WORKERS AGE

A Weekly Paper Defending the Workers and Farmers

Vol. IV. No. 17.

Saturday, April 27, 1935

Five Cents

At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

ASHING back and forth from his DASHING Dack and Iolan Island a fishing trip on Astor's yacht and a U. S. Navy destroyer, President Roose velt boasted that he is "as tough a guy as ever." This was merely a way of serving notice on Congress that it must rush thru all his proposed legislation. It is a safe bet to wager good pre-Roose velt dollars on stale post-Hoover doughnuts that the Chief Executive will not include in his urgent legislation the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynch bill. Very inadequate as this measure may be from our point of view, it has aroused the ire of the two-fisted leaders of the New Deal in the Senate. First of all, Roosevelt's Senate floor leader, Robinson, has been shelving and sidestepping consideration of it. Far more than a baker's half-dozen Southern Senators are open or covert protectors of the lynchers of Negroes. And these are the steel rods of the Roosevelt machine in the Senate. Page particularly Senator Smith of South Carolina. And don't overlook the Democratic whip Robinson, the muchtouted Bankhead of Alabama, and the eloquent George of Georgia. The latter has ranted against the bill as "unconstitutional". His line of thought was in substance that lynching is a crime (a commodity) which is not subject to interstate or federal regulation!

But to Roosevelt's ardent supporter from South Carolina we are obliged for more plain speaking against the bill Said Roosevelt's Smith: "We went thru one bloody war thru a misapprehension of the social structure of the country. The virtue of a woman is a thing which should not be displayed in the courts when the criminal is know and has put himself outside and beyond the pale of the law." For this pro-lynch speech not even the most progressive senator dared call him to order. Apparently a New Deal Senate is a suitable place for such speeches. It is a lead pipe cinch that Roosevelt will not treat us to a fireside talk and that his better half will not overwhelm us with a radio speech about their virtuous offender, Lynch-Senator

IN recent years we have been much harassed by a lot of raucous noise about the sins of the "united front from on top' and the virtues of the united front line from below," from the bottom. Now we rush to proclaim our indebtedness to Comrade G. Pierce. member of the Central Committee of the Canadian Communist Party for a startling but logical innovation in the perversion of united front tactics. Comrade Pierce, a graduate of the Lenin School, is the theoretical leader (in theory as well as practise) of the Communist Party of Canada. In this capacity, he sought to explain to the Central Committee of his Party, the latest "turn" in the Comintern!

"... The attitude of the bourgeoisie in a number of countries changed towards the reformists who formerly participated in the government. In the face he parties in the C. I continued to develop and further apply the united front tactic. If it became possible to develop a more flexible and wider form of the united front and to es tablish a united front from the middle and from the top on the basis of the united front from below, then, this was due entirely to a change in the reformist position. . . " (our emphasis).

In the realm of confusion in revolutionary practice there are no boundaries. Especially is this true when the kingpins are as unskilled in revolutionary theory as unpracticed infants. Needless to say, we condemn only the fault and not its actor.

MANY workers are beginning to smell the deal that has been arranged between the top A.F. of L. officialdom and the White House. Green and his aides are to delay, detour, and disrupt strikes (rubber, auto, etc.). In return, discontinuance of a strike as a condition Roosevelt is to try to secure consideration of the Wagner Industrial Disputes Bill.

Someone might think that this proposed legislative measure is pro-labor the way these leaders sold the trade union's birthright for a promise, merely to talk about it. In reality the Wagner scheme is a bane and not a boon to the workers. If enacted into law it would lay the broadest foundation for government encroachment upon the ed against possible dangers of compuleveryday life of the unions. The Wag- | sion."

150,000 TO MARCH IN MAY DAY PARADE

Choruses, Bands, Floats, Gay Costumes To Add Colorful **Note To Demonstration**

May Day in New York this year will witness a mighty outpouring of Labor's united forces in a giant parade and demonstration against all enemies of the working class the world over.

At least 150,000 workers from 67 different unions and scores of other organizations including the Workmen's Circle, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party (Opposition) will swing up the line of march behind bands playing revolutionary songs and carrying thousands of banners flaunting the slogans of the International Labor Movement.

Massed choruses, sound trucks, floats, pennants, armbands, sashes, and scores of 'surprise effects" will add a vibrant colorful note to the endless battalions of labor's marching myriads.

In commenting on the enthusiastic support of the larger sections of the labor movement for a single parade under the guidance and auspices of the May Day Conference, Julius Hochman, General Manager of the Joint Board of the Dress and Waistmakers' Union, said:

"I am glad that the May Day Conference will insure a united demonstration on May Day, and the tens of thousands of organized dressmakers in New York will join whole heartedly in the parade. On May Day we may truly feel ourselves part of a vast world wide movement that is invincible, that will sweep aside all oppression and all exploitation, that will lead mankind to a new and better world of freedom and happiness.'

Details as to the line of march, assemblage places of the various divisions and the thousands and one activities necessary to make the demonstration a record breaker in New York's labor history are being worked out by numerous general committees under the guidance of the May Day Conference and various sub committees appointed by the participating organizations.

CALIFORNIA AUTO MEN ENDORSE THE A. F. OF L

Representation by the American Federation of Labor was approved recently by a plurality of the workers in the Chevrolet plant of Oakland, Cal. in an Automobile Labor Board election. F. E. Ross, the board's representative in charge of elections, announced the vote as, A. F. of L. 463: unaffiliated, 338: Chevrolet Employees Association, 131; blank ballots, 12; THE NATIONS MEET TO PLAN FOR PEACE



THE GASHOUSE STRIKE WITH CASH, BOYCOTT

With unabated militancy the strike of the Gas House Workers Union against the Laclede Gas Company enters it third week, with lines solid in the face of numerous arrests by the complaisant police of St. Louis.

The Central Trades and Labor Council has assessed every working unionist in garded as preliminary to similar action the city one cent a day for the conin the \$3.75 and cheaper lines. tinuance of the strike. In addition every unionist in St. Louis has stopped using Laclede gas thus further crippling the company which has been hard pressed already by the strike. These actions have been taken in the realization that the Laclede company's refusal to recognize the Gasworker's federal local in the face of a decision by the Labor Board is only the spearhead of an attack on organized labor by the bosses of St. Louis.

United Shoe and Leather Workers Union, instructed to report to the shops but to Local 52.

(Continued on Page 3)

ST. LOUIS LABOR BACKS DRESS UNION'S VICTORY IN STOPPAGE PROMISES **ACTION IN OTHER LINES**

Increases in piece rates amounting in some cases to as much as 30% were won for the 15,000 workers in the \$4.75 wholesale dress line by a clean cut display of Union power that tied up production completely during the height of the Pre-Easter season. The move is re-

Union action was made necessary by the "chiselling" practices of members of the National Association of Dress Manufacturers (Jobbers). Working in a "soft" textile market, they turned to more complicated styling to add to the value of their garments. Since the line was operating on a flat rate basis fixed for simpler dresses, the earnings of the workers began spiralling downward.

Efforts to make a peaceable settlement In addition to the regular AF of L with the jobbers' association proved unions the strike has received powerful fruitless and on April 9 the Union support of the St. Louis local of the swung into action. The workers were

LUMBERMEN STRIKE MAY 6 FOR 30 HRS.

Labor On West Coast Rises In Revolt Against Bosses **And Burocrats**

By EARL LANE

Portland, Oregon.-Between 75 and 100,000 lumber workers of five Western states, Oregon; Washington; California; Idaho; and Montana, are expected to walk out in a general strike of the industry on May 6th.

At its recent Northwest convention the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union endorsed a demand for a six hour day, five day week and 75 cents per hour minimum wage scale, and went on record to strike for these demands on May

The S. & T. W. U. recently affiliated with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and an intensive organizational drive is now under way. The Communist - controlled National Lumber Workers Union which bravely set out to smash the A. F. of L. "fascist unions" a few years ago, and has since dwindled down to a paper organization, is now clamoring for unity.
About all the NLWU has to offer the S&TWU is the services of James Murphy and his fellow pie-card artists, as brazen a bunch of union splitters as ever graced the ranks of the C.P.

The capitalist press of the Northwest is in a state of the jitters at the prospect of a lumber strike. The Oregon Journal, the chief red baiter of the Northwest, in writing of the S&TWU to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, calls it an "unholy alliance" which "threatens strikes and disruption not only in the Northwest, but in construction throughout the nation." It admits that the organizational drive has "forced the 4L (company union) into a minor position."

BUROCRATS SPIKE TANKER STRIKE

The month-old Pacific coast oil tanker strike has now entered a critical stage. Due to the failure of the old guard leaders of the International Seamans Union to sanction militant strike tactics the oil companies are today operating 15 of their fleet of 30 tankers.

It is becoming increasingly evident to the rank and file of the union men that their strike is being sabotaged by their "leaders". Carl Carter, I.S.U. representative in Portland has openly stated that 'we do not need the support of the longshoremen and grain handlers, we will win by peaceful means.

Another statement that shows what type of leadership the rank and file is saddled with is the one made by Paul Scharrenberg before the arbitration board in San Francisco: "I hope that we will have a war with Japan, then the seamen can get what they want."

As a result of this chauvinistic state-

ment the San Pedro, Calif., local of the I.S.U. and the Firemens Union have demanded that Scharrenberg resign from the positions he holds in the International Seamens Union.

There have been plenty of indications that the other marine unions are ready Traitor To Working Class to take whatever action is necessary to A scathing resolution condemning help the tanker crews to win their strike up to and including a general strike of the labor movement for needling men-Marine Crafts of San Francisco, representing 15,000 maritime workers has gone on record as prepared to support them with every resource at it's disposal. * * *

What's Happening in the SP? Plenty Lang, Forward Editor, Forms | visited the S. U., and who deny this | the Workers Fatherland. Of such stuff

United Front With Payroll

the Jewish Daily Forward, organ of the Old Guard of the S.P., has at last discovered the value of the united front as a political tactic.

sells his Fascist press of William Randolph Hearst, Arch-enemy of the American working class. Daily he pours out the vilest slanders against the Soviet Union, horror tales of starvation and terrorism. that are such flagrant lies as to turn the stomachs of any honest Socialist or trade unionist. Despite the hundreds of protests of liberals and Socialists, who have

ner plan would give first-class legal status to company unions. And to the Civil Liberties Union we are indebted for the following indictment of the Wagner Bill on six counts:

"(1) If such a board is to protest labor's rights, it should act only upon complaints by employees or their representatives, not on its own initiative.

"(2) No provision protects the right to strike and to continue a strike by prohibiting the board from compelling the of its intervention.

"(3) It does not protect workers from discrimination on account of sex, race, color, or political convictions by any specific provision.

"(4) No provision is made for agricultural laborers.

"(5) The declaration of policy is so written as to imply that strikes are to be condemned.

"(6) The powers of the board to act as voluntary arbitrator are not protect-

anti-working class propaganda, Harry Lang comfortably pockets the small Harry Lang, the managing editor of change tossed him by Hearst, and weaves

SENIOR SCORES LANG

Clarence Senior, executive secretary of the S.P. has issued the following statement on the Lang articles:

"The Socialist Party of the United States repudiates the attacks upon Soviet Russia by Harry Lang now appearing in the Hearst papers.

"Lang who claims to be a Socialist, has not only violently misrepresented the Socialist attitude toward Soviet Russia, but has placed himself beneath the contempt of all workers by making himself a tool of William Randolph Hearst, the bitter enemy of the labor movement and principal mouthpiece for American Fascism.

"The Socialist Party regards Hearst's attacks upon workers' rights and academic freedom, his slander of Soviet Russia, and his jingoistic nationalism, as deliberate efforts to bring both fascism and war to the United States. Lang's alliance with the man the Socialist Party has always branded as Public Enemy No. 1 is treachery to the Socialist movement which has repeatedly expressed its antagonism to such unfounded and unfair attacks.

"Officially the party has endorsed the efforts being made in Russia to create the economic foundations of a Socialist society' and called 'on the workers to guard against capitalist attacks on Soviet Russia'."

of the Fascists! Unions Denounce Lang As

is the Old Guard made, such is its ser-

vice-to the stinking and corrupt press

of the labor movement for peddling mendacious attacks on the Soviet Union to the "venemous Hearst press" was issued by Charles S. Zimmerman, secretary-manager of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U. and approved by the executive board of the Local.

In addition to condemning Lang's specific act the resolution calls for the establishment of the general principle that "any contact whatsoever between anyone claiming to speak for labor and the Fascist press, except that expressing a profound enmity, is the act of a

The resolution calls on all working class organizations to strip Lang of all connections and to strike him from their

A similar resolution has been adopted by the Joint Council of Knit Goods

Meanwhile, Marxism Has Become A Crime In The S.P.

Continuing its fight for Democracy as the road to Socialism the New State Organization expelled five Buffalo members for agreeing with the theory of armed insurrection! All the democracy in the world for reactionary and fascist groups, but none for party members who refuse to repeat the crass theories of pseudo-Marxism that have betrayed the German workers, and would overthro the Soviet regime.

Many Militants and leftward moving in this action, confirmation of the of August 4th, 1914.

MARITIME WORKERS MEET TO FEDERATE

Delegates representing 35,000 Pacific coast maritime workers are gathered in Seattle to organize the Maritime Conference of the Pacific.

The movement to organize the federation, started shortly after the marine strike of last summer, had proved the value of united action, but has been bitterly fought by the old line union fakers who live in deadly fear of losing their soft jobs, and seeing the union control get into the hands of militant leaders. A bitter fight is expected to develop for control of the new organization.

After the constitution is adopted and officers elected, one of the first questions to be taken up will be the tanker strike. There is every indication that the federation will go on record for the labor party.

C.P.O.'s expressed conviction that the S.P. cannot, as a party, be won for revolutionary socialism—so long as that means Communism, Marxism. The New York Organization remains determined to root out any attempt at real working class thought, any attempt to change the members of the Socialist Party must see Socialist Party from the historic road

LABOR PARTY IS SOCIAL FASCIST, SAYS BROWDER

A Grave Menace To Communist Party Chief; Lovestoneites Especially Scored

the meaning of all the agitation and ef-forts toward the formation of a Labor tion of all Labor Party ideas in Amer-Party or a Farmer Labor Party, which would act as a syndicate or trust of all the social-fascist organizations and cen-

tral political concept. It is true that ty. We must be very careful to closely

"The Danger of Farmer-Laborism" their public agitation and activities in this direction have been put in the back-Roosevelt "new deal" program represents ground in recent months, but it cannot not only the strengthening of the open be said that they have abandoned the fascist tendencies in America, but also Labor Party idea. This still remains a that it is quite consciously and system- vital link connecting them with the camp atically supporting and developing so- of social-fascism. This is the issue they cial-fascist ideas, organizations and lead- have the possibility of raising at any ers. Roosevelt has a special need for moment it seems favorable to them, the social-fascist. As our Open Letter demagogically break the united from points out, the American bourgeoisie is and appeal to the masses in the name of trying to build bulwarks against the the higher unity of a social-fascist La growth of the Communist influence bor Party. We can guard against this among the masses. Nothing serves this serious danger only by the most perpurpose so well as social-fascist organi- sistent agitation and propaganda among tions. The Socialist Party, with its the masses to expose the harmful char-Continental Congress, which is being car- acter of all such movements or proposried into every state, represents the most als. In this respect we must make more active link of this movement. This is effective use of the example of the Bri-

came so enthusiastic about the idea of "In this connection it is necessary to workers' tickets that they wanted to appoint out that Muste and many of his ply it everywhere under all conditions collaborators who are now going with and intended to use it as a substitute us... in spite of their leftward movefor the Communist Party. This was a ment on immediate issues under the spontaneous development toward the pressure of the masses, still keep the theory of the Labor Party. The workidea of the Labor Party as their cen- ers' ticket is not a form of Labor Par

sure that the comrades are not using it as a way of stoping the fight against the Labor Party idea. We can make no peace with the Labor Party idea. . . "

"Perhaps this is as good occasion as the renegades, the Lovestoneites and the Trotzgvites. For several years one of their close connecting links was the La bor Party. Now the Lovestoneites have become the advocates of the Labor Party whereas the Trotzkyites now speak against the Labor Party. All of this is, of course, mere by-play, division of la-

Report for the Political Buro to the Extraordinary Party Conference, New York City, July 7, 1933. By Earl August, 1933. No. 8.

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL LECTURE JAY LOVESTONE

Secretary, Communist Party (Opposition) THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION THURSDAY, MAY 2, 1935

RIVERA HALL New Workers School 51 W 14 St., near 6th Ave.

QUESTIONS and DISCUSSION ADMISSION 25 c.

examine every one of these applications of the idea of workers' tickets and make GOVERNMENT LAYING WAR SMOKE SCREEN

In August, 1933, the Danger of Farmer-Laborism Loomed As any to say just a passing word about President's War Powers Greatly Enlarged As Result Of "Pacifist" Bills Following Senate **Munitions Investigation**

> The Administration, girding itself for diction as could be desired, certainly abvar with the hugest peace-time budgets solves us from the necessity of examing this country has ever seen, has also been the actual taxing features of the two forced to take into account and utilize plans before the Congress. for its own ends, the anti-war senti-It is another feature of these bills ment of the masses of America. The which demonstrates which side these

pacifist, but voice of the petty-bour-

guarantee that this bill will not be re-

sibilities of this whole move:

recalcitrant corporate taxpayers."

years of horror of the actual war, the vague pacifistic, anti-war profits, movefollow-up of economic depression, and ments, actually aid. The bill, as passed psychological neurosis, left their mark by the House, contains features giving on America as well as Europe. Coupling complete powers to the President for this with the fact, that Communist pro- "Commandeering but not conscripting" paganda has made some headway to- all supplies materials necessary for the wards convincing many of the economic conduct of a war: the inclusion in the basis of war, its imperialist nature, military staff of all leading indusstrial-This is precisely what the administra This was behind the Congressional struggle over the Nye Bill, the McSwain

tion, the American ruling class, needs Bill, and the Senate Investigations Comto maintain a complete dictatorship over mittee on Munitions. Senator Nye, not "unruly elements" at home, and for the geoisie against the "Trusts" and "Big be unified so that sections of the bour-Business," and their huge war-profits has Business, and their nuge war-pronts has himself best evaluated the actual possibilities of this whole move:

while facing the two enemies—the foreign imperialists, and domestic work-"This committee" he said, "cannot ing class. It must be centralized for quick decisive action, also against either pealed under pressure at the beginning

of a war. It cannot honestly guarantee All other features of the War Bills that its administration will remain unare sheer demagogy to cover up and influenced by the pressure of huge and camouflage the direct steps being taken by the boss class to prepare their war Such a statement, as accurate a pre- machine.

The Question of Dictatorship An Article in the Series "THINGS WE WANT TO KNOW" BY BERTRAM D. WOLFE

force their decision down the throats of those masses? If so, must I swallow a lot of twaddle about proletarian dictatorship as such, or may I frankly announce that I don't think the working masses have sufficient brains and experience to have sufficient brains and experience to those masses? If so, must I swallow a government in its own interests as a government in its own interests as a government over and against the inter-of controlling the working class. Duponts can divide the members of their family between the two parties). And both parties hypocritically pretend to be the party of all classes. That helps to democracy for the capitalist class is at the party of all classes. That helps to democracy for the capitalist class is at the party of all classes. That helps to eventually pretend to be the parties of their family between the two parties). And both parties hypocritically pretend to be the party of all classes. That helps to eventually pretend to be the party of all classes. That helps to eventually pretend to be the party of all classes. That helps to eventually pretend to be the party of all classes. That helps to eventually pretend to be the party of all classes. That helps to eventually pretend to be the party of all classes. That helps to eventually pretend to be the party of all classes. That helps to eventually pretend to be the party of all classes. That helps to eventually pretend to be the party of all classes. That helps to eventually pretend to be the party of all classes. That helps to eventually pretend to be the party of all classes. That helps to eventually pretend to be the party of all classes. That helps to eventually pretend to be the party of all classes. That helps to eventually pretend to be the party of all classes. That helps to eventually pretend to be the party of all classes. The party of the Soviet Union, and eventually pretend to be the party of all classes. The party of the Soviet Union, and their support pretend to be the party of all classes. The pretend to be the par have sufficient brains and experience to plan a constructive future for themselves and that it's a damn good thing for them to have some intelligent leaders (imbued with high ideals) dictating to them? Will you toss me out on my highly important differences in the forms to them? Will you toss me out on my that these various class dictatorships but for the great majority, and of dictatorships but for the great majority and there are many, is a little

conscious and habitual acceptance, depends ultimately on courts, injunctions, police, prisons, national guard and armed forces, in short on force, for the preservation of the status quo, the maintenance of "law and order" (capitalist property law and the capitalist social order) and the continuance of the preservation of the the continuance of the present property aristocracy, whereas in more thoroughly and class relationships. You do not even bourgeois countries, there is formal have to challenge the existing social equality before the law and privileges | Still the matter of relative preservaorder to have the government "crack and powers are determined exclusively by tion of democratic forms and civil liberdown" on you. A mere strike for a economic possession and property law. ties, however, meager and insubstantial, shorter workday, a few cents more pay, This country is, not free from pre-cap- is important in capitalist countries. In or union recognition, brings courts and italist laws, however, as proved by the proportion as capitalism decays, in that police (clubs and injunctions) into action existence of the semi-feudal share-crop- proportion it destroys even that limited on behalf of the interests of the do- per system in the South and the Jim- capitalist democracy and its limited bourminant class. And if the strike is of any Crow laws which are personal-distinction geois democratic liberties, in favor of magnitude, the national guard and the army (gas bombs, bayonets and machine guns) go into action as well. San Frangular of all the solution of all these pre-capitalist Hitler. Here even the capitalist parties cisco. Toledo, Minneapolis, New Orleans, survivals, king, lords, share-cropper sys- must go out of business, and to preserve

including England and France, Germany his famous aphorism:

to know." The question:

WHY DO YOU TALK ABOUT
DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, WHEN YOU MEAN DICTATOReducation, and persuasion, they depend

It is clere the document of the process of the rest of society, (2) that they maintain and defend a given social order, (3) and that, while they use means of propaganda, while they use means of propaganda, they depend the document of the process of of the pr

RIAT, WHEN YOU MEAN DICTATORSHIP OF THE CONTROLLING FACTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY?
Or do you mean it? Perhaps I don't
exactly understand your terminology. I
was frankly baffled by Will Herberg's
reference to "the position of the proletarian toiling masses," in the Workers
Age of Dec. 15, 1934. Aren't those nonproletarian toiling masses a part of the Age of Dec. 15, 1934. Aren't those non-proletarian toiling masses a part of the groups to me as "non-profit-making Capitalism." I thought the proletarian. The chief differences between the groups to me as "non-profit-making Capitalism." I thought the proletarian was, roughly speaking, composed of the mass of the workers and I don't see how "toiling masses" can be non-proletarian. The chief differences between the groups and the capitalism and the Soviet government, and under the lead-groups and maintain the capitalist society, and enforce capitalist order. But it is obvious that this is really an opportunity to choose within the narrow limits indicated above, and to choose between the Union on the other, lies not in the fact tween two parties both of which are for dictatorship in the sense of class rule, but in the question as to which class is trolled by big contributors. Moreover, and to choose within the narrow limits indicated above, and to choose between two parties both of which are for but in the question as to which class is trolled by big contributors. Moreover, and constitution of capitalist society, and enforce capitalist society, and enforce capitalist society, and enforce capitalist society, and enforce capitalist society, and maintain the capitalist order. But it is obvious that this is really an opportunity to choose within the narrow limits indicated above, and to choose between two parties both of which are for capitalism and both of which are for but in the question as to which class is trolled by big contributors. Moreover, and to choose between the fact is society, and enforce capitalist society. From what I have said so far, you can be capitalist order. But it is obvious that this is really an opportunity to choose within the narrow law and maintain the capitalist society, and enforce capitalist. From proletariat simply as "the modern working class, the class of those who can live so long as their work increases capital."

But, at any rate, doesn't your dictatorship in practice come down to an oligarchy of Communist leaders, who decide as conscientiously as possible, decide as conscientiously as possible, and Italy, despite the differences in their state apparatus and forms, are all bourgation and other organs for forming state apparatus and forms, are all bourgation and other organs for forming state apparatus and forms, are all bourgation as their work increases capital."

Soviet Union, on the other hand, and it makes no bones about it, is a proletarian dictatorship—the working class owns the industries, controls the government the industries, controls the government of the capitalist class in develops its own party or parties, a vanguard of its most politically active members. In America this is partially concealed by the fact that both major parties are parties of the same class and often of the same class and often of the same class and often of the same section of it (that's why the same section of it (that's decide as conscientiously as possible, what is best for the masses and then force their decision down the throats of the same class and often of the same section of it (that's why the trombing its own class policies and its democracy for the capitalist class in determining its own class policies and its terests of the same section of it (that's why the property of controlling the working class).

In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, of course, there are enormous and of democracy. There it is a question blocs, on a class basis, cut across party of course, there are enormous and fight indeparts of the more will you tose me out on my neck if I confess to holding such an opinion?

We Americans have been brought up to regard the term "Dictatorship" as a term of abuse rather than of political analysis. Just as we have been taught the "there are no classes in American and no ruling class (in the land of the most open control of government by big business that has ever been known anywhere) so we are taught to think of the government or state as a mere expression of the undifferentiated and unanimous will of "the people" of a classes of the souther of the profession of the undifferentiated and unanimous will of "the people" of a classes of the souther of the profession of the undifferentiated and unanimous will of "the people" of a class a mere expression of the undifferentiated and unanimous will of "the people" of a class a mere expression of the undifferentiated and unanimous will of "the people" of a class, and as the people of the people of the poople of the people of the people

and the textile strike, to cite only a few instances of the past year, all give proof you still have nothing more than pure capitalist class gives up even its own capitalist government with that formal democracy to a set of hired bullies under In this the United States is no exception. All the governments of the world, Anatol France so neatly satirized with cracies smash strikes, capitalist auto-

Question 7 in a series of queries from Soviet Union, are dictatorships in the bids the Rich as well as the Poor to and capitalist autocracies have this es- form the vast majority of the population an intellectual entitled "Things we want sense (1) that they represent the do- sleep under bridges and beg their bread sential feature in common, as have cap- and the proletariat has the special probitalist monarchies and capitalist republics, namely, that they are all varying fidence, of serving their interests as well

tatorship of the capitalist class.

"toiling masses" can be non-proletarian. I turn to the Manifesto and discover that Marx and Engels referred to the proletariat simply as "the modern working class, the class of those who can ing class, the class of those who can state apparatus and forms, are all bour-

hypocrisy, and corruption of American

market, peasants and poor farmers who own their own land, etc. They must still

ABE SHAPIRO • SAM ROTTER

toil to live, but they live by ownership

THE ROYAL HALL CATERING FOR UNION MEETINGS, BANQUETS AND ALL SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

83 EAST FOURTH STRETT NEW YORK Phone: DRydock 4-7044

In this article comrade Wolfe answers | and Italy, the United States and the ! "The Law in its majestic Equality for- | trade unions. Still capitalist democracies | and self-controlled labor. In Russia, they forms, better or worse forms, of the dic- as its own. That is why the Soviet government has often been called a dictator-

political life. It also explains the conthere is also an interplay of dictatorship fusion that makes farm-blocs and labor Soviet government or proletarian dicta

But with all those defects, the Soviet

6 Course CHICKEN DINNER 60c - SERVED ALL DAY Spaghetti — Dessert — Coffee 350 A La Carte All Day WINE AND BEER SERVED

BRADLEY'S ... CAFETERIA

SEASONABLE FOOD REASONABLE PRICES

6th Ave. at 14th St.

BOOT & SHOE "SAVES" BOSSES FROM UNIONISM

United Shoe & Leather Workers Strike Back At Scabbing for the same purpose. Among those re-Tactics By Mass Picket Lines And Parades Through The City Of Haverhill

Having smashed the immediate hopes pendent groups have agreed to conduc of the shoe workers for one union in the themselves in the same manner." industry, the Boot and Shoe Workers' HOW MARA KEEPS A Union has taken another step toward "GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT" imposing sub-sweat-shop conditions in Even while this "gentlemen's agree

after Easter the manufacturers are once locals, the Boot & Shoe was and is now more preparing to slash wages. This is making efforts to induce shoe manuonly a continuation of the offensive facturers in Haverhill to break their workers started in 1934 but now they have a new ally—the Boot and Shoe The inducements tha

BOOT AND SHOE

REJECTS UNITY "Merger negotiations" held in Washington laid down the tentative lines for 3 They "save" the manufacturer from shoe union unity. To these, all agreed real union organization. but the Boot and Shoe. Their General

"We are definitely for one organiza- This is proved by the fact that while al gain, the shoe workers."

& Shoe and the heads of the Independ- bricks."

Relief Client Must Time Sickness

will be called, but if you never enjoyed ters with about \$3.00 worth of clothing

"One of the TEN BEST

The Most Stirring, Exiting and

Stinging Drama of the Year!

DRESSMAKERS LOCAL 22, I.L.G.W.U.

THEATRE PARTY SAT. Matinee Apr. 27

CIVIC REPERTORY THEATRE

14th St. and 6th Ave. Eves. 8:45. Matinees Wed. and Sat. 2:45

Prices: Evenings 30c to \$1.50 — Matinees 30c to \$1.00

-BROOKS ATKINSON

Plays on Broadway"

that luxury, you just gamble on your a year!

against wages and conditions of the shoe agreements with the United and sign

nent" was being made and even while

The inducements that the Boot & Sho offers the manufacturers are:

1) Lower and still lower wages f 2) They help to get rid of active unio

Knowing that because of their Executive Board met on March 11th, and record of scabbery and treachery to the issued a statement which was, in effect, shoe workers they cannot possibly gain a rejection of further negotiations at any membership; they decided to appear the present time. They refused to sub- to the only ally they have in the shoe inscribe to the tentative understanding and dustry, the manufacturers and their paid "lip service" to the need for one agents such as Chambers of Commerce, Board of Trades, etc.

tion of shoe workers as a part of the American Federation of Labor. The door into the independent unions in 1935, the of this organization is open to every Boot & Shoe Workers' Union was the by means of shops' crew meetings, spec- money when they were in power. The bonafide shoe worker, but not to those only shoe workers' organization that orwho would exploit for their own person- ganized no shoe workers at all during lines at every shop where this snake that same period. Whatever member In other words: "Everybody join the ship they did gain came from signing agreements with owners of striking 15 at which several officials of the Boot while leaving the strikers to "pound the but to give warning to the manufacture, tem, the Hupp employees were not as At an informal meeting held on March shops and filling the shops with scabs

to interfere with the organization ac- Emerson Shoe Company, to re-organize shoe workers will not allow them to distivities of the other. Mr. Mara even in order to break the agreement they had sent a letter to all of the locals of the No. 1 or 1 order to break the agreement they had with the United, discharge the members their living standards. Boot & Shoe in which he declared:

"We also ask that where there is eviand Shoe. Even though their agreement dence of an organizing campaign being with the Emerson (now known as the conducted by an independent group, our Hale Shoe Company) is less than representatives make no special effort to a month old, prices in that shop have aldiscourage or disrupt them. The inde- ready been cut far below the prices pre

Not only are they negotiating with same purpose, but they are also attempt ers to move from their present locations ported so far are one now in Marlboro one in Auburn, Maine, etc.

The workers in one of the shops with whom they are now negotiating, the Bowdoin Shoe Company of Haverhill, are and have been on strike for some time against a wage cut.

This plot of the Boot & Shoe racketeers and the manufacturers holds great dan-With the approach of the slack season Mr. Mara was sending this letter to his ger for unionism in the shoe industry, and unless nipped in the bud, threatens to still further depress the conditions

> THE UNITED SHOE STRIKES BACK

This challenge has led the United Shoe and Leather Workers to follow the second alternative set by the Washington

Conference which reads in part:

Workers Union until such time as there remains one union in the industry." This is the task today!

The General Executive Board of the

shows its head—with a mass parade in the City of Haverhill as a climax of the campaign. This campaign is intended

vailing in the rest of the Haverhill factories.

Note that the rest of the Haverhill factories.

Note that the rest of the Haverhill factories. **AUTO STRIKE CAN WIN**

> Walkout Against Wage-Cut Disguised As "Bonus System" Successful Because It Came In The Middle Of **Hupp Production Season**

The second article in the series on the ployees in the dark about just what they problems facing workers in the motor industry, by Ben Lipsiger, will appear in an early resorting to drastic measures to consid-

Hupp Motor Car Company went on welcome a walkout as it would give them strike Thursday, April 4th in protest to an excellent opportunity to smash all into one organization and to carry on a bitter fight against the Boot and Shoe lude to this walkout the office help of the company was locked out on Monday, April 1 on charge that they were giving that, if the strikers prevented the important way so that, if the strikers prevented the important way so that it is not scaled a solution of scaled and the strikers prevented the important way so that it is not scaled and the strikers prevented the important way so the scaled and the strikers prevented the important way so that it is not scaled and the strikers prevented the important way so that the strikers prevented the important way so the scaled and the strikers prevented the strikers prevented the scaled and the strikers prevented the strikers prevented the scaled and the strikers prevented the scaled and the together with the District Council and Executive Boards of Haverhill have met and have worked out plans to resist the baldare in board on the resist the resist the baldare in board on the resist the resist the resist the baldare in board on the resist The plans consist of a thorough mobil- now in control that the others squand- MULTIPLE UNIONS holders is based on the charge by those ization of the membership in Haverhill ered some \$23,000,000 of the company's COMPLICATE STRIKE

> HUPP "BONUS" PROVES WAGE CUT

By August Thalheimer Our European Correspondent

GERMANY WAVES THE BATTLE AXE

estan and East Siberia from the Soviet
The success of the Moscow negotia
union, plans which she had formerly would see that the work was turned out THE BATTLE AXE Carefully if He Wants Medical Aid

The success of the Moscow negotiations between Britain and the Soviet Union, plans which she more or less supported. This is a refunction of the aggressive plans and demands of German imperialism at the Berlin considerable of the German imperialism at the Berlin considerable of the same doctor again even though the same of th

Make Attention Almost
Impossible

By EDITH McGRATH
The Home Relief Bureau, has, as one of its departments, a medical and nursing service, to furnish nurses and physicians to those on the relief rolls who may need medical care at home. It has a list of some 3,000 doctors who respond to its realls and are naid \$2.00 nervisit.

may need medical care at home. It has a list of some 3,000 doctors who respond to its calls and are paid \$2.00 per visit. Now if you are a "client" and happen to become ill, your local Home Relief office will get you a doctor—that is, if you happen to be lucky enough to become ill before 3:30 P. M. or to become "seriously ill" before 5 P. M. And even if you should be so fortunate, of course, because she is nervous a liberate with the guilty.

England had apparently accepted these to trade thru collusion with a few clients. So, in accordance with the cannons of the inno-capture are finded that the hospital is the clients. So, in accordance with the cannons of the inno-capture are finded that the hospital is trade thru collusion with a few clients. So, in accordance with the cannons of the inno-capture are finded that the contoning between Great Britain and the Soviet Union. France is now in a position to form a closer alliance with the Soviet Union and with England at third time with a maximum military and imperialist program? But the third round was lost. The demands were excessive; they rejoined that the hospital is the place to the form and the Soviet Union. France is now in a position to form a closer alliance with the soviet Union and with England at third time with a maximum military and imperialist program? But the third round was lost. The demands were excessive; they rejoined these sold moves on the part of Germany Sir Simon went to Berlin. Why not continue these successful tactics and intimidate England a third time with a maximum military and imperialist program? But the third round was lost. The demands were excessive; they rejoined the feater pact, which is maximum. All efforts were made to continue these successful tactics and intimidate England at third time with a maximum military and imperialist program? But the third round was lost. The demands were excessive; they rejoined the feater pact. Which is maximum. All efforts were made to continue these successful tactics and intimidate England at th ambulance. Then, after an interne has you should be so fortunate, of course, it's not up to you to say how ill you, you'll get what may be your first auto ride. And what fun it will be gambling on which city hospital will finally don't feel ill at all. It needs the skill of a trained medical social worker.

ably don't feel ill at all. It needs the skill of a trained medical social worker in to determine that. If you drag your self to the precinct, nine chances out of ten the medical social worker will be able to look at you and tell you you are quite able to go to a clinic since you'll have to wait there three or four hours before you are examined. And, if you send your son to the bureau to request a doctor, the Medical Social Worker can tell just by talking to him, that a clinic will be fine for you. If, of \$.08 a meal nor protect your body are menaced on all sides in order to from the gentle touch of New York win
or doctor will be called.

If you ever had a family doctor he from the gentle touch of New York win
or create sentiment for war.

> RESULTS OF MOSCOW NEGOTIATIONS

self that the Soviet Union has no aggressive plans at all and that it is bent THE BELGIAN EXPERIMENTS AND ernment in order to avert a dictatorship only on collective assurance of peace. THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS. only on collective assurance of peace.
At the same time, tension between the Soviet Union and Japan was relaxed with the conclusion of the negotiations on the sale of the Eastern Chinese railroad.

THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS.

The French Socialists are put into an of van Zeeland is in effect a dictator-ship of the bourgeoisie with the Social Democratic support. In the Chamber of Deputies the Social Democratic representatives where the social state of the bourgeoisie. But the government of van Zeeland is in effect a dictator-ship of the bourgeoisie with the Social state of van Zeeland is in effect a dictator-ship of the bourgeoisie with the Social state of van Zeeland is in effect a dictator-ship of the bourgeoisie with the Social state of van Zeeland is in effect a dictator-ship of the bourgeoisie with the Social state of van Zeeland is in effect a dictator-ship of the bourgeoisie with the Social state of van Zeeland is in effect a dictator-ship of the bourgeoisie with the Social state of van Zeeland is in effect a dictator-ship of the bourgeoisie with the Social state of van Zeeland is in effect a dictator-ship of the bourgeoisie with the Social state of van Zeeland is in effect a dictator-ship of the bourgeoisie with the Social state of van Zeeland is in effect a dictator-ship of the bourgeoisie with the Social state of van Zeeland is in effect a dictator-ship of the bourgeoisie with the Social state of van Zeeland is in effect a dictator-ship of the bourgeoisie with the Social state of van Zeeland is in effect a dictator-ship of the bourgeoisie with the Social state of van Zeeland is in effect a dictator-ship of the bourgeoisie with the Social state of van Zeeland is in effect a dictator-ship of the bourgeoisie with the Social state of van Zeeland is in effect a dictator-ship of the bourgeoisie with the Social state of van Zeeland is in eff

promise with German imperialism. On jobbers had settled.

the other hand, there are the demands On the other hand, the English repre- of Japanese imperialism which are insentative in Moscow could convince him- creasingly menacing English interests.

Here too the Soviet Union had proved its eagerness to maintain peace.

The fundamental results of the Moscow negotiations are the following:

That England has given up her re-1. That England has given up her resistance to the Eastern pact. The Eastthe Belgian Social democrats neither addoubtedly suffer setbacks as a result. ern pact will become part of the statutes vocated nor forced the devaluation of England has already introduced defensof the League of Nations and the Soviet Union demands the inclusion of Gerical to accept it as a fait accomplication (increased tariffs on iron) and in forced to accept it as a fait accomplication (increased tariffs on iron) and in forced to accept it as a fait accomplication (increased tariffs on iron) and in forced to accept it as a fait accomplication (increased tariffs on iron) and in forced to accept it as a fait accomplication (increased tariffs on iron) and in forced to accept it as a fait accomplication (increased tariffs on iron) and in forced to accept it as a fait accomplication (increased tariffs on iron) and in forced to accept it as a fait accomplication (increased tariffs on iron) and in forced to accept it as a fait accomplication (increased tariffs on iron) and in forced to accept it as a fait accomplication (increased tariffs on iron) and in forced to accept it as a fait accomplication (increased tariffs on iron) and in forced to accept it as a fait accomplication (increased tariffs on iron) and in forced to accept it as a fait accomplication (increased tariffs on iron) and in forced to accept it as a fait accomplication (increased tariffs on iron) and in faithful accomplication (increased tariffs on iron) and iron (increased tariffs on iron) accomplication (increased tariffs on iron) and iron (increased tariffs on iron) accomplication (increased tariffs on many and Poland in the Eastern pact. But they did accept it! Prices in Bel- America Secretary of State Hull an-This alone represents a far-reaching turn gium are already rising rapidly. Auto- nounced the possibility of such a move in English foreign policy because it was matically, wages and salaries are all It is now up to the small Communist England's reluctance to enter the East-ready being cut. This is the first re-Party of Belgium whether or not the inern pact that determined France's po- sult of the participation of the Social evitable disappointment of the Belgian sition on this question.

2. That England is willing to guarunity". An extraordinary Party conferpression working class as a result of this exunity. An extraordinary Party conferpression. antee the "integrity" of the Soviet ence of the Belgian Labor Party has ap- ing and demoralization of the workers

erably cut their production costs. How-On April 11 the Hupp Motor strike ever, when the workers received their first pay check under the new setup, a ended with a virtually complete victory for the workers. The agreement provided for the abolition of the "bonus" system, the rehiring of all workers fired for union activity, the restoration of senior-life interests. The agreement provided for the abolition of the group bonus system. The refusal of the management to comply brought the men out on strike. ity rights and the company's acceptance Ordinarily it would be suicide for the

of the Worker's Negotiating Committee auto workers to strike at this time as production has passed its peak and is on About eight hundred out of approximately eleven hundred employees of the
Hunn Motor Cor Company of the Melon a male passed its peak and is on
the decline for the industry as a whole.
Indeed the auto manufacturers would out information to a group of stock- tation of scabs, got the rest of the men holders and were permitted to return to out still in the plant, and held their

The outcome of the strike was in dan-

ger because of the looseness of strike organization and the lack of decisiveness failure to realize the seriousness of the As wages go in auto plants, before fight before them, not only with the not only to beat back the Boot and Shoe the introduction of the group bonus sys- Hupp Motor Car Company but with the but to give warning to the manufacturers, to the Chamber of Commerce, to the City Fathers, to the boss press and to the motor men. But, with the change in no serious effort was made to set up a ent unions were present, a sort of gen- At this moment they are concentrations agreement" was suggested ing their activities in Haverhill where whereby each union would undertake not they have already induced one firm, the trikers to allow the Dingmen to coninue work, his argument being that they could do more good inside than outside the plant. Brother Miller of the Motor Products Local pointed out that only by closing down the plant completely could ing plans to cut off the Caucasus, Turk- and that, as long as the Dingmen would

DRESS STOPPAGE WINS

that a clinic will be fine for you. If, however, he can convince them that you are sick in bed with a raging fever, then a doctor will be called.

When you run yourself down and low-little Entente but also to England. Of on such place as Locarno. Japan wants to keep the way clear in the Far Last there is now shouting the slogan for home consumption: "We are being encircled by enemies", "We are menaced on all sides in order to of \$.08 a meal nor protect your body are menaced on all sides in order to of \$.08 a meal nor protect your body are menaced on all sides in order to on such place as Locarno. Japan wants to keep the way clear in the Far Last there is now shouting the slogan for home consumption: "We imperialist aims.

When it became apparent that the Association had no constructive program to offer in the way of a collective agreement for all its members in the \$4.75 sult of the obstacles she encountered in line, headquarters for individual settle-Europe and Asia. On the one point, it ments were opened at the Hotel New has become impossible to reach a com-Yorker. In a few days over 90% of the

> Social Democracy had to enter the govof the bourgeoisie. But the government

Union. This also represents a change, proved the participation of its leaders thus preparing the way for fascism to namely, that England is openly renouncing the government by a great majority.

VORKERS

Communist Party U.S.A. (Opposition) 51 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y. Phone: GRamercy 5-8903



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. 17.

Page 4

April 27, 1935.

Towards Catastrophe?

In so far as peace is concerned the results of the Stresa conference can be written big in water.

The same can be said in advance for all the coming peace conferences. Since the Versailles system at least one hundred anti-war pacts have been signed. They have been but peace puddles at best. Friends of yesterday have become the enemics of today and the antagonists on tomorrow's field of battle. The hostility between the enemies of yesterday is mounting skyward. An explosion is not far off, regardless of how many and how varied Hitler's peace promises may be. German imperialism has crushed its enemies at home, freed itself of the reparations burdens, and armed itself to the teeth. Its next move can be only in one direction—to recover the ground lost in 1918 and to expand beyoud its position of 1914. In the Far East, Japanese imperialist ventures pres ently know no bounds.

And the countless diplomatic obstacles to these two leading aggressive impjerialist powers serve, in the main, only to intensify the danger of war and to insure the conflagration being more sweeping and devastating than any other conflict in the history of humanity.

Under these circumstances the attitude of the working class movements towards the feverish war preparations and towards the impending catastrophe itself is more than ever the decisive factor determining whether peace is to continue or not. Frankly, it must be declared that too many sections of the labor movement have to date failed to learn from the disaster of 1914. In general, the social-democratic movement continues to travel on the same path which led it to support the imperialist war plans of their respective national government. Except for the Communists, there is as yet no consistent militant movement in the ranks of labor to thwart and paralyze the capitalist war plans

We dare say there is still to much truth in the following recent despatch from Paris by William Bird to the New York Sun: "Mobilizing of public opinion, so that war, if it comes, will be accepted with patriotic resignation if not with enthusiasm, is now practically complete thruout Europe." In the light of certain events this is anything but a rash conclusion. How else could one interpretpret the declaration of Leon Blum, leader of the French Socialist Party, in the Chamber of Deputies, that his organization would rally to the last man for the defense of France (imperialist France) against German imperialism? Defense of the capitalist fatherland! How painfully we recall this cry in the last war! Witness the assurance of support given Macdonald by the British Labor Party. No more tragic step could be taken by labor in England than the recent endorsement of Baldwin's principles of foreign policy by Labor's "shadow cabinet" consisting of probable ministers in the next Labor government.

Of the same stripe is the rush for cabinet posts, for ministerial jobs, by the leading figures of the Socialist (Second) International. Vandervelde, chairman of the Second International, has just joined a cabinet whose job is to help Belgian imperialism in its present financial plight and in its mlitary preparatons. In Norway, Sweden, and Denmark we now have Socialist Party premiers. Unfortunately, in the ranks of the world Socialist parties this "ministerialism" is no longer arousing the resistance it did in pre-war days. It is precisely such politics that account for the anti-Soviet manifestations in many sections of the socialist movement. These heroes of capitalist democracy have even gone so far as to label the U.S.S.R. a fascist country. For instance, we find in "Marxistischer Kampf" (December 1st) a tirade against "Russian Communist Fas-

Whatever sharp criticism is to be levelled against the tactical errors of the Comintern, it must be underscored that the Communist movement as a whole has been unflinching in its resistance to imperialist war. In no small measure is the vigorous peace policy of the U.S.S.R. responsible for delaying the world war todate. Pursuing the same objective-with tactics different, of course, from those of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union-the French Communist Party is conducting vigorous activities against the militarist and imperialist course of its own capitalist class. Hence, the recent raid by the French government on "L'Humanite", the leading Communist daily in France.

There is an organic connection between domestic and foreign policy in the bourgeois countries. Thus, M. Marin, minister of State without portfolio in the Flandin government, put the problem clearly: "France's diplomatic weakness is directly attributable to the weakness of the State." An essential part of the preparations for war is the trend towards Fascism. It is significant that bourgeois democratic France, in its hasty preparation to ward off German Fascist blows, can find no more effective steps than its own rapid advance towards a Fascist regime. This is the real meaning of Marin's plea for a "strong government" in France. And this smashes to smitherines the theory of the Social-Democratic leaderships for the need of supporting in the coming war the democratic capitalist imperialist powers against the Fascist imperialist pow- that line is much more important to the ers. The very process of capitalist war preparation wipes out all pretenses to expression of an idea than the creation democratic rights for the workers.

It is not yet too late to prevent an imperialist war. A broad united front of ALL labor organizations to resist imperialist war preparations is most urgent. Not the slightest concession must be made to the pernicious doctrine of emotionally in the theatre, while it may defense of the fatherland. BOURGEOIS fatherlands are unworthy of defense. Capitalist government, whether democratic, republican, monarchical or Fascist in form, must be overthrown by the working class in the various countries. The defeat and destruction of all such governments in imperialist war means the victory of the working class. Obviously, this means the turning of the imperialist war into civil war and the struggle for full power passing into the hands of the working class. The more proletarian dictatorships that are established, the greater the likelihood of world peace and world socialism.

Here is food for serious thought for all workers in the socialist movement. Here is a road to revolutionary action which affords the best guarantee for working class victory on a world scale.

THE ECONOMIC WEEK

The business index resumed its decline under the impetus of the decreased coal loadings for shipment. The compromise reached by the union and the coal operators averted the strike and thus effected a curtailment

in production. The Federal Reserve report for April states that "total profits of 659 leading industrial and mercantile companies whose statements have so far been published were 52% larger for the year 1934 than for 1933."

According to a report of the Consumers' Advisory Board, the average annual earnings for workers in the manufacturing industries are still below

Looking at industries as a whole, other sources of information indicate that according to October, 1934 payrolls, workers would have received, on the basis of 52 weeks, anywhere from \$687 in the cotton mills to \$1550 in the power and light industry.

-ECONOMIST

Books of the Age

by Bertram D. Wolfe

rar and Rinehart. 270pp. \$2.50.

This is a picture of the "Fatherland" as it looks and feels to the German working-people to-day. Karl Billinger is a pseudonym for an active communist He tells a plain unvarnished tale, truth not fiction, of the terror the Nazi regime practices against the Jews, pacifists, socialists and communists, and against the entire working class. We live with Billinger in hunted expectation of arrest he works underground, seeking rebuild the shattered Communis Party. We go with him to prison and concentration camp and are outraged and lacerated by the beatings, kickings and systematic tortures of body and spirit to which he and his fellow prison ers are subjected. And we emerge with him at last with the grim determination to fight on until this festering sore that afflicts the body of a sick social order is cut out by the surgical knife of the proletarian revolution.

The book grips and stirs you more deeply than a novel. It has more excitement. And strange to say, it is better planned. In this narrative of true ex perience, no art, no intensification, is needed. Story is there, for the times we live in are "stranger than fiction."

FATHERLAND, by Karl Billinger. Far-, and as in the "best books," the clear suggestion that "life goes on."

This book should be required reading for all American flirters with fascism for all workers who need hints as to how proletarian should conduct himself in iail, for all liberals and pacifists and indifferent philistines who believe they an evade the struggles of our times, for all official Communists who believe that the theory of "Social fascism" is correct or that the German working class suffered no defeat when Hitler came to

power.

It is painful to note that the curse of 'Social fascism" follows the Communists even into the detention camp. In prison, under the lash of the blackjack and the wet rawhide whip, they refuse to unite in joint action with their social-democratic fellow-prisoners and still act on the fatal theory of the 13th Plenum that even under fascism "the Social Democracy is the main social support of the bourgeoisie!" It is instructive that a united front breaks thru at last. And also instructive that Billinger, an official Communist "loyalite," makes the "correction" of the line come not from the Party members, but from the pressure of a left social democrat and a liberalpacifist student, who are horrified by the sectarian divisions where the need for Climax is there, and momentary release, unity is so great—and so apparent.

Stage and Screen

CLIFFORD ODETS, HIS PLAYS AND HIS CRITICS

By ROBERT ARTHUR

most important contribution to date to the fast growing proletarian drama. Indeed, this play comes as a heartening promise that the talent exposed in some of the excellent writing in "Waiting for Lefty" is designed to make Odets not only a major contributor to revolutionary playwriting, but the first of the proletarian writers for the theatre in Amer ica whose vision and vitality will rank him with the leading playwrights of our

For while "Waiting for Lefty" may have shown those who imagine them-selves acute, what it took "Awake and ing for Lefty" for what it was when we first saw it, we are not now in the em- the major weakness is in the audience barrassing position of the New Masses There is an obvious difference in audwhere one critic overpraised the shorter lience conditions and that difference, he play and left another critic with nothing even admits, was expected. The whole to do but underpraise "Awake and Sing", truth is that an "agit-prop" play debornly upholding a stupid viewpoint. We demands nothing but attention. One is a found that "Waiting for Lefty" was not political speech in great danger of being as completely effective as it might have booed unless it is among friends; the been for several reasons: (1) the cumu-other is a single imaginative conception, lative value of Lefty's absence could complete in all details, theoretically have been more skillfully prepared to bullet-proof because it supplies all sides emotionalize the shock at the finish; (2) and classes. the logic of the scenes could have led more certainly to the climax-namely, to the strike; (3) nearly all the scenes could have been infinitely less derivative. Yet, it is, nevertheless, a play of real value. As an "agit-prop" play it is one of the best. As a force for the advancement of the proletarian revolution it has its undoubted merits. All that we say is, that with no place to go, and nowhere to sit down, it still finds itself unruly in the parlor called the theatre. In short, since its purpose is the creation of excitement, granting even a complete achievement, it is still only a "thea

Now what "Awake and Sing" tries to do is less simple. Its action is based clearly upon an emotional line, and si of mere excitement, it is also more significant as a contribution to the revo is far and away the material of deepest value. And, fundamentally, the difference between a play like "Awake and Sing" and a play like "Waiting for Lefty"is the difference between the artist and the pamphleteer, or the difference between an imaginative concept and a public address. Undoubtedly the latter may at times be so well done as to be more effective than the former, but its essential value is lost quickly in the maze of influences, or relationships, or opinions, never accurately recorded, which it calls upon its audience to supply. A play, on the other hand, tells the complete story from a basically imagined viewpoint. It demands very little from its audience except attention. Indeed, at its very best, it commands both this attention and respect. Without asking a prior conviction or an already awakened enthusiasm, it persuades by reason of its skillful handling of its author's truth or vision. We, the audience, unconsciously identify ourselves with certain characters to whom the author, by sympathetic treatment of them, has subtly attracted us. But the play' idea depends for its expression upon characters whose relationships and adjustments are, collectively and individually, to each other and to the larger tion.

forces which propel them, most clearly "Awake and Sing" is Clifford Odets' defined within the arbitrary limits the play has set for itself. These adjustments must of necessity

be altered or broken, when the character, in order to make a point to ar audience, steps out of the play or fails to preserve his relationships within this frame-work. Therefore, to this reviewer, Burnshaw in writing of the reception of "Waiting for Lefty" uptown, in the New Masses on April 9, completely misses the point when he is startled by what he terms a difference in alertness between Broadway and left-wing audiences. If he is saying that he is startled to find that a political-minded audience Sing" to show your correspondent, the is more political minded than one that shorter play, while it has its place, is isn't political minded, I think he could as significant neither as drama nor as dispense with wasting the paper on which propaganda to the revolutionary move- to say it. No one who can spell could Having clearly evaluted "Wait- gainsay his statement. Asurredly he is jousting with a windmill when he thinks and spend several issues thereafter stub- mands a receptive audience; the other

Odets has shown in "Awake and Sing" that he can carry his extraordinary vitality into the relationship of characters in the artistic form of a play. For the people in this Bronx Jewish family are alive with an energy that is the despair and wonder of their breed. Altho he has burdened his script with far too many abortive humors which tend to dissipate its emotional vigor, Odets has his characters speak an amazing language, a kind of synthesis of the spoken word of these people in life. His humor is never really born of a wise-crack, but is amusing nearly always because it is peculiarly revelatory in terms of character.

Yet it takes no miracle of mind to discover that Odets in this play as in "Waiting for Lefty" is still suffering from a too great attachment to cliche in general outline of the type of character he portrays as well as in situation he develops. This is due, once again, to the obviously derivative material in his plays. Only one greatly gifted could have overcome, as he undoubtedly did, both the pathetic formlessness of "Awake and Sing" and the familiarity of character types and situations in both play. Only the combination of his gifts and view point overcame the weakness of the third act of "Awake and Sing".

But let us not dwell too long upon the deficiencies. We point them out because here is a man of great talent whose natural gifts should mature quickly. If he succeeds in overcoming some of the more obvious handicaps, he should prove, within a short time, our most important proletarian playwright as well as one of the outstanding playwrights

MARCH WITH THE CPO ON THE FIRST OF MAY

Members and sympathizers of the Communist Party (Opposition) and students of the New Workers School will asthe Workers Age are urged to join the ranks of the Communist Party (Opposition) and Communist Youth Opposition.

Counterfelt liberals?

I hope you may find time and space to explain these contradictions. Many communist sympathizers are puzzled.

Comradely.

Dear Comrade **Editor**

TOM MOONEY WRITES

California State Prison, San Quentin, Cal. 4-12-35

Workers Age.

My dear Sirs and Brothers: The United States Supreme Court has

leferred any immediate hope of freedom might have had by sending me back to the Courts of California to exhaust all judicial remedies in that State. For us to hope for freedom from the Courts of Capital in California would be sheer folly

Everything should be done to create a tremendous mass pressure of public opinion that will compel the Capitalist class of California to free me.

Our distinguished counsel have given their matchless services to this cause without fee. Services thus rendered, it seems to me, is more than their fair share in this tremendous public service. They should not be required to pay actual courts expenses from their own personal funds. Counsel will have to make at least three round trips across country, voluminous courts records and briefs MUST be prepared and printedtwice in California and once for the United States Supreme Court, a great amount of stenographic and clerical assistance will be needed for this work. and innumerable incidental expenses will cost our defense at the very lowest, \$10,000; ten thousand dollars to go through with this fight. Our defense committee is penniless—deeply in debt and struggling desperately to overcome this seemingly hopeless situation.

Won't you now come to our assistance as you have so willingly and generously in the past by making an immediate donation, be it ever so small, it will help, and urgently call upon all of your associates and all workingclass organizations to send us a contribution.

This terrific workingclass battle of 19 years duration to expose the Mooney FRAMEUP and free me from this tomb of the living dead has saved many other militant workers from similiar capitalistic FRAMEUPS. Every penny invested and effort put forth in the Mooney Case is, in reality, a defense of every militant worker against such monstrous conspiracies. I offer a sincere workingclass appeal for your assistance. I need it. Will you help me? Accept my warmest personal regards and firm proletarian greetings, I am,

Fraternally yours,
TOM MOONEY 3 1921

P. S .- Direct all funds and comnunications to The Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, Box 1475, San Francisco, California.

A PUZZLED COMMUNIST

New York City, April 17, 1935.

Comrade Editor:

In the April issue of the Communist, Central Committee of the C.P. U.S.A. prints its lengthy manifesto for a mighty united front May Day. In this manifesto, calling for such united front, it makes the following statement "The threat of a new war against the Soviet

Union is now real and immediate. The lying and provocative assalts on the Soviet Union by the Hearst press in agreement with Hitler, the attacks by the Roosevelt administration and the State department are followed by the demand from representatives of clerical and fascist reaction for the breaking off of diplomatic relations. These war-like provocations coincide with the march of Japanese imperialism toward the Soviet frontiers and with the new war-like activities of German—Polish fascism against the Soviet Union. In this campaign, the A. F. of L. top-bureaucracy, leader of the Socialist party, counterfeit liberals, Lovestonite renegades from communism, and the counter revolutionary Trotskyite-Musteite outfit join forces with Hearst and all enemies of the American working class." (emphasis mine)

At the same time, the Daily Worker blesses the invitation to Gorman (top-leader of the A. F. of L.) to address the April 3rd meeting attacking Hearst, the C.P. sends pleas to Thomas (S. P. leader) to unite with the C.P. in a mighty United Front May Day, the Daily Worker proudly prints a resolution passed by local 22 (headed by Charles Zimmerman, a leading Lovestonite) attacking the anti-Soviet statements made by Harry Lang in the Hearst press. These contradic-tions, to say the least, are very confusing to many communist sympathizers. If the S.P. leadership is united with Hearst, etc. then why appeal to these leaders for a united front against Hearst, etc.? If the top-leadership of the A. F. of L. is united with Hearst then why invite Gorman to speak at an anti-Hearst meeting, why write letters to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. addressing the members as Brothers? If the C.P.O. is tied up with Hearst then how explain action taken by Local 22 on Harry Lang, as the local is headed by a leading Lovestoneite. Who are the