At First **GLANCE**

By JAY LOVESTONE

South Wars On Unions

So many conferences have been taking place and so little has been done ing place and so little has been done by them that no one can really be blamed for not taking these confabs even with regrain of seriousness. Still some exceptions must be noted. Below the Ohio and Potomac Rivers there was recently held a conference of the Southern States Industrial Council which arrived at decisions worthy of serious consideration by all workers throuout the country. The resolutions adopted by these Southern robber barons are a challenge to Labor. They are a declaramovement below the Mason and Dixon line. Thus speaks the owning class of the South: "We propose to defend with compensation standards. all our strength the right of our Southern labor to manage its own affairs, and consider the entire South "as a distinct and homogenous unit." Too great significance to these decisions cannot he American be attached by organized labor. Here is an attempt to depress wages, to worsen conditions, to smash the right to organize not only of the workers in the South. Here is a menace to the workers in the whole country. It must be treated as

N.R.A. A War Measure

NOT many will be found today to deny that the NRA is as much a war measure as a relief measure. But that the NRA in its very structure, that the New Deal in its minutest details, is being organized right now on an immediate war basis some socialistic Liberals and Liberal socialists will refute vigorously. We have in mind the petty censorship scheme now in vogue in the Department of Interior. Two of its confidential instructions, recently come to light, are illuminating. One, dated November 27, 1934, categorically binds all department employees to secrecy of operations and provides that "No information is to be given out regarding the a proposal for the extension of democraservice unless it clears first thru Mr. A. cy for the toiling masses of the Soviet ... "The other, a dated December 5, Union. According to changes in the 1934, decrees that "Matters relating to Soviet Constitution all elections will be personnel must not, under any circumstances, for any reasons, be discussed with members of Congress." Of course, will be elected thru a direct rather than Congress will very likely make some noise about these documents shortly, tation of the collectivised agricultural That is not so important. The orders in themselves are much more decisive. The executive arm of the government is being strengthened at a feverish pace at the expense of the legislative. Capitalist democracy is becoming as concentrated as capitalist ownership and exploitation. Likewise, capitalist democracy is becoming as worthless for the great mass of the people as is private ownership in these days of rapid monopolization. Clearly the New Deal is timed and attuned to meet war situa tions abroad and at home-against foreign competitors and domestic strikers.

Tangled Lines

T doesn't require any cynicism to conclude that the American section of the Communist International, the official Communist Party in the U.S., has in recent months been twisting its line like a cow swishes its tail in fly time. Some of its latest resolutions contain paragraphs copied almost accurately from the columns of the Workers Age, sentences culled almost verbatim from the resolutions of the Communist Party (Opposition). For this we are grateful. We agree with Lenin that even the tiniest bit of progress is to be welcomed. How ever, it's the confusion that is disastrous. After every sound idea, so belatedly and half-heartedly put forward, there usually comes a cluster of beclouded and befogged notions leading straight to nowhere -that is, anchoring the Party to its old ruinous sectarian conceptions and policies. It is this failure to break sharply and honestly with its old dual-unionist and anti-united front tactics that is so largely responsible for Communist unity not being achieved to date. It is this failure to admit openly the mistakes of and to break definitely with the ultraleft sectarian course that is responsible for the chaos in the Party ranks nowadays, for the failure of the C.P. to grow anywheres near commensurately

(Continued on Page 4)

PRES. ROOSEVELT AUTO MEN DEFY

GREEN WANTS NEW DEAL ON INSURANCE

A.F. of L. Head Rejects Roosevelt Social Security Scheme As Inadequate for Workers

"Insurance must insure" is the slogan American labor has flung at the Roosevelt-sponsored let-'em-eat-crumbs social security proposal.

Green Against Roosevelt Plan

William Green, reactionary leader of a none-too-advanced labor movement, demanded the scrapping of the entire tion of war on the growing trade union Roosevelt plan now pending before Congress and the substitution of Federal subsidies to states which set definite

Green revealed that the suggestions submitted by an advisory board of which to remain at peace with those at whose he was a member had been thrown out hands it enjoys its opportunities to by the Cabinet Committee including Secwork. We maintain that the right to retaries Perkins and Wallace and Relief work is as sacred as the right to strike." Administrator Hopkins. Green's pro-Administrator Hopkins. Green's pro-The Council also stressed that the wage posal was for a five per cent payroll tax, differentials under the NRA must be re- no contributions from employees, State tained, that it will recognize only such pools of funds instead of single plant social legislation as the Supreme Court pools, and a twenty six weeks benefit peapproves, and that the NRA codes must riod paying at least 50 per cent of nor-

Recalling that two years ago the American Federation of Labor rejected unemployment insurance completely, Green's stand represents a tremendous progressive step. But he still accepts completely the fundamental thesis of the Social Security bill-that job insurance can be calculated on an actuarial basis and that reserves must be built up by those now employed.

Is Job Insurance

Possible? On the margin of every unemployment insurance proposal must be noted the tremendous relief problem we now have. New York announces 220,000 families on relief, an all time peak which is (Continued on Page 4)

SOVIET CONGRESS OK'S SECRET BALLOT FOR ALL USSR ELECTIONS

The All-Union Congress of Soviets, now in session in Moscow, has approved cy for the toiling masses of the Soviet conducted by secret ballot instead of by the indirect method; and the represencommunities will be greatly increased.

These decisions indicate that capital ist elements within the Soviet Union have been sufficiently eliminated, and the socialist base of Soviet economy is strong enough to warrant the extension of Soviet democracy.

STUFFED TOY WORKERS forces had counted on at least 20% of STRIKE IN NEW YORK; the votes cast while the Nazis expected ALL SHOPS COME OUT | between 80 to 85%.

A general strike of all teddy-bear Why The Landslide? workers in New York called by a federal local of the A.F. of L. received the almost unanimous response of the workers in the trade. Within two days of the strike call 12 shops involving over 700 workers walked out.

The following demands were worked the Saar! No matter what one's opinion out by the strike committee: Union recognition, increase in pay for the various crafts according to the following schedule—Cutters \$50; Operators \$48 and \$38; Finishers \$28 and \$20; General help \$18.

The strike is in excellent condition and applications for settlements are beginning to come in.

at the WORKERS SCHOOL NEW 51 West 14th Street New York City

FRIDAY FEB. 8 8:30 P. M.

ELLEN WILKINSON

Former Member, House of Commons. Internationally Known Leader of the British Labor Party Speaks on

British Labor Prepares For Power •

Admission 25c

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

LEADERS AND RANK AND FILE OF AUTO UNIONS DENOUNCE PRESIDENT'S EXTENSION OF WOLMAN BOARD AS BETRAYAL

DETROIT, Mich .- Plans have been jectionable." proposed here to prepare for a general strike of all auto workers. A mass meetshortly. Green has been invited to

WASHINGTON, D. C .- The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. continues to fire broadsides at Richberg and Wolman. Green has characterized the action of the Administration as "fascist tactics" and insists that labor will fight these methods.

Richberg has been smoked out. In answer to labor's attacks on him he replied that he places the interests of the 'nation" above those of labor.

DETROIT, Mich .- A storm of indignation and protest has broken among the mass of the auto workers and it is directed not only against auto manufacturers and their "baby" the Auto Labor Board but also against our "labor loving" President Roosevelt.

Adding Insult To Injury

The presidential "ukase" ordering the extension of the present agreement without giving labor a hearing is a direct slap in the face to the entire organized labor movement. The inclusion of the Auto Labor Board in the Code is adding insult to injury for it is common knowledge that among all the Labor Boards none is more discredited in the eyes of the workers than the Auto Labor Board headed by Wolman.

Labor Leaders

of the enter executive, for they had once again depended for redress of grievances, upon the good will of the boss' ingless promises if avan that agents in the White Haves. agents in the White House. They lost and they will continue to lose so long as the masses of auto workers are not organized to fight for their demands. Once again has it been proven that the employers and their NRA agencies will their hearts.

Richberg A Liar Says Green

The Saar Plebiscite

factors involved.

The statement of Richberg that labor had been consulted before extending the agreement was immediately branded as a lie by Green, when he declared: "Labor views, offer objections or make recommendations. Despite this the order attempts to impose on labor the Automobile Labor Board, which is highly ob-lagainst organized labor is to be defeated

voted for return to Hitler Germany,

8.87% (46,513) for the status quo, 0.4% (2,124) for France. The anti-fascist

How are we to explain these results?

One of the common slogans of the

anti-fascists in the Saar basin was:

may be of the agitational value of such

a formulation, the facts have shown that

thru the Saar, that on the contrary the

victory of the Nazis in Hitler Germany

was of decisive significance to the Saar.

The vote was an echo of the Fascist

victory in the rest of Germany. It was

not as expected the beginning of the col-

lapse of the Nazi regime in Germany.

The victory of Fascism in Germany

The success of the Nazis in the Saar

basin demonstrates the strength of na-

tionalism in the Saar. It was further

fascists fought the slogan "Back to Ger-

many" with the slogan for the "Status

Quo" (continuation of the League of Na-

tions regime) which was looked upon, by

large sections of the Saar population,

as an anti-national slogan, as a slogan

desired the victory of the Nazis" says

for the continuation of foreign rule.

Catholics Supported Germany

proved to be decisive for the Saar.

Strength Of Nationalism

F. J. Dillon, General Organizer of the A. F. of L. says he is "shocked and caning of automobile workers will be held not conceive of the President approving the present record of the Automobile Labor Relations Board, presided over by Dr. Wolman, which has been repudiated by labor."

The A. F. of Labor also makes the additional charge that the investigation of wages and conditions in the auto inwho refuses to make public any of the findings without an order of President Roosevelt.

Roosevelt Snubs Own N.I.R.B.

The auto manufacturers must have had Roosevelt under terrific pressure since in order to carry out the will of his masters he did not hesitate to override the National Industrial Recovery Board which by a vote of 3 to 2 had rejected the renewal of the Auto Code.

Strike Sentiment Rises Sharply

Roosevelt's attempt to sugar-coat this bitter pill by claiming to have won for the time cards will show that the firm the auto workers the extension of work has been complying with the Code. the workers.

The movement for general strike preparation is gaining momentum in all auto Our "leaders of labor" were dumb- centers. They have learned thru pain-

Labor History

Roosevelt's order in the auto industry marks a new stage in the attitude of the Administration to organized labor ployers and their NRA agencies will Every pretense of pro-labor policy has grant nothing out of the kindness of been discarded. The Roosevelt Administration stands exposed for what it is and was-an administration ruled by bankers and industrialists-a labor hat

ing administration.

The auto workers must meet this issue squarely. There is only one answer to this anti-labor offensive and that is to was given no opportunity to present its paralyze the entire auto industry by means of the general strike. The whole trade union movement must be rallied now behind the auto workers if the drive

NRA SHOE HEARINGS SHOW BOSS RACKET

Time Clocks Mean Nothing in Life of Workers in Code **Gypping Shoe Factories**

How shoe workers have been gypped out of a considerable part of their wages was revealed in the most astounding fashion at the recent NRA public heardustry has been suppressed by Richberg ings on the Shoe Code in Washington. Below is a birds-eye view picture of how the shoe manufactures steal working time from the workers, thus slashing their wages considerably.

One of the most prevalent methods was that of having the workers punch in and punch out on their time cards when the work was ready for them at their benches. And after punching out, they were still required to remain in the factory in the expectation that, more work might be ready for them later on. In this way, the manufacturer does not have to pay for their waiting time, and when the NRA investigators come along,

and time and a half for overtime, will n several factories, the time clocks not succeed. The auto workers have had been removed at the personal suglearned to look gift horses in the teeth gestion of an NRA investigator, and the and they well know that the time and hours were written on small slips of paa half for overtime, even if carried out, per by the worker at the end of the day applies to only 20% of the workers and and approved by his foreman. This led does not change the present base scales to the following practice: the foreman which are so objectionable to the mass of would not approve of any time which did not conform exactly with that represented on the workers' piece-rate cards. In other words the workers was required to write down only the number of hours which he actually spent working at the bench, disregarding all the hours required to wait for work in the plant.

(Continued on Page 4)

PERSECUTION FACES FARMER'S LEADER

Ward Rodgers, Fighter For Share Croppers, Charged With Anarchy in Arkansas

Ward Rodgers, a revolutionary socialist of Arkansas, organizer of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, has been found guilty of the charge of "anarchy" by a Jury consisting of landowners and was sentenced to six months jail and \$500 fine. An appeal against this decision has

been taken and will be heard in March.
The main crime of Ward Rogers seems to be that while a teacher among the share croppers for the FERA, he actively participated in and became an organizer for share croppers in their struggles against the planters.

The Rodgers case as well as the one now proceeding in Sacramento, California, are indications of what the communist and socialist workers can expect in these days of rising militancy among the industrial workers and among the exploited tenant farmers. All indications point to an intensified drive against all radical elements to whom the workers and farmers look for help and guidance.

The primary need, in a developing situation of this sort, is one powerful organization to coordinate the work of defense. Still, neither the Sacramento case nor that of Ward Rodgers have caused any move in that direction. In the first case the Communist Party seems to be intent on going it alone and in the case of Rodgers the Socialist Party found it expedient to set up still another (strictly socialist) defense organization.

There is a crying need for the merger of all existing defense organizations into one non-partisan body to defend all victims of capitalist terror regardless of their political affiliation. Only in this manner can we prepare to meet the increasing wave of militancy and struggle.

at the NEW WORKERS SCHOOL 51 West 14th Street New York City

SUNDAY, FEB. 10 ROGER BALDWIN

8.15 P. M.

Chairman, American Civil Liberties Union Speaks on Adventures With

The United Front Admission 25c

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

The fact that the opposition of the working class in Germany against the There are objective as well as subjective Nazi regime had not yet assumed mass proportions, is an additional factor to

Defeat the Nazi regime thru defeat in The Fascist Terror

had its effects, but there was certainly less terror than at the most recent elec-Hitler Germany could not be attacked tions in Germany and was, therefore not decisive in the outcome.

The following facts should be kept in

There may be some Socialists or Communists who will cite the results of the Saar plebiscite as an argument against strengthened by the fact that the anti-the united front. They will say that the united front was a failure.

C.P.O. Criticism Justified

a surprise to anti-fascists as well as to wrong to have harbored illusions about the Nazis themselves. 90.08% (477,109) the role of the Catholic church. The Vatican thru its German hishons, accepted the slogan "Back to Germany" order to gain concessions for Catholic church in Germany. Weakness Of Opposition

Leon Blum, the leader of the French

In Germany

EUROPE TODAY

by August Thalheimer

The results of the Saar plebiscite were Social Democracy. Correct, but it was

The Fascist terror was strong and

mind. At the last elections in the Saar for the National Council or Landesrat (an advisory body representing the population generally) on March 13. 1932 the center (Catholic party) received 156,615 votes, the C. P. 84,112, the So cial Democracy 35,966, the Nazis 24,455

The results of the plebiscite unfortun ately fully confirm the criticism of the Communist Opposition which was directed not against the united front as such but against the basis on which the united front was agreed upon and car-The catholic clergy evidently gave its ried out. We opposed a united front on votes for Hitler Germany. "The Vatican the basis of the Social Democratic slogan (Continued on Page 2)

WORKERS AGE

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The Truckmen's Strike

N a very basic sense, the one-day strike of the 20,000 truckmen in New York on January 28 was an event of outstanding significance in the recent history f American labor. It constitutes a landmark in the development of the labor ovement hardly second in importance to the San Francisco general strike or to the great textile strike of last year.

This strike, thru which the teamsters completely tied up the wharves of New York, was a purely political strike. Its avowed aim and purpose was to ' the notorious Justice Humphrey to refrain from signing an injunction sought by the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce and other employers groups so as to outlaw the protective alliance between the teamsters and the longshoremen's unions. For the first time in the history of the country, labor struck in a deliberate effort to stay the hand of an injunction judge intent upon delivering a body-blow to unionism. The success of this daring action of labor solidarity was immediate. Altho the signature of the injunction order had been generally expected for Monday, Justice Humphrey suddenly found it advisable to postpone action for a week. If not exactly "convinced," his honor was quite visibly im-

The strike was undertaken and carried out by the New York teamsters union over the head of Michael J. Cashal, international vice-president "in charge of the New York area." And this in an organization whose reputation is hardly one for democracy! The New York truckmen have proved once again that, even in the most burocratic organization, the membership can put thru its will, if only it is sufficiently conscious and determined and has effective leadership. Thereby they have once again refuted, if refutation is still necessary, the notorious argument which attempts to justify dual unionism and union splitting by the alleged impossibility of getting anything done under the thoroly undemocratic setup prevailing in so many unions.

The early indifference and even open hostility manifested by the top labor officialdom to the teamsters strike, soon gave way to a remarkably different attitude. President Green gave it a virtual endorsement, conveniently forgetting his own sermons about not "fighting the government" in the San Francisco strike. The New York Central Trades and Labor Council announced its "full support of the union teamsters to combat the injunction." Even the hard-boiled Joseph P. Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, pledged co-operation with the embattled truckmen. "It became known," reports the New York Times, "that the union leaders declared that they were helpless in the face of a rank and file movement in their organization determined 'to break the efforts of the employers to destroy the union'." What better refutation could be desired of the old dual unionist dogma of the futility of mass pressure in forcing a change of front of the conservative union officialdom?

How profound is the change in the temper of American labor indicated in this memorable one-day strike! Bear in mind that the teamsters union is an exceptionally conservative organization, hardly influenced by the radicalizing effects of the mass influx of new members in recent months. Yet here the workers, thru the logic of their own acts, have already left behind the traditional "pure-and-simple," "non-political" unionism of the A. F. of L. and have given the lie to the supine and defeatist dogma: "You cannot strike against the government!" The truckmen's union of New York could and did "strike against the government," could and did throw in their economic power for political ends.

The Red-scare shouts of "revolution" by the Brooklyn Board of Trade should not blind us to the deeper significance of what the New York teamsters have done. For there is a real blood relationship between their action and the revolutionary challenge of the workers in capitalist society-without confidence in the edress offered them thru the recognized channels of our bogus "democracy," both place their main reliance upon their organized mass power to achieve their political aims! In confronting Justice Humphrey with solid ranks and militant picket lines, the New York truckmen have taken an historical step along the road which will end only when they, side by side with the rest of the working class, will confront the capitalistic government of this country in a struggle

EUROPE TODAY

(Continued from Page 1)
of "Status Quo." We advised that the Social Democracy would have in the Saar, against the governing comof "Status Quo." We advised that the Social Democracy would have in the Saar, against the governing comand capitalism, America and Russia. But they could reach no agreement. Finally be noted by our class. But the breadbe noted by our class. But the capitalist press was jubilant, echoing tremendously, and those still employed are laying down their lives to
maintain the already minute "standard"
of living. Where did the money go to?

Chain Stores Thriving in the Saar, against the governing com- that the Social Democracy would have mittee of the League of Nations and rejected the slogan for a Soviet Saar. against Nazi terror. United extra-parliamentary activity for the realization C.P.O. Participated With of these aims would have been a deci- Criticism sive factor because only mass actions The C.P.O. maintained discipline durcould break Nazi terror. The represen- ing the election struggle but expressly tatives of the C.P.G. boasted that their reserved the right to openly criticize the

quo meant that there was no way out. The Political Consequences In comparison to this the slogans of the The attention of the workers outside front failed to conduct any economic or one tendency that, rejecting the al- from?" social struggle against the French man- liance with the Soviet Union, seeks a "Jeez aging authorities at all, that it failed to compromise with Hitler Germany. In seriously criticize the League of Nations the final analysis these will turn against

The "Soviet Saar" Slogan

directing its criticism against French as same direction. well as German exploiters, being inter-national and not anti-national and af-

be invitation has a postscript of "You lousy Red" accompanied by either a ica's housing problems during the past depth in his style and grasp of the

factory in Detroit, for another year or left their hospitality he has the same so as a waiter, making a good income refrain dinned into his ears by nighton both jobs. Then America entered the war. By this time he was a patriotic, go-getting American, had taken out his first papers, young, enthusiastic, inner restoration, in a shack colony on adventurous. So he enlisted and because the edge of Manhattan's mid-town dis-

ditionary Force to Beat Back the Red work.

They were both boys from the same vil-

melodramatic situation would have reminisced about the boys and girls back home, the changes in the old town, how Main Street looked now and how Petersen's Drug Store had put in a new soda

united front after the elections. The hell stay in Russia," I met him. He was incidentally, had increased 27% and so much as dare to attempt unionizasolgan for the status quo was the limited from after the elections. The status quo was as "fantastic" one and characterized ours as "fantastic." The election returns painfully demonstrated that the slogan for the "Status Quo" was hardly realistic on the status quo" was hardly realistic. The elections and tactics of its criticism and tactics living in a bum's flop-house in Chicago. Wages 25%; this will be dealt with in is obvious. The Saar, too, has proven the slept at night on a louse-ridden army that opportunistic deviations in the application of united front tactics are very men. He lived on prunes, bread, horse-program. The profits have risen tree elections. Including the living in a bum's flop-house in Chicago. Wages 25%; this will be dealt with in its on, in the struggle for a living wage. According to Senate Investigations of the is the first result of the Recovery plication of united front tactics are very men. He lived on prunes, bread, horse-program. The profits have risen tree.

the Saar the League regime meant the morale of the anti-fascist forces will the pockets torn loose in dangling flaps. In the process sweater and an overcoat with the pockets torn loose in dangling flaps. Should note here that these huge in the was still big and blond but his eyes and the governing committee. Thus the however, be overcome.

Slogan for the maintenance of the status and the government of the maintenance of the status are continually bloodshot and twitching, his hands shaky, his face seamed.

and its committee. Thus the united front for the "Status Quo" appeared as a front for the defense of capitalist foreign rule.

The success of Hitler deforts of Hitler Germany to secure the Sar will strengthen this tender of the Sar will strengthen this tender of the Sar will strengthen this tender of the Sar will point to this success are continuing, so far without any resistant the final analysis these will turn against the final analysis these will regime and urge the necessity of a comnow. The campaign against credits to to allow too many drippings. To thempromise with Hitler Germany. It is Hitler Germany initiated by the C.P.O. selves, their families, their interlocked breaking point, the first tangible result The revolutionary slogan for a "Soviet well known that strong forces are work- of America should be renewed and directorates go the millions of dollars of the New Deal has been the declaration Saar" would have been more effective, ing within the English bourgeoisie in the strengthened. Furthermore, the America of dividends, the golden stream bringing of dividends almost of astronconical proican working class ought to be mobilized nourishment to various sections of the cortions. against the fascist terror already mani- parasitic employing class. festing itself in the Saar and for active

Books of the Age

by Bertram D. Wolfe

252pp., \$2.00. "You Can't Sleep Here" is a novel of depth. don't like this country why don't you don't you go back where you came from?". Usually hundreds of shack colonies and shanty-

e'd been two years in the Czar's armies trict. The book ends with the order that and knew his right foot from his left forms its title, enforced once more, when made him a sergeant.

that the shanties are an eye sore and upward trend in production, factory em-England. For two weeks they lay in bad for business, and they drive out the playment and payrolls for the month of ase camp, drilling, girl-chasing and resisting inhabitants with the aid of a December. At the same time, wholesale vondering what in the hell all the delay hired incendiary, the fire and police and retail prices are advancing considas about. Then one morning all the department, and the use of axes and gas erably. The main force for the continrifles were collected and new ones issued. As soon as my Russian friend got his of the story is portrayed, in less con- industries, in back of which lies the govnew rifle he began to laugh. "We're vincing manner, the spiritual develop- ernment huge appropriations for indusgoing home." he said. It was a Russian ment of its central character from a trial undertakings. This is reflected, restless and only occasionally social- negatively, in the lagging state of con-So they went to Siberia. They were minded, jobless reporter into an active struction. The report states: "For the the Polar Bears—the American Expe-Communist and leader in unemployed fourth quarter as a whole the value of

talked to the people there—who couldn't defiant, which gives considerable surface publicly financed projects was consider-understand how an American could glitter and hardness but at the sacrifice ably smaller than last year." (our emspeak Russian—and he found they of depth and intensity. Therefore it phasis) weren't so anxious to be saved from the scarcely ever succeeds in being deeply In a searching analysis of the income Reds. But there were some compensa-moving. Restraint is no doubt a stylistic tax statistics for 1933, George Soule (in virtue in discussing wealthy capitalist Current History, Feb. 1935) indicates when we went out to march," he said "we wore two sweaters and a uniform coat and an overcoat and a muffer. Then we put on knitted caps and fler. Then we put on knitted caps and substituting of explosive words for explosive thoughts attracts more attention. boots and two pair of pants and two pair of mittens. With all those clothes on you couldn't blow your nose much less fire a rifle."

Later on though the weather got leaves the matter of their plight, especially when that is almost the only "strong language" in the novel less than \$25,000 decreused in number 101,350, or 3 per cent, and their aggregate incomes of less than \$25,000 decreused in number 101,350, or 3 per cent, and their aggregate incomes declined \$467,-

look at him. He was just going to polish him off when mutual recognition dawned. They were both home from wages and dayned. They were both home from wages and salaries and salaries of the was pusted income from wages and salaries and salaries of the ware both home from wages and salaries and salaries of the ware both home from wages and salaries of the ware both home from wages and salaries of the ware both home from wages and salaries of the ware both home from wages and salaries of the was pusted in the was just going to polish was a salaries of the was just going to polish was provided income from wages and salaries of the was just going to polish was provided in the was provided in the was just going to polish was provided in the was provided in the was just going to polish was provided in the was provided in the was provided in the was provided in the was pro

YOU CAN'T SLEEP HERE, by Edward | America's shanty towns. Hence he, like Newhouse. Macaulay, New York. all the minor characters, has a peculiarly two-dimensional aspect, surface without

literal or figurative spit in the eye. five or six years of depression.

"You Can't Sleep Here" is what the he does, Newhouse will go far. Already the advice. This is a story about a man central character first tells himself when he has produced a good first book, and who did.

He was a big blond good looking Russian. He came to this country in 1912, worked for a couple of years in an auto worked for a couple of years in an auto labeled at the house of what would be his brotherin-law in he feels he has outworn his welcome at the house of what would be his brotherin-law in he feels he has outworn his welcome at the house of what would be his brotherin-law in he feels he has outworn his welcome at the house of what would be his brotherin-law in he feels he has outworn his welcome at the house of what would be his brotherin-law in he feels he has outworn his welcome at the house of what would be his brotherin-law in he feels he has outworn his welcome at the house of what would be his brotherin-law in he feels he has outworn his welcome at the house of what would be his brotherin-law in he feels he has outworn his welcome at the house of what would be his brotherin-law in he feels he has outworn his welcome at the house of what would be his brotherin-law in he feels he has outworn his welcome at the house of what would be his brotherin-law in he feels he has outworn his welcome at the house of what would be his brotherin-law in he house of what would be his brotherin-law in he feels he has outworn his welcome at the house of what would be his brotherin-law in he feels he has outworn his welcome at the house of what would be his brotherin-law in he feels he has outworn his welcome at the house of what would be his brotherin-law in he feels he has outworn his welcome at the house of what would be his brotherin-law in he house of what would be his brotherin-law in he house of what would be his brotherin-law in he house of what would be his brotherin-law in he house of what would be his brotherin-law in he house of what would be his brotherin-law in he house of what would be his brotherin-law in he house of what would be his brotherin-law in he house of what would be his brotherin-law in he had a supplied which he had a supplied which he had a supplied when he had a supplied when h he feels he has outworn his welcome at more than that a significant and sullenly

ECONOMIC WEEK

The Federal Reserve board notes an contracts for privately financed projects Menace to World Capitalism. In Ar- The book is written in the hard-boiled was about the same as in the correspondchangel my friend was not so happy. He manner, pungent and racy and casually ing period of 1933, while the volume of

Later on though the weather got warmer and the water on the tundra swamps receded to knee depth and there was a little skirmish fighting. That was how my friend got wounded. He was shot by a Russian picket one day. He still limps from the wound and shows the long seared ever almost the long seared ever almost the long that is almost the only "strong language" in the novel.

The difficulties are increased by the fact that the reader is never fully convinced that the central character, the only one that is seriously studied, really the long seared ever almost the long. the long, seared scar almost the length of one leg.

After he was shot the picket came to look at him. He was not stay in Hooverville. He has left increased from \$35,239,556 to \$81,558, as a matter of pride. His girl, her sister and husband, plead for his return. He is offered money, food, love, a roof, but his look at him. He was not stay in Hooverville. He has left increased from \$35,239,556 to \$81,558, as a matter of pride. His girl, her sister and husband, plead for his return. He is offered money, food, love, a roof, but his look at him. He was not stay in Hooverville. He has left increased from \$35,239,556 to \$81,558, as a matter of pride. His girl, her sister and husband, plead for his return. He is offered money, food, love, a roof, but his look at him. He was not stay in Hooverville. He has left increased from \$35,239,556 to \$81,558, as a matter of pride. His girl, her sister and husband, plead for his return. He is offered money, food, love, a roof, but his look at him. He was shot the picket came to look at him. He was shot the picket came to look at him.

A NEW DEAL HEAVEN

By M. S. MAUTNER

in the latter the profit was \$350,000,000. These figures give only some slight in-

to announce that dividends were being

Failure of "Status Quo"

What are the reasons for the failure of the status quo? To the great majority of the workers of the the reasons for the status quo? To the great majority of the workers of the the reasons for the status quo? To the great majority of the workers of the the reasons for the status quo? To the great majority of the workers of the the reasons for the shaved—with a piece of broken glass and laundry soap. All of his clothes were a dirty flannel shirt, a piece of broken glass and laundry soap. All of his clothes were a dirty flannel shirt, a piece of profits were of times that of the same a total of \$1,708,492 to its officers and broken glass and laundry soap. All of his clothes were a dirty flannel shirt, a piece of profits in 1932; the salaries and bonuses given by Marshall Fields total-led over two million dollars for 1933!

"Trom?"

And the increases from 1932 to 1933 companies of N. Y., N. J., and CaliforWere even greater; in the former year nia, totaled over two and a half million
the loss was approximately \$45,000,000, in 1932.

"Sharing" Wealth

Immediate Tasks of the Communist Party

I. A MODEL OF CHVOSTISM*

1. The resolution adopted at the Central Committee meeting of January 13th to 18th comes out for a labor party, not because an analysis of American political structure shows the necessity for a labor party to split off the mass of workers from the twin parties of capworkers from the twin parties of capmasses. What happens to the Party's role

2. The Party makes further hesitant steps toward liquidating the dual unions

Evidence: italism, but because of "the reviving as vanguard? Or to Lenin's teaching mass sentiments for a labor party." that chvostism is the source of opportun-

ism? What if the mood of the masse 2. It comes out for liquidation of the changes again? Will the party again 2. It comes out for inquidation of the dual unions and a "new tone with real abandon its central tasks: building and abandon its central tasks: building and revolutionizing the mass trade unions; any foresight as to the future of American promoting united front and proletarian promoting united front and proletarian and proletarian promoting united front and proletarian properties and provided provided processing the properties of t ican trade unionism, nor because of any unity; splitting the mass of workers appreciation of the Leninist teachings on the menace of dual unionism and the propaganda for a labor party? on the menace of dual unionism and the necessity of working thru the mass trade whence this sudden "rearguardism" in unions and among the backward workers, but because of "the growth of the
ism"? The fact is that the Party leaders

whence this sudden rearguardism in
place of the earlier "ultra vanguardcannot enter "as organized units" will
ism"? The fact is that the Party leaders

you continue your suicidal policy of dual A.F.L. unions." After failing to foresee that growth, after predicting it could not come, the Party without any corrections to come, the Party without any corrections the masses the real reasons for the masser is ambiguous: tion of its obviously mistaken analysis change of tactics. They want to explain First we read: "In those cases when and tactics, "follows the masses" into everything not as the result of a need collective joining is not possible, mem-

the mass trade unions! as a result of secause the C.P. should be a tireless fighter for proletarian unity, not because the interests of the masses require unity in elementary struggles, not because the divisions in the working because the divisions in the most of the A.F.L. inutviously. (Does that the "Red Union" will still be kept up?)

Then we read:

"Only those revolutionary unions, whose entrance into the A.F.L. at the present time is impossible in practice, will be a proper the most of the masses." because the divisions in the class require a united front, not because of any appreciation of the Leninist teachings on this question, but because of "the strengthening of the desire of the masses for the united front," (that's the masses) and because to be its vanguard, lost contact the masses for the united front," (that's the masses) and because to be its vanguard, lost contact with the realities of mass feeling and the class of the mass an isolated lagging behind the masses) and because development, and became an isolated "the efforts of the Socialist Party to base sect." itself on the trade unions and on the movement for a Labor Party shows that social reformism is trying to create a broad proletarian mass basis for itself." (That's dragging at the tail of social marks some important steps forward reformism! If the S.P. were not trying towards the correction of the line of the to create "a broad proletarian mass Party, towards the Leninist tactical line basis" for itself, then apparently there for which the Communist Opposition has would be no reason for the Communist been fighting!

tarian mass basis for itself" either!) Thus on the three major questions has been sectarian and that its paper raised in the Central Committee Resolu- resolutions on working in the A. F. of I

Party to try to create a "broad prole-

* Chwostism is a Russian word derived from Chvost, meaning tail. It indicates a failure on the part of the Party to foresee events, and attempt to lead the masses. Instead, each development catches the chvostist by surprise and he lags behind, at the tail, of the spontaneous movement of the masses.

By JUAN ANTONIO

Revolutionary Pacifism

In September 1933, the Republican-Socialist government was overthrown

out bloodshed.

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

On the Eve of Great Struggles

Marginal Notes on the Latest Central Committee Resolution

"The Party must take the initiative in the struggle for the unity of the trade unions . . . within the frame work of general affiliation to the A. F. of L.' "The existing revolutionary trade

A.F.L. or its unions as organized units . . .' (But here arises the problem, if voi

to change to a correct political and eco- bers of the Red Unions should join the nomic analysis, but as a result of unions of the A.F.L. individually.

STRENGTHENING OF THE POSI- sense? TRADE UNION MOVEMENT."

A. On The Trade Union Question 1 The Party recognizes that its line have not meant any "real work." This is shown by such statements as "It is necessary for the Party, over

II. SOME BIG STEPS FORWARD

The Resolution on "Immediate Tasks"

The Reactionary Bloc

bearing any social significance, disap-

peared, one after another. The working-

GANIZATIONS." coming the resistance of the trade union bureaucracy and SECTARIAN REMNANTS ("remnants" is good! B.D.W.) in the ranks of the Party. ING TO ITS STRENGTHENING been cured over ten years ago! to achieve by all means, REAL AND WIDENING." (Emphasis mine

> B. On The Labor Party "In these changed conditions," reads the Resolution. (You would think that the two-party system had disappeared for five years and suddenly reappeared!

This is the first of a series of five articles | law passed by the Republican-Socialist

The government presided over by January 25. Samper authorized a fascist concentra-

class movement abandoned its democratic

The leader of the Socialist Party, Largo Caballero, who had been a Minister in the Republican cabinet and a rabid partisan of reform among the workers, changed his orientation. Under the inchanged his orientation of the Communist Party, the with only the participation of the fascist regime in the Soviet Union of the Stalin regime in the Soviet Union of the Stalin regime in the Soviet Union of the Inchanged his orientation. Under the inchanged his orientation of the Communist Party, the independent communists, the president of the Republic come. The President of the Republic come and the proletarian revolution. His disagree-with the proletarian revolution. His disagr

November 1933. The reactionary bloc, the old monarchists who two and a half years ago were overthrown, obtained the upper hand. An unfortunate electoral to organize a concentration of masses, large than the first later to this. It is not the collist and the munist International but the Socialist became clear to all present, that not only the Catalonian insurrection, the role of the bourgeois autonomists and their attitude to organize a concentration of masses, the working class during the insurrection.

ment and short-circuit the sentiment for placement of arguments by abuse." unions and their locals join the a Labor Party, and produce caricature solution says:

C.P. and its "mass" organizations? line which will foster that trend. "Only those revolutionary unions, whose entrance into the A.F.L. at the present time is impossible in practice, aiming above all at setting the Trade There if the S.P. and C.P. cooperate, it will TEMPORARILY continue to Unions on the road to independent brings in the bulk of the working class. exist independently, EXTENDING political action? A Communist Party Here S.P. and C.P. cooperate, it undependently brings in the bulk of the working class. exist independently, EXTENDING THEIR MASS BASE . . . struggling consistently for trade union unity and their entrance into the A.F.L. and HELPING IN THE GENERAL GENER

regard to the A. F. of L. must be changed, criticizing and exposing the reactionary leaders.

PUT TREAT. reactionary leaders ... BUT TREAT. ica, by even greater reactionaries than ING THE A.F.L. LOCALS AND those at the head of the British Labor UNIONS AS MASS WORKERS OR- Party. It wouldn't hurt to reread the old Labor Party discussions and decisions "The Communists . . . must work before rushing into print with caricature in which we often received slanders, in like REAL trade unionists, looking after the affairs of the unions, SEE-

Fewer steps forward and more con WORK in the unions of the A.F.L."

2. The Party makes further hesitant

would have been hon
tons toward limitation the limitation of the A.F.L."

would have been hon
ester limitation to the limitation of th "first of all, the Party must explain in "All premature organizational moves (on the Labor Party) should be carefully avoided."

"All premature organizational its own ranks the significance of the united front in the conditions of the U.S.A." Further: that "the Party press U.S.A." Further: that "the Party press But alas, this is only "on a national must bring forward more convincing arscale." On a local scale, the Party lays guments in the polemic against the policy plans which can only discredit the moveland leaders of the S.P., avoiding the re-

But even before "explaining in the labor parties," replicas of the "League Party ranks" is it not necessary that Against War and Fascism." For the Re- the Central Committee become itself clear about its analysis of the S.P. and "In those states and localities where its groupings? The resolution provides the conditions have matured for the for "particularly strong and intensive formation of a mass Labor Party, the fire against the Right Wing," "an ex-Party then SHOULD ITSELF (em- tremely intensive struggle against the phasis mine!) or through people and middle trend," and against the leaders organizations CLOSE TO THE COM- of the left to expose their "insincerity." MUNIST PARTY (emphasis again These are the words of a Central Commine!) take the initiative in giving mittee more afraid of making an error organizational form to this move- than they are of being unclear. A clear ment."

analysis of the leftward trend in the S.P. is the first prerequisite to a tactical

FOR A UNITED FRONT. Only a united TION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY And then there is the "Four-Type" front which includes the mass organiza-Labor Party analysis with its sectarian tions, the trade unions (and "represen-TRADE UNION MOVEMENT."

(Emphasis Mine—B.D.W.)

(Is this Communist Clarity? or Stachelian jugglery? "Quarrel about tactics," said Lenin, "but give clear slogans!")

3. The Party admits that its method to the party admits the party admits that its method to the party admits that its method to the party admits that its method to the party admits the party a of trade union "work" has been harmful.

type" which the Resolution rejects, is what Lenin was talking about when he reads: "First of all, the Party must ex-"The tone used in the press with reminded us that in working for and in plain in its own ranks the significance

D. Towards Party Democracy

In our long and hard fight to correct the line and regime of our Party, a fight

THE END OF A JOURNEY

Ben Gitlow, Social Democrat

This is the first of a series of five articles law passed by the Republican-Socialist on the Spanish revolution written by one of its outstanding leaders. Because of the suppression of the revolutionary movement after the defeat of the revolution and the death the defeat of the revolution and the death a much smaller number of seats in Particles law passed by the Republican-Socialist government, made possible this counter-fascists suffered a resounding defeat.

It was mainly during September that the working class and the fascists met the working class and the fascists met working class are working class and the fascists were working class and the fascists were working cla the revolution and the Socialists "led

low's maiden speech in Philadelphia, on S.P. that can unite the working class The meeting was arranged by the agency and that the C.P.O. is an exclu-

such ease eliminated forever the necessity of revolutionary action on the part of the working class.

The Cry For Unity

The weakness of the workingclass of the workingclass of the workingclass.

Offensive Against Labor

This situation continued for about two years. The bourgeoisie, having then passed the difficult hours of change of regime, once more took up the offensive against the workers.

The Cry For Unity

The Cry For Unity

The Cry For Unity

The Cry For Unity

The Weakness of the workingclass of the workingclas

cretized its need for unity in a political sense. It was thus that the united front was born under the name of Workers Alliance.

Alliance.

At the independent communication of the first of October, the fascist chief, Gil Robles, forced the Samper government to resign. The crisis had contained out that Provided the first the independent communication. The Provided to the flow opened up by stating that we have entered into a long period of reaction—ary principle for which he fought for explaining apparently, his description.

| tria where the Communists "impeded"

sentence awaiting its leaders, the real name liament than they had in the previous of the author must be withheld.

a much smaller number of seats in rai- the working class and the lastists met wing forces. These would have been liament than they had in the previous each other and measured their respective sadly disappointed had they heard Gitlewis moiden cross in Philadella and the previous of the author must be withheld. for action—that the C.P. is a Moscow

By JUAN ANTONIO

The "Radical" Party directed by Lerroux, became the center of the parliaOn April 14, 1931, the monarchy was

On April 14, 1931, the monarchy was

On April 14, 1931, the monarchy was

The "Radical" Party directed by Lerroux, became the center of the parliamentary forces. The fascist right of Gil Madrid as well as in Asturias. The

Madrid and another in Asturias.

The meeting was arranged by the agency and that the C.P.O. is an exclusion.

Young Peoples Socialist League and sive set with no influence on the labor supported by the socialist League and that the C.P.O. is an exclusion.

The meeting was arranged by the socialist League and sive set with no influence on the labor supported by the supported by replaced by a democratic Republic. This event was the culmination of a long period of military dictatorship. The proclamation of the Republic on the day following a Republican victory at the lican Parliament It was thus that the lican Parliament It was thus the li clamation of the Republic on the day clamation of the Republic on the day following a Republican victory at the polls, was effected without great agitation. There were no dead and no woundard to the relations between Church and State restricts.

That had been relative in general strikes and other mass activity made the government and the fascists understand the gravity of the situation. Cracks were beginning to aptimately and the strikes and other mass activity made the government and the fascists understand the gravity of the situation. Cracks were beginning to aptimately and the strikes and other mass activity made the government and the fascists understand the gravity of the solving to the strikes.

Felix Shows How

The preliminary speaker was David the Appricant reforms were annulled and the strikes and other mass activity made the government and the fascists understand the gravity of the solving to the strikes. ed. The Spanish Republicans rejoiced at less tablished. The monarchists, who in thaving discovered a new type of revolution—a revolution without violence, with—relations between Church and State 1er studion. Cracks were beginning to appear in the reactionary bloc in proportion—as the labor movement gained in the laws cohesion.

The Bolsheviks were for soviets in 1917

The Bolsheviks were for soviets in 1917

The Bolsheviks were for soviets in 1917

The Bolsheviks were for soviets in 1917 cohesion.

Robles Gains Upper Hand

The reaction understood that politics of temporizing could not that the mind that there is something asserting and the model of this "revolutionary" leader is appalling. "The results of the plebiscite in the Saar," said the mind of this "revolutionary" leader is appalling. "The results of the plebiscite in the Saar," said the many make a better job here without soviets than Stellin did not know whether we will need it here."

The Bolsheviks were for soviets in 1917 because they had Soviets in 1905. Where are our soviets in America? We may make a better job here without soviets the united front. The working class was also deluded by this revolutionary pacinism. The Socialist collaborated with the Republicans in power. The bourgeoisie consented to democratic concessions to the workers.

The Socialist Party believed, in all sincerty, that the reforms obtained with the reference of the workers.

The Cry For Unity

The reaction understood that the politics of temporizing could not last the proposed to tell us that the proposed t

the Republican cabinet and a radio partisan of reform among the workers, changed his orientation. Under the influence of the Socialist Youth, and moved by a new drive of the working class to prepare for the working class to prepare for the violent seizure of power. This position of Largo Cabalier was the result of Largo Cabalier was the result of Largo Cabalier was the great transformation which was taking place in the Socialist Party after this democratic experience and the eye-opening events in Germany.

Defeat Of Republicans

To the extent to which class to prepare for the working class one of the "Confederation of the Third International Party, spanish section of the Third International Party, spanish section of the Third International particular struggle Gitlow right. On Thursday, the fourth, in the evening, the government was constituted. He then gave an historical review of events in Germany leading to Fascism and insisted that the C.P. is guilty for bringing Hitler to power. The chief fighter against Hitler, he said, was the Socialist Party of Germany.

To the extent to which the working class somewment found itself, that is to say, in proportion to the growth of the united front, the working class for a change of the tactical of the control of the C.I. on the whole line and not over the evolutionary general strike broke out over the entire country.

And listen to this, It is not the Communist Target lead the class of the collection of the Third International particular struggle Gitlow repring a regime in the Soviet Union.

To Thursday, the fourth, in the evening, the government was constituted. He then gave an historical review of events in Germany leading to Fascism regime in the Soviet Union.

That it with only the participation of the fascist right.

To Thursday, the fourth, in the evening, the government was constituted. He then gave an historical review of events in Germany leading to Fascism and insisted t

Between HAMMER And ANVIL

THE STORY OF A

RUGGED INDIVIDUALIST How often have you been told, "If you

This is where the exceptionalism comes in. Two Americans in this rather Whose Recovery Is It? This is where the exceptionalism

down to an ideological discussion, perched on two rocks in the midst of a damp, desolate swamp, one of them with a raw wound dripping blood onto the tundra.

For hours they discussed Bolshevism and capitalism, America and Russia. But the bread-left and the system of the Braintrust-ers were comparable to the one the work-ers starve in, immediate results would here to the system of the South, earning from the work-ers starve in, immediate results would here it is a beginning in capitalism for the Braintrust-ers were comparable to the one the work-ers starve in, immediate results would here it is a beginning in capitalism from the system of the South, earning from ers starve in, immediate results would here it is a beginning in capitalism from the work-end of the Braintrust-ers would reach no agreement. Finally he was all the bread-live and ended in black betrayal. But

ten, maybe twelve, dollars a day. I get Profits Increase

thing good.

So he came back. Here is the moral to this story.

Fifteen years after he said, "Why the claimed that profits had increased 70% to close down and throw their 250,000 in the first ten months of 1934! (Food, employees out of work, if those workers ment, chicory and saltpeter. He shaved mendously. In the first half of 1934, firms are taken) F. W. Woolworth paid profits were 5 times that of the same a total of \$1,708,492 to its officers and

the great majority of the workers of that their regime is invulnerable. The sleeveless sweater and an overcoat with of 1934 (390 firms) at \$385,000,000. We

fording the militant section of the working class a revolutionary perspective.

It is impossible to tell whether the local section of the following.

The American working class is to take We must see to it that it loses the war. Deal when, in August, it was possible

Coupon Clippers Busy Again

The Bureau of Internal Revenue, in its preliminary report, showed that the net (Continued on Page 4)

good clothes, a car, a good house, every-thing good. Why the hell cay in the hell car y in the hell c Chain stores and department stores unemployment has been liquidated.

But only recently, the Federal Reserve 1933. These are the type of stores, Board made public figures which pro- which, like the Butler chain, threaten claimed that profits had increased 70% to close down and throw their 250,000

At forty-three he looked sixty.

I gave him a dime for a drink, a copy of 32.2% in 1934, which the National the oil industry in the month of August Nazis appeared "radical." The con- of Germany must be drawn to the prob- of the Workers Age and I asked him City Bank puts into cold numbers as a totaled approximately \$23,000,000, a sequences of adopting the slogan for the "Status Quo" were that the anti-fascist In French bourgeois circles there is don't you go back where you came with a profit of 97.8 millions in 1934.

SHOWS CAPITALIST DILEMMA

Poverty and Unemployment | dilemma?" Grow While Rationalization **Cuts Job Chances**

"Last year, the fifth year of the depression, and as it dragged on, the resources of individuals have been cumulatively exhausted. Hence the relief rolls are longer than ever before, including almost 19,000,000 persons and 34 of the relief load is falling on the Federal the relief load is falling on the Federal tools and equipment far advanced over Treasury." So says the National City 1929. It is claimed that the heavy Bank monthly economic bulletin. It goes on further "Everyone realizes that there is a limit, not precisely determinable to be sure, to Government expenditures, as to what the situation will be when the limit is reached . . ."

"This may fairly be described as the dilemma of the recovery program. Govwill take hold and the people support themselves; yet Government expenditures discourage private enterprise."

"What solution can be found for this

LINES HOLD IN STRIKE OF 6000 AGAINST UNION SMASHING BISCUIT CO.

Six thousand workers of the National Biscuit Company have been on strike in New York, Philadelphia, York, Newark and Atlanta, since January 8th. The strike, which is being led in New York by the Inside Bakery Workers Federal Labor Union 19585, A. F. of L., is still solid as it goes into its fourth week.

The company systematically prepared for the strike and for breaking the union by stacking up on biscuits for a number of months so that the plant could be closed without loss. When they were prepared the employers broke the union agreement and attempted to return to at hand. the miserable conditions before the plant was organized. The union is demanding recognition, equal pay for equal work, and longer rest periods.

The strike has received the support of the Joint Board of Dressmakers, the Federal Labor Union council, and other unions. The United Hebrew Trades, thru Brother Feinstone, Socialist, refused to January 1934, our party registered a time is solved only by the socialist state. have anything to do with the strike because of a suspicion that the "Communists are in on it." However, the Jewish Daily Forward did not find it difficult to accept advertisements for NBC prod-

The Daily Worker, which has been popularizing the strike and supporting it without raising the usual cry of sellyou multiply these figures of lost memit without raising the usual cry of sell-out, did strike a disruptive note when writing that Hochman and Vladeck, "are the last several years, you will see how endangering the strike by raising the strong our Party would have been if not red scare" (Jan. 25th). As a matter of fact, this edition of the Daily was on sale an hour before the meeting where Hochman and Vladeck were scheduled to speak and to raise the red scare. Vladeck could not arrive, and Hochman made a militant and enthusing speech is a sad commentary on the impotency which did not so much as mention Communism or Communists.

NRA CHISELLERS

In several plants, the workers, especially bench girls, were not given any time cards at all to punch. In this way they were being paid under the minimum rates without any record of it being shown on the time cards or payroll rec-

Another most common practice is that of requiring the workers to go back to their benches after they punch out at 4 or 4:30 in the afternoon and then work until 6 and sometimes 8 o'clock in the This extra time, of course. not show on the payroll books and is only paid for at the regular piece rates and not at the overtime rate. Such violations as these cannot easily be discovered by an NRA investigator unless, of course, he is present at the plant and actually sees the workers at the benches after the regular closing hours.

From the above it appears that, the NRA Code Compliance Division's conviction that they were doing their work satisfactorily arises from their investigating procedure of studying books and documents which can easily be trumpedup to show compliance. Only when we begin to investigate plants after regular working hours, only when we go into the factory proper and speak to the workers at the beach, only when we speak to the workers in their homes, only then—will we see the true picture.

4 & 5 Course LUNCHEON 40c & 50c 6 Course CHICKEN DINNER 60c SPECIAL LUNCHEON 35c
—— SERVED ALL DAY —— Spaghetti — Dessert — Cof A La Carte All Day - Coffee 35c WINE AND BEER SERVED GIUSTI'S SPAGHETTI INN 49 WEST 16th STREET

NEW YORK CITY

Obviously the solution is to place the 19,000,000 unemployed to work. The solution is simple but its accomplishment is rather difficult for capitalism. The January 1934 issue of the same publication points out, "In machinery industries of all kinds the depression has been a period of intensive progress in design and out of this progress have come Diesel tractors, used in construction. agriculture, logging etc., will show a few savings of \$3 to \$7 per day . . . and instances are cited of reductions of 75% and naturally there are apprehensions in the Labor (emphasis mine) and fuel cost of tractor plowing."

Thus the very essence of capitalism its competitive drive for profits, at the same time produces unemployment—the ernment enterprises are intended to cancer that will lead to its death. "The bridge the gap until private enterprise modern laborer, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident that, the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society . . . It is unfit to rule, because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him the rigors of seasonal or single-industry sink into such a state that it has to feed unemployment over short periods. In a him instead of being fed by him. What period of economic chaos they are lost in the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable." (Communist Manifesto)

(Continued from Page 1) with the splendid objective possibilities

"Fluctuation"

EST we be accused of factional bias in our criticism of the Communist L in our criticism of the Communist Party, in our evaluation of the con-sequences of the Party's inner life and flicting that they cannot agree upon a tactical strategy, we hasten to reproduce workable solution. Workable—but little an official confession from tl munist International No. 24, December employment is employment and the guar-20, 1934. On page 891 we are told: "In antee of employment for all, all of the dues-paying membership of 26,727. In the months following (including Jan-uary) our Party took in 11, 907 new members. That means we should now have 38,634 members. The figures for May, 1934 are 22,564 . . . That means that only in five months we have lost bers within the last five months with for this curse called 'Party fluctuation'." So now it can be told-only in part.

A certain amount of turnover of membership is natural in every organization and cannot be avoided. This is a case, however, of life-sapping fluctuation. It of the Comintern in the U.S. to meet the possibilities, to seize and exploit the opportunities for steady and stable growth. With a stifled inner party life, with party democracy torn to shreds with confusion and unprincipledness in its approach to the central task of winning the masses, not even the finest spirit of devotion, militancy and revolutionary ardor can save the Party from the above admitted deplorable condition. Thruout the Communist International there must be a drast'e revision of the system of leadership and tactics, if a healthy stable growth of the various sections is to be achieved.

(Continued from Page 2)

incomes of corporations had increased 35.5%. Out of a total income of about thirteen billions only half went for wages and salaries. And if we keep in mind that under salaries go the huge sums of directors and executives, it is likely that only a quarter of the national ncome went to the industrial proletariat, the white-collar workers, and others, who make up more than 90% of the population!

What's Our Share?

Sums are being turned over in tre-

PHILADELPHIA

BERTRAM D. WOLFE Director New Workers School Will Lecture On

ZIONISM GARVEYISM COMMUNISM

FRIDAY, FEB. 22, 8 p.m. at 329 Pine St.

Auspices: Philadelphia Branch, Communist Party (Opposition)

mendous quantities-but not to those who earn them. Amidst all these dividends and profits computed in terms practically unknown to the masses of salaries, are lost. But it is these amounts that are supposed to keep alive the millions of tollers. How they compare with the juicy slices of the boss class, we shall examine in the next article.

(Continued from Page 1)

increasing from day to day at a terrific rate. And unemployment figures have now reached the 19 million mark. Do 3 per cent payroll deductions, fifteen week benefit periods, state versus industry pools mean anything to these 220,000 families, to the 5,000,000 families on re-lief in America? A plan which leaves these to the tender mercies of local charity as Roosevelt proposes, or to absorp tion in industry through a thirty hour week law as Green demands, is evading a fundamental issue.

Economically the theory of unemploy nent reserves is very shaky. The accumulation of funds during a boom serves to accentuate the sky-rocketing, the withdrawal of funds as depression sets in and the reserves are needed has the effect of intensifying the crash. Reserves can only be useful in ironing out

For The Lundeen Bill

Under capitalism unemployment insurance is doomed to become a dole-an outpouring of Federal funds to bolster up a reserve system that will not stand by itself. Recognition of this fact means the abandonment of a mythical actuarial basis for reserves. Of the schemes current in Washington only the Lundeen bill has incorporated a frank recognition of this situation.

The Social Security bill will emerge from Congress as a compromise of the views of Green, Roosevelt and the Namore. The answer to the problem of un-

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FULL PROCEEDS TO ASSIST OUR EMBATTLED GERMAN COMRADES IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE HITLER TER-ROR REGIME

TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

tion of the C.P. Central Committee

(Continued from Page 3)

goes, "to be grateful for small favors." At any rate, I think we can detect in this Resolution the first sign of troubled Communist conscience in the matter of lack of inner party democracy. seems to be the motivation for the following passages:

"It is necessary to carefully explain inside the Party the tasks of the reorganization of trade union work, avoiding taking steps without preparation, which can only hinder mat-

2. "First of all, the Party must explain to its own ranks the significance

of the united front . . ."
3. "The INITIATIVE of the lower Party organizations must be developed in every way, giving them leadership MORE ON THE BASIS OF CONVICTION. . . ."

However, actions speak louder than vords. Would it not have been better if the Labor Party question had been freely discussed pro and con in the Party ranks and press PRIOR to Browder's speech committing the Party without decision by its members? (Think of the lengthy, free, labor party discussion in the days of our leadership of the Party! Where would you have been, Comrade Browder, if we had decided without discussion against your opposition, and you were opposed, and then expelled you?) Would it not have been better if the liquidation of red unions had been freely discussed and decided by the membership? (We had to expel no Zacks in our day!)

New Dangers

These methods of "correcting" mistakes and errors by chicanery, by chvostism, by "changed conditions," by fiat from above with no previous discussion by the membership and no previous decision by them, entail new

dangers:
1. "Corrections" that do not correct. 2. No re-education of the Party. Serious demoralization and dropping out or expulsion of great numbers of honest but misguided, ultra-leftist elements.

3. No convincing of the alienated nonparty masses that the Party's errors have been abandoned.

4. No guarantee against return to old 5. No change in inner party life here or in the International.

Some Immediate Necessities What must be done? A few things

that should be done immediately to further a correct line and Communist unity 1. A real change in the Trade Union line. The immediate abolition of the T.U.U.L. as a dual union center; a

speedy liquidation of ALL dual unions without exception; an abandonment of the perspective for the formation of an Independent Federation of Labor*; a public pledge not to engage in union

Read the Literature of the

What Is the Communist Opposition?

By Bertram D. Welle The NRA and American Labor By Will Herberg I Accuse. By M. N. Roy Why a Labor Party? Where We Stand (3 vo's)25 Cents each For Unity, A letter to the ILP 5 Cen's On Dialectics. By August Thalhelmer 10 Cents Gegen den Strom. International Quarterly (German)
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America, their own incomes, wages and Marginal Notes on the Resolu- | splitting in the future but to defend trade union unity:

2. A genuine analysis of the nature of the united front problem in America. 3. A speedy correction of the "left

labor party" caricature. 4. A direct speedy answer to our letter on Jan. 15, 1935. We can recognize that the Central Committee's resolution of its sessions of Jan. 15 to 18, is in part That an attempt to meet some of our pro-he fol-posals, a kind of unaddressed "answer." But that is no way to discuss differences, clarify problems, and remove obstacles to joint work and ultimate unity. Comradely discussion, ideological clarity, an open correction of errors, the restoration of inner party democracy, Communist unity-these are not duties to us, nor to yourselves, so much as they are life and death necessities of the movement and the working class. No number of paper resolutions or ideological wriggles and twists and squirms can discount those obligations. They must be settled in full. The good of the movement nationally and internationally requires it.

> * The resolution reads: "It is now inadvisable (!!) to put the question of forming an Independent Federation of Labor."

BOOKS RECEIVED

ART AND THE LIFE OF ACTION, by Max Eastman. Knopf. 230 pp., \$2.00 Max Eastman "discovers" new arguments for the old theory of "art for art's sake." (Review later)

WHO GETS THE MONEY, by Walter Rautenstrauch. Harpers. 99 pp., \$1.00 A statistical analysis of the distribution of the national income, with certain implications for speeding recovery and combatting depression. (Review later by Economist).

UNION - MANAGEMENT COOPERATION IN THE "STRETCH-OUT," by Richmond C. Nyman and Elliott Dunlap Smith. Yale University Press. 210 pp., \$3.00. (Review by B. Herman)

MERILISM, by Jerome G. Locke, Chris pp., \$2.50. Shows how to "abolish profit and

preserve incentive" by rewarding everybody with merits instead of money!

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