

WORKERS AGE

A Weekly Paper Defending the Workers and Farmers

Vol. IV. No. 17.

Saturday, April 27, 1935

Five Cents

At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

150,000 TO MARCH IN MAY DAY PARADE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CALIFORNIA AUTO MEN ENDORSE THE A. F. OF L.

Representation by the American Federation of Labor was approved recently by a plurality of the workers in the Chevrolet plant of Oakland, Cal. in an Automobile Labor Board election. F. E. Ross, the board's representative in charge of elections, announced the vote as, A. F. of L., 463; unaffiliated, 388; Chevrolet Employees Association, 131; blank ballots, 12; void ballots, 12.

What's Happening in the SP? Plenty

Lang, Forward Editor, Forms United Front With Payroll

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

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

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

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

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

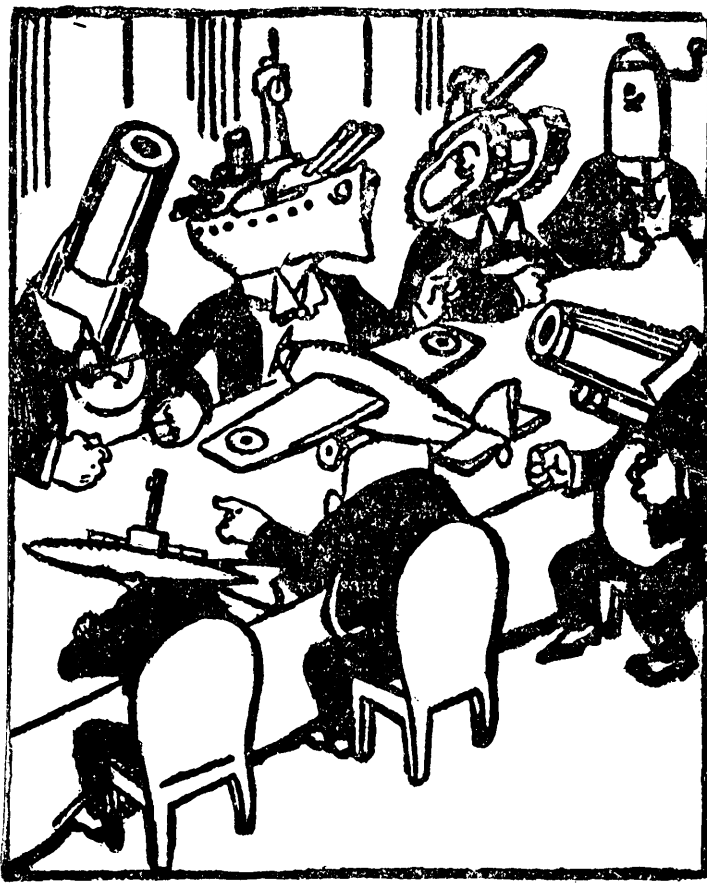
"(3) It does not protect workers from discrimination on account of sex, race, color, or political convictions by any specific provision.

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

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

"(6) The powers of the board to act as voluntary arbitrator are not protected against possible dangers of compulsion."

THE NATIONS MEET TO PLAN FOR PEACE



ST. LOUIS LABOR BACKS THE GASHOUSE STRIKE WITH CASH, BOYCOTT

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

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

In addition to the regular AF of L unions the strike has received powerful support of the St. Louis local of the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union, Local 52.

DRESS UNION'S VICTORY IN STOPPAGE PROMISES ACTION IN OTHER LINES

Increases in piece rates amounting in some cases to as much as 30% were won for the 15,000 workers in the \$4.75 wholesale dress line by a clean cut display of Union power that tied up production completely during the height of the Pre-Easter season. The move is regarded as preliminary to similar action in the \$3.75 and cheaper lines.

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

Efforts to make a peaceable settlement with the jobbers' association proved fruitless and on April 9 the Union swung into action. The workers were instructed to report to the shops but to

(Continued on Page 3)

LUMBERMEN STRIKE MAY 6 FOR 30 HRS.

Labor On West Coast Rises
In Revolt Against Bosses
And Bureaucrats

By EARL LANE

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

At its recent Northwest convention the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union endorsed a demand for a six hour day, five day week and 75 cents per hour minimum wage scale, and went on record to strike for these demands on May 6th.

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

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

BUROCRATS SPIKE TANKER STRIKE

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

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

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

As a result of this chauvinistic statement the San Pedro, Calif., local of the I.S.U. and the Firemen Union have demanded that Scharrenberg resign from the positions he holds in the International Seamen Union.

There have been plenty of indications that the other marine unions are ready to take whatever action is necessary to help the tanker crews to win their strike up to and including a general strike of the marine industry. The Council of Marine Crafts of San Francisco, representing 15,000 maritime workers has gone on record as prepared to support them with every resource at its disposal.

MARITIME WORKERS MEET TO FEDERATE

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

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

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

C.P.O.'s expressed conviction that the S.P. cannot, as a party, be won for revolutionary socialism—so long as that means Communism, Marxism. The New York Organization remains determined to root out any attempt at real working class thought, any attempt to change the Socialist Party from the historic road of August 4th, 1914.

SENIOR SCORES LANG

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

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

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

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

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

Unions Denounce Lang As Traitor To Working Class

A scathing resolution condemning Harry Lang as a "traitor" to the ideals of the labor movement for peddling mendacious attacks on the Soviet Union to the "venomous Hearst press" was issued by Charles S. Zimmerman, secretary-manager of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U. and approved by the executive board of the Local.

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

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

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

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

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

Many Militants and leftward moving members of the Socialist Party must see in this action, confirmation of the

LABOR PARTY IS SOCIAL FASCIST, SAYS BROWDER

In August, 1933, the Danger of Farmer-Laborism Loomed As A Grave Menace To Communist Party Chief; Lovestonites Especially Scored

"The Danger of Farmer-Laborism" their public agitation and activities in this direction have been put in the background in recent months, but it cannot be said that they have abandoned the Labor Party idea. This still remains a vital link connecting them with the camp of the masses. This is the issue which has the possibility of raising at any moment it seems favorable to them, to demagogically lead the united front and appeal to the masses in the name of the "higher unity" of a social-fascist Labor Party. We can guard against this serious danger only by the most persistent agitation and propaganda among the masses to expose the harmful character of all such movements or proposals. In this respect we must make more effective use of the example of the British Labor Party, which by the most persistent agitation and propaganda among the masses to expose the harmful character of all such movements or proposals. . . . Some comrades immediately became so enthusiastic about the idea of workers' tickets that they wanted to appoint out that Muste and many of his collaborators who are now going with us . . . in spite of their leftward movement on immediate issues under the pressure of the masses, still keep the idea of the Labor Party as their central political concept. It is true that

GOVERNMENT LAYING WAR SMOKE SCREEN

President's War Powers Greatly Enlarged As Result Of "Pacifist" Bills Following Senate Munitions Investigation

The Administration, grinding itself abovesolves us from the necessity of examining the actual taxing features of the two plans before the Congress. It is another feature of these bills which demonstrates which side these vague pacifistic, anti-war proposals, movements, actually aid. The bill, as passed by the House, contains features giving complete powers to the President for "Commandeering but not conscripting" all supplies materials necessary for the conduct of a war; the inclusion in the military staff of all leading industrialists. This is precisely what the administration, the American ruling class, needs and wants. A unified, centralized agency to maintain a complete dictatorship over "unruly elements" at home, and for the profitable winning of the war. It must be unified so that sections of the bourgeoisie do not clash with each other, while facing the two enemies—the foreign imperialists, and domestic working class. It must be unified so that every other feature of the War Bills, are sheer demagoguery to cover up and camouflage the direct steps being taken by the boss class to prepare their war machine.

BOOT & SHOE "SAVES" BOSSES FROM UNIONISM

United Shoe & Leather Workers Strike Back At Scabbing Tactics By Mass Picket Lines And Parades Through The City Of Haverhill

Having smashed the immediate hopes of the shoe workers for one union in the industry, the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union has taken another step toward imposing sub-sweat-shop conditions in the factories. . . . The workers in one of the shops with whom they are now negotiating, the Bowdoin Shoe Company of Haverhill, are and have been on strike for some time against a wage cut. . . . This plot of the Boot & Shoe racketeers and the manufacturers holds great danger for unionism in the shoe industry, and unless nipped in the bud, threatens to still further depress the conditions of the shoe workers. . . . THE UNITED SHOE STRIKES BACK . . . This challenge has led the United Shoe and Leather Workers to follow the second alternative set by the Washington Conference which reads in part: "to unite all the independent unions into one organization and to carry on a bitter fight against the Boot and Shoe Executive Board until such time as there remains one union in the industry." . . . This is the task today! . . . The General Executive Board of the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union together with the District Council and Board of Trade, etc. . . . Whatever membership they did gain came from signing agreements with owners of striking shops and filling the shops with scabs while leaving the strikers to "pound the bricks." . . . At this moment they are concentrating their activities in Haverhill where they have already induced one firm, the Emerson Shoe Company, to re-organize in order to break the agreement they had with the United, discharge the members of the United and force the Boot and Shoe. Even though their agreement with the Emerson (now known as the Hale Shoe Company) is less than a month old, prices in that shop have already been cut far below the prices pre-

HUPP VICTORY SHOWS AUTO STRIKE CAN WIN

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

The second article in the series on the problems facing workers in the motor industry, by Ben Lipsiger, will appear in an early issue. . . . On April 11 the Hupp Motor strike ended with a virtually complete victory for the workers. The agreement provided for the abolition of the "bonus" system, the rehiring of all workers fired for union activity, the restoration of seniority rights and the company's acceptance of the Worker's Negotiating Committee as representative. . . . About eight hundred out of approximately eleven hundred employees of the Hupp Motor Car Company went on strike Thursday, April 4th, protesting the institution of a group bonus system, seriously crippling production. As a prelude to this walkout the office held of the company was locked out on Monday, April 1 on charge that they were giving out information to a group of stockholders and were permitted to return to work only after pledging loyalty to the stockholders in control of the office. The battle between the two groups of stockholders is based on the charge by those now in control that the old group bonus system cost \$23,000,000 of the company's money when they were in power. The case is now pending in court. . . . HUPP "BONUS" PROVES WAGE CUT . . . As wages go to auto plants, before the introduction of the group bonus system, the Hupp employees were not as poorly paid as are the great majority of the motor men. But, with the change in the system of wage payments, wages were cut in half while the efforts of the workers were in vain. . . . Besides the complicated group bonus system kept the em-

EUROPE TODAY

By August Thalheimer Our European Correspondent

Germany Waves 'The Battle Axe' . . . The success of the Moscow negotiations between Britain and the Soviet Union, and the clarification of the aggressive plans and demands of German imperialism at the Berlin conference. Fascist circles in Germany were visibly disappointed in this unexpected result. They had succeeded twice in securing success for their actions. First, a formal announcement that Germany possessed an air force, and secondly, in the introduction of universal conscription and the scrapping of the military clauses of the Versailles treaty. England had apparently accepted these . . . Despite these bold moves on the part of Germany Sir Simon went to Berlin. Why not continue these successful tactics and intimidate England a third time with a maximum military and imperialist program? . . . The fact that the Soviet Union is very different from that of Czarist Russia. The Soviet Union has no imperialist aims as did Czarist Russia as was revealed in the Soviet Union's very different program of completely upsetting the present relation of forces in Europe, a program which is entirely unacceptable not only to France and the Little Entente but also to England. . . . This turn in British policy is the result of the obstacles she encountered in Europe and Asia. . . . The Belgian Experiments and the French Socialists. . . . The French Socialists are put into an embarrassing position by the Belgian experiment. French socialists have for some time been opposing the bourgeois parties favoring inflation. Their argument has won in strength now because of the actions of the Belgian Social Democracy. Leon Blum is therefore trying—in vain, of course—to prove that the Belgian Social democrats neither advocated nor forced the devaluation of the Belga but that they were simply forced to accept it as a fait accompli. But they did accept it! Prices in Belgium are already rising rapidly. Automatically, wages and salaries are also rising. This is the first result of the participation of the Social Democrats in the government of "national unity". An extraordinary Party conference of the Belgian Labor Party has approved the participation of its leaders in the government by a great majority.

The Question of Dictatorship

An Article in the Series "Things We Want to Know" by Bertram D. Wolfe

In this article comrade Wolfe answers Question 7 in a series of queries from an intellectual entitled "Things we want to know." The question: "Why do you talk about Dictatorship of the Proletariat, when you mean Dictatorship of the Communist Party?" . . . Or do you mean it? Perhaps I don't exactly understand your terminology. I was frankly baffled by Will Herberg's reference to "the position of the proletariat in the midst of the non-proletarian toiling masses of the working class of Dec. 15, 1934. Aren't those non-proletarian toiling masses a part of the proletariat? The terms seems as incongruous to me as "non-profit-making Capitalism." I thought the proletariat was, roughly speaking, composed of the masses of workers and I don't see how "toiling masses" can be non-proletarian. I turn to the Manifesto and discover that Marx and Engels referred to the proletariat simply as "the modern working class, the class of those who live as long as their work increases capital." . . . But, at any rate, doesn't your dictatorship in practice come down to an Oligarchy of Communist leaders, who decide as conscientiously as possible what is best for the masses and then force their decision down the throats of those masses? If so, must I swallow a lot of twaddle about proletarian dictatorship as such, or may I frankly announce that I don't think the working masses have sufficient brains to play a constructive future for themselves and that it's a damn good thing for them to have some intelligent leader (imbued with high ideals) dictating to them? Will you toss me out on my neck if I confess to holding such an opinion? . . . We Americans have been brought up to regard the term "Dictatorship" as a term of abuse rather than of political analysis. . . . Thus there are republics (France, the United States), monarchies (England, Italy). There are limited monarchies and absolute monarchies (England with a king) and France (without one) have more "responsible" governments than the United States. The President of the United States has more economic and political power formally vested in him than the King of England or the President of France; or even, considering his freedom from legislative control and from the necessity to resign when outvoted, than the Prime Ministers of those countries. . . . Then there are survivals in some countries of feudal classes with privileges and powers directly defined by personal, caste-status law as well as indirectly by property possession as with the British aristocracy, whereas in more thoroughly bourgeois countries, there is formal equality before the law and privileges and powers are determined exclusively by economic possession and property law. . . . This country is, not free from pre-capitalist laws, however, as proved by the existence of the semi-feudal share-cropper system in the South and the Jim-Crow laws which are personal-distinction laws surviving from the caste status system. . . . It is important to fight for the elimination of all these pre-capitalist survivals, king, lords, share-cropper system, etc., yet if they are all eliminated, you still have nothing more than pure capitalist government with that formal equality before the law which Anatol France so neatly satirized with his famous aphorism:

"The Law in its majestic Equality forbids the Rich as well as the Poor to sleep under bridges and beg their bread from door to door." . . . What About Democracy? . . . It is also true that in America, as in England and France, there is the opportunity for great numbers of people (all those adults who can afford a settled residence in some states and in others all those who can pay a certain poll tax) to vote every so often as to which particular group of persons are to adopt laws compatible with the general constitution of capitalist society, and enforce capitalist law and maintain the capitalist order. . . . But it is obvious that this really is an opportunity to choose within the narrow limits indicated above, and to choose between two parties both of which are controlled by big contributors. . . . In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, there is also an interplay of dictatorship and democracy. . . . Thus there are republics (France, the United States), monarchies (England, Italy). . . . There are limited monarchies and absolute monarchies (England with a king) and France (without one) have more "responsible" governments than the United States. . . . Then there are survivals in some countries of feudal classes with privileges and powers directly defined by personal, caste-status law as well as indirectly by property possession as with the British aristocracy, whereas in more thoroughly bourgeois countries, there is formal equality before the law and privileges and powers are determined exclusively by economic possession and property law. . . . This country is, not free from pre-capitalist laws, however, as proved by the existence of the semi-feudal share-cropper system in the South and the Jim-Crow laws which are personal-distinction laws surviving from the caste status system. . . . It is important to fight for the elimination of all these pre-capitalist survivals, king, lords, share-cropper system, etc., yet if they are all eliminated, you still have nothing more than pure capitalist government with that formal equality before the law which Anatol France so neatly satirized with his famous aphorism:

As To Fascism . . . Still the matter of relative preservation of democratic forms and civil liberties, however modest and incomplete, is important in capitalist countries. . . . In proportion as capitalism decays, in that proportion it destroys even that limited capitalist democracy and its limited bourgeois democratic liberties, in favor of purely autocratic, personal, naked dictatorship, dictatorship a la Mussolini and Hitler. . . . Here even the capitalist parties must go out of business, and to preserve its economic power and privileges the capitalist class gives up even its own democracy to a set of owners of a personal autocrat. . . . If capitalist democracies smash strikes, capitalist atrocities of the Hitler type smash all

Red Tape And Callousness Make Attention Almost Impossible . . . By EDITH McGRATH . . . The Home Relief Bureau, as one of its departments, a medical and nursing service, to furnish nurses and physicians to those on the relief roll who may need medical care at home. . . . For this reason the party needs to explain the necessity of calling attention to the class it represents. . . . I do not wish to conceal the fact that certain bureaucratic weaknesses have crept into the inner party life of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. . . . But with all these defects, the Soviet government is not merely a government, but the only government, in the interests of, and by the masses, but it is the widest, completest, most thorough going democracy in the world today. . . . As to the defects I have mentioned; they carry me to your next question: "Isn't there something wrong with a system, under which leaders of such proven ability as Jay Lovestone, Leon Trotsky, M. N. Roy and Bert Wolfe can be tossed into the discard?" I'll try to answer that one, next week.

Relief Client Must Time Sickness Carefully if He Wants Medical Aid . . . By EDITH McGRATH . . . The Home Relief Bureau, as one of its departments, a medical and nursing service, to furnish nurses and physicians to those on the relief roll who may need medical care at home. . . . For this reason the party needs to explain the necessity of calling attention to the class it represents. . . . I do not wish to conceal the fact that certain bureaucratic weaknesses have crept into the inner party life of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. . . . But with all these defects, the Soviet government is not merely a government, but the only government, in the interests of, and by the masses, but it is the widest, completest, most thorough going democracy in the world today. . . . As to the defects I have mentioned; they carry me to your next question: "Isn't there something wrong with a system, under which leaders of such proven ability as Jay Lovestone, Leon Trotsky, M. N. Roy and Bert Wolfe can be tossed into the discard?" I'll try to answer that one, next week.

Spaghetti Inn . . . 49 WEST 16TH STREET NEW YORK CITY . . . 4 & 5 COURSE LUNCHEON 40c & 50c . . . 6 COURSE SPECIAL LUNCHEON 60c . . . SERVED ALL DAY . . . Spaghetti — Dessert — Coffee 35c . . . A La Carte All Day . . . WINE AND BEER SERVED

GIUSTI'S SPAGHETTI INN . . . 49 WEST 16TH STREET NEW YORK CITY . . . 4 & 5 COURSE LUNCHEON 40c & 50c . . . 6 COURSE SPECIAL LUNCHEON 60c . . . SERVED ALL DAY . . . Spaghetti — Dessert — Coffee 35c . . . A La Carte All Day . . . WINE AND BEER SERVED

"One of the TEN BEST Plays on Broadway" —BROOKS ATKINSON OF N. Y. TIMES . . . BACKBIT THEATRE UNION'S SMASH SUCCESS . . . The Most Stirring, Exiting and Stinging Drama of the Year! . . . DRESSMAKERS LOCAL 22, I.L.G.W.U. THEATRE PARTY SAT. Matinee Apr. 27

BRADLEY'S CAFETERIA . . . SEASONABLE FOOD AT REASONABLE PRICES . . . THEATRE UNION'S SMASH SUCCESS . . . The Most Stirring, Exiting and Stinging Drama of the Year! . . . DRESSMAKERS LOCAL 22, I.L.G.W.U. THEATRE PARTY SAT. Matinee Apr. 27 . . . CIVIC REPERTORY THEATRE 14th St. and 6th Ave. Evs. 8:45. Matinees Wed. and Sat. 2:45 Prices: Evenings 30c to \$1.50 — Matinees 30c to \$1.00

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WORKERS • AGE •

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

Published every Saturday by the
Workers Age Publishing Association

Subscription Rates: \$2.00 per year, — \$1.25 for six months, — 5c a copy
Foreign Rates: \$2.50 per year — \$1.50 for six months
Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York,
N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.
Address mail to Box 68 Station "O", New York City

Vol. 4, No. 17.

April 27, 1935.

Towards Catastrophe?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE ECONOMIC WEEK

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

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

According to a report of the Consumers' Advisory Board, the average annual earnings for workers in the manufacturing industries are still below \$1000.

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

—ECONOMIST

Books of the Age

by Bertram D. Wolfe

FATHERLAND, by Karl Billinger. Farrar and Rinehart. 270pp. \$2.50.

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

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

and as in the "best books," the clear suggestion that "life goes on."

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

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

Stage and Screen

CLIFFORD ODETS, HIS PLAYS AND HIS CRITICS

By ROBERT ARTHUR

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

For while "Waiting for Lefty" may have shown those who imagine themselves acute, what it took "Awake and Sing" to show your correspondent, the shorter play, while it has its place, is as significant neither as drama nor as propaganda to the revolutionary movement. Having clearly evaluated "Waiting for Lefty" for what it was when we first saw it, we are not now in the embarrassing position of the New Masses where one critic overpraised the shorter play and left another critic with nothing to do but underpraise "Awake and Sing", and spend several issues thereafter stubbornly upholding a stupid viewpoint. We found that "Waiting for Lefty" was not as completely effective as it might have been for several reasons: (1) the cumulative value of Lefty's absence could have been more skillfully prepared to emotionalize the shock at the finish; (2) the logic of the scenes could have led more certainly to the climax—namely, to the strike; (3) nearly all the scenes could have been infinitely less derivative. Yet, it is, nevertheless, a play of real value. As an "agit-prop" play it is one of the best. As a force for the advancement of the proletarian revolution it has its undoubted merits. All that we say is, that with no place to go, and nowhere to sit down, it still finds itself unruly in the parlor called the theatre. In short, since its purpose is the creation of excitement, granting even a complete achievement, it is still only a "theater piece".

Now what "Awake and Sing" tries to do is less simple. Its action is based clearly upon an emotional line, and since that line is much more important to the expression of an idea than the creation of mere excitement, it is also more significant as a contribution to the revolutionary movement. For what we say emotionally in the theatre, while it may not be immediately discernible as such, is far and away the material of deepest value. And, fundamentally, the difference between a play like "Awake and Sing" and a play like "Waiting for Lefty" is the difference between the artist and the pamphleteer, or the difference between an imaginative concept and a public address. Undoubtedly the latter may at times be so well done as to be more effective than the former, but its essential value is lost quickly in the maze of influences, or relationships, or opinions, never accurately recorded, which it calls upon its audience to supply. A play, on the other hand, tells the complete story from a basically imagined viewpoint. It demands very little from its audience except attention. Indeed, at its very best, it commands both this attention and respect. Without asking a prior conviction or an already awakened enthusiasm, it persuades by reason of its skillful handling of its author's truth or vision. We, the audience, unconsciously identify ourselves with certain characters to whom the author, by sympathetic treatment of them, has subtly attracted us. But the play's idea depends for its expression upon characters whose relationships and adjustments are, collectively and individually, to each other and to the larger

forces which propel them, most clearly defined within the arbitrary limits the play has set for itself.

These adjustments must of necessity be altered or broken, when the character, in order to make a point to an audience, steps out of the play or fails to preserve his relationships within this frame-work. Therefore, to this reviewer, Burnshaw in writing of the reception of "Waiting for Lefty" uptown, in the New Masses on April 9, completely misses the point when he is startled by what he terms a difference in alertness between Broadway and left-wing audiences. If he is saying that he is startled to find that a political-minded audience is more political minded than one that isn't political minded, I think he could dispense with wasting the paper on which to say it. No one who can spell could gainsay his statement. Assuredly he is jousting with a windmill when he thinks the major weakness is in the audience. There is an obvious difference in audience conditions and that difference, he even admits, was expected. The whole truth is that an "agit-prop" play demands a receptive audience; the other demands nothing but attention. One is a political speech in great danger of being booted unless it is among friends; the other is a single imaginative conception, complete in all details, theoretically bullet-proof because it supplies all sides and classes.

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

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

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

MARCH WITH THE CPO ON THE FIRST OF MAY

Members and sympathizers of the Communist Party (Opposition) and students of the New Workers School will assemble at 51 West 14th St. at 11 in the morning on May 1. All readers of the Workers Age are urged to join the ranks of the Communist Party (Opposition) and Communist Youth Opposition.

Dear Comrade Editor

TOM MOONEY WRITES

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

Workers Age.

My dear Sirs and Brothers:

The United States Supreme Court has deferred any immediate hope of freedom I might have had by sending me back to the Courts of California to exhaust all judicial remedies in that State. For us to hope for freedom from the Courts of Capital in California would be sheer folly.

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

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

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

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

Fraternally yours,

TOM MOONEY
3 1921

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

A PUZZLED COMMUNIST

New York City,
April 17, 1935.

Comrade Editor:

In the April issue of the Communist, the Central Committee of the C.P. U.S.A. prints its lengthy manifesto for a mighty united front May Day. In this manifesto, calling for such united front, it makes the following statement "The threat of a new war against the Soviet Union is now real and immediate. The lying and provocative assaults on the Soviet Union by the Hearst press in agreement with Hitler, the attacks by the Roosevelt administration and the State department are followed by the demand from representatives of clerical and fascist reaction for the breaking off of diplomatic relations. These war-like provocations coincide with the march of Japanese imperialism toward the Soviet frontiers and with the new war-like activities of German—Polish fascism against the Soviet Union. In this campaign, the A. F. of L. top-bureaucracy, leader of the Socialist party, counterfeit liberals, Lovestonite renegades from communism, and the counter revolutionary Trotskyite-Musteite outfit join forces with Hearst and all enemies of the American working class." (emphasis mine)

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

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

Comradely,

COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZER