

WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. IV, No. 11.

Saturday, March 16, 1935.

Five Cents

At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

IN the "trial" of Rakosi, the Hungarian government showed once more how farcial and tragic capitalist justice is for the working class. The "Bloody" Horthy obviously was not satisfied with keeping Comrade Rakosi in prison chains for about ten years. A new "trial" was ordered at the end of this beastly term. The crime Rakosi was charged with was participation in the Soviet government of Hungary. (Naturally, he was found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment.) Comrade Rakosi, whom I recall very vividly as a very kind and extremely able comrade, was painted as a bloodthirsty monster. It is unnecessary for us to comment in detail on the proceedings of Horthy Justice. Its ill-renewed is an open book to the whole world. We refer our readers to some of the findings of the Manchester Guardian special observer at the trial which we reproduce elsewhere. By the way, we are not wondering at the chorus of silence organized by American liberalism over this piece of infamy perpetrated against a Communist leader. Nor are we surprised to see how atrophied the tear glands of the Social Democrats and their Trotskyist younglings have become in this case. Ah, but Rakosi is not Nikolaev and Horthy is not Kirov—and Budapest is not Moscow.

JUDGING by the complexion of the international economic sky, the state of the day is deeply disturbed. Terribly rough weather is ahead. British recovery has apparently reached its saturation point. The decisive factor for continued economic revival, a growth of foreign trade, is definitely out of question. Nineteen thirty-four shows a serious British Trade deficit, an unfavorable balance not to be sneezed at. The devaluation of the pound has proved a flop as a remedy for restoring foreign markets. American and Japanese currency devaluation has proved more than a match for the chiselled pound. Lombard Street is desperate and is counter-attacking with more depreciation of sterling. This explains the phenomenal collapse of the pound in recent days. Though the decline of British currency will not continue in a straight line, it is clear that its trend will be downward for some time. A four-dollar pound is in sight as an act of despair by the "City" to win back trade in the world market. Of course, sooner than most expect, Wall Street and Tokio will answer in kind and chop more gold out of the dollar, and given these developments, France and the entire gold bloc can't hold on long to the gold standard. An international currency war of greater dimensions than ever has already begun. Its political and economic repercussions are incalculable just now. One thing is certain, they spell disastrous consequences. More inflation and depressed living standards are on the order of the day in the U. S. Significant government changes impend in England and France. Sharpened and embittered rivalry in the world market accompanied by further disturbances in world capitalist economy are at hand.

WHATEVER revival has been attained in the last year or so is far heavier on its ugly than on its bright side. In concrete, let us take two of the "brightest" statistical examples of capitalist recovery—Germany and Japan. At the moment we are not putting under the microscope the remedies applied by the Nazis and the Nipponese imperialist brigands. Let us merely take the pulse and examine the blood of the German and Japanese patients. Thus Reichsbank President Hjalmar Schacht, Hitler's economic dictator, recently wailed before the Breslau Chamber of Trade and Industry: "We must recognize that we live in a time of distress, and that we have to renounce for a decade the agreeable things of life as we had them before the war. We must manage modestly if we wish to secure the future of our children." At least ten very lean years are promised to the German masses, while the Krupps, Krauses and Thyssens wallow in fabulous profits.

FROM the "Oriental Economist" we learn that for the first six months of 1934 net profits were 63% in glass manufacturing, 54% for rayon, 32% for cotton spinning, 28% in steel smelting, and 25% for sugar manufacturing. Simultaneously the poverty of the Japanese farmers and workers grows daily more appalling. Rates of wages have been falling steadily. Hours of work have been lengthened and real wages have been shortened. A fifteen-hour day is not uncommon in smaller companies. Last year's rice crop was a failure and the farmers were too poor to buy back

UNITED SHOE BOARD OUSTS N. Y. LOCAL FOR DUES HOLDOUT

BIEDENKAPP OFF SLATE

BOSTON, MASS.—The General Executive Board of the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union has suspended Local 23 of New York for non-compliance with the rules of the union. This local, now come to grief, had conducted a bitter war against the national office and had functioned practically as an independent union. The local had persistently refused to submit its membership lists to the National Office and had withheld payments of per capita taxes. During the course of about one year the local had paid but 5% of what was due the G.E.B.

The cry of lack of funds was proven unfounded on the basis of the financial statements of Local 23 itself. With a membership of only 2,000 dues paying members this local actually had 20 paid officials on its rolls and an expenditure of \$5,000 per month.

The General Executive Board has also ruled that Fred Biedenkapp is not eligible to run for national office, nor was the candidacy of Ziebel, for the G.E.B., recognized. In both cases the G.E.B. found that they were not in good standing in the local

PROGRESSIVES WIN VOTE ON ELECTION BOARD IN LOCAL 22 MEETINGS

In view of the misinformation concerning the last section meeting of the local, the Executive Board of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., has issued the following statement.

"In its desire to secure democratic elections and to assure minorities their rights, the executive board of the Local proposed to the membership an arrangement unlike anything ever done in any other local of the International. We recommended that the supervision of the voting on the election and objection committee should be in the hands not merely of the section officers and members of the executive board, as is the usual rule, but that, in addition, each group running candidates should have two representatives at each polling place to help in the supervision."

"Certain elements in our local were evidently not interested in guaranteeing all tendencies an equal right in supervising the election of the election and objection committee."
(Continued on Page 4)

LUNDEEN BILL WILL GET HOUSE FLOOR

OK—LABOR COMMITTEE

WASHINGTON—(FP)—A favorable report on the workers' unemployment, old age and social insurance bill, introduced by Rep. E. Lundeen (F.L., Minn.) was voted March 8 by the House labor committee. The vote was seven to six.

This action was hailed by Lundeen as "the greatest victory the measure has yet won." It gives it the jump over its rival, the administration's Wagner-Lewis security bill, which is still in committee.

Rep. W. P. Connery (D., Mass.) chairman of the committee, cast the deciding vote in favor of reporting out the bill. A previous motion to pigeonhole it was lost by a tie vote. Connery was instructed to seek a special rule from the Rules committee to bring the workers' bill up promptly on the floor of the House.

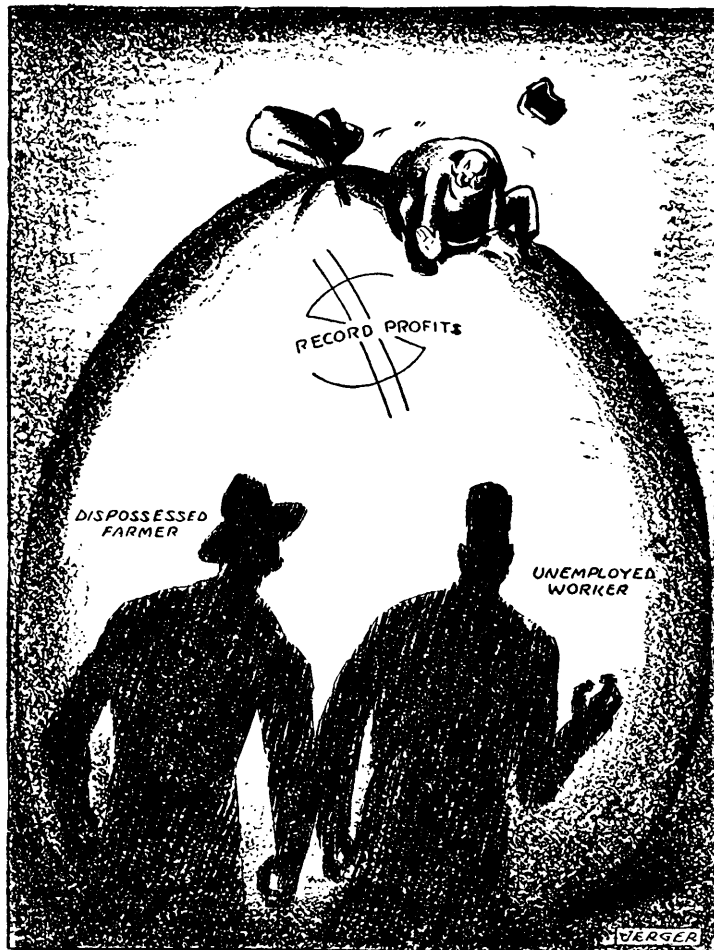
There was also some talk of the possibility of introducing it as a substitute for the Wagner-Lewis bill, when that comes up.

Opposition to reporting out the bill was led in committee by Rep. Reuben T. Wood (D., Mo.), who is also president of the Missouri State Federation of Labor.

from the government their surplus of previous years. And when rice fails the Japanese farmer, then starvation runs amok in the land of the rising sun. This is the much-vaunted Japanese imperialist efficiency. Here is the essence of Japanese prosperity. It's the same woe-ful story we have lived thru in the U. S. and elsewhere. How long will the German and Japanese economic structures be able to stand this strain? Booming armament industries, mounting government debts, watered currencies are no long-time solutions. They are types of sedatives and palliatives which become the death-bearers and grave-markers of the whole bourgeois social order.

"WAGES 60% OF 1926; INTEREST AND DIVIDENDS 150% OF 1926

—NRA Research Division



EUROPE TODAY

by August Thalheimer

GERMAN EXPORTS IN SHARP DROP

German foreign trade declined further in January. Imports rose from 399 million marks in December 1934 to 404 million. Exports declined by 299 million marks, i.e. 15%. The German trade balance of January was unfavorable by 105 million mark as against 45 million in December. The decline of exports was strongest among chemical and pharmaceutical products (7,700,000 marks), electrical machines and products (5,700,000 marks), machines (4,800,000).

The government has therefore decreed that all foreign money in German possession must be turned over to the government. These are drastic means to secure a supply of foreign currency. This is estimated at one and a half a billion marks. Because of this difficult situation Germany will redouble efforts to get foreign credits. The American working class must carefully note developments in that direction and if necessary initiate actions against credits for Hitler Germany.

Manufacture of arms continues at a feverish pace, as is demonstrated by such facts as the increased production of pig iron from 833,000 tons in December 1934 to 888,000 tons in January 1935 and the further increased importation of copper, iron-ore, etc.

Inner conflicts have not ceased. This is proven by the censure of the "Reichsworte," organ of Count Reventlow because of an article which reminded the "old veterans" that capitalism continued to exist in the Third Reich; the fight of the catholic church for the professional schools and the persecution of a league of high school teachers.

In March there will be the so-called election for the factory councils. The Nazis suffered a heavy defeat in these elections last year. The result of the elections this year will be a test of the tactical methods of the CPG as well as those of the SPG. The results of the election depend decisively upon the building of and activities of illegal trade unions in the factories.

KRUPPS BUSINESS BOOMS

The pace of Germany's arming is indicated by the figures of the report of the Krupp Co. Production of pig iron has increased by 80% in one year, that of unprocessed steel by 56%. The utilization of steel works rose from 44% to 75% of its capacity. Gross receipts were about 20,000,000 marks which is equal to 13% of its capital stock.

SHARP CONFLICT IN THE S.P.G.

The Prague Party leadership succeeded in intercepting the correspondence of the leaders of the left wing, Boechel and Aufhaeuser, in which the latter plotted the overthrow of the right wing (Wels,

Stampfer, etc), the "phantom cabinet." The conflict has thus become public. The material of the left wing shows that they are not thinking of joining the C.P.G. but of forming an independent, centrist party.

The position of the right wing is sharply brought out by a remark of Stampfer to a left Social Democrat:

"Give up your revolutionary dreams. In a year's time we will have routed Hitler with the aid of the Reichswehr and the Catholic Center."

That this represents the leading line of the policy of the Prague leadership of the S.P.G. is confirmed by its conduct along all other lines.

FRENCH SOCIALISTS VIOLATE PACT

On March 3rd the National Council of the French Socialist Party will meet. In May there will be municipal elections in the entire country. Prior to the meeting of the National Council one of the leaders of the S.P., Lebas, attacked the C.P. and the united front because of an article in the "Communist International" which appeared also in the "Cahiers du Bolshévisme." In this article the author demanded that the C.P. criticize the principles and tactics of the S.P. He tries to explain to the Party that the importance of a united front is the winning of the Social Democratic workers for Communism; that the struggle for power presupposes the liquidation of the mass influence of the Social Democrats.

These things are all closely related. Apparently a vicious attack against the continuation of the united front with the C.P. is being prepared in the S.P. At the same time there is developing a sentiment for closer relations with the Radical Socialists.

Municipal positions are at stake. The Radical Party with its strong following in the country offers more to the S.P. than can the C.P. which is relatively weak in the country. To thousands of local functionaries of the S.P. positions are more important than the united front. Unfortunately the C.P. missed every chance to tell the Social Democratic workers that the struggle against fascism can be successful only if fought outside the framework of bourgeois democracy. The fact that the Party fought for the defense of democratic rights is beginning to show its effects.

It remains to be seen what the proletarian elements in the S.P. will say to the obvious attempts at breaking the united front. Flandin, to be sure, got the votes of the Radicals in the last vote in the chamber of Deputies, but even with the Radicals the coming municipal elections cast their shadows before. Many Radical mayors, etc. got into office with the aid of Social Democratic votes and must now again seek the support of Social Democrats.

ADD 46000 TO ARMY AS SENATE JINGOES PARADE WAR SCARE

JAPAN IS BOGEY MAN

WASHINGTON — (FP) — Behind a barrage of war talk, directed chiefly against Japan, the administration's big army bill, with \$20,000,000 added for more troops, was pushed through the Senate March 8 by a vote of 68 to 15. The additional appropriation raises the army's budget for war purposes to the near-record total of \$400,000,000.

The amendment for more money to increase the enlisted strength of the army from 118,750 to 165,000 men had been passed by a vote of 56 to 26.

"Our increase of 46,000 men is even today being heralded in Japan as a reason for an equal increase," said Sen. Nye (R., N.D.) who opposed the increased appropriations. Sen. Clark (D., Mo.) said that a "Japanese war scare" was always promoted when bills to increase the army and navy were up.

Senators Lewis (D., Ill.), Duffy (D., Wis.) and McAdoo (D., Cal.) were among the more vocal of the Japanese war scare talkers. Lewis also mentioned the Soviet Union as a possible target in the next war, and Great Britain received mention in a similar connection. Senators Borah (R., Id.) and King (D., Utah) were among those pooh-poohing war scares.

Sen. Frazier (R., N.D.) proposed the elimination of compulsory military training in schools and colleges, but was voted down.

STERILIZED UNIONS ARE ASKED IN BAY STATE BY ARCHER'S COMMITTEE

BOSTON, MASS.—A special committee on the shoe industry, headed by Dean Gleason Archer, appointed by Governor Curley, has now made its proposals in the form of a bill submitted to the state legislature.

The bill, outright anti-labor in character, provides: Unions must give two weeks notice of any intent to strike; All unfinished work must be completed even tho the strike may be on; No alien, Communist, or former member of the Communist Party shall be eligible for any official union position. The bill further provides for an industrial court to handle all disputes.

The appearance of this bill may not be unrelated to the activities of a certain Captain Conover, sent from Washington to investigate the shoe industry. Conover, an alleged agent of the Army Intelligence Service, has been busy investigating the union officials but not the industry.

RIGHTS LOSE ROUND IN SOCIALIST FIGHT

MILITANTS PLAN PAPER

By DAVID SCHEYER

The teapot tempest within the Socialist Party is still bubbling merrily with no significant signs of a solidification to either the right or left within the immediate future.

Straws in the wind are so numerous that the inner-party situation looks like a sand storm. But the needle in this particular bunch of straw is unusually elusive. Signs of disintegration are apparent. The Oregon Socialist Party has withdrawn from the national organization. The Indiana State Organization initiated a referendum for the repeal of the Declaration of Principles whereupon the National Office took over the state apparatus for re-organization—the only decisive step which the "Militant" national office has made since its inauguration. A similar referendum is being instituted in California.

In addition to these open signs of a break up there is a terrific let-down in Socialist activity everywhere. The party's trade-union activities are at a standstill. In the bitterness of factional fights organizational work has all but stopped.

The Right Wing Retreats

But the Right-Wing which despite its numerical inferiority has been a far more compact group than the "Militants" has now begun to pull in its ears. Faced with the definite threat of a new 1919; with the Rand School humming with talk of a split, the Rights have given at least the first inch.

A new City Central Committee was recently elected in New York. The Right tried to retain solid control by the sound old political gag of refusing the credentials of nine militant and RPC delegates. But faced with a solid bloc at

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Toward the Follies of 1936

LET none dismiss the controversy between Hugh S. Johnson and Huey Long as a mere battle of words between a wasp-tongue and a hopeless fool. The outbreak of the paper (N.R.A. and draft) general was a serious, well-timed affair. It was the Democratic Party's opening gun of the 1936 election campaign. In this light we are not at all surprised that the "bunkers" of Long or in the writings of the Jesus-jazzing Father Coughlin. In a knock-down and drag-out political combat one should not expect lady-terms.

Why the flood of words just now? The whole war on the radio is but dramatic evidence of the great extent to which the motley army of the New Deal has already disintegrated. Both Long and Coughlin were among the front-row occupants on the Roosevelt bandwagon. Right after the uncrowned monarch of the White House celebrated his (s)election, the Louisiana "Kingfish" hailed him as "a real hero, a guy to my liking". It did not take many communions for Father Coughlin to learn to enjoy the rewards of the virtues inherent in Roosevelt's monetary policies, to become a silver-tongued orator and to lay a solid silver foundation for his own holy racket. Coughlin's Church of the Little Flower cleaned up heavily on the Administration's boosting the price of silver.

Still omittance is not quite. The flat failure of the N.R.A. is no longer widely challenged. His friends of yesterday are deserting it like rats in a sinking ship. The forces collected under the New Deal banner were welded in 1932 by the hot anti-Hoover sentiment and by the glowing prospects of Rooseveltian success. The replacement of a counterfeit engineer by a wind-mill gladiator did not help the floundering ship of state much, nor for long. Conditions were getting worse. The lower-middle class folks got it nowhere else but in the neck as a result of the N.R.A. economic program. Beside chief pork-barrel roller Farley couldn't satisfy all with patterns, certainly not the hungriest and most self-seeking adventures. Under these conditions disintegration and disruption could not for long be staved off in the New Deal army which was never homogeneous, which at best represented collusion and confusion.

A more vicious assailant of dissidents and deserters from the Roosevelt menagerie could not have been chosen by the keeper of the White House. Johnson fitted the role best. Much sooner than later, the economic radical phrases and pseudo-social notions with which Long and Coughlin have been playing had to arouse the ire and opposition of the Administration. Such stunts by priests and tin-foil dictators were welcomed by Roosevelt when he was lambasting the Hoover myth, when he was still posing as a sort of radical himself. However, these antics became a nuisance and menace when their performers persist in them and intensify them. There was something still worse brewing. With hat times getting worse, the Longs and the Coughlins playing with anti-capitalist phrases were increasing their support and becoming an independent force. Obviously, this was a challenge to the New Dealers and had to be stepped on, scotched for good.

These debates are but shadows of coming events. Politically speaking, only born idiots could evaluate this controversy (as the Daily Worker has done) as merely a fight amongst individuals for the leadership of American Fascism. Whether Johnson ever will lead a Fascist movement in the United States is in itself unimportant and not the quintessence of this conflict. Far more decisive social forces are involved here. We are beginning to witness in this country the first and still-unclear skirmishes between the forces of decaying democracy (The New Dealers) and the growing ranks of what might well be an American Fascist movement. The changing class relations are heading toward definite focal points. The foundation of the two-party system is being shaken ever more rudely.

In this welter of confusion, in this realignment of forces, in these preparations of capitalist reaction of various hues, the labor movement can have but one duty. Labor must organize and consolidate its ranks—in a mass political party of its own class as well as in a militant trade union movement. A genuine labor party, the amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions, the national confederation of sound tactics by and the unification of the Communist movement are most vital in these critical days.

Books of the Age

by Bertram D. Wolfe

THE ROAD TO RECOVERY, by Sir Henry Strakosch. The Economic Forum. 70 pp., paper, 50c.

Purporting to be an economic analysis, Sir Henry Strakosch's Road to Recovery is really a propaganda document of prime importance addressed on England's behalf to the United States on the one hand and to the gold bloc countries on the other. (Sir Henry is an advisor to the Bank of England).

It contrasts the American policy as to industrial production, employment, bankruptcies and profit possibilities in the countries which like England, have gone off the gold standard, with the figures for countries which, like France, have remained on it. The limited restoration of the former group did not, as is so generally believed, make any substantial change in their share of world trade (tariffs, embargoes, etc. took care of that) but did, according to the figures offered by Sir Henry, cause a favorable change in production, employment (discreetly omitting the United States), bankruptcies, price level, and profit possibilities. Therefore, this pamphlet suggests, almost demands, that the gold bloc countries should abandon their standards and then enter into an agreement with the sterling group to the gold standard on a lower level. After that, the author is certain, prices will remain stationary or rise for years, there can be developed stable currencies for at least a generation to come, and with them a temporary end to that increasing measure of prosperity which the march of civilization has given mankind the right to expect.

A Few Questions To Sir Henry

The pamphlet is written with great lucidity, the statistics expertly handled and its viewpoint clearly expressed. All the more openly does it reveal the substantial ignorance of the monetary school of economy which does not penetrate beneath the surface of currency and exchange phenomena to the underlying forces of which they are inverted reflections. The currencies, says Sir Henry, had to be revaluated because of changes in price level with consequent

strain at the point of indebtedness and of the fixed charge element in production. True, within certain limits, but what caused the changes in price level, and in the first place? Sir Henry is silent. And if money juggling did not cause the changes but merely followed from them, what leads him to believe that money juggling can prevent such changes in the future? Again Sir Henry is silent. What is the changing technology in the world of falling prices? Sir Henry does not even suggest awareness of the fact that we live in a world of changing technology. Production, says Sir Henry, "normally" expands 3% per annum and the population 1% per annum; therefore, the normal circumstances, the standard of life increases by 2% per annum.

How much of that "normal" increase in production is increase in capital goods or in luxuries or consumption goods for the capitalist class and how much, if any (or less than that) in the increase in consumption goods for the producing classes? Sir Henry's silence is painful for he does not even seem to have heard that he is living in a class society. What reasons do we have for believing that the countries which have devaluated their currencies will not do so further? Certainly the mounting indebtedness of the United States suggests further inflation.

And finally, and most important of all, in an unorganized, unplanned, production-for-the-market economy, what will curb an overproduction of one group of commodities as against others if not a fall in its price? And what will curb the rapid expansion of production and productive capacity beyond the socially determined limits of purchasing power if not a general fall in the price level? Sir Henry is worse than silent. He ignores the very existence of the fundamentals of capitalist economy in proposing devaluation—revaluation schemes which are to give a miraculous "monetary system" which will obviate violent changes in the level of prices so that major disturbances in the cost-price relations may be avoided.

And the Marxist economists are supposed to be the utopians!

—G. F. M.

AN ANSWER TO ROBERT MINOR

HISTORY AS SHE IS WRIT

By GEORGE F. MILES

Since in recent times laurel wreaths of praise have descended upon the heads of the debunkers of history it is no more than just that equal rewards shall accrue to the most deserving of the "bunkers" of history. We say this because we desire to place in nomination this stalwart producer of distorted Communist Party history—Robert Minor. His article in the "Communist" of March 1935—

TRADE UNION NOTES

Home James

"James J. Walker, London, England.

"The taxi chauffeurs of New York City ask you to return to your native city and assume leadership in their struggle for humane working conditions and a living wage. With you at the helm we are assured of victory. This cable is prompted by reasons of your interest in organized labor."

"This cable to our former play-boy Mayor, Jimmie Walker, comes from Jack Anthony, general organizer of Taxi Chauffeurs' Union Local 19,795, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor."

"We read this and we recall that just a few months ago the Communist and Socialist Party were waging a bitter struggle for leadership of this union. Fanny isn't it? or is it?"

Starving Must Be Fed

"Roosevelt Asks Direct Subsidy For Ship Owners"—headline in New York paper.

"We suggest the \$50 per month "security" wage."

Good Fight—Wrong Cause

"Police Charge 3,000 in Mine Writ Protest; Fight to Oust As Strikers Are Dispersed In Wilkes Barre"—Headline in New York paper.

The courage of these anti-injunction protesters would be appreciated more highly if the injunction had not resulted from the struggle of the Anthracite Miners Union to oust the United Mine Workers Union; and if the Anthracite Miners Union had not initiated the use of the injunction in its suicidal and vain war against the U.M.W.A.

Tears Wash The Soul

The Daily Worker indignantly reports that the C.P.-controlled New York Local of the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union has been suspended by the General Executive Board for refusal to pay per-capita taxes.

Another case of being penny wise and pound foolish.

We'll Wait

We will never go back to the A. F. of L. individually, promises the latest leaflet of the Furriers Industrial Union. Never. Comrade Gold, is a long time and besides—don't forget the Party line!

What's In A Line?

S. Friedman asks the Freiheit whether the recent changes in trade union tactics do not constitute a repudiation of dual unionism and the Freiheit hastens to reply (Feb. 29):

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

It's an ungrateful world that lets such displays of candor go unheralded and unrewarded.

"Et Tu Brute?"

"I don't think it is necessary for me at this meeting again to go over the ground of establishing the historical justification of the revolutionary independent unions. They have proved themselves in the class struggle as necessary instruments. ..." (From Browder's report to the Central Committee—March Communism.)

Adding insult to the injured pride of our numerous "independent" industrial unions, is what we call it.

—G. F. M.

"Our 'C.E.'—surely places him at the head of the list.

Recalling The Past

The attempts of the present ultra-left leadership of the Party to present itself as the heir of the policies and tactics for which Charles E. Ruthenberg fought, is more touching than truthful.

Immediately after the death of Ruthenberg the Foster Group (now the dominant force in the leadership) unleashed a frontal attack upon the Central Committee in a desperate effort to unseat the Ruthenberg Group. The crisis in the Party caused by the death of Ruthenberg was thus immeasurably aggravated by the Foster Group. To strengthen the forces of the Central Committee supporters a mass caucus was held in New York. It was at that meeting that Max Bedacht (now a not-so-prominent Party leader), indignant and enraged by the tactics of Foster, Cannon, Browder et al, hurled the charge of "Leichen Schaender" (grave robbers) at this group of Party wreckers. Of this Minor knows for he then shared the same opinion.

To some extent and present an idyllic word picture of the relationship between Foster and Ruthenberg, as does Robert Minor, requires considerable proficiency in the art of falsification—a gift which he seems to possess in large measure.

Foster's Place In Party History

Regardless of all of Foster's sectarian and ultra-left errors after 1928 and before 1922, his positive contribution towards the development of a healthy trade union line, in the formative period of American Communism, stands unchallenged and will survive even his own defection from that position. But Minor distorts history when he says:

"... Inevitably William Z. Foster's course as combined leader of the greatest of all strikes (the steel strike of 1919) ... placed him immediately by the side of Ruthenberg as co-leader of the Communist Party. ..."

Such is not the case. Foster was not the "combat leader" of the steel strike nor was he "immediately" become the "leader of the Communist Party." Least of all did Ruthenberg consider him as such. In discussing the steel strike, Ruthenberg raises the question of the bankruptcy of craft unionism and goes on to say:

"The old unionism is in decay, has proven itself utterly incompetent on the problems of the proletariat. But here in the steel industry, the A. F. of L. is imposing the reaction system of craft unionism upon the workers—assisted by the syndicalist W. Z. Foster. ..." ("Communist" of September 27, 1919—emphasis mine—GFM.)

Apparently our historian has been neither over-diligent nor over-truthful in his selection of facts.

Ruthenberg As Exceptionalist

Minor continues to falsify history and heaps abuse upon the memory of Ruthenberg when he quotes the non-Leninist slogan of Stalin that the tactics of a Communist Party must be based upon

"... the general features of capitalism which are the same for all countries, and not its specific features in any given country."

And to this he cynically adds: "He (Ruthenberg) would have been the first to agree had he been alive in 1929."

Unfortunately Ruthenberg was not alive in 1929 to help blast this theory which is the very root of the poison of ultra-leftism. However, in the course of his own struggles against ultra-leftism, Ruthenberg made his stand quite clear when he told the Foster Group:

"This is not Communism at all. It is the perversion of the living principles of Communism into an iron dogmatism. If there is one thing that differentiates Communism from other social philosophies it is the appreciation that the facts in any given situation must be considered in applying its principles." (emphasis mine—GFM.)

So did Ruthenberg answer the Foster of yesterday and the Foster and Stalin of today. With remarkable foresight Ruthenberg characterized these views as mechanical application of principles when he said:

"That is the viewpoint of those who would make Communism a holy creed."

Little comfort for the Minors and the Browders in these words of Ruthenberg for he was among the first to absorb Lenin's (not our) theory of "exceptionalism" and would have been among the first to resist the revision of Lenin by Stalin. Ruthenberg was an internationalist but he never sacrificed substance for form in the achievement of true internationalism.

Ruthenberg On Labor Party

It was because Ruthenberg recognized our specific and peculiar problems that petty racketeers are the lowest kind of activists—the kind you and I wouldn't like to meet on a dark street.

—G. F. M.

Yet, this four year struggle is not even hinted at by Minor for it would be a jarring note in his carefully concocted pastoral. Someone suggested that the title our "C.E." contains a typographical error and should have read, juggling the contents, "Our C.E.". And that is so, for Minor pictures a Ruthenberg, not as he was, but as the present Party leaders would like to have him.

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Between HAMMER And ANVIL

HOUSEHOLD HINTS FOR THE HARRASSED HOUSEWIFE

Spring comes again with all its joys and glowing promises. Dainty hands his snow shovel up on the wall 'till next winter; the season ends in the shop where Big Sister works and she has a whole summer to rest and relax. Roosevelt promises everybody that by next fall he'll pull another pretty white alphabetical-rabbit out of the hat. Spring means that soon summer will be here with its nice long warm days when we can all sit out on the fire-escape or maybe even go down to Coney Island and play with the colon bacilli.

But Spring means a lot of work for the housewife too. With Spring evening just around the corner what wife among the frantic miners and wonder "Where the hell are we going to live now?" The Hammer and Anvil is glad to be able to report little exclusive bits of gossip that will help ever so much in solving all these problems.

To begin with all the jolly landlords have arranged for rents to go up this Spring so you won't have to waste your time looking for an apartment. You won't be able to afford it anyway. Don't bother about Spring cleaning either. After the balliff has set your furniture out on the sidewalk just wait for a nice, heavy rain to wash it clean. There's nothing like efficiency to lighten the burden of housekeeping.

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6. MUST I QUESTION YOUR CONSISTENCY? You encourage pacifism but you don't practice it by a long sight. You send agitators up to City College to incite school boys to resist military training—and in Russia you slap that same kind of boys into the ranks and teach them how to handle a rifle. If you are in earnest in desiring an armed revolution, why don't you urge those boys to let us know they can't use weapons, so that they'll be worth something to you when trouble starts? I can't see your position here with a telescope. You seem to be fattening up a fine mess of sheep for a bloody slaughter. If you and your way, when you stage your revolution those kids that followed your advice will be soft picking for their class-mates who resisted your teachings and learned how to handle a machine gun.

Furthermore you carefully preach the doctrine that the building up of military machines is a certain cause of War. You say you are opposed to War per se. But Russia builds the greatest military machine of modern times and yet you were once a member of the Social Democrats and the Communists were entirely responsible for the Treaty of Trianon. All the time one feels that this is not the trial of Rakosi, it is the belated inquest on the body of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The Chief Justice has refused to allow any defenses for the defence. ... Under Hungarian law the prisoner is allowed not only to ask questions, but also to comment on the evidence of the trial. This right has, however, been in practice denied Rakosi. Witnesses have been collected from all over Hungary to give hear-say evidence of the atrocities, and their testimony has lost nothing in the sixteen years. "I remember the terrorists well," said one of the most famous mind benders in the country, who is now a member of the Government. "I remember the terrorists well," said one of the most famous mind benders in the country, who is now a member of the Government. "I remember the terrorists well," said one of the most famous mind benders in the country, who is now a member of the Government.

"Sectarianism" Still the Trade Union Slogan of CP

In the Freiheit of March 1, there appeared a document attacking the importance in estimating the nature of the present trade union course of the Communist Party, the course emerging from the indescribable confusion of the last few weeks. It is a declaration of the so-called "united dressmakers committee" in Local 22, I.L.W.U., the new combination of the C.P.-controlled "Left" group and the discredited remnants of the old reactionary "Club" masquerading as the "Active" group. For those acquainted with the situation it will be more than ordinary interest to learn that, among the signatories of this declaration of war against the progressive movement, are to be found, side by side with Stamper, Migdal, Gerjoy and Herbat, the spokesmen of the Communist Party, prominent in the "Active" group, Spielman, Cooper, Hutt and Charles Margolis, whose names have become a byword for all that is outlived, reactionary and unwholesome in the dressmakers' union! The alliance is open and avowed and officially blessed by the Freiheit.

The Party Line Today

Why is the Communist Party so intent upon smashing the progressive movement? Because the latter is the most serious obstacle in the way of carrying its line in the trade unions. The recent change of party policy in the unions has affected only the external features of its tactics. Red unions have not been dissolved, as was previously more advisable" (or possible) to maintain them. Their members are tricking back into the genuine unions and the Daily Worker even finds it possible to mention the A. F. of L. without gnashing its teeth or foaming at the mouth! But these are all only secondary changes; the old underlying philosophy of dual unionism and "social-fascism" still remains essentially intact. Whatever may be the current phrase in its resolutions, the C.P. still regards the A. F. of L. unions with profound skepticism, as something inherently alien and hostile, in which, for reasons beyond its control, "work" must be done but which can never, in the nature of the case, find any real place in the class struggle among the proletariat. It has not surrendered in the least its old dual unionist aim and outlook; it has merely substituted its direct application for the moment. So that there should be no doubt on this point the Freiheit (February 23) hastens to assure us officially: "If conditions were the same now as in 1929, the Communist Party would now be in favor of forming 'separate' unions."

(Continued on Page 4)

AN AWAKENING INTELLECTUAL -- THINGS HE WANTS TO KNOW

An intellectual or brain-worker, well paid, boasting a home, a car, and many other luxuries, but troubled by the decay of the social system which still provides him individualism, writes to the editor of the Workers Age, asking for a list of books to read.

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A Letter To The Workers Age Asks A Number Of Important Questions On Communism

You confound your opponents by triumphant shouting "But Marx said..." or "But Lenin held..." And you know damned well you do. Your papers and magazines are full of examples. It sounds exactly like a revivalist sanctimoniously announcing that the cynic is himself a saint. "I'm not a saint, I'm a worker."

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The ECONOMIC WEEK

A review of the year, 1934, would include the following: An unstable business index that rose for the first 19 weeks, then fell for 15 weeks, and ended by rising for 16 weeks carrying the rise into the new year, Jan. 12. The index is now on a period of falling off, prior to a more copious drop. It is indicative of the unstable nature of the present capitalist recovery.

The index for industrial production shows a 10% increase over 1933 and a 30% increase over 1932. This, as the "London Economist" states, is "due to a violent upturn in motor car production and allied industries." To which can be added the fact of huge government appropriations that have stimulated a demand in certain lines.

Profits for the year rose tremendously by outstripping all other indexes—especially wages (rich peasants) had a rising commodity price level that resulted in an increased cost of living. Retail prices, in general, rose over 10%; food prices increased in most cases over 20%.

MINOR REWRITES HISTORY TO MAKE RUTHENBERG A SECTARIAN CHAMPION

(Continued from Page 2)

Cobweb Structures

The attempt to show the present leadership as logically developing on the basis of the policies and tactics which Ruthenberg stood for—establish a blood relationship, so to say—is not devoid of an element of burlesque humor. Having "established" that Ruthenberg and Foster were just like that, Minor now proceeds to "prove" that Browder represents a synthesis of all that was good in both Ruthenberg and Foster. Obviously a piece of mental acrobatics to cover up the crisis into which the Communist Party was thrown by the arbitrary and factional intervention of the Communist International.

We are forced to state that if the historical justification of the present leadership depends upon such flimsy and patent fabrications it is indeed bankrupt. The reflected greatness of a Ruthenberg is much too strong for Browder's eyes. And even Foster had little more than contempt for this gray and weak nonentity who today parades as the Party leader.

Introducing Satan

Having thus introduced us to the hero of the piece, Minor now proceeds to present to us the villain, "a shoddy, wavering adventurer—a Lovestone". He it was who rent the Party and set comrade against comrade and all "in the service of the capitalist class". So says Minor. But party history says otherwise. From the very beginning of the Foster Group's activity the life of the Party was being poisoned and undermined by impermissible methods—methods learned all too well from the reactionary trade union bureaucracy. None resented this more than Ruthenberg and no one saw more clearly the danger to the Party.

SOCIALIST PARTY-

Thomas Boycotts New Leader

(Continued from Page 1)

the first meeting of the new committee, held on March 6, the Right gave way and seated the contested nine. Much more serious than this parliamentary defeat was the appearance of cracks in the Right Wing—a growing opposition to the wild careerism of Waldman and his clique.

The New York "Militants" headed by Max Delson are planning their first independent step in issuing the "Socialist Call" a weekly paper aimed, obviously, at replacing the New Leader. Preparing for this step Norman Thomas has withdrawn his column from the New Leader and the Militants are attempting to merge all the little Socialist sheets into the Call.

The Revolutionary Policy Committee is the baby on the doorstep through all this. The appeal of the five expelled Buffalo RPC members is being pushed and the second issue of the Revolutionary Socialist Review has appeared but the RPC is still not a great political force in the party.

Doubting Thomas Sit On The Fence

Despite the excited jittering of the little Yipsels a split in the Socialist Party appears far over the horizon. The Right realizes that the breakup would leave them little more than a skeleton group in New York City. The "Militants", especially those in the National Office, have so little theoretical difference with the Waldman-Oneal clique that they can cry quite sincerely for peace—note the pleas of Norman Thomas for a broad and completely untheoretical party. The real Lefts, the revolutionaries, know that now a split would only mean that the center of gravity of the party would shift from the right reformists of the Jewish Forward to the centrist reformists of the Milwaukee City Hall.

LOVESTONE, HERBERG, WOLFE OFFER COURSES AT NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

An extremely interesting curriculum has been announced by the New Workers School for the Spring term. The new term will start April 8th, with registration already open.

Jay Lovestone will teach a course in the History of American Communism from the Sixth to the Seventh World Congress. Today on the eve of the Seventh Congress, an historical analysis of this period is of the utmost importance. The course will include also a study of Germany in 1923, the Chinese revolution, the role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the C.I., and the perspectives for a healthy and unified Comintern.

A new course, offered for the first time, will be The Nature of Capitalist Crisis. This will be taught by Bert Wolfe. It will analyze the bourgeois theories of the crisis, the Marxist theory of the crisis, and special features of the present crisis.

Will Herberg will teach Dialectical Materialism and the Life of Man. In his course he will discuss the philosoph-

In January 1926, when Lozovsky intervened in the Comintern to assist the Foster Group, Ruthenberg cabled to the Comintern (January 16):

"WE ARE COMPELLED TO POINT OUT TO THE PRESIDIUM THAT THE EFFECT OF THIS CABLE WILL BE TO ENCOURAGE FOSTER CAUCUS TO INTENSIFY DESTRUCTIVE FACTIONAL FIGHT THEY HAVE BEEN WAGING SINCE THE CONVENTION."

But the crisis in the Party continued and February found Ruthenberg in Moscow. In a letter from Moscow February 13, 1926, to Comrade Lovestone, he said:

"Our opponents (Foster, Browder, Cannon, etc.) have submitted at least 150 pages of documents against us . . . They are shining examples of Foster's methods—continuous, shameless lying. If one needs to be convinced that there can be no peace while Foster's methods continue, one need only read a score of pages of his brazen lies."

These are the words of Ruthenberg, not Lovestone—a declaration of war against the Foster group and that for which it stood. Lovestone's "crimes" are those of continuing the fight which Ruthenberg began but could not finish. These pages of Ruthenberg's history—of Party history—the present leadership must forget because the line for which Ruthenberg fought thruout his Party career has become the line of the Communist Opposition.

In Conclusion

But all this indignation, at the distortions of a Minor, is really a case of love's labor lost, for, we recall, it was Robert Minor who coined the slogan: "Honesty Is A Bourgeois Virtue". We must add that Robert Minor is totally lacking of any such bourgeois virtue.

THE EXTENSION OF SOVIET DEMOCRACY

(Continued from Page 3)

peasants. 2. To extend the control of the masses over the Soviet bureaucracy. Thru the direct elections of Soviet organs their connection with the masses becomes more close. A secret ballot enables the masses to express their dissatisfaction or satisfaction with the individual representative of Soviet state power.

Gives Lie To Social Democracy

This extension of Soviet democracy is very instructive to the workers of capitalist countries.

The fundamental lesson to be drawn is that contrary to the teachings of the Social Democrats, the proletarian dictatorship and democracy for workers is not contradictory but that on the contrary the strengthening of the proletarian dictatorship and the achievements of socialist construction lead to an extension of proletarian democracy. The Social-democratic parties on the other hand insisted on the elimination of the dictatorship supposedly in the interest of democracy. The above-mentioned facts in the Soviet Union furnish the most positive refutation of this false conception.

Furthermore, the Social Democrats (Mensheviks) demanded in the past and are demanding today (in connection with the equal, secret and direct suffrage) agitational and organizational freedom for themselves and for other non-Communist parties, i.e. organizational freedom for the opponents of the proletarian dictatorship. This is out of the question in the Soviet Union and rightly so. The extension of proletarian democracy takes place on the basis of and within the framework of the proletarian dictatorship.

Nor have the proposals for extension of Soviet democracy anything in common with the proposals of the Trotskyites. Trotsky coupled his demand for a secret ballot with the demand for a sharpened fight against the peasants and organizational freedom for his faction—

ical implications of biology, psychology and sociology in the light of Marxism. Among the problems that will be treated are mechanism and vitalism in biology, behaviorism, Freudism and gestaltism in psychology, and the possibility, nature and scope of social science.

A course of special interest to trade unionists will be given by George F. Miles. It will be entitled Problems of American Trade Unionism. This course will analyze the historic and economic background of American trade unionism, the various tendencies in the trade union movement, and the trade union line of the various political groups.

Courses will also be offered in Fundamentals of Communism, with D. Benjamin as instructor, and Theoretical System of Marxism, with B. Herman as instructor.

All courses are \$2.00 for eight sessions, except that of Bert Wolfe, which is \$2.50. Special arrangements will be made for unemployed. Register now at the school headquarters, 51 West 14th Street.

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL FORUM
FRIDAY, MARCH 15, 1935
at 8:30 P. M.
Prof. PAUL F. BRISSENDEN
Columbia University
on
NEW PROBLEMS FOR AMERICAN LABOR
RIVERA HALL
NEW WORKERS SCHOOL
51 West 14th St., near 6th Avenue
Questions and Discussion
ADMISSION 15 c.

LOCAL 22-

Progressives Are Endorsed

(Continued from Page 1)

jection committee. Apparently there was an idea of getting hold of one or two sections and excluding everybody else from the supervision of the elections in those sections."

"At very well attended section meetings held on Tuesday, March 5, the membership of our Local endorsed the proposals of the executive board. Of the 3235 members who cast their votes, 1665 supported the executive board proposals, as against 1577 for the combined opposition, giving a majority of 138. In the press and elsewhere, however, information is now being spread deliberately distorting and falsifying the results of the section meetings, juggling with figures so as to create the impression that the executive board proposals did not receive the approval of the majority of the membership."

"Under the recommendation of the executive board, as approved by the membership, the elections will proceed in the freest and most democratic manner, with every member guaranteed his full rights to participate in the determination of the policies and the choice of the leadership of our Local."

"SECTARIANISM" IS STILL WATCHWORD OF "LEFT"-GROUPS IN TRADE UNIONS

(Continued from Page 3)

All of the activity of the C.P. in the unions bear this fatal brand. It is essentially destructive, altogether indifferent to the welfare of the organization, the work of strangers in an alien land, waiting only for a favorable moment for a new outburst of dual unionism in open form. Recent experiences in the anthracite mine fields, where the C.P. is now engaged in a most discreditable dual unionist adventure before the ink on the latest resolution is yet dry, are quite significant.

"Progressives Must Be Destroyed"

The strategists of disruption carrying out the policies of the Communist Party, regard the progressive movement as the main obstacle in their way. And they are quite right! For the progressive movement accepts the trade-unionism as the basic organizations of the workers, loyally and without reservation, concentrating all its energies upon strengthening them and making them more militant, more aggressive and more class conscious. Its unceasing struggle against conservative unionism is both constructive and effective. Wherever its voice is heard, dual unionism or union disruption as the counsel of desperation stand no chance. Wherever it has gained any sort of foothold, the Communist Par-

ty can make no real headway with its trade union policy. Therefore, the progressive movement must be destroyed at all costs!

At all costs! The C. P. leaders can see no reason to hesitate in cementing a united front with the forces of reaction in a crusade against progressivism since, for them, the interests of the organization hardly enter into the picture at all. They would much rather have the reactionaries in power than the progressive, for then the realization of their fundamentally destructive aims would be so much easier. On their part, the reactionaries also regard the progressives as the real danger and are not at all averse to having their "revolutionary" partners pull their chestnuts out of the fire for them. And so the holy alliance is consummated.

This revoltingly indecent adventure into which they are being driven under the lash of the party line should serve to convince the party members how thoroughly false this line is, how thoroughly opposed to the interests of the workers and their organizations. And the smashing defeat which the shameless combination will surely meet in Local 22 should serve to convince all concerned that this new piece of C.P. strategy will encounter the same discreditable end that all of the party's previous ventures into dual unionism have met.

THE THINGS WE WANT TO KNOW

(Continued from Page 3)

I've no use at all for the Hoovers and Mellons, the Farleys and Currys—but I'm certain that men like Norris and LaGuardia and Wheeler and LaFollette are honestly doing the best they know how to make an impossible situation as tolerable as possible. You have a perfect right to question their judgment, but I'd like you better if you'd give them credit occasionally for good intentions.

11. WHY INSULT MY INTELLIGENCE WITH SUCH AN ARGUMENT AS YOU PRESENTED IN THE LAST PARAGRAPH OF THE "RED TERROR" EDITORIAL IN A RECENT WORKERS AGE? I can't see any "accurate and complete justice" in the executions that followed the Kiroff murder, if, as I understand there were no trials. The USSR branded the victims as White Guards, etc. How do I know they were? The same officials branded Jay Lovestone as a renegade to the working class. Maybe there was no more justification for the one charge than the other. In fact, sympathetic as I usually am with your arguments, it looks to me in my neutral bystander capacity as if Norman Thomas won the debate on that subject. Perhaps I lack sufficient data, but I'd like to see some proof that these victims were traitors to Communism and not merely gents who happened to be persona non grata to the ruling powers in the Soviet Union.

12. MUST I ADVOCATE MASS PICKETING AND MASS DEMONSTRATIONS IF I GO ALONG WITH YOU? Perhaps I will—but only if you will permit me to point out that their sole purpose is to create turmoil, confusion and riots. They may constitute justifiable strategy, if your purpose is to create martyrs and precipitate struggle—but I've never seen such a demonstration yet that was not deliberately intended to harry police and public authorities. Consequently I refuse to join in any crocodile tears shed over the denial of the God-given right to picket.

I must confess that I've seen New York policemen go through Hell in some of those demonstrations. I've seen them stand like statues, rigid under discipline, while the crowd surged around cursing and shouting and spitting in their faces; sticking pins in the horses of the mounted men; waving fists beneath the blue coats' noses and "demonstrating" to the limit, until finally the word was given to clear the streets. And I've not been greatly surprised at the resulting Cos-

sack charge. (I think I'd have felt the same myself.) Isn't it true that your own tactics sometimes cause the very abuses you denounce?

13. AND JUST HOW FAR DOES COMMUNIST DISCIPLINE GO? Many of you have been expelled because you refused to let some Official Party CCC do your thinking for you. Well, how much lee-way are you going to give me, if I join your ranks? If I happen to think the Lundeen Bill unfeasible, will you expel me if I rise and so state in my Party Fraction, after the Party Powers that Be have given it their blessing? (Understand, I don't say I'll oppose it outside the ranks, but can I holler my head off inside, as loud and as often and as enthusiastically as I choose? I know the Official Party won't let me. Will you?)

14. WHERE DO I GO FROM HERE?

L'Envoi.
You will note that I'm not asking for much information concerning your basic beliefs and policy. That is due to the fact that I'm ready to accept most of them. I'm fully conscious of the defects of our capitalist system. I'd like to see SOMETHING done about it. But, bad as it is, I want to make sure that you have something constructive to offer before I join you in any destruction. Bad as it is, I think it could be worse. I don't want to make a mistake.

I'm willing to make any reasonable sacrifices. I'm willing to give up my car and chauffeur and put my wife to doing her own housework, if, by so doing, I can help put an end to the stark misery and suffering that I see all around me. I'm willing to forego my little luxuries if you can guarantee necessities to the poor devils that have nothing. I'm perfectly sincere in that.

But I'd hate to merely change task masters. I'd hate to merely change nomenclatures. I'm a little afraid that, as soon as your revolution gets going, the Jim Watsons and Jim Farleys and John Currys and Jimmy Hineses will hop on your band-wagon, out-yell you and snatch the leadership of your howling mobs. (They've had plenty of experience in swaying mass sentiment. They know the trick.)

And, Boy, I'm going to feel like Hell if I join your Revolution and wake up after its over to find Commissar Jim Farley appointing Comrade Al Goldman in charge of the Postal Trust.

SELAH

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49 WEST 16th STREET
NEW YORK CITY
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LUNCHEON 40c & 50c
6 Course
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SPECIAL LUNCHEON 35c
— SERVED ALL DAY —
Spaghetti — Dessert — Coffee 35c
A La Carte All Day
WINE AND BEER SERVED

BRADLEY'S CAFETERIA
SEASONABLE FOOD AT REASONABLE PRICES
6th Ave. at 14th St.

Opens WED. EVE., Mar. 20th

THEATRE UNION'S
New Production

BLACK PIT

By ALBERT MALTZ

The Tragedy of a Stool Pigeon

PRICES: Eves. 30c, 45c, 60c, 75c, \$1.00 & \$1.50
Matinees Wed & Sat. Top Price \$1.00

CIVIC REPERTORY THEATRE
14th St. & 6th Ave. Wat. 9-7450—Eves. 8:45. Mats Wed. & Sat. 2:30

WORKERS AGE Theatre Benefit
TUES. EVE. MAR 26th