

WORKERS AGE

A Weekly Paper Defending
the Workers and Farmers

JAY LOVESTONE

on

"WHAT'S HAPPENING IN THE S.P.?"

(see page 3)

Vol. IV, No. 14

Saturday, April 6, 1935.

Five Cents

Progressives Sweep Dress Voting!

At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

EVEN amongst yesterday's ardent champions of the New Deal there is to be noticed a mounting skepticism. In general, faith in Roosevelt's program is now assuming the proverbial wafer cake form. That this loss of confidence in Roosevelt's remedies is rapidly permeating Democratic ranks is to be garnered from the latest moves towards inflation made by Congress.

This is the basic import of the House voting to pay the soldier's bonus with two billions in greenbacks not backed by any metallic reserve. Regardless of what will happen to the measure in the jockeying with the Senate and White House, there is every reason to conclude that a bonus bill of some kind will be enacted and that it will be wrapped up in cellophane (commonly mis-named controlled) inflation. Because of its tremendous resources and broad capital base, Wall Street's road to inflation involves climbing especially steep hills. Hence the slow pace at first. However, American capitalism, for national as well as international reasons, is now definitely on the main road to inflation and the tempo will soon be accelerated.

This "shot-in-the-arm" cure, this increase in the morphine dosage, is occasioned at this moment by the obvious failure of the other Brain Trust prescriptions. This much was admitted by that energetic inflationist Senator Thomas when he said the other day: "We have tried everything else. We have tried the N.R.A. and the A.A.A. and almost every other combination of the alphabet we can devise, but we have not tried money." The Oklahoma solon is not strictly accurate but his confession is rather significant.

THE darling, the spoiled child, of the Administration has been the cotton growing industry. The trump card of the A.A.A. has been the Bankhead Act for plowing under cotton in order to raise prices of this staple. For a while, Wallace appeared to be a magician in this field. But it is unsound economics and, sooner rather than later, wretched politics to base serious policy on temporary and superficial phenomena. This much is now beginning to be clear even to the agricultural section of the brain trust.

Pegging cotton at 12 cents a pound, then plowing under, meant decreeing a scale above the world market price. Misery for the share-cropper was painfully aggravated. Cotton exports from the U. S. fell last year by two million bales. Naturally, no one can brush aside the simultaneous increase of 2,300,000 bales in cotton production by Brazil, China, Egypt, etc. Congressman Culkin's finger was not so very far away from the sore spot of this whole situation when he said: "Controlled production of cotton has resulted in three things: First, it has taxed the American people 235 million dollars to no purpose; second, the cotton farmer of the South has lost the markets of the world; and, third, and most dreadful of all, is the fact that it has put a million people, a million human souls in the highways and byways of the southland."

Here is the rotten ripe fruit of national planning under capitalism. This is the way of all capitalist cures for the organic diseases of the socio-economic order in the United States. The best of the Roosevelt-Wallace-Tugwell-Morgenthau remedies—no less than the Hoover-Mellon bread pills and soft-soap powders—not only aggravate old ailments but also breed new diseases.

YET, I can think of no worse folly just now than the sweet and zealous contemplation of victory in 1936 on the part of some hare-brained Republican Party strategists. Hoover's latest howl is but a case in point. His is a voice out of a dead past.

Two very big campaign plusses can now be registered for the Democratic Party. The two biggest achievements of the Roosevelt administration are the disastrous drought of last summer and the devastating dust storm ushering in this spring in the mid-west. These calamities of nature will do more towards price-raising than all the statistical excursions of Dr. Ezekiel and all the fishing trips of President Roosevelt combined. What a great party and how marvelous its program that the blackest curse of nature becomes its greatest as-

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APPEAL OF BRESLOW REJECTED BY COURT; FACES HEAVY TERM

Manager of Montreal Cutters
Local, ILGWU, Sentenced
To Nine Months

The Quebec Court of Appeals upheld the verdict of the Lower Courts in sentencing Frank Breslow, Manager Local 205, I.L.G.W.U. and member of the Workers League of Canada, to 9 months imprisonment on a charge of conspiring to intimidate. Comrade Breslow began serving his sentence on Friday, March 29th, at the Bordeaux Jail, Montreal.

The charges arose out of a shop strike last spring, conducted by the independent Dress Cutters Union at the Manhattan Children's Wear. Comrade Breslow was accused of conspiring together with another member, Wm. Ruden to beat up a scab working in that shop. No names of the assailants were mentioned, no witnesses called; the only charge being that he as head of the union was responsible for this incident.

When the verdict of the Lower Courts was issued, a conference was called by the then independent, Dress Cutters Union, for the defense of Frank Breslow. Many trade unions, especially of the needle trades, as well as the Canadian Labour Defense League, participated. The Canadian Labour Defense League proposed that mass meetings be called, leaflets issued and general mass pressure applied. The trade union officials who were present, wanted to conduct the case along legal lines, agreeing also to some measures of publicizing the matter as well as bring up the case to the attention of the Trades and Labour Council and the different trade unions. The Canadian Labour Defense League then withdrew, instructing Breslow, then a member of the Party, to remain in the

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SOCIALIST OLD GUARD "FORGETS" TO INVITE YIPSELS TO MAY DAY

There is nothing remarkable when a conference, such as the May Day Conference called on March 28 by the Old Guard Socialists of New York, fails to invite the Communist Party, the CPO, the Workers Party, etc. But sectarianism reaches a new peak when such a conference "forgets" to ask the New York Young Peoples Socialist League to attend!

The credentials committee of the conference reported 350 delegates attending; 78 from the SP, 139 from the Workers' Circle, 28 from the Unemployed Union and 100 from the trade unions. The Communist Party (Opposition), the Workers Party, the IWW and the II Martello group gained admission.

When a question was asked as to the status of the YPSL the credentials chairman at first insisted they were included in the SP branches. A check-up showed that this was not so. Thereupon it was announced that in the press of preparation the YPSL's had been "forgotten" but would be asked to send representatives.

The procedure of the conference, firmly guided by the chairman, August Claessens, was to make suggestions which were taken down for the Executive Committee. Claessens fought vigorously against allowing motions to come to a vote, and was, in most cases, successful.

A heated discussion took place on the motion of the delegate from the Pocket-book Workers that "all workers regardless of political affiliation be invited." Although the united front intent of the motion was obvious, as stated it meant little until Louis Nelson, manager of the Knitgoods Council, amended it to specifically include the Communist Party but not the dual unions. It was this amendment that was described by the Daily Worker as "an attack on the Communist Party." Both motion and amendment were lost.

D. Benjamin of the CPO after a stiff fight to get the floor, sharply raised the question of calling the conference a Labor or a Worker's May Day conference rather than a "Labor and Socialist" conference. This change, which was adopted last year and resulted in the most successful May Day parade in years, was sharply opposed by Claessens. It is this sectarianism, this placing of the mere name "Socialist" above the building of a mighty workers May Day that must be fought by the militants in both the unions and the Socialist Party.

PROGRESSIVE VICTOR



CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN
Manager of Local 22, ILGWU

LOCAL 22 DRESSMAKERS CAST RECORD VOTE AS ZIMMERMAN WINS MANAGERSHIP BY 8637 TO 3845 COUNT

An overwhelming victory for the progressive administration of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., was registered in the elections in that Local held on Thursday, March 28. All of the progressive candidates, for manager, for executive board, for business agents and for the relief committee, were elected by huge majorities and all of the candidates of the "Left"-Club combination were defeated by big margins.

The progressive candidate for manager, Charles S. Zimmerman, was reelected by a vote totalling 8637 and amounting to 70% of the valid ballots cast for that office. H. Grossman, the candidate of the opposing combination, received 3845 or about 30% of the vote. The victory of the progressives was complete, the twenty-nine executive board members, twenty-six business agents and five relief committee members being swept into office by big majorities.

The intense and wide-awake interest of the dressmakers in the elections and in the issues raised in the course of the campaign, can be seen from the fact that, in spite of the heavy downpour of rain on March 28, 16,522 members participated in the voting at the seventeen polling places throughout the city. Owing to the great complexity of the ballot (123 names were listed of whom 61 had to be chosen), a considerable number of ballots had to be voided because of the mistakes in making them out. From every angle, but especially from the viewpoint of the unprecedentedly high proportion of members taking part in it, the elections in Local 22 were an outstanding and inspiring example of trade union democracy!

As soon as the results became officially known, Charles S. Zimmerman, the reelected manager of Local 22, issued the following statement in the name of the progressive administration:

STATEMENT OF CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN

In the name of the administration of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., I want to express our profound gratification at the outcome of the Local elections just held. The outpouring of thousands of workers to the polls, so that actually over 16,500 participated in the voting, manifests the active interest of the great masses of the dressmakers in the Union and its problems, an interest that will stand us in good stead when we come to face the grave tasks of the coming period. The overwhelming majorities received by all of the progressive candidates, in the face of a combined opposition made up of the "Left" group and the most reactionary elements in the Union, are an eloquent sign that the dressmakers emphatically approve the past record of the progressive administration as well as its program for the future, that they are determined to entrust the guidance of the Union and the direction of the coming general strike to the progressive leadership that has stood them in such good stead in the past.

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THUGS ATTACK KNIT GOODS PICKETS AS COPS WATCH CALMLY

The Joint Council Knitgoods Workers' Union has sent the following letter of protest to Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia and Police Commissioner Lewis J. Valentine.

"The Joint Council Knitgoods Workers' Union is at present conducting a strike against the Epstein & Hammer Knitting Mills at 10 Stanwix Street, Brooklyn. The members of our Union are engaged in peaceful picketing of that shop daily. However, this morning when the organizer of our Union, William Shaffer and the writer, Louis Nelson, manager of our Union, appeared on the picket line to see that the picketing is peacefully conducted, thugs hired by the firm of Epstein & Hammer jumped upon us while we were talking to one of the members of our Union. One thug, William Thompson by name (this information was given us later by the officer in charge at Police Precinct 83) struck us with his blackjack. We thereupon urged the policeman on duty to search Thompson for concealed weapons and to arrest him. This, the officer refused to do, permitting Thompson instead to enter a building and rid himself of the blackjack. When we were taken to Police Precinct 83, a few minutes later, the writer insisted that Thompson be searched for concealed weapons. Although a gun was found in his possession, he was not taken into custody, but the officers of our Union were arrested instead.

We urge that you investigate the matter immediately and establish the reasons for hired thugs and strikebreakers receiving the full protection of the police while striking down Union workers engaged in peaceful picketing.

Please give this matter your earnest and immediate attention."

Yours very truly,
SIGNED, Louis Nelson, Manager
Joint Council Knitgoods Workers' Union

EUROPE TODAY

By AUGUST THALHEIMER
March 20, 1935

Hitler Announces a Fait Accompli

It is quite safe to assume that the 36 military divisions which Hitler Germany is setting up on the basis of the recently issued decree of universal conscription, existed prior to the decree. As a matter of fact, universal conscription had been in force before the official announcement. The staff of generals which is now being formed officially has always existed.

Why then did Hitler's decree of universal conscription have the effect of a bombshell on Europe?

The reason is that the proclamation of universal conscription and the setting up of 36 military divisions means far more than just the legalization of certain already existing practices.

Germany has now officially scrapped the military clauses of the Versailles treaty. It had previously eliminated the financial clauses. It is clear that the next step will be the scrapping of the territorial clauses of the Versailles pact and that this will mean war.

The individual links of this chain follow logically. The elimination of financial clauses enabled Germany to arm secretly. Having armed herself illegally and semi-legally Germany has now removed the screen which covered its arms manufacture in order to accelerate the tempo of armament. This secrecy became an obstacle to further armament and preparations for war. Systematic drawing in of troops, their systematic education, the execution of grand maneuvers, etc. are no longer carried on secretly.

Increased and legalized armament constitutes—or at least is meant to constitute—the pre-requisites for Germany to scrap the rest of the Versailles treaty, namely, its territorial decrees.

Versailles System Completely Smashed

England, France and Italy had intended to exact certain political guarantees against the imperialist aims of Germany from Hitler in exchange for the international legalization of German rearmament. Hitler-Germany, however, in scrapping the military agreements of the Versailles Treaty on its own initiative and prior to the negotiations with England has put an end to these intentions and has announced to the world that it will not be bound by any limitations in reference to its imperialist aims. Germany has hereby made clear that it will revise the relations of forces created by the defeat of the central powers in the World War by force and violence, which means, that the present European set-up will be completely destroyed.

This accounts for the distress of Europe, the feeling that the danger of war has become greater, which it has, irrespective of the direct consequences and intentions of Germany policy.

It is quite evident that German imperialism will have to create a number of conditions before it can attempt with any chance of success to put its aims into practice and to start a war.

Above all, it must have sufficient allies and a big enough split in the ranks of its enemies.

The strengthening of Germany's military power, the regaining of its right

to arm, has the political aim of winning allies.

What has Germany tried to do by way of gaining allies and what has it accomplished?

At first, it tried to win Italy. This failed because in Austria and in the Balkan countries Germany clashed with the imperialist tendencies of Italy. Furthermore, Italy demanded German rearmament only so long as she herself was stronger and was able to use Germany as a means of pressure in the interests of Italy's foreign policy. This stage is passed and Italy has consequently turned away from Germany towards France.

Franco-German Relations Snap

Then Germany tried to make a compromise with France with the purpose of directing its attacks on the East and the South. But imperialist France was well aware of the fact that once Germany was given leeway in Eastern and Southern Europe, France's position as the chief European power would be challenged and that, furthermore, this would increase the danger of a German attack on France. Thus, this attempt also failed.

The only allies that Germany has so far gained are Japan and Poland. These, however, are not at all sufficient for a reasonable chance of success in a European war.

It is unlikely that Japan will send her troops to Europe. This decreases the military value of Japan as Germany's ally. Poland is not an important military power and in addition not very reliable.

For the above reasons, Hitler-Germany is concentrating its efforts on England.

England is meeting these efforts halfway because of the multiplicity of the motives and aims of English foreign policy. British policy in relation to Germany is determined by the difficult position in which the British Empire finds itself. England must have guarantees against a German air attack; it wants to maintain a certain balance of power between France and Germany and is therefore inclined to favor Germany rearmament within bounds. England is further inclined to grant Germany certain concessions because it fears the German-Japanese alliance. It is making efforts to dissolve the alliance between Germany and Japan thru these concessions. It would like to turn Germany towards the East, towards the Soviet Union, and at the same time prevent France from entering into a military alliance with Russia. Consequently England is forced to limit its concessions to Germany so as not to precipitate a break in its relations with France. The multiplicity of these motives and the contradictions involved account for the weak and vacillating position of England towards Hitler-Germany.

Isolation the Fruit Of Hitler's Policy

France, as a result of Hitler's bombshell, will probably hasten the conclusion of the Eastern pact and the Danube agreement even without Germany and Poland.

Thus, the German act may lead to the complete isolation of Germany instead of winning allies for it.

But it would be a great mistake to believe that should this occur the danger

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Organ of the National Committee, COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A. (OPPOSITION)
51 West 14th Street, New York 19, 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, — \$c a copy
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. 14

April 6, 1935

THE PROGRESSIVE VICTORY

By the inevitable force of circumstances, the recent elections in Dressmakers Union Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U. could not remain merely a poll of the membership to choose a new administration; they necessarily became a challenge to the whole progressive movement and a crucial test of trade union policy for the official Communist Party and the Communist Opposition. By the same token, the overwhelming victory of the progressives in these elections, and the fact that they were found on another page in this issue, is significant far beyond the ordinary union election.

The fundamental issue in the Local 22 elections was plain enough from the very first. Under its progressive administration Local 22 has not only grown into a mighty organization, numbering nearly 30,000 members, but has become the very model of a militant, democratic, class conscious union, the recognized banner-bearer of progressivism in the American trade union movement. At the same time, it has also succeeded in forging a link between the progressive and the constructive and healthy elements of all tendencies in the labor movement—"Lovestonites," Socialists, Anarchists and "non-partisan" progressive workers, generally. For these very reasons, for reasons, in other words, that have made it the admiration of every forward-looking force in the labor world, Local 22 has become a veritable bone in the throat of the Communist Party, the very special nemesis of its disruptive trade union course in all its forms and manifestations. In the growing strength of the progressive movement, in the fact that the C.P. quite rightly sees a desperate obstacle to the realization of their fundamental objectives, which have remained essentially the same throughout all of the recent turns and twists of policy. And so the smashing of the progressive movement, above all in Local 22, becomes the special point of honor of the Communist Party and its immediate aim and object.

Like a reckless gambler, the Communist Party leaders staked everything on the Local 22 elections, everything including their political integrity. The intentions of the majority of the dressmakers, the most elementary responsibilities to the working class, were all brushed aside recklessly for the sake of the holy war against the progressives, against the "Lovestonites." The "Left" group in Local 22 was commanded to form an open and public alliance with the most reactionary and unwholesome elements in the union. Alleged "issues" of the most shamelessly demagogic character were manufactured out of the whole cloth and spread in the most brazen manner. In ponderous paragraphs, Stachel proved that the dressmakers were "rising in mass revolt" against Zimmerman because of the "exposure" of the "treacherous policies" of the Lovestonites. The columns of the Daily Worker and the Freiheit dripped distilled venom day in and day out. By special instructions of the New York district committee, the defeat of the "Lovestonites" was made "of major political importance." The "Left" group of this mad anti-progressive campaign went beyond all conceivable limits!

On March 28 came the day of reckoning. The progressive victory is overwhelming; the defeat of the extreme left-extreme right combination, positively annihilating. By tremendous leads every one of the progressive candidates has been elected and the policy of the progressive movement endorsed. In terms of its own challenge, the Communist Party stands defeated not only organizationally but also morally. It has lost its elections but it has attacked and lost its revolutionary honor. To destroy the progressives it was ready to plunge into the very dirtiest of election deals with discredited and cast-off reactionaries and the net result of all its shady maneuvers is defeat, disgraceful defeat!

The progressive movement, on the other hand, emerges from the elections with flying colors, all of its candidates victorious by huge majorities and its record unstained by unprincipled compromises or shady alliances. The triumph of the progressive movement has been a historically strengthening their position in the I.L.G.W.U. but will also stimulate to a considerable extent the growth of the progressive movement generally.

Signs are not wanting that appreciable numbers of C.P. members, in Local 22 and outside, are beginning to realize into what malodorous swamps of opportunism they have been driven by the reckless political adventures of their leaders. They are beginning to see that it is an insult to the most elementary ideas of working class decency and responsibility. The results of the Local 22 elections will certainly have a powerful effect in stimulating this welcome process.

The elections in Local 22 were indeed a crucial test of trade union policy and a verdict has been rendered in no uncertain terms. The disruptive, still fundamentally dual unionist course of the Communist Party is a dead end, a dead end in which the constructive Marxist course of the Communist Opposition stands justified once again by the test of experience!

Books of the Age

by Bertram D. Wolfe

THE COMMUNIST ANSWER TO THE WORLD'S NEEDS, by Julian E. Hecker, Ph.D. Wiley, 323 pp., \$3.00. Imaginary dialogues between a communist philosopher Socratov and some English and American intellectuals, professional and labor leaders, purporting to give an analysis of the New Deal. Douglas' Credit Scheme, technocracy, fascism, war and peace, economic planning, the Communist attitude toward culture, the role of the individual, etc. The use of dialogues is supposed to make up in clarity for what this process loses in completeness and system. But incomplete digestion of theory (for example: "The reason why a commodity can express its price in money is because money itself has a price") and the use of fuzzy and woolly "philosophical" language (such as "White we recognize the logic of the genetic argument we give priority to the teleological principle . . . Our teleology however is based upon a solid genetic ground and, therefore, we are not Utopians . . .")—such dialogue certainly does no service to clarity.

Add to this a plodding exposition of the party line at its worst ("Capitalist dictatorship is fascism"; "The parties adhering to the Second International are Social Fascists"; "The radical class-conscious ignorance of the masses is the proportion as compared with their total membership than that of the conservative unions associated with the A.F. of L."; a parade of National Miners Union, National Textile Union and other organizations that have already passed up an expanding market and faster, and vulgarization, can contribute less than nothing to the explanation of "The

LOVE AMONG THE RUINS

By EDITH HOWE

A Social Worker Draws Some Conclusions on Basic Aspects of the World's Oldest Trade

He saunters over to where she stands. "Do you want a girl?" "Expensive?" "How much do you want to pay?" "A dollar." "O.K."

"You got so much money," she says, "couldn't you give me an extra quarter?" "Sure." He gives her a dollar and a quarter and she costs him five because after a very brief survey, he flashes his badge. He is a plain clothes cop—and she, having yielded the dollar and the quarter to be marked in evidence, is brought along to the Woman's Court.

She is a thin pale colored girl of about 15 years.

"I'll have to eat," she tells the cop when he, moral and Irish asks her why she does this kind of work. "I have to pay the rent. There is no job."

This story is told by the policeman in court. He probably tells it in substantially the same form hundreds of times and it is substantially true. The girl doesn't deny it except on the point of who approached whom first. The girls usually claim that the officer, dressed perhaps as a delivery boy, taxi driver, or just as a regular fellow, picked them up first. Sometimes, the girl claims complete innocence, insisting that the policeman had to bring in somebody to meet his quota and hold his own job. "He just had to pick on me. My luck."

"Why did you tell those lies about me?" one girl asked the officer of the law when she was alone with him after the trial.

Between HAMMER And ANVIL

TRANSLATION FROM THE CHINESE

All this happened a long, long time ago in an ancient Chinese city, the name of which was Nen-Yor, or as it is written in the Chinese ideographs, NEN-YOR was the chief city of a great and rich province.

But the people of Har-Lum were not better off than anybody else at all. Not had less food, for they had none; no one had poorer houses for they had none; no one had more ragged clothes for they had none. And there were still shops in the city of Nen-Yor which had in them much food and clothes.

Now in the city of Nen-Yor there were few who had riches and lived in the great houses and there were many who had nothing and lived in small houses. But there were none who had so little or lived in such poor houses as the dark people from the South, therefore, many in the great city would say, "Well, perhaps we are poor but we are not so poor as those in the Street of Har-Lum. They are contented with your lot—others are worse off."

This was the prevailing philosophy of Nen-Yor.

In the days of which we write properly had been great in Nen-Yor and the rich merchants had roared peacock and bird's-nest soup and sailed their sampans on the River Hud-San, and the small merchants jingled silver coin in their pockets and ate their fish, but their language is called Ge-Filt, and the production" in vain!

"The Shadow of Gold" comes endorsed by George W. Christians, Commander-in-Chief of the Crusader White Shirts; Father Coughlin; Broker Charles W. Davis; and Generalissimo Benito Mussolini. The novel is worthy of its sponsor.

"\$100 a week and live "like a lady" by simply renting a place and getting some girls."

"How do you get the girls?" she was asked by the writer.

"Nothing except if a girl isn't clean and spreads disease."

"What do you think is the cause of prostitution?"

At First Glance

set! Herein lies real hope for the Democratic party having a bumper crop of votes in these rural areas in 1936.

This is an honest tale painfully told. Again, let no one develop the faintest notion that the Roosevelt crew will rely merely on the evil hand of the Lord to clean up the streets of the Wagner Industrial Bill if enacted into law will be that the camel's nose in the working class tent.

But the people of Har-Lum were not better off than anybody else at all. Not had less food, for they had none; no one had poorer houses for they had none; no one had more ragged clothes for they had none. And there were still shops in the city of Nen-Yor which had in them much food and clothes.

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"Men" was the reply. Just "Men." She didn't say "men and women," nor "the depression" nor "the capital system," but she did go on to explain "men." And for the first time during the interview her manner lost its calm objectivity and her voice was tinged with contempt, as she explained the system whereby one man gets himself super-luxury by a coterie of girls "hustling" to keep him. These girls are satisfied if they can buy (not sell this time) his favor on occasion.

"This situation exists, naked sordidness and exploitation at its lowest, but a more common cause of prostitution, often mentioned by the girls is simply that there are no jobs—that there is delay in getting relief (no residence, etc.) that it is a great temptation to give up a job at \$10 (or considerably less) a week for prostitution at \$30 (or much more) a week.

"What to do about it? Clean ups? Vice squads? Cleaning up Vice Squads? It is a steadily bubbling cess pool, fed by the springs of exploitation the drive for profit. So long as men will pay, girls need to sell and madams can bring both together at a profit all around (according to the money theory of value), so long as we live in a world where everything is for sale and dollars mean more than human life, until the very prostitution with its trail of physical disease and sclerosis of its spirit.

"There has never been any lack of bitter moral denunciation, energetic search and punishment of prostitutes, busy study of the problem by committees, books with graphs, case histories and statistics, honest efforts at purification by reform administrations, experiments in techniques of control or registration—BUT—so far, this has, with one notable exception, amounted to what teachers know as so much "busy work." It has given jobs and slogans to the would be reformers, but it has left the problem as virulent and potent as ever.

The notable exception to the general history of failure sounds like a fairy tale. It is however a hard-boiled current event, admitted, recognized and acclaimed. Russia, alone, in a few short years has solved what to all the world has been insoluble. Russia has wiped the slate clean of prostitution—but in order to do this, she had to ask the whole social system of which prostitution was a natural part.

Through the present controversy in the S.P. the New York State organization has been a towering fortress for the self-avowed right wing. The "Militants" were awake nights and dreaming days how to break it down, how to storm it.

As has been shown, the rights did not come from the Centrist remonstrance, true but launched a powerful offensive. Led by Oneal and the inimitable Julius Gerber, this attack proved so withering that finally none other than Norman Thomas himself cast restraint to the wild winds and thus exploded the appeal to the membership in New York.

... In a frantic desire to keep a majority in the Central Committee all hands were ready to sign anything that floated all constitutional and democratic procedure. To submit to this is to complete the destruction of any idealistic and vigorous Socialism in New York . . .

... That Socialists cannot advocate democracy in the world, and then in their own affairs, practice methods worthy of the old parties in order to maintain power.

"I ask your support in order to save our Party. The Central Committee is an issue independent of, and infinitely more important than any opinion you may have on the Declaration of Principles, or the United Front."

Given this eloquent and warm support the New York "Militants" saw their golden opportunity—at long last. Here was an opportunity of a lifetime knocking not only at their doors but in their very hearts. Cherished hopes coming true! For, doesn't the "Militant" group belong to the majority of the N.E.C.?

Hasn't the Declaration of Principles, conceived and sponsored by the "Militants," with a majority in the Central Committee? In their hearts they had a ready accurate marksman. In the Buffalo battle both the "Militants" and the Rights had one and the same leader—Mayor Daniel Hoan of Milwaukee. Herein lies the reason for the substantial victory of the open reformists. And herein lies much of the reason for the smashing defeat gained by the covered reformists, that is, by the "Militant" group.

That is why we take with a grain of salt all of the peace talk by Public Enemy Number One of the Italian Fascist class. It is a concrete body of knowledge, and far attained. Its accumulated and accumulating results of the application of that method to the analysis of the world in which we live, and especially, to society. Its method is a scientific method raised to the highest level that human thought and methodology have so far attained. Its accumulated and accumulating results of the application of that method to the analysis of the world in which we live, and especially, to society. Its method is a scientific method raised to the highest level that human thought and methodology have so far attained. Its accumulated and accumulating results of the application of that method to the analysis of the world in which we live, and especially, to society. Its method is a scientific method raised to the highest level that human thought and methodology have so far attained. 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PROGRESSIVES GET TWO SHOE POSTS

L. Zimmerman Elected G.O. In Union's Drive Ahead Under Militant Leadership

The official results of the elections in the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union have been released. Two Progressive candidates, Zimmerman and Wilson, were elected to the posts of General Organizer and Secretary-Treasurer respectively. The vote:

For General Organizer—Zimmerman, 2460; Ford, 2273; Mackesy, 1689; Gratton, 544.

For Secretary-Treasurer — Wilson, 3548; Holmes, 2877.

PROGRESSIVES WIN

(Continued from Page 1)

We regard this impressive vote of confidence as a mandate and a trust from the membership which we take very seriously indeed. We fully realize the difficult situation and grave problems facing us today. It will now be our main effort to mobilize the dressmakers for a fight against the employers to raise the standards in the shops and to prepare for an effective and victorious fight for a new agreement when the present one expires ten months from now. It will be the first task of the Union not only to beat back the attacks of the bosses on our conditions but also to move forward to ever greater gains, to the 30-hour week, to higher minimum scales, to the limitation of contractors, to unemployment insurance, to a victorious 1936 general strike! The demonstration of confidence of the membership will strengthen our determination and fire our enthusiasm in leading the 30,000 dressmakers of our Local along the road of militant struggle!

The elections were conducted in the most thoroughly democratic manner. In spite of the tense campaign, the voting went thru in a perfect order, thanks to the admirable tact and patience of the chairman of the election and objection committee, Brother B. Katz. Thru the elections the dressmakers received the most ample opportunity of expressing their will as to which policies and which leadership are best for the Union. Their answer is decisive and overwhelming. In the heat of the campaign, unhealthy passions were stirred up and impermissible methods were used. We now express the earnest hope that all elements in the Union will rid themselves of these passions and prejudices, will realize the necessity of firmly uniting our ranks and will cooperate with the administration in the battle to improve conditions of the workers as well as in the preparations for the coming struggle over the agreement. The administration of our Local, fully conscious of the heavy responsibility falling upon it with the outcome of the elections, pledges to do everything in its power to unify our ranks and we are confident that all those who sincerely mean the strengthening of our Union and the welfare of the dressmakers will support the administration in its efforts at unity.

When I was first elected as manager in 1933, I declared it as the ambition and aim of the new administration to put an end to the chaos and division in the ranks of the dressmakers and to achieve one union in the trade. This very difficult job has been accomplished. I now declare it to be the aim of the progressive administration to unite our forces within the Union for a vigorous struggle to defend our past gains and to keep on improving the working and living conditions of the tens of thousands of dressmakers in our trade!

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51 West 14th Street
New York City

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THE ECONOMICS OF HUEY LONG

By M. S. MAUTNER

When W. T. Stokes finished his series on Long in the World-Telegram, after personal reconnoitering in Louisiana, he recorded the following:

"He (Long) appeals to the masses and shouts against the money interests, though in most cases the latter have lost nothing of importance if they played his game."

Fact after fact has been uncovered. Long's own brother has testified that the Standard Oil backed Huey's gubernatorial campaign in 1924; the mounting evidence has proven more and more that Long is the tool of the vested interests of Louisiana, that his program would tie the impoverished masses of the United States more closely to the vast network of American finance-capital.

It is in this light that we must examine Long's "Share-the-Wealth" program, and explain to the workers and farmers the impossibility of putting into effect even the least "radical" of these proposals.

The Demagogue Supreme

The first step in the distribution of wealth, according to Long, would be to get some of it back by a capital levy tax, leaving nobody with more than a few million dollars (the sum usually varies with the weather from one to four millions). How would "we" get it back? By a law, the constitutionality of which would be denied by the Supreme Court, arch-defender of the vested interests? Assuming that the pressure of the masses would be great enough to force a passage thru of the bill. This is not taken up. Instead it will all depend upon a questionnaire, "just like they did during the war, when they were making the world safe for democracy, so that they might come back here and make America safe for plutocracy." (Note the demagogic attitude, altho Long himself does not vote against war budgets, nor does he even think war should be eliminated). This questionnaire would list all the property of a man, lands, houses, stocks and bonds, factories and patents; every man would do his own appraising, and the government would check on it. Then on that appraisal the property holder would choose his millions out of which every type of property he wishes and turn the rest over to the government.

This is all flung out on the face of the constant scandals of corruption concerning income tax reports! Even while Mellon is on the stands, even after Morgan broke our hearts with his "losses," this nonsense is handed out as a solution. What are C. P. A.'s for, but to shave down taxes for the big corporations, meddle with the books, and thus defeat the purpose of every petty-bourgeois reform that has been made a statute. The very "small man" to whom Long appeals with such ideas, is the one who will not be able to hire a C. P. A., and who is even today well aware of the fact that the "big guys" can afford to gyp, but that he had better have everything in shipshape order or else—

Whose Government Is It?

Now what would the government do with this money? What has it done with the money wrung from the masses in myriad forms, a process of extortion intensified by the New Deal. Let us look at a list of some of the Government Loans and Expenditures. Nine

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heavy price for this, will become seriously weakened. How long such foreign federations, as the ultra-right Finnish, will remain affiliated to the SP is problematical. Only the insane tactics of the official Communist Party, only its strategy steeped in stupid adventurism, irresponsibility and ultra-left sectarian snobbishness has been holding back the movement of many fine proletarian forces in the Socialist Party towards revolutionary socialism, towards Communism. Fortunately, the very trend of objective developments will in time prove more powerful than this costly obstacle.

What's To Be Done

We of the Communist Party (Opposition) have at no time approached the significant developments in the SP from a narrow group point of view. We have, thruout these confusing and chaotic months in the SP, offered a genuine helping hand, the lessons of our own experiences in 1919—experiences which many left wing socialists are now going thru themselves. What happened at Buffalo should go a long way to convince all workers in the Socialist Party who are for the revolutionary class struggle that the principles of revolutionary socialism are the principles of Communism.

And what has been happening in the Socialist Party, particularly since the Detroit Convention and so amplified and confirmed at the Boston and Buffalo sessions of the NEC, should certainly prove to the workers in the S.P. that the Communist Party (Opposition) not only has sound revolutionary, Communist, principles but also pursues correct tactics in the class struggle. In these decisive hours both are vital. Principles and tactics are the yardsticks by which to measure working class organizations, the acid tests of confidence and support.

billion dollars were lent by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in the year 1934. To whom? Over 3 and 1/2 billion to the banks; 1/2 to the railroads; over 1/2 billion to mortgage, building and loan, and insurance companies; 2 billion, nominally to the farmers, actually to the banks and mortgage companies to whom the farmers are indebted; 35 million to business men directly; and so on, with a billion for relief—and ask any worker how that got to him.

This is the record of a recovery finance institution—the money went, and in the nature of the case, was bound to go to all the institutions that stand for finance-capital. Will it be any different with Long's machine in power? Roosevelt also promised to drive the money changers out of the temple—but it was Roosevelt's government that directed the "wealth-sharing" of the RFC.

Why, in the face of the anti-war sentiment of the masses of the people, does the Roosevelt administration present the biggest peace time War Budget, of over four billions? Hitler too promised to use the money collected from the rich for the benefit of the poor. Instead, Germany is militarized by the "contributions" wrung from the starving workers and peasants.

At present, Long has not dug deeply enough, so it is not necessary for him to "end millionaires." He says, "So America would start again with millionaires, but with no multi-millionaires or billionaires." That tune will be changed shortly, for if his mass influence grows, "America would start again" with axe and rifle on its shoulder.

Every Man A King

The wealth, we are promised, would be shared by jacking all poorer families up to five thousand dollars—"At least a home, and the comforts needed for a home, including such things as a radio and an automobile." About 165 billion has been taken from the wealthy, and of this 100 billion is all that is necessary to share the wealth. Let's see how this would work out. In 1929, hardly a year of such stress as the present, 22 million families were at the poverty and subsistence level. Assume this to represent 100 million individuals. We reach the conclusion that each individual would achieve his kingdom of a home, radio and car, on the basis of a weekly salary of \$19.60! Now this is all worked out on the basis of Long's figures, and Huey can toss the billions around like an astronomer. Actually the latest figures available give the national income at 47 billion, out of which you can't tax 165 billion even by a 100% income tax.

Ownership—Not Sharing

But is a capital levy feasible—does it represent a step forward in the interests of the toilers? Either it means that the shares, stocks and bonds, held by various capitalists, is to be distributed equally, or that, for example, a corporation like Bethlehem Steel is to be broken up into many small steel firms each to be owned by individuals; or that department stores are to be broken up into little retail shops each owned by a small storekeeper. Here it is important to note that this latter is precisely what Hitler promised to the tradesmen of Germany—and of course did not carry out.

To break up the vast concentrations of wealth, capital wealth, in the form of vast enterprises of extreme efficiency, is to oppose and deny all that is progressive under capitalism. We, the Communists, do not propose such wholesale

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of war has been removed. If the political and economic difficulties of Germany increase and we are certain that they will increase, the urge to find a way out in war will become greater. Systems of pacts, etc., can at best delay war but never prevent it.

War can only be prevented by the overthrow of the fascist regime thru the proletarian revolution in Germany. The international working class must above all concentrate on supporting the peace policies of the Soviet Union and the forces of the proletarian revolution in Germany in order to make the outbreak of a war which would out-terrorize the World War impossible.

The inner political purpose of the introduction of universal conscription in Germany is the intimidation of the opponents of the regime. It is no accident that the government is again proceeding sharply in the church conflict and has arrested hundreds of priests. The effect of the German act in France has been to increase the reactionary militaristic tendencies within the ruling class and to drive Flandin further to the right. It is no accident that in France Minister Flandin in a speech in the Senate declared bitter war on anti-imperialist propaganda.

In order to continue armaments Germany needs credits. It is above all the task of the American working class to protest in time so that Germany will not receive any American credits. All credits given to Germany today are war credits.

partitioning, because we see that the fault does not lie in the existence of large-scale production, but rather in its private ownership, which oppresses the workers and farmers. Production of essentials can be carried on with much greater ease, less back breaking toil, by large scale, machine-run, industry, provided it is run by the workers and farmers for the benefit of all the toilers, and not by the capitalists for the benefit of a small parasitic class.

And does this grandiose scheme indicate how the money is to get to the families? Is it to be something like the AAA system, whereby the Southern farmer borrows (has to, of course) on his future check which is received by the plantation owner, while the farmer remains constantly in debt? Long hopes to build nationally, as he has done in Louisiana, a vast bureaucracy to administer this impossible sharing of a vague wealth. Let the workers remind themselves of the bureaucracy they struggle against today in their fight for Home Relief from the Roosevelt machine.

Work and Debt

The haziness of this whole plan is best indicated by Long's own radio speech wherein, in attempting to answer the charges of Brisbane, who accused him of wanting to make the minimum \$15,000, Huey assured him that he wanted a \$5,000 minimum. A few seconds later, answering Johnson, Long insisted he wanted only \$2,500 minimum. And if he gets power, the minimum will be a real minimum of absolute zero.

What about the other promises, such as debt moratoriums and public works? All we have to do is take a squint at Long's Louisiana administration. There, highways were built—but all those parishes (county divisions) which are anti-Long were "accidentally" left out of the highway system! And debt moratoriums? Everybody has been promised one. At first it was to be a few months. Now that Long's machine has been tightened up, "it won't be possible for two or three years." Among the free schoolbooks which Long boasts about distributing, "happened" to be a primer of Italian Fascism translated by the consul in New Orleans and presented as a gift to the Board of Education!

The workers and farmers of America must realize the impossibility of Long's theories, and see that these theories are not carried out in Louisiana. There is a very good reason for this. When Standard Oil put up a fight against a nickel per barrel tax, Long returned it—but the debt moratoriums are still promises, and workers on public projects have been getting as low as ten cents an hour.

Dangers of "Share The Wealth"

Such movements as these have arisen before. None stands out so clearly in recent American history as the Populist movement. Where has its "trust-busting" campaign gone to? What has happened to its progressive income tax—do the Mellons and the Morgans seem hampered by it? No. It is the very nature of the capitalist system that the wealth of a nation shall be owned by a smaller and smaller clique of the ruling class—until the system, not merely the individuals, which perpetrates such a crime against the suffering workers and farmers, is completely smashed. Previously these outrages against the monopolies, against the concentration of wealth, either collapsed completely or effected minor reforms, which are today wriggled out of by our masters. But Long's ideas and program are not merely a repetition of impractical ideas. It is the kernel of a movement which is still developing, to tie the workers and farmers to the apron strings of those monopolists whom they want to fight and overthrow. Just so long as Share-the-Wealth sounds good it will serve the rulers of the country. For then, with this most fantastic and impossible scheme, they will be able to maintain themselves—against the move of the workers and farmers for a real way out, the way of smashing the system. The Share the Wealth Program is not intended to be carried out—it cannot and will not be carried out!

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'REDS' ABSOLVED IN HARLEM AFFAIR

Mayor's Liberal Committee Charges Economic Basis Is Cause, Not Radicals

All attempts to shift the blame from the administration to the Communists in connection with the Harlem Riots, were forestalled when the Mayor's own committee for investigation of the causes, showed clearly and irrefutably that "economic conditions were the basis of the riots."

While District Attorney Dodge has been screaming his head off, calling for blood, the report of the Home Relief Bureau showing the 400,000 families on relief, plus the testimony previously presented to the effect that Harlem is subject to the vilest discrimination, completely exposes this would be Palmer. While these events have revealed conditions among Negro workers to be extraordinarily horrible, against which a fight must be put up by organized labor, it also revealed the jumpiness of the city fathers, who seek to cover their own corruption and refusal to aid the needy workers of New York, by blathering about "red plots." The "reds" soon came to include the whole of Harlem. This is the nature of every capitalist drive against the working class as a whole, which they begin as an anti-bolshevik crusade, to carry thru their real purpose of smashing the entire working class.

BRESLOW JAILED

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conference. Right afterwards the union affiliated to the I.L.G.W.U. and Comrade Breslow was expelled from the Party. The C.L.D.L. then withdrew entirely its support from the case as Breslow was labeled a renegade and counter-revolutionary, the Party claiming that he joined the International because he wanted to escape jail. The case was henceforth conducted solely by the I.L.G.W.U. lawyers with some financial assistance from the Amalgamated and Millinery Workers Unions.

This case sets a precedent in the legal history of Quebec. Never before was there a conviction on a similar charge. It gives an opportunity to every employer to frame up and send to jail any union leader who is threatening in any way the interests of the employers. It is of the greatest concern to the whole trade union movement in Canada and as such it must become the task of every trade unionist, of every trade union organization to do their utmost in applying mass pressure for the release of Comrade Frank Breslow. Every trade union organization, every workers organization must indignantly protest this frame-up against Breslow.

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