Five Cents

# At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

WITHOUT trying to minimize in the VV least the meaning of the Supreme Court verdict against the NRA, we insist that neither the New Deal nor the nine lamas on the highest bench have yet shown the slightest comprehension of the basic factors in the economic situation. In this sense Roosevelt's revamped NRA is only "a bolt of nothing, shot at nothing.'

Owen D. Young, chairman of the General Electric Company, came near put-ting his finger on some cancerous tissue in Wall Street's economic body when he recently told the Senate Banking Committee: "The only question now is to get business to use the 25 billion dollars operating credits that are in these banks. Business will never use it so long as confidence is impaired." In this conclusion there is more than a strain of truth. But Mr. Young can't understand the essence of the problem. Confidence is important. But, why is there on confidence. It's more than a psychological question Not even so eminent a horse psychiatrist as Hoover can repair the confidence. What Roosevelt can't do, Hoover should not even try.

We must consider the problem in much more fundamental manner. Capi talist industry is topheavy in overdevelopment on the basis of possible demand in the foreign as well as domestic market. The gap between productive capacity and consumption possibilities is unbridgeable under the present economic system in which production is carried on socially but the products turned out are appropriated privately by profitchasers. Supreme Court or no Supreme Court decision, private industry cannot profitably absorb the tremendous amount of capital piled up in the country. Hence the government enters upon the scene to become the capitalist, the investor, to offer the outlet for surplus capital.

In the last few years this trend to ward state capitalism has become marked. In 1929, private industry took 85% and the government 15% of all new security issues floated. By 1930, Hoover's sophomore year, the government share of new issues rose to 24% By 1932, Hoover's senior or graduation year and after only three years of crisis so much stagnation had already set in private industry that the government (federal, state and municipal) absorbed 92% of all new security issues. And this under a regime of Republican "rug-ged individualism" and "a free play of economic forces"! In Roosevelt's sophomore year, 1934, this trend was accelerat ed to the point of the government tak ing up 97% (over six billion dollars) of the new security issues. American private industry last year absorbed only 3% of such capital flotations!

Here is a tendency of momentous significance for American economic life Supreme Court decisions, presidential maneuvers, constitutional amendments and banking manipulations can at best tamper with it or slow it down moment arily. Stagnation and decay are gnawing at the very vitals of the mightiest national unit of capitalist economy. Here is labor's opportunity and duty. Page the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics for the way out of this tremendous

NOT so long ago Norman Thomas complained that "the actions of the extreme right wing in New York have brought about widespread conviction that the Party (S. P.) is splitting, that it is futile, and that at any rate, it is an adjunct of Roosevelt, notably in what it has said about the security program. We think the ideological leader of the S.P. is, for once, on the right track in

But why blame it solely on the righ wing? (Waldman, Oneal, Solomon and Co.) A little closer home, "my dear comrades", for the source of such widespread convictions! Let's look into the statement on the Supreme Court voidance of the NRA just issued by the Pub lic Affairs Committee of the Socialist Party, chairmanned by Norman Thomas himself. Thomas and Delson, two re-nowned "militants", constituting this committee, join the Roosevelt chorus howling for an amendment to the constitution as the way out.

Three points constitute the guiding lines for labor in these critical hours, as laid down by the Socialist Party. First, "the Socialist Party summons the workers of America, all those who love genuine democracy and true self-govern ment . . . to rally at once to the following program: the immediate adoption of a constitutional amendment which will give Congress clear and undisputed power to pass legislation necessary for lutionary socialists like Comrades Dansocial and economic well-being of the iels, Hapgood, and Henson will say about

# Dressmakers in Market Parade

Demonstrate Determination To Defend Conditions Won In Last Strike

NEW YORK CITY.-If there were any dress manufacturers who fondled the thought of an attempt upon conditions in the trade, they must have got severe jolt when 15,000 dressmakers stormed into the dress market, singing and cheering, to express their determination to hold what they got and fight for more the first chance they get.

The peace of Saturday morn (dressmakers do not work on Saturday) was shattered by the marchers wearing arm bands which told the world: "The Su-preme Court Abolished NRA, But It Can Never Abolish Our Union" "Thirtyfive Hours-We'll Soon Work Less But Never More" and "When We Strike, We Win, What We Win, We Keep." One of the songs which attracted widespread attention was one to the tune of "It Ain't Gonna Rain No more":

"Ain't no NRA no more, no NRA no

But the union's just as strong today As it ever was before."

During the meetings held after the demonstrations it was made clear that the union intends to enforce the 35-hour week and the present wage standards regardless of the death of NRA. Union representatives stated that similar demonstrations were being held in all other dress centers around New York. According to reports 100,000 workers demonstrated in the various cities around

## **Bosses Financed** Harlan Terror

FRANKFORT, Ky .- Harlan County, one of the bloodiest spots of all the mining sections in the country, has recently been investigated by agents of Governor Laffoon. The Commission had to be escorted by troops for they feared for their lives. Two statements of the committee stand out: Immediate ousting of the sheriff as an agent of the coal barons responsible for the terror and that the operators were oppressing labor and amassing fortunes.

According to the commission there ex ists in Harlan "a virtual reign of terror financed in general by a group of coal mine operators in collusion with certain public officials". That "the victims of this . . . are the coal miners and their The Commission further re families". ported that "homes of union miners and organizers have been dynamited and fired into, families evicted from their homes, ballot boxes stuffed, organizers rrested . . .

Lest you think that some labor organizer made this investigation we hasten to inform you that none other than Adjutant General H. H. Denhardt headed he Commission.

know the difference between "genuine democracy" and "bogus" democracy." To the genuine and bogus democrats of the harmonized Socialist Party leadership ure of power by the working class. The it's all a matter of amending and not of seizure of power is specified as assumcanning the constitution. Apparently ing the form of the dictatorship of the these "militant" social-democrats have never heard what Chief Justice Hughes cepted as a weapon. The resolution calls said and never understood him when he stressed: "We are under a Constitution, but the Constitution is what the Judges say it is." And if you're in a hurry, the S.P. (again not unlike Roosevelt) proposes, secondly, that "pending the passage of this general amendment, pressure must be brought on enough states to complete the ratification of the antichild labor amendment." How militant! What a declaration of principles!

But wait for the real lesson to be learned from this verdict of the Su-preme Court! Here's the treat of treats: The most important lesson of all is obvious on the face of this decision. If Congress cannot effectively regulate our economic life while the means of production lie in the hands of private owners, there is one more reason why the people must own these tools of production." At last we have a new reason for socialist economy—so that Congress can 'effectively regulate our economic life."

Preserve the constitution! Make Congress potent! What a deadly parallel with the Roosevelt approach! worship of false shadows! And what a persistent refusal to see the true substance of the state and its role in the sharpening class relations in the U. S Truly fitting for "an adjunct to Roose velt" but not for a working class or-ganization. Shall we wonder what revo-Thanks. Now the workers will this declaration of their party?

# LABOR LEADERS CHASING RAINBOWS

## Progressive Groups Form Council

### 16 Progressive Groups Join To Set Up Coordinating Body For New York City

NEW YORK CITY.—16 progressive groups represented by 67 delegates met here in an all day conference and launchwhat is to be known as the Council

of Needle Trades Progressive Groups.
Charles Zimmerman, Manager of Loc al 22 I.L.G.W.U. was the keynote speak er for the conference. He outlined in de tail the present condition in the trade unions, the dependence by the leadership on governmental bodies, its policies of conciliation with the employers and its failure to rebuild the organizations along industrial lines. He outlined a program of action which was later incorporated in the program adopted by the body This, said Zimmerman referring to the organization of the needle trades' cen ter, is just a beginning. We must extend the work to build a general trade union center in New York and also lay the basis for the building of a national progressive body. We must not permit such nen as Lewis to pose as the champior of progressive measures.

S. Brandon of the Typographical union vas the surprise speaker, and received a hearty reception from the delegates. He attributed the failure of the trade union to progress to the policy of conciliation to the belief that "what's good for the boss is good for the workers". He and many others, he said, looked to the pro gressives in the needle trades to set the

Murray Gross reported for the Pro gram Committee and had his report ap proved after a little tussle with a couple of Trotskyites who proposed a dual unionist line and objected to a Labor

Party.

The approved program pledges the following progressives to fight for the following demands:

- 1. For class struggle.-Against clas
- collaboration.

  2. For the 30-hour week.
- 3. For higher minimum scales. 4. For the week-work system.
- 5. For the reorganization of the unions on a more industrial basis.
- 6. For the amalgamation of all needle trades unions.
- 7. For proportional representation in union bodies.

### **Triple Alliance Formed**

NEW YORK CITY.-A triple alliance of the most powerful unions in the garment industry has recently been concluded here. This will undoubtedly have a far reaching effect in the organization of the unorgan ized and open shop factories which have moved out of the big cities in order to escape unionization.

The alliance includes the International Ladies Garment Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the Hat, Cap and Millinery Union The agreement calls for pooling of funds and organization facilities in the drive to organize the industries.

- 8. For democracy in the unions. 9. Against racketeering and corrup tion in the unions.
- 10. For a nation-wide campaign to or ganize the unorganized.
- 11. For industrial unionism and the amalgamation of the craft unions.
- 12. For the organization of the unem ployed under trade union auspices. 13. For trade union unity.-Against
- dual unionism.
  14. For world trade union unity. 15. For a Labor Party.
- 16. For federal social and labor legis

Other proposals accepted by the conerence were referred to the executive for putting into final form.

The Credential Committee reported the following organizations as participating with full voting rights: Progressive Groups of Local 1, 22, 25, 60, 66 of the I.L.G.W.U., Furriers Progressive Group Amalgamated Clothing Workers Circle Progressive Trade Union Center Group of Local 1 I.L.G.W.U., Progressive Trade Union Welfare Group of Local 9 I.L.G W.U., Knitgoods Workers Progressive Group, Progressive Club of Local 17 I.

The Cutters Welfare Group of Loca 10 I.L.G.W.U. was represented by two observers. Fraternal delegates were seated from the following organizations Progressive Groups of Local 23 and 132 Progressive Group of Neckwear Makers Union, Cloak Pressers Aid Society of Local 35 I.L.G.W.U.

### **Executive Council Meets But** Makes No Proposals For **Present Labor Crisis**

Upon the voiding of NRA, William Green immediately called an emergency session of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to take up the crisis. These sessions have now been held and it is possible for us to say very definitely that the Council has not helped in the slightest to solve the problems now facing labor.

The Executive Council has done considerable weeping and gnashing of teeth. "In a short span of six business days following the supreme court decision", says the A. F. of L., 1,000,000 workers in 43 industries among them steel, iron and railroad equipment, suffered increases in hours, cuts, in wages or both. The Council goes on to tell us that thousands have been discharged for refusing to work longer hours, that children are replacing adults and that a number of southern textile manufacturers have cut wages to the point where skilled workers are making but \$7.00 a week.

We read this and we ask: What has the Council decided to do about it? Has it perchance decided, during an unguarded moment of rashness, to start a real organization drive or at least to stiffen the backbone of labor's resistance? Decisions it made, but none of those we have posed. The Council decided to have the Wagner Bill passed (even in its newest garb), to support the Thirty Hour Week Bill, the Social Security Bill and the Guffey Coal Bill. That's all!

You look at this program and becoming a little indignant you stutter: But there's nothing new in any of these measures, the A. F. of L. was already on record for all these measures before the emergency Council met!

And when you say this you are absolutely right. They met, they talked, they grieved over the death of the Blue Eagle and being unable to think of anything to do, they covered up their bankruptcy by talking Wagner Bill, Guffey Bill and Security Bill. So, fellow trade unionists, you better stop waiting for Green to tell you what to do. Just go to your next local union meeting, and all others to follow, and fight like hell against granting any cuts in wages or increasing the hours of labor. See that your union is ready to fight and fight hard to maintain present conditions or even to push

# EUROPE TODAY Child Labor

### By August Thalheimer

FRENCH SOCIALISTS GO LEFT

The Northern Federation of the So preparation for the Socialist Party Convention which indicates the increased radicalization of the Socialist workers of France. The resolution tho it is fundamentally centrist makes strong con cessions to the left, i.e., to the Paris Federation. The resolution states that nolitical strike is ac for Self-Defense organizations of the working class against fascist leagues.

The Northern Federation is led by peo ple like Lebas who together with Leon Blum form the actual leadership of the SFIO.

### ENGLAND FORCES ITALIAN RETREAT

Due to the pressure exerted by England, Mussolini has been forced into temporary retreat in Abyssinia. The Geneva compromise enables England and France to have a decisive influence on the further negotiations between Italy and Abyssinia. His retreat, as usual was accompanied by a lot of sabre-ratt ling and all sorts of maneuvers. His latest maneuver consists of again courting Hitler-Germany by declaring that it

is only the Austrian question that separates Italy from Germany and that other powers beside Italy are interested in Austria. This maneuver can only be cialist Party of France has adopted a in Austria. This maneuver can only be resolution at its conferences called in shortlived, since in reality Fascist Italy will never permit Austria to become a province of Hitler Germany in one form

or another. The compromise arrived at permits

Mussolini to increase his troops in Afri ca but makes it increasingly difficulfor him to start a war. This possibility however is not altogether excluded Whether or not Mussolini will actually start a war depends, in the final analy sis, upon England, since she rules the waves. All England has to do is to shut the Suez Canal to Italy to prevent a war.
It can be assumed that this was

achieved by the active participation of the representatives of the Soviet Union in the League of Nations.

### GERMAN BOYCOTT APPROVED

The conference of the Amsterdam Trade Union International which took place in Copenhagen decided to intensi fy the boycott against Hitler Germany At the same time, the conference in agreement with the British Labor Par ty asked for a conference of all powers to determine the attitude of Hitler. As if this were necessary in the face of re cent developments in Germany.

STRIKES IN GERMANY

One of the bourgeois press associa (Continued on Page 4)

hildren from 8 to 15 years of age were discovered working nights on pocket-books and other wearing apparel in West Lynn, Mass., by Inspector Delaney of the Department of Labor and Industries. West Lynn school teachers had reported that many of their children fell asleep during classes, this led to the investi-gation. West Lynn and Haverhill have both been hotbeds of child labor throughout the period of the NRA. This latest case is far from being "exceptional" in New England. On June 3, Acting Commissioner Mary

Several weeks ago some twenty school

In Bay State

E. Meehan, issued a statement in which the entire burden of blame is shifted to the "inhuman parents" who signed contracts permitting their children to be exploited. Obviously every attempt is being made to stifle as much of the truth as possible by state authorities. Parents, children and employers will be brought into Lynn's District Court this week for trial.

In an interview, Miss Meehan deplored the fact that her department was so restricted and enmeshed in the net of the Mass, laws curtailing labor investigation, that the ferreting out of child labor has almost become impossible. Miss Meehan deplored the publicity on the case but maintained silence when interrogated on vital considerations concerning child labor in the state.

The Sentinels Of The Republic, the mask of the lobby machinery of the United States Shoe Machinery Corporation, is continuing its offensive against all child labor restrictions. Attorneys of this "professional patriot" group were the field marshalls in the attack that defeated the Child Labor Amendment in the state early this year. In conjunction with the all-powerful Catholic Church, the Sentinels are the greatest force obstructing legislation in the interests of the workers.

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READ IT IN NEXT WEEK'S ISSUE WORKERS AGE

# SOVIET DIPLOMACY AT WORK

"Soviet Foreign Policy and the World Revolution." In the first article Lovestone cor sidered the Soviet's peace policy, the period. of Soviet diplomacy and the class base up

a consistent course in which we find cer- Always such non-aggression treaties are ways than one. Germany is, at the mo- visions among the imperialist countries. Soviet government can simultaneously tain "red threads", definite guiding lines. offered by the Soviet to all imperialist ment, more bellicose because she sees Briefly stated these are:

### BUILDING SOVIET

1. To maintain and consolidate the position and to extend the prestige and following course open to the victorious Russian working class: The enhancement of the prestige of the U.S.S.R. in the eyes of the international working class and of the oppressed colonial masses. SOVIET HAS NO This could, of course, be best achieved ILLUSIONS thru showing practical results, signifi-

strive to secure the maximum "breath- very adequately explained the why and MEETING ECONOMIC ing spell" needed for continuing and wherefore of such divisions amongst the NEEDS strengthening the economic and political imperialist countries. He said in part: 8. Soviet Foreign policy further rests position already won by the international proletariat in what was once the Czarist empire. Of course, if Germany had gone Soviet, if Austria and the Balkans had gone Bolshevik, this question of breathing spell would assume a differ-

### DANGER ON TWO

3. Soviet foreign policy is at all time cognizant of the fact that the U.S.S.R. situated between two infernos-Japanese imperialist inferno in the East and a monster German-Polish war machine in the West. Polish imperialism plays here a special role. It is a sworn enemy of the Soviet Union, whether i be in "alliance" with the French bourgeoisie at one time or with the German

the imperialist powers, the Soviet Union many, it does not mean that they are icy, is due primarily and directly pro- ter any alliance with imperialist powers may, should and must, at one time or another come together with one or more others. Thus, the Soviet Union car have, together with capitalist countries at one moment or another, common end mies but not common interests. For the Soviets such alliances are strictly military and limited to defense. They are not political understandings based on common interests.

The present relation of the Soviet tual entitled, "Things We Want to Know." Union to France, even in so far as mili- Here's the question: tary technique is concerned, is funament ally identical with the relationship the 12. Most I absolute Mass pickers as well as the Russian workers. It learns and Trotsky, with the Weimar Republic of Germany. At that time there took place an exchange of military technicians, even a close working together of both general staffs. No one then seriously questioned the great advantages reaped by the U.S.S.R. in such collaboration with the German imperialist government. Today, the situation has changed only in form. The collaboration is now taking place between the U.S.S.R. and the French Republic instead of the Weimar Republic. Today, as stead of the Weimar Republic. Today, as the such as the first and the first of the the mass of the Russian workers. It is guilled in every significant strike.

12. Most I ADVOCATE MASS PICK. It would prove a signal for triumphant removed in every significant strike.

1330, you will find criticism of adventurist tactics in ill-prepared mass demonstrations, too, have an important function. Throughout history they have been a means of expressing of more and politically with the popular will. It was a mass demonstration that began the attack on the Bastille. It was a mass demonstration in an over the denial of the God-given right to picket.

1330, you will find criticism of adventurist tactics in ill-prepared mass demonstrations, too, have an important function. Throughout history they have been a means of expressing of more than the rejection of mass demonstrations. It is merely a discussion of measures for more elective mass demonstration in all capitalist countries.

3. Time is on our side. In so, the Communist Party. But that does not signify for a moment the rejection of mass demonstrations, too, have an important function. Throughout history they have been a means of expressing of every day, while the antage of the popular will. It was a mass demonstration in all capitalist countries.

3. Time is on our side. In so, the Communist Party. But that does not signify for a moment the rejection of mass demonstrations, too, have an important function. Throughout history Soviet Union once had, in the days of ETING AND MASS DEMONSTRATIONS used in every significant strike. U.S.S.R. and the French Republic instead of the Weimar Republic. Today, as then, the Soviet Union does not have the same objectives as its collaborator. In the case of the military understanding with the Weimar Republic the Soviet Union sought to make impossible an invasion of its territory by blocking the horse of the manufacture of the manufacture of the denial of the God-given right to seem the denial of the God-given right to picket.

Nor is it correct to regard such demonstration initiated every real step forward in the travel time of steam", or "creating turmoil and confusion and price of the working class movements in the very country. Again, time is on our side in so far as the travelles. A mass demonstration initiated every real step forward in the working class movements in the very country. Again, time is on our side in so far as the working class movements in the working class that I've seen New York at the working class of the French Revolution. I've seen them stand like sections of the mass became politically awake for the first time, then the "people" representatives" in Parliamentary ple's representatives" in Parliamentary in Parliamentary in their feets of the manufacture of road thru Germany; but in this case the German bourgeoisie had totally differderman bourgeoisie had totally different aims. They sought, thru this alliance with the U.S.S.R., to strengthen themselves so as to win a better position for the defeated German imperialist sack charge. (I think I'd have felt the same against the victorious imperialist myself.) Init it true that your own tactics. tion for the defeated German imperialism, against the victorious imperialist powers. Today, thru the alliance with France, the Soviets are seeking to paralyze German imperialist aggression against their territory; but the French bourgeoisie hopes, through the France, Soviet pact of mutual assistance, not only Soviet pact of mutual assistance, not only to be able to defend what they have won in the last war but also, if possible, prevent the recurrence of the German imperialist challenge.

GUARANTEES AGAINST

ATTACK

5. Soviet foreign policy rests, in a measure, on a constantly changing half.

5. Soviet foreign policy rests, in a court"—who wouldn't have contempt for measure, on a constantly changing balsuch a court and such enslavement orMooney though they were not powerful measure, on a constantly changing bal- such a court and such enslavement orance of power and relations between ders?)—there is only one recourse for enough to free him. Were it not for the various capitalist countries. The Soviet Government is prepared to sign non aggression pacts, or mutual assistance pacts, with any imperialist power, let us say for ten years, although while signing it, the proletarian government knows very well that these pacts may last only ten months or ten weeks. Nev er do Soviet diplomats harbor any illusions as to the calendar, life of such

# The Guiding Lines Determining Russia's Policy

perialist power is the most effective oledge and guarantee against attack—no POLICY OF matter how little value such guarantees NON-INTEFERENCE influence of the Soviet Union as the base of the international proletarian revbase of the international proletarian revfered to France and Germany simulinterference in the internal affairs of smaller. In this sense, Lenin was not a
way system.

Today more than ever is this peace

2. The U.S.S.R., still being alone, must Committee of the Soviet Government,

Here we have the essence of the pres- tries. ent international situation. No Communist maintains that any capitalist government will remain forever, or for any FOR PEACE

In this issue Comrade Wolfe answers No.

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taneously. It is clear that the Eastern foreign countries which have established Pact is not an alliance with France relations with the U.S.S.R. In the pres
Brest-Litovsk Treaty when he did. This policy of the Soviet Government conagainst Germany, but a move by the ent situation it is the Soviet Union, with was the Soviet's moment of worst weak- ducive to the best interests of the en-U.S.S.R. to make more difficult or to prevent, either or both of these imperments to gain from such reciprocal pledgialist powers from attacking the U.S.S.R. to make more difficult or to a world of enemies against it, that has prevent, either or both of these imperments to gain from such reciprocal pledgialist powers from attacking the U.S.S.R. to make more difficult or to a world of enemies against it, that has ness and, therefore, the occasion for the tire international working class. Some signing of its most humiliating treaty, anxious for peace? Is it not true that anxious for peace? Is it not true that fairs. The Soviet Union has suffered tionist because of his opposition to the if war comes, then revolution will folfor years thru such interference by for-cign powers in its internal affairs; for refused to make this terrific concession haps the price—thru actual devastation 6. The strategy of Soviet foreign pol- example, the years of foreign military to German imperialism at the time, and destruction of human life and recant successes, socially and economically icy, while utilizing these divisions intervention in Russia after the armistice would have spelled suicide for the Sov- sources—will be so great that the proat home and thru striking fear and respect into the hearts of the imperialist powers, is not enemies abroad. In this sense the Sovernment and imperialist powers, and the sense the Sovernment and imperialist powers, is not enemies abroad. In this sense the Sovernment and imperialist powers, is not enemies abroad. In this sense the Sovernment and imperialist powers, is not enemies abroad. In this sense the Sovernment and imperialist powers, is not enemies abroad. In this sense the Sovernment and imperialist powers, is not enemies abroad. In this sense the Sovernment are provided in the sense that the provided was concluded. Obviously in such agree-letariat will be bled white, too weak to gling and bluffing at Brest Litovsk confinal. At any moment any imperialist intervention in Russia atter the armistice would nave spelled suicide for the Sovernment. As it is, Trotsky's hag-letariat will be bled white, too weak to gling and bluffing at Brest Litovsk confinal. At any moment any imperialist intervention in Russia atter the armistice would nave spelled suicide for the Sovernment. As it is, Trotsky's hag-letariat will be bled white, too weak to gling and bluffing at Brest Litovsk confinal. At any moment any imperialist intervention in Russia atter the armistice would nave spelled suicide for the Sovernment. As it is, Trotsky's hag-letariat will be bled white, too weak to gling and bluffing at Brest Litovsk confinal are provided to the provided substantially towards the loss suicide for the sovernment. iet Union serves as an example, as an inspiration, to the international revomany happen to have with the U.S.S.R. iet Government has nothing to do with the U.S lution and as the citadel of proletarian power on a world scale.

may nappen to have with the Cos.S.R. and join and doesn't assume any responsibility hands with its own enemies against the Soviet Union—the common enemy of all ties conducted by the revolutionists of the doesn't have to do so. Today the FOR PEACE? capitalist powers. Litvinov, in a recent the various countries with which she, as U.S.S.R. is far more powerful. Lenin However, there are today special reaaddress before the Central Executive a government, has diplomatic relations. was compelled to sign treaties giving sons why the Russian and the rest of the

"But not all capitalist states, at on a frank recognition of the fact that DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS any or every time or always, desire today the U.S.S.R. is economically not uation is unfavorable: or it may hap-lin Socialist construction are often imand requires a certain period of time son for the Soviet Government seekconomic relations with the other coun-

AS TO MASS DEMONSTRATIONS

power of mass pressure the Scottsbor

boys would long be rotting in their

I will grant you that our Party's mas

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tion, to picket in such numbers, not held with a broad program and a nar-

powers regardless of the conflicts among at hand an opportunity to get back some above lines of strategy that the Sov- ers adhering to and opposed to the Verthemselves. What the Soviet governof the loot the other plunderers took
ment is trying to get out of every imfrom her in the last war.

above these of stategy that the Soviet solution opposed to the very
ment is trying to get out of every imfrom her in the last war. days of its existence, followed a vigor- midst of the recent negotiations with ous peace policy. To achieve peace, the the French Government, the Soviet Unior proletarian republic has, at times, had was able to arrive at an arrangement to make concessions and compromises. with Germany for securing eighty milmay have. Hence, the much-vaunted 7. The Soviet foreign diplomats are As the Soviet power became greater, lion dollars credit from the latter for the

> away, while Stalin is today in a posi- international proletariat must strive to tion to sign treaties pledging capitalist delay or prevent an outbreak of imper-

The Soviet government earnestly de- the danger of their maturing into an war to the same extent. Any, even the most imperialist state, at any giving. If any country is approaching self-champion of peace in the eyes of the sires to be at peace and to appear as the open explosion among the imperialist en time, may become strongly pacif- sufficiency the Soviet Union is, but this masses. This attitude is rooted in the by unity against a common foe. Obist. This happens when it has either condition is still very far from realiza- anti-imperialist character of the proleist. This happens when it has either condition is still very far from realiza-suffered a defeat in war, and, there-tion. The Soviet Union still needs for-tarian dictatorship. The U.S.S.R. doesn't U.S.S.R. could be. Here we touch the suffered a defeat in war, and, therefore requires a certain interval before it can be ready for a new war,
or when it has as antagonist a far
more powerful State or group of States and the general political sit- these needs and to facilitate its progress often stood for lots of provocations and coalition of imperialist governments insults from far weaker countries. Anipen when a country has become over- possible without normal diplomatic re- mated by the same genuine desire for the atiated with victories and conquests, lations. Here we have the primary reacontinuation of peace, Soviet diplomats the Soviet Union would be at stake, the have come forward with the most pracfor the assimilation of these con- ing complete, normal, diplomatic and tical and straight-foward proposals for prolonging peace, for paralyzing the at the expense of the proletariat in Rusrentures of aggressors. Note the Sovet proposals for disarmament and its ment in all countries. Fortunately, the definition of an aggressor.

UTILIZING ANTAGONISMS

4. Because of the sharp conflicts, because of the acute antagonisms among it does not make that they can be caused in the acute antagonisms among it does not make that they are that they are the union in the sharp conflicts are today less bellicose than is German and England and the union is does not make the union in the sharp conflicts are today less bellicose than is German and England are today less bellicose than the today less bellicose than is German and England are today less bellicose than the today a

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for its overthrow. Likewise, the Soviets will not go to war or sign any pacts to preserve the Versailles system. a working class government the U.S.S.R. which it rests.—Editor.

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Throughout the various stages of its foreign policy the U.S.S.R. has pursued

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by JAY LOVESTONE

ialist war. These are: 1. So acute have become the antagon

isms among the capitalist countries that powers themselves can only be checked against the Soviet Union. Should Hitler succeed in his strategy, the life of contradictions among the imperialist powers themselves momentarily softened sia and at the expense of the labor move-U.S.S.R. has so far been able, with the This realistic approach also character- help of the pressure of the labor movements in the various capitalist lands, to outmaneuver Hitler.

2. Then, Socialist construction in the Soviet Union has already reached that stage in which the difficulties are well on the way of being overcome-but not yet fully overcome. This is a very delicate moment in which the achievements years could be destroyed in a war as if overnight. At this elbow of the road, at this decisive moment in the comthe workingmen: to violate the injunc-| strations, that sometimes they have been pletion of the next stage of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., peace is twos or threes but hundreds and thou- row popular base whereas they should essential not only in the interest of the 12 in a series of 14 questions by an intellection is smashed have only one or two elementary de-Soviet proletariat but in behalf of the sands, that the injunction is smashed made only one of two exeminary at and the strike is won. If we're not willing to do that, we might as well accept industrial serfdom in the first place, for courts, injunctions, police, guardsmen, lutionary Age (predecessor of the Work-lutionary Age) of April 7 May 1 and May 21. 12. MUST I ADVOCATE MASS PICK- private gunmen, clubs, gas bombs, are ers Age) of April 7, May 1, and May 21, tries as well as the Russian workers. It

used in every significant strike.

1930, you will find criticism of adventurist tactics in ill-prepared mass demonstrations then being conducted by

the Community Protein Part 1, may 1, and may 21, tries as well as the Russian workers. It would prove a signal for triumphant reaction in all capitalist countries.

3. Time is on our side. In so far as

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# IS ORGANIC UNITY POSSIBLE?

Organic unity between the Communist and Socialist Parties is again being fev-Both Parties Have Made It Field for Maneuvers erishly discussed in a number of European countries. Especially is this true of France where both sides seem to ac- C.P. fears to raise even this question. cept organic unity as both possible and To make matters worse the Commu probable. Some small and unimportant nist Party had, for a long time, nothdetails seem to be holding up further de- ing to say on organic unity. It appeared velopments, if one were to believe the to fear placing itself against it alth discussions on this question. In reality, the C.P. knew very well that there was despite loud pronouncements to the con- not the slightest idealogical rapproche trary, unity is as far from realization as ment, on the basic questions which di it ever was. And we are not shedding vide the working class, to warrant such any bitter tears of disappointment a movement. Under such circumstance There are certain types of unity which Social Democracy could indeed thriv can be far worse than the present divi- and offset its own shortcomings in the sion. We mean the type of unity which united front by crying organic unity. compromises those basic concepts of communism which have been justified to AN UNBRIDGEABLE the very hilt by the developments in GULF Germany, Austria and Spain. Such a To the Social Democratic leaders the type of unity, the creating the illusion

### WHENCE THE UNITY CRY?

WHENCE THE UNITY CRY?

Where does the cry for unity come ist program of the Second Internationfrom? There is not the slightest doubt al. Blum and his colleagues knew equal that there is great pressure for unity ly well that they were not willing, more among the French proletariat. The than that, they were violently opposed smashing defeat of the German work- to the program of revolutionary Marxing class, the heroic defense actions of ism—the program of the Communist Inthe Austrian workers and the merciless ternational. Therefore, that slogan leader, Maurice Thorez, it said:

which may have the ring of sincerity, "When people of different views last October, have stirred the French workers to thought. The phenomenal sounds hollow and insincere coming from growth of fascism, seemingly rolling Blum. It becomes an attempt at outover all obstacles like a gigantic tidal manbuvering the Communist Party.

wave, has thrown the proletariat into a The very silence of the C.P. emboldpanic. Hence the conviction that safety ened the reformists to become more ag- of merging the Communist and Socialis to be found in numbers, hence the gressive. Their cry "Back To 1905" (a ist Parties" because of their politica

left-socialist group of Pivert and Zi- all over again, why not reestablish the romsky. Very early in its development, unity of the revolutionary movement, de-as a distinct tendency in French social-stroyed during the nightmare of imperism, it formulated its stand by coming ialight war. "If Jaures and Guesde arout for neither the Second nor the Third rived at an agreement why can not Blum International but a merger of the two. and Cachin also agree?" The exact basis upon which such a mer- Thus did the reformists continue ger was to occur was not stated, per- agitate the Social Democratic workers

When the slogan of organic unity was not only the tremendous accumulation of tunity to popularize the principles among the workers, but to propose one from that of Communism.

### AN IMMUNIZER AGAINST COMMUNISM

But time is a great healer and the breach, at least on this issue, between Blum and Ziromsky was closed. Leon Blum had learned that the slogan of organic unity, far from devitalizing and demoralizing the Socialist Party, had in reality served as an immunizer against Communist influence. Even those who were moving steadily to the left could not see why they should leave the Socialist Party when organic unity was

presented by the French Communists tasks of the moment. presented by the French Communists Cachin and Thorez, practically crawled on its knees, begging, pleading for the united front in France. It committed the united front in France It committed the large of the large

# THE ROYAL HALL

ABE SHAPIRO • SAM ROTTER CATERING FOR UNION MEETINGS, BANQUETS AND ALL SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

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proletariat in defense of bourgeois re- a dangerous one at that. To the Social Democratic leaders the mass desire for unity was something to be played with, something to be utilized many who formed for the result of the social desired for the socia of safety, would leave the proletariat be played with, something to be utilized many who feared for the safety of the totally defenseless in the face of the in the struggle against the Communists bourgeois republic. The differences in Leon Blum and his colleagues know very principle between the party of Noske well that the Communists will never and that of Liebknecht are still the dif-

### that of Cachin. C. P. CONFUSES

UNITY ISSUE At last the C.P. was forced to speak

up. Thru the person of its theoretical cohabit, this opens the doors to bourgeois ideology and weakens the working class. . and addressing himself to the socialis

workers who "believe in the possibility reformulation of the Trotskyist slogan | inexperience, Thorez says:

The first to sound this slogan was the seemed reasonable. Yes, why not begin "Do you not feel the seemed reasonable the seemed re "Do you not feel that when you

> unite with a Party belonging to the Second International, you propose that we should take a path which will inevitably lead to August 4 (1914), t the victory of fascism and the defeat of the proletariat?" It looked as if the C.P. had overcom

mitting each to read into it his own meaning.

asking them to forget not only their black treachery of the days of 1914, meet the issue. It was a glorious opportunity meet the issue. It was a glorious opportunity meet the issue. first raised by this group the leaders experience as a result of the proletarof the French Socialist Party (Blum, Le- ian revolution in Russia, but also the discussion on the possibility of organic bas) were horrified. They could under-principled differences which expressed unity. But this opportunity was lost. stand, they said, the demand for the themselves in veritable rivers of blood, united front in view of the sentiment dividing the philosophy of Socialism not followed up but was, in a sense, counteracted by the letter of March 23, adamong the workers, but to propose that of Communist party with the "Russian Communist We cannot forget that at the united front conference of the three proletarian that of Communist Party with the "Russian Communist Fascists" was as black as treason could front conference of the three proletarian entity also the Communist Party could be ently also the Communist Pa possibly be. How, they asked, can we hold on to our membership if people agitate as do Ziromsky and Pivert?

Internationals in 1922 the representatives of the German Social Democratic Party presented a statement in which it popular tune. The element of manouver was also not absent in the case of the say with the Neo-Socialists who recentspoke of its brutal and bloody sup- C. P.

A DANGEROUS MANOUVER

DANGER OF DUAL UNIONISM AGAIN

made at that time to strangle repub-| ter will convince even a political infant lican democracy . . . We accept the that the very conditions set forth in the responsibility and we do so with pride before the German people, before the Why then propose the immediate convolation on the convolation of the c international working class and before history."

This excerpt in itself expresses that unbridgeable gulf between the reformists who stand ready to check down the little two portions. Why then propose the immediate convolutions of a unity congress? Obviously it is a manouver to offset the Social Democratic argument that the Communists are holding up the unification of the unification of the unity portion.

proletariat in defense of bourgeois republican democracy, and the Communists, fighting for proletarian dictatorship. Why bring that up now? Because this gulf is as wide today as when that statement was read in 1922. Yes, as wide today as when that statement was read in 1922. Yes, as wide today as a when that statement was read in 1922. Yes, as wide today as a their times of your statutes the internal would be a good thing. But rather from

wart champion of proletarian unity, would then play upon the unity As long as this condition maintains, he feelings of the workers by branding the who comes before the proletariat and mmunists as splitters because thep promises organic unity is a charlatan, quibble about such "remote" questions as "seizure of power" and "dictatorship" while the "fascist wolf is at the door." It is a manouver fraught with the greatest danger for the future of the wrote: French C. P.

### MISTAKE?

To make matters still worse there one sentence in the letter which actually creates the impression that the split suggest that the Communists should 1920 was a mistake. The letter says:

"We see in the continuation and strengthening of unity of action the possibility of preparing the organiza-tional unity of the proletariat, which we have wished to bring about ever ince the withdrawal of the majority from the Tours Congress split the working class of our country." (My emphasis—GFM).

Again a matter of tipping the hat unity desires of the workers. But is it really so? Is there alive a single Communist or Socialist in France, or C. L. U. Misses for that matter anywhere else, who believes that it was possible for the minority (the Right Wing Socialists) Was unity possible with Buisson, Fros-

ists, who stand ready to shoot down the the two parties. It is a manouver and past and present possibility of organic

terday and the four-day bourgeois cabinet members of today? Is it so sure

that there are no more of the same lead-

ers of Socialism who have signed resig-

nations in their pockets and are merely

waiting for the proper Ministry? He

would be a fool to believe that the

by GEORGE F. MILES

organic unity is possible and helps the lutionary movement. On that basis we Social Democrats. If the French S. P. say that the lessons of Germany, Auswere to agree to negotiations the matter tria, Italy and Spain, have not yet been ferences between the party of Blum and would be even worse for the Communist learned. Social Democracy holds to its Party The S. P., posing as the stal-deification of bourgeois democracy and is misleading the working class for such It is of these that Engels warned Beb-

el (Letter of June 20, 1873) when he

"One must not allow oneself to be misled by the cry for 'unity'. Those who have this word most often upon their lips are those who sow the most dissension. . . These unity fanatics are either the people of limited intelligence who want to stir everything up together into one nonedescrip brew, which the moment it is left to settle, throws up the differences again in much more acute opposition be cause they are now all together in one pot ... or else they are people who consciously or unconsciously . . . want to adulterate the movement. ... Nobody in our lifetime has given us more trouble and been more treacherous than the unity shouters."

# **Its Opportunity**

The strike of anthracite coal miners declared on February 2, by the Anthraly broke from the French Socialist Party? cite Miners of Penna. (the new union) continues its ineffective life. It no long-"Yes, we suppressed the attempt The most casual reading of the let-sard and Lafont, the Socialists of yes-er seriously disturbs either the coal company or the leadership of the United Mine Workers. The rank and file miners, however, do feel the situation. Every so often picketing is revived with the result that miners of both unions are hurt and the newspapers have stories to boost circulation. Now and then provocative unions. Then, when the great awaken-union movement, with the avowed aim of elements resort to bombings and inno-By WILL HERBERG

Two years ago, when the NRA was

Two years ago, when the NRA was

Two years ago, when the NRA was

The great award in 1933, dislodging it from whatever foothold it cent miners are jailed and get long sentences. The cost of one recent picket

in the State troops. This has become

By WILL HERBERG

pression of the Spartacus (Communist)

unpardonable, opportunist error of in the labor movement is again facing claimed that "changing conditions" made leadership is particularly supine and laborate the laborate facing claimed that "changing conditions" made leadership is particularly supine and laborate facing claimed that "changing conditions" made leadership is particularly supine and laborate facing claimed that "changing conditions" made leadership is particularly supine and laborate facing claimed that "changing conditions" made leadership is particularly supine and laborate facing claimed that "changing conditions" made leadership is particularly supine and laborate facing claimed that "changing conditions" made leadership is particularly supine and laborate facing claimed that "changing conditions" made leadership is particularly supine and laborate facing claimed that "changing conditions" made leadership is particularly supine and laborate facing claimed that "changing conditions" made leadership is particularly supine and laborate facing claimed that "changing conditions" made leadership is particularly supine and laborate facing claimed that "changing conditions" made leadership is particularly supine and laborate facing claimed that "changing conditions" made leadership is particularly supine and laborate facing claimed that "changing conditions" made leadership is particularly supine and laborate facing claimed that "changing conditions" made leadership is particularly supine and laborate facing claimed that "changing conditions" made leadership is particularly supine and laborate facing claimed that "changing conditions" made leadership is particularly supine and laborate facing claimed that "changing conditions" made leadership is particularly supine and laborate facing claimed that "changing conditions" made leadership is particularly supine and laborate facing claimed that "changing conditions" made leadership is particularly supine and claimed that "changing conditions" made leadership is particularly supine and claimed that "chan unpardonable, opportunist error of in the labor movement is again latering pledging itself to a non-agression pact so sweeping that it paralyzed every possibility of showing to the French workers the difference between the communist and socialist program. The C.P. the top leadership of the A. F. of L., of the underlying sectarian oriental top on which its dual unionism had socialist program. The C.P. the big unions of miners, but heads of the big unions of miners, and the C.P., having attributed the required for the NPA will now that the bedge of the big unions of miners, and the C.P. the top leadership of the heads of the big unions of miners, but the heads of the big unions of miners, and the construction on which its dual unionism had the construction on which its dual unionism to the NPA will now the heads of the big unions of miners, and the construction of the head of the big unions of miners, and the construction of the head of the big unions of miners, and the construction of the head of the head of the head of the head of the underlying sectarian orientation of the head of the head of the underlying sectarian orientation on which its dual unionism to the construction of the head of the head of the head of the underlying sectarian orientation on which its dual unionism to the construction of the head of the h showed a deadly fear of criticising any the heads of the big unions of miners, been based or was even seriously think-revival of unionism to the NRA, will now erne County Sheriffs were guilty of bru-

> Nearly five months ago, the Commu- ary 23, 1935): nist Party officially signalized its soalled "turn" away from dual unionism n a resolution published in the Daily Worker of January 26, 1935. It is exremely important now to recall exactly what this resolution said. It declare that open dual unionism (specifically the ormation of the notorious "independer

right up to the middle of 1933, the ex- malignant form.

being shouted so loudly. It was only first introduced, every labor organizabeing shouted so loudly. It was only a matter of days or weeks when there would be one party so why split now? The cry of organic unity was serving to keep intact the ranks of reform socialism.

The cry of organic unity was serving to seep intact the ranks of reform socialism.

The cry of organic unity was serving to seep intact the ranks of reform socialism.

The cry of organic unity was serving to seep intact the ranks of reform socialism.

The cry of organic unity was serving to serving to the collieries of the collieries of the collieries of the collieries of the constraint at one of the collieries of the collier In this case the whole tactical position that every tendency in the labor move- the influx of scores of thousands of new ly the capitalist offensive. They have In this case the whole tactical position of the Communist Party helped to strengthen the position of the reformists. The Communist International, respectively. The respectively in the label of the great strength of the Communist International, respectively. The respectively in the label of the members into the LLG.W.U. By wishing the capitalist of the NRA and to disregard if not to doubt their own powers. The property of the members into the NRA, the official C.P. disregard if not to doubt their own powers. The property of the members into the NRA, the official C.P. disregard if not to doubt their own powers. The property of the members into the NRA, the official C.P. disregard if not to doubt their own powers. The property of the property revival of the A. F. of L. unions in such leaning on the crutches of the NRA—it Garfield Hays) to investigate. The min-

showed a deadly fear of criticising any step taken by the Socialists thus completely disarming itself. To this very day the trade unions under the influence of the Socialist Party have not been drawn into the united front but the THE ROYAL HALL

THE ROYAL HALL

the heads of the big unions of miners, textile workers and garment workers, and gar enlightened a puzzled reader (Febru-

"If the same conditions as existed in 1929 would exist now, the Communist Party would also today be in favor of organizing 'senargia' unions"

Now what will be the reaction of the can only judge on the basis of the past, so the can only judge on the basis of the past, so the can only judge on the basis of the past, so the past, so the past of the past munist Party would also today be in can only judge on the basis of the recent favor of organizing 'separate' unions." especially on the basis of the recent what the C.L.U. Should Do 'new turn." It is only too likely that As miners we are not interested with

As soon as the C. P. proclaimed its "change of course," we pointed out its tions" have already changed back, that the mines we have suffered pretty much formation of the notorious "independent federation of labor") was "inadvisable... in view of the changing conditions of trade union work which demand that the center of the work be transferred into the A. F. of L. . . ." What were these "changing conditions" that were making open dual unionism "inadvisable" and were forcing a reorientation towards the A. F. of L. ? The resolution specified A. F. of L. ? The resolution specified A. F. of L. ? The resolution specified them as "the influx of new workers into the find interest limitations (see article by Bertram D. Wolfe in the shallowness and its inherent limitations (see article by Bertram D. Wolfe in the from all police departments in all cities. The investigation should never have so involved itself in lengthy hearings on police brutality as to lose sight of the main mass of the main mass of the main mass of the main mass of the main seve have suffered pretty much the influx of . . new workers . into the influx of . . new workers . into the influx of . . new workers . into the influx of . . new workers . into the influx of . . new workers . into the influx of . . new workers . into it iments are less brutal. In our time In the mines we have suffered pretty much the influx of . . new workers . into the influx of . . new workers . into the influx of . . new workers . into it iments are less brutal. In our time In the mines we have suffered pretty much the influx of . . new workers . into it in it is influx of . . new workers . into into it influx of . . new workers . into it in it is influx of . . new workers . into into it is influx of . . new workers . In our into it influx of . . new workers . In our into it influx of . . new workers . In our into it influx of . . new workers . In our into it influx of . . new workers . In our into it influx of . . new workers . In our into it influx of . . new workers . In our into it influx of . . new to into it in the mines are less fruital. In our into it influx of . . new to into it in A. F. of L.? The resolution specified final inquitation of sectations, the analysis by the C. P. and that a new cent developments as their vindication. them as "the influx of hundreds of thousands of new workers from the basic inagainst a return to old errors." More, launched, precisely at the time when dustries and mass production plants into the A. F. of L. unions and the growing basis of this "new turn", there was very with its back to the wall beating back dual unionism in its crassest form seems

radicalization of the main mass of the membership. . "It is well known that, new attack of dual unionism in its most ready there is much talk in influential avoided or at least greatly reduced in C.P. circles deploring the too great its power for harm by arousing the best

perts of the official Communist Party looked upon the A. F. of L. as a doomed and dying institution and savagely attacked the C.P.O. because we forecast and strove for a revival of the A. F. of L. loose a formidable attack on the trade loose are face to face with which the dual unions were lements of the C.P. membership to the given up in the last few months. Altering the best lements of the C.P. membership to the given up in the last few months. Altering the best lements of the C.P. membership to the seriousness of the situation, at the same ready the "leftists", pushed somewhat to the background a short while ago, are gressive movement in the unions as the best bulwark against dual unionism.

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June 15, 1935

# Again the Far East

THERE is every indication at hand to show that Japanese imperialism is taking new decisive steps towards extending its hegemony in the Far East. This is the real meaning of the latest drive by the Japanese army in North China. Far-flung military activity beyond the Great Wall has already begun. When and where it will end no one can tell at the moment. An approximate idea of how deep into China the Nipponese forces are prepared and preparing to go is offered the world in the remarks of Colonel Takashi Sakai, chief of staff of the Japanese in North China. Said this imperialist brigand:

"We are forced to the conclusion that Chiang-Kai-Shek must relinquish his

Apparently there has been a falling out between buyer and seller in China for few question today that for quite some time the Chinese generalissimo has been in the service of Tokio. Hence, no one can have illusions about Chiang-Kai-Shek earnestly resisting Japanese invasion. However, in the contemplated Japanese advance into China there is more involved than the the mere extension of military operations or addition of territory. This is demonstrated by the very moment chosen by the Japanese army for striking its blow. The moments chosen by the Nipponese army for making decisive moves are always coincident with critical hours for the leading imperialist powers.

It is to be recalled that the seizure of Mukden in September 1931 was timed almost to the day with England's being shoved off the gold standard. The present blow is timed with the difficulties and confusion besetting the U. S just now, with the desperate plight of the franc, with the German scare to British imperialism. The primary motive for the latest phase of Japanese aggression is not a new interest but only a development of the imperialist aims laid down by Minister Tanaka in his notorious memorandum declaring:

With all the resources of China at our disposal we shall pass forward to the conquest of India, the Archipelago, Central Asia and then Europe. What is immediately ominous in the present Tokio offensive is the simul taneous maneuvers on the Mongolian sector. Here we have an open offensive move against the U.S.S.R. The Nipponese military strategists are taking no chances with piecemeal measures. They are envisaging not only an assault to rip North China apart but also a drive to prepare the ground for striking at the heart of Siberia and the Baikal region of the U.S.S.R. Here we have all the germs of a major war whose dimensions are inestimable-a world war that will pale the last one into insignificance.

Let no one for a moment imagine that Europe is the only powder keg. The terrific trade typhoon of Japanese capitalism is scaring the lights out of its leading competitors in the world market. A glimpse of this was presented to us recently at the International Cotton Congress in Rome where we were told: "Japan has surpassed not only England but the whole of the chief European producing countries, for in the short space of two years Japanese exports have increased by 540 million square yards, while European exports have decreased by 450 million square yards." Tokio realizes that commercial offensives breed military and naval offensives. And the U.S. realizes that naval maneuvers are an essential part of the sales preparations and extensions in Latin America, Asia and wherever the Japanese challenge is flung.

Japanese imperialist villainy grows out of the very nature of its economy. Japanese capitalism rests on a most brutal exploitation and degradation of the workers and peasants of the island empire and its possessions. It is a war economy at home and abroad. The inner situation in Japan, despite misleading superficial manifestations to the contrary, is unstable, is increasingly explosive. The ruling class is resorting to continuous military ventures in order to avoid or delay this developing social and political explosion in its own domain. But in doing so it is playing with fire. The social and economic consequences which Japan may face as a result of a major war will likely prove the very opposite of the dreams and hopes of the Nipponese imperialist clique.

And here may be the opening of a period which will mark the lighting of

red fires thruout Asia.

# EUROPE

Wanderer works of Chemnitz. This fac tory which during the war and today is filling armament orders, employs about 6,000 workers. It is one of the very few factories in which the Nazis have absolute control.

This report has not as yet been confirmed by direct news reports. If, however, it is confirmed, it represents an event of extraordinary significance, a new and more advanced stage of re-sistance of the working class to the Nazi dictatorship.

Economic and financial difficulties are growing in the Reich. The Hitler regime is diverting unrest thru a renewed campaign against the Jews. The notorious Streicher, at present in Nuremberg it is reported, will be promoted to the position of Chief of Police in Berlin

### THE ELECTIONS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The elections to the House of Representatives took place on May 19th. In looked upon as a branch of the Nazis won a considerable victory. It is now the second strongest party in the Czechoslovakian parliament. The Henlein front Bourgeois parties but took away half of the Social Democratic seats. The CP also has lost seats and votes in the German

In the Czechoslovakian section the Soparties—the agrarians, the fascists, the Czechoslovakia.

| Czechoslovakian artisans party (a revictory. The CP won votes in the Czechoslovakian section. Thus the losses are made up for. But it must be kept in mind that before the ultra-left course the Communist Party was the strongest single Party in the Czechoslovakian parliament. It has not yet succeeded in regaining its old strength.

The election results have done away with the basis for the hitherto existing coalition government between the German and Czechoslovakian parties. The coalition may try to drag along a little while with the aid of the Gewerbe Party and the Slovak party of Glinka. (This attempt has already been made.) But in the long run the election results make the continuance of the present bourgeoisdemocratic regime impossible.

The coalition with the German bourgeosie can only be carried out as a coalition with the fascist Henlein front. But the Henlein front, despite all assurances of loyalty to the Czechoslovakian state, is a tool of the Nazis who are attempting the German section the so-called to incorporate the German section into Heimatsfront (Henlein front) which is Germany. Such a coalition would threaten the very existence of the

Czechoslovakian state. The other perspective would be closer not only disrupted the other German the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie in the that he would be blamed issued a stategovernment with the reactionary and ment blaming the "reds" but never a fascist wing in the majority,-in other word of protest from the Communist words, the open national dictatorship of Party. the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie, which would be the best impetus for Czecho- Communist Party has been slavishly cial Democracy as well as Benes' Party, slovakian fascism. At any rate, the electron dragging at the heels of this discredited the so-called National-Socialists, lost. tions are bound to bring about a crisis in politician who resorted to dual unionism

# Snapshots Taken at the Needle Trades Progressive Conference

By ARNOLD

It was an historic event that took place at the Manhattan Opera House on Sat urday last. For the first time since 1929 there is a progressive trade union body (Council of Progressive Needle Trades Groups) that will hit hard against the burocratic right and the dual unionist left. Judging by its orientation and response in other unions it will not long remain alone.

The progs from the A.C.W. were loud in their agreement with Zimmerman this question our roads divide a when he said that the A.C.W. got one of the worst codes of any needle trades union and will now probably surrender most in the way of conditions. "That's be-cause we had a 'shamus' in Washington" added one of the delegates.

Brandon of the Big Six said that what the Central Trades here needs is a couple of monkey glands. Since the operation involves some expert needle work, Brandon can rest assured. The job is as good

The Trotskyist delegate who made a very learned speech about the "reforming their way of ist party", during the Labor Party discussion, must have forgotten where he ter, let's hear it.

was. It sounded like a lecture at a study circle of the Fourth International.

Marx's remark about history repeating tself first as a tragedy then as a farce came to our mind as we heard the quarter dozen Trotskyites object to the categoric position against dual unionism in the program and propose a dual unionist formulation. Their position might be more dangerous if their party were less impotent.

Zimmerman told these boys that on this question our roads divide and that's

The delegates roared their approval when Louis Nelson said the Trotskyist attitude to the A. F. of L. is that of a gold digger who, while being married, already has her ticket to Reno ready.

What kind of opposition groups don't we want to line up with us, asked Sasha Zimmerman, in his report? And he answered himself: We don't want the "outs" who are fighting the "ins" (meaning those who fight merely for jobs) gressive Miners of America. The press nor do we want the "ins" who are fight-reports that President Keck, of the ing their way out (meaning the dual P. M. of A. has announced that his or-unionists.) If you can put it any bet-ganization does not intend to partici-

further creation of bank deposit credit

money against the mounting tide of government bonds, the attempt to fix a

price level by manipulation of the cur

rency, the crop-reduction of the AAA

the silver purchase antics, and the pros

pects of further inflation, all as so much

"monetary mischief"—whence the title of the book. He believes that they are

not only delaying recovery but prepar-

So far we can follow Mr. Robinson

with but little disagreement. But when

it comes to economic fundamentals, he

and his admired mentor H. Parker Willis

along with him, are little better off than

the Brain Trust Boys. All the funda-

mentals of capitalism are ignored or

misunderstood by him. His solution for

capitalist decline is to go "back" to a

and becomes less and less possible as

capitalism decays. All will be well, he

believes, if the government does noth-ing to hinder deflation and nothing to

promote inflation, and above all if banks

are permitted to lend money only against

productive operations and uncompleted commercial transactions and never on

stocks, bond or real estate. Of the for-

ces which make capitalism ever more

speculative in its declining days, that

kings", Robinson and Willis have not the

slightest inkling. Hence their "solutions" of the problems of decaying capitalism

represent nothing but a reactionary uto-

pia. What they are fighting to preserve has long passed away, and tho they

cleave easily thru the paste board hel-

mets of the brain-trusters, they are but so many Knights of the Woeful Figure

themselves, whose chivalric objectives

history has already rendered impossible.

LIVING WITH BOOKS, by Helen E.

selection of books. Criterion, liberal.

George F. Miles, Editor,

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The Workers Age.

Dear Friend:

Haines. Columbia University Press. 471pp. \$4.00.

'New Militant" Bus. Manager

Resigns From W. P.

We are in receipt of the following let-

Inasmuch as my name has been asso-

ing a bigger and better crisis.

# **NOTES**

By GEORGE F. MILES

TRADE UNION

The recently organized National Federation of Metal Unions calls to mind the peculiar manner in which the Communist Party's trade union line is unfolding itself.

For some time the C. P. continued to shout very loudly for the Independent Federation of Labor but instead of signs of a developing base we saw the continued shrivelling of one industrial union after another. Now that the C.P. has finally decided that the Independent Federation is "untimely" we see numerous manifestations of actual work in that direction by the same C.P. These national unions and Joint Unity Committees (of "independent" unions) are laying the groundwork for a possible re-turn to dual unionism in its most virulent form.

### Logic Of Dual Unionism

An example of the perverted logic of dual unionism is being shown by the Progressive Miners of America. The press ganization does not intend to participate in the general mine strike set for June 16, by the United Mine Workers of America.

With this decision the P. M. of A. places itself openly in the category of strike breaker. It is a promise to the manufacturers that the P. M. of A. stands ready to assist them in the struggle against the \$6.00 day rate—the issue over which negotiations between the U. M. W. A. and the operators broke

That the Progressive Miners of America was becoming constantly more reactionary was clear. But it remained for its President to prove that it had developed to the point of becoming a strike breaking agency. It becomes necessary now to do a little investigating to determine which of its leaders are not on the payroll of the coal barons.

### Blackjack Unity

A most peculiar type of unity policy is being pursued by the Furriers Indus-trial Union headed by Gold. On the one hand Gold shouts unity and participates in protracted negotiations with the Unity Committee elected by the recent convention of the International Furriers Union, and on the other hand the campaign of terror has been intensified state of affairs that never fully existed in the fur market. At the very time that negotiations for unity with the Joint Council is going on Gold sends his thugs to tackle Joint Council shops.

Does he really believe that unity can be achieved in this manner? confident that Ben Gold, and the Browders who stand behind him, will discover that gangsters cannot take the place of the dove of peace nor is the blackjack a good substitute for the olive branch.

### no longer give the big winnings to the "captains of industry" but increasingly to the masters of merger, the "money Labor And The Supreme Court

A bright red rattle has been known to pacify crying infants. So is it also with that great labor leader William Green. Cast down into the very depths of despair by the Supreme Court decision, Green is already brightening up at the prospects of the "revised NRA". He is smiling again because Roosevelt is for the Wagner and Guffey Bills. By next week Green will probably declare the "revised NRA" to be the Magna Charta" of labor. He simply must have a Magna Charta to play with. The same Bill Green who rattled the

sword and threatened a general strike if The art of book selection—a useful in- NRA is not extended for two years was strument for librarians charged with the struck speechless by nine senile gentlemen. Not a word of general strike is to be heard from him now even tho he himself cries impotently about wholesale slashing of the meagre conditions provided in the voided codes. Green was for a general strike when it came to aiding the political ambitions of the capitalist politician Roosevelt, but he will throttle and knife every legitimate movement for widespread strike action to enforce labor's demands. Thus he shows ciated with the "New Militant" and the his color very clearly—a capitalist politician in the leadership of the trade union movement.

### Joint Board Prepares For Battle

It is a distinct relief to turn from the thoughts of a Green to the leaflet issued by the Joint Board I.L.G.W.U. under the signature of Julius Hochman. Entitled "Supreme Court Decision Does Not Affect Dressmakers" it proceeds in few but clear words to state that:

"We are serving notice on those employers that the union will not tolerate the slightest departure from its rights under the collective agreement and that the 35 hour week, guaranteed minimum wages and all the other rights of the workers will be protected by the might and power of our 102-000 members. Those employers who try to play their usual tricks will get their fingers burned."

The dress bosses will very likely show great respect for these blunt words for they well know there is a strong fist behind that statement.

# Books of the Age

### by Bertram D. Wolfe

MONETARY MISCHIEF, by George | banks, the government purchase of bac Buchan Robinson. Columbia University
Press. 188 pp. \$2.00.

This is the best book on money, credit and the stock market that has been published in many years. Its author, a practical speculator and contributor to the Annalist, is an adherent of the conserrative, hard-boiled school represented in the country by men like H. Parker Willis (to whom the book is dedicated). Willis and his group look back to the principles of classical economy, the best achievement in economic thought of the purely bourgeois outlook, and have battled ceaselessly and in vain against the minetary illiteracy of Fisher, Warren mushy-minded brain trust.

Mr. Robinson has justified his claim to a respectful hearing by setting his monetary manipulation panaceas when that current was a raging torrent.

In July 1929 he published a warning of the coming stock market crash. He denounced the practice of issuing bank credit on stock exchange securities and on the vast bond issues of the government, and insinuated that the sooner the Federal Reserve Bank executed a "squeeze" on stock market speculation by "demonetizing stocks" (preventing bank loans for speculation) the less severe would be the inevitable stock market crash. Of course, his voice was not alone in this. The New York Federal Reserve had timorously requested permission to raise the rediscount rate sharply in February, which permission was re fused. But it reversed itself in May and showed no further signs of doubting the eternity and infinity of the stock market rise. The Manchester Guardian wrote on March 4, 1929: "There appeared to be some slender hope that the Federal Reserve authorities were meditating action drastic enough to precipitate the crisis in Wall Street, which in the opinion of most monetary students, must come sooner or later". And in Communist circles, Lovestone had been analyzing the "credit surplus" and the unsound condition of the stock market with increasing (Continued from Page 1) Czechoslovakian artisans party (a retions in Paris reports a big strike in the actionary petty bourgeois outfit) scored unique thing about Mr. Robinson is that as a practical speculator he listened to his own theoretical analysis and got out before the crash! That alone should be enough to inspire awe in the minds of his fellow speculators and give some cre dence to his subsequent warnings.

These subsequent warnings are the real purpose of this book. He regards the insurance of the deposits of unsound

### CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION MISSES OPPORTUNITY

(Continued from Page 3)

should have taken up the cause of the split; the present standing of both unions and the desire for unity in one union.

C.P. Supports Maloney

Here in the Anthracite the Communist Party has become nothing but a tail to Maloney's kite. The C.P. members are supporting the dual union and raise no criticisms whatever. Not one word of criticism has come from them on Maloney's praise of the Wilkes Barre police. A few weeks ago Judge Valentine's auto was bombed. (This is the judge who issued the injunction against collaboration of the various sections of the Maloney union). Maloney fearing

Thruout the whole situation here the The right wing of the Czechoslovakian the bourgeois-democratic government of when he had a falling-out with the parties—the agrarians, the fascists, the Czechoslovakia.

U.M.W.A. burocrats.

Workers' Party, U.S.A., and inasmuch as my resignation therefrom has not yet been published I take the liberty, in the interest of clarity, of informing you of the fact that I am no longer connected

therewith, having resigned May 30, 1935. Fraterially yours,
HAWTHORNE WINNER

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