WAITING FOR THE SIGNAL

At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

T appears that the American Communist Party is now in its high and palmy days of perverting most crassly the very essence of Marxism-Leninism. Its outstanding personage, General Secretary Earl Browder, tells us that "Socialism is that society just emerging out of capitalism, when the workers gain power and take over the means of production from the capitalists. . . This transitional period to which we give the general name Socialism..." (New Masses, May 14th). Well, well, this is a new turn—from Marxism. Unlike Marx, turn—from Marxism. Unlike Marx, Browder would have us believe that the socialist society is completed with the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. Very much unlike Marx, the theoretical leader of American official communism, that is rubber-stamp communism, would have us forget that between the capitalist society and the socialist society there is a transition period in which the proletarian dictatorship pre-

Adhering to such dime-store Marxism the Young Communist League, propa gating Marxian ideology, was rooting for Braddock to win the world's heavyweight championship so that "daddy" Braddock would buy "mama lots of new dresses" and "a big new house". And also that after this victory it would "be like Christmas" (Young Worker, June 4th). On the same basis, General Secretary Browder enters into a united front from on top with General Smedley Butler of the strike-breaking U. S. Marine Corps and into a united front from on high with

Father Divine on May Day.

Cap this disappointing climax with a declaration of the New York East Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church (Dr. Harry F. Ward) endorsing the toy-balloon organization known as the American League Against War and Fascism, because it has pledged "to oppose such insiduous movements as Fas-cism, war hysteria, AND DICTATOR-SHIP OF ANY KIND."

JUDGING by the way in which President Roosevelt is taking away issues from some of his critics ,the graves of many of his political opponents won't be tenantless by the time November 1936 comes around. We have in mind Roosevelt's demagogic playing with the so-called "Tax-the-Rich" program. However, no one should have any notion that the President means immediate business. Least of all is there the slightest justification for assuming that there is anything radical about his proposals, even if they were carried out completely and instantly. So black a British capitalist sheet as The Telegraph very correctly evaluated the Roosevelt measures in this fashion: "To the British mind there is little that is revolutionary about Mr. Roosevelt's proposals in Congress. They merely follow in the footsteps of a succession of British Chancellors of the Exchequer who have made these forms of taxation familiar to this country." It is patent that in many respects Wall Street capitalism has been exceptionally backward and is only now catching up with the world-renowned Amer-

indebted for some political sense that is unusual for agencies of its kind. In one of its recent Foreign Letters it thus sized up Germany today: "Hitler takes care of the political, wherefore economic leadership does not have to worry about whether or not its programs have popular support. . . Sentiment is employed to hold Hitler in power, but there is no sentiment in the economic control behind the scenes. Our contemporaries, the Daily Worker, Socialist Call, and the New Leader would do well to ponder these sound conclusions. Surely, this is welcome light shed on the division of labor in the Nazi terror regime and on the real character of the indirect monopoly-capitalist dictatorship now holding Germany in its grip. No doubt this analysis also explains why it is that in recent months such huge corporations as the General Motors and the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey have been spending rather lav-ishly on propagating Hitler's ideas amongst their employees

UITE a number of Wall Street economists and Washington legislators ought to mend their speeches a bit lest their fortunes be marred. In their heated assault on state capitalism, now developing at a feverish pace in the United States, they are playing an even more foolish and forlorn role than King Canute. For instance, before the National Association of Credit Men. Representative Samuel B. Pettengill of Indiana bemoaned the fact that the government is (Continued on Page 3)

|Breslow Released| From Prison

International Ladies Garment Union Organizer Serves Six **Months For Union Work**

MONTREAL, Canada.-Frank Bresow was released today (June 29) from Bordeaux Jail after having served four months for participating in a strike as an organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

The decision in that case set a dangerous precedent which threatens to curtail the right to strike and to picket. For this reason many trade unions and other working class organizations interested themselves in this case and demanded the liberation of Frank Breslow.

Upon his release he returns to his position as organizer for Dress Cutters Local 205 of the I.L.G.W.U.



EUROPE

By August Thalheimer

SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS N NATIONAL CONVENTION

The convention of the Socialist Party of France took place in Muelhausen, Alsace. It proved that the Social Democratic workers as a whole had moved against participation in any war. further to the left, that the opportunist The crude, opportunist attitude tactics of the C.P. in the united front has sown confusion in the left wing of

The swing to the left on the part of the ocialist workers was especially evident when the party leadership was forced to withdraw its own resolution, introduced by Faure and Severac, in favor of a far more radical resolution from the North District. Left wing sentiment further manifested itself in the statement of Vincent Auriol to the effect that he was now convinced that gradual seizure of power is impossible. The resolution introduced by delegates from the North District and accepted by the conference categorically denounced any participation in a bourgeois coalition government. The North is the strongest district of the S.P.

On the other hand, the paralyzing in fluence of the opportunist united from tactics of the C.P. is shown in the fol-

1. The leadership of the S.P. was given full power by the congress to participate in negotiations for the forma-tion of a "left government."

2. The left wing which hitherto rejected the policy of coalition both in theory and in practice is now admitting the possibility of supporting a radical

Editor's Notes

Due to technical difficulties we could not get out our 6 page issue this week. The chief difficulty was the inability to have all our convention documents in form for publication. These difficulties have been overcome and the next issue will carry all this material.

JAY LOVESTONE, continues his brilliant discussion on Soviet foreign policy. WILL HERBERG, takes up the quesion of Constitutional reform,

STEPHEN CUNNINGHAM, submits an article on Dictatorship in the Black Belt in which he answers the question: Who runs and controls Negro education?

You can't possibly afford to miss this ssue. As far as we know the best way of making sure that you do not miss this coming and following issues is to sub-

Shadow Of August 1914 **Hovers Over Comintern**

A discussion on the Franco-Soviet Pact: the Stalin-Laval Statement and the tasks of the Communists in case of war, by

Jay Lovestone

FRIDAY, JULY 12, 8 P.M. At IRVING PLAZA HALL 15th Street and Irving Pl., N. Y.

> Questions and Discussion Admission 15c.

Auspices: Communist Party U.S.A (Opposition) New York District

government both inside and outside of

parliament. 3. The question of war. Leon Blum defended the policy of national defense and on the other hand Pivert argued

The crude, opportunist attitude of the C.P. is further characterized by the fol-

lowing:
1. The Party has come out for the thesis of Paul Faure who regards the organization of physical defense against fascism as "adventurous." The C.P. on the other hand ignored the correct thesis of Pivert which called for the tying up of extra-parliamentary mass actions, of anti-military mass agitation in the army with the organization of physical de-fense against the fascist leagues.

2. The so-called "Unity Program" which was submitted to the S.P. by the C.P. as the basis for the establishment of organic unity failed to designate the "only party of the proletariat" as Communist and did not expressly call for the affiliation to the C.I. Furthermore, the question of armed insurrection was glossed over in this program.

The resolution of the C.P. published

on June 7 is exactly what the French call "negre-blanc" (black and white at the same time). It confirms the oppor-tunist position of the Party evading all inequivocal and clear formulations. To repulse the growing advances of

he Fascist leagues the S.P. and the C.P. have issued calls for joint demonstrations in front of the police departments demanding the dissolution and disarming of these leagues. It is obvious that as long as the S.P. and the C.P. fail to organize jointly workers defense corps against the physical terror of the fascist leagues all their protests and demands for the disarmament of the fascist leagues resolve into nothing.

ANGLO-GERMAN NAVAL AGREEMENT

England has agreed to the German demand for 35% of English naval strength under certain restrictive conditions. The Besides the Convention Theses, Work- most important of these are: that the TO the Waley-Eaton Service we are ers Age will also contain 3 articles of 35% correspond to the English ship ategories: secondi the plan be definitely decided upon; thirdly, that the other participants agree to the naval agreement. Germany is to each these 35% within 7 years. In reference to submarines Germany is to be on a par with England within 7 years. She is, however, to go beyond 45% of the English submarines only after a second consultation with England. Another tipulation is that Germany build no airplane carriers particularly undesirable to England. The agreement was signed in London on June 18th.

England is obviously hoping that the other powers will raise objections in The French have already done so. France is reminding England of the London and Stresa conferences which determined that naval, air and land disarmament must be dealt with as a single problem. France has announced that it will hold to the Washington naval treaty. The English minister, Eden, is (Continued on Page 4)

CORRECTION

We regret that there was a line missing in the first paragraph of the article G
"Shadow of 1914 Falls Upon the Comin-The paragraph should have read as follows:

On May 21st, following a few days of silence, Peri touches the question in an article entitled "The Soviet, Der L Fuehrer and We." Peri is the author of a regular column on foreign affairs Jo

Coal Strike Postponements Harm Miner's Interests

Roosevelt's Last Minute Plea Wins Postponement Of General Strike; Workers Indignant At Vacillating Policy

In the course of the last several days a general strike call affecting all bituminous miners was issued by John L. Lewis, only to be countermanded 12 hours later upon the request of President Roosevelt who pledged that the Guffey Bill would be speeded to passage.

This call and recall has occurred several times in the course of the last number weeks, and it is safe to say that were the operators to call John L. Lewis' bluff the union would be on the spot. The workers are very much demoralized as a result of the frequent changes.

Zausner Steals Union Election

Opposition Claims Many Irregularities; Plans To **Challenge Elections**

NEW YORK, N. Y .- Riot squads were called out to handle large numbers of enraged members of the Painters District Council who saw the election stolen practically under their eyes.

This, workers in the industry say, is not a new thing. The Zausner clique in power has been doing the same stunt regularly but never was it done with such brutal frankness. Protesting work ers insisted that hundreds of ballots were simply not counted, that hundreds of others repeated with clocklike regularity until a sufficient lead for the machine had been run up and that there was no way for an effective challenge because machine controlled the tellers. Charges of intimidation were numerous. A particularly clever stunt worked upon opponents of the administration was the ollowing: when these entered the voting place their membership card would be tamped and they would be immediately hustled out thru the rear door with the assurance that the stamping of the book a marked ballot into the box. Many workers complained of this procedure.

Opposition candidates and workers complained bitterly against the police stationed at the polling stations. They all seem to have worked hand in glove with the Zausner machine. On complaints of irregularities or beatings they would simply turn their backs upon the complainant.

No announcement has yet been made whether the opposition forces intend to ake the election challenge into the local unions. There is no question but they can secure widespread support among the workers since the Zausner gang, supported and assisted by the Jewish Daily Forward, is cordially hated and is considered to be one of the worst racketeering groups in the unions here in New

The sentiment for a strike was quite strong among the soft coal miners, especially is this true in such unorganized fields as the Trick mines of western Here the miners had hoped to utilize the general strike for making a sweeping drive thru the captive mines. But this is not to be since it is almost a certainty now that there will be no general strike.

At the moment the United Mine Workers Union finds itself in a difficult spot. Most of the operators have already accumulated a tremendous coal reserve to last them at least 2 months even if a strike were called. Under such circumstances any called strike would have to from the very start prepare for a long

In a number of districts, workers, disgusted with Lewis' temporizing are calling conferences to discuss the calling of

|Coughlin Invades **Trade Union Field**

DETROIT, Mich.-Father Coughlin is rying out a new angle in his propaganda which is preparing the ground for a fascist movement. Speaking before the Automotive Industrial Workers Association, an organization claiming 9,000 members in the various units of the Chrysler Corporation, he called for a constituted a vote. Some one of the ma- real campaign to improve conditions of chine then probably proceeded to place the auto workers but at the expense not only of the auto manufacturers but also of the auto buyers.

Of course he still raved and ranted against the bankers but any campaign for improvements which would lift half the burden from the manufacturers is perfectly all right with the bosses. It is possible that the bosses are rushing in Coughlin because of the widespread desires among the workers for a fight for better conditions.

Hartford Labor Unions Organize Labor Party

HARTFORD, Conn.—The Central Labor Union has issued a call for a conference to organize a Labor Party. Calls have gone out to locals thruout the

AGE SUSTAINING FUND **GETS GOOD SEND-OFF**

First Returns Encouraging, But Drive Must Be Speeded To End By August First

The drive for \$1500 to keep the Workers Age as a weekly has begun with a bang. The response to the drive from the New York units of our organization has been more than satisfactory as a beginning. But this drive must be spread out to include all our organizations in the country and all friends of the Workers Age.

Comrades and friends get busy now. The \$1500 must be raised by the end of July. Send your contribution now to Workers Age, 51 West 14 Street,

New York City.

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED

(As of June 27, 1935)	
Sarha Gross	\$5.00
Vora Gray	15.00
Beatrice Evans	4.00
. Gissing	
Abe Bail	
K. Sharp	
Bessie Young	10.00
B. Schlachter	\$5.00
oe Rosen	5.00
. Titiefsky	
I. Linn	
Gerson	
Solomon	
Haasenberg	
Robert Payne	
ennie Silverman	
une Winters	
awrence Davis	
imitroff and Pope	
oe Kaufman	
ou Kane	\$5.00

Morris Miller		 	\$10.00
Frances and Harry			
J. S			
Barney Enly		 	2.00
G. Phillips			
Mary Shaines			
Jennie Kaye			
Esta Greene			
B. Lifshitz			
B. Schwartz		 	1.50
Leo Al		 	1.00
George Halpern .		 <i>.</i> .	5.00
Rose Brill		 	2.00
E. Frances		 	2.00
M. Martin		 	5.00
A. Epstein		 	25.00
	Total		. \$222.00
	ı otal	 • • •	. 4222.00

PICNIC

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SUNDAY, JULY 14, 1935

Free Cakes, Drinks, Fruits, Sandwiches

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Admission 35 Cents

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Arranged by Bronx Section C.P.O. Directions: Lexington Ave Subway. Get off at 238 Street and take Bus to the Park.

Page 3

SOVIET ECONOMY AND FOREIGN POLICY

This is the fifth in a series of articles by Jay Lovestone on "Soviet Foreign" Policy and the World Revolution." Back issues containing the first four articles may be obtained thru Workers Age .-

By JAY LOVESTONE

The general line of economic policy pursued by the C.P.S.U. is not new. I is a policy long ago sketched for the Bolshevik party by its leader, Lenin Stalin is neither to be condemned nor commended for it. At best, his contribution is a firm adherence to this line ecution. In corroboration of our view- to comprehend or even recognize the sigcoupled with a vigorous hand in its expoint, we cite from an address by Lenin nificance of the fact that while capitalto the Academy of Science on April 6, ism is worst off in agriculture (where it

raw materials and industry.

perimenting with an alternative mode of economic, political and social control. The application of this new serior of economic trol. The application of this new serior of primitive training the serior of the social government and such "bour-line of primitive training train ies of principles is so thorough, so geois" features of present day Soviet gards as fundamental.

doing to meet the challenge?" No one claims that we now have communism in the U.S.S.R. In fact, the LENIN ANSWERS doing well on the road to socialism, we THE CRITICS are still quite some distance from a so-Communist Party of the Soviet Union, months old. Lenin's answer given then leading the Soviet government, has very will serve as our reply today: properly sought to utilize all the technical progress achieved by capitalism and the best technical talent of the bourgeois countries. These efforts have been made possible and facilitated by diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and the other countries. These efforts and relations have served to enhance and not to undermine the socialist character of socio-economic setup inside the ILSSR and the weight of the Socialist Republic outside its borders.

HOW SOVIETS GAIN A prominent German manufacturer who, in the days when Trotsky was Commissar of Foreign Concessions, ran a concession in the U.S.S.R., bears witness

"We are traitors to our class. We are helping Communist Russia in capitalistic technique. We are serving a Frankenstein monster which some day will devour our class thruout the

known anti-Marxist, discussing "The tent, the substance, of competition un-Future Economic Development of West-ern Europe" before the Social Science icy laid down by Lenin was reaffirmed ern Europe" before the Social Science icy laid down by Lenin was reaffirmed of his affiliation to the National Civic Association in Zurich, was compelled to by the Ninth Congress of the C.P.S.U. Federation, yet the A. F. of L. leadergo even further. He said: "The domina- held in 1920 as follows: tion of capitalism is nearing its end. A new economic system is arising." On what basis do these capitalists and their economists arrive at their conclusion? Let us hear from Professor Calvin B Hoover, who has spent some years study ing the U.S.S.R., as a critic. Examining "The Soviet Challenge to Capitalism", Professor Hoover pointed out even as

far back as 1930 that: "At the present time Soviet industry has reached an entirely new stage in its development. For the first time, a considerable part of production is being carried on with mechanical equipment which has been provided by a socialist economy.

Changes In Diplomacy Are Determined By Economic Position

now being demonstrated that such a socialist economy can not only operate industrial equipment inherited from capitalism, but can also carry on the necessary social saving and construction required to replace and augment that equipment." (Harper's Magazine, October, 1930).

LOOKING INTO AN INDICTMENT

None of these experts has been able 1918 entitled "Outline of Scientific and Technical Work":

is most pristine), Socialist Russia is able to make giant headway here. This "The Academy of Science, which has commenced on the systematic study and investigation of the natural productive forces of Russia, must dangerous maneuvers in its foreign poli-

tion of production in a few very large a masterpiece of confusion. If alongside the Russian Revolution. He said: of the U.S.S.R. there were Soviets, let "A plan that will guarantee to the us say in Germany, Japan, Poland, Rouwidest possible extent the Russian Soviet Republic in its present state (without Ukraine and without the territory occupied by the Germans), the ability independently to supply itself with all the most important items of more proletarian revolutions. National "To devote particular attention to division of labor is, therefore, forced upthe electrification of industry and transport and the application of elec-

periority of the socialist organization o To Lenin even the military occupation of one of the most naturally endowed duction and exchange. sections of the Soviet Republic was not Ruthlessly pursuing the logic of their a drawback for initiating the economic reconstruction along socialist lines. Those who see "capitalist restoration" along socialist lines generation of Soviet foreign policy naturally along the social structure of the soci in this economic progress, those who see in this "capitalist restoration" the raison d'etre for "capitalist aims" in the foreign policies of the U.S.S.R., apparent- Being in their hearts and minds agains y can't distinguish a swan from a crow. building socialism in this one, specific The bourgeois ideologists, however, know particular country, called the U.S.S.R. better and sense the social implications. and occupying one-sixth of the earth, the For instance, Nicholas Murray Butler, President, Columbia University, has thus ly being built there and rave against cerling the state of the earth, the e sized up the recent trend in the U.S.S.R. tain features of present-day economic "Whether we like it or not, the fact relations in the Soviet Union. To these is that 140 millions of people are ex- opponents of the U.S.S.R. there is an

logical, so persistent that it does not hesitate to tear up by the roots those pay, efficiency in production, and Bolthings which the Western world re- sheviks learning how to trade, export, and strike good, bargains in the world "And what are our institutions market. The former grows out of the latter, they contend.

cialist society in the U.S.S.R .- despite levelled against Lenin by some highly barring Communists from membership canst society in the U.S.S.R.—despite revened against Lemin by some nignty outring Communists from membership such unity would bring benefit only to self-esteemed pure "revolutionists" when in the American Federation of Labor the complexity of the complexity would be such unity would be such as a such unity would be such as a such unity would be such as a such as the heat of factional controversy. The the Soviet government was but a few unions.

competition." (Our emphasis). The genius of Lenin here is evident. He did not play with empty words. He mass fighting organizations. And Professor Sombart, the well- was quick to recognize the new class con-

entire nation.

is a powerful force making for increased productivity of labor. In capitalist society competition bore the character of rivalry and led to the exploitation of man by man. In a soeiety where the means of production are nationalized, competition in labor must necessarily, without infringing on solidarity, increase the sum total of the products of labor. Competition between factories, districts, shops, departments and individual workers must be made the subject of carefu organization and attentive study or the part of the trade unions and economic organs." (Our emphasis).

productive forces of Russia, must immediately be instructed by the Surgeon Council of National Economy International Bolshevik-Leninists Left velopment. They are not aware of the composed of specialists, for the purpose of drawing up a plan for the specifiest possible reorganization of They bend with the Second International), jump on the c.P.S.U. for precisely this achievement. They bend with the second International the specifiest possible reorganization of They bend with the second International to the specifiest possible reorganization of They bend with the second International to the second International), jump on the power. This failure to distinguish because the second International to the second International to the power. This failure to distinguish because the second International to speediest possible reorganization of They howl: "The U.S.S.R. is engaged in tive" phases of the whole revolutionary "A most rational plan from the standpoint of the latest and the largest industries and particular trusts, for the amalgamation and concentrations of the latest and the largest industries and particular trusts, for the amalgamation and concentrations of the latest and the largest industries and particular trusts, for the amalgamation and concentrations of the latest and the largest in its toreign point process has led many workers to the falsest conclusions. Lenin very aptly pointed out this whole situation in his masterly address, "The Great Initiative," from the world proletariat." This is delivered in the very first weeks of

"In order to win, in order to es tablish and consolidate socialism, the proletariat must solve a two-fold or rather a biune problem. In the first place, to carry with it the whole mass

day work among the masses."

of the business results of the manage- tain period of transition we can succeed dread the full logic of their own poor

a subject of general interest and study, that outstanding communes be immediately rewarded by introducing a shorter working day for a certain

advantages etc. cern for increasing labor productiv-

portance of increasing labor productiv-ity in the Soviet republics. In his speech all changes to suit foreign (external) the "Great Initiative" he stressed:

analysis, the prime and most import- in the U.S.S.R. is as dead as a dodo. ant factor in the triumph of the new And precisely, because in recent years, social order. Capitalism has created the U.S.S.R. has been able to strengthen that is the main thing. . . .

ploying progressive technique."

AN IMPORTANT ORGANIC

CONNECTION of toilers and of the exploited by its self-sacrificing heroism in a revolu- U.S.S.R., is a Soviet island in a turbu- U.S.S.R. as a socialist republic and, tionary struggle against capital, to ent capitalist sea, the connections becarry the mass with it, to organize it, to lead it in order to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to put down completely all resistance on its parts of pletely all resistance on its part; sec- have cited the above not to refute but | Progress towards the achievement of ondly, to lead the entire mass of the to confirm the relationship. Yes, the this aim is to be hailed and not detoilers and exploited and also all the U.S.S.R. is at present anxious for peace, nounced and howled at. petty bourgeois strata along the path pursuing vigorously a peaceful course in of a new economic construction, the its foreign policy. Yes, in no small meas- ought to once in a while, try to visua path of the establishment of a new ure is the Soviet Union resorting to such ize a different line for the U.S.S.R. in social contract, a new labor discipline, foreign policies because of its great de- its relations with the capitalist governa new organization of labor, combin- votion to socialist construction in the ments. Concretely, would they advoing the latest achievements in science U.S.S.R. In leading the C.P.S.U. along cate the Soviets declaring war now, purand capitalist technique with a mass this line Stalin is, in general, adhering suing a less vigorous peaceful course, association of class-conscious work- to a fundamental course laid down by disdaining to utilize the divisions among ers who are creating large-scale industry, socialist industry.

Lenin, conforming with and not breakting from the traditional policy of the these opponents of the foreign policy "This second task is more difficult Bolshevik Party. The emphasis Lenin of the U.S.S.R. would shudder at the than the first, for it can never be rea- placed on the importance of the Soviet very consequences of whatever alternalized by the heroism of a single out-burst of enthusiasm, but requires a for some time to come and thus to be haps that explains why these people most protracted, a most stubborn, able to march on the road of socialist don't come forward with their own promost strenuous heroism in the day-to- development is beyond exaggeration. As gram to replace the present course of far back as 1918 Lenin, therefore, Soviet foreign policy. Very likely that's

pendence by means of paying a certain

Fortunately, this period "of paying a certain tribute to foreign capital" practically gone by now. In none of its foreign policies since the death of Lenir has the Soviet government gone back a shorter working day for a certain period, wage increases, furnishing more cultural and esthetic values and of the Czarist debts have been honored or paid. They had either been killed "Communism begins where the rank outright or buried in the frigid vaults of and file workers overcoming ardu- eternal negotiations and sterile "study" ous toil display a self-sacrificing con- At no time has the Soviet government made even the slightest move in the direction of giving up its export monopoly. Lenin constantly harped on the im- Never has the Soviet Union made any powers. The private ownership of land, "Labor productivity is, in the final banks, factories and natural resources

a degree of labor productivity un-tremendously the socialist character of known to serfdom. Capitalism can be its economy, has the Soviet government finally overthrown and will be finally during these very same years, been able overthrown by the fact that socialism to improve its international position, to will create a new and much higher wipe out the likelihood of having to pay productivity of labor. This is a very "a certain tribute to foreign capital." difficult matter and it will take a long Vice versa, because and as a result of its ime; still, it had been started, and strengthened world position, the U.S.S.R. has been able to breathe easier and move "Communism means a higher labor faster in its campaigns of socialist conproductivity, as compared with that struction—in its efforts to make the proof capitalism, on the part of volun- letarian government not only impregtary, conscious, united workers em- nable against attack by lingering capitalist elements inside the Soviet Republic but also invincible against the threatening capitalist powers outside of the Soviet Union. The two processes are dis-Far be it from us to deny, especially tinct but organically inseparable phases therefore, as the base of the internation-

The opponents of Soviet foreign policy,

Lenin concretized and generalized his bove ideas in this fashion:

"It is necessary that a comparison dark as The entire possibility of bove ideas in this fashion:

"It is necessary that a comparison dark as The entire possibility of the reason for most of them not daring to come forward with even piecemeal question whether in the course of a cersuggestions in a positive sense. They ment of individual communes becomes in protecting our internal economic inde- thoughts on this question!

Nelson Scores Woll's Anti-Red Drive

The following statement was issued by Louis Nelson, Manager of the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union in re-

"Any attempt to bar workers from serve as our reply today:

"Socialism not only does not exof Labor unions for their political betinguish competition but on the con- liefs is directly opposed to the best intrary creates for the first time the terests of trade unionism. All who are velop their abilities, which can re- unions are in a position to appeal to all talism trampled on, crushed and or political belief. Workers who prostrangled in thousands and millions... fess a belief in Communism are eligible "Only now has the possibility for to membership in a trade union just as wide and really mass display of en- workers who have other political viewterprise, competition and bold initia- points or no political position at all. The tive been created Now for the differences that workers have on politi-first time after centuries of working cal or other questions can be discussed for others, of involuntary labor for inside the trade union without in any exploiters, it has become possible to way affecting its unity, discipline o "Now that a socialist government is in power, it is our task to organize connection." (Our emphasic) union legality are the ones that today the business index to the extent of re-

"Many A. F. of L. Locals and Central

The Soviet order is squarely faced "Expulsions of workers because of po- points out that "it would encourage emwith the task of developing its own litical belief has proven to be disastrous ployers to restrict jobs to young people methods of action for the purpose of for the trade union movement, especially and to discharge them long before they increasing the intensity and expedienist true in the needle trade industry. reach the pension age." cy of labor on the basis of a social- Such actions grow into bitter fights be- Recent news dispatches and items reized economy to the interests of the tween workers and works to the advan- veal that the franc was saved from comntire nation.

tage of the employer. The best example plete collapse by the Guaranty Trust Co., of this is the years of internal warfare a Morgan bank, and by the U. S. Treaslogical influence on the laboring in the fur industry. The present action ury. This was achieved by heavy purmasses and repressions as far as inin the fur industry is laying the basis for chases of the declining franc for con-

should be welcomed and encouraged. The action. As the N. Y. Times explained, American Federation of Labor leader- it was "a common-sense business deal ship must make every effort to see that to go to the aid of France and do what THE CRITICS

Council Knitgoods Workers Union in reSuch criticism is not new. It was ply to the declaration of Matthew Woll

Such criticism is not new. It was ply to the declaration of Matthew Woll

Placing obstacles in the way of turbing international exchange develop-

are concertedly waging a war against preciation would have reversed the organized labor, slashing wages and increasing hours. Labor has learned thru bitter experience that the N.R.A. and with the U.S. favorable balance of other such 'magna chartas' can do noth- trade. possibility of applying it on a real sincerely interested in promoting the ing to halt the attack of the employers. wide, on a really mass scale, of real- growth and strengthening of the trade Only through a nation-wide organization ly drawing the vast majority of toil-ers into work in which they can deveal talent among the people that wage workers precisely because they do in the ranks of labor is imperative. The has never been tapped and that capi- not raise as a barrier, race, color, creed, attitude of Matthew Woll promotes disunity that may prove costly.

The ECONOMIC WEEK

are rapidly growing and developing into mass fighting organizations. became the main impetus for the upward turn in the general business index.

The Senate passed, on June 19, an amendment to the Social Security program which it "is said seriously jeopardship condones this and takes no steps to remove Woll. Surely, affiliation with this open capitalist, anti-labor outfit is permits employers with private pension plans to be available upper classes.

ship condones this and takes no steps to remove Woll. Surely, affiliation with this open capitalist, anti-labor outfit is in direct opposition to the best interests of the available upper classes. ship condones this and takes no steps tion" (N. Y. Times). This proposal

grained parasites, shirkers and disorganizers are concerned, competition unity, ending the accursed period of dual version into gold. There was nothing unity, ending the accursed period of dual version into gold. There was nothing unity generous or humanitarian in the U. S.

"Over the entire nation the employers business and export trade. Franc de--Economist.

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PROFESSOR HOOK LOSES HIS TEMPER

Some time ago Workers Age carried a number of articles by Will Herberg on some of Sidney Hook's misconceptions of Proletarian Dictatorship. To these articles Professor Hook replied in the form judicious reader to decide whether I of a vituperative attack printed in have dealt unfairly with Dr. Hook in the current issue of Modern Monthly. this respect. The article below is the final rebuttal in The most glaring "falsification" of this debate. Unless, of course, Profes- which Dr. Hook accuses me is in consor Hook should become even more irri- nection with his proposal to replace the tated.—Editor.

Sidney Hook's reply to my articles on "workers democracy" published some time ago in the Workers Age may be an interesting item in the curiosa of polemical hysterics, but unfortunately it term "dictatorship of the proletariat" by "workers democracy". He gives four reasons—I call them "reasons" because he does —for this novel idea and then goes on to add (in a footnote) that the phrase is, after all, of little consequence: "In no public writing does Marx use is of little value as a contribution to the the expression 'dictatorship of the prolediscussion of political theory. I am real-tariat'. It occurs only twice in his unly somewhat at a loss to account for the published manuscripts. . . " very unphilosophical peevishness exhibit- my answer? First, that "proletarian diced by this eminent philosopher, to the tatorship" and "workers democracy" are point where it quite beclouds his reasoning powers. After all, what I attempt them as such means to fail to grasp the ed to do in my articles was to combine very heart of the Marxist theory of the a very mild and restrained criticism of br. Hook's sad confusion on the very which Dr. Hook is willing to drop the central question of Marxist theory with proletarian dictatorship as a mere phrase a dispassionate examination of certain has a familiar ring to it it is merely closely associated questions of basic im- a bad paraphrase of Kautsky. Incidentportance. Of these fundamental mat- ally I took occasion to point out that, ters, Dr. Hook has little to say-perhaps in his eagerness to disparage the conbecause they are so obvious to him. In-ception of the dictatorship of the prostead, he gives way to a very unbecom- letariat, the learned Professor Hook ing fit of fretful exasperation in the made an unfortunate slip which, by the ccurse of which he includes in some alto- way, the learned Dr. Kautsky had made gether unparliamentary language to- before him: not only did Marx use the wards my person. To say the least, it "phrase" in some very important "pubis not an attitude worthy of a philosopher who is at the same time the theoretical leader of the "new revolutionary tatorship was the very kernel of his party" in this country! This is not the occasion to review the ply to all this? That I am every variety

arguments I advanced in my series of a scoundrel for not quoting those parts articles, especially as I have a curious of his article which he would like to have feeling that, in his present unsettled frame of mind, Professor Hook would this sentence to give the reader the imnot appreciate the full force of my logic. pression that (Hook) sets great store and I will limit myself therefore to the points raised by him directly in somewhat hechave to say will commend itself to his my best to deserve a better fate!

I just as naturally chose those parts of turbing Dr. Hook's ability to read plain Democracy=Dictatorship Is Wrong and—horror of horrors!—italicized them! on:

The pointing out that neither the Russian out pointing out the Rus

propaganda and their disruptive activi-

THINGS

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ciety where the masses of the work- were organs of proletarian dictatorship Iterm "dictatorship of the proletariat" by teachings. And what does Dr. Hook re-

ers are under bourgeois influence; altho both were democratically elected, naturally they don't know their own authentic expressions of workers de- insist that the party knows the interinterests. After the revolution, how- mocracy. This throws Dr. Hook into ests of the workers better than the ever, things are different; the work- one of his fits of virtuous indignation. workers do themselves so that, as a ers are already class conscious and "Does not Mr. Herberg know that the consequence, the question of what to do understand their interests quite well. German soviets did not have state pow-Unfortunately the 'revolution' is no er in 1918, and that the Russian soviets majority is no longer one of principle wonder-working miracle, transforming from March to October 1917 did not conmankind overnight No one knew this stitute the state power? . . . Of course better than Lenin and no one took he knows these things but he is banking greater pains to emphasize it. Of on the hope that either his readers do course, a successful revolution pre- not know this or that they are unacsupposes a high degree of class con- quainted with my article which he is which the workers automatically grasp sciousness among decisive sections of criticising." I feel embarrassed in havthe proletariat; indeed, the accept- ing to instruct a professor of philosophy torical interests of the working class ance of the program and leadership of the revolutionary Marxist party is the best sign of this. But the spiritthe best sign of this. But the spirithaps Dr. Hook is so busy building new are revealed in and thru Marxism, that the authentic bearer of these interests is the refore the Marxist vanguard of the ual influences of capitalism continue parties and coining new epithets that he proletariat, the Marxist party. I am active long after the overthrow of the has no time to pay attention to mere sorry that I have to repeat these wellbourgeois state. 'They (the petty bourgeoise) surround the proletariat Does not Professor Hook know that, on every side with a petty bourgeois between March and October 1917, there atmosphere,' Lenin wrote (in the fifth was a dual power in Russia and that Party Or Soviet? chapter of his pamphlet on Left Com- the real mass power rested with the 5. Oh, but Kronstadt! Professor Hook munism) describing conditions after soviets? Let him read Lenin. Does not tries to get out of the dilemma in which the revolution, 'impregnating the proletariat, corrupting and demoralizing and December 1918, the soviets constiit, causing it to relapse into petty tuted the only recognized state power face the problem of the Kronstadt rebourgeois characterlessness, demoral- in Germany? Let him consult any hist- bellion, by describing the revolt as "an ization, individualism and vacillation ory of the period. For his convenience uprising of a local soviet representing between moods of exaltation and de- I will call his attention to Eduard Bern- a comparative handful of sailors against jection.' And, as long as this continues to be the case, the Marxist more tolerant than Professor Hook, I but hardly relevant! What is the real vanguard of the proletariat is still a will not add: "Of course, he knows these question at issue? From Professor etter judge of the real interests of things . . . " I am quite ready to assume Hook's standpoint it follows directly the class than the 'working class as that he does not! But the fundamental that the Kronstadt workers and sailor a whole.' Will Sidney Hook challenge question still remains for Hook to an- knew their own interests better than This is what I wrote in my original and the German soviets in 1918 organs article. My whole point was that the of proletarian dictatorship merely be-

has not seen fit to give me the least the program of the Marxist party?

Dress Local 22 Answers Disrupters

What is behind this unscrupulous

Local? Obviously its aim is to stir up

suspicion and disunity in our ranks by spreading the impression that we are

not interested in keeping the colored

workers in the Union. The Negro dress-

nakers are the very first to resent such

very clearly that any other viewpoint leads to the crudest sort of democratic

do drop out thru the indifference of the gadmistration! Every dressmaker will understand that all this is deliberate misrepresentation and unscrupulous slander. No one could have possibly known the number of colored dressmakers in our ranks until we took our official census last October and found the number to be about 2,500. The figure of 5,000 is a pure fiction manufactured by the Left group simply and solely for the sake of falsifying the record and creating confusion in our ranks. Furthermore, everybody knows how lenient our Union is on the question of payments, allowing a member to be nine months behind in his dues before being dropped. As a matter of fact, our Local manufacturing issues for the sake of on-manufacturing issues for the sake of on-manuf

ty and responsibility which our members, including the colored dressmakers, have shown in sticking to the Union in the two years since the general strike, are unmatched in the records of trade union-

Dressmakers! Don't allow any dissension or demoralization in our ranks! **Executive Board**

Pearl Halpern, Chairman Chas. S. Zimmerman, Sec'y-Mgr. ducks with a rifle.

Concluding Remarks On Hook's Misconception Of Dictatorship to the conviction that its line is for the best even the the soviet majority does not happen to think so? To give the former answer means to sacrifice all politicmay be quite true in capitalist so-the German Soviets in December 1918 al reason on the altar of a mystical demo cratic faith. To give the latter means to in the case of a conflict with the sovie course we know to our sorrow that Marxist parties can be quite fallible but I maintain, and all experience proves it, that there is no mystical process by

swer: Were the Russian soviets in 1917 anybody else possibly could, better than Marxist party was a "better judge of cause they were the authentic expression pation", then, for the soviet power to not appreciate the full force of my logic.

I will limit myself therefore to the points raised by him directly in somewhat hectic fashion, merely hoping that what I have to say will computed to say will computed itself to his my best to deserve a better fate!

I was a better ladge of case they were the authentic expression that (Hook) sets great store and emphasis upon it." I really feel hurt that the real interests of the class' after the of workers democracy? Is it not true that Soviets become organs of proletarion. I may be all wrong altho Dr. Hook has not seen fit to give me the least they were the authentic expression that (Hook) sets great store and emphasis upon it." I really feel hurt that Soviets become organs of proletarion. I may be all wrong altho Dr. Hook has not seen fit to give me the least they were the authentic expression that (Hook) sets great store and emphasis upon it." I really feel hurt that Soviets become organs of proletarion. I may be all wrong altho Dr. Hook has not seen fit to give me the least they were the authentic expression that (Hook) sets great store and emphasis upon it." I really feel hurt that Soviets become organs of proletarion. I may be all wrong altho Dr. Hook has not seen fit to give me the least they were the authentic expression that (Hook) sets great store and emphasis upon it." I really feel hurt that the lither Kronstadters what upon it." I really feel hurt that the lither than the lither than the solution as well as before the resolution as well as before the revolution as well as before the power to solve from the complex of the class. The provided has not seen fit to give me the least they were the authentic expression that the lither than the complex of the provided has not seen fit to give me the class they were the authentic expression that the solution as well as before the resolution as well as they were the authentic expression that the lither than the lithe have to say will commend itself to his better judgment as soon as he manages better judgment as soon as he manages to regain that unruffled calmness that to regain that unruffled calmness that should characterize any one who sets himself up as a censor of "manners and morals".

Before And After

2. Among the more coherent parts of Professor Hook's rejoinder is the charge that, in evaluating his curious notions after the revolution, I did not pretend morals".

The Art Of Quoting

1. I am sorry to say that I am utter-ly unable to follow Dr. Hook in his strictic fields and the proceed (ed) to change the subject", pretending that he "was talking not about the relations between ly unable to follow Dr. Hook in his strictic fields and the said of the subject of the su It am sorry to say that I am utter the subject, pretenting that he was upon the ly unable to follow Dr. Hook in his strictures on my methods of quotation and the party and the working class before the revolution." Charity compels in the party and the working class before the revolution." Charity compels me to believe that some obscure emotional factors are at work here seriously disconnected by the following the following the following that I am uttersticated the subject, pretenting that the working class talking not about the relations between the party and the working class before the revolution." Charity compels me to believe that some obscure emotional factors are at work here seriously disconnected by the following that I am tutely talking not about the relations between the best judge of their (the some nasty things to say about his in my efforts to evade a clear answer. But I must confess that I do not experiment. But I must confess that I do not experiment the following the tion quite unequivocally: The program of the Marxist party is a truer expression

In connection with this incident, Dr. Hook challenges me to "formulate a his article which were most open to objection. Even philosophers do this in Workers Age (December 15, 1934) I ject of my criticism, Dr. Hook made the their polemics. Dr. Hook's fretfulness made it obvious enough what I was talkshould be directed against himself for ing about. After discussing the relation out making it as clear as daylight" that having said so many foolish things and having said so many foolish things and drawing certain conclusions, I went and—horror of horrors!—italicized them! on:

I have "abandoned Marxism bag and better judge of its real interests than better judge of its real interests than the pointing out that neither the Russian the proletariat itself. I may be utter-I have "abandoned Marxism bag and recall a very instructive incident direct uous. Moreover, I believe I have shown ly germane to the subject under discussion. On July 25, 1918 the soviet of workers and soldiers deputies at Baku, by a leads to the crudest soft of defined with the restriction of the leads to the crudest soft of definition which has nothing in common English to "come to the protection of the English to "come to the protection of the language with the restriction of the language with th pable absurdities. Dr. Hook calls my soviet republic." Here it is no longer The statement below is a reply by the Executive Board to a "Left" Group leaflet dealing with so-called Negro discrimination.

The statement below is a reply by the acceptance of the statement below is a reply by the acceptance of the statement below is a reply by the acceptance of the statement below is a reply by the acceptance of the statement below is a reply by the statement below is a reply by the acceptance of statement below is a reply by the statement below is a reply by the acceptance of the statement below is a reply by the statement below is a reply by the acceptance of salors, and their desperation is and asks they are now again resorting to their old trick of stimulating race prejudice and creating an atmosphere of suspicion wade by our administration to draw all best judge of them (the real interaction).

Dr. Hook calls my "Communist-Catholic a comparative handful of sailors," as at Kronstadt, but of the highest soviet authority of an entire country (Azerbai-mate) and creating an atmosphere of suspicion wade by our administration to draw all and creating an atmosphere of suspicion and hostility among the various racial elements of our membership, especially the proletariat)?" But it should be ob"minority (Bolshevik) party" do? Did In the face of the concerted efforts of the employers to drive down conditions, loosen union control and rob us of our hard-won gains, our only reliance must be in the unity, solidarity and control and rob us of our hard-won gains, our only reliance must be in the unity, solidarity and control and rob us of our hard-won gains, our only reliance must be in the unity, solidarity and control and rob us of our hard-won gains, our only reliance must be in the unity, solidarity and control and rob us of our hard-won gains, our only reliance to any depth.

Their letest effects of our hard-won gains, our only reliance to any depth.

Their letest effects of our hard-won gains, our only reliance to any depth.

Their letest effects of the various racial interests, into active Union life into participation in the leadership libility involved here at all. Let me try to put the matter in a simple, pictoral form which I am sure Professor of the try to put the matter in a simple, pictoral form which I am sure Professor Hook? Well, hardly! With
out in the face of the concerted efforts in and into participation in the leadership libility involved here at all. Let me try to put the matter in a simple, pictoral form which I am sure Professor Hook? Well, hardly! With
out in the proletariat)?" But it should be ob
itous that there is no question of infal
try to put the matter in a simple, pictoral form which I am sure Professor Hook? Well, hardly! With
out in the face of the union. In this field too, in the

try to put the review of the matter in a simple, pictoral form which I am sure Professor Hook? Well, hardly! With
out in the leadership divious that there is no question of infal
try to put the matter in a simple, pictoral form which I am sure Professor Hook? Well, hardly! With
out in the leadership of the union. In this field too, in the

try to put the matter in a simple, pictoral form which I am sure Professor Hook? Well, hardly! With
out in the leadership in the unity solidarity and the matter in a simple in must be in the unity, solidarity and fighting spirit of the workers. Whatever tends to divide or tanks is contained in the shameful leafter the record of our Union has set!

Their latest attempt to divide our ranks is contained in the shameful leafter the record of our Union has set!

In our Union there never has been any ranks can bring benefit only to the boss- let issued by it last week, charging our local with deliberately allowing 2,500 question of race prejudice or discrimination.

Hook will grasp. Let us suppose that ranks is contained in the shameful leafter ever tends to divide our ranks is contained in the shameful leafter record of our Union has set!

In our Union there never has been any question of race prejudice or discrimination.

Local with deliberately allowing 2,500 question of race prejudice or discrimination. ranks can bring benefit only to the bosses and the enemies of unionism.

Our administration has made repeated efforts to bring about the unification of our ranks against the employers. We made earnest appeals for unity before, during and after the recent elections. And what has been the answer of the leaders of the so-called Left group to our appeals? They have turned their backs upon them; they have continued and even intensified their demoralizing propaganda and their disruptive activi-

months behind in his dues before being dropped. As a matter of fact, our Local has shown the greatest concern to keep every single member in the Union and we can declare with pride that the loyal-we have a declare with pride that the loyal-we can declare with pride the would become more unstable even sooner. Where would become more unstable even sooner. them and thus assuming responsibility is probably a result of the professoria we are now at that stage of capital-disease, tolerable, even convenient, in

ist development in which the government is not only a one-sided umpire but also ward in the hurly-burly world of polia most active player in the whole eco- tical struggle. I bear Professor Hook nomic game of chasing for private prof- no grudge in spite of his unpleasant re-What is behind this unscrupulous Unity and solidarity in the fight for bet- its. This is an inexorable phase of the marks about me; in fact I feel just a whole process of economic development. little bit sorry for him. And so, while No robed tyrant in the Washington Su- I am in this mood of forgiveness and DRESSMAKERS UNION LOCAL 22 preme Court, no frocked salesmen of heavenly goods can stop this trend. To ing advice: In politics, my dear profeslegislate against it is like hunting goofy sor, you must be able to take it, as well

WORKERS

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Roosevelt Election Maneuver

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT is now engaged in some cheap and petty maneuv ering. All his noise about the tax program, which has been so inappropriately labeled by the big capitalist press as a "Soak-the-Rich Plan", is just that much election campaign preparation and nothing more.

The very suddenness with which he came forward with the program showed he was playing a game, the ordinary game of election politics. When some of the progressives in the Senate showed signs of taking him scriously, he dropped the word that he meant to push thru his tax schedule in this session. In order to lend some tinge of truth to this, he even had some of his Senate whips issue declarations to the effect that the President's proposed tax plan would be enacted into law within a few days. Of course, all this time the President was well aware of the fact that the very mechanics of the Congressional mills would not permit such speedy action.

We entertain the most serious doubts whether the President really wants his tax program passed in the present session of Congress. We are much more inclined to think that he is playing with the whole idea in order to use it as campaign material and to pose as a progressive in the coming elections.

As to the very character of the tax program, we can only repeat what we have said time and again: There is nothing revolutionary or radical about the new tax schedules proposed by Roosevelt for multi-millionaires and huge corporations. Every good-sized capitalist country has, for years, had higher levels than those contemplated by the President. Wall Street and Big Business the country over are steadily getting adjusted to such prospects of higher taxation. They have begun to realize that in the interest of preserving the very system out of which they are profitting so much it is necessary for them to cough up a bit more. After all, it does cost money to maintain a huge army and navy to defend markets abroad and to sustain a giant government burocracy to preserve law and order against the workers at home. Such taxation schedules are viewed by many of the

more so-called socially minded bourgeoisie as insurance premiums.

In this sense, W. N. Kiplinger, prominent business writer of Washington, spoke rather frankly before the Graduate School of Banking of the American Bankers Association at Rutgers University the other day: "The President's new tax program now at issue in Congress is the sort of thing we must expect over the long pull: heavy death taxes, heavy income taxes, . . . heavier taxes on large profits of large corporations."

Those who do so much yelling against heavier taxation on the recipients of higher income also forget that the great majority of the people of this country, the already poor and the about to be poor, are themselves paying huge levies in taxation. Witness the widespread use of the sales tax; witness the heavy burdens imposed on the average worker thru the processing taxes on agricultural products.

THIS whole problem brings to light some important trends in American economic development accentuated by the "remedies" introduced by the chief New Dealer. The trend towards concentration of capital, the trend towards increasing impoverishment of the masses-scientifically put, the increasing misery of the masses has been much accelerated by the New Deal. A report just issued by Leon Henderson, who headed the Division of Research and Planning of the NRA for over a year, confirms this evaluation of ours to the hilt. Mr. Henderson says: "While laborers participated fully in the decline in national income, those receiving dividends and interest found their income not only increased faster than national income during the boom, but declined less than national income during the de pression.

Mr. Henderson's report points out specifically that from 1925 to 1929, so called prosperity years, wages rose 20 per cent, while dividends and interest payments rose 65 per cent. During the depression years dividends and interest fell considerably less than labor income. In 1932 wages were at most 65 per cent of the scales prevailing in 1923-1925.

Director Henderson dares not tackle what he calls "the implications for theory and for policy of these facts," because it involves issues "too controversial." What Henderson means is obvious on the surface. The issues involve the whole class structure of capitalist society. Higher taxes on the rich, even when coupled with a consistent reduction of taxes on the income payer in the lower brackets, at best scratch only the surface of the whole problem. This "remedy" does not really alter the fundamental class relations of the exploiter and exploited. Worse than that, the Government constantly resorts to practices which more than counteract the effects of higher taxation. For instance, the government, as indicated in the report of Mr. Henderson "doled out by the billion, funds in order to keep inflated structures from being put thru the wringer at a time when payrolls had come down to less than half."

GAIN, crushing evidence of the inability of the capitalist government in the A U. S. to meet the basic problems of the crisis is afforded us by the latest statistics on unemployment just made public by the National Industrial Conference Boards, an employer organization.

unemployed in May is 5.5 per cent NICB, the to the same period of last year. This aggregation of open-shop statisticians confesses that there are in the U. S. today at least 9,711,000 jobless, that is, full-time unemployed workers. It is clear from this report that there are actually ca; and Phil Ziegler, of the Railway several million more unemployed in the U. S., even after three years of "recovery and after all the numerous and hectic efforts of the New Deal.

No one should waste a moment taking seriously the "radical" character of

the administration's schemes. Mr. Sibley, head of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, has just come out in favor of the "Utility Control Bill" now before the House. At the Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce, just closed in Paris, the American delegates, such outstanding industrialists and bankers as Thomas J. Watson and Rudolph S. Hecht, President of the American Bankers Association, heaped lavish praise on and paid the warmest "tribute to the Pressident's efforts and achievements" in improving conditions at home and stabil izing world economic relations in general.

It is high time that the working class and poor farmers of this country should cease relying on the "radical" measures of Roosevelt and his Democratic Party; it is more than about time that the working masses in the urban and rural areas should join hands and form a political party of their own, completely distinct from and entirely opposed to the parties of big capital—the Democratic and Republican Parties. This is the first and most important lesson that American Labor must learn from all the President's maneuvers, from all the efforts of the administration-in fact, from the entire economic crisis.

EUROPE

(Continued from Page 1) going to Paris in order to pacify France. Italy sees eye to eye with France on this problem. Japan has declared that it has no objections against the German demands but wished to maintain fully its ing members of the British legion to own demands for equality with the English and American fleet.

Why does England seem to meet Ger- BENES GOES many half way? The reason for this is to be found in the Far Eastern situation. England is attempting to disrupt the

Ifriendly relationship between Japan and Germany which is hampering England in its commercial transactions in Europe as well as in the Far East. This also accounts for the gesture of send-Germany.

Books of the Age

by Bertram D. Wolfe

Cabot. Columbia University Press. 313 рр. \$3.00.

(Reviewed by Dr. Harry Bail) There are in the U.S.A. 500,000 physi cians, dentists, nurses, druggists and probably another 500,000 employed in the hospitals, medical colleges, boards of health, sanitation etc. There are 7,000 hospitals whose maintenance per year costs one billion dollars (1931). Capital investment is over 3 billion dollars capital investment (Iron and Steel, textiles, chemical and allied industries, food, have higher capital investments). Over three and a half billion dollars were spent for medical care in the U.S. in 1931. The subject of this book is an important one!

The name of the book "The Doctor's Bill" is a misnomer. "The Tragedy of Medicine Under Capitalism" would have been a far more appropriate name since the main portion of the book is devoted to a study of forms of medical care best suited to the needs of the population.

One must admit that Dr. Cabot did not follow the footsteps of his prominent colleagues who write solely from the point of view of their narrow economic interests dressed up in such altruistic phrases as "service to suffering humanity", "personal relation between doctor and patient" and "medical ethics" which will supposedly be destroyed un er new arrangements for medical care

Dr. Cabot fearlessly blasts all this talk as false and pretentious. I fully agree with the author when he maintains that the ordinary general practitioner has neither the ability nor the equipment for a good periodic health examination which in most cases involves a com plete blood examination, urinalysis, X rays and the opinion of a consultant This involves an expense which only rich can meet. Any other exami nation is practically worthless and perhaps even dangerous since it gives the patient a sense of false security.

The author exposes the reactionary character of the American Medical As sociation—the mouthpiece of organized medicine—when it cries out against "Sovietized Medicine" to scare into silence the defenders of socialized medicine. He points out that many doctors' or ganization actually work against any extension of child health service in the schools because it deprives them of their fees. Actually this amounts to under mining the health of the nation, for the

masses cannot pay for private care.

What is the trouble with the presen system of "Rugged Individualism" in

Brookwood Ends Successful Season

An increasing interest in workers' education on the part of the American trade unions made the 1934-35 school year Brookwood Labor College, Katonah N. Y., one of the best in the fourteen years of the school's history, Tucker P. Smith, director, reported at the annual meeting of the Brookwood Corporation in Katonah.

Announcement was made of the appointment of three new staff members, Roy Reuther to the extension department; Lawrence Rogin to teach journalism, and edit the Brookwood Review; and Ethel Lurie as librarian.

James H. Maurer, former president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, and one of the founders of the school, was reelected president of the board of directors, and Fannia M. Cohn, secretary of the educational department of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, vice-president. Other members of the board of directors are A. J. capitalism itself. Kennedy, president of the Amalgamated Lithographers of America; John Brophy Clerks Union.

The school will celebrate the 15th anniversary of its founding with a concert and luncheon symposium in January, and by publishing a labor almanac

Students are now being recruited for the coming year. Those desiring information can get it by writing the college at Katonah, N. Y.

the following important results:

1. Benes is taking the initiative in promoting the conclusion of a pact between the Soviet Union and the other two states of the Little Entente (Roumania, and Jugoslavia). The most important thing is the conclusion of a treaty with Roumania which would render the Czecho-Soviet treaty effective in the military sense since the military forces of the Soviet Union cannot otherwise gain ac cess to Czechoslovakian territory.

2. The Soviet Union has declared it self ready to support the position of the Little Entente on the question of the Danube pact (conclusion of mutual as sistance pacts to guarantee the independence of Austria).

It is important to state what Benes did not get in Moscow. The Czechoslovakian press had announced previous to Benes' trip to Moscow that he would de mand the same guarantees in reference to national defense that Laval had gotten from Stalin. Such a statement was not given. We believe that this was

THE DOCTOR'S BILL, by Doctor Hugh | medicine? Dr. Cabot has the right answer when he says that we have in the U.S. a medical personnel capable of delivering medical service superior to that of any other country, but the tragedy lies in the fact that it is not obtainable for the masses since only 10% of our population has a sufficient income to pay for proper medical care.

What should be done about it? Here Dr. Cabot is severely disappointing. It is undoubtedly the weakest part of the making this industry fifth in the list of book. He analyzes the merits of various plans for medical care-voluntary insurance, compulsory insurance and others practiced in Germany, Denmark and Great Britain—but completely ignores the Soviet Union where socialized medicine exists long enough to have proved its superiority over all other plans.

> To the intelligent reader the solution is very simple: only socialized medicine can serve the needs of the people. This Dr. Cabot does not choose to see, thereby marring what would otherwise be a distinct contribution in the discussion of socialized medicine.

> REHOUSING URBAN AMERICA, by Henry Wright. Columbia University. 173 pp. Profusely illustrated.

"How all occasions do inform against June 17. capitalism might say with Hamlet; for here is a study of the housing problem by one of America's outstanding architects, which, without intending it, presents an indictment of the present social order.

Wright approaches his subject as a technical expert interested in the practical problem of explaining what's wrong with bad dwellings, and offering plans, budget costs, and structural and community requirements for good housing. But a realistic sense of the problems involved compels him to see that they are not individual and local but general and social in character.

"Our slums," he declares, "are among the world's worst." They have grown up as a result of the lack of social planning, the wholesale erection of buildings of a grossly inferior type, the speculation in dwellings and real estate, the poverty of great numbers of our people.

He tries in vain, to believe his own theory that the solution awaits "only correct analysis and good planning." But his realism and his practical experiences get the better of his thesis.

As research worker for the New York Housing Board in . 1928 and the President's Housing Conference in 1931 he discovered that "correct analysis and good planning" are blocked by "an investment" attitude toward the problem. "They (the Housing Boards and Authorwith 'saving' the slums as a form of property investment than with eradicating them . . . " The housing reform he dreams of "is held back chiefly because our foolish timidity in placing property agency attempting the assembly of the adequate sites."

The book is richly and informatively illustrated with charts of slum growth, studies of group projects like Sunnyside Gardens (of which Wright was one of the planners) Radburn, Chatham Village, German and Swiss group dwellings, etc. But such garden cities an neither become general nor accessible to the masses as long as there is private property in land, speculation, poverty that requires "an increased income or city subsidy" 'to supplement its rental capacity, lack of social conscience and social planning. The slum-planner against dual unionism. The progressives and slum-builder and the persistent and in the trade unions would welcome such

REBELLIOUS FRASER'S, by Miriam Thrall. Columbia University Press. 332pp. \$3.00.

A study of the British magazine known as Fraser's, its editor and contributors, its crusades and criticism literary, political and social.

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By GEORGE F. MILES

Now that the Fur Workers Industrial Union is liquidated by official decree, igned by Ben Gold and distributed in the fur market on June 17, we cannot refrain from citing a number of leaflets of the Industrial Union to show the marvellous "consistency" and brilliant "foresight" which these leaders—God's gift to the furriers-showed in the course of the last few months.

"You will not fight the bosses and the gangsters—because you will not bite the hand that feeds you", says the Industrial Union to the Joint Council in Bulletin No. 3, January 1935.

"Demonstrate YOUR loyalty to YOUR Joint Council and to YOUR A. F. of L. International Fur Workers Union . . " says the leaflet of June 17.

The choice between the Industrial Union and the Joint Council means to take a stand "For the workers, or for the bosses" and "For a workers union, or a gangsters' and grafters' union". Bulletin No. 4, January, 1935.

The Joint Council "is your union and

your only furriers union, which we must build and strengthen . . .". Leaflet of

And when the Joint Council pressed for unity in the fur industry it received the following answer: "The Council leaders are aware of the fact that the furriers will never agree to join the Council individually". Bulletin No. 7, March,

Three months later Ben Gold calls upon the furriers to do precisely that-register individually. The leaflet of June 17 says: "The employed fur workers will go to the Joint Council after working hours to take out union books. . Become members of the Joint Council. Let not a single fur worker post-pone joining the union. Fulfill your duty

In Bulletin No. 8, April 1935, the Industrial Union rejects any further talk f unity and tells the fur workers that "NOW MORE THAN EVER WE CALL UPON ALL FUR WORKERS TO HELP STRENGTHEN AND SUPPORT THE INDUSTRIAL UNION."

In the leaflet of June 17, two months later, we read: "THE FUR WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO LONGER FUNCTIONS. ALL FUR WORKERS WITHOUT ANY EXCEPTIONS ARE CALLED UPON TO BECOME MEMBERS OF THE JOINT COUNCIL AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE". And the leaflet closes with the slogan: "Forward to victories under the banner of our only furriers' union, the International ities—B.D.W.) have been more concerned Fur Workers Union of the United States and Canada of the A. F. of L.'

S. P.-ers Go Left

Tom A., of Detroit, writes in to tell us that at a recent conference of memrights above the public welfare makes it bers of the Socialist Party in the autopossible for a few owners to hold up the mobile industry, there was strong sentiment for a proposal providing that if Dillon is elected to head the national union of auto workers, all locals controlled by the Socialist Party secede and organize a new union.

Proving what we have constantly maintained. that ultra-left insanities are not specific C.P. diseases. The S.P. has committed mad-cap leftist ventures before and will again unless the constructive revolutionary forces see to it that a new trade union policy is worked out, breaking sharply with the burocracy, which the S.P. has supported so consistently for years, and drawing the line

Waiting For "Lefty"

in the S. P. is talking La Everybody bor Party. Everybody is for a Labor Party and yet there is greatest opposition precisely there. We know that a number of outstanding trade union leaders, members of the Socialist Party. have told the S.P. in so many words that it better go slow on the Labor Party. They want to see what Franklin D. Roosevelt is going to do.

Now we begin to understand what Norman Thomas meant when he said that the S.P. appears to be no more than an appendage to the Roosevelt kite.

JENNIE VIZENTHAL KANTOR is managing

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