

WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. IV, No. 21.

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Five Cents

At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

SECRETARY of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr. has at last come forward with the long expected and equally overdue announcement that the U. S. was ready to discuss currency stabilization. Many superficial observers will hail this as the beginning of world prosperity. Actually such an interpretation is just plain tommyrot.

It appears that the Wall Street government in Washington feels that now is the best moment in which it can bargain to its own advantage in negotiations with other capitalist powers over the question of currency relations. If the other countries are prepared to accept terms suitable to the U. S., then all will be going well for the U. S. If not, let the merry conflict go on!

To us, the fact of Morgenthau's declaration rests not in its possibilities as a momentary stabilizing force, but rather in its emphasis of the very critical condition in which international exchange now finds itself. Sir Percy Bates of the Cunard Co. put the issue very clearly when he characterized the present situation in the following fashion:

"There is a war today—a universal war—and the weapons are not navies, armies, or airplanes, but tariffs, quotas, and shifting currencies. There is no authorized standard of international money exchange and every change in a tariff, quota, or currency is nothing other than a move—a hostile move—in this war. The worst of it is that the situation is not officially recognized as a war."

At best Mr. Morgenthau's radio address is recognition of this war. It does not by the largest stretch of the imagination mean instant cessation of this war or the conclusion of any lasting peace. Lasting peace is just as impossible in capitalist world trade as in the wars fought over this trade.

NOT every Congressman in Washington is devoid of all sense. At least some have not lost their sense of humor and realism. Listen to Representative Hoeppel, Democrat, of Arcadia, California:

"Too many Democrats walk sadly in line, just as tho they had no minds of their own, guided and controlled as most of us are, by a jerk-line from the White House to Congress. . . . We are as docile and compliant as a superannuated ox or a petted house kitten."

To the conclusions made here should be added a few words of explanation telling whose superannuated ox or house kitten Congress is. Judging Congress on the basis of its record, Labor has very little difficulty in answering this question. Every worker knows that the address of the owner of ox and kitten is Wall Street.

IT has been said that thru statistics anything can be proven to the satisfaction of the statistics producers. Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer of England produced some statistics the other day to show that Great Britain has already achieved "a substantial advance towards recovery." The most telling figures he presented to bear out his conclusions indicated that "the people of this country (England) sweetened their lives with 80,000 tons of sugar more than in the previous year." The limits of folly for bourgeois statesmen are obviously immeasurable. Mr. Chamberlain might have asked the millions of unemployed in England whether the Means Test was any sweeter for them last year than in the preceding year. British workers might well tell Mr. Chamberlain that if his statistics show that living in the depressed areas was sweeter last year, then, the Chancellor of the Exchequer might well move into these sections and enjoy this sweetness and prosperity.

FINAL results in the French Municipal elections show a marked gain for the Communist Party. Analysis of the results indicate, beyond dispute, that this gain is entirely due to the fact that the CP had a united front with the Socialist Party in certain cases on the first ballot and in all cases wherever a runoff election was necessary for the choice of Municipal Councillors.

This result is to be hailed by every worker, and particularly by every revolutionist. We greet this result not because the piling up of votes will serve as a steel ring around the onrushing Fascist forces in France, as the reformists maintain or as the Official CP of Germany once interpreted its rising votes. Rather we hail the achievements of the French CP because it is proof of the correctness of united front tactics. In the previous elections in France the CP secured a

(Continued on Page 4)

Don't Fawn, Fight!

ORGANIZED labor is faced with a momentous decision—and opportunity. Desperate efforts are being made by the Roosevelt administration to win the support of all workers—and particularly of organized labor—for a renewal of the NRA. Similar efforts are being made by the White House to line up the farmers for the extension of the NRA. Once again we are being asked to back Roosevelt against the "reactionaries". Once more they are trying to sell us the NRA with its sterile section 7A as the Magna Charta of Labor.

What's all the noise about? Why this sudden call from the President for help from labor? What do Roosevelt and Farley have up their sleeves? What shall labor answer? And what should organized labor do?

WALL STREET'S CHANGE OF FRONT

First of all, let's set some facts straight. A very reactionary section of the boss class is now against NRA. Some of these industrial overlords, today resisting the renewal of the NRA, were its fathers and founders. For example, Mr. Harriman, while he was head of the United States Chamber of Commerce, virtually drafted the NRA bill. Today, he is the driving force among the employers demanding its speediest end. Why is this? In view of the great help the NRA has been to the big trust magnates, one might expect all the monopolists in finance and industry to be for its renewal.

Here's the reason for a large group in Wall Street changing front. Many big businessmen recognize the great service the NRA has rendered them in time of their need and distress—some two years ago. But these same NRA proponents of yesterday have now become its opponents because they feel they have already gotten all they could get out of it. They feel they no longer need it. The recovery attained thus far in the country has, in large measure, brought back to them the confidence they were once losing. These giant employers feel that further monkeying with the NRA is useless to them and can only complicate matters for them in a situation somewhat improved but still far from good or stable.

Of course, the capitalist class is not unanimous in its attitude towards the NRA. Some of the worst open-shoppers in the steel and tobacco industries are at least as much as ever in favor of it. Many of the bosses are for extending the NRA another two years. They understand very well the oft-repeated assertion of Secretary of Commerce Roper that: "The government is with business and wishes to encourage it." Certainly no cabinet member has ever dared make such pledges in behalf of labor!

ADMINISTRATION FIGHTS BACK

The Roosevelt administration is fighting back vigorously and cleverly. First of all, the administration organized a Business Advisory Council consisting of big fellows in the business world who are still for the NRA. It has even organized a march of businessmen on Washington to demand the NRA. Secondly, it has organized farmers' delegations to come to Washington as Pullman paraders for the same purpose. Thirdly, it is now trying to mobilize trade unions and to tie up the A. F. of L. leadership in a fight for the extension of the NRA.

Roosevelt's primary agent in this cheap maneuver (which is also part of Farley's preparations for the 1936 elections) is Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. In line with this strategy the A.C.W. and the I.L.G.W.U., as well as a number of unions, have arranged a mass meeting in New York City's biggest hall, Madison Square Garden, to ballyhoo for the NRA, to sing praises to the savior Roosevelt and to hitch labor to the Democratic Party's machine in 1936. The Democratic Party and that section of the ruling class which still finds the NRA useful are simply trying to make labor the tail to the Roosevelt kite, are trying to play labor and the farmer for suckers. Let no one be fooled.

LABOR'S "SHARE" IN NRA

Labor hasn't gotten half a penny out of the NRA as such. Labor has made gains only where it was strong enough to force the bosses to give some concessions, only thru reliance on its own power and not on the good nature of corrupt politicians posing as friends. Where labor couldn't fight and hit hard, the bosses, with the very help of the NRA, rode roughshod over the workers. Under the New Deal company unionism has grown tremendously. Who of us can forget the Weirton case, the Houde case, the dirty deal handed the steel workers by Hugh S. (Strikebreaker) Johnson, the double-cross administered the textile workers by Roosevelt's Winant Board? And what worker doesn't feel hot under the collar

when he thinks of Roosevelt's Wolman Board dedicated to fostering company unionism, breaking up strikes, and paralyzing genuine unionism, the A. F. of L., among the auto workers? Who was it but Roosevelt who put over a 30% wage cut in the huge emergency work relief plant? Thus the president has vitiated the gains achieved by labor in 23 states having laws providing for the payment of prevailing wage rates on public works projects. And wasn't it the self-appointed crew of "friends of labor" in the Senate, the "progressives" indorsed by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. (Wagner, LaFollette, etc.) who backed down on the McCarran amendment for paying workers on federal projects the prevailing wage scale?

As a friend of labor Roosevelt and his New Dealers have been as reliable as hailstones in the sunshine. Since F. D. R. came into the White House more National Guardsmen have been used in strikebreaking than in many a moon. Not in years has there been as much talk of incorporating unions as today under the NRA. What magnanimity to labor under the New Deal in the tobacco code fixing \$10 a week for 40 hours work in this most profitable industry! How happy the hundreds of thousands of homeless, hungry sharecroppers in the South must be because of the New Deal! Small wonder that even labor's most reactionary official, Matthew Woll, was at one time compelled to brand the NRA as downright slavery.

ROOSEVELT DESERVES NO LABOR SUPPORT

Labor has been very patient, all too patient, with the half-baked economists and the hard-boiled politicians of the NRA. We have seen wealth becoming ever more concentrated, the cost of living mounting skyward while wages were sinking fast.

On what basis, therefore, does the Roosevelt administration have the brass to ask for labor's support today? And why are some prominent officials of our unions making such a costly blunder, at the expense of labor, as to organize monster mass meetings for boosting the NRA? At best, it's a case (with some of these union leaders) of trusting the promises of the President and his lickspittles. Now, we are being treated to all sorts of yarns about the Wagner bill outlawing company unionism. None other than Senator Wagner himself assured Wall Street the other day that: "ANYONE FAMILIAR WITH THESE LAWS WILL RECOGNIZE AT ONCE THAT THERE IS NOTHING IN THE PRESENT BILL WHICH PROMOTES A UNION MONOPOLY, WHICH PLACES THE STAMP OF GOVERNMENTAL FAVOR UPON ANY PARTICULAR TYPE OF UNION, OR WHICH OUTLAWES THE SO-CALLED COMPANY UNION. . . ." In reality, the Wagner bill gives first class legal status to company unions. This bill is full of dynamite for labor, tho it be chocolate covered. It lays the broadest foundations for the government encroachment upon the very right of the unions to exist as free organizations of labor. Witness Moley's not too gentle hints about getting some "higher ideals" for labor!

LABOR MUST FIGHT NOT FAWN

It's high time that we stopped putting faith in such straw friends as the New Dealers and in such patent frauds as the NRA. It's highest time that Labor stopped fawning on the very feet that kick it about when even lying low. Let there be an end to all this kow-towing. Let's fight against the bosses instead of fawn before them and their government lackeys. Labor should fight for an unvarnished, straight-from-the-shoulder law to outlaw company unionism in any shape, manner or form. Labor must wage an energetic fight for a 30 hour week law, for social insurance, for a decent minimum wage, for the unrestricted right to organize. Such must be labor's concrete legislative demands.

Instead of ballyhooing for the extension of the NRA, Labor should rather fight for these concrete legislative demands. We must once and for all stop putting any faith in the New Dealer's promises. Promise-breakers deserve only our hate and not our confidence. To preserve our gains, to extend our achievements we must fight and not fawn, we must strike and strike swiftly and not engage in servile trucking at the behest of the White House.

We must be on guard lest we land on the threshold of disaster. Our most urgent job is to break with the suicidal policy of "non-partisan political action" and to organize a powerful Labor Party, a mighty political party battling determinedly, for the interests of the workers in the legislative halls and in the factories. The closed ranks of the workers from coast to coast, thruout all industries, under the banner of a fighting labor party is the road we must choose.

There is no time to lose. Let's act promptly and planfully to ward off calamity and chaos.

N.Y. Unions in Garden Meet

Leaders Ask NRA Extension;
Green, Wagner, Lewis,
Among Speakers

Apparently in exchange for Roosevelt's neutrality on the Wagner Bill, labor leaders have thrown themselves into the fight for a two year extension of N.R.A. The vicious anti-labor character of NRA has been forgotten over night. The smashing defeats in textiles, the direct insult to organized labor in the automobile industry all are forgotten and forgiven by the reactionary leaders of labor. Hillman, Roosevelt's labor-man Friday, is burning up the wires lining up the unions behind Roosevelt.

It was under his guidance that a conference of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union and the Millinery Workers Union was held in New York and a demonstration in Madison Square Garden agreed upon for Thursday May 23. Tho a number of economic demands are put forward the main issue is the one for the two year extension of N.R.A. The call for the Garden meeting calls

"FOR A GREATER AND STRONGER NRA; for the Wagner Labor Disputes Bill, for the 30 hour week . . ."

To make it doubly certain that the true meaning of the demonstration in the Madison Square Garden is not lost, David Dubinsky of the I.L.G.W.U. declared that

"Organized labor stands unequivocally behind the demand that the NRA be extended for another two years. The scheme to extend it for ten months only has already created uncertainty and demoralization in the entire code machinery."

Within the Central Labor Union this demonstration of C.L.U. leaders supporting it caused a sharp attack to be launched by the progressive delegates. Among the outstanding fighters against NRA, demanding that the Central Labor Union convert this meeting into a demonstration for economic demands was Charles Zimmerman of Local 22 I.L.G.W.U. and Brandon of the Typographers. (See report on Central Labor Union meeting this page).

The New York trade unionists gathered in the Madison Square Garden can make themselves heard against the strike-breaking NRA and for such demands as the 30 hour week, unemployment insurance, old age pensions and against company unionism.

Illinois Workers Parade for Relief

Thousands Demand Relief;
Police Keeps Parade From
Loop District

CHICAGO, Ill.—The Democratic administration in Illinois is bringing tremendous pressure to bear on the state legislature to boost the sales tax from 2% to 3%, supposedly for the purpose of raising Illinois' share of the expense of caring for the state unemployed. It is being stubbornly resisted by the Republican minority in the state legislature in order to put the relief graft back into the hands of the county commission, many of which are controlled by the Republican party. Some conception of the Democratic "heat" that is being applied can be gained from the opposition which the Kelly administration has raised in Chicago to an unemployed march planned for May 15th.

Broad United Front Set Up

The march was sponsored by a united front of the Workers' Committee on Unemployment, the Unemployment Councils, several organizations of white collar work relief employees, and all important political tendencies, including the Socialist and Communist parties. The principal demands were for the reopening of relief stations, defeat of the sales tax, and a relief appropriation from the state treasury. A permit for the march—which was to culminate at the city hall—was requested six days ahead of the scheduled date. Up until the night before the march all the pressure that could be organized produced no permit. Finally the Park Commission gave a verbal permit to assemble about two blocks from the place announced. Several hundred police were mobilized to intimidate those coming to the assembly point and to lead them to believe that no demonstration was being held.

(Continued on Page 2)

Central Trades Protest F. D. Wage Cuts; Hear Coughlin, NRA Hit As Anti-Labor

The Progressives led the fight for militant policies at the last meeting of the New York Central Trades & Labor Council on May 16, 1935 against the NRA-worshipping policy of the bureaucracy, against the Father Coughlin movement.

Charles S. Zimmerman representing Local 22 I.L.G.W.U. proposed that the meeting for the continuance of NRA in Madison Square Garden on Thursday, May 23rd should be converted instead into a meeting for labor legislation: for the 30-hour week, for unemployment insurance, old age pensions and against company unionism. The conservative delegates such as Miller of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers made speeches glorifying NRA and the blessings it brought to the workers in their industries. Brandon representing the Typographical Union No. 6 made an eloquent denunciation of the NRA as the instrument of the employers and pointed out that it had fostered company unionism, not trade unionism. He called upon the delegates to advocate a policy of reliance on strike action and the strength of the workers organizations, not that of de-

pending upon NRA which had proven so harmful to the labor movement. Brandon's speech received great applause. However, the conservative majority overrode and defeated the progressives' proposition.

C. T. & L. C. Condemns Roosevelt Wage-Cutting Policy

Another proposal of Zimmerman to protest against the wage-cutting policy of Roosevelt on the building relief projects met with the approval of the majority of the delegates. One reactionary delegate from the building trades had the audacity to state that he had no objections to Roosevelt's 30% wage cut if union men were not employed on the projects. He was afraid that unskilled workers might be hired and trained to become skilled workers in the building industry. However, this was too raw even for the conservatives in the Central Trades.

Another progressive, Murray Gross of Local 22 proposed a motion condemning the Father Coughlin movement as a Fascist tendency and called upon the Central Trades to instruct all the work-

ers in the trade unions in New York not to attend Father Coughlin's meeting on May 22nd. The conservative wing of the Central Trades refused to entertain this proposal. Moe Holland the chairman of the meeting declared that it was none other than William Green who had sent a telegram to Collins, the New York organizer of the A. F. of L., to rush to Detroit to attend Father Coughlin's meeting there when the National Union for Social Justice was launched, showing the close tie-up between the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and this dangerous anti-labor movement.

Nabisco Boycott Still On

A proposal to lift the boycott on the N. B. C. made by the representative of the Teamsters Union which has settled with the N.B.C. was referred to the Executive Board of the Central Trades when the representative of the Inside Bakery Workers Federal Local pointed out that the company was not living up to the agreement and that the workers are considering a re-strike in order to enforce the agreement.

ONCE AGAIN THE QUESTION OF EXPULSIONS

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

Many people are astonished, even alienated, by the sharp controversies that go on in the radical movement. But a little reflection will convince you that such controversy, within certain limits, is inevitable and necessary. All living organizations attempting to adapt themselves to a changing and complicated world and to solve daily new and hitherto unsolved problems, will naturally and inevitably develop much discussion, difference of opinion and controversy. The will lies not in the discussion and difference of opinion. That is rather a sign of health—and of the complexity and constant alteration of the problems to be solved.

But the evil lies in the choking off of such discussion, the outlawry of serious consideration of fundamentals, the artificial creation of differences, the substitution of abuse and excommunication for analysis and refutation, of compulsion for conviction, of dogmatic credo for scientific analysis, of churchly obedience for conscientiousness, of a content for light of the dogma, of the infallibility of the leader for the winning and ever fresh rewinning of leadership (i.e. acceptance of one's proposals) through clarity and soundness, the splitting of the movement to avoid discussion, the substitution of considerations of movement-building, putting the desire to appear to have been right above the eagerness to be right and keep right, and if an error of judgment has been made, to correct it as quickly, openly and completely as possible.

Lenin, who differed both temperamentally and consciously from Stalin in this matter, summed up his view on the correction of errors in unforgettable words: "The attitude of a political party toward its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest criteria of the seriousness of its party and of how it fulfills in practice its obligations towards its class and towards the toiling masses. To admit a mistake openly, to disclose its reasons, to analyze the conditions which gave rise to it, to study constructively the means of correcting it—these are the signs of a serious party. . . ."

Certainly, such methods of correcting errors, help, as you rightly demand, "to prevent their possibility in the future."

AS TO EXPULSIONS

We of the Communist Opposition are not against expulsions in principle. A voluntary movement has the right and duty to defend itself against infiltration by elements that do not agree with it in fundamentals, that refuse to carry out its basic decisions, or that discredit it and betray its basic aims. . . .

Expulsions only become a sign of ill health when they are used to prevent analysis of realities and discussion of tactical questions, when expulsion is used against those who are loyal to the principles of Communism and who are willing to carry out the will of the majority after a fair discussion has been held, till another opportunity for discussion shall come. . . .

Chicago Workers Demand Relief

(Continued from Page 1)

In spite of this intimidation five or six thousand workers gathered in Grant Park and several thousand more milled around in the loop near the city hall. No permit was issued to march into the loop and the police were well prepared to club down any attempt to march without a permit. Mayor Kelly, just returned from a trip to Hawaii and a visit with William Randolph Hearst in southern California, refused to hear the demands of the demonstration. The temper of the unemployed was such that a permit to march would have been granted in the largest demonstrations in the history of the Chicago working class. But the Nash Democratic machine was not willing to let the loop noon crowds know that the unemployed workers of Chicago were demanding relief from some other source than the sales tax. In this whole starvation maneuver to make the workers pay for relief, Governor Horner and Mayor Kelly have had the staunch support of the Hopkins-Roosevelt relief machinery in Washington. Men, women and children go hungry and die of cold and are evicted from their homes while the Democrats try to force the new tax burdens on the workers and the Republicans fight for a share of the rich spoils of relief distribution.

Fight To Go On

But the unemployed and their working class allies have not yet given up

revolutionary leader can live on his past, but must win afresh each day his right to leadership and a belief in the correctness of his views. When he goes off the track, his very past reputation makes a former leader all the more dangerous. . . .

So in the fact that Lovestone, Roy, Trotsky or Stalin served the revolution well yesterday, there is nothing which would prove conclusively that he is still correct and still serving well today. Therein lies one of the dangers in the Stalin cult, or Thaelmann cult. . . .

The fact that Lovestone, Roy or Trotsky stands today expelled does not necessarily prove that any of them was right and unjustly handled (as your letter seems to imply), any more than it proves that he was wrong and justly handled as, official party members are taught to believe. . . .

In the same way, the fact that Lenin before his death earnestly demanded the removal of Stalin as secretary of the Russian Party is in itself no proof that he is not a good secretary today, any more than the fact that he is secretary today is in itself proof that he is the best possible or even a good secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Of course, a man's past is of some consequence in estimating his present and probably future, but his present is overwhelmingly more so.

The Two Five Year Plans

by Maxim Gorki

(In these excerpts Gorki is addressing himself to a Collective of authors engaged in writing the book "The Two Five Year Plans.")

In 1937 the U.S.S.R. will celebrate the twentieth anniversary of its existence and its achievements—achievements which have made the Soviet Union a factor of world-wide significance. . . .

Until 1917 Russia was looked upon as the "Land of Slaves," as the future colony of the capitalists of Europe—immense Russia, rich in raw materials, but poorly equipped technically and fettered by Czarist chains. But now after 17 years of unceasing, successful toil in the land famous for its "tyranny and barbarism," in the land of an illiterate pauper peasantry Lenin's Party has made a Bolshevik out of the "half-starved factory worker" despised by the world-bellied petty bourgeois. . . .

This is almost a miracle. Yes, there are miracles which are the natural result of the work of those who have universal knowledge of the past and understand the events of the present, who clearly and precisely formulate their aims, who boldly attack the work of realizing historical tasks. These are the people endowed with tremendous creative energy and whose will is unshakable. . . .

As long as the proletariat of Europe does not realize the real meaning of its work just so long will the new Soviet masters of the U.S.S.R. be and devote their energy and material for purposes of protecting his country for it is well-known in what direction the bourgeoisie will turn its bayonets. . . .

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AS TO TROTSKY

Now a word as to Trotsky. It would be outside the scope of this series to analyze his role in detail. But this much at least should be said in answer to your question. . . .

Trotsky's services to the Russian revolution are undeniable. It is truly shameful to see how attempts have been made to rewrite the history of the years 1917 to 1920 in such fashion as to omit the heroic pages that Trotsky inscribed there. To such depths does petty, shameless factionalism lead, to falsification of historical truth, to brazen forgery! . . .

But no factionalism nor sympathy of professional slanders or professional slanderers of his opponents, is capable of permanently blotting the record of those years. It is Trotsky's own actions of today that are cancelling out his merits of yesterday. . . .

Trotsky, like Stalin, tried to build an international faction as a tail to his aims in the Russian Party. Both were ready to disrupt the world communist movement for the sake of victory in their own country. . . .

And our new master, the former wage worker and poor peasant, understands well that the most precious, most creative of all energies—energy that solves and conquers all—is the energy of organized, socialist intelligence. . . .

Our book "The Two Five Year Plans" must start with Lenin's plan to electrify the Soviet Union in 10 years—to provide it with cheap sources of energy. This plan has been almost realized through the work of the Party under the leadership of Stalin. . . .

Next week, Comrade Wolfe will answer the question: "Must I substitute a Red Flag for the Stars and Stripes?"

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or those who had actually abandoned the fundamental principles of communism. But expulsion and other measures of mechanical discipline were a last resort and not a substitute for tactical controversy. . . .

I am prepared to admit then, that perhaps a wiser and more capable leadership might have saved Trotsky from his present path. But the fact is, I think indisputable, that whatever the provocation, it does not justify, it merely helps to explain in a psychological sense his present uncommunist, nay anti-communist position. . . .

I agree with you, then, that Trotsky had "earned a right to present his case in the land he helped to create." Certainly, it was not Lenin's way to defeat an opponent who was wrong. . . .

The decisive international questions and relationships came up for discussion by the conference in connection with the following four speeches (1. Fraternal and 3. General NAC Reports; 2. Report on Working Class Movement in Britain by McGovern; 3. Report on the Possibilities of Organizing the Weaker Groups, by Stephen; 4. Report on International Relations by Stephen.)

The program for such a progressive center is not difficult to determine. It is, of course, taken for granted that such a center will not differ materially in its programmatic pronouncement from the main issues that the progressives are fighting for thru the separate groups. . . .

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Toy Workers Battle Racketeers

By H. H.

For many years the conditions of the doll workers were miserable. They worked all hours—day and night—Saturday and Sunday and collected \$15 to \$18 for sixty and more hours work. The crisis made these conditions still worse. . . .

Remember McGovern is not a rank and file but a parliamentary partner of Maxton and among the 3 or 4 top leaders of the I.L.P. Worse was never said by any right wing Social-Democratic diard in the palmist days of "stabilization."

LL.P. Retreats On Russia

The next report by Jennie Lee on the War Danger naturally brought the question of the Defense of the Soviet Union to the fore. In the name of the NAC she withdrew a section of the NAC's own previously prepared Policy statement, reading (partly):

"The Soviet Union is the Socialist citadel in a hostile capitalist world and must be defended at all costs." "The I.L.P. will urge a general strike against the British government if this country is in any way involved in an attack against the Soviet Union and it will do all in its power to assist revolutionary socialists abroad who take similar action against the governments of their countries."

The Conference Agenda

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The Program

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McGovern Attacks C.P.

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BRITISH I. L. P. SWINGS SHARPLY TO THE RIGHT

By JIM CORK

It was quite natural and inevitable that just as last year International questions (war, fascism, etc.) and relations (attitude of the I.L.P. towards Soviet Russia, C.I., Left Socialist Parties, Fourth International) should occupy the foreground also in this year's Eastern Conference of the I.L.P. The sharpest polemics, the greatest antagonism and heat were generated in the discussion of these basic questions. . . .

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By H. H.

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Remember McGovern is not a rank and file but a parliamentary partner of Maxton and among the 3 or 4 top leaders of the I.L.P. Worse was never said by any right wing Social-Democratic diard in the palmist days of "stabilization."

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THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY

By JIM CORK

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Tasks During War

Now, Comrade Lee, purports to agree (more or less) with the essentials of the above, and to disagree with the extreme Trotskyist position. But she has "worries" and it is no accident that these worries have their Trotskyite source. In regard to the necessary diplomatic frippery she says: "Simple workers are confused when they read of the diplomatic phrase, 'etc.' That may very well be true. Workers may be honest in their confusion and nevertheless quite wrong. It is the job of a revolutionary party to patiently explain to simple workers, to lead them, not to be led by them. "Suppose there is a war" runs the second puzzle, "and Russia is allied to a capitalist power, what shall the workers do? Must workers take part in a capitalist war? Don't let us forget the duty of workers in a capitalist country out of respect for Russia."

The assumption here is of a seeming conflict of interests in this specific case between Russia and the International Working Class. Comrade Lee hasn't thought her way thru here. An alliance

of the parties of capitalism are beginning to show themselves, it is necessary for progressives to place the question of a Labor Party to the fore. . . .

The Long Felt Need

The formation of such a progressive center will be an event of outstanding significance. This is the first time that the progressives will emerge as an organized force, since the progressive movement of the '20's was disrupted by the organization of the T.U.U.L. and shunted off on the track of dual unionism. . . .

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THE Annalist (May 10) reports that "the trend of business activity is still probably downward despite an upturn in the weekly business index." President Roosevelt made another speech in this past week. This time it was to the farmers, in defense of the AAA. The so-called program of limitation of production thru rental and benefit payments is supposed to restore the lost income of the farmer. In reality, the increase cashed in by the farmer merely becomes absorbed in the payments on debts and mortgages with which the agricultural groups are burdened. . . .

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May 25, 1935.

EUROPE TODAY

By August Thalheimer

MEANING OF THE FRANCO-SOVIET PACT

The Franco-Soviet pact was signed on May 2nd in Paris and its text immediately made public. The pressure exerted on France from the outside and inside failed in an attempt to prevent the conclusion of the treaty.

The pact is not a military alliance in the sense that the alliance between Czarist Russia and the French republic was, although it will undoubtedly result in military collaboration of the two powers. The role of the Soviet Union differs from that of Czarist Russia. The role of France has also changed. The Soviet Union does not pursue imperialist aims as did Czarist Russia. To the Soviet Union this treaty signifies a measure of revolutionary defense. As far as French imperialism is concerned it was primarily interested in so adjusting the machinery of the League of Nations as to retain greater freedom than it had in alliance with Czarist Russia. This expresses the contrast in class structure of these two powers—the attitude of reserve on the part of the bourgeois state towards the Soviet republic.

The pact provides that both powers consult in case of the danger of an attack and that they pledge immediate aid in such a case. The appeal to the League of Nations in case of an attack is obligatory; the necessary military help, however, will not be delayed by such an appeal. The pledges hold good only for attacks made on French or Soviet territory. It is very clearly stated that in the case of an attack by Poland on the Soviet Union France is not obliged to help Poland. England, on its side, has made it very clear, thru Foreign Minister Simon in the House of Commons, that it does not feel obliged by the Locarno treaty to come to the aid of Germany in case France declares war on Germany in accordance with the guarantees given in the Franco-Soviet pact.

The pact expressly provides for drawing in Germany and Poland so that it can be transformed into a regional East-European pact.

The next step will be the conclusion of analogous pacts with the Little Entente. The history of the Franco-Soviet treaty has clearly shown to the international working class that bourgeois France can enter an alliance with the revolutionary workers' state only with reservations and with such vacillations that the possible aid given to the Soviet Union in case of an attack bears a relative and unstable significance. The Soviet Union, however, was duty bound to make use of even an unstable and vacillating factor to maintain peace in its own interest and in the interest of the international working class. The international working class must understand, however, that in the final analysis it can only rely on its own independent revolutionary actions in the defense of the Soviet Union and the prevent of imperialist wars.

ENGLAND STILL SEEKS COMPROMISE

The most recent debate on foreign policy in the House of Commons led to sharp criticism of Germany. Nevertheless there has not yet come a fundamental turn in English foreign policy. Even now England is not ready to take over further obligations on the continent. England's doors are still open to Germany, except that England is now trying to reach a compromise with Germany by harsh instead of mild methods. It has, therefore, informed Germany that it must not think of increasing its air force beyond that of England's. Austin Chamberlain tried to intimidate Germany by threatening to defeat it once more. These threats, however, should not be taken too seriously because England is still trying to reach a compromise with Hitler Germany. Hitler is quite aware of this and encourages Germany to commit new provocations.

The confusion of public opinion created by the Liberals and the Labor Party tends to uphold this attitude. The erroneous idea that by taking over new obligations on the continent England is diminishing the chance of being drawn into such a war rather than aggravating it is especially widespread. It seems that public opinion in America also lacks clarity on this subject.

England has changed her position only

inasmuch as she is proceeding with increased armaments and that she encourages the conclusion of pacts for mutual assistance of those states interested in the preservation of peace. The latter is a small step ahead but as yet inadequate.

GERMANY BEATING WAR DRUMS

Hitler Germany is utilizing this situation for military, economic and psychological preparations for a war of conquest and revenge.

The next thing on the order of the day is the reinforcement and military occupation of the demilitarized zones on the Rhine river. News reports confirm the fact that these preparations are for the time being proceeding in secret and are being introduced gradually.

Economically and financially the problem of the supply of raw materials and the necessary monies for increased rearmament is up. Another compulsory loan will be made. The first one, not officially announced as such, was made by borrowing half a billion marks from the savings banks, i.e. from the petty bourgeoisie. Schacht has furthermore announced that industry must get the means (approximately half a billion marks) in order to make extensive dumping on foreign markets possible. The industrialists are groaning. This accounts for the fact that Schacht has not yet dared to carry out this venture. The industrialist, on the other hand, are more and more openly demanding inflation. Inflation in a concealed fashion already exists. Its extent is estimated at approximately 13 billion marks.

A new means of war propaganda in Germany is the reference Hitler made to the "poverty" of Germany and the "riches" of the victorious powers in his speech of May 1st. The Nazis are thus trying to divert the bitter feeling of the workers over increased exploitation toward foreign countries and thus arouse their instincts of conquest and plunder.

This is having its effects only on a minority which profits directly from fascism, the great majority composed of the working class and the petty bourgeoisie, which are its victims remains unaffected. Fear and hatred for war is increasing amongst these masses and so is the will to turn the weapons, which they will get, against the Nazi regime.

In Danzig the Gulden has been devaluated to the Polish currency, the zloty. It is not improbable that Danzig is being used as a guinea pig for Germany.

At First Glance

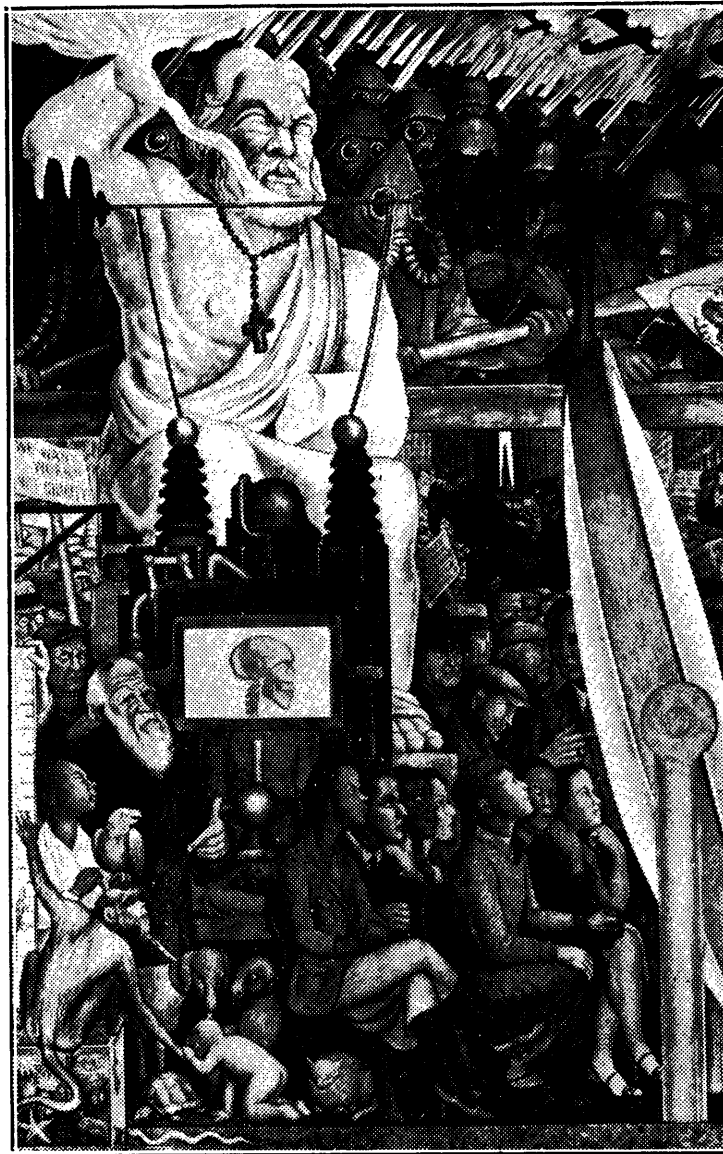
(Continued from Page 1)

huge vote, but failed to elect a corresponding proportional number of representatives, either to the Chamber of Deputies or to the Municipal Councils.

In the previous elections the CP was committed to the suicidal and sectarian tactics of opposition to the united front. This anti-united front strategy was then dramatized by the silly slogan of "Class Against Class." In a fundamental sense, of course, class against class is basic in all Communist principles and tactics. But as it was offered in 1928 and 1929 in France it meant centering the fire on the SP as the main source of bourgeois strength in France and, therefore, a rejection of all election blocs with it. In 1928 the Comintern and the French CP vigorously condemned "the inadequacy of the demarcation between the SP and CP thru tactics of joint lists of candidates, for unity pourparlers, etc."

This so-called pure approach netted disastrous results. Dropping this anti-united front line and returning to united front tactics; the CP scored big gains. We are convinced that if the Comintern and the French CP had changed their tactics thru honest, self-critical discussion, and had avoided certain fatal errors, then, the gains achieved by French Communists would be bigger, not only in the elections, but in fields infinitely more decisive and important,—on the field of extra-parliamentary struggle against capitalist and fascist reaction.

TRIUMPH OF SCIENCE OVER RELIGION



We here reproduce, for the first time in the U. S. A., the first of several murals recently completed by Diego Rivera in Mexico City.

Books of the Age

by Bertram D. Wolfe

CHORUS FOR SURVIVAL, by Horace Gregory. Covici Friede. 127pp. \$2.00.

It is curious to hear the cadences of Greek song, the imagery of the 17th century metaphysical poets and the compressed obscurities of the school of T. S. Eliot cross-bred with those of the Concord Transcendentalists, all employed to grapple with the problem of living in a dying era. These poems are like a badly combined cocktail, good ingredients all, or for the most part, but they don't fuse into a single, satisfying drink.

There are fine lines, even a few unforgettable ones, haunting patches of beauty, shreds of annihilating satire (but you can't annihilate with shreds!), loose ends of American tradition (and you can't stir with loose ends), packets of classic erudition, a handful of little explosions of social protest (about enough to blow up one stone lion on the sub-treasury building), but the poet is too much at war with himself, his manner with his matter and his thoughts and feelings with each other, and perhaps the times with such poetry, for him to succeed in fusing his manners into a single style and his matters into a unified Weltanschauung.

It is a confused chorus crying in a wilderness of steel and stone and flying debris. Survival requires more surety of plan and mastery of purpose. The ringing eloquence that occasionally breaks out in these lines is the eloquent cry of despair, and the poet's last words reach beyond himself to the next generation:

"Only the young
Shall outlive this dark hour."

A SAINT IN THE SLAVE TRADE: PETER CLAVER. By Arnold Lunn. Sheed and Ward. 256pp. \$2.50.

This is the saint that Catholicism offers to Negroes as their very own, in its drive to win the colored people into a church that doesn't Jim crow them. I wish every Negro who is tempted by the offer of equality in heaven and a special patron saint as intercessor, might read this book. Published by a Catholic firm, and sponsored by the church, it is a damning indictment, all the more powerful because unwitting, of the Church's attitude toward the Negro, toward slavery, and toward social organization.

Let the book speak for itself. "Chapter I. The Man Who Liked Negroes." (The heading makes one uneasy!) "His face beams as he approaches the Negroes. . . . He spoke to them not of the wrongs which they had suffered, but of the wrongs which they had inflicted. . . . He urged upon these slaves the duty of thankfulness for the very sufferings of which they were victims. . . . Suffering, he told them, was a blessing. . . . The world, St. Peter Claver continued, could offer them nothing. No remission and no relief from their fetters. But in the world to come he could promise them the glorious freedom of the sons of God. . . . The poor outcasts

fell on their knees, and through a mist of tears worshipped the God who had made the slave-trader in his image, the God of the white man who had torn them from their homes. . . . God was all this, but he was also the God of Father Claver."

All this in the first chapter! Could the role of religion, could the role of the Church as the preacher of "hug your chains and rejoice," could the role of Father Claver, be more clearly expressed? The chapter ends:

"Father Claver accepted slavery as an integral part of the social system; it was the slave, not slavery, whom he wished to reform."

It is not necessary to go on with the unsavory mess: the chapters which explain that "slavery is not necessarily incompatible with Christianity"; that Father Claver's miraculous powers are proved, among other things, by the fact that "he seems never to have touched meat, green vegetables or fruit, and our moderns who cannot exist without vitamins, may explain, if they can, why Father Claver never once contracted scurvy"; the degrading of the intellect with which the book ends; "we who live in a society servile (a new use for the word!—B.D.W.) in its worship of cleverness, have much to learn from a saint who never faltered in his belief that the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God."

The book should be required reading for every intelligent, self-respecting Negro who is inclined to be impressed by the blandishments of the Catholic Church.

THE POPE FROM THE GHETTO, by Gertrude von LeFort. Sheed and Ward. 330pp. \$2.50.

The story of a rich Jew's conversion to Christianity, and return to Judaism on his deathbed, and how his son became a schismatic Pope, and drove Innocent, "the true Pope," out of Rome.

The tale is told alternately from supposed fragments of medieval church history, Roman city records, and Jewish traditions of the period. The atmosphere of the medieval chronicle with its naive thirst for wonders and miracles and its inability to grasp the fundamental significance of the historical events it portrays, is reproduced with marvellous faithfulness. In the genuine chronicle there is at least the charm of naive faith and there is insight into an age long past. But when a writer of the twentieth century studies to be naive and uncomprehending of historical forces, it has an effect like that of an adult trying to play the child. A skillful tour de force but boring none the less.

BASEBALL NEWS

We are reliably informed that Manager Heywood Broun is perfecting a fine double-play combination—Thomas to Roosevelt to Browder.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By GEORGE F. MILES

If the labor press had a Walter Winchell he'd have an interest-blessed event to announce. We are referring to the birth of JUCITUGNYV offspring of the T.U.U.L. And hearing loud cries of "translation please" we hasten to advise that the full name of the youngster is Joint Unity Committee of Independent Trade Unions of Greater New York and Vicinity.

Good Old Days Gone

Time was when this event would have been heralded with the blaring of trumpets and the beating of drums, for would this not have indicated a tremendous stride forward for the revolutionary working class breaking away from the reactionary Green? Certainly it would! And writers in the Daily Worker as well as the correspondent for Pravda would need no shot in the arm to jack up the membership of this body into the hundreds of thousands. Why not give the Russian comrades a thrill?

But alas, 'tis not so now. You can't very well shout, at one and the same time, Join the A. F. of L. and Build the JUCITUGNYV. If you don't believe us try it some times when no one is around. So the Daily Worker is very conservative and reserved. It claims a measly 41,000 membership and the heroic leader of the revolutionary unions is metamorphosed into a mere humdrum "Mr. Nessin."

An Ace In The Hole

With the "changed situation" or as Mingulin would have it, with the "essential changes" in the situation, a lot of fond hopes went glimmering. Among these a not unimportant one was that of the Independent Federation of Labor. You will recall that the Earl of 13th Street even had nightmares about it, for fear that the uncouth working class might rape his darling when he wasn't looking. So he rose at a C. P. plenum and warned the comrades of this menace. There is a danger, said he, that masses will sweep into the Federation in such numbers that its revolutionary purity may be lost and it may become yet another A. F. of L. The comrades took this to heart and worked so diligently that all such danger was avoided by its failure even to secure an earthly existence.

For the time being all are agreed that the Independent Federation is untimely. But you never can tell. It's always well to have an extra trick up your sleeve. So if we can't have a national federation why not have little federations on a greater city and vicinity scale. The first chance that presents itself—maybe somebody gets expelled or secedes from the A. F. of L.—you send out special deliveries to all the "Mr. Nessins" who secretize over all the Joint "Unity" Committees and presto you have your Independent Federation of Labor in ten days, less if need be.

This may sound far-fetched to some but our experiences with the Communist Party members in the mine fields convince us that the feline instinct of rushing out every time the door opens is still strong within them.

We note that the "Carpet Workers Club of Yonkers" was there in full force. This raises a question—why admit clubs? Or if it's a union why not use the customary monicker—Carpet Workers Industrial Union? We hope no one will step up and whisper that being very modest people they consider that they haven't enough workers to call themselves a union. We have seen some of the Industrial Unions and are convinced that there are no such thing as not having enough workers.

The Empire State Motion Picture Operators Unions also took its place at the conference. Maybe our memory serves us wrong, but isn't this the dual—pardon me, Jack,—the parallel union organized by a group of racketeers?

And what, we'd like to know, happened to the Circus Workers Industrial Union, which the Daily Worker reported as having been organized a couple of months ago? Where were their delegates? Honestly, if they had only come and brought some trained seals with them, the picture would have been complete.

TWO FIVE YEAR PLANS

(Continued from Page 2)

producing artificial rubber in Yaroslavl, animal breeding, the introduction of new species of plants, the work of the scientific institutions and hundreds of other enterprises and achievements must all be depicted as one huge school embracing all of Soviet Russia in which new men and women are being educated.

The fact that this school embraces all of Soviet Russia must be stressed because the men and women of every republic are participating in this tremendous work. Every reader must find in our book an expression of his participation in this new, heroic task.

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