

Workers
of all
Countries,
Unite!

WORKERS' AGE

For
Communist Unity
in the
Revolutionary
Class Struggle!

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AND FARMERS

VOL. I, No. 2

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 30, 1932.

PRICE 3 CENTS

BIG UNITY MEET IN NEW YORK

600 Attend Meeting Where All Groups Freely Discuss Communist Unity

For the first time in nearly three years it proved possible in a Communist meeting in this country for representatives of the various groups and tendencies into which the American Communist movement is split up, to present their viewpoints and to discuss important questions in a mutually tolerant, comradely, even if sharp manner, without threats of expulsion, disciplinary action or physical force. This was at the big unity meeting called by the Communist Party (Majority Group) in Labor Temple, New York, for Tuesday evening, January 19.

The large hall and balcony of Labor Temple were jammed with well over 600 Communists and sympathizers. The official Communist Party and the Communist League (Trotskyites) had been invited and urged to send representatives to discuss the question of the reunification of the Communist ranks and had been guaranteed full freedom and all rights of discussion. But neither group thought it necessary even to reply. Such is the desire for unity on the part of the leaderships of the official Party and the Trotsky group!

The meeting was opened by Bert Wolfe who emphasized that the road to unity lies only thru Party democracy. The chief speaker of the evening was Benjamin Gitlow, secretary of the Communist Party (Majority Group). Gitlow briefly sketched the situation in which world capitalism, including American capitalism finds itself today, brought out the tremendous possibilities for Communist work and growth and then contrasted all this with the catastrophic weakening of the Communist movement in the capitalist countries, the recession of revolutionary influence, and the growth of reaction and Fascism. This contradictory situation he traced to the false tactical policies of the official Communist movement and to the disunity of the Communist ranks. Communist unity, he emphasized, is a prerequisite for effective working class unity against the offensive of capital. He concluded his report by again outlining the road to unity: the readmission of all the expelled on the basis of adherence to the fundamentals of Communism, the guarantee of Party democracy, the calling of a special Party convention with binding powers.

In the audience there were a considerable number of members of the Communist Party (at least 100) as well as a few from the Trotsky organization and one or two from the Communist League of Struggle (Weisbord group). For the first time in the last three years, the reign of terror of the Party bureaucrats proved inadequate to keep Party members (Continued on page 2)

Rivera Speaks on "Art and Society" at Forum

Great Artist-Revolutionist Addresses Big Enthusiastic Crowd At New Workers School Forum

About 350 people jammed the forum hall of the New Workers School on January 17 to listen in breathless attention to the lecture on "Art and Society" delivered by the great Mexican revolutionary artist, Diego Rivera.

An hour before the lecture was scheduled to begin, crowds of workers and radical artists and intellectuals began filling the hall so that by eight o'clock there was not a seat nor a square foot of standing room left. In spite of the crowding, the interest of the audience was so great that the greatest silence prevailed as the great artist elaborated his remarks in Spanish and as these were translated into English by Bertram D. Wolfe, director of the New Workers School.

Comrade Wolfe opened the lecture with brief introductory remarks analyzing the art and personality of Rivera with whom he had been on very intimate terms in Mexico.

Comrade Rivera first dealt with the position of art in the Communist society, severely criticizing those Marxist theoreticians who maintain that art will necessarily disappear in a Communist society. From this he went on to a description of the social role of art through the ages, tracing the varying relations of class and class struggle to artistic production. An incisive analysis of the characteristically bourgeois school of "pure art" or "art for art's sake" was succeeded by an intense and interesting examination of the status of painting in the Soviet Union. Out of their estrangement from the standards of popular taste, there has de-

veloped an isolation of the revolutionary artists from the masses. As a consequence, the old academic painters, Rivera declared, have been able to rise to the surface again, rebaptized as the "Association of Revolutionary Proletarian Artists." The protests of the readmission of popular art on the basis of the Soviet experiences.

The Mexican revolutionist-artist concentrated, in the last section of his talk, upon the multiple phases of the tasks of the revolutionary proletariat in "capturing art." After the tremendous applause that marked the end of his talk he died down, Rivera undertook to answer to the many written questions addressed to him. These questions dealt with Rivera's estimate of artists (David, Picasso, Epstein), with the native roots of art in the United States, and with the relation of art to the proletariat and the Communist movement.

Comrade Rivera was greeted with a demonstration of great appreciation when he announced that he would give to the New Workers School the sketch of his great picture of a workers demonstration being attacked by the police.

The thanks of the revolutionary workers of New York City are due to Comrade Rivera for his splendid lecture.

The full report of Comrade Diego Rivera, including questions and answers, will be published in the Workers' Age beginning with the next issue.

The Struggle for Freedom in India

The Trial of M. N. Roy

By Ajoy Kumar Ghosh

The report below was written before the sentence of Manabendra Nath Roy to twelve years exile to a penal colony. It describes the character of the "trial" thru which Roy was convicted.

Comrade Roy was arrested in Bombay on July 21, 1931 on a warrant issued in 1924 in connection with the so-called Bolshevik Conspiracy case. Early in the morning the police raided the house in which he was staying. All the heads of the police in the city rushed into the room with pistols in hand to arrest an unarmed sleeping man. The prisoner was detained in

the custody of the Bombay police for eleven days during which time a large number of arrests were made on the charge of harboring Roy. Similar arrests were made in other parts of the country. The police raided hundreds of houses in Bombay and innumerable people were harassed during those nervous ten days. Practically all the radical labor and nationalist leaders of Bombay were among those arrested for harboring Roy.

The prisoner was not allowed to see anybody, not even lawyers. The working class and the rank and file nationalists of Bombay were not slow to protest against the arrest of Roy and other leaders. Mass meetings were held every day for the purpose. There was a big demonstration of 50,000 people before the police station where Roy was detained. The police became very nervous and secretly removed the prisoner to Calcutta where the case of 1924 was tried. The movement of protest spread thru the country, and the demand for Roy's release was general. The movement was led by the Trade Union Congress and the Committee for the Revolutionary Working Class Party of India.

The prisoner was placed before a magistrate on August 1. He was not taken to the court. The magistrate was not allowed to see or communicate with any one outside. After about two weeks, he was allowed to send messages to the local Bar Association for help. The Association deputed several of its members to interview the prisoner and take up this defence. As the trial was not to begin for some time so that police could prepare the case, the accused applied to the magistrate for trial. He argued the application himself, in the open court, surrounded by strong armed police guard to keep the people away. The application was, of course, rejected by the magistrate and later as well as by the session judge.

In prison Roy was subjected to all sorts of difficulties and restrictions to prepare his defence. After a few weeks all interviews were stopped. His correspondence was withheld. He was kept in solitary confinement and not allowed to take a walk daily. His newspapers were stopped. His application for special facilities, granted to the prisoners in the Meerut Con-

(Continued on page 2)

(Continued on Page 3)

RED FLAG RAISED IN SPAIN

Communist-Syndicalist Bloc Takes Power In Many Catalonia Towns

MADRID.—The red flag has been raised in town after town in large sections of Catalonia in the course of a wide-spread revolutionary uprising of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the Catalan Communist Federation (an opposition Communist group expelled from the Communist International) and the syndicalist unions. The uprising broke out January 21. Soviets have been established in a large number of towns and the formation of a provincial Soviet power is being attempted. Factories have been seized and lands are being divided.

The Madrid government has announced its determination to crush every movement of the masses of the people. It has already sent 2,500 troops, including two squadrons of cavalry and artillery, into the insurgent regions.

MADRID.—A big united front movement between Socialists and Communists (not members of the official Communist Party but of the expelled Communist Federation) has arisen in various parts of the country in resistance to the attacks of the reactionary Civil Guard upon the labor and revolutionary movement. The Civil Guard, which was carried over almost bodily from the old monarchist regime, is the instrument and has the support of the anti-revolutionary Zamora government in which the Socialist party is officially represented and is a big power.

On January 18, a united Socialist-Communist movement storm-

(Continued on page 2)

JAPAN PLANS WAR ON SOVIETS

Puppet State To Be Set Up In Manchuria; Semenoff Hired By Japan

SHANGHAI.—A squadron of Japanese men-of-war, under Admiral Shiosawa, has arrived here and rests were made in other parts of the country. The police raided hundreds of houses in Bombay and innumerable people were harassed during those nervous ten days. Practically all the radical labor and nationalist leaders of Bombay were among those arrested for harboring Roy.

The prisoner was not allowed to see anybody, not even lawyers. The working class and the rank and file nationalists of Bombay were not slow to protest against the arrest of Roy and other leaders. Mass meetings were held every day for the purpose. There was a big demonstration of 50,000 people before the police station where Roy was detained. The police became very nervous and secretly removed the prisoner to Calcutta where the case of 1924 was tried. The movement of protest spread thru the country, and the demand for Roy's release was general. The movement was led by the Trade Union Congress and the Committee for the Revolutionary Working Class Party of India.

The prisoner was placed before a magistrate on August 1. He was not taken to the court. The magistrate was not allowed to see or communicate with any one outside. After about two weeks, he was allowed to send messages to the local Bar Association for help. The Association deputed several of its members to interview the prisoner and take up this defence. As the trial was not to begin for some time so that police could prepare the case, the accused applied to the magistrate for trial. He argued the application himself, in the open court, surrounded by strong armed police guard to keep the people away. The application was, of course, rejected by the magistrate and later as well as by the session judge.

In prison Roy was subjected to all sorts of difficulties and restrictions to prepare his defence. After a few weeks all interviews were stopped. His correspondence was withheld. He was kept in solitary confinement and not allowed to take a walk daily. His newspapers were stopped. His application for special facilities, granted to the prisoners in the Meerut Con-

(Continued on Page 3)

DENY NEW TRIALS TO KY. MINERS

Hightower, Jones Sentenced To Life Imprisonment In Frame-Up

MOUNT STERLING, Ky. — Motions for new trials for William Hightower and William B. Jones, Harlan County mine union leaders, were denied by Circuit Court Judge Henry R. Prewitt on January 18 and they were both sentenced to life imprisonment. Their counsel said that the cases would be taken to the Kentucky Court of Appeals.

Jones is a local official of the United Mine Workers of America. Hightower belongs to the I.W.W. They were both convicted as the result of a vicious frame-up of the coal operators against the miners in connection with an attack of county police on a miners meeting last spring.

Big Bankers in Open Control of City Finances: Masses Hit

34 Banks Extend \$350,000,000 Loan Provided 5 Cents Fare Scrapped And "Retrenchment" Put Thru; Social Services And Wages To Be Cut

New York City banking group, in which the Lamont-Morgan Wall Street interests are dominant, insisted on a revision of the financial program of the city along lines laid down by them—especially in the direction of "retrenchment" and "economy" and the revision of the 5c-fare. On January 21 the Board of Estimate, on the motion of Mayor Walker, adopted a resolution pledging itself to the policy of "retrenchment." At the same time the Mayor issued a statement to the effect that he was "studying" the question of a higher fare. The Board of Estimate resolution and Walker's declaration were immediately described as "reasonable and reassuring" by the bankers' spokesman. The bankers were represented thru a steering committee of the following big Wall St. institutions: J. P. Morgan and Company, Kuhn, Loeb and Company, the First National Bank of New York, the Bankers Trust Company, the Guaranty Trust Company, the Bank of Manhattan, the National City Bank and the Chase National Bank.

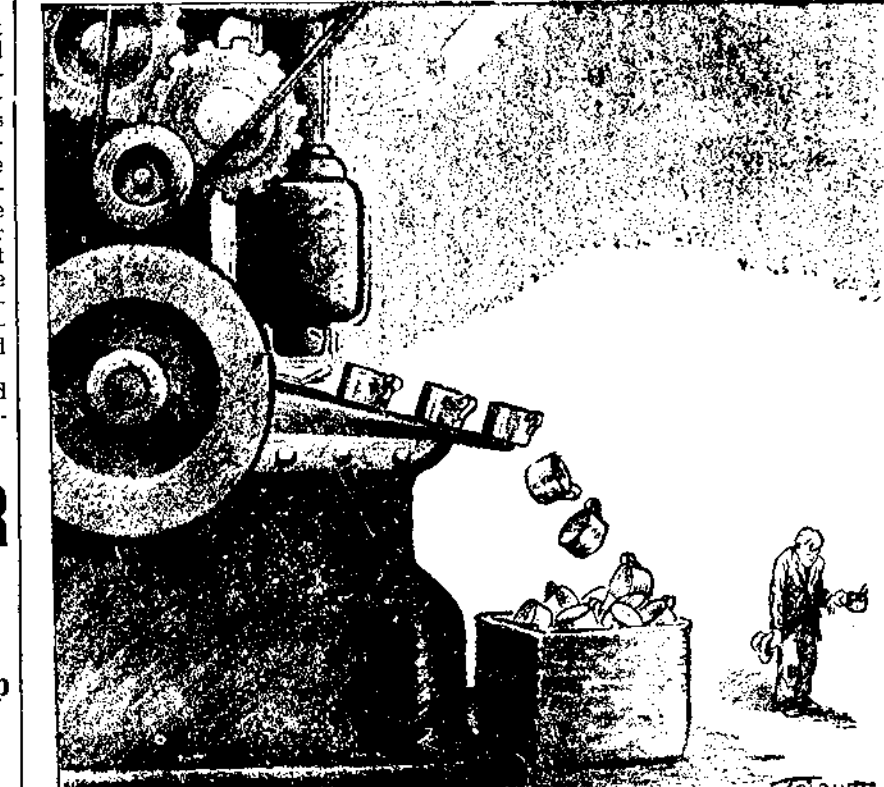
The "sharp retrenchment" that is the fundamental basis of the agreement between the bankers and the city, means radical cuts in all expenses for the so-called "social services", especially in the funds for the various forms of municipal unemployment relief, and in the wages of city employees. And then, of course, there will be the scrapping of the 5c-fare, another serious blow to the workers and poor people generally. The direct financial administration of the city by the bankers is most clearly a move to transfer even more of the burdens of the crisis upon the shoulders of the working people and the lower middle classes of the city.

Financial authorities declare that the bankers loan will only ease the situation temporarily and the city of New York will proceed rapidly along the road to bankruptcy, following Chicago, Philadelphia, and a number of smaller cities.

The control of the big financial interests over the government of this country, local, State and federal, was never so openly and cynically illustrated as in the New York City case. Not the so-called "government of the people", elected by the voters, decides the financial and other policies of the city but a board of bankers!

ALBANY.—A bill enabling the city of New York to extend its short-term borrowing to \$200,000,000 was passed in record time by the State Legislature.

AMERICA'S BIGGEST INDUSTRY



GERMANY REFUSES REPARATIONS AS U. S. A. DEMANDS WAR DEBTS

Lausanne Conference Postponed As Bruening Rejects Moratorium; Stimson Issues Sharp Note Against Formation Of European Debtor Bloc

BERLIN.—Negotiations have been inaugurated among the various Reichstag groups for the purpose of avoiding the Prussian and Reich presidential elections this year by force of a dictatorial emergency decree under Article 48 of the Constitution. The idea is for President Hindenburg to decree the prolongation of his own term as well as the continuation of the Prussian government.

To accomplish this the support of the Social-democrats is absolutely necessary. The Social-democratic leaders are ready for this as for anything else to maintain the Bruening regime. But in Social-democratic ranks strong resentment is already visible. The Nazis and the Communists are certain to oppose the move.

January 22, 1932. A serious crisis has been reached in the international war debts-reparation situation with the announcement that Germany will not pay any reparation payments but that the United States would expect France and the other former allied countries to pay their war debts to the United States anyway. On the basis of the situation thus created, the British government has announced that the Lausanne conference on reparations will be postponed "for a few days at least."

On January 20 the German government definitely announced its rejection of the British-French proposal for a year's extension of the reparations moratorium and its insistence that a definite adjustment of reparations be undertaken by the creditor powers before July 1. Taken in connection with the situation in Germany

and the previous pronouncements of the Bruening government, this is equivalent to an announcement of insistence upon the virtual cancellation of the reparation payments. On the same day a semi-official United States report indicated that the American government was opposed to the extension of the moratorium on war debts. Some days before, Secretary of State Stimson had handed to Ambassador Claudel a short declaration on American policy in which the first point reads: "1. There is no connection between war debts and reparations." Point 3 continues: "A demand for a new debts moratorium could not obtain approval in Congress and the Senate opposes a cancellation or reduction of debts." Point 4: "The United States government would look with displeasure on the formation of a united front of debtor nations." Point 5: "The existing debt arrangements, having been concluded separately, can be eventually revised only by separate accords."

The situation therefore resolves itself to this: Wall Street supports Germany's refusal to continue reparation payments but insists on war debt payments; at the same time the U. S. A. warns against any bloc of European debtor powers. The economic-financial and political antagonisms are growing more acute every day.

BERLIN.—In a series of monster meetings all over the land Adolf Hitler, Fascist leader, has initiated a country-wide Nazi drive which he himself describes as a preliminary to the "drive for power." Before a cheering crowd of 8,000 in Berlin Hit-

(Continued on Page 2)

CITY S. P. MEET SHOWS WEAKENING OF MILITANTS ON "RUSSIAN QUESTION"

Struggles Over Democracy, Soviet Union, Trade Union Tactics At Socialist Convention; Militant Movement Retreats From Last Year

New York City. Over 130 delegates were present at the city convention of the Socialist party of New York City held here on January 16-17, 1932. The proceedings of the convention, especially the discussion on the report of the resolutions committee reflected the present state of the tendencies within the S. P., their mutual relations and perspectives.

In general there were two chief groups at the convention. First the right-wing group represented by Hillquit, Lee and Oneal, and dominating the Socialist party bureaucracy. On the "Russian question" an extreme right group separated itself off under the leadership of Bela Low. The other big group was the old Militant group, somewhat changed in composition and with a new array of leaders. At the convention they were represented by J. B. Matthews, Delson, Theodore Shapiro, McAlistair Coleman, Fichandler, Sadoff, Bright, etc. A few of the old Militant leaders had moved to the right while others had dropped out of inner Socialist party politics altogether. The Thomas group

did not make an independent appearance at the convention but its strength was largely thrown to the Militants.

The first important controversy broke out over the Declaration of Principles presented by the right-wing officialdom to the convention. The main point of attack by the Militants was that section of the statement which insisted that the goal of Socialism "cannot be obtained by undemocratic means", i.e., by the proletarian dictatorship. The whole document breathed this anti-proletarian, petty bourgeois spirit. The Militants vigorously protested against the "attempts to make a fetish of democracy" and insisted that the only "principle" was the "overthrow of capitalism" and that "any necessary means should be used towards that end." The majority viewpoint carried by a vote of 89 to 47.

The "Russian question" again loomed big. Here Bela Low introduced a most vicious and reactionary resolution, almost monarchist-restorationist in character. (It is worth noting that the turn coat, Hendin, sup-

(Continued on page 2)

banking group, in which the Lamont-Morgan Wall Street interests are dominant, insisted on a revision of the financial program of the city along lines laid down by them—especially in the direction of "retrenchment" and "economy" and the revision of the 5c-fare. On January 21 the Board of Estimate, on the motion of Mayor Walker, adopted a resolution pledging itself to the policy of "retrenchment." At the same time the Mayor issued a statement to the effect that he was "studying" the question of a higher fare. The Board of Estimate resolution and Walker's declaration were immediately described as "reasonable and reassuring" by the bankers' spokesman. The bankers were represented thru a steering committee of the following big Wall St. institutions: J. P. Morgan and Company, Kuhn, Loeb and Company, the First National Bank of New York, the Bankers Trust Company, the Guaranty Trust Company, the Bank of Manhattan, the National City Bank and the Chase National Bank.

The "sharp retrenchment" that is the fundamental basis of the agreement between the bankers and the city, means radical cuts in all expenses for the so-called "social services", especially in the funds for the various forms of municipal unemployment relief, and in the wages of city employees. And then, of course, there will be the scrapping of the 5c-fare, another serious blow to the workers and poor people generally. The direct financial administration of the city by the bankers is most clearly a move to transfer even more of the burdens of the crisis upon the shoulders of the working people and the lower middle classes of the city.

Financial authorities declare that the bankers loan will only ease the situation temporarily and the city of New York will proceed rapidly along the road to bankruptcy, following Chicago, Philadelphia, and a number of smaller cities.

The control of the big financial interests over the government of this country, local, State and federal, was never so openly and cynically illustrated as in the New York City case. Not the so-called "government of the people", elected by the voters, decides the financial and other policies of the city but a board of bankers!

ALBANY.—A bill enabling the city of New York to extend its short-term borrowing to \$200,000,000 was passed in record time by the State Legislature.

U.S. HELP TO WALL STREET IS BARED

WASHINGTON.—The close connection between the State and Treasury departments and the Wall Street bankers in the matter of foreign loans was laid bare in the hearings on January 15 and 16 of the Senate Finance Committee's investigation of the flotation of foreign securities in this country.

The investigation centers about the activities of the State department in getting the reinstatement of the Barco oil concession for American interests as a condition for loans extended to the Colombian government. The statement of President Enrique Olaya Herrera on Aug. 7, 1931 to the effect that Mellon had told him in 1930 that the "settlement of Colombia's oil dispute" was the result of the (Continued on page 2)

NEW YORK! NEW YORK!
SPECIAL
Membership Meeting
Time: FRIDAY, JAN. 29.
Place: 228 SECOND AVENUE
Subject: THE DRIVE FOR COMMUNIST UNITY!
Admission: STRICTLY BY MEMBERSHIP BOOKS IN GOOD STANDING!

WORKER OUSTED FROM T.U.U.L. UNION FOR URGING WORK IN A. F. OF L.

Lifshitz Is Thrown Out of Metal Workers League

New York City
The expulsion of Hen Lifshitz from the Metal Workers Industrial League (the T.U.U.L. "Red") metal workers "union-to-be" throws a clear light on what the real policies of the T. U. U. L. officials are, within their unions and outside.

Lifshitz had taken active part in a strike in a metal (Durable Tool and Dye) shop recently and when the workers went on strike under the M. W. I. L. Lifshitz became a member of that organization. He had attended two of its meetings and had participated in its work. On January 8, 1932, there took place a general meeting of the M. W. I. L. About forty workers were present! The organizer reported for the executive committee and in his entire report there was not one word of mention of the big mass union of the workers, the International Association of Machinists, the pattern-makers, the blacksmiths, etc. Lifshitz of course criticized the report, outlining the nature of the

metal industry, the type of workers involved, etc. and emphasizing the failure of the organizer to mention the big conservative organizations. Even the recent T.U.U.L. resolution (October 3) insists that "work must be done" in the A. F. of L. unions, Lifshitz pointed out. Finally Lifshitz proposed that resolutions be introduced in the I.A.M. for the recognition of the Soviet Union since, for the machinists, this question is also a direct economic question, a question of giving work in connection with Soviet orders in addition to the general appeal from a class viewpoint. The chairman of the meeting kept on interrupting the speaker as he made these remarks. In the discussion a flood of abuse was heaped upon Lifshitz for his criticisms and proposals. He was called a "disrupter" and a "destroyer"; he was told that "together with Gitlow," he had "sold out the Paterson strike," etc., etc. The prize argument was, however, presented by John Steuben who suggested sarcastically that Lifshitz be sent in "to do work in the I.A.M." to see "how many groups of workers he can split off and bring over to the M. W. I. L." This is how the T.U.U.L. bureaucrats conceive working in the mass unions!

SOCIALIST PARTY MEET IN NEW YORK

(Continued from Page 1)

ported the Low resolution! The Hillquit resolution represented the old stand of the international Social Democracy—an appeal for a "hands off" policy coupled with a severe criticism of the U.S.S.R., with a demand for freedom for counter-revolutionaries parading as Socialists, and with the repudiation of the lessons of the Russian revolution for the world working class. The Militants brought in a short resolution which, although thoroughly inadequate, nevertheless emphasized the "building up of Socialism in the Soviet Union and sent fraternal greetings to the government of the U.S.S.R." At the same time the resolution "insistently urges upon the government (of the U.S.S.R.) that a greater measure of political democracy be granted to the Russian workers in line with the spirit of Socialist philosophy." The Bela Low resolution received 18 votes as against 87; the Hillquit viewpoint carried by 89 to 30; while the Militant statement was defeated by 29 to 89.

A sharp division also came on the trade union question. A proposal of S. A. DeWitt to build a "new labor movement" outside the A. F. of L., the I. W. W. and the T. U. U. L. received about 6 votes. The traditional S. P. viewpoint of "non-interference and cooperation" covering a reformist policy and support of the most corrupt bureaucrats, carried (80 to 46) as against the Militant proposal.

There was discussion on a number of other resolutions but the above questions were the most decisive. A motion to reinstate the clause about the class-struggle in the application blank was carried.

The outstanding feature of the convention is unquestionably the retrogression of the Militants, politically and organizationally, as compared to last year's gathering. The struggle of the Militants against the fetish of democracy, also conducted on the basis of an under "reformist" marks a definite step forward. But the new Militant standpoint on the "Russian question" is distinctly a step, many steps backward. Last year's resolution contained a fairly adequate analysis of the proletarian class character of the Soviet power and of the economic course of the U.S.S.R. in building Socialism and emphasized the necessity of utilizing the great experiences of the Russian revolution in other countries. The present Militant resolution is really a nondescript document—it does not declare specifically that the Soviet power is a government of, by and for the workers and that the Soviet experiences are of basic significance to the American working class. It, moreover, places in a very prominent position the demand for "a greater measure of political democracy. . . to the Russian workers", when, as anybody who has eyes to see knows, the Russian workers today enjoy a measure of democracy (not formal but real democracy) infinitely greater than the toiling people have ever had before in the history of the world. To speak of "greater political democracy" to the Russian workers" argues an almost incredible distortion of social vision. It is also a dangerous prelude for the future of the Militant movement.

At the recent Y.P.S.L. convention a certain differentiation in Militant ranks was visible—the appearance of left tendency in Militant ranks, or rather a resistance to the dangerous movement to the right. In the S. P. this tendency has not yet risen to the surface but its emergence would constitute a most healthy sign in the development of the Militant movement.

GERMANY REFUSES TO PAY MORE REPARATIONS

(Continued from Page 1)

ler outlined his program upon the seizure of power; 1. the destruction of all "anti-imperialist" organizations (Social-democratic and Communist parties, trade unions, all workers organizations on basis of class struggle); 2. the establishment of the "third Reich", a Fascist dictatorship; 3. the "regulation of industry and commerce", a state-capitalist regime; and, 4. the "revision of the foreign-political position of Germany."

The Lowest Depths of Degeneration!

We publish below an extract from a letter from Detroit. It illustrates in a most painful manner the utter depths of degeneracy to which people who call themselves Communists can fall. The Mooney meeting was arranged by the Detroit Mooney Defense Conference to which a number of unions, including the Detroit Federation of Labor, were affiliated.

"Not only did the papers sabotage it (the Mooney Defense Meeting) and the action of Walker created the feeling among many people that Mooney would soon be out, but the meeting was sabotaged by the Communist Party. Whether we like it or not it has to be admitted that they were effective in keeping many people away. At their meeting they instructed their membership to keep away from the meeting and to urge others, such as the unemployed workers with whom they are in contact, to do the same. They also sent out their members to tear down the advertising as fast as it was put up. In some cases we put advertising up in the same place three days in succession and it was immediately torn down. Members and sympathizers of the Party also went into organization headquarters and took out bunches of leaflets and stickers ostensibly to circulate and then destroyed them. In one case a barber allowed us to put up some of the large windshield stickers in his window. The next day they were gone and when we asked about it he told us that a friend of his that belonged to the Party came in and told him that he had better take them down or he would lose his customers."

"These things are not what we think but are actual facts that we know. I would not report this until I made sure. One of their members who works in a laundry in Highland Park openly boasts of the acts of sabotage committed by them. He told one of the Mooney Committee 2 weeks after the meeting that if he would come down to the district headquarters that he would find our leaflets being used for waste paper."

LEFT WING RAISES MILITANT PROGRAM AT FURRIERS MEETING IN N. Y.

Baraz Introduces Resolution Of Struggle

New York City.

On Tuesday, January 19, there took place in Bryant Hall a general membership meeting of the International Fur Workers Union. The order of business of the meeting was the new agreement expiring on January 31.

Before the meeting opened Kaufman had his people stand at the door and keep out good-standing members of the union from whom they expected "trouble," i.e., whom they expected to put up a militant fight. Not satisfied with this the hall was combed several times and more members were thrown out. Nevertheless a number of militants did succeed in getting in. There were about 500 at the meeting and about 700-800 were not permitted to enter!

At the meeting opened M. Baraz, of the Furriers Progressive League, protested vigorously against the shameful exclusion of union members and demanded that they be admitted. There was no answer from the bureaucrats. He protested also against the throwing out of members from the hall. No answer. Finally Baraz protested against the presence of police in the union meeting and as a result the police were made to leave.

Secretary Harvey of the Joint Council introduced a resolution of the Joint Council asking for the confidence of the membership in the conference committee conducting the negotia-

tion with the employers. In the discussion Baraz got the floor and pointed out that the disunity in the furriers ranks crippled the ability of the furriers to win conditions. Baraz criticized the T.U.U.L. forces for splitting the union and thus strengthening the hand of Kaufman. No confidence can be given to the conference committee or to the Kaufman leadership, he declared. In connection with his remarks Baraz introduced a resolution outlining the basic demands for the future agreement and declaring that the unity of the furriers in one union is necessary for maximum results. (The full resolution will be published in a future issue of the Workers Age). Baraz's speech and resolution were greeted with great applause on the part of the workers. In general the sentiment of the workers was distinctly against Kaufman.

The whole course of the discussion of the Kaufman supporters and Kaufman himself was bitter attack upon Baraz. Baraz, who had been promised to get the floor again to translate his resolution in Yiddish and to make further remarks, was denied another chance to speak.

Finally a "vote" was taken without counting and the chairman declared the resolution of the Joint Council "carried!"

The meeting showed the extreme difficulties under which the left wing and progressive furriers have to work in the I.F.W.U. but it also demonstrated the good opportunities for a left wing struggle.

—A Furrier.

U.S. GOV'T AID TO WALL STREET BARED

(Continued from Page 1)

concession would make possible the loan, has been quoted. The American holders of the Barco concession are identified as the Gulf Oil Company, owned by the Mellon interests and the Carb Development Corporation, controlled by J. P. Morgan and Company.

The Barco concession was reinstated by the Colombian legislature ten days prior to the payment of a final credit of \$4,000,000 to Colombia. The concession is valued anywhere between \$300,000,000 and \$2,000,000,000.

BOMBAY.—A savage campaign of arrests and repression has been in progress the last few weeks against the national movement against the organizations and leaders of the All-India National Congress in particular. Since the beginning of this drive about 800 men and women have been imprisoned in the United Provinces alone. In Calcutta, on the single day of January 22, 85 Nationalists were sentenced to prison terms.

The campaign of repression has only stimulated the liberation movement, however. The swing to the left among the workers, peasants and city petty bourgeoisie is proceeding at a rapid pace.

WASHINGTON.—James Rumsey Beverley of Texas has been nominated as Governor of Porto Rico. He is now Attorney General of the Island Government. His nomination is not likely to meet any opposition in the Senate.

RED FLAG RAISED IN SPAIN

(Continued from Page 1)

In Valencia, Plencia, Seville, Madrid and scores of other places, big strike movements were broken out.

MADRID.—A decree dissolving the Jesuit order and confiscating all of its property has just been signed by President Alcalá Zamora, it is officially announced here. The long-delayed official action of the government has come as a result of the irresistible pressure of the rising demands of the masses of the workers, peasants and city petty bourgeoisie.

WASHINGTON.—James Rumsey Beverley of Texas has been nominated as Governor of Porto Rico. He is now Attorney General of the Island Government. His nomination is not likely to meet any opposition in the Senate.

BIG UNITY MEETING IN NEW YORK CITY

(Continued from page 1)

from standing up and discussing! In spite of some attempts at rowdiness by some petty Party bureaucrats and Trotskyites, the discussion was sober, factual and comradely. All viewpoints were represented and the very important problems of trade union tactics and Party unity were considered.

Early in the meeting a resolution had been introduced on the basis of Gitlow's report, endorsing the steps hitherto taken in the direction of unity by the C.P.-Majority Group, portraying the need for Communist unity, outlining the road to unity and calling upon the leadership of the Communist Party to take the lead in the drive for unity. The resolution was adopted by an enthusiastic vote of almost the whole meeting. Hardly half a dozen votes could be found against it and about as many abstained.

The unity meeting constituted a decisive step in the movement to reunify the Communist ranks in this country. But only a beginning—the combined efforts of all Communists of all groups and the Communist sympathizers will be necessary for success.

PAMPHLETS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Clearance sale at reduced prices

| | |
|---|--------|
| Imperialism, by Lenin | \$0.35 |
| "Left-Wing" Communism, by Lenin | 0.25 |
| The Mass Strike, by R. Luxemburg | 0.20 |
| Proletarian Dictatorship and Terror, by Radek | 0.20 |
| Dictatorship of Proletariat, by Kamenoff | 0.05 |

Only a few left—Order Now!
WORKERS AGE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
228 Second Ave., New York City.

WORKERS AGE

Published every week by
WORKERS AGE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
228 Second Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Telephone GRamercy 5-1660

I have paid \$1.50 for 6 months subscription.
\$2.50 for 1 year

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____

Subscription sold by _____

Amusements

THE THEATRE GUILD presents
EUGENE O'NEILL'S Trilogy
"Mourning Becomes Electra"
Composed of 3 Plays—Huntington, The Hunted, The Iceman Cometh.
All 3 plays are presented on same day, commencing at 8:30 sharp. Dinner intermission of one hour at 7 o'clock. No matinee performances.

GUILD THEATRE
52nd STREET
West of Broadway
(Phone: Col. 5-3229)

The Theatre Guild presents
REUNION IN VIENNA
A Comedy by ROBERT E. SHERWOOD

MARTIN BECK THEATRE
45th St. & 8th Ave.
Tel. Penn. 6-6100
Evenings 8:40
Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40

8 RKO ACTS
including Lemuel Q. Scoop-nagle & Budd

JOHN BARRYMORE in "The Mad Genius"

HIPPODROME
6th AVENUE AND 43rd STREET



With the WORKING YOUTH

THE Y.P.S.L. CONVENTION IN N. Y.

(Continued from last issue)

The Jimmy Higgins
The report claimed an increase in membership of 40% in the last year and a working class composition of 50%. The activities were little more than doing the details. Jimmy Higgins work for the Party members, who are "above" such work. Their conception of work does not go beyond this, as the report of their secretary, Abe Belsky, shows. August Classen's speech was a good example of the Socialist party's attitude to the Ypsls. He treated their discussion with disdain, saying that, after all, the work of the Ypsls was to do the Jimmy Higgins work, the leaflet distribution for the S. P. during the election campaigns and so the resolutions and discussions may give the Ypsls some amusement, but do not affect the necessary Ypsl activity.

Two Warnings!
McAlister Coleman, in his keynote speech urged the Ypsls to become Militants and warned them that unless they went far to the left, their future would be a very gloomy one. We, on our part, warn McAlister Coleman and his Militant followers that, if they continue to move to the right in 1932 at the rate they have been going in the last half of 1931,

their present alliance with the extreme right, the Norman Thomas group, will become an organic union. A gloomy future indeed—middle class bankruptcy. If they move consistently, determinedly, to the left, to a really militant working class position, they must tread the path of conflict with both Hillquit and Thomas groups and find their way to the ranks of Communism. This perspective is clear enough to their opponents in the S. P. In the last issue of the New Leader, January 2, 1932, Hillquit writes concerning them: ". . . They consist mainly of persons who lack either the mental clarity or the moral courage to align themselves with the Communist movement. They are neither fish nor flesh in modern politics. In the clash of principles and policies within the advanced labor movement of our time, the choice lies between international Social-democracy and Communism. Hesitant spirits may delay the choice—they cannot forever avoid it." The Militants fear to look this choice in the face. They intoxicate themselves with a fantastic dream they will capture the S. P. in the near future, they will reform it, and out of the Maedchen fuer Alle they will make a virtuous creature. But reality has given their dream some unpleasant bumps: The Hillquit-Oneal stranglehold is not to be loosened so easily. So, instead of moving to the left, still entangled in false hopes of capturing the S. P., they allied themselves with the Norman Thomas group. "Perhaps," they hope, "that will give us the party." Anything, anything, to avoid and delay the necessary choice: either capitulation to the II International-Hillquit "Socialism" or Communism! We grant that the wrong, ultra-left tactics of the official Communist Party, its non-Communist regime and its wrong attitude to the leftward moving elements in the S. P., have not assisted in making the choice an easier one for the Militants. But the disgusting maneuvers and alliances of the Militants will not save them from the choice nor give them the control of the Socialist party. Hillquit has survived bigger, more substantial and more aggressive oppositions when outnumbered ten to one. With the cunning of a Czarist oil baron's lawyer, and with the help of the police department if necessary, he will protect the purity of Socialist principles from impious and heretical hands. The minority that revolted against the anti-working class sections in the Militant resolution—a sign that within the ranks of the Ypsls this wrong is slowly becoming understood—that they cannot remain "neither fish nor flesh" but must choose eventually between the rotten fish of international Social-democracy and the healthy, red working class flesh and blood of Communism.

THE INSTALLATION IN LOCAL 10

The meeting was called to order. The chairmen announced that President Schlesinger, General Secretary Dubinsky and all the managers of all the locals of the International, had been invited to the installation meeting. The results of the elections, giving the administrations 1300 votes and those candidates opposing the administration an average of 350 up to 550 votes, were announced. The newly elected officers were sworn in and then the speech-making started.

Most significant were the remarks of Breslau. He let the cat out of the bag when he said: "Local 10 and Local 35 were always the backbone of the International. Let Local 10 and Local 35 get together again thru a committee or something and save the International!"

This seemed to have the purpose of the meeting. All managers were invited to speak and every one of them hammered away at the administrations of Locals 1, 9, and 22. But this time these attacks did not go unanswered and the meeting, to the dislike of the managers and Dubinsky, developed into a symposium—as they called it. Levy and Kurtzman, managers of Locals 1, and 9, were present. Both of them spoke. Kurtzman especially answered Dubinsky's and Breslau's speeches. He stated that Dubinsky's speech was very good to hear to riot but not to clear up important differences existing between the locals and the Joint Board. "It was unjust," he continued, "to bring up the issue of the \$3.75 tax without stating the demands of three locals involved." He also answered Breslau on his proposal for a "committee or something for Locals 10 and 35." "The times are gone," he stated, "when one or two locals can enjoy comparatively decent standards while all other crafts are carrying the brunt of the evils of the industry."

—A Cutter.

50,000 HEAR COX IN PITTSBURGH

PITTSBURGH.—Some 50,000 people, mostly unemployed workers, gathered at Pitt Stadium on January 16 to listen to Father James R. Cox, Catholic priest, pastor of St. Patrick's Catholic Church here, report on the recent Hunger March of 10,000 he led to Washington and on his plans for "relief." The proposal to organize a new "unemployed party" was raised at this meeting and Father Cox proposed as its presidential candidate. A convention will be held in St. Louis on Labor Day.

"Our platform is our resolution," Cox declared, "a working immediate relief jobs and a five-billion dollar program of public works to provide the jobs, with increased income and inheritance taxes to find funds for the relief of the unemployed and farmers."

The conservative unemployed movement under Father Cox's leadership has already assumed serious proportions and now constitutes a grave challenge to the militant labor movement, especially to the Communist Party. Father Cox's whole movement, to which he has succeeded in winning the support of greater masses of jobless than the Communist Party has been able to do in two and a half years of work, is permeated thru and thru with a reactionary capitalist spirit. It operates thruout on the fantastic conception that a "sincere appeal" to the President will bring "relief." Therefore it frowns upon and discourages any militant labor activity on the part of the unemployed—which alone can bring any results. In a very real sense Father Cox's activities are demoralizing in advance any effective unemployed movement.

And yet the Communist Party is unable to meet the challenge of Father Cox. Its sectarianism condemns it to impotence—the rejection of the united front, to hopeless isolation. One of the most important contributing factors to Father Cox's success is the false and suicidal policies of the official Communist Party.

Ingersoll Forum
Pythian Temple, 135 W. 70th St.
Sundays, 8 P. M. Admission 25¢
January 31st
DEBATE—"Which Is the Worse, The Old or the New Testament?"
Woolsey Teller vs. Charles Smith
Atheist Tracts and Catalogue Free
Am. Ass'n. for Adv. of Atheism, Inc.
307 E. 14th St. New York, N. Y.

"A Big Meal For A Small Deal"
RATIONAL
Vegetarian Dairy Restaurant
199 SECOND AVENUE
(Bet. 12th and 13th Sts.)
NEW YORK CITY
The Home of Pure and Wholesome Food

Special Excursions to the U.S.S.R.
\$200.00
Round Trip All Expenses
Includes transportation to the U.S.S.R. on the largest and fastest steamships—Soviet entrance and exit visas for 30 days—Five days complete tour including hotel maintenance and full sight-seeing in Leningrad or Moscow—Return steamship ticket valid for two years.

One way \$132 up
TORGINS ORDERS
We will forward money to the U.S.S.R. by cable at the rate of only \$1 up to the amount of \$50 for which your friends will be able to buy food and clothing at Torgin stores at very low prices.
GUSTAVE EISNER
Official S.S. Ticket Agent
1133 Broadway
Cor. 26 St.—Tel. CHelsea 5-5080

CAFE EUROPA
and
Restaurant
317 EAST 13TH STREET
New York City
near Second Avenue
Tel Tompkins Sq. 6-9831.

Class Struggle in Workmen's Circle

Out With the Scabs from W. C.!

Call Of The Initiative Committee

We publish the declaration below at the request of the Initiative Committee. The letter of this committee to the press follows:

To the editors: Enclosed you will find a communication that the Initiative Committee of the Workmen's Circle Branches 16, 34, 368, 386, 417, 637, and 656 have sent out to all branches and members of the Workmen's Circle.

We have requested the National Executive Committee of the Workmen's Circle to give us the addresses of the branches of the W. C. The National Executive Committee rejected our request. In order to give all branches of the Workmen's Circle an opportunity to elect delegates to this conference, we are asking you to publish this communication in your paper.

With friendly greetings, THE INITIATIVE COMMITTEE of the Workmen's Circle Branches 16, 34, 368, 417, 637, 656 M. Kliebard, Sec'y.

To all branches of the Workmen's Circle:

The initiative committee of the Workmen's Circle, Branches 16, 34, 368, 386, 417, 637 and 656, calls upon all members and branches of the W. C. to place on the agenda a question which affects the vital interests of the worker members of our order.

The question, which has arisen time and again in connection with a series of economic struggles which our worker members conducted against their bosses, in the strikes of the silk workers in Paterson in 1924 and 1928 and the relatively smaller strikes of the paper box makers and the building trades, has once again arisen in its sharpest form in connection with the last strike of the silk workers of Paterson.

Over 7,000 workers came out in a general strike against the intolerable conditions which had been forced upon them by their oppressors the silk manufacturers. The strike was conducted by the united unions—the Associated Silk Workers and the United Textile Workers—and was endorsed by the American Federation of Labor. The National Executive Committee of the Workmen's Circle also endorsed this strike and issued a special communication to all branches.

This strike should surely have been supported by all workers. Especially members of the W. C., who pledged when they joined to support all economic struggles of the workers, certainly had no cause to scab in a strike where the workers were conducting a struggle for bare existence.

In the Paterson strike, as in all other strikes, the boss element fought for its own class interests as against the interests of the workers in the W. C.

Scabbing in Paterson assumed a mass character. About 200 W. C. members, commission manufacturers and bosses, employing a larger number of workers, scabbed and made use of all possible means to break the strike.

Limited space prohibits the printing of full details of this but we will bring a few facts.

Julow, member of the National Grievance Committee of the W. C., a silk manufacturer of warps and fillings, refused to settle with the union for many weeks and opened the shop on an open-shop basis.

Diamond and Perlman, members of Branch 106 W. C., manufacturers of the Brown Silk Co., employing some 50 workers, caused their strikers to be attacked and called police to arrest the pickets.

Frucht and Friedman, members of Branch 106 W. C., silk manufacturers employing 13 workers, interfered with a committee of workers who tried to bring the scabs down and called police several times to arrest the pickets.

Charges have been brought against 20 members who scabbed but the branches controlled by bosses threw out these charges. Fourteen of these charges are now appealed to the National Grievance Committee.

This cancer has now eaten so deeply into the body of the W. C. that these scabby boss elements are utilizing their job control. They openly threaten to make jobless any worker of the W. C. who dares bring charges against their strike-breaking acts. They threaten to blacklist not only those members whom they employ but also those employed by other larger manufacturers.

The initiative committee calls the attention of the members and branches to the fact that this is not only a Paterson situation, that the rash of scabbing has broken out in a number of other cities.

We bring here another fact from Branch 637 W. C., New York.

Holtz, a member of 637 W. C., held his job as foreman during the general strike of the pocket book makers last May. When his boss moved his union shop and opened a shop in Easton, Pa., Holtz helped to break in the new scab crew. Branch 637 expelled him as a scab and a traitor to the interests of the workers. The charge is now in the hands of the National Executive Committee for a long time

but Holtz is still a member of the W. C.

The National Executive Committee does not hurry with these charges. The investigations proceed at a snail's pace. At the beginning of the strike, when the indignation of the Paterson workers ran high, the N.E.C., thru its special representative Dinnerstein, authorized the District Committee to take up all charges. Now the National Executive insists that all charges must be brought individually—a procedure that will drag for a long time. The National Committee pays no attention to the peculiar situation in Paterson, where scabbing where bosses, members of the W. C., utilize the blacklist against workers who dare to bring charges against them.

The Paterson situation has not only exposed the ugly cancer of scabbing but also pushed to the forefront the whole question of leadership in the Workmen's Circle. Our Paterson workers have brought this out most clearly in their leaflet calling for a mass meeting of W. C. members for September 9:

"The present struggle for bread would have been won much sooner were it not for the spokesmen of our branches who parade as the keepers of all the virtues of W. C."

"We call upon the members to discuss what to do with these scabs who call themselves employers. Shall we continue them as our chairmen and secretaries and despots? Or shall we tell them that it's enough! As scabs let them go where they belong, not in the Workmen's Circle!"

Not only the local leadership in Paterson is in the hands of boss elements but also in the higher bodies of the Workmen's Circle are they well represented. The bosses are well represented in the National Grievance Committee. One of the N.G.C. members is Julow, one of the strike-breakers in the last Paterson strike. Another one is Savetsky, chairman of the Grievance Committee, against whom charges of breaking a paper box makers strike were made at the last nominating convention.

Is it not characteristic of the diseased condition of the W. C. where a

Grievance Committee of such bosses has to "straighten out" controversies between bosses and workers!

The initiative committee of the above named branches, considering that these questions are of the greatest importance for our members, that these questions must be widely discussed in the branches and at conferences of branch representatives, has therefore decided to call a conference of Workmen's Circle Branches for Sunday February 7, 1932, 10 A. M., at Stuyvesant Casino, 142 Second Ave., New York.

Dear friends, members of the Workmen's Circle! Our order, which was organized as the Red Cross of the Jewish labor movement, is in danger. We, members of the W. C., must not permit the boss elements in Paterson to strangle the protest of the workers.

Every worker who understands the significance of the class struggle, every worker who has kept alive the spark of class feeling must join this movement. "The scabs must be driven from the Workmen's Circle." "The leadership must be proletarianized!"

No branch should decline to do its duty at this critical moment. Elect immediately two delegates to the conference on February 7. Fill in the enclosed blank and mail it to the secretary of the initiative committee

Those branches which cannot send delegates because of long distance and expense involved should endorse this communication and join the movement to clean out the scabs and proletarianize the leadership of the W. C. Inform the secretary of the initiative committee of the decision of your branches.

With fraternal greetings, Initiative Committee Workmen's Circle Branches 16, 34, 368, 386, 417, 656.

M. KLEIBARD, Sec'y.

P.S.—The movement which the above branches started in the W. C. involved considerable expense. Branches joining are asked to send their contribution to the secretary of the initiative committee—M. Kliebard, 2420 Bronx Park East, Bronx, N. Y.

The Struggle For Freedom In India

THE TRIAL OF MANABENDRA NATH ROY

By Ajoy Kumar Ghosh

(Continued from Page 1)

spiry case, was rejected. After three sittings the magistrate removed the court back to the jail, because huge masses of people gathered around the court and the prisoner. An application to the High Court for the transfer of the case on the ground that the magistrate was prejudiced, was rejected, although the judge (Indian) expressed the opinion that the prisoner should be accorded better treatment and greater facilities for defending himself. The prisoner was not allowed to send telegrams to Ramsay MacDonald and even to Lord Chancellor, appealing against the arbitrary treatment he was receiving. His telegrams and letters to Gandhi in London, and members of the British Parliament like Brockway, James Maxton and Lansbury were held up. He was not allowed to write letters to the president of the National Congress and even to the leader of the opposition in the Legislative Assembly. The Nationalist leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, was repeatedly disallowed to have an interview with the prisoner with the object of arranging for his defence. All these unprecedented restrictions were placed upon a political prisoner under trial on the plea that the government was convinced that the accused wanted to use his trial for seditious and revolutionary propaganda. No redress for these petty tyrannies of the local officials was available either from the High Court or from the Viceroy.

In the magistrate court the accused was not allowed to speak. He was not even allowed to make a statement before the magistrate committed him for trial in the court of sessions. Such procedure is not even allowed by the laws of the imperialist government. The magistrate frankly said that he would not allow the accused to make seditious propaganda.

The charge against the prisoner is "conspiracy to deprive the King of his sovereignty in India", in other words, treason. The punishment can be as much as life imprisonment. In such cases even a semblance of fair trial is not possible in the absence of jury.

There is no reason why the prisoner should be tried in Cawnpore while the activities for which he is accused mostly took place in cities like Calcutta, Bombay, etc. Jury trial is not a rule under the British government of India. Only in some places and some specified cases the trial is by jury. At Cawnpore the offence which Roy is alleged to have committed is not triable by jury. Therefore this place has been chosen arbitrarily as the seat of the trial. In big cities like Calcutta, Bombay, etc., the trial should be by jury and no jury would give a verdict of guilty in this case. Besides in a big city the

trial would be the occasion for mass demonstrations. Even at Cawnpore the government is terribly nervous. They do not dare hold the trial in open court. When the defense complained to the High Court against the trial being held in jail, the government advocate replied that the arrangement was necessary to avoid public demonstration. There have been instances of magistrates holding enquiries inside the jail, but a court of sessions sitting in prison is unprecedented.

The accused applied to the High Court as well as to the Viceroy for the transfer of the case to a place where it could be tried by jury. The application was based upon the argument that as the issue involved in the case is the issue between the popular will and the established law, the court in trying it must represent both. The accused asked permission to argue personally his application to the High Court. The application was rejected without hearing the applicant even thru lawyer.

The trial in the court of sessions began on November 3. The prisoner refused to appear before the court sitting in jail. By the order of the judge he was brought to the court by force. All these things cannot find their way to the public, because the press, except the semi-official news agency, was excluded from the court. The government does not rely even on the ordinary courts of Cawnpore. A special judge has been appointed to try the case. This judge is notorious for inflicting barbarous sentences in political cases. The prosecution is conducted by a notorious police officer; for a lawyer in that position might have professional scruples about the illegality of the whole proceedings. But the judge himself makes up for the deficiency of the prosecution. He acts also as the public prosecutor.

The prisoner is placed under iron blockades. There is strict censorship on the news about the trial. The semi-official news agency sends out scantiest reports of the trial. The newspapers are warned not to publish even such reports. The government is particularly anxious that no news about the trial and the treatment of the accused should go out of the country. The correspondence of the prisoner and his friends are under strict censorship. Everything for abroad is held up.

In the court the accused is not allowed to say one word, except when his lawyers are absent. Whatever is said by the accused has been disallowed by the court. He is not allowed to call defence witnesses unless he previously deposits at the court the

Upton Sinclair and The Nobel Prize

The recommendation of Upton Sinclair, American Socialist novelist, for the Nobel prize for literature for 1932 has just been made in the form of an appeal to the Swedish Academy by 770 men and women who, under the rules of the Academy, are qualified to make nominations—being former Nobel prize winners, members of academies similar to the Swedish Academy, or university professors of esthetics, literature or history. The signers include representatives of fifty-five different nations, 405 from the United States, 79 from Great Britain, and a number from each of dozens of other countries. The Soviet Union is represented by thirteen names from the most important academic institutions.

The original impulse to the recommendation of Sinclair came from a group of well-known professors and writers, including Albert Einstein, Bertrand Russell, John Dewey, Edwin Markham, F. C. S. Schiller, Harold J. Laski, Robert Herrick, Robert Morss Lovett, William Ellery Channing, Harry Barnes, and H. Douglass, Harry F. Ward, and others.

The recommendation made by the distinguished committee and endorsed by the 770 academic figures, appears to us a very happy one. We are not blind to the shortcomings of Upton Sinclair's work from a socio-literary

standpoint. It is held in great contempt by the thinking workers and has always been fought. Nevertheless, the official press of the Communist Party, as I will prove in this article, not only drank deep from the vile cup of yellow journalism, but became so drunk with its spirit that it outdid yellow journalism itself. In the Socialist party, before the organization of the Communist Party, we had a development of yellow journalism in the Jewish Forward. The membership fought most bitterly against the Forward. It was held in contempt and became an adjective to describe what was most rotten, unreliable, opportunistic and despicable in the Socialist movement. Nevertheless, the official press of the Communist Party dealing with the Paterson strike, has exceeded the bounds of the Forward in its excesses of yellow journalism. The quotations I will now give should make every member of the Communist Party hold his head in shame. It should also arouse his indignation. It should lead to such

impeached academic respectability and presumably in their right minds should have found it possible to recommend the "propagandist" for the Nobel prize! They find comfort in explanations that unexpectedly expose the whole unsightly decay that lies at the heart of bourgeois literary criticism today. In the World-Telegram, Harry Hansen conjures away the unwelcome spectacle in a really worthy manner. What do all these "foreigners" know about American literature? "What does Allahabad know about America and American literature?" inquires the cultured Mr. Hansen. "What has Wu Lei-chuan, chancellor and professor of Chinese at Yenching University, got to do with American literature? How many books by American authors have been read by Dr. Bergelio Rodriguez Beteta of the University of Guatemala? Or, for that matter, by that well-known violinist and relativist, Albert Einstein, of the University of Berlin . . ."

America for the Americans! is the cry of our cosmopolitan and sophisticated literary critics? Only Americans can understand American literature or have any right to speak about it! But what then, we may ask, about the Swedish Academy, which gives the Nobel prizes? Are they not foreigners too? Was ever such narrow-minded philistine provincialism seen? And this is bourgeois literary criticism today!

blockade. There is strict censorship on the news about the trial. The semi-official news agency sends out scantiest reports of the trial. The newspapers are warned not to publish even such reports. The government is particularly anxious that no news about the trial and the treatment of the accused should go out of the country. The correspondence of the prisoner and his friends are under strict censorship. Everything for abroad is held up.

Let us examine the figures of the R.I.L.U. on the membership of the T.U.U.L. for 1931:

- 1. National Miners Union 1,850
2. National Textile Workers (of these 500 pay no dues) 1,850

Those retaining any doubts as to the necessity of carrying on a determined, principled struggle to change the sectarian line, the ultra-left policies of the Communist Party need only to read the article on the "Plumage in Membership" in the last issue of the R.I.L.U. Magazine (Dec. 1, 1931), the official organ of the Red International of Labor Unions. The article states that the membership of the American T.U.U.L. was, in July 1931, some 30,000 and "as compared only with 1930 the loss of membership amounts to nearly 50%." We will analyze the figures and show that the figures of 30,000 is a wild exaggeration, to put it mildly. It is significant that this terrific loss of 50% in one year, as admitted by the R.I.L.U., occurs during a period which it characterizes as one of "revolutionary upsurge and general and widespread radicalization of the masses." How to explain this contradiction is quite a problem. The explanation offered thus far is that the Party "lags behind the radicalized masses." When the Party finally catches up (it has been trying pretty hard the last two and a half years), then things will be different, we are told. At a rate of 50% loss in one year one can calculate how long it will take to "catch up!"

Cranting even 30,000 members, this number is totally insignificant in comparison with the masses of which the T.U.U.L. once led a struggle against the reactionary bureaucrats, numbering scores of thousands in the U.M.W. of A. in the "Save the Union Movement," in the left wing in the needle trades, etc. In comparison with that, the loss of 50% is hardly noticeable.

Let us examine the figures of the R.I.L.U. on the membership of the T.U.U.L. for 1931:

- 1. National Miners Union 1,850
2. National Textile Workers (of these 500 pay no dues) 1,850

The Paterson Strike and the Communists Yellow Journal "Communism"

by Ben Gitlow

The Paterson strike helped to expose the dilemma in which the official Party leadership found itself when before the strike took place, these leaders sensed that in a struggle of ideas, tactics and policies, they would not be convincing. They therefore embarked upon a campaign to discredit their opponents. They concentrated against the Communist Party (Majority Group), which was developing the united front tactics in Paterson and which as a result would certainly play the leading role in the strike. Calumny would be too mild a word to describe the campaign of attack which was initiated. Ideas, facts, the truth, were cast aside; lies, slanders, the wildest exaggerations and false charges were made in a frantic attempt to discredit the Communists who were organizing workers and leading them militantly in a struggle against the bosses. A Communist movement must depend upon facts and must advance with truth. But in Paterson we witnessed the most flagrant violation of this.

In the United States we have the special institution of "yellow journalism." It is held in great contempt by the thinking workers and has always been fought. Nevertheless, the official press of the Communist Party, as I will prove in this article, not only drank deep from the vile cup of yellow journalism, but became so drunk with its spirit that it outdid yellow journalism itself.

In the Socialist party, before the organization of the Communist Party, we had a development of yellow journalism in the Jewish Forward. The membership fought most bitterly against the Forward. It was held in contempt and became an adjective to describe what was most rotten, unreliable, opportunistic and despicable in the Socialist movement. Nevertheless, the official press of the Communist Party dealing with the Paterson strike, has exceeded the bounds of the Forward in its excesses of yellow journalism. The quotations I will now give should make every member of the Communist Party hold his head in shame. It should also arouse his indignation. It should lead to such

impeached academic respectability and presumably in their right minds should have found it possible to recommend the "propagandist" for the Nobel prize! They find comfort in explanations that unexpectedly expose the whole unsightly decay that lies at the heart of bourgeois literary criticism today. In the World-Telegram, Harry Hansen conjures away the unwelcome spectacle in a really worthy manner. What do all these "foreigners" know about American literature? "What does Allahabad know about America and American literature?" inquires the cultured Mr. Hansen. "What has Wu Lei-chuan, chancellor and professor of Chinese at Yenching University, got to do with American literature? How many books by American authors have been read by Dr. Bergelio Rodriguez Beteta of the University of Guatemala? Or, for that matter, by that well-known violinist and relativist, Albert Einstein, of the University of Berlin . . ."

America for the Americans! is the cry of our cosmopolitan and sophisticated literary critics? Only Americans can understand American literature or have any right to speak about it! But what then, we may ask, about the Swedish Academy, which gives the Nobel prizes? Are they not foreigners too? Was ever such narrow-minded philistine provincialism seen? And this is bourgeois literary criticism today!

blockade. There is strict censorship on the news about the trial. The semi-official news agency sends out scantiest reports of the trial. The newspapers are warned not to publish even such reports. The government is particularly anxious that no news about the trial and the treatment of the accused should go out of the country. The correspondence of the prisoner and his friends are under strict censorship. Everything for abroad is held up.

Let us examine the figures of the R.I.L.U. on the membership of the T.U.U.L. for 1931:

- 1. National Miners Union 1,850
2. National Textile Workers (of these 500 pay no dues) 1,850

Those retaining any doubts as to the necessity of carrying on a determined, principled struggle to change the sectarian line, the ultra-left policies of the Communist Party need only to read the article on the "Plumage in Membership" in the last issue of the R.I.L.U. Magazine (Dec. 1, 1931), the official organ of the Red International of Labor Unions. The article states that the membership of the American T.U.U.L. was, in July 1931, some 30,000 and "as compared only with 1930 the loss of membership amounts to nearly 50%." We will analyze the figures and show that the figures of 30,000 is a wild exaggeration, to put it mildly. It is significant that this terrific loss of 50% in one year, as admitted by the R.I.L.U., occurs during a period which it characterizes as one of "revolutionary upsurge and general and widespread radicalization of the masses." How to explain this contradiction is quite a problem. The explanation offered thus far is that the Party "lags behind the radicalized masses." When the Party finally catches up (it has been trying pretty hard the last two and a half years), then things will be different, we are told. At a rate of 50% loss in one year one can calculate how long it will take to "catch up!"

Cranting even 30,000 members, this number is totally insignificant in comparison with the masses of which the T.U.U.L. once led a struggle against the reactionary bureaucrats, numbering scores of thousands in the U.M.W. of A. in the "Save the Union Movement," in the left wing in the needle trades, etc. In comparison with that, the loss of 50% is hardly noticeable.

Let us examine the figures of the R.I.L.U. on the membership of the T.U.U.L. for 1931:

- 1. National Miners Union 1,850
2. National Textile Workers (of these 500 pay no dues) 1,850

Needle Trades Industrial Union 7,500
Auto Workers Union 14,000
Leather Workers Union 175
Leather Workers Union (Union broke up after incapably conducted strike) 450
Food Workers Union 1,900
Jewelry Workers League 60
Union of Building Workers and Lumbermen 1,000
League of Timber Workers 800
Agricultural Laborers League 800
League of Rubber Workers 600
Metal Workers League 300
Railway Workers Union 300

The wild exaggeration in the above figures is quite obvious. Almost half, 14,000, are in the Marine Workers Industrial Union. This figure is so padded off that if the last two zeros were left off, no one would consider it an error or an understatement, quite the contrary! The figure of 7,500 for the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union is inflated like a toy balloon. The process of deflation takes well over two-thirds off the claimed membership of the T.U.U.L. It is claimed that "20,000 persons joined the union during the last miners strike" but no one claims, even if the figures were true, that they are members today. The losses are so great, the bankruptcy so glaring, that not even the R.I.L.U. is able to fail to see it. In self-defense it puts the blame upon the T.U.U.L., its absence of work in the A. F. of L., its wrong attitude to the A. F. of L., regarding the 3,000,000 workers therein as a "hopeless element for the class struggle," etc. With this question, the so-called "turns" in the Party line, we have already dealt and will deal further in another issue.

In France the losses are described as "huge." The metal workers have lost in the recent period more than 50%, the miners 45%, and the textile workers 14%.

In Germany, where some gains are claimed (minute gains in a situation that calls for colossal advances), eight Red trade unions have been organized and it is reported with great elation that the ninth—a metal workers union in the lower Rhine—is now in the process of organization. This is the answer to the lessons of the American dual trade union centre, the T.U.U.L.—the unaltered continuation of the splitting course in a country like Germany, where the conservative unions have far greater membership than in America and where the sectarian course of the Party will have even more ruinous consequences than in the American T.U.U.L. in proportion to the greater size and importance of the German mass organizations.

a protest in the Party ranks that an end to such despicable, harmful practices will be made.

Here are some gems of the vituperative art of yellow journalism: When the amalgamation of the United Textile Workers and the Associated Silk Workers was being carried thru in order to bring about greater unity in a drive to organize the silk workers, the Daily Worker of July 16, 1931 treated the matter as follows:

"The Associated Silk Workers and the United Textile Workers in Paterson are merging their forces together with the Musketiers and Lovestones with the intention of providing a strike-breaking agency for the bosses in the strike."

When the amalgamation was actually carried out the Daily Worker of July 22, 1931 stated:

"This is a maneuver of the A. F. of L. and the Musketiers for which the Musketiers received \$3,000 from the Garland Fund upon the request of Benjamin Gitlow the Communist renegade. This is the activity of Louis Budenz, who was present at the meeting and engineered this action which is open strike-breaking."

To bring about greater unity thru amalgamation according to the Daily Worker is "strike-breaking."

On July 27, 1931 the following blast appeared in the Daily Worker: "Renegade gives support to Paterson Strike Breakers—Gitlow in vicious attack against National Textile Workers Union—Benjamin Gitlow, secretary of the Communist Party (Majority Group), a group of expelled leaders from the Communist Party, has come to the assistance of the silk and dye manufacturers of Paterson."

This was a two column blast full of invective, scurrilous remarks, calumny, lies, misinformation—in fact, everything used in the art of yellow journalism. It continues: "The workers who are coming out on strike realize who are the breakers of the strike, the Associated and the U.T.W. officials assisted by Benjamin Gitlow and the Musketiers. Gitlow received \$3,000 for this dirty job from the Garland Fund and now is trying to deliver the goods."

The Daily Worker doesn't bother about the truth at all. The Garland Fund voted \$3,000 for a united front drive to organize the silk workers of Paterson. They never gave Gitlow one cent. Part of the money was turned over during the strike to the finance committee of the strike and never to Gitlow. It was one donation

of the Garland Fund that helped to unify and organize workers. But let us continue to examine the Daily Worker art of journalism: "August 3 is a strike-breaking day. August 3, or as Gitlow proposed July 27, is a strike-breaking day. It is now declared, the Associated will call a strike on July 28, it will likewise be a strike-breaking day. The strike has been on since July 22 and the Associated and U. T. W., with the assistance of the renegade from Communism Gitlow and the Musketiers, have been consciously strike-breaking in this way since the stool-pigeons of the bosses in the ranks of the working class."

What called out the frothing at the mouth on the part of the Daily Worker. The Daily Worker answers its blast on page 2 by its blast on page 3 of the same issue. I quote: "In a vicious attack against the National Textile Workers Union and directly aiding the United Textile Workers strike-breaking, sell-out scheme, Benjamin Gitlow, renegade from the Communist movement and secretary of the self-styled Lovestone Majority Group, injected himself into the Paterson Strike situation as an open strike breaker."

"The strike-breaking declaration of Gitlow was to the effect that the National Textile Workers Union is a strike-breaking agency uniting in the U. T. W. and Associated officials in their betrayal plan."

That was the time: to demand unity and one strike. For such a Communist crime I want to be repeatedly convicted. July 29, 1931, the Daily Worker characterizes the strike call as follows: "A strike call by the Associated and U. T. W. is clearly a betrayal of the workers." The Daily Worker of August 7, in its frantic journalistic gymnastics, in an effort to inflame a mob spirit in Paterson among the few workers following it, writes the following: "Word has been received that the stool pigeons in Paterson who are trying to get information from the workers of the Communist Party, who are foreign-born elements, and other information of interest to the police go regularly to Gitlow, Zerkow and Keller for identification of any outstanding individuals working with the strikers of the National Textile Workers Union. Gitlow knows them all."

At what fountain did the editors of the Daily Worker draw their information? Policies that require such vicious lynch-inspiring damnable lies cannot stand up. They did not. They collapsed with the whole structure of abuse, calumny, lies and imaginary journalistic claptrap that was invented to support them.

I have not the space to quote the foreign language press of the Communist Party and the other journals, magazines, bulletins, etc., that make up a hideous, shameful picture of yellow journal "Communism." I will just end by quoting from an article written by Israel Amter, secretary of the N. U. I. W., in the Communist Party, member of the Central Committee of the Party. It appeared in the September 1931 issue of Solidarity, the official organ of the Workers International Relief. Amter once aspired to be a composer. He attempted to think up beautiful tunes and melodious notes. Here are the startling facts culled up in the mere days of Amter and dishied out as the truth. The strike, according to him, was a grand scheme on the part of the bosses. I quote: "Therefore, the bosses, the mayor, the Chamber of Commerce and the labor factors got on the job. They had the money of other unions—the Associated Silk Workers and the completely discredited United Textile Workers Union—put at their disposal. They would call a strike on August 3, for breaking the strike. Mr. Gitlow, who had obtained \$3,000 from the Garland Fund for breaking the strike, had to split the movement between the Communist Party—Lovestones, Gitlow and Co.—the Musketiers (Musie, Budenz, etc.) and the reactionary officials of the U. T. W. and the Associated were the agents in the working class that they would call a strike on August 3, for breaking the strike. Mr. Gitlow, who had obtained \$3,000 from the Garland Fund for breaking the strike, had to split the movement between the Communist Party—Lovestones, Gitlow and Co.—the Musketiers (Musie, Budenz, etc.) and the reactionary officials of the U. T. W. and the Associated were the agents in the working class that they would call a strike on August 3, for breaking the strike. Mr. Gitlow, who had obtained \$3,000 from the Garland Fund for breaking the strike, had to split the movement between the Communist Party—Lovestones, Gitlow and Co.—the Musketiers (Musie, Budenz, etc.) and the reactionary officials of the U. T. W. and the Associated were the agents in the working class that they would call a strike on August 3, for breaking the strike. Mr. Gitlow, who had obtained \$3,000 from the Garland Fund for breaking the strike, had to split the movement between the Communist Party—Lovestones, Gitlow and Co.—the Musketiers (Musie, Budenz, etc.) and the reactionary officials of the U. T. W. and the Associated were the agents in the working class that they would call a strike on August 3, for breaking the strike. Mr. Gitlow, who had obtained \$3,000 from the Garland Fund for breaking the strike, had to split the movement between the Communist Party—Lovestones, Gitlow and Co.—the Musketiers (Musie, Budenz, etc.) and the reactionary officials of the U. T. W. and the Associated were the agents in the working class that they would call a strike on August 3, for breaking the strike. Mr. Gitlow, who had obtained \$3,000 from the Garland Fund for breaking the strike, had to split the movement between the Communist Party—Lovestones, Gitlow and Co.—the Musketiers (Musie, Budenz, etc.) and the reactionary officials of the U. T. W. and the Associated were the agents in the working class that they would call a strike on August 3, for breaking the strike. Mr. Gitlow, who had obtained \$3,000 from the Garland Fund for breaking the strike, had to split the movement between the Communist Party—Lovestones, Gitlow and Co.—the Musketiers (Musie, Budenz, etc.) and the reactionary officials of the U. T. W. and the Associated were the agents in the working class that they would call a strike on August 3, for breaking the strike. Mr. Gitlow, who had obtained \$3,000 from the Garland Fund for breaking the strike, had to split the movement between the Communist Party—Lovestones, Gitlow and Co.—the Musketiers (Musie, Budenz, etc.) and the reactionary officials of the U. T. W. and the Associated were the agents in the working class that they would call a strike on August 3, for breaking the strike. Mr. Gitlow, who had obtained \$3,000 from the Garland Fund for breaking the strike, had to split the movement between the Communist Party—Lovestones, Gitlow and Co.—the Musketiers (Musie, Budenz, etc.) and the reactionary officials of the U. T. W. and the Associated were the agents in the working class that they would call a strike on August 3, for breaking the strike. Mr. Gitlow, who had obtained \$3,000 from the Garland Fund for breaking the strike, had to split the movement between the Communist Party—Lovestones, Gitlow and Co.—the Musketiers (Musie, Budenz, etc.) and the reactionary officials of the U. T. W. and the Associated were the agents in the working class that they would call a strike on August 3, for breaking the strike. Mr. Gitlow, who had obtained \$3,000 from the Garland Fund for breaking the strike, had to split the movement between the Communist Party—Lovestones, Gitlow and Co.—the Musketiers (Musie, Budenz, etc.) and the reactionary officials of the U. T. W. and the Associated were the agents in the working class that they would call a strike on August 3, for breaking the strike. Mr. Gitlow, who had obtained \$3,000 from the Garland Fund for breaking the strike, had to split the movement between the Communist Party—Lovestones, Gitlow and Co.—the Musketiers (Musie, Budenz, etc.) and the reactionary officials of the U. T. W. and the Associated were the agents in the working class that they would call a strike on August 3, for breaking the strike. Mr. Gitlow, who had obtained \$3,000 from the Garland Fund for breaking the strike, had to split the movement between the Communist Party—Lovestones, Gitlow and Co.—the Musketiers (Musie, Budenz, etc.) and the reactionary officials of the U. T. W. and the Associated were the agents in the working class that they would call a strike on August 3, for breaking the strike. Mr. Gitlow, who had obtained \$3,000 from the Garland Fund for breaking the strike, had to split the movement between the Communist Party—Lovestones, Gitlow and Co.—the Musketiers (Musie, Budenz, etc.) and the reactionary officials of the U. T. W. and the Associated were the agents in the working class that they would call a strike on August 3, for breaking the strike. Mr. Gitlow, who had obtained \$3,000 from the Garland Fund for breaking the strike, had to split the movement between the Communist Party—Lovestones, Gitlow and Co.—the Musketiers (Musie, Budenz, etc.) and the reactionary officials of the U. T. W. and the Associated were the agents in the working class that they would call a strike on August 3, for breaking the strike. Mr. Gitlow, who had obtained \$3,000 from the Garland Fund for breaking the strike, had to split the movement between the Communist Party—Lovestones, Gitlow and Co.—the Musketiers (Musie, Budenz, etc.) and the reactionary officials of the U. T. W. and the Associated were the agents in the working class that they would call a strike on August 3, for breaking the strike. Mr. Gitlow, who had obtained \$3,000 from the Garland Fund for breaking the strike, had to split the movement between the Communist Party—Lovestones, Gitlow and Co.—the Musketiers (Musie, Budenz, etc.) and the reactionary officials of the U. T. W. and the Associated were the agents in the working class that they would call a strike on August 3, for breaking the strike. Mr. Gitlow, who had obtained \$3,000 from the Garland Fund for breaking the strike, had to split the movement between the Communist Party—Lovestones, Gitlow and Co.—the Musketiers (Musie, Budenz, etc.) and the reactionary officials of the U. T. W.

Workers Age

Published Weekly by the
 Workers Age Publishing Assn., 228 Second Ave., New York, N. Y.
 Phone: GRamercy 5-1660
JAY LOVESTONE, Editor **B. D. WOLFE, Associate Editor**
WILL HERBERG, Managing Editor **ALBERT BELL, Business Mgr.**
 Organ of the National Council of the
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A. (Majority Group)
BEN GITLOW, Secretary
 Subscription rates: Foreign \$3.50 a year—\$2.00 six mos.—Domestic \$2.50
 a year; \$1.50 six mos.; 5 cents a copy.
 Application for second class mailing entry pending.

VOL. I. No. 2 Saturday, January 30, 1932.

A TELEGRAM TO YOU

EVERY READER!
 EVERYWHERE!
 URGENT ISN'T THE WORD. FACING MOST CRITICAL FINANCIAL SITUATION OF OUR EXISTENCE DESPITE CONSTANT IMPROVEMENT AND EXTENSION OF INFLUENCE OF OUR ORGAN. EMERGENCY RELIEF IS IMPERATIVE. OTHERWISE THIS THE LAST ISSUE OF WORKERS AGE. REALIZE HARDSHIPS ALL WORKERS FACING BUT HAVE NO OTHER COURSE EXCEPT APPEAL TO WORKING CLASS LOYALTY PROLETARIAN DEVOTION OF OUR READERS. THIS IS OUR FIRST APPEAL FOR WORKERS AGE. WE COUNT ON IMMEDIATE SUBSTANTIAL SUPPORT OF ALL SUBSCRIBERS READERS FRIENDS. AIR MAIL RUSH DONATIONS TO SAVE WORKERS AGE INSTANT REAL HELP AND GROWTH OR IMMEDIATE RUIN. WHICH WILL YOU CHOOSE? WE LEAVE IT TO YOU. WE RELY ON YOU SET AN EXAMPLE. DO IT TODAY. DO IT WELL.
 WORKERS AGE.

THE EVENTS IN HONOLULU

THE recent events in Honolulu, climaxing in the lynch murder of Joseph Kahahawai, have thrown a devastating searchlight upon the American imperialist regime in Hawaii. It is one of those situations that are not so important in themselves but are of tremendous consequence in their implications. Every American worker and farmer, every liberty-loving American man and woman, should think and think deeply about the meaning of the Honolulu events.

With all the well-known arts of American advertising, Yankee imperialism has succeeded in spreading the utterly vicious fable of the "civilizing mission" of the big stick. Schools, roads, sanitation, tooth-brushes, happy shining faces beaming with gratitude. These carefully conceived fantasies are believed not only by the eternally credulous liberals but by large numbers of workers as well. Surely the Honolulu events should be enough to tear aside the tawdry curtain and to expose the rotten truth in all its rottenness.

The true symbol of Wall Street's "civilizing mission" is the rope and faggot and the color-line—lynch-law! This is the symbol of American "democracy" at home and therefore becomes the chief object of American political export to the colonies. Joseph Kahahawai, the victim of the representatives of American "democracy" in Hawaii, the white armed forces, was freed by the court because a jury, consisting partly of white American residents of Honolulu, could not agree on his guilt or innocence. He was awaiting a second trial. But to the "chivalrous" naval lieutenant (he comes from Kentucky), it seemed a scandalous outrage that such formalities should be wasted upon a mere native and a "nigger" at that! Such things simply aren't done in this "land of the free"—and Hawaii must be "Americanized." What followed—the kidnapping and murder of the Hawaiian—proceeded along the best American models. And the hundreds of congratulatory telegrams received by Massie and his fellow-murderers from ecstatic admirers in the U. S. A., the extremely polite attitude of the naval authorities, the unspeakable articles and news reports in the American press, show how thoroughly in accord with American ideals of colonial domination is the extension of lynch-law to Hawaii.

The Honolulu events dramatize in an unforgettable manner the bitter, if frequently suppressed antagonism of the masses of the Hawaiian people against the white American oppressors but above all against the white American soldiery. In a letter to the "New York Evening Post" (January 13), an "Army Man" makes the following statement:

"If the victim of such attacks is a civilian woman, the courts punish the guilty. But if the woman is from a service family, the perpetrators of rape against her are let off with light punishment by the courts."

Could a more scathing denunciation of the Yankee iron heel be indited by the worst enemy of American imperialism than these words of a savage army officer? Quite apart from the accuracy of the facts, it is clear that the officer quite unconsciously makes the annihilating admission that the unquenchable hatred of the Hawaiian population against the official bearers of American colonial oppression, the American soldiery, is so great that personal crimes against them or their relatives simply cannot be punished in courts made up of Hawaiians. In the strict sense of the word, the American soldiers are considered outside the pale of human relations by the masses of the Hawaiians. This is the net result, and the well deserved result, of America's "civilizing mission!"

It should be a burning shame to the American masses that in their name millions of colored people are being so mercilessly oppressed that the very name of America has become a byword and a curse. The deepest interests of the American workers and farmers, of all people who prize liberty and justice, demand that the chains of slavery be stricken off, that the iron heel be torn away and the Hawaiian people be given their freedom.

The right of self-determination for the Hawaiian people! Withdraw American troops from the islands! Freedom for all colonies of Yankee imperialism!

Workers Age Publishing Ass'n

Publisher of the "Workers Age," a weekly newspaper devoted to the interests of the workers. — A militant fighting, working class paper. — Stands for left wing and Communist unity.

Shares \$5.00 Each

Membership gives you the right to attend meetings of the Association, to vote on all editorial and administrative matters and to participate in the selection of editors and the election of officers of the Workers Age Publishing Association.

JOIN NOW!—Fill out this blank and mail to: Workers Age Publishing Association, 288 2nd Ave., New York City.

I hereby enclose \$_____ in payment of _____ shares of the Workers Age Publishing Association.

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____ State _____

Science and Religion Under Capitalism

God in the Test-Tube

by Bertram D. Wolfe

HAS SCIENCE DISCOVERED GOD? A Symposium of Modern Scientific Opinion, by Mather, Millikan, Eddington, Curtis, Condon, Einstein, Huxley, Patrick, McDougall, Thompson, Pupin, Langdon-Davies, Stegson, Jeans, Lodge, Bird; edited by Edward H. Cotton. New York, Thos. Y. Crowell, Inc., 1931.

This symposium provides startling evidence of the decay of bourgeois culture. The capitalist class in its heroic days carried out a determined struggle to liberate science from the degrading position of hand-maiden to theology. The revolutionary bourgeoisie needed science and found a determined enemy in established religion. Therefore, the vanguard of the rising middle class was materialistic and atheistic.

But the bourgeois revolution ended in terror at the signing of the Communism and in compromise with feudalism and medievalism. The capitalist ruling class began by conceding that "religion must be preserved for the people" and ended by "silently dropping their free-thought, as a youngster, when sea-sickness creeps upon him, quietly drops the burning cigar he has swaggeringly brought on board" (Engels).

Nevertheless, as long as capitalism remained a progressive and expanding system, it dared not replace the shackles that it had struck off the limbs of the good giant, Science. Only one prohibition it placed upon the giant: "Keep your eyes on the ground. Plough your own field. Do not lift your eyes to survey the whole universe at once. Above all, keep away from the sign of Philosophy." And so the Giant did as he was told. Still he could not avoid feeling his strength and raising his eyes to look around him; when he did so, the earth shook and capitalism trembled.

The crisis in science has a twofold origin. On the one hand, the very progress of science makes it impossible to avoid philosophy any longer. On the other, the decay of capitalism carries with it a profound ideological decay as well, which seeks to impose on science a thoroughly reactionary anti-scientific philosophy. At the very moment that science is getting to the end of its chain, the chain is being shortened and made heavier; the striking off of the shackles is inseparable from the proletarian revolution.

Out of the Mouths of Babels
 This "scientific" symposium is adorned with a fitting text: "To children, who teach us more of Eternal Goodness than all the sages."
 What could be more appropriate in a book in which the sages set themselves the task of backing up the "wisdom" of the children and telling the frightened bourgeoisie that the spectre of Communism isn't real, but God is real and spooks are real and there really is a Santa Claus!

"All this nonsense (one cannot even call it "learned nonsense") is supported by the authority of some great, near and not-so-near-great names in the field of science. Alongside of Eddington and Jeans and Einstein are found the names of philosophical and scientific babblers and charlatan "psychic researchers." In fact, the clergyman-editor of the symposium (who boasts that he is listed in "Who's Who" as the author of "Theodore Roosevelt, the American" and the "Ideals of Theodore Roosevelt") has selected the contribution on "psychic research" of J. Malcolm Bird, which deals with mediums crystal gazing and ghosts that specialize in furniture-moving, as "the important paper which concludes this discussion." It serves Einstein and Jeans and Eddington right. He who goes swimming in a sewer must not object to the company of rats.

When Is a Scientist?
 In spite of its pretension to be a "symposium of modern scientific opinion," there is not a word of science, not a trace of the scientific spirit in the book. It furnishes evidence of what should be an obvious truism: namely, not every opinion of a scientist is a scientific opinion. Thus, the fact that Sir Oliver Lodge knows considerable about physics, mathematics and wireless telegraphy does not prevent him from being the most gullible victim of the medium-quacks and the table-telegraphing ghosts as soon as he gets out of the laboratory. And the fact that Michael Pupin's discoveries in electro-mechanics "have saved telephone companies \$100,000,000" does not obligate us to take seriously his contention that his researches in light and sound have proved that they are "God's message which calls you to his altar to praise his everlasting glory" and "the whole terrestrial globe is a cosmic church bell" . . . responding to the clappers of the "luminous stars" (for alternatively "responding to the strokes of the solar clappers") and adding its voice "to the celestial choir which is declaring the glory of God." Such stuff is not science. It is not even bad science. It is merely bad poetry.

The Gods of "Science"
 Along with the bad poetry the book is noisome with crude theology. The

more subtle contributors give Religion pointers on how to dress her withered old limbs in new garments, conceal her time-worn wrinkles in glittering enamel and make herself less unglamorous to a "modern intellect" (i.e., to a scientist trying to be religious.)

Drop your three-dimensional God, says Cotton. In the fourth dimension anything can happen! Define the Savior in scientific language, bids Millikan and calls Jesus "the finest qualities of universal energy thus far displayed by man." Science deals only with measurable things, says Mather—by the way, a methodological error—therefore let us make Jesus a measuring rod, "the standard by which each individual may gauge his own ideals of conduct and philosophy of life."

The more "enlightened" foreign scientists sound the warning: "Be less crudely anthropomorphic! God should be more tenuous and elusive. He should not put all His eggs in one basket. He should diversify His investments, so that if one stock goes down another may go up. Thus Eddington: "The religious reader may well be content that I have not offered him a God revealed by the quantum theory, and therefore liable to be swept away in the next scientific revolution."

But the American philistine "scientists," who make up the bulk of the contributors, do not even confine themselves to the elaborate refinements and sophisticated disguises of modern theological casuistry. They do not know enough theology and philosophy for that. Men who would be ashamed to offer the phlogiston theory or the theory of the four primal elements as something new, do not even bother to look up the past discussions in theology and philosophy; they dish up stale old arguments, hardly warmed over sufficiently to kill the mildew and proclaim these as the "latest discovery," science's "last-word" contribution to religion.

The "Science" of God
 And what theology these men of science offer us! Note that Millikan does not discover merely religion in the laboratory, but Christianity! Not merely Christianity either, but on closer perusal it becomes clear that what he found in the cosmic rays was Unitarianism! Conklin, Cotton, Mather, Millikan, Curtis and Lodge offer a God that rewards and punishes; Jeans makes God a mathematician working outside time and space; and playing with mathematical formulae which become time, space and matter. Eddington defines God as

"Him thru whom comes power and guidance." Pupin makes Him a great bellringer with the earth as a bell and the stars as clappers calling all scientists to church. Millikan finds that the Creator is "constantly on the job." Patrick makes of Him a "creative agency," an "organizing principle," a "drift or tendency," an "evolutionary urge," a "struggle for freedom," an "initial and eternal principle of growth and expansion." Cotton makes Him a "Supreme Architect," an "infinite control" of the electron and the supposedly expanding universe, a "power outside of us that works for righteousness," "Cosmic Purpose," "Eternal Reality," "First Cause" and "Eternal Goodness."

If only these scientific fellows make up their minds and agree upon some one "hypothesis" and "test it out"—since they insist that they can "find God by the laboratory method" (Cotton). Multiplying contradictory and meaningless words, piling empty phrase on empty phrase until there is a windy mountain of vacuity, never was a laboratory method!

Puns for Proof.
 It is a thankless task to analyze and refute all the elusive methods of "proof" with which these scientists satisfy themselves once they are outside of the laboratory. The favorite method is a kind of word-play proof by punning! Some writers play with the word relativity, jumping from the special and general theories of relativity of which they betray no general or special understanding, to the "relativity of conduct," to a God who "is inside the time process; but also outside of it." This, Cotton gravely assures us, "happens to be but one of many implications of relativity, indicating the contribution the theory has to make in the search for God." Others play with the word "miracle." "To the man of science," writes Mather, "every event is a miracle. Mather forgets that where everything is a miracle, there are no miracles at all.

The favorite, pun-proof, however, by which God is to be conjured into existence, is an endless playing with the word "spirit." "They worked," writes Cotton, "in the spirit of science" ("Spirit" is italicized). But spirit the "proof" goes on, is religious. Therefore, the spirit of science is religious! Therefore, science is religious! Therefore, religion is scientific! I am inevitably reminded of the old conundrum about the similarity of a line on a sheet of paper to a lazy dog. "A line on a sheet of paper is an ink line plain. An inclined plane is a slope up. A slow pup is a lazy dog. Q. E. D."

(Continued in the next issue)

(Continued in the next issue)

(Continued in the next issue)

(Continued in the next issue)

(Continued in the next issue)

(Continued in the next issue)

(Continued in the next issue)

(Continued in the next issue)



BETWEEN HAMMER AND ANVIL

It's The Cat's Fault

RELIGIONS & PHILOSOPHIES IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, compiled by Julius A. Weber, Wetzel Publishing Co., Los Angeles, 1931.

The title of this book, like that of the average magazine article, promises much more than it delivers. Spokesman of fifty-three religions or sects relate briefly and with incredible superficiality and with not the slightest inkling of historical origins, what they consider to be the main tenets of their creeds.

Since the publication comes from Los Angeles, it finds room for more than its share of mental and moral quack-sects: Rosicrucians, Metaphysical School of Health, Maha Bodhi, Mazdaznan Philosophy, Karma and Reincarnation, Jewish Science.

The one thing only stands out in the welter of words without wisdom and sound without sense, and that is the decay and disintegration of the religious outlook of an earlier day into countless vague and vague creeds that no longer believe in themselves sufficiently even to argue with each other. They read like the numbing ads of cigarettes, all made of the same tobacco but each claiming to be "different" if only in the cellophane wrapping, the convenient tab for opening, or the kissability of the fabric's devotee.

Incidentally, the root of American official religious toleration reveals itself in the impossibility of establishing any single state religion amid the jangle of warring creeds. Yet that does not preclude their common unity in the persecution of atheism as exemplified by the compiler of this book, who, his words drip honey of toleration, yet has no difficulty in excluding all non-religious philosophies from a book professing to be "Religions and Philosophies in the U. S. A."

B. D. W.

Wednesday, January 13, 1932, was the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Horatio Alger Jr.

Horatio Alger Jr. is not recorded as one of the major figures in American literary history and indeed his hunched, beak-nosed, and mediocre order. Yet Horatio Alger Jr., as a writer and thru his literary work, has exercised a tremendous influence upon three generations of American people. Horatio Alger Jr., as everybody knows, wrote books for children, most specifically, for boys. Who does not remember "Ragged Dick," "Mark the Match Boy," "The Fiddler," "Strive and Succeed," "Risen from the Ranks," "Pluck and Luck," etc. The plots of these books are incredibly naive, the action most artificial and forced, the conversation indescribably stilted and unnatural. And yet millions of boys have hung on to his every line as to enchanted words, have lived and dreamed in the world of his heroes, have followed his plots with fascinated wonder and with tense emotions. Until quite recently "Alger books" reigned supreme in boyhood's choice.

Horatio Alger Jr. understood the boys he was writing for. He proved able to translate the dominant religion of individualism of the American people and its colonial frontier faith in "strive and succeed" into terms that penetrated the boy's heart. His plots may seem naive to the sophisticated and stilted but to the mind of youth the one as well as the other are eminently natural and realistic.

Virtue visibly and substantially triumphant—wickedness visibly and substantially defeated; this literary motif runs thru all of Alger's work and this has won him his way straight to the heart of his boy readers. Alger's "virtue" and "wickedness" are the "virtue" and "wickedness" of a supremely individualistic society. The standards of militant capitalism and capitalist individualism are not only taken for granted but are taken for granted without even the shadow of suspicion that they may not, after all, be eternal and unchallengeable. It is this inner strength and self-sufficiency that gives Alger's militant individualism its propagandist power.

For without the shadow of a doubt, Alger's writing have been a most significant factor in "bourgeoisifying" the minds of millions of workers children.

The day of capitalist individualism is gone, or rather going, with the decline of capitalism. And the sun of Alger is setting. What we need today is to replace the capitalist and conservative Alger to win the hearts and souls of the children of the people to the aspirations for a better world and a better mankind.

Why They Lost Their Jobs
 Sir Alfred Yarrow has given us an intelligent explanation of the depression. "I used to get up at 6 in the morning and go on until 11 at night. Now they think it hard times if they do not get home to dinner at 7," said Sir Alfred. And as to unemployment: "A lot of young men these days do not stick to their jobs sufficiently—not as young men used to do. Young men have lost interest in their work."
 Sir Alfred turned 90 last week. Age gives wisdom.

Since 1911 the nation's wealth has doubled, the federal budget multiplied five-fold, and the poverty of the producers of wealth increased faster than either wealth or budget. "Every day in every way we're getting better."

Pity the poor National City Bank! It came to the State Department for advice on making a loan to Colombia. It was misled.

"The State Department," says Senator Carter Glass, "is morally responsible for every dollar lost on these investments. They had a clerk passing on the loans who didn't know any more about them than my cat."

From which we may conclude that Senator Glass has a smart cat that knows when a Latin-American government is friendly to American imperialism. The cat said: "It's all right. If they don't pay, so much the better. Then we can send the Marines." And the National City Bank took the cat's meow for it. Now the Marines will have to be sent!

Prize Contest!
 This column offers a handsome prize showing the accomplishments of the League of Nations in the Manchurian invasion. It is needed for a text to show school children how the League of Nations prevents war.

Starting The New Year Right
 The lie factories of London, Riga, Helsingfors and Chicago presented the imperialist world with a New Year's present of uprisings in the Ukraine. The immediate aim was to jack up the price of wheat. But back of it was the pious wish that 1932 should be the year of the great war on the Soviet Union!

The Messiah Must Be About Due
 From Jerusalem comes the news that the Hebrew teachers in the schools under the Jewish Agency in Palestine are on strike. It's almost as epoch-making as mutiny in the navy of the mistress of the seas! The old order is cracking for fair!

Notes for Boy Scouts
 This week's good deeds: Sheriff Farley shows he is not devoid of gratitude by thanking Judge Seabury for reminding him that he hadn't taken ALL the interest on the public moneys in his trust.
 Herbert Hoover evidences that he still has some sympathy with economic suffering by putting thru a measure for a \$2,000,000,000 government fund for the relief of suffering banks.

Garrett Williams, having lost a fortune in Wall Street, says he will not commit suicide, but will give his workers a 10% cut instead.

How Coincidence Coincided!
 Stimson denies that the State Department intervened to compel Colombia to grant the Mellon and Morgan interests the Barco oil concession in return for a National City loan installment. The fact that loan and concession were both completed at the same time in June 1931 was purely a coincidence, says Stimson. He can tell that to the Marines!

Darwin Reversed
 Nine thousand bills introduced in fourteen working days threaten to bury Congress in a mountainous blizzard of printed paper. Congress seems to have the prodigal fecundity that Darwin attributed to nature, but judging from the laws that are adopted, the prodigality of Congress does not result in the survival of the fittest.

King Hwuy and King Hoover
 In the year 335 B.C. the philosopher Mang (Mencius) said to King Hwuy: "There are people dying from famine on the roads, and you do not know how to issue the stores of your granaries for them. When people die, you say: 'It is not owing to me; it is owing to the year.' In what does this differ from stabbing a man and killing him, and then saying: 'It was not I; it was the weapon.'"
 King Hwuy said: "I wish quietly to receive your instructions."
 Mencius replied: "Is there any difference between killing a man with a stick and with a sword?"
 "The King said: 'There is no difference.'"
 "Is there any difference between doing it with a sword and with the style of government?"
 "There is no difference," was the reply.

From which it appears that 2300 odd years ago King Hwuy had more sense than King Hoover in 1932.

You Can Count On Him
 Those who tremble lest the substitution of Roosevelt for Hoover in 1932 will shake American institutions can rest easy. They have only to read these two sentences from Roosevelt's latest message:

1. "We see on one hand overproduction of food and clothing and close by millions of men and women who lack money to ward off starvation and nakedness."
 2. "The American system of economics and government is everlasting work."
 Rest easy. With Roosevelt in the White House the sacred institution of meeting great emergencies with moronic declarations will be respected and enriched.

Consolation for Hoover
 The president of today is the two cent stamp of tomorrow—maybe!
 —B. D. W.

HITLER-MUSSOLINI NAZI-FASCISTI

Symposium Supper — January 30th, 1932
 Saturday Eve. 8 P. M. at 228 - 2nd Ave., Cor. 14th St.

discussion on
The Great Menace of Fascism

SPEAKERS:
 ROGER BALDWIN—of the American Civil Liberties Union
 QUINCY HOWE—Editor of "The Living Age"
 JAY LOVESTONE—Editor of "Workers Age"
 CARLO TRESCA—Editor of "Il Martello"
 BENJ. GITLOW—Sec. Communist Party U.S.A. (Majority Group)

Admission 50 Cents
MAKE YOUR RESERVATIONS NOW