with France, will, at most, grant a very brief and slight breathing spell in the present extremely tense situation. Fundamentally it opens up a vista of new and sharpened antagonisms and conflicts among the leading imperialist countries. Every financial centre is very nervous at heart. The very declaration of a moratorium with its probability that it won't end at the set time really undermines confidence and increases uneasiness and instability, despite the momentary and first flush of enthusiasm.

"This very uncertainty further hampers the possibility of even the slightest reduction in armaments."

It took but a couple of weeks to bear out fully the correctness of our analysis. Two weeks after our editorial appeared the Universal Service correspondent, Karl Von Weigand, cabled from Berlin to the "New York American": "Feeling is beginning to crop up here that instead of helping Germany, President Hoover's moratorium proposal has really had the effect of starting a 'run on Germany.'" And the same day, July 12, the influential Paris Paper, "Journal des Debats," said: "The financial situation in Germany has become further aggravated. Who could be surprised? Not only has nothing been done to forestall collapse but things have actually been done to precipitate it. By a theatrical gesture they destroyed without building anything to replace."

At the conference of the International Communist Opposition held in Berlin last December the present developments in Germany were clearly foreseen. It was at the conference of the German Communist Opposition last year that the rapidly rising menace of Fascism was examined and estimated and that a practical program of immediate action was prepared. We heartily welcome the latest action of the official Communist Party finally taking over practically intact the entire program of immediate action which our comrades of the German Communist Opposition worked out for them some eight months ago. "Better late than never" is our greeting; but we hope it isn't too late. More than that, not until the German Communist Party COMPLETELY drops its sectarian, ultra-left, splitting policy in the trade unions and the mass organizations can this correct program be effectively carried out.

In this connection it would be a good move for the German Communists to expose still more the fraudulent Hoover Plan by demanding that THE \$400,000,000 DELAYED REPARATION PAYMENTS SHOULD BE TURNED OVER TO THE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE FUND TO HELP THE JOBLESS WORKERS AND NOT BE USED TO SWELL THE CORPORATION DIVIDENDS. By putting forward such a demand the Communist Party would likewise expose the real nature of the reparations question and would concentrate the fire of the German proletariat on the German capitalist class. Tactics smacking of "National Bolshevism," which, unfortunately have been foisted on the Communist Party of Germany, will never win the masses for proletarian revolution in Germany or anywhere else.

Events are coming to a head, to a decisive struggle in Germany. The Social-democratic party is feverishly at work serving capitalist reaction, desperately trying to restrain the masses from working class revolution. The Fascists are growing bolder. Hitler has just declared that the Nazis are prepared to seize power "legally or otherwise". Already, the Brauning "hunger regime" has tendered the Fascists an invitation and a place in the Cabinet. Hjalmar Schacht, former head of the Reichsbank, one of Hitler's right-hand men has just been given a post in the cabinet without portfolio, to help patch up Germany's shattered financial structure. There is open talk of making him "Money Czar" of Germany. What a powerful entering wedge for Hitler!

Unless the Communist Party can win the confidence of the masses thru a broad united working class front against Fascism, the "Nazis" will, in this crisis, play the decisive counter-revolutionary role the Socialist party played in 1918-23. The Communist Party must today, be able to deal a death-blow to the German Social-democracy and to German reformism before it can win the millions of the working class still following these capitalist agents in the ranks and turning to Fascism. We have repeatedly said: The fate of Europe and to a large measure of the entire capitalist world will be decided in Berlin this year. The Communists of Germany are in a position to make the decision—for the working class of Germany and the whole world.

Whither Germany? It's very much up to the Communists. Already, splendid chances for destroying the Social-democracy and Fascism have been squandered by false tactics. The path pointed out by the German Communist Opposition must be pursued with straightforwardness and completely and not only in part by the official German Communist Party in order to enable the German toiling masses to battle decisively for working class victory. Otherwise, blackest Fascism will come to the fore riding rough-shod over the masses, drowning the vanguard of the working class in blood and dealing a smashing defeat to the German and the entire world's working class.

No Hoover Plan, no Hoover maneuver, no Wall Street tricks, no French imperialist "concessions," no Franco-American imperialist deals or antagonisms can solve the crisis in Germany or elsewhere. In Germany, in France, in England, in India, in China, in the United States, thruout the whole world, only the international Communist movement thoroly united and on the basis of correct Leninist tactics can lead the oppressed and exploited masses out of the present terrible crisis. Only Communist unity and Leninist strategy can successfully defend and extend the Soviet victory in this decisive hour of world history. Hence, it is said indeed that until this date, the Communist International has not been fit or been able to launch an international working class campaign against the Young Plan, the whole reparations and Versailles system.

Whither Germany? We earnestly hope the Communist International and the German Communist Party leadership will see their way clear to restore the Leninist tactical line to the mighty Communist Party of Germany. The world's working class and hundreds of millions of oppressed colonial masses hope for the best—and will fight on for the best. We keep our eyes on Germany, pinning our faith in the revolutionary German proletariat.

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The American Civil Liberties Union Report

The Truth About Scottsboro

by Hollace Ransdell

Thru the courtesy of the American Civil Liberties Union we are enabled to begin in this issue the publication of the REPORT ON THE SCOTTSBORO CASE by Hollace Ransdell, special investigator for that organization. The Scottsboro case is developing into an affair of world-wide significance as an example of the infamous white capitalist lynching justice dominating this country; an intelligent, accurate and detailed study of the case, such as the Ransdell report is, is certain to prove of value to every worker and to every student of the contemporary social situation.

1. History of the Case

May 27, 1931.

Two Huntsville Mill Girls Hobo to Chattanooga

On March 24, 1931, two mill girls from Huntsville in Madison County, Northern Alabama, dressed up in overalls and hoboed their way by freight train to Chattanooga, Tenn., about 97 miles away. The older of the two, Victoria Price, who said she was born in Fayetteville, Tenn., and gave her age as 21, planned the trip, urging the younger one, Ruby Bates, 17 years old to go with her.

All that is known so far of this trip is what Victoria Price later told concerning it to the witness stand. No check on the truth of her story was made at the trial. According to this story, the two girls arrived in Chattanooga late Tuesday, March 24, and went to spend the night at the home of Mrs. Callie Brochie, who lived, according to Victoria, several blocks off Market Street on North Seventh. Victoria said she did not know the number of the house, but found the place by asking a buy on the street where Mrs. Brochie lived. He pointed it out to the two girls, she said, and all she could say was that it was the fourth house in the block.

A thorough investigation of the neighborhood later by the attorney for the defense failed to discover either Mrs. Brochie or the house she was said to live in.

The Return to Huntsville

As the story of Victoria Price goes, the two girls spent the night with Mrs. Brochie, and set out the next morning with her to look for work in the mill. Victoria was not clear in her trial testimony as to the number and location of these mills where she said they tried to get work. Finding no jobs open, they decided to return home to Huntsville. It was around ten o'clock in the morning of March 25. Boarding an oil tanker at first, they later climbed over into a gondola, or open-topped freight car used for carrying gravel. The car was partly filled with gravel. Here they met seven white boys and began talking to them. Ruby declared in a private interview later that she did not speak to them but stayed in one end of the car by herself, while Victoria was talking, laughing and singing with the white boys in the other end of the car. Victoria, however, said that both she and Ruby had talked to the boys.

As the freight neared Stevenson, less than half the way to Huntsville, Victoria testified that 12 Negroes climbed into the gondola in which the two girls were riding with the seven white youths, walking over the top of a box car in front and jumping into the gondola. Ruby said in a personal interview later that she did not know how many colored boys were in the crowd. She said she was too frightened to count them. The Negroes gave the number of their gang as 15. Victoria maintained emphatically that they were 12.

The Alleged Rape

According to Victoria's testimony, a Negro identified at the trial as Charlie Weems, came first waving a pistol, followed by the others in the crowd. A mile or two past Stevenson, Victoria said that the Negroes began fighting with the white boys, shouting "unload you white son-of-bitches" and forcing the white boys to jump from the freight which was moving at a fast rate of speed. One of the white boys, Orvil Gilley, who said he was afraid to jump for fear he would be killed, was allowed by the Negroes to remain. One of the Negroes testified that he pulled Gilley back upon the car as he was hanging over the edge for fear he might fall between the cars and be killed. The local papers reporting the trial, however, claimed that he was forced to remain out of viciousness to witness the alleged assault.

Victoria's story continued that while the freight was moving rapidly between Stevenson and Paint Rock, a distance of approximately 38 miles, the Negroes having driven the seven white boys from the train, attacked the two girls Victoria Price testified that six raped her and six, Ruby Bates. Three of the ones who attacked Ruby got off before the train stopped at Paint Rock, Victoria said. She alleged that Charlie Weems was the leader and had a pistol, but that Clarence Norris was the first one to attack her. He was followed by four others who took turns holding her, she claimed, and then the leader, Weems, as the last one, was in the process of raping her when the train stopped at Paint Rock and the Negroes were captured by the posse who had been notified by telegraph from Stevenson that the Negroes were on the train.

The white gang, after having put off the train, had informed the station master at Stevenson that the Negroes and the two white girls were on the freight. The station agent telegraphed ahead to Scottsboro, a station about 18 miles west of Stevenson, to have the train stopped, but the freight had already passed there, so Paint Rock, some 20 miles farther, was notified by telegraph.

Here nine Negroes were seized by an armed posse of officers and men. The other Negroes had left the train before it arrived at Paint Rock and nothing more has been heard from them. A report appeared in the press some days after the trial that two Negroes were cap-

tured and an attempt made to identify them as members of the crowd of nine Negroes in the Scottsboro case. Nothing more was said about it, so the attempt apparently fell thru.

Plausibility of the Charges Questioned

The International Labor Defense, which had representatives on the scene at the time of the trial in Scottsboro, and whose attorney, George Chamblee, of Chattanooga, later made investigations of various phases of the case not brought out at the trial, claims that when the two girls were taken from the train at Paint Rock, they made no charges against the Negroes, until after they were taken into custody; that their charges were made after they had found out the spirit of the armed men that came to meet the train and catch the Negroes, and that they were swept into making their wholesale accusation against the Negroes merely by assenting to the charges as presented by the men who seized the nine Negroes.

There is no way of proving this conclusively, but from the interview I had with the two girls separately several weeks after the trial, I would say that there is a strong possibility of truth in this statement. The talk with Victoria Price, particularly, convinced me that she was the type who welcomes attention and publicity at any price. The price in this case meant little to her, as she has no notions of shame connected with sexual intercourse in any form and was quite unbothered in alleging that she went thru such an experience as the charges against the nine Negroes laid im-

ply. Having been in direct contact from the cradle with the institution of prostitution as a side-line necessary to make the meager wages of a mill worker pay the rent and buy the groceries, she has no feeling of revulsion against promiscuous sexual intercourse such as women of easier lives might suffer. It is very much a matter of the ordinary routine of life to her, known in both Huntsville and Chattanooga as a prostitute herself. The younger girl, Ruby Bates, found herself from the beginning pushed into the background by the more bubbling, pert personality of Victoria, so much quicker and glibber. When I talked with her alone she showed resentment against the position into which Victoria had forced her, but did not seem to know what to do except to keep silent and let Victoria do the talking. The general opinion of the authorities at the trial was that Ruby was slow and stupid, but that Victoria was a shrewd young woman whose testimony amounted to something because she got the point at once of what was needed to hurry the trial thru so that sentence of death could be pronounced quickly. From my talks with Judge Hawkins, who presided at the trial, with Dr. Bridges who examined the girls, and with other officials, I believe any unbiased person would have to come to the conclusion that this was the basis of their judgment of the two girls as witnesses.

After their arrest on March 25, the nine

Negroes were taken Gadsden, Ala. to be held in jail there until the day of their trial. On March 30, they made a quick trip to Scottsboro and back under armed guard, for arraignment before a special session of the grand jury. Judge A. E. Hawkins of the Circuit court, set the date of the trial as April 6.

The Trial

About 5:45 in the morning on April 6, a picked detachment of the 167th Infantry under Major Joe Stearnau, made up of 118 members of five national guard companies of Gadsden, Albertville, and Guntersville, Alabama, brought the nine Negroes from Gadsden and locked them in the county jail at Scottsboro until the hour of their trial. People from surrounding counties and states began arriving by car and trail with the coming of dawn. Thousands had gathered by the time the trial opened at 8:30 o'clock. By 10 o'clock it was estimated that a crowd of 8,000 to 10,000 swarmed in the narrow village streets of the little county seat of Scottsboro, packing the outside rim of the Square around the Courthouse with a solid mass of humanity. Armed soldiers formed a picket line to keep the mass of people out of the Square, and no one was admitted into the Courthouse without a special permit.

A Lynching Spirit

Officials and residents of Scottsboro maintained that the crowd was peaceful and showed no evidence of lynching spirit. Mr. Ben Davis, local reporter for the Chattanooga Times, wrote that the crowd was "curious not furious" and was so pleased with her phrase that she continued to repeat it innumerable times when interviewed. Judge Hawkins, Dr. Bridges, Hamlin Caldwell, the court stenographer, Sheriff Wann and many others were emphatic in their statements that the crowd had poured into Scottsboro in the spirit of going to a circus and wanted to see the show but were without malicious intent toward the defendants.

Chance conversation with the residents of the town, however, did not tend to substantiate this view of the officials. A kind-faced, elderly woman selling tickets at the railroad station, for instance, said to me that if they tried the Negroes in Scottsboro, she hoped they would leave the soldiers home next time. When I asked why, she replied that next time they would finish off those "black fiends" and save the bother of a second trial. She told me a lurid story of the mistreatment suffered by the two white girls at the hands of those "horrible black brutes", one of whom had her breast chewed off by one of the Negroes.

When I called to her attention that the doctor's testimony for the prosecution was to the effect that neither of the girls showed signs of any rough handling on their bodies, it made no impression upon her. Here faith in her atrocious story which had been told to her "by one who ought to know what he was talking about", remained unshaken.

If, as the town authorities claimed, there was no lynching spirit, Major Stearnau, in charge of the soldiers called to Scottsboro, certainly did not go on this supposition. The town looked like an armed camp in war time. Armed soldiers were on guard both inside and outside the courthouse, and before court opened, the Major gave orders to have persons at the trial searched.

(Continued in the Next Issue)

Capitalism and Science

MICHELSON AND BYRD: THEIR REWARD

by H. Z.

Professor Albert Michelson was probably America's greatest scientist and one of the world's leading physicists. His experiments in the field of light made it possible for Einstein to formulate his now famous theories of relativity. He received wide acclaim from the American bourgeoisie, no end of honorary degrees from many universities and a lot of publicity. But when he died he left something like \$37,000, of which \$7,000 was in personal property and the balance in real estate. His two homes, which only goes to prove that it requires brains to become a millionaire—poverty being a sure sign of stupidity!

In contrast to the modest financial condition of Prof. Michelson, we find that Admiral Richard E. Byrd has become a near millionaire as a result of his Antarctic expedition. It will be remembered that the expedition was financed largely by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Edsel Ford, the son of Henry, and Fisher Bros., the Detroit automobile kings. The expedition was not incorporated. Byrd alone assumed all responsibility and pocketed all the profits. There could be no losses, since the cost of the expedition was practically guaranteed by the above-mentioned millionaires. Nevertheless, after the trip, Byrd made a big campaign thruout the country for contributions to cover the "deficit". Exclusive of whatever may have accrued to Byrd from this source, we find that his income from other sources has been somewhat as follows:

- Lecture tour\$220,000
Newspaper serial of flights. 165,000
Moving picture "With Byrd at the South Pole" 200,000
Royalties on book "Little America" 100,000
Personal Profit to Byrd.....\$685,000

In addition, there will undoubtedly be further enormous income thru the commercial development of other phases of the expedition. Out of the amount here listed, Byrd is estimated to have spent some \$200,000.00 on various items, including additional payment to members of the expedition of \$35,000. This makes the total amount paid to all the members of the expedition about \$145,000 and it leaves the amount retained by Byrd as his personal profit at near a half million dollars.

How can one account for this sudden descent of wealth into the lap of Admiral Byrd? Was his feat so world-shaking that it shook some of the shakels out of the pockets of the bourgeoisie into those of Byrd? Not at all! The bourgeoisie and its scientists like to represent themselves as the defenders of "pure science", of "abstract scientific research." They cry to heaven against the claim of the Communists that under capitalism science is harnessed, body and soul in the service of capitalism, general research being purely incidental. As a matter of fact, the bourgeoisie is always ready to support inventions and discoveries which promise immediate monetary returns but it always cynically is indifferent to more general and abstract investigations. Thus, it paid a nearly professor's wages to Professor Michelson while it poured wealth into Byrd's lap. Prof. Michelson investigated such abstract questions as the qualities of light which he very little promise for financial returns in the near future. But Byrd was discovering a new continent. There were visions of extensive new fields of precious metals, furs, fishing fields and other great sources of wealth. The "surge of empire" was surging to the



THE ROAD BACK, by Erich Maria Remarque. Translated from the German by G. W. Wheen, 1931, Little, Brown and Company, Boston.

One closes Remarque's book with a feeling of bitterness and hatred. What a stinking, rotten and hollow civilization capitalism has reared. It takes the young fills them with hate and false phrases about the fatherland, womanhood, justice, the home. In the name of these shibboleths it sends them to war, to cut each other's throats, to rip out each other's guts and to return, maimed, without hope and strength to cke out an existence which is in reality but a living death. And the profiteers at home, gorged to the point of bursting, smack their lips in deep satisfaction, continue to pile up their profits and make ready to send a new generation to death.

The Road Back is the story of the soldier returning to take up life again after four years at the front. Some adjust themselves quickly but many have been warped forever. They went to war believing that they were fighting for an ideal. They return knowing that they fought for some empty catchwords.

They have returned but they carry with them the memory of horrors which can never be erased; memories of faces without arms, legs, heads; of ghastly faces of blood, of comrades shrieking in the last gasp to live, of putrid bodies, of men without arms, legs, heads; of ghastly faces seemingly happy because death has come at last. They have only one thing, comradeship. But capitalism, where everything has a money value, cannot understand the essential worth of comradeship. The soldiers have returned but the will to live has been left somewhere on the bloody battlefield. There is nothing to live for. The war has shattered their hopes, beliefs, and strength. Their youthful longings, their ambitions, now appear as shadowy dreams of some un-remembered past. They are prematurely old. Life has nothing to offer them. They regret they returned alive.

The soldiers have come home but the government which sent them to an early death has no interest in them. They are forced to exist as best as they can, to scold, to beg. Their moral, physical, intellectual afflictions are of no concern to the bloated capitalist who grew fat while the soldiers died. They return to hear once again the old phrases: "Defend the Fatherland," "Justice," "Patriotism," and to see the new generation trained to shoot down the "cowards—pacifists—the bolsheviks!"

But they can no longer be fooled. The catchwords of the ruling class have no meaning for them. They are but so many empty phrases. Herein lies the essential tragedy of the returning soldier. Capitalist civilization is built on the pillars of hate and selfishness. The returning soldier has learned to love their fellow men and understand the real meaning of comradeship and solidarity. Capitalist civilization is compounded of a mass of false abstractions, without real content and meaning, such as the home, the fatherland, the sanctity of private property, law and order. The returning soldier, Ernst, Ludwig, Malbe, understand the real nature of these catchwords, these can no longer awaken enthusiasm and life in them. Yet they must live in their midst, knowing their essential, emptiness, and hypocrisy.

But there is a way out. The sensitive, dreamy Ludwig points the way. "There is only one light, the light against the lie, the half-truth, compromise, the old order. But we let ourselves be taken in by their phrases; and instead of fighting against them, we fought for them. We thought it was for the future. It was against the future; for the youth is dead that carried it. We are merely the survivors, the ruins. But the other is alive still—the fat, the full, the well-contented that lives on, fatter and fuller, more contented than ever! . . . Because we were duped, I tell you duped, as even yet we hardly realize. Because we were misled, hideously misled. They told us it was for the Fatherland, and meant the scheme of annexation of a greedy industry. They told us it was for honor, and meant the will to power of a handful of ambitious diplomats and princes. . . . And in every land they were duped and misled; in every land they have been shot down, they have exterminated each other! Don't you see now?" It is this realization, this understanding which will sweep capitalism with its wars, starvation, poverty, fear of what the next day might bring off the face of the earth.

The Road Back is a book every worker should read. It has a story to tell which no worker can afford to miss. In the telling, Remarque writes with great beauty, depth of feeling and profound sympathy. —J.S.

North Pole and to the South Pole, borne swiftly by Richard Byrd, Admiral Byrd was the bearer of imperialist penetration of the frozen worlds. It is for this reason that Byrd became wealthy overnight while Michelson and dozens of others like Michelson die poor. It is precisely this event which demonstrates the correctness of the charge of the Russian delegates at the London Congress of Scientists.

Society Note from a Sunday Paper

J. Pierpont Morgan some time this week will step down to his private dock on his private estate on his private beach at Glen Cove, Long Island, and go by private motor boat to his private dock on his private island in the Cove where he will board his private yacht Corsair for a very private trip to his most private English and Scottish estates to spend the Summer. He has consented to travel on a public ocean, but he doesn't intend to let it be public much longer. Mr. Morgan is a bug on privacy and insists upon having everything private. That's what makes him such a public nuisance.

A Nice Conference

The Zionist Congress was noisier than the traditional Jewish wedding or Kilkenny Fair. The American Zionists denounced British imperialism. The British Zionists defended it. Rabbi Wise scolded "Comrade Ramsay" like a fish wife and Chaim Weizmann defended him by crying, "Alas, poor soul!" Weizmann was censured for not openly favoring a Jewish majority on both sides Jordan and the Fascist-Revisionists were damned for favoring it openly. There was so much fighting on the platform that the wall behind it has been rechristened the "wailing wall." Abe Goldberg, "yenkee," declared that world Jewry "looks to America as the arbiter of Jewish rights." Chaim Weizmann, "hingsh," defended John Bull against the charge of a "Passfield Pogrom." The Fascists tore down a Zionist flag, denounced the Pope and walked out singing the "Hot Mikovah" or something like that. The Zionist world movement is as international as the Second International. Each lackey licks the boots of his own master and tries to step on the boots the other lackey is licking. There is no internationalism outside the Communist International. There are as many Zionisms as there are imperialist machinations and puppets. A punch and Judy puppet show would have envied the Congress.

It Depends on Whose Ox is Gored

Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, former president of the Reichsbank, has scathingly indicted capitalist greed in his new book. He says Communism will win unless Germany is permitted to be as greedy as the rest of the world. "The exploitation of their victory by the winners proves that every trace of moral feeling has been lost—veritable orgies of theft lust for material conquest . . . the German colonies . . . a capitalism which cannot feed the workers of the world has no right to exist . . . its guilt lies in the violent policies of imperialism and militarism. . . ."

The way out is "return to German colonies, extension of German markets, etc."

An old story—embodied in the nursery rhyme: "Send a blackbird to a crow. 'If you ain't black, then I don't know.'"

A New Way To Defeat Imperialism

Mahatma Gandhi has settled a weighty question at last. His trip to England in the next stage of his betrayal of India will be made in a loin-cloth. His reason is that any other dress would be a deception: "If I am to win their hearts, I can only do so if I am 100% truthful. Truth is like the sun, and it will melt the icy mountains of suspicion and distrust." But Mahatma is forgetting that truth is proverbially naked.

Lloyd George on War.

We cede the rest of this column to that consummate faker, buffoon and demagogue, Lloyd George, who spoke on war and disarmament recently. " . . . the covenant of the League of Nations . . . to reduce armaments . . . Every nation, and there were over thirty there, great and small, signed it, and signed it with alacrity. Did they mean it? Perhaps they did . . . all I know is it hasn't been done. "Some of the powers, after signing that covenant, . . . forthwith started to build up new armies, great armies. "Then we had a disarmament commission. It has been sitting for years and so far hatched nothing. (The hen's been sitting on a rotten egg—BDW) . . . they are very fortunate in having an excellent chairman in Mr. Arthur Henderson. "Then you had Locarno . . . The angel of peace had never been so toasted (got its wings singed—BDW) but since then preparations for war have been going on in almost every country who signed that treaty . . .

"Somebody said: 'You must have a pact to renounce war altogether.' It was proposed by a country whose armaments were much more powerful than they were before the war and whose armaments have increased since they signed the pact to renounce war. Sixty other countries signed it . . . And since they signed the pact to renounce war the armies have become greater and more powerful . . .

"Let us be quite frank. The only lessons of the war to which practical effect has been given today are the military lessons . . . Military defects are studied, and steps are immediately taken to remedy them for the next war . . . In the last war you had a horrible time; the next is inconceivable, and yet the world is going on steadily, horribly, stupidly, marching toward war, singing the songs of peace (of which this speech is a prize example — BDW) and preparing for war" (in which this speech is a step—BDW).

And what is the mouse born of this "mountain in labor?" Lloyd George's conclusion is that we should teach nations to act like individuals and should strengthen the League of Nations and then "we shall have peace as a river and righteousness as the waves of the sea."

And so all of Lloyd George's pretended plain-speaking ends in a wash-out. —B. D. W.