# WORKERS AGE

A Weekly Paper Defending the Workers and Farmers

Vol. IV. No. 15.

Saturday, April 13, 1935.

Five Cents

## At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

HE "temporary and relatively stabilized" regime of the official C.P. is developing a sense of humor, even if it is losing all other senses in doing so. Browder now conducts a "Questions and Answers" column in the Daily Worker. It appears that the cataclysmic turn-made by the official C.P. on the labor party question has confused and nettled many a party member. A disturbed comrade asks: "If the workers today are still not ready for the full revolutionary program of the C.P., then, why wasn't the labor party set up a few years ago, when the working class was even less militant?" Says Browder rather soberly in reply: "Just a few years ago the workers were not even ready for a labor party. They supported Hoover . . . and Roosevelt . . . But today a different situation exists. The masses are engaged in mighty class battles. . . . Their experiences have disillusioned them with the two old capitalist parties. . . . They are as yet not ready to accept the full revolutionary program of the C.P."

Of all the rancid unprincipledness and rank political dishonesty flowing from the loyal oracles of the official C.P. leadership, this reply takes the cake. "Just a few years ago" (1929) Browder, Stachel and puppets of their kidney dropped the slogan for a labor party because "nation-wide, deepgoing, genuine radicalization" was then sweeping the labor movement. "Just a few years ago," we, (now the C.P.O.), were denounced and expelled from the C.P. for challenging this fantastic evaluation. For saying this six years ago and not six years laterabout the actual conditions of the labor movement in 1929-we were branded as "renegades from communism," as "class enemies." Now, because the C.P. officialdom says it six years too late (about the situation in 1929), it asks the working class to follow its leadership and policies. O course, today labor is far more militant than in 1929. If Browder and his friends were right in dropping the labor party idea then, they are totally wrong in making goo-goo eyes at it today. If they are right in their belated and pitifully confused indorsement of the labor party today, then, they were logue. Hitler's announcement of univerfatally wrong in 1929. Plainly they could sal conscription was accompanied by open not be right both times. Actually they were wrong both times.

By arguing the way the Daily Worker does, the C.P. leadership betrays its contempt for the masses and indicts itself as unworthy of the slightest confidence cludes the Soviet Union. He thus placed of the workers. Apparently the C. P. burocracy thinks that the masses of workers are just plain dumb cattle who Soviet Union officially before England. must select their own butchers. Other-wise, the present party leadership would edly before the Berlin negotiations and it never stoop to such gutter methods, to seems that Hitler Germany had made such sub-sewer mentality. Or, perhaps sure that it could risk the coup de force we are wrong after all. Maybe the above-mentioned gem of a reply shows land's wrath). that they require no stooping at all, that they are just in their proper place ubian pact. Hitler's demands for an exwhen they answer that way? When planation of "non-interference" and his convinced, we are always prepared to insistence that Austria's "right of selfconvinced, we are always prepared to admit and correct our mistakes. We do.

ferences are now taking therefore, we in the U.S. are out of the danger zone of war. Than such folly we know no worse. Next year's military expenditures by the Roosevelt government will exceed \$800,000,000. This is the biggest war budget of any country in the world. Not a penny thus expended will be for bayonets to serve as tooth picks, for machine guns to constitute an orchestra, or for battleships to serve as cruising yachts for unemployed and overworked laborers and poor farmers. Business is business and it must protected for all customers, against all competitors and disturbers of the peace of profits and dividends. Page Japan, Germany, Great Britain and other friendly countries of today. Watch the awakening labor movement. Hence the giant war appropriations.

Here are some grains showing the dust storms of war and union-smashing in the making. Secretary of Statae Hull warns all countries discriminating against American business. New militia units are being formed and new armories are being set up—especially in the big industrial centers. For instance, at Fort Wayne, scores have just been sworn in to serve as Machine Gun Company of the 152nd Indiana National Guard. Troops are being held in readiness for the big rubber centers which recently took a strike vote. The Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co. at Akron alone has 1000 special deputies at its call. The Firestone Plant is now guarded by 250 "specials" equipped with helmets, tear gas, night sticks and other such potent (Continued on Page 4)

# GAS UNION STRIKES FOR RECOGNITION

St. Louis Federal Local Out As Gas Company Scorns Labor Board Decree

A new daily has just appeared in St. Louis—the Daily Strike Bulletin of the Gashouse Workers Union, Local 18799, A. F. of L. The first number appeared on the streets just as the workers struck against the Laclede Gas Company in a walkout that was notable for its completeness and its swift secrecy.

This federal local after months of struggle for recognition finally won a decision of the National Labor Relations Board ordering the Gas company to deal with the union. But the workers soon found that such a decision meant nothing unless backed by the strength of la

bor. So they struck.
The Laclede company has installed strikebreakers in its plant under the direction of Al Ahner, notorious as the proprietor of a rat detective agency in St. Louis.

The Daily Strike Bulletin, a remarkably well edited little two page paper has been invaluable in conducting the strike. It serves the double purpose of rallying the strikers on the picket lines and of keeping the public of St. Louis informed of the reasons for the walkout. It has responded quickly to an attempted bomb frameup by giving the details of the incident and making it apparent that a company provocateur and not a union man had planted the explosive.

The Gas House Workers' strike is symptomatic of a spirit that is growing in the mid-West-a realization that the rights of labor must be won, not through the decisions of this or that governmental agency, but by exercising the power of the workers to force concessions from the employing class.

#### KNITGOODS PICKET FIGHTS INJUNCTION

Thirty workers were arrested when the Knitgoods Workers Union began its struggle against an anti-picketing injunction last Monday morning, including Louis Nelson, manager of the Union. A mass picket line had been called in front of the Klein Knitting Mills at 54 Canal Street. As soon as the line formed the police swooped down and seized a number of these militant workers.

despite the injunction.

### SUPREME COURT FORCED TO REVERSE SCOTTSBORO VERDICT ON JURY ISSUE

Freedom For Nine Negro Youths Framed In Alabama Is Next **Step As International Labor Defense Faces Possible Re-Trial** 

By a unanimous decision the United States Supreme Court on April 1st reversed the legal lynch verdict of the Alabama courts which had condemned Clarence Norris to death for the second time and Heywood Patterson for the third time. Not only is this a tremendous victory in the struggle for the freedom of the

> practice of excluding Negroes from jury service and was a striking challenge to the whole barbarous system of caste oppression existing for the Negro, especially in the South, since the Civil War.

From the time that it first stepped into the case four years ago the International Labor Defense has carried on a relentless battle in the courts of the land that the Scottsboro boys might go free. At the same time it has focused the attention of the entire world on the situation in the South, exposing the cynical violation of every democratic right supposedly guaranteed by the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments.

While both the Norris and Patterson cases were sent back to the Alabama courts for further proceedings, the status of the two cases differs. The Court found no doubt of its right to set aside the death sentence in the Norris case on constitutional grounds, but it sent the Patterson case back for decision as to whether the lower courts will grant him a new trial. However, the fundamental question of Negro rights covered in the Norris decision is made by the Supreme Court to apply to both cases.

Four years ago, these nine Negro youngsters, none of them over twenty years old at the time, were slapped into jail, tried, convicted and sentenced to death for "raping" two white prosti-tutes. Despite all the evidence to the contrary, including the changed testi-mony of Ruby Bates, one of the "vic-tims" who confessed that the previous story of being raped was a lie, the boys have been incarcerated in an Alabama dungeon, while the white ruling class has exerted every ounce of its energy, planning, scheming, preparing for a lynching—legal or illegal.

The stage was all set for the mass murder of the nine boys four years ago. There was never any bother as to the guilt of the defendants. In less than three weeks after the boys were arrest-ed, they were convicted and condemned to death. It was this point that the ILD entered the case and exposed the lynch frame-up of the Alabama courts, halted the execution verdict, won a new trial for the defendants, launched a campaign in the courts and outside the courts through mass action that has so far succeeded in staying the hand of the lynchers and saving the lives of the boys. The recent victory in the Supreme Court brings the Scottsboro boys a step nearer to complete freedom.

The verdict of the Supreme Court was due to the overwhelming mass interest in the case and to the skillful manner in which the defense constructed the basis for an appeal by proving the systematic and arbitrary exclusion of qualified Negro citizens from services on the jury, solely because of their race and color.

The principle involved in this case was recognized by the Supreme Court as having been summed up in a previous ruling in relation to exclusion from service on Grand Juries, in the case of Carter vs. Texas.

The decision, therefore, concludes: "although the State statute defining the qualifications of jurors may be fair on its face, the constitutional provision affords protection against action of the State through its administrative officers in effecting the prohibited discrimination."

In examining the evidence, Chief Justice Hughes found that the names of negroes had been forged after the jury list had been made up in order to make it appear as though Negroes had been called, when as a matter of fact "it appeared that no Negro had served on any grand or petit jury in that county within the memory of witnesses who had lived there all their lives. There was abundant evidence that there were a large number of Negroes in the county who were qualified for jury service."

After thoroughly reviewing all testimony pertaining to this matter, the decision sharply criticises the Alabama Supreme Court for its complete disregard of all evidence on this point declaring in conclusion: "and in view of the denial of the Federal right suitably asserted, the judgment must be reversed and the cause remained for further proceedings not inconsistent with this opinion.'

It is so ordered.

This decision is of far-reaching importance for the Negro masses of this: country, and especially in the South. It establishes a precendent that now makes it possible for all Negroes brought for testimonial or even the lawyer's brief trial in a lynch court to demand that Ne-(Continued on Page 4)

#### The union will continue picketing Scottsboro boys, but thedecision also dealt a staggering blow to the illegal THE WORKERS HAVE STAYED THE SWORD—

NOW THE SCOTTSBORO BOYS MUST GO FREE!



# EUROPE

By AUGUST THALHEIMER

With Or Against The Soviet Union?

Germany clearly and emphatically stated its attitude on the problems confronting European diplomacy at the Berlin negotiations, the first day of which was taken up by Herr Hitler's monologue. Hitler's announcement of univerattacks on the Soviet Union. In the speech delivered for the benefit of Sir John Simon and Mr. Eden he stated unequivocally that Germany would not par-ticipate in any security pact which, inthe question of the formation of a counter-revolutionary coalition against the

Nor is Germany ready to join the Dandetermination" must be guaranteed point Some workers might give way to the a completely free hand in Austria. The questions directed to the English representatives simed to accurate the consentatives are consentatives as a consentative simed to accurate the sentatives aimed to assure Germany that England would not interfere even if Germany would turn Austria into a Reich colony.

maneuver. Its readiness to conclude an armaanyway and granting these as concesarming themselves more rapidly and vigorously than Germany. Germany is ready to accept armament control provided it is general and not linked up the native African peoples in every poswith sanctions. Such control is no control. Nothing will prevent Germany from emasculating such an agreement just The De Man Plan as it emasculated the military clauses In Practice of the Versailles treaty.

#### France And The

Others

Soviet Union, is vacillating.

An expression of this vacillation is that the trip of Laval to Moscow will national significance in two respects. be made only after the conference in First of all, the de Man plan is now

The reaction of the Little Entente na- land did not accept the de Man plan tions is clearer and more decisive. The 100%. That is true. Bu: Leon Blum, Little Entente is in immediate danger bethe leader of the French Social Democause of the frank manner in which Hitler Germany is aiming to attack the "The program of the coalition will very East and the South. The Little Entente probably be in the direction of the de is therefore urging the conclusion of the Man plan." In other words the de Man Eastern pact and has further indicated

that it will mobilize for war if Austria, Bulgaria and Hungary follow the German example and scrap the military clauses of the Versailles treaty.

Italy has already drafted the class of 1931 and has declared publicly that at present 700,000 men are armed. France forbids export of war materials. Thus negotiations are carried on amidst the roar of guns!

Abyssinian War Draws Near

Italy has noted a new "incident" at the Abyssinian border and again demands an indemnity. Troops are being dispatched to Africa continually. Abys-sinia has now formally applied to the League of Nations but England and France are exerting strong pressure in order to spare Italy the trouble of appearing. Thus Italy, protected by England and France, can continue to prepare for imperialist war in Abyssinia. The responsibility for this war lies with England and France no less than with Italy. It's to be expected that the consequences of this war will effect also the other two powers.

Reports from Italy indicate clearly that the sentiment of the people is against the African war. It can be safely said at this time that Fascist Italy of Comrade Breslow? by waging the Abyssinian war is hasten-conducted the case in the Lower courts. ing the revolution in Italy and releasing unfathomed revolutionary forces in all ber. The case was lost. The then Indeof Africa.

England fears that the revolutionary Hitler Germany is avoiding any real flame will leap from Abyssinia to the security pact. Everything else is just a Sudan and Kenya and the North and Rudin. The C.L.D.L. representative promaneuver.

| Rudin | The C.L.D.L. representative promaneuver. | The control of the contr a powder magazine. All of Africa has ment pact is only apparent; Germany is been undermined by the effects of the giving up demands which it could not get world economic crisis so the defense of the independence of Abyssinia can eassions. At the same time, Germany would like to prevent the other powers from the oppressed native peoples of Africa against the European powers.

The international working class must in its own interest aid the struggle of sible way.

The new Belgian government includes 5 Social Democrats, among them the leader of the Party, Vandervelde, Hendrick de Man, the author of the famous The French government, put to the de Man plan and Spaak, the leader of choice between Great Britain and the the left wing of the Belgian Social Democracy.

The Belgian experiment is of inter Stresa and the sessions of the League of Nations.

Stresa and the sessions of the League of Nations.

League of Nations put into practise. It might be said, however, that Premier Van Zeecracy writes correctly in "Populaire"

(Continued on Page 4)

# ORGANIZED LABOR **BACKS HIGH COURT BRESLOW APPEAU**

But Canadian Labor Defense Tries To Blacken Record Of Canadian Leader

The case of Comrade Frank Breslow, convicted for six months hard labor and three additional months, or a fine, and W. Rudin convicted for four months, on a charge of "conspiracy to intimidate" took on a new turn last week. While the case is being appealed to the Supreme-Court of Canada, it draws the attention of ever wider circles of the trade union movement. A delegation of the I.L.G. W.U., headed by the local manager, appeared before the Trades and Labor Council, and enlisted the support of this body for the case. This, of course, means that the case is becoming the concern of the whole organized trade union movement in Montreal. In Toronto as well, the local leaders of the A. F. of L. are beginning to take an interest in the case. It is hoped that the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress will take up the case at Ottawa.

But Labor Defense League to the Canadian Labor Defense League to the case The C.L.D.L. Frank Breslow was then a Party mempendent Dress Cutters Union, of which Breslow was manager, called a conference of trade unions to defend Breslow and jected by the majority of the delegates. It then withdrew from the conference, but instructed Breslow, then still a loyal member of the Party to remain in the conference. In the meantime, the union decided by a majority vote to affiliate to the I.L.G.W.U. Comrade Breslow was expelled from the Party for his stand on the question of affiliation. The C.L. D.L. completely withdrew from the case while the C.P. started a slanderous campaign against Breslow.

"New Commonwealth", C.C.F. organ, of March 23, a week before Breslow's conviction by the Court of Appeals, J. S. Wallace, District Secretary of the C.L.D.L. stated: "Frank Breslow and those now surrounding him associate themselves with the same line of defense, i.e., that the courts should clear him because it was the rank and file members of the union who were responsible for the many violent scenes. It is bad enough when an untrained worker squeals on another. It is unspeakable when one who has been lifted to leadership squeals on his followers to save his own spotted skin. The Canadian Labor Defence League is proud that it is not associated with such a line of 'defence'.

We challenge Wallace to show one instance, one phrase in Comrade Breslow's

(Continued on Page 4)

#### WORKERS AGE

Organ of the National Committee: COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A. (OPPOSITION) 51 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.

Published every Saturday by the: Workers Age Publishing Association Subscription Rates: \$2.00 per year, - \$1.25 for six months, - 5c a copy

Foreign Rates: \$2.50 per year — \$1.50 for six months

Entered as second class matter Nov., 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Address mail to Box 68 Station "O", New York City

Vol. 4. No. 15

April 13, 1935

#### TAKE UP THE CHALLENGE

O'T much stock need be put in the noisy threats that some high-priced labor union officials are now making about an immediate strike in the automobile and its polar opposite—but both in diminuendo.

1. That there is danger of the formation of a "Third" capitalist party. OT much stock need be put in the noisy threats that some high-priced labor industry. The auto workers have not yet recovered from the wounds inflicted on 2. That to avert this danger the masthem a year ago in the Green-Roosevelt pact. To add insult to injury, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. arranged for letting the busy season go by, for letting the production peaks pass, and only then for taking a strike vote when its

results would be immaterial.

Surely, these "boys" knew better. Clearly, it is not a strike that Green and his partners in labor misleadership wanted. Their ranting today about an auto strike is entirely out of place. After all they have done to provent a strike is entirely out of place. After all they have done to provent a strike is entirely out of place. After all they have done to provent a strike is entirely out of place. his partners in labor misleadership wanted. Their ranting today about an auto strike is entirely out of place. After all they have done to prevent a strike, work has been the "continued neglect to their present talk is useless and dangerous. It's only a barrage of camouflage laid down by the Executive Council to hide its shameful acts of commission and suicidal acts of omission. Now there is but one thing to be done: Carefully and patiently build the auto workers' union and systematically work up support for the automobile workers throut the entire labor movement. This is the only way in which the powerful auto magnates can be humbled and made to bite the dust.

However, no one can accuse the motor kings of soldiering on their unionsmashing job. They and their agents in the government have been wide-awake and quick to realize the full implications of the issues at stake in the momentarily

smashing job. They and their agents in the government have been wide-awake and quick to realize the full implications of the issues at stake in the momentarily as the political party of the working avoided conflict in the automotive industry. Strike-breaker Wollman has been nursing the company unions with the warmest of care, with studied motherly love to keep these scab outfits alive and flourishing. At the recent Washington hearings the auto monarchs struck a keynote which showed their counting on the full support of all employers' organizations in a showdown fight with organized labor. The spokesmen for General Motors, Chrysler and Ford minced no words. They not it something like this: "Detroit is THE open shop city of the country. Its of the government have been wide-awake these struggles bringing forth the CP working for working for work in the automotive industry. The molitant putting forward of the British Labor Party slogan.

1. The militant putting forward of the C.P. as the revolutionary party of the working for work in the Labor Party slogan.

2. The molitant putting forward of the C.P. as the revolutionary party of the working forth the CP. The confidence of the confidence of the confidence of the confidence of the c The spokesmen for General Motors, Chrysler and Ford minced no words. They put it something like this: "Detroit is THE open shop city of the country. Its biggest industry has never been seriously touched by organized labor. That's with the manufacturers have been able to pile up respectable profits and decent dividends. Let all other manufacturers take a leaf out of the open-shop auto volumes of Detroit."

More and more it begins to look like trade unionism's decisive battle is to be fought in the auto centers of Michigan and Ohio. The Grahams, Fords, and for mass break
They uncertainty in the analysis of the elections, on the question of mass political tions, on the question of mass political winders are even some glances action. There are even some glances toward the back door, a surreptitious trying of the lock in the following words, when speaking of the "2. . . . winning the support of these (working class) organizations for Communist Party candidates in election periods.

"3. Propaganda for the Labor Party words, when speaking of the "2. . . . winning the support of these (working class) organizations for Communist Party candidates in election periods.

"3. Propaganda for the Labor Party slogan organized from below on the basis of a struggle against the social the toiling farmers, and for mass break-

fought in the auto centers of Michigan and Ohio. The Grahams, Fords, and Chryslers have taken the leadership and are to set the pace in a new drive against when Washington against the A. F. of L. This is what they were driving against when they boasted that "no single union, and, therefore, no one group of labor leaders, has made such rapid strides as the automobile industry, and THE EFFECTS of the increased production are now being felt in other industries."

Working class action, in alliance with the toiling farmers, and for mass break-aways from bourgeois parties," or when, immediately after "bringing forth the class, revolutionary labor-unions or shop the toiling farmers, and for mass break-aways from bourgeois parties," or when, immediately after "bringing forth the slogan of independent that "the slogan of independent working class action, in alliance with the toiling farmers, and for mass break-aways from bourgeois parties," or when, immediately after "bringing forth the slogan of independent that "the slogan of independent with the slogan of independent of the third period has been quietly of the valuable funds of the "corporation dole."

The pivotal significance of the impending, tho presently detoured, conflicts in the toiling farmers, and for mass break-aways from bourgeois parties, or when, in alliance with the building of broad, the toiling farmers, and for mass preliminary condition.

What was correct here? The theory of the third period has been quietly of the third period has been quietly of the valuable funds of the "corporation of the toiling farmers, and fo

this field of American economic life, defies exaggeration. Here company unionism is strongest. Here that unholy blatherskite and budding Fascist, Father Coughlin, shricks most frequently and effectively against the A. F. of L. unions. Here the co-operation of the industrialists with the government leaders is most intimate and thorogoing. In fact, the machinery of government is indistinguish able from the machinery of the auto corporation in these centers. And no bigger banks ever dominated more securely giant industries than those serving as vampires among the slaves of the lathe, transmission belt and wheel in the satrapy of General Motors.

Hence, we are no bearers of ill-omen when we seek to arouse all workers in all industries to the challenge to labor as a whole hurled by the automotive vienness of the Dolfuss Government has answered financial and industrial overlords. We are not frantic alarmists when we insist vienna DIARY, by Naomi Michison the Dolfuss Government has answered over and over again that the house of all organized labor, the entire structure of American trade unionism, is now in the most precarious position in years. One need but note Mr. James B. Mooney's, (Vice-president of the General Motors Corporation), opinion of Hitler after a recent friendly chat with public enemy Number One of the German working class. To the open-shopper J. B. Mooney: "Herr experience of the heroic Austrian workber One of the German working class. To the open-shopper J. B. Mooney: "Herr Hiller is a strong man, well-fitted to lead the German people out of their former Hitler is a strong man, well-fitted to lead the German people out of their former Hiller is a strong man, well-fitted to lead the German people out of their former Hiller is a strong man, well-fitted to lead the German people out of their former indicates the Hiller is a strong man, well-fitted to lead the German people out of their former indicates the Hiller is a strong man, well-fitted to lead the German people out of their former indicates the Hiller is a strong man, well-fitted to lead the German people out of their former indicates the Hiller is a strong man, well-fitted to lead the German people out of their former indicates the Hiller is a strong man, well-fitted to lead the German people out of their former indicates the Hiller is a strong man, well-fitted to lead the German people out of their former indicates the Hiller is a strong man, well-fitted to lead the German people out of their former indicates the Hiller is a strong man, well-fitted to lead the German people out of their former indicates the Hiller is a strong man, well-fitted to lead the German people out of their former indicates the Hiller is a strong man, well-fitted to lead the German people out of their former indicates the Hiller is a strong man, well-fitted to lead the German people out of their former indicates the Hiller is a strong man, well-fitted to lead the German people out of their former indicates the Hiller is a strong man, well-fitted to lead the German people out of their former indicates the Hiller is a strong man, well-fitted to lead the German people out of their former indicates the Hiller is a strong man, well-fitted to lead the German people out of their former indicates the Hiller is a strong man in Scouth Dakota because it was each to lead the German people out of the Hiller is a strong man in Scouth Dakota because it was extended by the Hiller is a strong

gram of the entire open-shop offensive now inspired and led by the Czars in the auto industry It is a hellish defiance to every worker regardless of political affiliation a threat to organized labor to be buttered by the country automated and led by the Czars in the ences, that the Social Democratic leading the workers' armed upoff the three because they all got perfect ences, that the country is a hellish defiance to every worker regardless of political affiliation a threat to organized labor to be buttered by the country and the country and the country are accountried by the country and the country are complete and ultimate production at the country and the country are constructed by the country and the country are constructed by the country and the country are complete and ultimate production at the country and the country are constructed by the country are constructed by the country and the country ar filiation, a threat to organized labor to be buttressed by violence unseen in American decreased a policy of companies are naturally not be streets, scores on all the most scientific tests. ican labor struggles. There can be but one answer by the organization must pitch in to and workingwomen. Every trade union and labor organization must pitch in to help the auto union build their organization can be but one answer by the organization must pitch in to help the auto union build their organization can be but one answer by the organization must pitch in to help the auto union build their organization can be but one answer by the organization must pitch in to help the auto union build their organization can be but one answer by the organization must pitch in to help the auto union build their organization can be but one answer by the organization must pitch in to help the auto union build their organization can be but one answer by the organization must pitch in to help the auto union build their organization and labor organization must pitch in to help the auto union build their organization are also a proper the complex organization and labor organization must pitch in to help the auto union build their organization are also a proper the complex organization and labor organization must pitch in to help the auto union build their organization are also are also are also and conciliation with the climbing up and down stairs to locate build their organization are also a and workingwomen. Every trade union and labor organization must pitch in to help the auto union build their organizations and prepare themselves for a show-down fight with the open-shoppers at the very next favorable moment. Obviously, an auto strike to be effective must be waged by one united labor organization afan auto strike to be effective must be waged by one united labor organization affiliated with the A. F. of L., one labor union waging the strike nationally. Equally obvious is the fact that such a national auto strike can be won only with the active support of the entire trade union movement, the whole labor movement.

The coming months will decide the fate of all organized labor in the U. S.

The coming months will decide the fate of all organized labor will travel in the U. S. they were wavering at a time when the labor have been described were realistic.

for some time. As labor travels in the auto industry, so labor will travel in all other industries. Momentous tasks confront us. We must face them in a constructive, union-building spirit, with a sense of responsibility, fully cognizant of the seriousness of the situation. It is in the power of labor to turn the tides, the seriousness of the situation. It is in the power of labor to turn the tides, the seriousness of the situation. the seriousness of the situation. It is in the power of labor to turn the tides, to beat back the open-shop attacks, and to press on to stronger union organization, better conditions, higher wages-to a working class solidarity hastening and insuring bigger victories for labor than ever before.

Progressive and militant unionists and sound and constructive Communists must all join hands to blaze the path to labor's victory in these decisive hours.

| Solidation of the solidation of th

DISCUSSING THE LABOR PARTY.

# THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE LABOR PARTY

By M. C. STEWART

In the issue of the Daily Worker of among others:

Reviewed by E. M.

Smith and Haas.

But this also does not yet refer to the Labor Party. It is a premonition on the front page of the Times recently. of unease, of political and tactical dis-One announced that \$3,187,000 relief had December 1, 1934, the Pol Buro of the comfort. It is an attempt to cover up been spent teaching the unemployed how Communist Party analyzed the results of the November elections. On the basis ology. The Pol Buro was in a painful ler, Jr. was building a new Gothic of this analysis which contains much and embarassing state of transition museum at a cost of \$2,500,000. that is confusing and contradictory, the from the theses of 1929 to the resolu- A careful reading of the stories disfollowing conclusions were reached tions of 1935, and therefore, this ana- closed that the Times disapproved of the lysis contains the old "third period" line first item but thought the second was

And last but not least our investigaplavers.

The corporation dole must go!

however, was choked out of him by the however, was choked out of him by the hangman, even as freedom is choked out of the working class in every capitalist it takes you an hour you're smart. If it takes you an hour you're still smart. If it takes longer give it up and look for the bright young man's answer in next week's Hammer and Anvil.

reports, and his present position as of the effects desired, surrealiste dis-Secretary of the Communist Party (Op- tortion and dream logic, even Gertrude liberties. But we wish that a revolution-Steinlike phonographic repetitiousness ary poet like Spender would develop a The course will begin on Thursday, are employed. "Parade of the Executive," little more poetic discipline and self-April 18th, at 8.40 p. m., and will conless personal and less confusing, at-

#### Between HAMMER And ANVIL

MILLIONS WASTED TEACHING

the Commissar painted three red soviet raised their hands. Then one took his forehead?" asked the Commissar.

kratie-hoch! Freiheit!" The last word,

-THE BLACKSMITH

# **COMMUNISM AND WAR**

a consistent and persistent day to day

campaign to explain, to enlighten, to ex-

We are not fortune tellers. We can for-

see what is coming. But no man can

tell exactly when it is coming. Certain-

ly, we have never pretended to.

I think I have written more on war

than any other Communist in America.

I wrote a series on war in 1928 when I

was editor of the Communist and direc-

tor of the propaganda department of the

official Communist Party. I wrote another in 1930 when I was associate edi-

tor of the Revolutionary Age (today

ABOUT PACIFISM

that "we encourage pacifism". We do

Approach' Sponsored By

Louis Budenz

By M. S. MAUTNER

Here, Louis Budenz cries out for an "American-Revolutionary Approach."
The twistings and convulsions of certain

American Laborites to reach the Amer-

ican masses outside of or against the

CPO has for long been combatting.

such as the use of American revolution- anonymity.

war-making system.

You charge us Communists with ex- IS THE DANGER OF WAR aggerating the danger and nearness of war. It cannot be exaggerated, for we war. It cannot be exaggerated, for we communists with ex- IS THE DANGER OF WAR war". Once more a single quotation is sufficient to clear up a misunderstanding:

STHE INTELLECTUAL'S bayonets, and use them, not on each **COMMUNISTS?** are in a period of growing international antagonisms and mounting war prepara-

a little earlier? What would you have You charge us with being "against I, 18. August 1, 1930).

preparations: Miss the significance of all the peace talk? Go to sleep until war actually breaks out? Leave the working class unprepared and unforewarned? On the contrary, our analysis enabled us to forsee it. Our obligation is to carry on the contrary of the contrary o

pose, and to struggle against each step in war preparations. Only thus can we With this article Comrade Wolfe an- please don't evade this. If you're honest | scope. You seem to be fattening up a build up the understanding and organsucers five and six in a series of 11 ques- you'll admit that you have repeatedly giv- fine mess of skeep for a bloody slaughter, tions entitled "Things We Want to en the impression that War was so close If you have your way when you stage ization necessary to avert or postpone war. And failing that, only thus can Know", addressed to the Workers Age by you could touch it. And you're already your revolution those kids that followed we develop the mass organization necesan intellectual on behalf of himself and about seven years behind with your proph- your advice will be soft pickings for their sary to utilize the war situation, to put others who think like him. The entire esy. How come you were wrong? Please classmates who resisted your teachings a revolutionary end to the war and the letter was printed in our issue of March explain. But you are wrong in thinking that we 16, but for the convenience of our readers we are printing below the two quesYou encourage pacifism but you don't have exaggerated the nearness of war, pretended to establish an exact date.

Workers Age), organ of the Communist Party (Opposition). These writings are war for American independence in 1776.

neither untypical nor unrepresentative. In each war our attitude is determined

Examine them and see whether your by the social significance and class for-implied charges are justified. ces involved. We oppose all imperialist

"The Next War." They were alarming are ready to defend the worker's gov-

enough in all conscience and intended to ernment in Russia, as would be ready to

be so, for the facts they narrated were defend a worker's government in Amer-

"Of Thee I Sing"

Take the series in the Age, entitled war; we support wars for freedom, we

"1. Must I keep silent about things that I really doubt? For years you've been trumpeting that 'War is at hand.' You sound like Hoover declaring that 'Prosperity is just around the corner.' You've boys into the ranks and teach them how ine of modern times and yet you denv painted this world conflict as a matter of days and weeks. You're still shouting the warning—and I suppose if you keep to handle a rifle last to learn all they can Why not frankly admit that you restill shouting the warning—and I suppose if you keep to handle a rifle. If you are in earnest that that is provocative of War. We can't in desiring an armed revolution, why don't analyze motives in a case of that kind. it up long enough you're bound to be about weapons so that they'll be worth leads to War and that you think that right some day. Then I'll have to listen something to you when trouble starts. I War is justifiable? I'd like you better if to your elernal. We told you so'. Now can't see your position here with a tele- you did."

> The **ECONOMIC WEEK**

THE QUESTION

alarming. But this is what I wrote about the menace of war:

"Under capitalism war is inevitable. The coming madness is being prepared with headlong speed. It may come to morrow or be delayed a decade, just as the war of 1914-1918 was brewing from the beginning of the century and near-viously confused liberalism, communism by began several times before it broke out." (Revolutionary Age, Vol. I., Number 13, May 1, 1930).

And two years earlier in the series on And two years earlier in the series on Tages between revolution and counter
ica with our lives. I don't know where the menace of war:

(March 29, 1935) reports that there is "little change in surface conditions, "And that you war functions of that playing at soldiering is propagandistic, the development of the war spirit, psychology and morale at there is "little change in surface conditions. Car loadings are higher, largely in anticipation of a coal strike. Auto production remains high. Cotton cloth output is declining. Labor and unemployment relief problems now loom as the two most critical elements in the maching of the century and near-viously confused liberalism, communism and Norman Thomasism? Take these before it brokes and the two most critical elements in the maching of the century and nearly production remains high. Cotton cloth output is declining. Labor and unemployment relief problems now loom as the two most critical elements in the maching of the century and nearly production remains high. Cotton cloth output is declining. Labor and unemployment relief problems now loom as the two most critical elements in the maching of the century and nearly production remains high. Cotton cloth output is declining. Labor and unemployment relief problems now loom as the two most critical elements in the words for example:

"In a country like China, where war rages between revolution and counter-"

The state of the banks indicates the like of the war spirit, psychology and morale is propagandistic, the development of the war spirit, psychology and morale

Depressed and the page 714). bank loans were on poor million during the year and are now at their lowest lions and tens of millions.

Certainly you cannot accuse us of inpoint since 1918. Investments in non-point since 1918. Investments in non-point since 1918. Investments in non-point since 1918.

Now as to our tactics. You charge consistency or unclarity here. You write that we "carefully preach

not. Again a quotation will clinch the "Only under the leadership of the the doctrine that the building up of working class can a real struggle against military machines is a certain cause of

employed in loans and investments. These surplus funds that cannot and will not in them, is only fit to be oppressed and Communist Party?" prospect of profits parallel the surplus of goods unused because there is not

#### ACCUSATION "There are those who believe that the

antagonisms and mounting war preparations. Armies are bigger, guns more tions. Armies are bigger, guns more depowerful, fleets larger, gases more destructive, planes more numerous, plans more complete, peace talk more alarmingly frequent, than in 1913 on the eveningly frequent, than in 1913 on the eveningly frequent, then in 1913 on the eveningly frequent in word phrases and drive us into destroy other concealed appropriations, puts a heavy burden on the people and misuses funds that might be more usefully employed in fighting disease, relieving unmented to destroy the profit hunting the profit hunting of the profit huntin of the last war. Even the politicians at the head of the governments are forced to admit that now.

We forsaw it a little earlier? Warned What would you have

To admit that now.

When we see govemployment distress, in education (while than dollars, and exploitation, unemployend in fighting disease, relieving unthan dollars, and exploitation, unemployend in fighting disease, relieving unthan dollars, and exploitation, unemployend in fighting disease, relieving unthan dollars, and exploitation, unemployend in fighting disease, relieving unthan dollars, and exploitation, unemployend in fighting disease, relieving unthan dollars, and exploitation, unemployend in fighting disease, relieving unthan dollars, and exploitation, unemployend in fighting disease, relieving unthan dollars, and exploitation, unemployend in fighting disease, relieving unthan dollars, and exploitation, unemployend in fighting disease, relieving unthan dollars, and exploitation, unemployend in fighting disease, relieving unthan dollars, and exploitation, unemployend in fighting disease, relieving unthan dollars, and exploitation, unemployend in fighting disease, relieving unthan dollars, and exploitation, unemployend in fighting disease, relieving unthan dollars, and exploitation, unemployend in fighting disease, relieving unthan dollars, and exploitation, unemployend in fighting disease, relieving unthan dollars, and exploitation, unemployend in fighting disease, relieving unthan dollars, and exploitation, unemployend in fighting disease, relieving unthan dollars, and exploitation, unemployend in fighting disease, relieving unthan dollars, and exploitation, unemployend in fighting disease, relieving unthan dollars, and exploi of any country in the world). Because us do? Close your eyes to the war war per se? We have never said so. Why do we oppose war preparations? Miss the significance of preparations? Miss the significance of we are in favor of a revolutionary war in America? Because we know that the armaments government in America?

and learned how to handle a machine

strikes and crush workers organizations.

Then why are we opposed to militar-

zation of our high schools and colleges?

Because, in addition to the reasons al-

eady given, we know that the main

And so on.

other to wipe out mankind, but we must

AN ARTICLE IN THE SERIES

'THINGS WE WANT TO KNOW'

#### RUSSIA'S ARMY

of the Czarist prison house of peoples. It is a free union of free people. It seeks neither profits nor colonies anywheres in the world. It has abolished capitalism. It is building socialism. In the workers rule. Its Red Army is ot, to use your phrase, "provocative of var." It is a deterrent of war. It is he defender of the only land where the var-making system has been abolished. One last quotation: After the passage cited above which begins "We Commuists do not fight against war 'on gen-

ral'," follows another which reads: "Neither are we against armies and he military 'in general'. On the conrary, we are in favor of the working lass obtaining military knowledge, but or their own aims and not those of the ourgeoisie. Whilst we carry on a deermined fight against bourgeois armies nd bourgeois militarism, we are in favof a proletarian militia . . . and of the proletarian Red Army. . .
"The Red Army is not a Russian Ar-

the Soviet Union, but since this is the fatherland of all workers of all countries (the beginning of a workers world), it is an army of the international proletariat." (Communist, Vol. VII. pp. 714, 715.)

TOWARDS A WORKERS WORLD "Why not admit," you conclude, "that functions of that playing at soldiering your policy leads to War and that you

ont." (Revolutionary Age, Vol. I., Number 13, May 1, 1930).

And two years earlier in the series on war published in 1928 I wrote:

"Our struggle against war does not blind us to the fact that war may break out in the long run in spite of our struggle, because the very nature of imperialism is such as to make war inevitable until imperialism and capitalism are overthrown. But the struggle against war can give us a chance to strengthe out forces and build up today a power ful opposition to war at home and in other imperialist countries, as well as strengthen the Soviet Union."

(The Communist, July 1928, Vol. VII, Number 11, page 714).

Does that sound like exaggeration and alarmism or sober realism and contorns ense?

ABOUT PACIFISM

ABOUT PACIFISM

ABOUT PACIFISM

AGUIT PACIFISM

ACUIT PACIFISM

ACUIT

governmental securities were up only take the guns, by individual acts of hero-\$200,000,000. Compared to the peak of 1930, the banks have \$8 billions less which does not learn the use of arms, latership of the proletariat, when you mean which does not learn the use of arms, latership of the proletariat, when you mean the peak of the proletariat, when you mean the peak of the proletariat that the peak of th to posses them and to become practised dictatorship of the controlling faction of th

# enough money in the hands of the masses to pay the price. This is the great para-

Attempt To Steamroller A New City Charter

The city of Lincoln Park lies about 2 son. population of 12,000. In the production quired the annoying habit of asking for

One of the tragic byblows of the present line of the official Communist Party of the U. S. can be found in the March issue of the Modern Monthly.

International count of March issue of the Modern Monthly.

International count of March issues of the south of Detroit and has a population of 12,000. In the production what they want and organizing mass pressure to get it. They picked up this

United Front Defeats An season most of tis inhabitants work for Attempt To Steenwellow Ford or Great Lakes Steel. At other times they enjoy a long "vacation," and F.E.R.A. projects supply them with just enough to keep alive until the next sea

a few years ago. Though these have disappeared, the bosses correctly esticheating the city, it forgets that his first thought is for his family and that it is impossible for any family to maintain a standard of decency on the present relief allowance.

Indeed that the workers were even the one conscious of their own power and that something had to be done about it to prevent the idea from spreading. This allowance. Undoubtedly, all who are on relief are to the voters. By this charter the legnious idea of proposing a new charter find 100% honesty under our present the higher vote to sit for 4 years, the

### Lovestone to Analyze 7 Years of Communist History In Spring Course at New Workers School From Sixth To Seventh World al, which, incidentally, called for a world been tested in life and found to be

Congress Is Topic For **Eight Sessions** 

The Communist International has called for the convening of a Seventh World Congress, five years overdue, and has published the agenda of that Congress and officially opened up discussion. There can be no intelligent discussion of the Seventh Congress without a thoro know ledge and a complete understanding of all the important events that have trans-pired in the world labor movement and particularly in the C.I. since the Sixth Congress in 1928.

The crisis in the Communist Interna tional, which first sharply manifested it self in the German events of 1923, and further in the wrong and burocratic methods of handling the Trotsky Op position, did not come to a head at the Sixth Congress. The Sixth Congress was a Congress of conciliation, of compromise. It saw the initiation of the ill-fated "third period," but not a revolutionary upsurge on every picket line. It saw the "united front from below," but not "social - fascism." Its greatest achievement was the adoption of the Program of the Communist Internation-

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

The New Workers School opens its Spring term on Monday April 15th, one week after the original schedule. Courses are being given by Jay Lovestone, Will Herberg, Bert Wolfe, B. Herman, D. Benjamin, and M. C.

Comrade Herman will teach Problems of American Trade Unionism, and M. C. Stewart will teach Theoretical System of Marxism. All other classes remain as originally scheduled, with Bert Wolfe's class in The Nature of Capitalist Crisis taking place at 8 p. m. on Fridays rather than 7.

Today, under the pressure of its great

OPE.NS NEXT WEEK

been tested in life and found to be suicidal, the CI again begins to turn to suicidal, the CI again begins to turn to the line it abandoned years ago, the line it abandoned years ago, the line when the line it abandoned years ago, the line when the line it abandoned years ago, the line when the line it abandoned years ago, the line when the line it abandoned years ago, the line when the line it abandoned years ago, the line when the line it abandoned years ago, the line when the line it abandoned years ago, the line when the line it abandoned years ago, the line when the line it abandoned years ago, the line when the line it abandoned years ago, the line when the line it abandoned years ago, the line when the line it abandoned years ago, the line when the line it abandoned years ago, the line when the line it abandoned years ago, the line when the lin

American Communism from the Sixth to the Seventh World Congress. The instructor, Jay Lovestone, is exception—clarity that show Spender at his best.

The communism from the Sixth section powerful in statement, epic in sweep and of relative simplicity and instructor, Jay Lovestone, is exception—clarity that show Spender at his best.

The communism from the Sixth section powerful in statement, epic in with aristocratic English tradition and makes the to us quite indifferent disappropriate the history of the communism of the control of the communism from the Sixth section powerful in statement, epic in with aristocratic English tradition and makes the to us quite indifferent disappropriate the history of the communism from the Sixth section powerful in statement, epic in with aristocratic English tradition and makes the to us quite indifferent disappropriate the history of the communism from the Sixth section powerful in statement, epic in with aristocratic English tradition and makes the to us quite indifferent disappropriate the history of the communication of the community of the communication of the communication of the community of the communi ally qualified to trace the history of the American Communist movement by virtue of his participation in the organization of the Communist Porton Live 1982 and corruption of post war Vien-

tinue for eight sessions. The registra- tempts to portray the processions and appear in his collected works reduced to tion fee is \$2.00. Register now for this course. Come directly to the School, 51 wehr fascism. The poem reaches its high "The Death of Heroes." And then "Vienpoint in section about this and other courses. Heroes," where for the first time the poem.

VIENNA. By Stephen Spender. Random House. 87pp. Cloth. \$1.75. It is strange that Stephen Spender,

ization of the Communist Party, his may years as its secretary, his outstanding role at the Sixth World Condeliberate employment of obscenities to gress where he delivered one of the main shock the imagination into appreciation Of course, a poet is entitled to his sub-

by Bertram D. Wolfe

She asks "How can it possibly be such was of heroic fibre and died courageous-

tion revealed that \$295,000,503 had been spent by recipients of the corporation dole taking lessons in how to play bridge and backgammon. This waste is rendered far more flagrant by the fact that all of those on the rolls turned out to be rotten bridge and backgammon

with guns. Her subtle snobbery sounds A RIDDLE FOR

strange in a working class spokesman: REVOLUTIONARIES "It matters less that uncivilized, less The Commissar of the Soviet State of After all she has learned from the aware, less conscious people should be South Dakota was pretty bothered. He

> blind-fold off I want each one who sees When you figure out what colored star is painted on your own forehead take

The young men all said they did so Social Democratic leaders. The man down. "What colored star is on your

"Red" said the young man and told This can be figured out. If you do it

the line it abandoned years ago, the line of Lenin, the tactical line of the International Communist Opposition. And at the same time it calls for the Seventh World Congress.

The New Workers School is offering as a contribution to the Seventh Congress discussion, an analysis of the crisis in the Communist International, in the form of a course to be entitled, American Communism from the Sixth who desires to be a revolutionary poet, should continue to cling to a "modern istic" technique which renders much of his poetry inaccessible, not merely to the proletariat, but even to all but those of especially trained sensibilities among the intellectuals. "Vienna," his latest work, breaks strangely in two—a percrisis in the Communist International, in the form of a course to be entitled, American Communism from the Sixth section powerful in statement, epic in

An Answer To The 'American | Oneal states baldly that all he wants is a constitutional amendment. A movement purporting to be revolutionary sets about such an amendment? Comrade Budenz fails to show us—calmly forgets. out in the crassest form of reformism-

pure legalism. The most open opportun- Has the "son of the masses" forgotten ist of the Second International could his American History so much that he

Are 5 People Living on \$12.10 Weekly Chisellers? Mayor LaGuardia has organized a A Relief Worker Details The cheating the city, it forgets that his first too conscious of their own power and CP of the USA is some indication of the the "Chiseller's Bureau." This Bureau present position of the Party, and a will investigate all complaints concern-

direct result of the psychological reflec-tion of that ultra-leftism which the Relief who are not eligible under present which violated the regulations of the Now what is good in Budenz' ideas,
Now what is good such as the use of American revolutionary symbols, is not new, and has been better expressed by the CPO. The most under Home Relief consist? Let us exrevealing sections of his article are not revealing first the home relief budget. The spent only enough money on clothing in all of 1934 to give each family on relief system. But the number of relief responsible to the number of relief responsible to the higher vote to sit for 4 years, the system. But the number of relief responsible to the numbe revealing sections of his article are not his side remarks on the right to call upon the revolutionary traditions, but the program which he believes would win the American masses to the abolition of the american masses to the am

American masses to the abolition of the "Profit-System." Let Budenz speak:

"But, how will such an American Revolutionary movement proceed to its task? First of all, it will safeguard its integrity and give a focal point to the struggle by hasing itself on a proposed amendment."

"But, how will such an American Revolutionary movement proceed to its task? First of all, it will safeguard its integrity and give a focal point to the struggle by hasing itself on a proposed amendment."

"But, how will such an American Revolutions and the minimum budget granted by conceal and shop of the council, which is sole judge of the council, which is sole judge of the council, which is sole judge starvation allowances on Home of the council, which is sole judge of the council was to only natural for a family to conceal any small earnings. The desire to breathe the free air but the desire to b o the Constitution!

This is indeed an American approach
but whose and to what? Not even Jim

taken from a starvation level food allesire to have at least a minimum of tenement and clothe a family on \$16.10

taken from a starvation level food allesire to have at least a minimum of tenement and clothe a family on \$16.10

the was to have power to create or abolication in the families were living in flats which boastbut whose and to what? Not even Jim

taken from a starvation level food allesire to have at least a minimum of tenement and clothe a family on \$16.10

the was to have power to create or abolication in the family on \$16.10

the final say in all committee decisions, the family on \$16.10

the final say in all committee decisions, the family on \$16.10

the final say in all committee decisions, the family on \$16.10

the final say in all committee decisions, the family on \$16.10

the same family on \$16.10

the final say in all committee decisions, the family on \$16.10

the final say in all committee decisions, the family on \$16.10

the final say in all committee decisions, the family on \$16.10 basing itself on a proposed amendment taken from a starvation level food al- desire to have at least a minimum of

The Unemployed By EDITH McGRATH

-but whose and to what? Not even Jim ed of no private toilets or in tenemants it from the relief authorities is thereby

**Budget Allowed To** 

allowance.

# TO FOLLOW PATH OF FASCISM, REFORMISM TODAY There Is No Royal Road To anti-fascist fighter. But how far is it

Revolution Even Via The **Modern Monthly** 

(Continued from Page 3)

of the Constitution (see the Federalist)? Madison and Hamilton were sure that amendment system (and time has proven them to be correct) was so excellently knotted up that nothing could be passed except as a last resort of the ruling Moreover ,the Constitution as a whole is a bourgeois document, based on capitalist property relations, capitalist political structure etc. The essence of reformism is to ammend capitalist government structure. The essence of revolution is to scrap it and create a new structure. For Budenz, Marx and Lenir have lived in vain; the Paris Commune and the Russian Revolution are as if they had never occurred. But, of course, this is only necessary "safeguard its integrity.' Now in good American language, that means be so good that "they" won't be able to say you're bad. Or in the bad, bad "other-world" language, sacrifice the right to revolution, deny the class-struggle, for the crassest concepts of the German Social-Democracy.

But Budenz well read in his American history and ablest of its "Marxist" interpreters, has made an epochal discovery This amendment will strike a death blow to the Profit-System, even as the Thirteenth Amendment did to Chattel Slavery" (emphasis mine). The smouldering of the years 1820 to 1860 is forgotten, the progressively bitter Civil War (yes, Comrade Budenz, Civil War not constitutional amendments), the decade of revolutionary dictatorship of a military character in the South of overthrow slavery by the victorious North of bourgeois capitalism,—this is conveniently forgotten in the "American Approach," in our "revolutionary traditions" as Budenz sees them. "In a word," crete review of our development, show-he continues, "we will in this way, in ing the social roots of American phenogood proletarian parlance, (sic) 'Let up on hot air and get down to brass tacks. Will we?

Of course, it follows that, basing it self on an amendment ("essential for proletarian dictatorship. The American any real revolutionary movement in these Approach cannot be imposed, it cannot United States, in my opinion," Budenz be molded in advance. The American informs us), the state machine is OK Approach means the application of the for—not constructing socialism, which international essence of the revolution to is a wicked unAmerican way of talking the national form—not a hodgepodge of —but a "non-profit making 'Advance traditions used for no purpose, without America' government." And here it is plan, without arrangement. that Budenz begins to involve himself in Budenz wants to speak in the popular Budenz may be, probably is, a sincere of having something to say.

from fighting for a "non-profit making system" (which of course doesn't have to be socialism or communism) to fighting against "interest slavery"? And what about the memories evoked by that "Advance America" slogan? How will this "revolutionary" party differentiate itself the Constitution would be an excellent from the Fascists who shout "America safeguard against "the mob"; that the Awake!" (as the Khaki Shirts did)? Why should the masses sooner follow an advancing America than an awaking one? No matter what Budenz's intentions are, here he difinitely reflects the pressure of Fascist ideology. And this is not my discovery, for he says "Fascism has learned much from the externals of the Soviet Revolution, and the time has come for revolutionists to learn from the externals of Fascism." The revolution, Comrade Budenz, is such precisely because its essence is not demagogy, but reality-and it happens that demagogy, deception of the masses, are the "externals" of fascism.

The four point program which Budenz submits as a starter sparkles with the brilliance of a gem. If he gets power in any state he will "use the national guard and police against employers with strike bound plants." Budenz's American experiences seem to be confined to Toledo, but perhaps his Trotskyite friends can inform him about the Farmer-Labor governor Olsen of Minnesota who also called out the national guard and police "to protect the workers." Of course, once you shoot a worker, he is forever "protected."

Here is the end of the "American Approach." In the jumbled quagmire of extreme reformism, even outright bourgeois ideology, tinged with fascist phrases. Out of such nonsense can never grow a revolutionary party of the proletariat. What do we mean by American approach? Briefly, the application of the Marxist analytical method to the specific problem at hand. Not a general statement that the history of America is a history of class struggles, but a conmena. But—and this is essential—it must be an analysis of the specific, leading to the general form of the Proletarian Revolution, armed insurrection, soviet power,

strange anti-working class concoction. idiom-but he overlooks the small item

## COMMUNIST PARTY AND LABOR PARTY

(Continued from Page 2) British Labor Party, the CP was still is) unable to explain why the Cammunist Party of Great Britain now supports it, albeit in a shame-faced way?

And what about the "broad class re volutionary trade-unions" basis of the Labor Party? But in this perspective is really the crux of the whole question, it will have to be dealt with at length, later. It is enough to say at this point, that history has answered the question decisively in the negative.

When all the accounts are settled and the political balance is struck, if any thing is correct in the 1929 resolution it has nothing to do with the Labor Party.

How is it, then, today? Since the CP now supports the proposals for a Labor Party are not its resolutions corgiven for the about face on this ques-

they holl down to the fol lowing:

1. Since 1929 the CP has not considered the Labor Party practical but now "conditions have changed". "Life itself," says Comrade Browder, "places the Labor Party as a practical ques-

2. There is now mass sentiment for a Labor Party.

Let us take the several points contained in arguments 1 and 2.

1. The Labor Party is not practical. revolutionary movement in this country, forces sending forward a Labor Party, for the entire American working class not a revolutionary upsurge—it should This is completely incorrect. For the in general, the Labor Party is the decisive means of breaking the workers away from capitalist parties, and until it has accomplished this historic task the Labor Party remains on the agenda as a practical question. We shall show what importance Marx and Engels, beginning in 1877, attached to this as a immediate situation. Here also, so far practical question. If Browder, if the as the analysis goes of what the charleadership mean to say that conditions made it impossible, and only in this sense for the moment not "practical" to develop a Labor Party, then they must explain why instead of keeping up a general propaganda for it, they bitterly, virulently opposed the Labor Party.

Conditions have changed: What conditions? Did the Democratic and Republican parties disappear after 1929 and come back in 1935? Were the workers so politically advanced in 1929 that a Labor Party would have meant step back-ward, whereas in 1935 they are again backward enough for a Labor Party to mean a step forward? Not at all! The

period of the "decline" and "total decav" of the A. F .of L., of the "growth" of the revolutionary unions turned out to be quite the opposite. The A. F. of L. growing in membership and in militancy, the compulsory liquidation of the TUUL and the sentiment for a Labor Partythese are the new factors which the CP theory could not forsee and their appearance has caused a change—in the apologetics of the Party!

2. Mass sentiment, for the Labor Party. In the first place, this is not correct. A small minority of the working class has endorsed it, although unquestionably this sentiment is bound to grow rapidly. However, supposing the mood of the masses changes? Will the heoretical position of the Party change also? It is obvious that measuring the pulse of the masses does not take the Let us see. What are the reasons place of theoretical clarity on a basic question of aim in mass work.

and mass sentiment, is following, not planation. leading, the masses. When the masses thus point in the direction which the CP should have foreseen, that is to be taken as a sign of dangerous isolation, not as a justification for a theoretical course! It means that the confused, although often healthy, instincts of the workers are answering the want of Communisc leadership and Marxist realism.

When the CP is surprised by "life the workers going into the A. itself" F. of L., not into the TUUL; historical not a revolutionary upsurge-it should begin to realize that the revolutionary movement is not made according to specifications drawn up in a blue print manual. Neither will the Labor Party arise purely according to "revolutionary" designs, but as determined by the dev elopment of the workers and of the immediate situation. Here also, so far acter of the Labor Party will be, and what Communists must anticipate as most likely in such a movement, the Party will again be surprised by history. This we leave to the next article for discussion.

> JOIN the

**Communist Opposition** 

51. West 14th Street New York City

(Continued) from Page 1)

plan will be put into practise to the ex tent to which it can be realized under bourgeois conditions at all. It was nev er intended for other conditions. It is the de Man plan therefore which is being tested and this is of importance to international reformism and not only to the Belgian Social Democracy. The French Socialists don't like the formation of a "Union nationale" in Belgium since they are opposed to the formation of such a government in France. Hendrick de Man in a speech in Brussels found a loophole which will make it possible for international reformism to sanction the Belgian experiment. "It is a question of national revival and not national unity," he declared. Leon Blum concludes his article on the Belgian experiment with the hope that the Belgian Party supported by its mighty organi zations will overcome all obstacles.

The fact that the leader of the left wing, Spaak, participates in the government points to the bankruptcy of the lefts and gives the weak Communist Party the possibility of becoming a force in Belgium.

The Belgian experiment is of international significance from still another viewpoint. It is certain that Belgium will not remain on the gold standard. The Belgian franc fell yesterday from 3,50 frcs. to 3 frcs. It is expected that Belgium will join the sterling bloc. Should Belgium go off the gold standard the crisis will spread to other countries of the gold bloc and even beyond A new international wave of money crises will follow.

# FIRST GLANCE-

(Continued from Page 1) and solid arguments against labor. War of one kind or another is close to home than most workers realize.

misplaced museum-piece impeding A labor's progress is Thomas F. Mc Mahon, president of the United Textile Workers. In the last general strike of the spindle workers, McMahon and Gorman squandered the textile workers' inspiring heroism by putting faith in Strikebreaker-in-Chief. Roosevelt, thus literally leading the union to crash headlong into a concrete wall. McMahon and Gorman have just been duly rewarded the disturbance the chairman asked her by the New Dealers. The Textile Labor to leave the meeting. (Was this a "social" Board has handed down a decision prohibiting the reinstatement of hundreds of In spite of the bosses' campaign slogan workers who struck last September. In further support of the bosses, this Roosevelt Board has ordered a curtailment of vote for the communist Pace" the charter production providing in effect for a 25% cut in wages. Really, we know of no other industry in which Roosevelt has played such a dirty double-dealing role. But what does this order evoke from McMahon? All he can do is to say: "if that is justice for the textile workers, then we ask NRA to explain it." Wow. How exciting!

It would be comic, were it not too tragic the textile workers. What does Mc-Mahon mean by "explain"? No worker in the textile mills, no member of the U.T.W., can, after this feeble groan, any longer doubt that McMahon and his type can never learn even from the the costliest experience. An explanation is nec essary but not by the NRA; rather by the U.T.W. officialdom to the membership. It's highest time that the union members awoke to the danger and began to explain to their incompetent and pussyfooting officialdom. A strengthened union dropping all faith in all government boards and relying on its own pow-Moreover, the whole approach to the er is the way out of the mess. Then question on the basis of practicality only will the NRA make the proper ex-

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# THE AMERICAN APPROACH LEADS BUDENZ $|\mathbf{E}\ \mathbf{U}\ \mathbf{R}\ \mathbf{O}\ \mathbf{P}\ \mathbf{E}\ |$ Supreme court vetoes lynch justice **BRINGING HOPE FOR SCOTTSBORO LIBERTY**

Set By Decision Of High **Tribunal** 

(Continued from Page 1)

gro jurors sit in their cases. New indictments to prosecute the Scottsboro boys will be sought promptly, Lieutenant Governor Thomas E. Knight Jr., of Alabama has announced. Knight who as Attorney General prosecuted Patterson and Norris was elected to the office of Lieutenant Governor as a reward for the noble services he performed for the Alabama ruling class in winning a conviction of the Scottsboro boys in the Alabama courts

The white ruling class of Alabama is determined to go through with the lynching, legally or illegally. The "fair name of the State of Alabama" and the honor of white womanhood" must be preserved. All sorts of legal technicalities, appeals to prejudices and bigotry will be advanc-ed in an attempt to obscure the real is-release the nine Scottsboro boys.

Precedent For Negro Jurors | sues involved—the elementary democratic rights of the Negro masses as against the caste oppression of Negroes and its consequent terrorism designed to "keep the Negro in his place." Increasing vigilance must be maintained lest the ruling class of Alabama in its furv seek their revenge through the rope and faggot

The complete and unconditional freedom of the Scottsboro boys rests with the success or failure of broadening the mass protest. Protest has saved the boys thus far. The completion of the job rests with those who insist that the Scottsboro boys must not die, and will take the necessary steps to work for a real, genuine, all-inclusive, broad movement which in spite of other differences will draw in all elements and groups ready to rally around this specific issue. Such a movement can stay the hand of the lynchers, and only such a movement can fling open the bars of the Alabama

### LINCOLN PARK-

(Continued from Page 3)

advisory capacity; jurisdiction in all to corroborate this shameless statement. grievances of city employees; the distribution of contracts up to \$300 (the council reserving the bigger plums for itself) All city employees in the service of the community less than one year to be considered on probation. (These employees are paid in scrip). The plea for the charter was on the basis of economy and efficiency.

The lessons of the past stood the work-

ers in good stead. A Labor Front Committee was formed from the American Legion on the right to the C.P. on the left. Mass meetings were called and the reactionary nature of the charter explained. At one meeting in which the speaker who was to explain the charter did not show up, a legionnaire who was chairman called on John Pace, Labor Ticket candidate and member of C.P. as the only person present able to do a good Pace's talk a woman in the audience got up and announced that she had not come to the meeting to listen to "a dirty communist." The chairman explained that Mr. Pace was discussing the charter and not communism, and that he was doing a good job. When the woman continued fascist" maneuver, Comrade Browder?) "A vote against the new charter is a lost by a vote of 1061 to 632. The Labor Front is working night and day to elect John Pace and Ed Allen, Left Socialist to the council and John Sweet, Socialist to the School Board. In Lincoln Park workers do not worry too much about Party labels when united political action becomes an immediate necessity. Sectarian barriers are being broken down and a Labor Party is being freely and favorably discussed. The workers are focussing their eyes on their real enemy, the capitalist class.

#### JAY LOVESTONE IS AMERICA GOING **FASCIST?**

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# **BRESLOW CASE-**

(Continued from Page 1)

A week after this letter was published Comrade Breslow began serving his sentence. The C.L.D.L. realized that in face of the implications of this trial and tence. its importance to the trade union movement it could not remain aloof from it. They sent a letter to the I.L.G.W.U. locals in which they stated that they "have never withdrawn from the defence of these two or any other class-war prisoners.'

Next day a C.L.D.L. leaflet appeared, calling a mass meeting to hail the Scottsboro decision, which also said:

"William Rudin and Frank Breslow were similarly condemned by the Montreal courts. But instead of relying on the mass support of the workers, Frank Breslow repudiated his class, refused the support of the C.L.D.L. and threw himself at the feet of his enemies."

Frank Breslow "repudiated his class!"

job of explaining the charter. During He joined the Workers' League of Canada fighting in line with the I.C.O. program. He threw himself at the feet of his enemies-he joined the American Federation of Labor Union—the very union the C.L.D.L. approaches for "united fronts", the very union where the C.P. is sending its members now.
This article is an appeal to the honest

C.L.D.L. and Party members not to let themselves be fooled by their leaders. Instead of being conducted by the sec-C.L.D.L., the Breslow-Rudin frame-up is now before the organized labor movement. The C.L.D.L. and the C.P. must stop this slanderous campaign against a class-war prisoner!

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