

CIRCULATION DRIVE NEW SUBS RECEIVED YESTERDAY

Daily Worker

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26

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(Ten Pages)

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4,000 DETROIT TOOL, DIE WORKERS STRIKE 84 SHOPS

Thaelmann Beaten When He Refuses To Answer His Nazi Inquisitors In Berlin

Gigantic Mass Pressure Needed to Save Him, Says Gallagher

SECRET TRIAL DUE

Quick, Powerful Action Imperative

PARIS.—It has just been learned that on the day following the death of Kattner, stool-pigeon who had been counted on by the Nazis as a chief witness against Ernst Thaelmann...

"I don't speak to Nazis," replied the working class leader. The Storm Troopers who held him were then given the order to beat him, and he was flogged with steel rods and rubber blackjacks until he was taken back to his cell...

Thaelmann, who was arrested a year ago, is awaiting trial on a charge of "high treason" for being the leader of the Communist Party of Germany. He is kept in a lightless cell, chained hand and foot, day and night. No one has been allowed to see him for many weeks.

This trial, often postponed by the Nazis, who fear giving him a voice, even in a secret Nazi court, has been postponed many times. It may begin at any time, and probably will begin secretly, without announcement.

Gallagher Appeals for Thaelmann DETROIT, Mich., April 13.—"Only mass mobilization and mass pressure now before the trial begins can save Ernst Thaelmann, leader of the Communist Party of Germany," declared Leo Gallagher, gray-haired fighting labor attorney in an interview today.

Gallagher, who was present at the Reichstag fire trial as attorney for George Dimitroff, is now here on a national speaking tour under the auspices of the International Labor Defense. He spoke at noon today on Fascism in Germany, at a luncheon at the Lawyers Club for Labor Defense. Tonight he and Mrs. Ada Wright, mother of two Scottsboro boys, will be guests of honor at a banquet at Germania Hall, Sunday at 3:30 p.m., they will speak at a mass meeting held at Danceland Auditorium, 4659 Woodward Ave.

"The danger to Thaelmann's life cannot be exaggerated," Gallagher said. "It may be that the government may try to assassinate him on the ground of attempting to escape. If they bring him to trial, the fascists will avoid some of the mistakes they made in the Reichstag fire trial. It will be a quick and secret trial with the death sentence decided in advance, and will form a precedent for similar trials of other working class leaders.

"Only mass pressure throughout the world can prevent this from happening, just as mass pressure

(Continued on Page 10)

Hartford Strikes Spread As Chance Vought Men Vote

Strikers in Aviation Industry Continue Solid

(Special to the Daily Worker)

HARTFORD, Conn., April 13.—The workers of the Chance-Vought Co. here, one of the airplane factories, did not join the strike of the airplane workers today because of the traditional hard luck Friday the thirteenth. The workers stated, however, that their demands were presented, and they will strike on Monday.

The 1,400 Pratt and Whitney, Hamilton Propeller and United Aircraft strikers remain solid in their strike, demanding 60 cents to \$1.05 hourly minimum wages. The strikers of the Arrow plant were still in a meeting with the bosses as the Daily Worker went to press. Yesterday's Daily Worker incorrectly stated that the workers of Terry Turbine plant were voting to strike. Instead, they were continuing solid in their strike which had already been called.

They Are Torturing Thaelmann! Demand His Release!

(AN EDITORIAL)

THE latest news on the condition of Comrade Thaelmann's health is more than alarming. The fascist bloodhounds, through daily torture, are trying to physically break the leader of the Communist Party of Germany. They think that if they can break him physically, they will weaken his morale, and prevent him from appearing before the Fascist court as another Dimitroff. They know that if Thaelmann appears in court, he will turn the Fascist courtroom into an indictment against the criminal bands who rule Germany.

The Fascist degenerate, Goering, Hitler & Co., fearful of Communism, fearful of the indictment by the leader of the Communist Party of Germany, are adopting the methods of the Spanish Inquisition.

But Thaelmann will not break down. His morale will be high, even if he is physically weakened. Through him, Communism will speak, through him millions of German workers chained by the brutal Fascist regime, will speak.

The American proletariat, together with the workers all over the world, must raise their voices: HANDS OF THAEIEMANN! IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF THAEIEMANN! We want Thaelmann saved for the cause of the German revolution, for the cause of the world revolution!

Comrades: in all meetings of our Party, in the trade unions, in the mass organizations where our comrades are active, a resolution of protest must be presented against the pestal treatment of the leader of the Communist Party of Germany, Comrade Thaelmann.

We must demand his immediate release! Send your protests to the German Embassy! Send delegations to the German Consulates! The streets of America must resound with the slogan:

THAEIEMANN MUST BE FREED!

Soviet Airmen Manhattan Rescue Last 6 Cabmen Back Off Polar Ice Orner, Gilbert

Stalin Greets Heroes Who Receive Order of Lenin

(Special to the Daily Worker)

MOSCOW, April 13 (By Radio)—In a last dash over the ice, the last of the marooned members of the Chelyuskin Arctic expedition were snatched from the fast-breaking ice floes and carried to the mainland. Thus ends the thrilling rescue of 100 of the Chelyuskin expedition members who were marooned since Feb. 13 when their ship sank crushed between icebergs.

Upon the news of the final rescue, the following telegram was sent to Prof. Otto Schmidt, leader of the expedition, and the other members: "Greetings and hearty congratulations to the valiant Chelyuskiners who courageously struggled against stern nature in the Arctic and steadfastly bore all the rigors of the North icebound for two months.

"In accordance with the request of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., the Order of the Red Star is conferred on all the Chelyuskiners, and on Ushakov and Petrov.

"A monument will be erected in Moscow in commemoration of the Arctic exploits of the Chelyuskin. All Chelyuskiners will receive a bonus amounting to a half year's salary."

This telegram was signed by Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov, Kuibyshev and Zhanov.

Six New York Sections Order 85,000 Copies of May 'Daily'

NEW YORK.—Orders by New York Sections of the Communist Party for the forthcoming 24 full page size edition of the May Day edition of the Daily Worker are setting a new all-time record in the history of our "Daily."

Six New York sections alone have already placed orders for a total of 85,000 copies. These are: Section 2, with an order for 25,000; Section 4, 20,000; Sections 1, 8, 11 and 15, with orders for 10,000 each. Additional Orders for 5,000 copies each have been placed by Sections 5, 7, 12 and 14. Section 10 has ordered 4,000. The United Shoe and Leather Workers Union has ordered 1,000. An order for 1,500 copies has been placed by the Cafeteria Workers Union, affiliated with the Food Workers Industrial Union. The Pocketbook Workers Union, A. F.

Detroit Police Brutality



Cops attack and beat this worker in the auto workers' strike in Detroit. (Note the gleeful expression on the cop's face.)

Men In Big Auto Plants Restive After Walk-Out

Hunter College Girl, Unpaid By Relief Jumps from 4th Floor

NEW YORK—Dorothy Scheer, Hunter College student, attempted suicide by jumping from the fourth story window of the college, a group of her fellow students told the Daily Worker yesterday. She is in a critical condition at the Metropolitan Hospital.

The students declared that Dorothy had been working for the F.E.R.A. at the rate of \$15 a month, but she had not been paid for six weeks. Her fellow students declared that Dorothy, who is an orphan, had been dependent because of financial difficulties.

It was reported at the hospital that she had a fractured skull and internal injuries.

A. F. L. Leaders Find It Difficult to Hold Workers Back

ANDERSON CHEERED

Smith, MESA Secretary, in Betrayal Role

(Special to the Daily Worker)

DETROIT, Mich., April 13.—Following the meeting of two thousand five hundred members of the Mechanics' Education Society of America at Deutsches Haus last night four thousand tool and die makers went on strike at midnight. The strike involves eighty-four shops which have refused to grant the demands for twenty per cent increase in wages, the thirty six hour week and other demands.

The meeting also decided in favor of a meeting Monday night to take up the calling of a general strike affecting all tool and die makers and the big companies if the strike is not settled then. The vote to strike which was overwhelmingly in the affirmative was taken following talks by Mathew Smith, General Secretary of the Mechanics Educational Society and John Anderson militant production organizer of local 707. Anderson, who was greeted by applause as he came to the platform, pointed out the need for a militant strike policy and carrying the tool and die fight into the big companies, uniting the ranks solidly and involving the production workers of the big companies.

Nash Strike Is Sold Out In Kenosha

Forced Vote to Return, But Picketing Continues

(Special to the Daily Worker)

MILWAUKEE, Wis., April 13.—The Kenosha Nash auto workers yesterday voted 629 to 376 in favor of accepting the settlement terms proposed to the 2,200 strikers by the Automobile National Labor Board. The demands met were not those originally put forward by the strikers but were the same as the Roosevelt Board proposed, with an additional five percent, which means 1,400 will receive a five per cent increase and the balance on strike up to 17 and a half per cent. About a thousand men did not vote and the vote was pushed over by the higher union officials of the A. F. of L. who utilized members of craft unions, machinists tool and die makers, etc., to stampede the rest of the membership. In fact they separated the demands of the skilled workers from those of unskilled workers in the production departments. The Rank and file fought militantly and brilliantly on the floor, pointing out that the small raise will mean little to the men, as living costs in the past few weeks have jumped rapidly to absorb the increase. The rank and file insisted the strike be continued until all demands were won.

2,000 Auto Parts Workers Walk Out In Toledo Factory

A.F.L. Leaders Try to Stop Mass Picketing, Police Active

(Special to the Daily Worker)

TOLEDO, Ohio, April 13.—Two thousand workers in the Electric Auto plant struck today for a 10 per cent raise, recognition of the union, seniority rights and equal pay for workers performing the same work. The strike was called by the United Automotive Workers Union at a meeting of the workers Thursday night. Of the thousand workers on the first shift all struck except about 100, and on the second shift about 100 scabs went in. The wages for production workers in this factory is 44 cents per hour, which is 19 per cent less than before the N.R.A. and for women only 31 per cent. The department struck six weeks ago, but were sent back in by the A. F. of L. pending arbitration on April 1. The local union officials told the strikers that they can have only six pickets in front of each gate according to law, Ramsey, A. F. of L. union leader, attempted to settle for a 5 per cent raise but later told the strikers he was only "feeling out the company."

Police Make Arrest. At 2 o'clock about 1,500 strikers massed in front of the factory in a blinding snow storm to pull out the second shift. The captain of pickets, together with the police drove the workers across the street on the excuse that the sidewalk was company property and that the A. F. of L. was opposed to mass picketing anyway.

As a result many scabs went in unmoored. K. Eggert, organizer of the Trade Union Unity League, when he attempted, with the support of many workers, to form a mass picket line was dragged across the street by police at the request of the A. F. of L. captain of pickets. Many Other Strikes. Another worker attempting to form a mass picket line was arrested, but was taken from the police by militant strikers. Strikers of the Electric Auto Lite demand a large rank and file strike committee and a mass picket line.

(Continued on Page 2)

Mass Anti-War Strikes Sweep Colleges; 15,000 Students Out in New York

CWA Picket Line at Welfare Department at 10 A.M. Today

To Demand Jobs or Cash Relief for All Unemployed

NEW YORK.—Mass picket lines, called by the Committee of One Hundred of the United Action Conference Against Unemployment, will converge in front of Commissioner of Welfare Hodson's office at 52 Lafayette St., at ten o'clock this morning. The pickets will demand jobs or equivalent cash relief for all fired C. W. A. workers. Picketing will continue throughout the day.

The Action Committee of 100, which met Thursday night, is composed of delegates from many unemployed, C. W. A. and other workers' organizations. Five regional committees, one in each borough, were set up Thursday night. It was reported that the picketing, for return of their jobs to all fired C. W. A. workers, which the committee has been conducting at various C. W. A. and relief offices, has brought considerable results. The Pharmaceutical project reported that 57 fired workers had been re-instated and given their jobs back as the result of picketing.

The Regional Committee of the Action Committee of 100 will call meetings of all laid-off C. W. A. workers on all projects, and then go with these laid-off workers to Hodson's office to demand their re-instatement. The Committee of 100 announced that all unorganized C. W. A. workers who have been fired should go to the picket lines at Hodson's office and there picket captains will go with them to demand re-instatement. The Committee of 100 set up a committee of five to bring before the larger committee all cases of discrimination. Sol Harper, a member of the committee, pointed out that the Department of Welfare has been forced to give a few Negroes unemployed relief. Harper himself was denied relief for a long while as well as a C. W. A. job, but the action of the committee finally secured him relief. Harper urged all those who finally secure relief, to keep up the struggle for the others. He urged all Negroes to picket the welfare office this morning in the fight for jobs and cash relief.

(Special to the Daily Worker) MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., April 13.—The Minneapolis Central Labor Union of the A. F. of L. joined the long list of workers organizations protesting the arrests and frame-up proceedings of the 37 workers who were arrested following the victory of the C. W. A. and job demonstration in forcing the City Council to grant all their demands. The A. F. of L. resolution of protest demanded the immediate release of all the workers and protested against the proposed ordinance of Chief of Police Johannes which would prohibit parades, marches and demonstrations.

In addition to the resolution from the Central Labor Union, the painters union, the Iron Workers Union, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union and many others have joined the flood of protests.

25 Join Communist Party Twenty-five workers joined the Communist Party at three of the series of mass meetings with the Communist Party is calling for the release of the workers. The defense witnesses proved at the court that the demonstration was peaceful until the police attacked the workers. Among the witnesses who have so far been called by the defense were a former school teacher, two ex-servicemen, a carpenter and machinist, all of whom volunteered to appear as witnesses.

An attempt is being made to frame S. K. Davis, the spokesman of the delegation, who is also a C. W. A. worker. New York C. W. A. Workers Protest Among the flood of protests that are being sent in by workers and working-class organizations throughout the country, 25 resolutions sent by 25 New York C. W. A. projects were received by the court.

Huge Loan Totalling \$17,272,000 Given Railroads by PWA

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 13.—The Public Works Administration today brought its total of "loans" to railroads to \$17,272,000 by signing contracts for the loan of \$3,600,000 to the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad. Twenty-three railroads have received this huge sum, which Roosevelt had promised would go towards giving workers jobs.

Men In Big Auto Plants Restive After Walk-Out

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(Continued on Page 2)

N.A.A.C.P. Leaders Ordered Torture, Scottsboro Lads Reveal

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., April 13.—The present monstrous torture of the Scottsboro boys in Jefferson County jail here, is directly linked to a pact between the leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Alabama lynchers, it was revealed today.

William Pickens, field secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., visited the boys four weeks ago in an effort to persuade them to renounce the International Labor Defense and accept a lynch lawyer named by the N.A.A.C.P. Picking in this effort, Pickens, who was accompanied by three white Birmingham "liberals," had a conference with the prison authorities. Almost immediately the present reign of terror against the boys was begun, and they were thrown into solitary confinement, denied all comforts sent them by workers

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Browder and Ford Report On Convention Tomorrow Noon

Workers Win Right To Square; To Map Final May 1st Plans

United Front Committee in New Appeal For Working Class Unity On May Day; Holds Conference This Noon

NEW YORK.—The revolutionary workers of New York will march into Union Square at 2:30 p. m. on May First. Final plans will be worked out for the parade and demonstration at the United Front May Day Conference this afternoon, 1 o'clock, at Webster Hall, 119 East 11th Street.

By their numbers, and their militant demands for their right to Union Square, traditional focal point of revolutionary demonstrations, the workers forced LaGuardia to lift the ban on the United Front May Day demonstration against Fascism and War.

LaGuardia's "after 5:30 p. m. and on" dictum, issued to the United Front May Day Arrangements Committee for their meetings, in a plot concocted with the Socialist Party leadership, favored children of the administration, and the Lovestonite and Trotskyite renegades, to keep the revolutionary workers out of Union Square on May First.

The Communist Party yesterday joined the United Front May Day Arrangements in another appeal for a united front working-class answer to the growing fascist attacks on the toilers and the war preparations of the government. The workers of New York are urged to pour into the streets by the tens of thousands. "So united and determined will this demonstration be, that the city administration will be forced to take action on the demands of the workers," the appeal issued by the Communist Party states. "They will be forced to concede concessions. We can compel them to raise the slums, build new fireproof homes, and feed the hungry. We can beat back the LaGuardia 'economy' program of wage cuts for the workers and millions of dollars for the bankers."

KOREAN NIGHT
Saturday, April 14
8 P. M.
Workers Center
50 EAST 13TH STREET
Dance Orchestra—Pioneer Play
Chow Mein—Refreshments
Korean, Japanese, Chinese Speakers.
Also a Party Representative
Admission 25c.

DINNER and COCKTAIL PARTY
Medical Units—Workers Int. Relief
SUNDAY, APRIL 15, at 7 P. M.
GOLDE TEA SHOPPE
45 WEST 39th STREET
Entertainment—Ticket \$1.25

UNITY THEATRE
24-26 East 23d St., N. Y. C.
Presents on Sat. Eve., April 14
"Credo," "Class Collaboration," "Death of Jehovah," "Broadway, 1933"
DANCING
Refreshments—Adm. 35 Cents

Lecture
Understanding Lamont on Soviet Russia
THURS., APRIL 19, 8:30 P. M.
DE WITT CLINTON H. S.
Moshulu Parkway—Subway Sta.
Admission: Bronx Boro Branches
F. S. U. Admission 25c

TONIGHT
Daily Worker Chorus
DANCE ENTERTAINMENT
35 East 12th St.—5th Floor
Admission 25c.
at 9 P. M.

DANCE and ENTERTAINMENT
Given by
China and Glass
Decorators Int. Union
Saturday, April 14, at 8:30 P. M.
IRVING PLAZA
Admission 45c.

SPRING FESTIVAL
Saturday, Apr. 14th
8 P. M. —
Manhattan Lyceum
64 EAST 4th STREET
F. S. U. BALALAIKA ORCHESTRA
Admission: 50c
NATURE FRIENDS

METROPOLITAN ITALIAN FESTIVAL
For the Benefit of
"L'UNITA OPERAIA"
Italian Workingclass Weekly Newspaper
Sunday, April 15, 1934
Irving Plaza Hall
15th Street and Irving Place, New York City
Ticket 50 Cents

Workers to Hear Decisions of 8th Convention of C.P.

Star Casino Meet Open to Members of All Mass Organizations

NEW YORK.—The first report to be given in the New York district on the recent historic 8th national convention of the Communist Party will be made by Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party, and James W. Ford, Harlem Section Organizer, at a joint membership meeting of the Harlem Section and mass organizations this Sunday, 2 o'clock, at New Star Casino, 107th Street and Park Ave.

The mass organizations of Upper and Lower Harlem, Yorkville and Washington Heights have selected one of their leading members to greet the assembly.

Hail 12th Year of Morning Freiheit At Meet Tonight

Browder, Olgin to Talk At Bronx Coliseum Meeting

NEW YORK.—The twelfth anniversary of the Jewish language Communist daily, the "Morning Freiheit," will be celebrated tonight when workers from all sections of the city will gather at the Bronx Coliseum.

Maxim Gorky's revolutionary masterpiece, "The Songbird," adapted into Jewish by M. Olgin, Freiheit editor, will be featured. It will be presented as a mass pageant, rendered jointly by the ARTEF Players, the Freiheit Gesang Verein, and the ARTEF Dance Group. The famous "Hail Johnson Negro Quartette will present a program of songs.

Manhattan Cabmen Vote Confidence in Orner and Gilbert

Against This Savage Torture of the Boys, Aimed to Break their Militant Spirit and Deliver them Bound into the Hands of the Lynchers and their N.A.A.C.P. agents, the workers and intellectuals of the whole country must demand their immediate release.

On another occasion he told them that the Rev. Taggart frequently came to the jail and told him that "if the boys ever want to change to the N.A.A.C.P., just give me a ring."

In the morning, the Manhattan hackmen unanimously declared themselves against the plan of the Socialist leaders and Samuel Smith and Herman Goldstein to split the union by herding the men of the Bronx and Brooklyn locals into the graft-ridden American Federation of Labor.

Besides voting full confidence in Samuel Orner and Joseph Gilbert, the Manhattan drivers voted for a resolution demanding an accounting of the union funds which were taken over by Weiner, Maurer and Rubin, the Tammany clique of underworld characters who are working with Judge Panken, Amicus Most, Matthew Levy and other leaders of the Socialist Party to split the union.

The hackmen also elected a committee of 50 to go to the 42nd St. headquarters of the union to demand that the records and property of the union be turned over to the garage chairmen. A temporary headquarters of the Manhattan local has been set up at 131 W. 28th St. by the garage chairmen, headed by Samuel Orner, Joseph Gilbert and Harry Cantor.

Late Thursday night Orner and Gilbert made a tour of the Manhattan hackstands. They were greeted on every corner by the drivers, who pledged to support the fight to maintain their independent union and to smash the attempts of the Socialist leaders and professional gangsters and thieves to split their ranks.

The gangsters, who, with the support of the Socialist leaders are holding the fort in the 42nd Street offices, took on the appearance yesterday of generals without an army. For the majority of the rank and file hackmen remained away from the headquarters and refused to pay dues to the self-appointed leaders. The men were coming to the temporary headquarters at 131 W. 28th Street.

Voicing the opinion of the two meetings of Manhattan hackmen, Samuel Orner, president of the union, stated that through the garage committees the drivers will continue to build a fighting independent union free from racketeers and not connected with the corrupt American Federation of Labor leadership, which recently put the notorious auto pact sanctioning company unions.

Nash Strikers Are Sold Out in Kenosha

(Continued from Page 1)

not to go back to work until all three unions accept settlement. Nash workers are again picketing, since the Milwaukee Seaman workers have not yet accepted the settlement.

The morning after the meeting in Kenosha many workers who voted for settlement changed their mind and now see through the promises of officials. The settlement did not include recognition of the union or department representation of workers. The Seaman strike is still on and a mass meeting is being held this afternoon for a vote on settlement where the rank and file group will battle to reject settlement.

Chances for rejection are good and in event this occurs workers will immediately set up a broad strike committee and send a delegation to Kenosha to have them reconsider their vote. Richard I. Byrd of the National Automobile Board will be at the Seaman meeting to help put over the attempted sell out.

N.A.A.C.P. Leaders Ordered Torture of Scottsboro Boys

(Continued from Page 1)

hama authorities who for three years have been attempting to burn the nine innocent Negro boys in the electric chair, is further revealed in agitation in the lynch press Negro support of the N.A.A.C.P. leadership and its traitorous policies. The press campaign is led by John Temple Graves, leading ideologist of the Southern lynchers and columnist on the Negro-hating Birmingham Age-Herald.

Deputy Warden Dan Rogers of Jefferson County jail, it is revealed, has been made the direct N.A.A.C.P. agent within the prison.

It was on his recommendation that the boys have been put into solitary confinement, following fight started with them by stool-peddlers planted in their cells by Rogers.

"If any of you niggers want to change to the N.A.A.C.P., let me know and I'll call them," Rogers told the boys.

"If you were dying I'd never tell the I.L.D.," he said at another time, "but if you had the N.A.A.C.P. and just got sick I'd call them on the phone right away. You keep the I.L.D. and you're going to catch hell."

On another occasion he told them that the Rev. Taggart frequently came to the jail and told him that "if the boys ever want to change to the N.A.A.C.P., just give me a ring."

Boys Retain Fighting Unity
To all these tortures, it is reported by their visitor, the Scottsboro boys have answered by an even firmer expression of their faith in the International Labor Defense and the millions of white and Negro toilers throughout the world who have rallied to their defense.

Against this savage torture of the boys, aimed to break their militant spirit and deliver them bound into the hands of the lynchers and their N.A.A.C.P. agents, the workers and intellectuals of the whole country must demand their immediate release. Support the plans of the International Labor Defense for the intensification of the Scottsboro campaign this month, and for gigantic protest demonstrations throughout the whole world on April 25!

It is necessary that the militants check the tendency of Smith to confront the organization and the strike committee with accomplished facts which are contrary to the decisions of the rank and file and which nullify their powers. This is instanced by the misuse of his powers to carry on negotiations in isolation from the rank and file of the A. F. of L. and the Auto Workers Union.

Police Active
Police are active in the tool and diemakers' strike with scout cars and cruisers, watching tool shops and protecting scabs.

The situation in other sections of the industry remains turbulent. The A. F. of L. Hudson workers are awaiting the outcome of the negotiations of the officials for their wage increase and Pontiac workers have put their demands for increased wages, equal pay for men and women, a 30-hour week with 36 the maximum during busy seasons, no work on Saturday and Sunday except in an emergency, doubling of pay in case of emergency. Alexander Marks, A. F. of L. Pontiac organizer, talked about strike evidently under the pressure of the workers, but talk of strike met with a sharp denial by Collins, who stated, according to the Detroit Times today, that "if anyone says we are attempting to disrupt the peaceful settlement of our difficulties he is in error. As the regular spokesman for the American Federation of Labor I know of nothing of any plans for a strike."

Clark Students Hit War Moves
WORCESTER, Mass., April 13.—Over 300 students at Clark University demonstrated against war on the campus grounds in a one hour strike at 11 a. m. today.

4,000 Detroit Auto Tool Makers Strike, Big Plants Restive

(Continued from Page 1)

person. A proposal from the floor to call back Griffin (J. J. Griffin a reactionary field organizer for the society) to manage the strike was met with boos and hisses from the meeting.

The mass meeting repudiates the policy of Smith of turning over the membership rolls to the scab Terstedt and Fisher Body Corporation. A worker from the floor demanded to know "by what authority did Secretary Smith offer to show the membership rolls of Terstedt and Fisher Body employees to Edward Fisher (general manager of Fisher Body Corporation)." Smith explained that he was opposed to this but that the membership of both organizations had voted in favor of it.

A press statement, undated by Smith, on Tuesday and Wednesday quoted him as favoring the turning over of these books.

Refuse to Show Rolls
On this question John Anderson stated at the meeting that the full District Committee should go down to the workers of these plants and induce them to refuse their membership rolls and an immediate motion for a militant trade union dissent that "no MESA membership rolls shall be shown to anyone not connected with the organization, no matter who the person may be who wants to see them."

Thousands Strike in Brooklyn
In Brooklyn College 3,500 out of the 6,000 students who attend marched out of the various divisions of the school in a body promptly at 11 o'clock and united with 300 students from Long Island University and 250 from Seth Low Junior College. They marched to L.L.U. where a meeting was held for an hour guarded by 400 police. The strike led by the N.S.L. and the L.I.D. received the full support of the Student Council and faculty.

Over a thousand students gathered in the park at the Washington Square branch of New York University and heard Robert Gessner and several other instructors and students speak against war. The speakers represented the National Student League, the American League Against War and Fascism, the Menorah Club and several other school societies. Attempts by police to disrupt the meeting on the excuse that the flag was too small, failed. Many instructors dismissed their classes and urged the students to join in the strike.

CNYS Students Arrested
Over 700 students in the 23rd St. branch of City College streamed out of their classrooms in response to a strike call issued by the National Student League yesterday and gathered in Madison Square Park to hear speakers denounce the R.O. T.C. demand the reinstatement of the students expelled for anti-R.O. T.C. activity, and demand that the dean cease his intimidation of students.

More than a hundred students of Townsend Harris High School joined in the demonstration and strike. Earlier in the morning police arrested two students who were distributing strike leaflets.

Hunter Girls Strike
In the Bronx annex of Hunter College the girl students distributed leaflets in the morning calling on the students to strike against war and war preparations. Many gathered in a picket line around the school carrying placards. The police, called by the school administration, attempted to disperse the strikers. Despite this, 400 students left their classrooms and joined in the mass meeting outside.

The Student Council had voted against the strike when the president of the college had threatened to expel anybody who struck.

On the Columbia campus at 11 o'clock when faculty members and student leaders of the Social Problems Club, branch of the National Student League, addressed a meeting of about 1,200 students.

A short distance away 200 curious others listened skeptically to an outside small fascist leader rail at Jews, Communists, Irish and foreigners in general. Intimidation by administrations was especially strong in the high school, but the students defied the school authorities and police called by them and held several successful strike meetings outside the school.

A. M. Clark, principal of De Witt Clinton, attempting to outwit the students by calling an assembly just before 11 a. m. in which he threatened to expel any student who struck. When the students gathered in front of the library and walk they were met by several plainclothesmen and five police cars, who forcibly kept them inside the building.

High School Students Hit War
About 1,000 students of Thomas Jefferson High School in Brooklyn marched out of their classrooms a little after 11 a. m. in defiance of 32 policemen called by the principal, and held mass picketing in front of the schools. The demonstration swelled to double its size as workers of the neighborhood joined in.

Eight youths, arrested Thursday evening at the New Lots Evening High School where police attacked 2,000 students and young workers who were demonstrating against war, came up in court yesterday morning. Six were freed and two were held for disorderly conduct. They were defended by Attorney Goldberg of the International Labor Defense.

Haward Students Strike
CAMBRIDGE, Mass., April 13.—Five hundred students led by the National Student League and the League for Industrial Democracy demonstrated in the Harvard University yard in a one-hour strike against war, while 2,000 of the Harvard "elite" looked on curiously.

Hotel Unions Move to Unite Their Forces

New Leaders of the Amalgamated Ask to Unite With FWIU

NEW YORK.—The newly elected Central Executive Committee of the Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, 915 Eighth Ave., following a meeting held Thursday, announced that the union would take immediate steps to amalgamate its forces with Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, Local 119 of the Food Workers Industrial Union, 60 W. 43rd St.

This move, the newly elected officials of the union said, would unite all forces of the hotel and restaurant workers into a more effective and fighting force.

During the recent hotel and restaurant strike many attempts were made on the part of the rank and file of the Amalgamated to unite forces with the Food Workers Industrial Union, but each time Messrs. Field, Cannon, Gihlow and other leaders and guiding hands of the union opposed such a move. These gentlemen steered the strike to defeat.

Following the defeat of the strike, when a large number of strikers were discriminated against and blacklisted, the rank and file of the union voted to oust the old leadership and set up their own executive committee.

It is this rank and file executive committee backed by the membership of the union that is leading the move to unite the two unions into a formidable weapon against the hotel and restaurant owners.

Fur Dressers Vote for Strike in Protest Against Wage Cut

NEW YORK.—At a shop conference of the Fur Rabbit Dressers on Wednesday, April 11, at Regt Hall, 638 Lorimer St., Brooklyn, N. Y., it was unanimously decided to declare a general strike in the Rabbit Dressing Industry in New York and vicinity, after they listened to a report by Samuel Burt, Manager of the Fur Dressers and Dyers Industrial Union, in which he declared that a number of shops, including the shop of Sam Mittleman, president of the Rabbit Dressers Association, which has reduced the price from \$2.10 to \$1.50 and less per hundred skins.

At a meeting of the Compliance Board of Code Authority held Thursday it was revealed that Mr. Luccchi, president of the International Furriers, and Moe Harris, business agent of local 85, had negotiated a secret agreement with Samuel Mittleman, president of the Rabbit Dressers Association, to cut the wages of the workers.

The agreement designates that as long as the service charge will be 7 and 7½ cents, the workers will receive \$2.10 per hundred for fleshing, but as soon as the charge will be abolished the International officials agree to cut the wages of the workers.

Workers of the International are invited to a mass meeting at noon in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, where plans for a broad united front strike in the rabbit fur trade will be worked out.

A section membership meeting of all furriers living in Brownsville, East New York, Williamsburg, Ridgewood, etc. will be held at the Hinsdale Workers Club, 368 Sutter Ave., Brooklyn, Sunday, at 11 a. m.

Alteration Painters Union Meets Monday
NEW YORK.—A special meeting of the Alteration Painters Union will be held on Monday, April 16, 8 p. m., at the headquarters of the union, 1472 Boston Road. The union urges all painters to attend this meeting.

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Report by Comrade Earl Browder for the Central Committee To the 8th National Convention, Communist Party, U. S. A.

Comrades:

Our Eighth Convention meets at a time when the capitalist world is approaching a new explosion. Any day, any month, we may receive the first news of Japanese imperialism beginning its long-prepared invasion of the Soviet Union. At any time the madman who holds power in Germany may launch the wild adventure of anti-Soviet intervention which is the keystone of his policy, or may set fire to the fuses of the whole system of explosive European relations. Who can say what day the powers now engaged in a gigantic naval race may have their present navies thrown into action by one power's fear of being left behind in the race? Who can foretell when the tightening lines of class struggle in any one of a dozen countries may not, by some "small" incident like the expose of the Stavisky corruption, be ignited with the flames of a revolutionary civil war?

The world stands on the brink of revolutions and wars. This is the fruits of more than four years of unprecedented capitalist crisis. This crisis period is approximately the period between our Seventh and Eighth National Conventions. Through this period capitalist society has continuously disintegrated. The crisis has penetrated into and undermined the industry and agriculture of every capitalist and colonial country; it has upset the currency and credit relationships of the entire world. Even the United States, still the strongest fortress of world capitalism, has been stripped of its last shred of "exceptionalism," stands fully exposed to the fury of the storms of crisis, and, relatively speaking is registering its deepest effects. The economic losses due to the crisis, in the United States alone begin to approach the figures of the total losses of the World War.

A great upsurge of class struggles is sweeping the capitalist world. A wave of liberation struggles sweeps the colonies and oppressed nations. In Spain the Fascist dictatorship has been overthrown and the forces of a Soviet revolution are gathering. In Cuba a revolutionary upheaval drove out the bloody tyrant, Machado. A general strike sweeps France, embracing the main body of the working class. In Germany the rising wave of proletarian revolution is checked, but only temporarily, by loosening the Fascist mad-dogs, the foul refuse of the insane asylums and criminal underworld, against the German masses. In Austria, the lightning flash of the heroic barricade fighting of the betrayed Austrian workers, revealed for an instant the doom that is being prepared for capitalism beneath the blanket of fascism with which the bourgeoisie seeks to smother the flames of revolution. Also in the United States the upsurge of mass resistance to the capitalist policy of driving the masses into starvation, a policy intensified behind the demagogic cloak of Roosevelt's "New Deal," has already been answered by the capitalists with machine-guns at Am-

bridge; by increasing appropriations for police and military; by fascist preparations of War Department occupation of the strategic points in the economic system; by incorporating the A. F. L. leadership into the government machinery; by the "new course" of compulsory arbitration and legalization of company unions "charters" by Roosevelt in the automobile settlement and the Wagner "labor" bill. A wave of chauvinism is being roused by capitalist press and statesmen, without precedent in time of peace. Fascism is rearing its ugly head more boldly every day in the U. S. A.

The rape of China by Japanese imperialism; the wars in Latin-America in which America and British imperialisms begin to settle accounts—these were but the first links in the chain of imperialism wars being forged by the blows of the crisis. The rise of fascism in Germany and Austria further shattered the post-war system of international relationships. The imperialist powers are arming to the teeth. They are desperately striving to come to an arrangement that the next decisive step in the armed revision of the world shall be a counter-revolutionary invasion of the Soviet Union. War budgets are shooting upward at a speed matched only by the speed of deterioration of the living standards of the masses.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union, the land where the victorious working class is building socialism, moves in a direction exactly opposite to that of the capitalist world. While the capitalist world suffered economic paralysis, in the Soviet Union a historically backward land has leaped forward to the first place in Europe, and in the whole world second only to the United States. While living standards in the capitalist world took a catastrophic drop of 40 to 60 per cent, in the Soviet Union they leaped upward by more than 100 per cent. While capitalist policy is directed with all energy to cut down production in the face of growing millions of starving and poverty-stricken workers and farmers, in the Soviet Union the productive forces have been multiplied manifold, a half continent of 52 nations, of 165,000,000 population is being lifted out of poverty into material well-being and a rich cultural life. While the capitalist world drives feverishly toward war, the Soviet Union emerges more and more as the great bulwark of world peace. Clearly the world is divided into two systems, moving in opposite directions.

This is the world situation, described by the general staff of our World Party, the Executive Committee of the Communist International, as a situation "closely approaching a new round of revolutions and wars," in which the Communists of the United States meet in our Eighth National Convention to chart our course for the next period, to prepare our forces for the next great task, to win the majority of the American workers and their allies for the revolutionary way out of the crisis, for the uncompromising fight for immediate economic and political needs, for the overthrow of capitalism, for the building of a new, socialist system by a revolutionary Workers' Government.

agricultural crisis, the absence of tendencies towards any serious renewal of basic capital which usually heralds the approach of a boom, etc., etc.

"Apparently, what we are witnessing is the transition from the lowest point of decline of industry, from the lowest depth of the industrial crisis to a depression, not an ordinary depression, but to a depression of a special kind which does not lead to a new boom and flourishing industry, but which, on the other hand, does not force it back to the lowest point of decline."

It would be a vulgar fatalism to think that no matter what measures the capitalist class undertakes, they have no effect upon capitalist economy. It would equally be wrong to think such effects are exclusively negative, to fail to see how capitalist industry has eased its position (even if only temporarily) at the great expense of the workers and toiling masses. We must avoid such mistakes, to be able to unmask the crude illusions propagated by the labor agents of capitalism, and prevent them from sowing confusion in the working class ranks.

of the general crisis, the blows delivered by the world crisis to U. S. economy, are the first factors which make it impossible for American capitalism to return to boom and prosperity. The very measures employed to improve the immediate situation, even though they helped in passing over from crisis to depression, had the effect of deepening the general crisis of capitalism.

Even the capitalists, in their confidential discussions, are adopting the view that the depression will be a prolonged one, that a quick recovery is impossible. Thus the Kiplinger Agency, in its weekly letter of March 17, speaks on this point as follows:

"Washington feeling about the course of recovery: Most private discussions by the authorities here reflect a resignation to the idea of slow and irregular recovery, not rapid recovery. Some, progress, then a set-back. Further progress, then a breathing spell. Talk of spring boom has disappeared. Talk of fall boom, under belated inflationary influences, has lessened."

Yes, there is an improvement in business and

ing it before fascism. But Fascism cannot win mass support directly in the working class ranks. It must find indirect support. This it finds in the Socialist Party leadership and the reformist trade union officialdom. These leaders, influencing the majority of the working class, hold back the workers from revolutionary struggle which alone can defeat and destroy Fascism, and under the slogan of defense of democracy, and "choosing the lesser evil," lead the workers to submit to and support the intermediate steps to the introduction of Fascism. This is why we call these leaders "social-fascists," and their theories "social-fascism."

In the United States, fascism is being prepared along essentially the same lines that it was prepared in Germany and Austria.

The Socialist and A. F. of L. leaders are taking essentially the same course taken by their brothers in Europe. But the workers in the U. S. have the tremendous advantage of having before their eyes the living example of the events in Europe of being able to judge by results the true meaning of policies which they are asked to follow here. That is the supreme importance of every worker in America studying and thoroughly understanding the experiences of our brothers across the waters.

What are the ideas, the misconceptions, with which the social-fascists confuse and disarm the workers?

First, is the idea that fascism is the opposite of capitalist democracy, and this democracy is therefore the means of combating and defeating fascism. This false idea serves a double purpose. By means of counterposing "democracy against dictatorship," it tries to hide the fact that the capitalist "democracy" is only a form of the capitalist dictatorship; it tries to identify in the worker's mind the fascist dictatorship with the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, and thus cause the worker to reject the road of revolution. At the same time, this slogan is used to hide the fact that capitalist democracy is not the enemy, but the mother of fascism; that it is not the destroyer, but the creator of fascism. It uses the truth that fascism destroys democracy, to propagate the falsehood that democracy will also destroy fascism. Thus does the Socialist Party and trade union officialdom, to the extent that the workers follow them, tie the working class to the chariot wheels of a capitalist democracy which is being transformed into fascism, paralyze their resistance, deliver them over to fascism bound and helpless.

In Germany this meant support to Hindenburg, Brüning, Von Papen, Schleicher; and their "emergency decrees" directed against the workers. In the United States, it is support to Roosevelt, LaGuardia, the N.R.A., and the "emergency decrees" of the strikebreaking labor boards, arbitration boards, "code authorities," etc. In each case, the slogan is "choose the lesser evil"; in each, the workers are asked to "fight against fascism" by supporting the men and measures that are introducing fascism. Second, is the idea that fascism represents, not finance capital, but rather a "revolutionary movement" directed against both finance capital and against the working class by the impoverished middle classes. This idea helps finance capital to get and keep control over these middle classes, strengthens their illusions, divides the workers from them and prevents the workers from setting themselves the task of winning over the middle classes to support of the proletarian revolution, causes the workers to support their misleaders in their alliance "against fascism." In Germany, this idea was, concretely, alliance with Hindenburg against Hitler; in Austria, with Dollfuss against the Nazis; in the United States with Roosevelt "against Wall Street."

Third, with the victory of fascism in Germany and Austria, the Socialist and trade union

leaders bring forth the idea that this event is the crushing defeat of the revolution, the reestablishment of capitalism, the beginning of a new and long era of fascist reaction. This helps fascism by spreading panic, defeatism and passivity among the workers. It serves to create a fatalistic acceptance of fascism as an inescapable and undefeatable. The true significance of the rise of fascism is quite different. True, fascism is a heavy blow against the working class. True, fascism turns loose every black reactionary force against the working class, and tries to physically exterminate its vanguard, the Communist Party. But at the same time it is a sign of deepening crisis of capitalism; it solves not one of the basic problems of the crisis, but intensifies them all; it further disrupts the capitalist world system; it destroys the moral base for capitalist rule, discrediting bourgeois law in the eyes of the masses; it hastens the exposure of all demagogic supporters of capitalism, especially its main support among the workers—the Socialist and trade union leaders. It hastens the revolutionization of the workers, destroys their democratic illusions, and thereby prepares the masses for the revolutionary struggle for power.

Through fascism, the capitalist class hopes to destroy the threat of revolution at home. Through imperialist war, it hopes to destroy the successful revolution in the Soviet Union, and by armed revision of the world to find the way out of the crisis.

What are the prospects for success of this capitalist program?

Such prospects are very bad indeed. The revolutionary movement of the working class and poor farmer allies cannot be destroyed. This was proved by the fall of the bloody Czarist autocracy in old Russia. It was proved again by the failure of the ferocious terror of Chiang Kai-Shek in China to halt the rise of the victorious Chinese Soviet Republic. It was proved on our own doorstep, last August, by the revolutionary overthrow of the Butcher Machado and his fascist dictatorship in Cuba. It is being proved every day by the heroic work of the Communist Party of Germany. It is proved by the crisis in the Second International, and the mass turning of European workers toward the Bolshevik path. It was proved by the destruction of the fascist dictatorship in Spain. Terror cannot destroy the proletarian revolution.

Neither is there hope for world capitalism that it can solve its problems though war. It tried this way in 1914-1918. But instead of solving problems, this only reproduced them on a larger scale and in sharper form. That effort lost for capitalism the largest country, one-sixth of the world, to the victorious working class of the Soviet Union. Now they speculate on recovering this lost territory for capitalism, through another war. But this time they will face a working class infinitely better prepared than in 1914-1918. The working class in the Soviet Union is now fully armed with the weapons of modern warfare, based upon a modernized industry and solid socialist economy. The working class in the capitalist countries is no longer under the undisputed sway of the Socialist and trade union leaders. In every country there is a growing mass which has already begun to learn the lessons of the victory in the Soviet Union, which has already grouped itself around the Communist Party, which is arming them with the weapons of revolution—the theory and practice of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin—of Bolshevism.

If the imperialists venture upon another war, they will receive a crushing defeat worse than the last war. On the borders of the Soviet Union they will meet military defeat at the hands of an invincible Red Army. At the rear, the working class will be transforming the imperialist war into a civil war of the oppressed masses for the overthrow of capitalism. Such a war will surely end in the birth of a few more Soviet Republics.

I. The Growth of Hunger, Fascism, and the Danger of Imperialist War

The economic crisis is in its fifth year. It has lasted far longer than any previous crisis. It has been more far-reaching and destructive. That is because it occurs in the midst of the general crisis of the whole capitalist system. Characteristic of this fact are:

- The crisis affected every capitalist and colonial country.
- It penetrated every phase of economy, industry, agriculture, trade, credit, currency, state finances.
- The crisis itself resulted in intensifying the concentration and centralization of capital, with consequent intensification of labor, which was a basic cause for the unexampled depth of the crisis.
- It has at the same time sharply degraded the technical level of agriculture, causing it to abandon machine labor for hand labor, mechanical power for horse and man power, further sharpening the contradiction between city and country.
- The chief feature of overproduction is, that it is sharpest in the field of means of production, far exceeding the capacity of capitalistically-limited society to use to the full, thus closing the doors to a revival by vast new capital investments.
- Existence of giant monopolies, further strengthened during the crisis (as by the N.R.A. codes, etc.) results in sustaining monopoly profits at the cost of the rest of economy, reducing mass purchasing power, and hindering the absorption of accumulated stocks.
- The crisis comes in a period when the imperialist powers have already divided the world among themselves, when there are no further fields of expansion, except at the expense of one another (or of the Soviet Union), and when the uneven development of the imperialist powers makes imperative a revision of the world which is only possible through the arbitrament of war.
- Finally, this crisis comes after world capitalism has already suffered the fatal shattering blows of the last World War, as a result of which its world-system was broken at its weakest link, out of which emerged a new, rival world economic system, the system of Socialism in the Soviet Union.

The influence of the general crisis of capitalism upon the course of the economic crisis can be seen in volume of industrial production during the past five years in the principal industrial countries. I quote the figures given by Comrade Stalin in his report to the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

VOLUME OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION (Percent of 1929)

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
U. S. S. R.	100.0	129.7	161.9	184.7	201.6
U. S. A.	100.0	90.7	68.1	53.8	64.9
England	100.0	92.4	83.8	83.8	86.1
Germany	100.0	88.3	71.7	59.8	66.8
France	100.0	100.7	89.2	69.1	77.4

These figures clearly reveal the division of the world into two systems which are travelling in opposite directions. While in the capitalist countries production declined between 1929 and 1933 by from 15 to 35 per cent, the socialist industry of the Soviet Union increased by more than 100 per cent.

These figures also show that from 1932 to

1933, the capitalist world increased its production in all countries, whereas previously the course had been downward from year to year. This fact has been joyously hailed by capitalist spokesmen as heralding the end of the crisis, the beginning of recovery, the promise of returning prosperity. This conclusion is also supported by the Socialist Party leaders and the reformist trade union bureaucrats. What is the true significance of this fact?

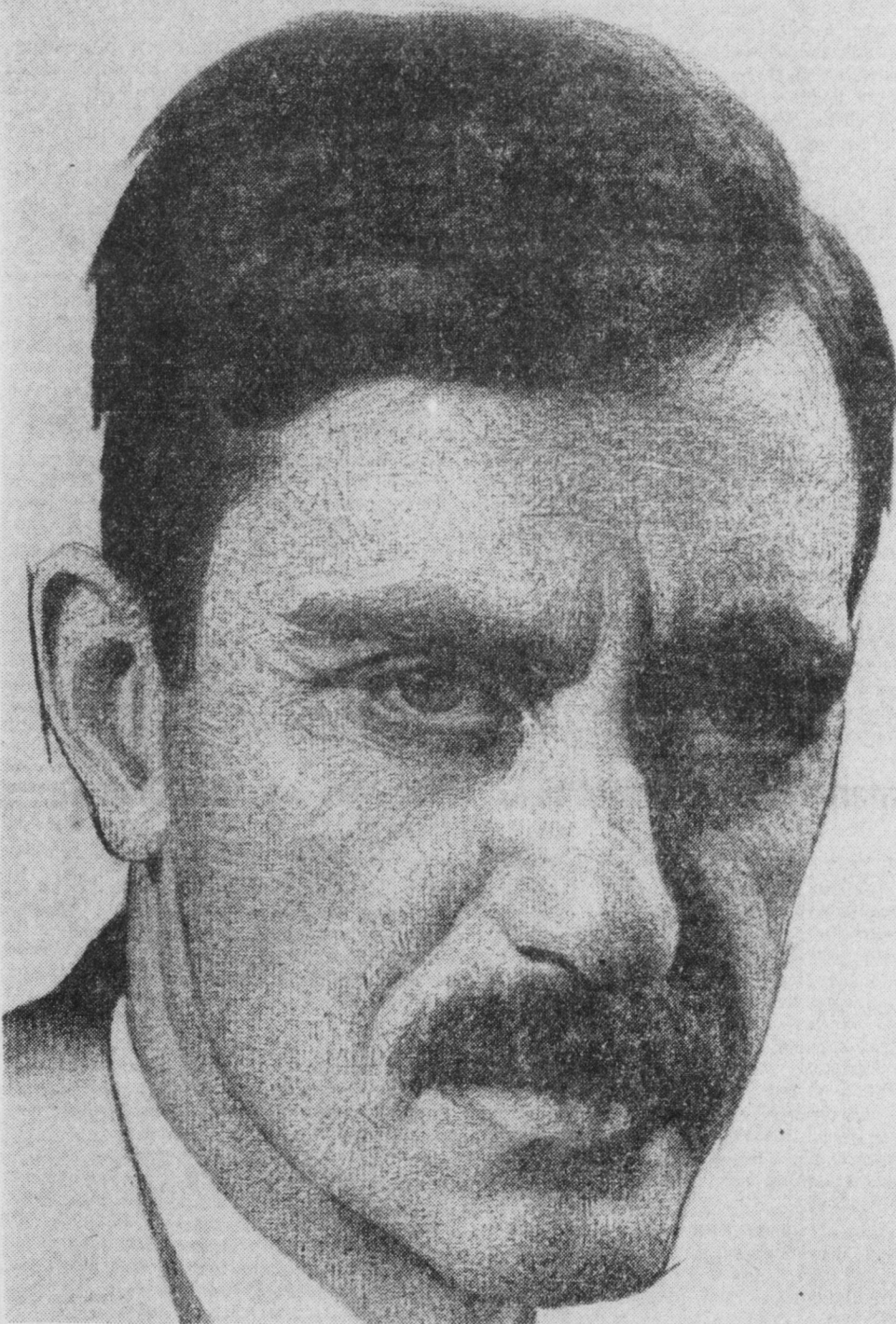
A clear answer was already given to this question by Comrade Stalin at the 17th Congress, supplementing and further developing the Thesis of the 13th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Comrade Stalin said:

"It means that, apparently, industry in the principal capitalist countries had already passed the lowest point of decline and did not return to it in the course of 1933. "Some people are inclined to ascribe the phenomenon to the influence of exclusively artificial factors, such as a war-inflation boom. There cannot be any doubt that the war-inflation boom plays not an unimportant role here. It is particularly true in regard to Japan, where this artificial factor is the principal and decisive force in some revival, principally in the munition branches of industry. But it would be a crude mistake to attempt to explain everything by the war-inflation boom. Such an explanation would be wrong, if only for the reason that the changes in industry which I have described are observed, not in separate and chance districts, but in all, or nearly all, industrial countries, including those countries which have a stable currency. Apparently, side by side with the war-inflation boom, the operation of the internal economic forces of capitalism also has effect here.

"Capitalism has succeeded in somewhat easing the position of industry at the expense of the workers—increasing their exploitation by increasing the intensity of their labor; AT THE EXPENSE OF THE FARMERS—by pursuing a policy of paying the lowest prices for the products of their labor, for foodstuffs and partly for raw materials; at the expense of the peasants in the colonies and in the economically weak countries—by still further forcing down the prices of the products of their labor, principally raw materials, and also of foodstuffs.

"Does this mean that we are witnessing a transition from a crisis to an ordinary depression which brings in its train a new boom and flourishing industry? No, it does not mean that. At all events at the present time there are no data, direct or indirect, that indicates the approach of an industrial boom in capitalist countries. More than that, judging by all things, there cannot be such data, at least in the near future. There cannot be, because all the unfavorable conditions which prevent industry in the capitalist countries from rising to any serious extent still continue to operate. I have in mind the continuing general crisis of capitalism in the midst of which the economic crisis is proceeding, the chronic working of the enterprises under capacity, the chronic mass unemployment, the interweaving of the industrial crisis with the

EARL BROWDER, General Secretary, Communist Party U. S. A.



Many facts lead to the conclusion that the economic crisis in the U. S. has already passed its lowest point. Furthermore, the various measures undertaken by the capitalist class itself, and the operation of the internal economic forces of capitalism, facilitated the passing of the economic crisis into the stage of depression. In the course of the crisis, American capitalism lowered production costs and increased its profits mainly through a more intensive exploitation of the employed workers. In this process, the productivity of labor was increased mainly through more intensive exploitation and speed-up. American capitalism has utilized the great standing army of the unemployed for this purpose where it could select the best, most physically-fit, workers whom starvation forced to work under the worst conditions at lowest wages.

The improved situation for capitalist industry came as a result of the sharp reduction of the living standards of the workers and the further ruination of the poor and middle farmers. But this is not all. "Capitalism has succeeded in somewhat easing the position of industry at the expense of the workers—increasing their exploitation by increasing the intensity of their labor; AT THE EXPENSE OF THE FARMERS—by pursuing a policy of paying the lowest prices for the products of their labor, for foodstuffs and partly for raw materials; at the expense of the peasants in the colonies and in the economically weak countries—by still further forcing down the prices of the products of their labor, principally raw materials, and also of foodstuffs.

It is a fact that through the long duration of the crisis the index of overproduced commodities reserves declined. This decline in great degree proceeded through actual physical destruction of commodities. It is very likely, also, that especially in the light industries where production sharply declined, there consumption at the existing low prices served to greatly diminish the overproduction. Increasing profits also serve, even in small degree, to encourage new capital investments in production and building. Further, a large part of debts were wiped out through bankruptcy, further mergers; while confiscation of a huge portion of middle-class savings through the closing of banks, made a serious contribution to capitalist profits.

This is the road travelled by American capitalism in the crisis. It is not the road to a new prosperity. At the same time, however, it would be absolutely stupid to refuse to see those improvements in its economic situation that American capitalism did make. But whatever improvements took place, as a result of war-spending and inflation, and also from the further impoverishment of workers and farmers and the operation of the internal economic forces of capitalism, they all facilitated the passing of the crisis into the stage of depression.

The economic crisis in the United States, as in the rest of the capitalist world, is interwoven with the general crisis of capitalism. The depth

II. The Upsurge of the Mass Struggles and the Work of the Communist Party

The United States, stronghold of world capitalism, exhibits at the same time its deepest contradictions. The blows of the economic crisis struck heaviest, relatively, here. The contrast between mass hopes and illusions in 1929, and bitter reality in 1934, is greater than almost anywhere else. The greatest accumulated wealth and productive forces, side by side with the largest mass unemployment and starvation of any industrial country, stares every observer in the face. Revolutionary forces in the U. S., developing more slowly than elsewhere, are yet of enormously greater potentiality and depth.

All capitalist contradictions are embodied in Roosevelt's "New Deal" policies. Roosevelt promises to feed the hungry, by reducing the production of food. He promises to redistribute wealth, by billions of subsidies to the banks and corporations. He gives help to the "forgotten" man, by speeding up the process of monopoly and trustification. He would increase the purchasing power of the masses, through inflation which gives them a dollar worth only 60 cents. He drives the Wall Street money changers out of the temple of government, by giving them complete power in the administration of the governmental machinery of the industrial codes. He gives the workers the right of organization by legalizing the company unions. He inaugurates a regime of economy, by shifting the tax burden to the consuming masses, by cutting appropriations for wages, veterans, and social services, while increasing the war budget a billion dollars, and giving ten billions to those who already own everything. He restores the faith of the masses in democracy, by beginning the introduction of fascism. He works for international peace, by launching the sharpest trade and currency war in history.

Roosevelt's program is the same as that of finance capital the world over. It is a program of hunger, fascism and imperialism war. It differs chiefly in the forms of its unprecedented ballyhoo, of demagogic promises, for the creation of mass illusions of a saviour who has found the way out. The New Deal is not developed fascism. But in political essence and direction it is the same as Hitler's program. Under cover of these mass illusions, Roosevelt launched the sharpest, most deep-going attack against the living standards of the masses. Even though the workers were still under the influence of illusions about Roosevelt (these illusions continue to stand up under repeated blows!) they could not but recognize what

was happening to them. They answered with a wave of strikes. More than a million workers struck in 1933 in resistance to the New Deal policies. Over 750,000 joined the trade unions.

During this period the unemployed movement also deepened and consolidated itself, in spite of a serious lag. Especially important, it reacted to the new forms of governmental relief, the C. W. A. and forced labor camps, and began a movement on those jobs to protect living standards. The movement for the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill began to take on a broad mass character.

Radicalization among the masses of impoverished farmers, veterans, students, professionals, stimulated by the strike wave, gathered about the rising working class movement, and to a greater degree than ever before in political contact with the workers. This first wave of struggle against the Roosevelt "new deal" was stimulated and clarified by the fact that the Communist Party, from the beginning, gave a bold and correct analysis of the "new deal," and a clear directive for struggle against it. Events since last July confirmed entirely the analysis then given. Every serious effort to apply that program of struggle has brought gains for the workers. There is no need to revise our analysis. Now we can sum up the results of nine months' experience.

Results of the New Deal
What has happened with the "new deal"? Has it failed? Many workers, in the first stages of disillusionment, come to that conclusion. They are disillusioned with the result, but still believe in the intention. The S. P. and A. F. of L. leaders try to keep them in this stage. But this conclusion is entirely too simple. The "new deal" has not improved conditions for the workers and exploited masses. But that was never its real aim; that was only a ballyhoo; that was only bait with which to catch suckers. In its first and chief aim, the "new deal" succeeded; that aim was, to bridge over the most difficult situation for the capitalists, and to launch a new attack upon the workers with the help of their leaders, to keep the workers from general resistance, to begin to restore the profits of finance capital.

At the recent code hearings in Washington, this purpose was stated frankly by General Hugh Johnson, in an effort to overcome the resistance of the more backward capitalists to
Continued on Page Four

"Concentrate Our Forces Among the Workers in the Basic Industries"

Continued From Page Three

some features of the N. R. A. program. General Johnson, speaking of the difficult position of capital at the time of the birth of the "new deal" and what was its aim, declared:

"I want to tell you, if you have not yourselves observed, that throughout that whole difficult and trying period, when in panic and under the urge of extremists, the wreck of our system was threatened, the strong sane moderate mind that upheld you was that of the President. I ask you to remember that at that time both industrial and banking leadership had fallen, in the public mind, to complete and utter disrepute. Humanity always seeks a scapegoat. A British Government unable to sustain itself on any other issue, was elected on the slogan 'Hang the Kaiser.' Don't forget that, at that time, these gentlemen and the bankers were almost (to an inflamed public mind) the Kaiser." That is clear enough. No Communist could have put it more clearly!

Without the collaboration of the A. F. of L. leadership, it must be emphasized, this program could never have been carried out over the resistance of the workers. This truth, which we pointed out in advance, is now the boast of Green, Lewis & Co., in their conferences with Roosevelt, Johnson and the employers. Whenever a strike has been broken, the main "credit" belongs to Green and his associates. Every vicious code provision against the workers, for company unions, has borne the signature of Green & Co. Section 7a, the new "charter for labor" turned out in reality to be the legalization of company unionism and compulsory arbitration. Even the A. F. of L. leaders are allowed to organize only where and when this is required to block the formation of revolutionary or independent trade unions. The Wagner Bill to interpret Section 7a, now before Congress, which received such vigorous support and high praise from Socialist and A. F. of L. leaders, is already, even before passage, openly admitted to be legal confirmation of the company unions, the enforcement of compulsory arbitration.

Again we turn to the outspoken General Johnson, for a colorful description of the role of the A. F. of L. leaders. In his March 7th speech to the capitalists, Johnson poured out his soul in eloquent tribute to Green & Co. He said:

"We know something about what is toward in this country—the worst epidemic of strikes in our history. Why suffer it? Here is a way out. Play the game. Submit to the law and get it over quickly. I want to tell you this for your comfort. I know your problems. I would rather deal with Bill Green, John Lewis, Ed McGrady, Mike MacDonough, George Berry and a host of others I could name, than with any Frankenstein that you may build up under the guise of a company union. In fact—take it from me and a wealth of experience—their interests are your interests."

Again the worthy General leaves nothing to add!

Now, for a brief glance at the results of the "new deal" as registered in governmental statistics.

First, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation! Payments authorized by the R. F. C. up to the end of 1933, amounted to \$5,233,800,000. More than 80 per cent of this enormous sum went directly to banks, insurance companies, railroads, mortgage loan companies, credit unions, etc., in loans or purchase of preferred stock; and for what is called "agricultural credit" which means advances to financial institutions holding uncollectible farm mortgages. About 10 per cent went for "relief," payment for forced labor on municipal and state work. These enormous subsidies, the size of which staggers the imagination, are the source of a large part of the inflated profits of the big corporations.

Second, the new deal and price-fixing: These measures have resulted in such rise in living costs that even the A. F. of L. leaders, close partners of Roosevelt and Johnson, have to admit a decided drop in the purchasing power of employed workers. An indication is the drop of nine per cent, from September to December, in the volume of consumers' goods actually purchased.

Third, the Government budget: Here we find the realization of Roosevelt's promise to remember the "forgotten man." The shift of the burden of taxes, the basis of the budget, comparing the current year with 1928-1929, is as follows:

Government income from taxation on corporations, rich individuals, and wealthy middle-class, declined from \$2,231,000,000 to \$864,000,000—a saving to the rich of \$1,467,000,000. At the same time, taxation of workers and consuming masses increased from \$1,571,000,000 to \$2,395,000,000—an increase of the tax burden amounting to more than the total taxes paid now by the rich.

On the expenditure side of the budget, changes took the following direction: To banks, corporations, wealthy individuals and property owners, increased payments of 413 per cent. Expenditures for war purposes, increased by 82 per cent. Against these increases, economy was practiced by reducing wages of government employees, and veteran allowances, by 38 per cent and 27 per cent.

Fourth, distribution of National Income: Roosevelt promised that he would begin to remedy the maldistribution of the national income, whereby the rich got too much and the poor got too little. How this has been carried out is disclosed in a report submitted to the U. S. Senate by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce on Jan. 1, 1934. Summarizing its findings, the report says:

"Wages have suffered the most severely in the general decline since 1929, with a falling off of sixty (60) per cent in those industries in which it was possible to segregate this item. Salaries dropped forty (40) per cent, much less rapidly than wages, with the most severe curtailment occurring in 1932. A significant divergence in declining trends is apparent as between labor income and property income; by 1932 the former had fallen off by forty (40) per cent, while property income distributed receded but thirty (30) per cent. This situation was brought about by the maintenance of interest payments rather uniformly up to 1932, with only a small decline then."

This picture the development under the Hoover regime. Roosevelt's "new deal" promised to reverse this trend. Actually, what happened in 1933 was, the purchasing power of the workers went backward (a fact testified by the A. F. of L. and the Bureau of Labor Statistics) while property income took a sharp rise. A recent report of a group of large selected corporations which in 1932 showed a loss of about \$45 millions, showed that in 1933 they had been restored to the profit side of the ledger by about a half-billion dollars.

Fifth, the workers' housing: In estimating the social effects of the shift of national income away from the workers and to property owners, it must be remembered that even in 1932 the majority of workers lived just at or below the subsistence level. Every loss of income has been a direct deduction from daily necessities of life. This is sharply expressed in the catastrophic worsening of housing conditions. The epidemic of tenement house fires, burning to death hundreds of men, women and children, is but a dramatic revelation of one corner of the inhuman conditions under which growing millions are reduced.

Sixth, breaking up the home: A barometer of the degeneration of living standards is the growing army of wandering, homeless people, especially children. The "new deal" proposed to turn the army of unattached boys into a military reserve through the Civil Conservation Camps. Some 380,000 boys were so recruited in 1933; but in spite of this mass militarization, all reports agree that a larger number than before of homeless youth wandered the country.

Seventh, collapse of the school system: Conditions in the school system in rich America reflect the catastrophic situation of the masses. No improvement is to be seen under the "new deal," but on the contrary, a sharp worsening takes place. Just a few details, presented not by Communist agitators but by the U. S. Commissioner of Education, George P. Zook, and the National Education Association, describing the current school year, after Mr. Roosevelt's "new deal" was at work. Over 2,000,000 children of school age cannot find a place. Over 2,000 schools in rural communities failed to open this year in 24 states (the other 24 states, probably, being ashamed to report because their conditions are worse!) Some 1,500 commercial schools and 16 institutions of higher learning have been completely liquidated. School terms in nearly every large city are from one to two months shorter than they were 70 to 100 years ago. The average term in the U. S., 170 school days per year, is less than that for France, Germany, England, Sweden, Denmark. School teachers' wages are generally from four to twenty-four months in arrears, although interest on bonds is paid promptly. In Chicago, where teachers are behind in their wages by \$23,000,000, the committee enforcing the economy program contains, among its 29 members, all affiliated with big business, five directors of the largest banks and 14 residents of exclusive Lake Shore Drive ("the Gold Coast"). Unemployed teachers are estimated at a quarter million. Teachers' wage rates have been cut by 27 per cent. In 14 States even this reduced salary is far behind in payment.

It is impossible to go into all the ramifications of the result of a "successful" New Deal program. We have shown enough to fully expose, that the "success" was in giving more to the rich, and taking away from the poor even that which they had.

The New Strike Wave and New Steps in Fascization

Our Central Committee, at the moment of the ebb of the 1933 strike wave (our 17th Plenum), was able already to foresee the rise of a new strike wave in the early Spring of 1934. It is now being realized all around us on a large scale. In this movement an even larger role is

being played by the revolutionary forces than in 1933. This also results in a larger proportion of victorious strikes.

This new wave of struggles has already brought the Roosevelt administration to a new stage in the development of its labor policy. This was announced by Mr. Roosevelt himself, when he declared that "we have charted a new course," in his announcement of the "settlement" in the automobile industry.

What is this "new course?" The auto manufacturers themselves gave a correct estimate of it, when they declared to the correspondent of the N. Y. Herald-Tribune their "delight" with the outcome. "The manufacturers were particularly pleased that the clarification of section 7a seems to uphold their contention in behalf of the company union."

This "new course," like the previous, "new courses," is launched with the signature of William Green and the officialdom of the A. F. of L., with the blessings of Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party.

What is new in this course, is the public adoption of the company union as an integral part of the "corporate state" scheme, where previously, in the official plans, the A. F. of L. had been granted (on paper) a monopoly. This means more open coming forward of the government to prevent or smash the strike movements. For months a debate raged behind the scenes among the capitalists, on which horse to place their money, the A. F. of L. or the company union. Two camps had existed, which sharply divided the highest councils. Upon the basis of experience in the first strike wave and the beginnings of the second, both camps had modified their views and came together in one

Main aim of New Deal was to bridge over most difficult situation for capitalists

unit judgment, embodied in Roosevelt's "new course." On the one hand, the company union advocates had been convinced of the complete docility and reliability for their purposes of Green, Lewis, and the whole official A. F. of L. family; they have been converted to the view of Johnson in this respect. On the other hand, the proponents of the A. F. of L. have been convinced that, in spite of Green & Co. is absolute "reliability" in purpose, their ability to control their membership is growing less and less each day. Already last fall, Roosevelt had a sharp intimation of this, when John L. Lewis had to admit his failure to drive the strikers of the captive mines back to work, and Roosevelt had to do the job personally. Another major example of the same sort was the auto situation, where the A. F. of L. leaders frankly told the President that they were helpless to stop the strike movement unless Roosevelt himself intervened. The whole strike wave, rising against the Canute-like commandments of Green & Co. drove the lesson home. Conclusion: Neither one nor the other, neither A. F. of L. nor company union, alone, but both together, in a constantly closer association, and in preparation for merging the two under Government auspices. That is the essence of the "new course." Of course, differences continue—we must not be confused by them.

This "new course" is now in process of being incorporated into the Wagner Bill, which in its original form provided for a sort of Watson-Parker Law (compulsory arbitration on the railroads) for all industries. The original purpose to bind the unions with the strong chains of arbitration machinery, to choke down the strike wave, is now to be supplemented by guarantees of effectiveness through binding the trade unions with the company unions.

LaGuardia, in the midst of "handling" the taxi drivers' strike in New York City, knew how to "take a hint." He promptly abandoned the settlement which he had prepared, to which the workers had agreed but which the companies had rejected, and called a representative of the A. F. of L. from Washington to negotiate the incorporation of the taxi company union into the A. F. of L. He was "correct in principle" in this question, but too hasty and crude in action, so the execution of his proposal has been postponed for a more favorable stage setting.

An organic part of the whole "new course" toward labor, is the sharp turn in the question of unemployed relief. Roosevelt has in his hands expended billions, which he demanded from Congress for relief purposes. But suddenly, so suddenly as to shock a host of loyal "new dealers" and bring bitter protests from them (including such a close friend of Roosevelt as Governor Lehman of New York), the C. W. A. is closed down, and millions of unemployed are thrown back upon the bankrupt local governments. Why this "new course" toward the unemployed? The answer is given in the cynical words published on the front page of the

Results of the First Wave of Struggle and Organization Under the New Deal

The year 1933 and beginning of 1934, with its wave of strikes and organizations, left its mark upon the working class. All forms of labor organizations increased. We can divide these into four main groups: 1) company unions, embracing workers estimated variously from one to three million; 2) A. F. of L. (and allied organizations such as Railroad Brotherhoods) 500,000 new members with a total membership of two and a half to three million; 3) independent unions—150,000 new members, with a total membership around 250,000; 4) Trade Union Unity League, and allied organizations—100,000 new members; total membership 128,000.

The first conclusion that must be drawn from these figures is the tremendously increased importance of the struggle against company unionism. The company union is the first line of defense in the factories for the capitalists against the rising strike wave. The line of struggle against company unionism requires simultaneous development of revolutionary work inside the company union, utilizing every opportunity for raising the demands of the workers, fighting for these demands, and putting forward militant candidates for all "elective" posts, thus disrupting the employer-controlled organizations from within. It has been proved possible, at times, to transform them into real trade unions, but only by open struggle. At the same time we must mobilize all independent trade union forces for the open smashing of the company unions.

The second conclusion is the greatly increased importance of revolutionary work inside the American Federation of Labor. The largest section of newly organized workers in trade unions is in the A. F. of L. The bulk of these, in turn, are in some of the most important industries—such as mining, textile, with important groups also in auto, steel and metal. Precisely these new strata in the A. F. of L. are the least consolidated under the reactionary leadership, the most active in pressing forward their demands, and therefore the most ripe for revolutionary leadership. In connection with the struggle against company unionism, a struggle for the rights of the A. F. of L. workers to fight for their immediate demands, large numbers of them can be immediately brought under revolutionary leadership by correct work. These new recruits to the A. F. of L. are not contentedly witnessing the A. F. of L. leaders signing away their rights as was done in the steel and auto codes; they are not content when they see their unions smashed through the mediation of the National Labor Board (Weirton, Budd, Edgewater, etc.). They are in open revolt when, as in the auto settlement last week, their leaders commit them to the legalization of the company union and the outlawing of their strike movement. Now, more than ever before, correct and energetic work among the members of the A. F. of L., giving them independent leadership through the crystallization of revolutionary opposition groups, bringing them into action against their leaders and in open strikes and other forms of struggle for their immediate demands, is a first line task of the Communist Party.

How supremely important is this work, is shown by the serious results flowing from every smallest effort that is made. The broadest circle of this work is the movement for the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill (H. R. 7599). This bill has secured the direct support of over 2,000 A. F. of L. local unions, many city central bodies and even a few State Federations of Labor. In 23 cities, we have functioning

CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER (Sunday, April 1st):

"Those not so pleased with the new relief standards think the administration, finding perhaps that its grants of power to the labor unions were greater than the administration would now like to have them, may have thought of an abrupt ending of C. W. A. and a lowering of direct relief expenditures as an effective way of glutting the labor market and taking some of the spirit out of the unions."

What are the main strategic tasks of the Communist Party, that flow from this analysis of the situation?

First, to help the masses of workers, who are coming to realize that they must halt their mutually-destructive competition, must begin to act unitedly against a hostile ruling system, to find the road to independent class organization and class struggle in the fight for their daily bread.

Second, to organize every possible form of resistance and counter-struggle against the attacks of reaction, against every reduction of living standards, for wage increases, for more relief, for jobs, for unemployment insurance, against cultural reaction, against Negro oppression, for civil rights, for the right to organize and strike.

Third, to find the broadest possible forms of organization of the struggle, to apply with Bolshevik flexibility, the tactic of the united front below.

Fourth, to expose the true role of every hidden agent of capitalist reaction in the ranks of the working class—the leaders of the A. F. of L. of the Socialist Party, the Muste group, the renegades, by concrete analysis of their actions and policies.

Fifth, to raise the political consciousness of the struggling workers, to bring to them an understanding of the class structure of society, of the fact that two main classes are fighting for control, that Roosevelt, leading the present ruling class, finance capital, stands for degradation, hunger, misery, oppression, fascism, war—that only the working class exercising State Power, can open up a new era of peace, progress, and prosperity for the entire human race.

Sixth, to imbue the broadest masses with the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, to arm them with the lessons of successful revolution, against the treacherous slogans and ideas of social-fascism.

Seventh, to create strongholds of revolutionary mass organizations in the most important industries, localities, and factories.

Eighth, to consolidate to everything that is most active, intelligent, fearless and loyal in the working class, into a compact, monolithic leadership of the mass struggle, into the Communist Party, organically united with the revolutionary workers and oppressed peoples of the world in our Communist International.

general leading committees for work in the A. F. of L. The revolutionary elements, directly under our guidance, are established leaders of around 150 local unions, with 50,000 to 60,000 members. Minorly opposition groups function in about 500 more local unions. This considerable beginning is of significance because it emphasizes the enormous possibilities that exist when we get a full mobilization of all available forces in this field. These results, which change the course of development for hundreds of thousands more, come from only the first steps with very fragmentary mobilization, and in the face of still existing under-estimation of and even opposition against systematic development of this work.

The independent unions have emerged as a major factor in more than a few light industries only during the past year. In the main, they are the result of the mass revolt against the A. F. of L. betrayals, which could not yet be brought into the revolutionary unions for various reasons, chief among them being the weaknesses in the work of the T. U. U. L. Systematic building of revolutionary groups inside them, with careful formulation of policies and leadership of their struggles, is an essential feature of our trade union strategy. In the independent unions we must have the most careful distinction between the honest but confused leadership which has been thrown up from the rank and file, on the one hand; and the conscious opportunist, reformist, social-fascist elements in the leadership on the other hand, who head the independent movements only in order to bring them back under the domination of the A. F. of L. leadership. In this latter group, an important role is played by the Mustetes, Lovestonites, and Trotskyites. The sharpest political struggle must be made against the "left" reformists and the renegades, while every effort must be made to win over to our class struggle policies the honest elements in the independent trade union leadership.

Growing Role of Revolutionary Forces in Strike Struggles

The revolutionary unions of the T. U. U. L. with their 128,000 members, while numerically smallest of these main groups of the trade union movement, are by no means least important. The T. U. U. L. unions in developing the whole mass movement of resistance to the N. R. A. and the whole capitalist offensive, in the development of the strike movements, have played a decisive role. This is brought out by an examination of the statistics of the strike movement in 1933, as shown in the following table:

	Membership	Leads	Members
A. F. of L.	2,500,000	450,000	500,000
Indep. Unions	250,000	250,000	150,000
T. U. U. L.	128,000	200,000	100,000
Unorganized		100,000	
	2,875,000	1,000,000	750,000

From these figures we see that the T. U. U. L., although not quite 5 per cent of the total trade union membership, directly led 20 per cent of all strikes and gained 20 per cent of all new members. The independent unions, a little under 10 per cent of the total membership, led 25 per cent of the strikes. The A. F. of L. unions, comprising over 85 per cent of the membership, led 45 per cent of the strikes. This illustrates the role of the leadership of these three groups in relation to the strike movement. The A. F. of L. leadership is the center of resistance to strikes, and center of strike-breaking activities within the ranks of the

workers. The T. U. U. L. unions were the driving force in the leadership and development of the strikes against all the strike-breakers. The independent unions represented those masses breaking away from the A. F. of L. leadership, but still carrying with them part of the old burden of unclear and even openly reformist leadership which continued trying to carry through the A. F. of L. policies within the unions.

The growing importance of the independent and T. U. U. L. unions is emphasized by the fact that they comprised fully one-third of all the increased trade union membership that resulted from the strike movement, and that together they led 45 per cent of the strikes, an equal number with the A. F. of L. In addition to this, it is clear that the 450,000 strikers under A. F. of L. leadership were not led into struggle by that leadership but in spite of and against it. Our opposition work in the A. F. of L. played in this a significant part in some industries. It would have been impossible for a strike movement of such volume to rise from the A. F. of L. ranks without the influence of the strike movement of equal volume outside the A. F. of L. developed and led by the T. U. U. L. and independent unions.

Our Draft Resolution places before the Convention, as a central point in our present trade union strategy, the task of unifying the independent unions with the revolutionary unions, beginning separately in each industry, and upon the basis of successful work there, moving towards the consolidation of all class trade union forces into a single Independent Federation of Labor.

We must avoid, if possible, the crystallization of a third trade union center, intermediate between the A. F. of L. and the T. U. U. L. We must be prepared to go a long way to secure organizational unity of all genuine class trade union forces. The possibility of success in this direction is already indicated in the partially successful merger of the T. U. U. L. and the Independent Shoe Workers' Unions. This experience gives a clear indication of our general line in practice.

Of great importance to us in this period was the rise of mass revolutionary unions on the

Struggles of the Farmers and Movements of Mixed Class Character

The movement for organization of rising strike struggles among the employed workers, together with the growing organization and struggles of the unemployed, have served as a powerful stimulus to the activities of other sections of the exploited population, and attract these other groups around the working class as the leader and organizing center. We have seen the serious beginnings of this process in relation to the farmers' movement. This movement is beginning to take on a different character from that seen in previous farmers' movements. The new characteristics have been brought forward most clearly in those struggles and organizations of the farmers which have found their organizing center in the Farmers' Committee of Action, and the two national Farm Conferences held by it in 1932 in Washington, and in 1933 in Chicago, and especially its left wing, the United Farmers League. What is new in this farmers' movement is first, the political clarity with which it has attacked the traditional nostrums with which the farmers have been fooled so many times in the past (Currency Reform, etc.), and its resolute combatting of the anti-farmer policies of the Roosevelt New Deal (crop reduction, etc.). It is distinguished by its ability to rise above sectional and race divisions, by its proclamation of the unity of Negro and white farmer, by its formulation of a national outlook and program, as against the narrow, regional, provincial approach. It has struck at the heart of the farmers' problems in its demand for the cancellation of mortgages, debts and back taxes, raising sharply the most vital issues which determine class alignments. Above all, it has been able not only to proclaim the abstract principle of the worker-farmer alliance, but actually to begin to realize it in daily life and struggles.

A mass movement of a mixed class nature that has begun to take on a revolutionary trend in the U. S. in the past period, is that of the war veterans. The veterans' movement comprises workers, farmers and a larger proportion of middle class elements. It is unified not by its class composition but by its common demands for payment of the adjusted compensation certificates (bonus), for disability allowances and hospitalization, all of which have been under heavy attack by the Roosevelt administration. The tremendous revolutionary potentialities in this movement were startlingly revealed by the great Bonus March in 1932, which was a tremendous outburst of mass indignation against the Hoover regime. That these forces are again gathering, that they are exerting tremendous pressure, that they are threatening to burst forth again into mass action, was dramatically shown by the panicky action of Congress in over-riding Roosevelt's veto of the Congressional replacement of a small portion of what the Roosevelt regime had stolen from the veterans. An indispensable role has been played in this veterans' movement by the still small, but very active Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League. If this organization would receive more cooperation and assistance, more systematic help in recruiting all the potential forces of veterans, who are as yet inactive in this work, the results in bringing into active expression the mass forces of the veterans' revolt would mature much faster. The veterans' movement is a most valuable ally to the revolutionary working class movement. It stands as one of the important tasks of the entire Party in mobilizing the auxiliary forces for the working class movement in the United States.

Another auxiliary movement of growing importance that has appeared as a serious factor only in the last two years, is the revolutionary movement among the students. In the student movement we are also dealing with a mixed class composition. The movement began principally in the higher institutions of learning with predominantly middle class composition. It has rapidly spread to the secondary schools and involved a large number of proletarian students in its activities. Led and organized by the National Student League, this movement has established a base in hundreds of high schools, colleges and universities; it has become national in scope; it has exerted a great and growing influence upon all intellectual circles. From the beginning it has been clearly revolutionary in its program and activities. One of its strongest points has been its clear recognition that the leading role belongs to the workers and not to the students in the

Pacific Coast area, among agricultural and cannery workers, fishermen and lumber workers. These organizations and the historic struggles conducted by them have definitely established the fact that our movement has fully taken over and absorbed the specifically American revolutionary traditions and forces in that territory, which before the rise of the Communist Party was organized in and around the I. W. W.

The rise of the revolutionary Agricultural Workers' Unions, especially in the California area, has a further special significance for our Party. This is the first beginning of mass organization among a category of workers which, in spite of the scattered and decentral character of its labor in more areas, constitutes numerically the largest single category of the working class. Agricultural workers in the United States comprise two and a half to three million workers. Large numbers of them are favorably situated for organization, especially in the sections of the industry organized on the lines for mass production for the city markets, fruit, vegetable and dairy farming. Large numbers of these workers are massed around the industrial centers, in the East and Middle West also, within easy reach of the organized labor movement in the cities. Serious trade union organization of these workers provides a most important extension of the working class base of the revolutionary movement. At the same time, they furnish the necessary class base for revolutionary organization among the poor and middle farmers, who are more and more revolting against the capitalist attacks. It is the organized agricultural workers which in the first place will provide a firm basis for working class hegemony in the alliance between the working class as a whole with the movement of the revolting farmers. The necessity of the general leadership of the working class over the movements of all other sections of the exploited population if all of their forces are to be unified for the common struggle against capitalism, should make it clear to every district of the Party that their work in reaching and organizing the agricultural workers acquires an extraordinary importance at the present time.

general revolutionary movement. Especially the students' movement has made a valuable contribution in extending the organized mass movement against war and fascism among the masses of youth. The student movement, in fact, is a pioneer in the development of the general anti-war movement through its Students' Anti-War Congress in Chicago in December, 1932, which first united, on a national scale, anti-war forces of various political and class origins. Its participation in the youth section of the American League Against War and Fascism has constituted one of the most active and valuable phases of that organization's work. By organized participation in helping strike actions, defense movements, the Scottsboro case, etc., the students have been brought close to and participation in the general class struggles and taught them the practical meaning of working class leadership. The weakness of this movement still remains that its leading cadres are still largely drawn from the middle class elements of the colleges and universities, that it does not yet sufficiently base itself upon the larger bodies of proletarian students in the secondary schools, nor sufficiently draw them into active leadership of the movement.

The broadest movement of mixed-class composition has been the American League Against War and Fascism, formed at the great U. S. Congress Against War, held in New York last October. The Congress itself, while predominantly working class in composition, embraced the widest variety of organizations that have ever been united upon a single platform in this country. It gathered the most significant strata of the intellectuals. The breadth of the movement was not secured by sacrificing clarity of program. On the contrary, while its program is distinctly not that of the Communist Party, it is so clear and definite in facing the basic issues, that to carry it out in practice entails clearly revolutionary consequences. It is a real united front program of immediate struggle against war and fascism. That is the reason for the frantic efforts to break up and scatter the American League Against War and Fascism that have been and are being made by the Socialist Party leaders, Mustetes, and the renegades from Communism. The unbridled ferocity of the attacks made against the League by these elements, and by their comrades-in-arms of the National Civil Federation, Ralph Esley, Matthew Woll & Co., should be an indication to us of the revolutionary value of this broad united front organization. In serious self-criticism, we must say that although our movement responded excellently (in most places) to the call to the National Congress, it did not follow up this congress everywhere with serious local organizational work to consolidate the potential movement that had been brought together. Only in a few places has this work been seriously begun. In every locality the non-Party and mixed-class character of the

(Continued on Page Seven)

FOR WORKING CLASS STATE POWER

"Raise the political consciousness of the struggling workers, to bring them to an understanding of the class structure of society, of the fact that the two main classes are fighting for control, that Roosevelt, leading the present ruling class, finance capital, stands for degradation, hunger, misery, oppression, fascism, war—that only the working class, exercising state power, can open a new era of peace, progress, and prosperity."

"Consolidate everything that is most active, intelligent, fearless and loyal in the working class, into a compact, monolithic leadership of mass struggle, into the Communist Party, organically united with the revolutionary workers and oppressed peoples of the world in our Communist International."

THE NEW DEAL TO DATE
"What has happened with the 'New Deal'? Has it failed? Many workers, in the first stages of disillusionment, come to that conclusion. They are disillusioned with the result, but still believe in the intention. The S. P. and A. F. of L. leaders try to keep them in this stage. But this conclusion is entirely too simple. The 'New Deal' has not improved conditions for the workers and exploited masses. But that was never its real aim; that was one ballyhoo; that was only bait with which to catch suckers. In its first and chief aim, the 'New Deal' succeeded; that aim was, to bridge over the most difficult situation for the capitalists, and to launch a new attack upon the workers with the help of their leaders, to keep the workers from general resistance, to begin to restore the profits of finance capital."

WHAT'S ON

Saturday
REGISTRATION for Spring Term, Harlem Workers School, now going on at 100 W. 125th St., Room 212B.
Manhattan
COLOR LIGHT DANCE given by the...
ENTERTAINMENT and Dance given by...
SUNDAY
COTTING OF Y.O.L. Section 13. Meet at 23rd St. Sub. Sta. 9:30 a.m.

The Fighting Vets

By H. E. BRIGGS
Comrade Levin, national chairman of the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League will be in the following cities on a national tour to speak on the coming Bonus March and rally the vets for the restoration of their compensation.

Neckwear Rank, File Workers Hit Expulsions, Code Demand Reinstatements to Executive; Denounce Fuchs Machine

NEW YORK—Protesting against the expulsion of two members from the executive board and the expulsion of rank and file members from the union, members of the United Neckwear Makers Union Local 11016 met at Irving Plaza Wednesday.

Wollertz, Framed Anacortes, Wash. Worker, Is Dead Sick, Was Imprisoned After Unemployed Food March

ANACORTES, Wash., April 13.—Bill Wollertz, young lumber worker, and militant leader of the unemployed here, died at his home on March 29th following his release from prison.

10 Workers Fired By Dugan's Bakery Conveyor Belt Causes Speed-up

QUEENS VILLAGE, N. Y.—Ten militant workers who took a leading part in a strike six months ago at Dugan Bros. Bakery here, have now being laid off.

1,000 Zinc Workers on Strike in Illinois 300 Plow, Wheel Workers Locked Out in Peru

LA SALLE, Ill., April 13.—Strikes led by the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers have paralyzed the anti-union smelting center of La Salle and Peru as 600 men from the Mathiesen-Hegeler Zinc Co. are still on strike.

The Freiheit Anniversary

TODAY the "Freiheit," Jewish Communist daily, celebrates its twelfth anniversary. It is a day of rejoicing not only for the thousands of Jewish working-class readers of the Freiheit, but for the whole American working class.

Pa. CWA, Jobless Demonstrate At Raeburn Plaza Demand, Jobs, Relief Increases, Enactment of H.R. 7598

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Workers on the "work relief" projects here will apparently work without pay after April 13, according to Eric H. Biddle, director of state emergency relief, who in his statements to the press Thursday, said that no money would be available after that day.

Phila. Distillery Workers Strike Plan to Spread Strike to Other Plants

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., April 13.—One hundred and seventy-five workers, employed at the Continental Distillery Co. answered the bosses' lockout by striking, and 1,110 more workers are expected to walk out as we go to press.

Three Found Guilty For Picketing Food Store in Brooklyn

NEW YORK.—Conrad Kay, organizer of the Food Workers Union, and two strikers of the Karp Brothers Store, Irving Becker and J. Dudka were found guilty of disorderly conduct in picketing the Karp store.

Benjamin to Speak on Sunday Over Radio Station WBNX

NEW YORK.—Herbert Benjamin, National Organizer of the Unemployment Councils, will speak over the radio, station WBNX, on Sunday, April 15, at 8:45 p.m. on the Workers Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill (H.R. 7598).

WALL STREET'S CAPITOL

WASHINGTON, April 13.—Recommendations for supporting President Roosevelt's huge war preparations program, submitted last January by a special committee of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States to the latter's thousands of member bodies throughout the country, were adopted "overwhelmingly" in a forty-five day referendum vote, the Chamber announced yesterday.

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Greet the Daily Worker on International Solidarity Day MAY DAY Greetings
NAME _____ AMOUNT \$ _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____
All greetings mailed before April 22nd to the DAILY WORKER, 50 EAST 13TH ST., NEW YORK will positively appear in the May Day Edition

Miner Burned in Pit But Is Tricked Out of Compensation

Couldn't See for 12 Months; Fooled by Company Lawyer and Is Denied Job

By a Farmer Correspondent

ENELE, Ala.—I was hurt in 1930 on May 19 at the Tennessee Coal and Iron Co. down in the pit at Westfield plant, and I was treated. I was hurt by hot lime and iron burnt in my face and eyes. There was no light in the pit. I was picking up a piece of pig iron, a weight of 200 pounds and I was cleaning up with a shovel under a shine point iron and he could not see me at all. He threw the hot iron in my face and I got burnt bad. The foreman had forced me down in the pit and I did not want to go in there at all, but he says to me, "If you don't go into the pit, you will have to go home and be fired from the job," and I went in the pit and did not have a light at all. As soon as I went into the pit I got hurt, and after I was hurt they sent me to the hospital.

I was in there for thirty days and the doctor gives me a work card. I haven't worked since, and I lost my sight for 12 months. The company doctor treated me. I asked the doctor for my pension, and he

says there isn't any for me and a lawyer sent me word that he could get me compensation. He was a company lawyer. On Oct. 9, 1930, he brought me a settlement. I could neither read nor write and he had me sign it, so to law with it, and I signed it, and I got \$20, and the lawyer got \$30. After I signed he said, "You signed an agreement for your eyes."

Then I took the paper to Judge Boyd and the judge he said to me, "Is that all you got for your eyes?" And I told him I did not want that, I wanted more and he told my lawyer to get the doctor by 1 o'clock and the doctor did not come, and after the doctor did not come, I went back to the judge and asked him, did he sign the paper? And he said to me, "Get a lawyer—have a trial over again." I tried to get a lawyer and I could not get one to fight it for me at all, and then on Oct. 10, 1930, the doctor did not give any more treatment, and I went to the company for a job and I was turned down. I haven't worked since, and I asked the company doctor treated me. I asked the doctor for my pension, and he



In the Home

HELEN LUKE

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE HIGH COSTS OF LIVING IN BROWNVILLE

These are stirring times in Brownsville as well as in the Bronx, as far as the struggle against the high cost of living is concerned. An effort to force the Borden and Sheffield Companies to reduce the price of milk and dairy products is in progress there as well as in the Bronx. The Brownsville housewives, under the leadership of that section of the Women's Councils, have stopped buying the milk of these two companies.

Open air meetings have been held to familiarize workers of the neighborhood with the struggle. Agents of the companies came to the women and asked them why they were making so much fuss—and if the price of milk would come down a cent, would they please stop all this agitation? !!!

Sour cream was actually dropped from 10 cents per measure to 8 cents. That helps, but the battle is not won yet, so a big demonstration is being planned to demand support of all the Brownsville women. This is scheduled for Bristol and Sutter Avenues, Wednesday, April 18 at 2 p. m. All mass organizations are asked to support this demonstration.

"When you go looking for work they all want kids," one woman worker of 29 commented bitterly.

"A superintendent, in rejecting a woman of 38, pointed to a sign for help wanted, saying, "It reads Girls Wanted, not old women."

Many groups of women workers, especially waitresses, salesgirls, and such—know only too well that their very lives depend largely on preserving a youthful, attractive appearance. Such workers are naturally keenly interested in anything that holds out hope of helping them in this respect. (It would take a sardonic soul indeed to accuse them of "vanity.")

Here too, an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure, and those will be fortunate who realize while young that contortions of the muscles of the face due to various emotional or mental conditions, may become habitual to the point where a permanent distortion is the result. For example, drawing down eyebrow, pinching up the mouth into tight, bitter lines, speaking from one side of the mouth, etc.

(How many of us are not familiar with the fixed, supercilious sneer adorning the faces of some bourgeois dames, and with the egotistical, lip-sided mouths and slitty eyes of bourgeois men who got that way trying to impress the world with their importance!)

The working girl is faced with the problem of obstructing as far as possible the damaging of her looks by her hard conditions, the strain, worry, and constant scolding she endures. We'll touch next week on the care of the face and hair, and the caution needed in the selection and use of lotions, cosmetics and so on.

The Beauty Seeker En Route
Sailing, sailing, over the deep blue sea—of "beauty culture." We were dealing with line and color as factors in our appearance, and touched on the dressing of the hair as contributing to a symmetrical effect. What about the face itself? Can anything really be done to preserve or restore its youth?

Here is a relevant passage from Grace Hutchins' "Woman Who Work."

How O'Leary Tries to Tie Up Pennsylvania Miners to Coal Operators' Speed-Up System

PMA Officials Organize Drive Against Militancy

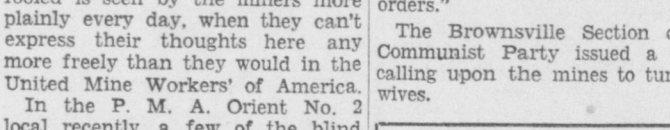
(By a Miner Worker Correspondent)

BENTON, Ill.—Just a little over a year ago, the miners of Illinois shook off the shackles of John L. Lewis and formed what they thought would be a union of their own, the Progressive Miners of America. But how badly they were fooled is seen by the miners more plainly every day, when they can't express their thoughts here any more freely than they would in the United Mine Workers of America. In the P. M. A. Orient No. 2 local recently, a few of the blind Peary followers tried very hard to have two of their local members removed from the local relief committee. The charges were so foolish that their scheme failed. Not satisfied, these same people are passing a petition around for the same purpose again, and forcing the miners of the local to sign against these two members, by threatening to stop relief for those refusing to sign, calling them sympathizers of the left-wingers, and have even gone so far as to threaten some of the members with knives; all because these two miners have voiced their resentment against the present P. M. A. officials' policy of doing nothing for the miners.

Instead of militant strike action and a class struggle program, the P. M. A. officials are outbuilding Lewis in knavery.

The only course left for the miners is unity of both the U. M. W. A. and P. W. A. rank and file, and to go no further with the program of action which was drawn up at the Illinois Rank File Conference in Springfield, March 11th.

—A Miner's Daughter.



Tells Men to Work Harder to Produce Coal in Six Hours Than They Formerly Did in Seven

By a Worker Correspondent

CALIFORNIA, Pa. (By Mail).—An appeal to the miners of Pennsylvania to help the coal operators' speed-up schemes was made by John O'Leary in his speech April 1 to the meeting of 10,000 miners and their wives and children at the United Mine Workers of America rally here.

John O'Leary, who is the International Board member of District No. 14 of the U. M. W. A., said to the miners, "Your leaders convinced the coal operators and the Government that you are capable of producing the same amount of coal in seven hours a day, that it now takes 8 hours a day to produce. If we, through more efficient methods of work (meaning more intense speed-up) accomplish this, then next year we can ask and probably get the six hours a day."

O'Leary also proposed scabbery on the part of the Pennsylvania miners by saying, "If the Southern and Northern West Virginia do not sign an agreement, there will be a stoppage (not strike) and we in western Pennsylvania will get their orders."

The Brownsville Section of the Communist Party issued a leaflet calling upon the mines to turn this wive.

City Officials Backed By UMWA Against Miners

(By a Worker Correspondent)

NEW KENSINGTON, Pa. — On April 1 the District officials of the United Mine Workers of America arranged a mass meeting. The attendance was a little better than 3,000. The chairman of the meeting was Jack Hasan, formerly a Westmoreland County detective. This man is liked so much that the same evening a meeting of the local in Renton took place, where Hasan was told by the miners not to come back.

The Mayor Daniel Burns was to speak, but instead they got a city official named Silverman. They tried to tell us how good the mayor was to the workers. He has a good record of using his police to arrest workers for distributing leaflets during the aluminum strike. The workers' water, gas, electricity is shut off by him, and evictions are on the order of the day.

Pat Fagan, District president of the U. M. W. of A. was continually interrupted by questions, point of order, etc. Mr. Hasan had to take the microphone to appeal to the audience to be peaceful, but they were unable to check it.

The miners spoke of \$6 and 5 hours a day, 5 days a week. During Fagan's speech about half of the audience walked away. Fagan said that he did not come to answer questions, but to explain the conditions of the agreement.

The miners will struggle; there are many conditions in the mines which do not come under the agreement, such as pushing cars, cheating on weight, no payment for dead work, etc.

To lead the miners in the struggle against the worsening conditions in the mines, the opposition groups must be organized, the Communists in the mines must take the initiative in the fight around the immediate needs, to lead the opposition in cleaning out the corrupt local officials in many of the locals, and preparing the workers for struggle.

This victory of the miners of \$5 a day and 7 hour day was possible only as a result of the struggles the miners have put up. This was given to them because they have some experiences of the miners strike when they marched 5,000 strong on the Clairton mines.

Comradely yours, F. B. M.

PARTY LIFE 'Lack of Forces,' Poor Defense Against Lack of Party Activity

Proper Co-Ordination of Work Will Overcome Age-Worn Excuse

(By a Worker Correspondent)

About a month ago an attempt was made to organize a local committee of the American League Against War and Fascism in the neighborhood where I live. The delegates attending the first meeting were Socialists and Lovestonites and no effort was made to build the United Front. Front by inviting trade unions and mass organizations in the neighborhood to send delegates. At the second meeting, however, several left wing organizations were represented and the Socialists and Lovestonites, true to their splitting tactics, withdrew from the committee. I attended this meeting as a delegate from three local groups of my mass organization and was elected secretary of the committee.

Since this second meeting, the committee has contacted a number of churches, clubs, neighborhood settlement houses, parent-teacher organizations, etc., in an effort to build a United Front Committee, and has been partially successful, despite the opposition of the labor misleaders and renegades. The committee has held open air meetings with the weather permitting, is calling a neighborhood mass meeting to rally forces in support of the April 6th meeting at St. Nicholas Arena.

In connection with this work, I wish to draw attention to the attitude of some of the Party comrades which seems to me to be incorrect. When the question of affiliation with the League was raised in my Unit, there was immediate response and delegates were elected. But when other units in the territory were invited to participate their response was one, either of indifference or opposition. When a comrade approached one of the units for assistance in the distribution of leaflets for our mass meeting, he was told, "We have no time for this work. We must contact the masses." The April 6th of another unit when asked to raise the question, said, "What the hell. This is a paper committee."

The District Draft Resolution points out that, "One of the serious shortcomings of the district has been the failure to take advantage of the great interest aroused by the U. S. Congress Against War and Fascism and the exceptional possibilities for building the League Against War and Fascism in the city." The Draft Resolution also points out our shortcomings in the application of the United Front tactics. Whom do the comrades, quoted above, expect to apply these tactics? Certainly the Socialist and Lovestonite leadership will not do it. Nor will the A. F.

Of L. or A. W. P. misleadership make any efforts in this direction.

If our committee is to be built into a real United Front Committee, it must be done by the workers themselves; by the rank and file in every organization represented, assisted and led by our comrades who best understand how to fight war and fascism; by arousing the workers to struggle for their daily need. If our comrades lag behind and wait for someone else to give the committee leadership, it will certainly be a paper organization and will remain one.

There is another recent experience to which I desire to call attention. As a delegate from my unit, I attended the convention of the new Waterfront Concentration Section on the West Side. When I read the Section Draft Resolution I noticed that no mention was made of the League Against War and Fascism; and this seemed to me to be an omission. I knew, however, that the Draft Resolution was in no way a final document, and I expected that the leading comrades would speak of building the League, in their discussion.

Because of this expectation and because, as a new Party member, I felt that I could learn more by listening than by speaking, I did not take the floor myself. I now recognize my error. In the entire discussion the League was mentioned only once and then very briefly. The comrades spoke again and again of the importance of marine in the struggle against war and fascism but not once was the task of building the League mentioned. While I recognize fully the importance of the day to day struggle on the waterfront, I believe that the failure to tie up the League Against War and Fascism with the work and to make provision for the building of the League represents a serious oversight.

R. V. A.
Unit 33, Formerly Section 1.
Now Waterfront Concentration Section.

Letters from Our Readers

SOME GOOD PAMPHLETS ON THE SOVIET UNION

New York City.
I am very much interested in getting a real knowledge of the general government and economic machinery of the Soviet Union. But on account of the large number of books on the subject that confuse and slander and misrepresent, I have trouble in finding one that is really honest and accurate. I should be therefore very grateful to you if you would recommend to me the best and latest writings on the matter.

I shall be looking every day into your paper for an answer to my request.

—An Unemployed Worker.

Editorial reply: There are any number of books on the Soviet Union which will give the reader an accurate account of what is happening in the U. S. S. R. To name a few small pamphlets, "The Soviet Union—Your Questions Answered," "Religion in the U. S. S. R. (Conditions of workers and the trade unions)," "The Working Women in the Soviet Union," "Anti-Soviet Lies and the Five Year Plan." These pamphlets sell from 2c up and may be obtained from the Workers Library Publishers, 50 East 13th St., New York.

CONTRIBUTIONS ARE VERY WELCOME

Calumet City, Ill.
Enclosed find \$1 contribution to the \$35,000 financial drive. The Peoples Cooperative State Bank of Hammond, Ind., just got through paying ten per cent 3rd distribution on March 1 to their depositors and I held a bank draft check set value for \$2. The check once was issued to the Northern American Life and Accident Insurance Co., Terre Haute, Ind., and on September 3,

DOG FANCY PROTESTS

New York, N. Y.
Editor Daily Worker.
Dear comrade:
As a steady reader of the Daily Worker, I hereby protest today's cartoon about plugging the Socialist Seevering as a dog getting a bone from the fascist table. Comrade, this is a great injustice to the dogs, and entirely too flattering to Seevering. Dogs are the most faithful of all animals and man's best friends. I feel that a snake bearing the name of Socialist Seevering on its fangs would have been more to the point—Justitia Omnium!

Comradely yours, M. D.

The dictatorship of the proletariat must be a State that embodies a new kind of democracy, for the proletarians and the dispossessed; and a new kind of dictatorship, against the bourgeoisie—Lenin.

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Relief Bureau Leaves Employee Without Teeth

By a Worker Correspondent
NEW YORK.—Julius Tanzer, age 60, an employee of the Emergency Home Relief Bureau, Precinct No. 46, Bronx, located at 188th Street and Webster Avenue, had been referred to the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration Dental Clinic for treatment of his teeth. They proceeded to extract all of his teeth, promising to provide him with a false set of teeth after his gums were healed. Six months later Mr. Tanzer, after suffering untold tortures of starvation and inability to digest his food properly due to lack of teeth to chew with, returned for his promised teeth. He was told that they had failed to appropriate enough money for such an expenditure, so therefore Mr. Tanzer will be obliged to trust to the Lord that he be able to grow a new set of teeth at the age of sixty.

WITH OUR YOUNG READERS

BACK TO THE CAPITALIST COUNTRY

I have been in the Soviet Union for about a year and I saw the difference between a workers' country and a capitalist country. I have gone to school there (Anglo-American School). They teach you there different than here. Over there they teach you working class history and workers' fight to free the world from capitalist slavery. They also teach us about the October Revolution and about our beloved Red Army. The defender of the workers' fatherland and so forth. It is so interesting, you feel that this is the truth. You surely feel different in the American School than a fairy tale. You know that where they teach you a lot of bunk and where they try to poison the workers' children's mind with all kinds of fairy tales. Like everybody has a chance in this country to become a President and so forth. Some children fall for that bunk. It is the duty of us Pioneers to convince the children of the workers that they are being fooled and misled; that the only chance they will have is to join the Y. P. A. and fight together with their parents for a Soviet America.

MARION SANKOFF, Brooklyn, N. Y.

How about it? Shall we have lessons in real and true American history? Let us know if you want to learn the kind of history which your teacher dares not tell about. Because if she did, she would probably lose her job.

MAY DAY IS OUR DAY!

This May Day will be bigger and better than ever. Thousands of workers who have been or still are on relief, thousands who have lost their C.W.A. jobs, will know that May 1 is their holiday. This is their day to march all together and show their strength. Workers' children throughout the country will let the world know that they are fighting side by side with their fathers and mothers.

Pioneers are busy at work preparing for the great demonstration. This is what they are doing in New York. In all sections of the city the boys and girls are making floats. Each section is given a different subject. In Harlem where the largest number of Negroes live, they will take the Scottsboro Case. The children on the East Side are using tenement fires as their subject. In Brooklyn, the boys and girls will carry on long sticks empty milk bottles and the torn shoes and dirty clothes they have to wear to school.

In another part of Brooklyn, crowded school rooms will be the subject. On May 1 everywhere workers' children will be marching. In every town and city. They should make the day a success no matter how small the village.

Bring out your class mates after school to march with other workers' children. If you can get enough of your class or school to stay out, so that the teacher will not demote them who stay out, do so. In schools where the Pioneers have been very active, a strike can be called. But if you haven't worked hard during the year, and this is impossible, then you will not be able to strike on May Day.

But you can all march after school! We'll see you all on May Day!

THE CIRCUS IS IN TOWN!

ALPHABET
Some letters in the alphabet mean certain things. See how many you can find. Example: What letter is an insect? The letter B.

Z	E	S	B	D	T
B	R	E	E	M	N
R	G	P	L	A	C
A	I	T	H	R	F
F	L	O	N	O	X
E	F	S	A	K	E

DIRECTIONS
All the animals are on the elephant. You can spell them out by going from letter to letter up and down, crosswise and sidewise. Don't skip any squares. You may have to slip between words but not between letters. Tiger is spelled out. Now go ahead. See if you can find eleven more animals. Let's see who'll be the first to send us the complete list. To become a member of the Puzzle Club send the names of at least eight animals to the Daily Worker Puzzle Club.

Answer to last week's picture talk: Bread and Cocoa.
The next best monograms were sent in by Arthur Buchbinder and Virginia Luttinger.

By joining up now in the Young Pioneers.
By Estell Aldrich.

Doctor Luttinger advises:

By PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS
Helpful Advice for Nazi Invailds
Dear Doctor:
A clever non-Jewish physician, Dr. Lakstchewsky, writes an amusing communication to a newspaper in Basle, Switzerland, that is attracting the attention of the medical press. He remarked that since the Jewish spirit is to be destroyed in every branch of life, according to the National Socialist doctrines, he is anxious to provide a medical guide so that a consistent anti-Semites should know what to avoid when ill.

"A Nazi who has syphilis must not allow himself to be cured by salvarsan, because it is the discovery of a Jew: Ehrlich. He must not even take steps to find out whether he has syphilis because the Wasserman test, which is used for the purpose of finding this out, is the discovery of a Jew. If he thinks he has gonorrhoea, he must not seek to establish the fact, because again he will be using the method of a Jew: Neisser. A Nazi who has heart disease must not use digitalis, which was popularized by a Jew: Ludgwig Traube. If he has a toothache, he will not use cocaine, or he will be benefitting by the work of a Jew: Solomon Stricker. Quinine must not be treated or he will have to benefit by the discoveries of the Jews, Widal and Welli. If he has diabetes, he must not use insulin, because of the research work of the Jew, Minkowski. If he has a headache, he must shun pyramidon and antipyrin (Spiro and Ellege). Anti-Semites who have convulsions must put up with them, for it was a Jew, Oscar Leibrich, who thought of chloral hydrate; the same with psychic ailments: Freud being the father of psycho-analysis. Anti-Semite doctors must jettison all discoveries and improvements by the Nobel Prize men Volitzer, Baranagi, Otto Warburg; the dermatologists Judasohn, Bruno Block, Una; the neurologists, Mendel, Oppenheim, Kronesker, Benedit; the lung specialist, Frankel; the surgeon, Israel; the anatomist, Henle, and others.

"Here's to the further increase in power of the Communist Party, and to a Soviet America in the very near future.

Comradely yours, F. B. M."

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M. J. OLGIN, Editor Morning Freiheit

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Some letters in the alphabet mean certain things. See how many you can find. Example: What letter is an insect? The letter B.

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R	G	P	L	A	C
A	I	T	H	R	F
F	L	O	N	O	X
E	F	S	A	K	E

DIRECTIONS
All the animals are on the elephant. You can spell them out by going from letter to letter up and down, crosswise and sidewise. Don't skip any squares. You may have to slip between words but not between letters. Tiger is spelled out. Now go ahead. See if you can find eleven more animals. Let's see who'll be the first to send us the complete list. To become a member of the Puzzle Club send the names of at least eight animals to the Daily Worker Puzzle Club.

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"One of Our Chief Tasks Is the Struggle for Liberation of the Negro"

(Continued from Page Four)

movement must be carried forward, but not at the expense of dropping the working class and Communist participation as has too often been the case. The American League in its program proclaims that the working class is the basic

The Struggle for Negro Rights

One of the chief tasks of the Communist Party, which has come sharply to the front of our practical work, is the liberation of the Negro people from the special oppression under which they suffer. In organizing and leading the struggle for Negro rights, the Communist Party is carrying out the slogan first enunciated by Karl Marx when he was organizing international support by the European workers to the emancipation of the Negro chattel slaves in America. Marx said: "Labor in a white skin cannot be free while labor in a black skin is branded." The cause of the emancipation of the Negroes from their special oppression is inextricably bound up with the cause of the emancipation of the working class from the oppression of capitalism. Because our Party, as a whole, has not yet firmly mastered the theoretical basis for our Negro program, it is necessary again at this convention to discuss it.

From its inception, the Communist Party of the United States placed the demands for Negro rights in its program. In the first period of our work, up to 1929, we cannot claim any important results. This was because the Party, in spite of its correct general orientation, did not have a clear Bolshevik understanding of the Negro question as the problem of liberation of an oppressed nation. The Party had not yet entirely emancipated itself from the limitation of the bourgeois-liberal approach to Negro rights, nor from the social-democratic denial of the Negro question with its formula that the Negro can find their emancipation only with the establishment of Socialism, and as a part of the working class. The Party, however, was continually struggling with this question and constantly raising it again for discussion. As a result of this, the problem was brought to the consideration of our World Party at the Sixth Congress of the Communist International. The resolution there worked out, subsequently elaborated by a special resolution in October, 1930, finally armed our Party politically for a decisive step forward in rousing and organizing the liberation movement of the Negroes, in uniting Negro and white workers in a firm and unbreakable solidarity.

The characteristics of the position of the Negroes in America as an oppressed nation is expressed in: 1) the fact that the basic Negro population, engaged in cultivating the land, is systematically excluded from independent possession of the land which it cultivates; 2) that it is thereby reduced to a position of semi-serfdom in the form of specially exploited tenants and sharecroppers; 3) that this special exploitation is enforced by a system of legal and illegal discrimination, segregation, denial of political rights, personal subjection to individual exploiters, and all forms of violent oppression culminating in the most brutal and barbarous system of murder, that it has become notorious all over the world as lynch-law. It is difficult to find anywhere in the world such examples of barbarous tortures as are used in America to enforce the special oppression of the Negro people.

The historical origin and development of the Negro population of America as chattel slaves imported from Africa, together with their ready identification due to their special racial characteristics, have facilitated the efforts of the white ruling class in the creation of the institutions and customs of special national oppression that were set up following the smashing of the system of chattel slavery in the Civil War. These things give the Negro question its character as that of an oppressed nation. The Negroes have never been emancipated. The form of their oppression was only changed from that of chattel slavery, which constituted an obstacle to the further development of capitalism, to the more "modern" forms of so-called free labor (which means that the employer is freed from all obligation when he has paid the hourly or daily starvation wage), and half-fudged forms of share-cropping, etc., whereby an imperialist nation oppresses and exploits a weak nation. The position of the masses of the Negroes, as farmers denied the possession of the land, is the foundation for the special oppression of the Negro people as a whole. All phases of struggle for Negro rights must take as their foundation and starting place, therefore, the struggle for possession of the land by the landless Negro farmers. This can only be achieved by breaking through the rule of the white landlord ruling class, the carrying through of the agrarian revolution, such as was carried through in Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century when the foundations were laid by modern capitalism. The agrarian revolution, that is, the distribution of land among those who work the land, is historically part of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. But this revolution was never carried through entirely in any country, and hardly at all in the weak nations; the pre-capitalist social and economic forms of oppression and exploitation of the weak nations has been carried over to modern times and incorporated into the systems of finance capital and modern imperialism.

The struggle for the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution for the Negroes, as for other oppressed nations thus becomes today objectively a revolutionary struggle to overthrow imperialism. As such it is an ally of the revolutionary proletariat against the common enemy—finance capital. Such agrarian revolution can be realized only through winning national self-determination for the Negroes in that territory in which they constitute the majority of the population and the basic productive force upon the land, or as a by-product of a victorious proletarian revolution in the country as a whole. The basic slogan of Negro liberation is therefore the slogan of self-determination; the basic demand of the Negroes is the demand for the land. Throughout the United States the struggle for Negro liberation is expressed in the struggle for complete equality, for the abolition of all segregation laws and practices (Jim-Crowism), the struggle against the ideas, propagated by the white ruling class, of Negro inferiority (a form of national chauvinism which we call white chauvinism), which is used to justify the oppression of the Negroes and to keep the Negro and white toilers divided.

Bolshevik Theory Necessary for Daily Struggles
These basic political considerations have been, by experience, proved to be absolutely necessary weapons to make effectual even the smallest

force for the struggle against war; from the beginning it has never tried to avoid the issue of Communist Party participation in this broad united front. It is our task to see that the American League, organizationally, gets that working class foundation and active participation of the Communists for which its program provides.

struggle for Negro rights. Let us consider, for example, the world famous Scottsboro case, which has represented one of the major political achievements of the Communist Party in the last period. How impossible it would have been to rouse the Negro masses in the United States in millions to the support of the Scottsboro boys; how impossible to have joined with them millions of white toilers and middle classes; how impossible to have stirred the entire world, as was done—if the Scottsboro case had been taken up from the liberal-humanitarian point of view, or if it had been approached from the narrow social-democratic viewpoint! The Scottsboro case stirred America to its depths, not merely because nine friendly Negro boys were threatened with an unjust death, but because their cause was brought forward clearly as a symbol of the national oppression of twelve million Negroes in America, because the fight for their freedom was made the symbol of the fight of the Negro farmers for their land, of the fight for the self-determination in the Black Belt, of the fight against lynchings, against Jim-Crowism, against the smallest discriminations, for unconditional social and political equality for the Negroes.

Only the Bolshevik understanding of the Negro question makes possible such an effective fight for the smallest advance for the Negroes to realize their smallest demands; that is why historically it was left for the Communist Party to be the first to raise effectively, on a national scale, the slogan of Negro liberation, since the almost-forgotten days of the Abolitionists.

The Communists unconditionally reject the social-democratic approach of the Second International to the Negro question and to the national question generally, which under the guise of a strictly "working class" evaluation of the Negro question, in actuality carries through the capitalist class program of national oppression. That does not mean, however, that the Communist Party ignores the class divisions among the Negroes, or that it is indifferent to what class influences and leads the Negro masses.

The Communist Party points out that the Negroes also are divided into classes; that in addition to the class of Negro farmers, there is a considerable and growing proletariat, a Negro middle class and a Negro bourgeoisie. The Negro bourgeoisie, also subjected to the special oppression of the Negro people as a whole, has been corrupted into accepting this position of inferiority, and even capitalizing upon this inferior position for its own class gain. This Negro bourgeoisie has become the thorough-going agent of the white ruling class. It maintains a pitiful "superiority" to the Negro masses by means of the condescending support offered to it by the white ruling class. It capitalizes a share of the double rents extracted from the Negro masses by the white landlords through the system of Jim-Crow segregation; it earns these concessions from the white ruling class by energetically exhorting the Negro masses to be patient and long-suffering, to realize their own inferiority, to understand the position of white capitalists and landlords as their rulers as an inescapable visitation inflicted upon them by an all-wise God.

As the Negro masses begin to revolt against this position of inferiority, the Negro bourgeoisie begins to develop special means of heading off and controlling this revolt. They speculate upon the distrust and suspicions created among the masses against the white workers generally through generations of oppression. They appeal to the Negroes to make a virtue out of their segregation, to voluntarily isolate themselves, not to trust any white man, to rely upon themselves alone; they bring forth all sorts of utopian schemes, such as the BACK-TO-AFRICA movement, the SUPPORT-NEGRO-BUSINESS movement, the so-called Pacific (pro-Japanese movement), and so forth, to create the illusions of some possible way out of their misery without direct conflict with the white ruling class. All of these ideas, tendencies, and moods are what we identify collectively as bourgeois-nationalism, or national-reformism. Such a nationalism contributes nothing to the national liberation of the Negro people; on the contrary, it is an instrument of the white ruling class, just as is white chauvinism, to keep the white and Negro masses separated and antagonistic to one another, and thereby to keep both enslaved.

We have had a thousand practical examples of how this Negro bourgeois-nationalism works out in practice. We saw it in the Scottsboro case, when all the bourgeois Negro leaders held up their hands in horror because white and Negro Communists joined hands together to rouse the masses to save the Scottsboro boys. They declared that the Scottsboro boys were in danger, not from the white ruling class whose hearts could not be touched by quiet humanitarian pleading, but that they were in danger rather from the prejudices raised against them by the fact that masses were demanding their release as a part of the demand for national liberation. It was clearly revealed that the bourgeois proposal that the Negroes "stand on their own feet" was merely a proposal to keep themselves from the mercy of the white ruling class.

From all these facts flows the Communist position on the Negro question. The Communists fight everywhere against white chauvinism, against all ideas of Negro inferiority, against all practical discrimination against the Negroes; especially the Communists fight against white chauvinist ideas in the ranks of the workers, and above all against any white chauvinist influence penetrating the ranks of the Communist Party. The Communists declare that the white workers must stand in the forefront of the struggle for Negro rights and against white chauvinism. At the same time, the Communists fight against Negro bourgeois-nationalism which is only the other side of white chauvinism. In this fight against Negro nationalism, it is especially the Negro Communists who have to be the most active and alert. The danger of Negro nationalism is at the moment especially sharp, precisely because of the fact that the successes of the Communist leadership in the fight for the Scottsboro boys has aroused the white masters to a most active and bitter counter-offensive against us.

The main organizational channels of the struggle for Negro rights are, first of all, the trade unions and unemployment councils. Here

The cause of the emancipation of the Negroes from their special oppression is inextricably bound up with the cause of the emancipation of the working class from the oppression of capitalism

we draw in the Negro working class forces, we secure the only reliable leading forces to organize the struggle of the Negro masses as a whole. Further basic forms of organization of the Negroes are the unions of sharecroppers and tenant farmers. It is one of our most proud achievements that we have been able through our political influence to bring into existence the Croppers' Union in the South, which is already approaching 6,000 members.

A more broad and all-inclusive organizational form for the Negro liberation struggles is the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. This should embrace in its activities all of the basic economic organizations of Negro and white workers standing on the program of Negro lib-

eration, and further unite with them all other sections of the Negro population drawn towards this struggle, especially those large sections of the petty-bourgeoisie, intellectuals, professionals, who can and must be won to the national liberation cause. The L. S. N. R. must, in the first place, be an active federation of existing mass organizations; and secondly, it must directly organize its own membership branches composed of its most active forces and all supporters otherwise unorganized. The present beginnings of the L. S. N. R. and its paper, THE LIBERATOR, which with only a little attention have already shown mass vitality, must be energetically taken up, and spread throughout the country.

The Party Must Win the Youth

A few words are necessary here about the special problems of the youth, although this will be the subject of a special report and discussion. The winning of the working class youth is the problem not of our youth organizations alone, but the problem of the entire Party. In the past this has not only been forgotten, but there has even been allowed to develop a sort of organizational rivalry between the youth and adult organizations, a rivalry not in the nature of socialist competition, but of the adult organizations trying to grab away as quickly as possible from the youth organizations every rising young leader who shows special organizational or political capacity. The idea has been that as soon as the youth movement produces a leader who is "good enough for Party work" that this means he is wasting his time if he remains any longer in what is looked upon as a sort of probationary kindergarten. This frivolous attitude toward youth work must be eliminated from our movement. Certainly, our enemies are more serious about winning the youth, and especially the rising Fascist groups. Who shall blame the unprepared, politically unarmed, and desperate masses of young workers who fall victim to the demagoguery of fascism, if we drift along without any serious, large-scale efforts to reach these youth, to organize them, to politically educate them, to fight for their daily needs, to raise their class consciousness, and to give them a recognized place in the whole revolutionary movement? Every Party unit, and every Party committee, must take as a part of its daily concrete tasks, the work among the youth, the establishment of their organizations, the solution of their political problems, and material help to their movement. The Young Communist League, instead of being less than a fourth the size of the Party, must be expanded in the next period

to become larger than the Party; that means, that the youth must find a serious place in the trade unions and other mass organizations; that it must be helped to politically enrich the life of its organizations, to concretize its struggles for the young workers' needs, to broaden out the scope of its activities, to include everything that interests, attracts and holds the masses of young workers, also including their social, sport and cultural needs.

Special attention is also necessary to the tasks of winning and organizing women industrial workers and housewives in the revolutionary movement. The capitalist class has drawn women into industry on a much larger scale than we have drawn into revolutionary activities and organizations. We will continue to lag behind the capitalists in this respect only at the price of continued weakness in the revolutionary movement. This question becomes all the more pressing because we are faced with a perspective of imperialist war in the near future. Under war conditions, everybody knows vast additional masses of women will be drawn into industry and especially into munitions manufacturing. Furthermore, large scale mobilization of men workers into the armies will create gaps in our ranks which can only be filled by the bold promotion of women workers. That means we should long ago have been seriously and systematically preparing the women forces, and boldly promoting them to leading responsible posts. The mobilization of masses of women workers requires special attention to their particular needs, formulation of special demands, the creation of special opportunities to consider their problems in connection with the problems of the whole working class, through conferences, etc. Especially, it requires more systematic recruitment of women into the trade unions, and above all, into the Communist Party.

Problems of the Struggle for the United Front

The increasingly sharp attacks against the workers raise more insistently than ever the necessity of establishment of the working class fighting front to resist these attacks and to win the demands of the workers. The working class in the United States is still largely unorganized. That part which is organized is largely under the influence of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, which keeps it split up in innumerable ways by craft divisions, by discriminations against the Negroes and foreign-born, by divisions between the skilled and unskilled, etc. That smaller section which has begun to question the capitalist system is further divided between the leadership of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, while a considerable section stands aside, still bewildered by these divisions and the problems it does not yet understand, and further confused by the shouts of those small but active groups, the renegades from Communism, the Musketiers, etc.

What is the road to working class unity in the midst of all this disorganization and confusion? The A. F. of L. and Socialist leaders shout that the Communists are splitters and disrupters. This charge is repeated by the renegades and the Musketiers. The capitalist press is especially active in spreading this explanation of the divisions among the workers. According to them, if the Communist Party could only suddenly be abolished, the working class would find itself miraculously united and happily on the road to the solution of its problems.

These gentlemen will excuse us if we cannot accept their version of the problem of working class unity. We cannot achieve the united front of the auto workers under the leadership of William Green and the A. F. of L., for example, in the fight against the recent sell-out and legalization of company unions, because it was precisely William Green who signed his name to that sell-out, and who is using all his efforts to prevent the workers' struggle against steel workers to fight against the monstrous steel code under the leadership of William Green and the other A. F. of L. bureaucrats, because Green is one of the sponsors of this code. We can't build the united front under the A. F. of L. and S. P. leaders in the fight for unemployment insurance, the Workers Bill (H. R. 7598), and give their support to the Wagner Bill, which is a refusal of unemployment insurance, we can't have the united front led by these gentlemen and the Negro reformists for Negro rights, because it is precisely they who deny the rights to the Negroes in the trade unions, who declare the Negroes themselves provoke lynching by the demands for equal rights. A united front with Norman Thomas and S. P. leaders, to develop strike struggles of the workers would be immediately wrecked by the statement of Norman Thomas "Now is not the time to strike." No, it is clear, unity behind these gentlemen means a united surrender to the capitalist attacks. That is not the kind of unity the workers need. We need a united fighting front of the workers against the capitalists and all their agents. But that means that unity must be built up, not with these leaders, but against them. That means not a united front from the top, but a united front built up by the workers from below in the organization and struggle for their immediate needs.

The Communists set no conditions to the united front except that the unity shall be one of struggle for the particular demands agreed upon. But on this condition we must be sternly insist. Sometimes we find people who want to make a united front with us in words, but who seriously hesitate to carry it

vent the unity of the workers in support of the only unemployment insurance bill that is before the country. But we Communists have built up the united front of the workers over the heads of these leaders, and against all of their disruptive efforts. In this united front we have lined up all the awakened, honest and intelligent elements in the labor movement and the sympathizing middle classes. We have welcomed them, one and all, into the united front. We have made possible and easy their participation in it; we have been the main force that brought this united front into existence and we have jealously guarded its unity.

Another illuminating experience was our relations with the Socialist Party leaders in the U. S. Congress Against War and in the American League Against War and Fascism that set up there. The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party voted to join this united front. Eleven of their nominees were added to the Arrangement Committee; their first act was to propose to exclude from the Congress the revolutionary unions of the T. U. U. L., a proposal which was, of course, refused. Their second act was to demonstratively withdraw from the Congress Committee in an attempt to disrupt the Congress before it was held. Surely the workers will not gain unity through following such leadership.

Some of the "left" socialist leaders remained with the Congress, and the League for a time, such as J. B. Matthews and Mary Fox. It is interesting to re-read today, the words of J. B. Matthews, spoken only a few months ago. He said: "This Congress proves beyond any dispute that the United Front of working class elements, of pacifists, of middle-class war-resisters, is a possibility. . . . This program presented to you is the basis for continuing this Union—strengthening it step by step. We must stand together. We dare not fail."

But the Socialist Party leaders put heavy pressure on them and threatened them with expulsion (and incidentally the loss of their jobs). Then these valiant "left" leaders quickly found an excuse to withdraw and make another attempt to disrupt the united front against war and fascism. They abandoned this program to which they had publicly pledged themselves. Already their names are signed to a new program issued by S. P. and Liberal leaders which sees the war danger in the movements of the Red Army in Siberia.

In this latest effort to break up the united front, the Socialists have found their most energetic helpers in Reverend Muste, Mr. Cannon, and Mr. Lovestone, who have attacked us with a bitterness of vituperation that is surely the envy of Ralph Esley and Matthew Woll. The renegades furnish most of the ideas for the struggle against Communism. This is especially true of the counter-revolutionary Trotsky and his agents. They lead the shouts for smashing the Communist Party. All this is done in the

Immediate Demands and Revolution

Our enemies accuse us that we are not really interested in winning these immediate demands. They say that we only use them as a means to an ulterior purpose, which has no relation to these demands, the revolution. They say we only use the united front in order to manipulate our associates as cats' paws to pull our own revolutionary chestnuts out of the fire.

For example, I have a recent issue of the Haverhill, Mass. Evening Gazette, which contains a vicious editorial attack against the Communists. The occasion is a shoe workers' strike that has been going on for more than three weeks. The Haverhill shoe employers want to defeat the workers' demands by forcing them to submit to arbitration.

Some of the leaders, among them the Lovestoneite, I. Zimmerman, wanted to submit to the bosses' demands. The Communists showed the workers how defeat has come to all workers who have submitted their cause to so-called impartial boards. They called upon the workers to strike until the bosses grant them their very reasonable demands. The Communists have been the most active and devoted organizers and leaders of this fight. This enrages the Haverhill Evening Gazette. Let me quote a few paragraphs from its editorial:

"Today Haverhill's shoe industry with its scores of factories and thousands of workers is in grave danger of destruction.

"The industry cannot survive under the terms laid down by the strike leadership. To yield to those terms is to submit to industrial death. To compromise with this leadership is to make a fatal dicker with an evil force.

"This leadership does not care what becomes of Haverhill. Let Haverhill become an industrial leper. Let the homes of the Haverhill workers be lost because Haverhill jobs have been destroyed. Let the hopes of Haverhill workers be doomed because their means of livelihood have been taken from them. What does this leadership care? It doesn't care.

"This leadership's motive is political; its purpose, revolutionary. Haverhill has been deliberately selected as the site for a demonstration of Communist Power. The demonstration is now taking place. It is part of the grandiose Communist scheme for an American revolution."

Then the Gazette draws the conclusion that the workers must "forget for the moment negotiations to end the strike, forget compromises on an agreement, forget everything but the urgent necessity of ridding the Haverhill industry of this evil, dangerous, strike leadership."

This attack is a typical concrete example of the general charge against the Communists that we are not really interested in winning immediate demands, but only in an abstract "revolution." Keeping this in mind, let us analyze this concrete charge a little more closely. What is the substance of it? It is, that if the bosses grant the demands of the workers (to recognize the union and give a small wage increase) that "the industry cannot survive." The bosses cannot afford to grant the workers what they try to demand. The leadership of the workers is "evil" and "dangerous," because this leadership refuses to abandon the demands of the workers, refuses to hand them over to a supposedly impartial tribunal to decide. The complaint is that this leadership is fighting, too uncompromisingly, to achieve now the immediate demands of these workers. That's why the Haverhill Gazette proposes to drive this leadership out of town and tries to rouse mob violence against it. They are interested in preserving the profits of the bosses at the expense of lower wages to workers. They don't give a rap about the hypothetical revolution that they talk about. That's why they speak very kindly about other leaders and Mr. I. Zimmerman, who also claims to be a Communist and for the revolution, but who is ready to abandon the workers' demands in

name of "unity." Each and all proclaim that they are the unifiers, and that the Communists are the disrupters.

From the beginning of this movement, the Communist Party safe-guarded itself against all the lying accusations of its enemies in having a large majority of non-Communist individuals in every controlling committee of the movement. The Communists threw all their forces into support of the U. S. Congress Against War. We welcomed every person and every organization that came into the movement, and agreed to support its declared objectives. The political and organizational platform of the American League was adopted unanimously by a Congress of 2,618 delegates, from 35 states embracing a variety of organizations, ranging from churches and peace societies, Socialist Party branches, religious organizations, workers cultural clubs, fraternal societies, revolutionary trade unions, A. F. of L. unions, independent unions, farmers' organizations, Negro organizations, youth organizations, the Muste group (including even the Lovestoneites), and 130 delegates from various branches of the Communist Party. Was there ever a most promising beginning of the establishment of a united front movement against war and fascism in the United States? Since the Congress, a serious start has been made in spreading this united front throughout the country and among all strata of the population who were sincerely interested in fighting war and fascism. It is true there was some lagging in this work because we Communists mistakenly refrained from pressing ourselves forward, hoping that our initiative would be taken up by the non-Communists. That was a weakness and mistake on our part. It only encouraged every enemy of unity, every jackal of a renegade, to rally their forces for their latest attempt to disrupt the League. Again we have defeated the disrupters. The place of the deserting leaders is being taken by new recruits to this united front, non-Communists, whose influence reaches wider than that of the deserters. Into the front ranks must be drawn trade unionists, especially A. F. of L. We are calling upon all Communists and sympathizing organizations to boldly step forward in comradely co-operation with all other elements, to build the League in every locality to circulate its excellent monthly journal, FIGHT, and to prepare for the great second U. S. Congress Against War, which is being called for next October.

We could recite a thousand local examples of the successful application of the united front tactic, initiated by the Communist Party. The Communists are the only organized political group in America that is always, day in and day out, consistently, earnestly and loyally striving to build up the united front of the workers and their allies in the fight for their immediate political and economic needs.

Haverhill at this moment. They will allow Zimmerman to talk all he wants to about some future revolution as long as he doesn't fight too hard for the immediate demands of the Haverhill workers.

This is the reality behind every concrete example of the charge against the Communists that we sacrifice the immediate interests of the workers to the future revolution.

Is it true that there is a determining relationship between the fight for immediate demands and the revolutionary goal of the working class? Yes, there is such a determining relationship. But it is not that put forward by the Haverhill Gazette and all the other enemies of the Communist Party. The relationship is quite different. Let us take the case of a group of leaders heading a fight for immediate demands of a particular body of workers. They untidely formulate these demands with the participation and approval of all the workers; they present demands to the boss; the boss says: "No, it is impossible for me to grant such demands without going out of business." The workers in other shops and industries are putting forward their demands. All the bosses get together and say: "It is impossible to grant such demands without sacrificing profits. Profits are the mainstay of the capitalist system. To sacrifice profits means to destroy capitalism. This means to destroy the jobs of the workers. Therefore, in the interests of the workers, we must fight for lower wages as the only way to preserve capitalism." Among the workers' leaders there takes place a division into two groups—one group says: "Of course, we're not trying to overthrow capitalism; we're not trying to put our boss out of business; we're not revolutionists; if our demands endanger the boss or the capitalist system, we're ready to compromise them or abandon them altogether, and even submit to worsening of conditions; we're willing to do whatever is necessary to save our boss and the capitalist system." The other group says: "The workers' demands are just and necessary; they must be granted; the productive forces of this industry and the entire country are sufficient to provide this and many times more; the capitalist is only anxious to protect his own profits; he can easily afford to pay; but even if he can't, then so much the worse for him and his system." "We understand that the workers sooner or later must do away with capitalism and establish a Socialist system. If our fight for higher wages now, hastens the coming of Socialism, hastens the coming of the working class revolution, then so much the better. We will fight all the harder for higher wages."

This gives an example of the true relation between immediate demands and revolutionary aims. The A. F. of L. leaders and the Socialist Party set as their guiding rule to do everything to avoid revolution, to save capitalism; that's why they join Roosevelt in putting across the New Deal and the N.R.A.; that's why they say "Now is not the time to strike"; that's why they try to break the strike and send the workers back without gaining their demands, to tie up the workers' organizations in arbitration courts, etc. That is also why those who are revolutionists, those who are preparing the working class to establish Socialism, to overthrow capitalism, they are the only ones who can at all times and in all places be depended upon to fight to the last ounce of energy for the winning of the immediate demands of the workers, without consideration of what result this has in decreasing the profits of the bosses. We revolutionists know that in America we have productive capacity sufficient, if properly used, to give every man, woman and child, a comfortable and happy life. We're going to organize and fight for this.

(Continued on Page Eight)

"Forward to Winning the American Workers for Soviet Power!"

(Continued from Page Seven)

realization of a constantly improving standard of living; we're going to resist with all our power the capitalist efforts to reduce the standard of living, no matter how much Roosevelt may tell us of the necessities of "economy" and "sacrifice." The workers have sacrificed too much already, and we're going to prepare the working class to stop sacrificing. We help them to understand that to realize a full and happy life, they will finally have to take power, overthrow the capitalists, and take possession of the industries themselves through their own Workers' Government.

This we see that it is only the revolutionists who will fight to the end for the immediate demands of the workers, and for better food, clothing and shelter for the toilers. Anyone who is against revolution or afraid of it, inevitably comes to the point where he betrays the workers' interests, surrenders them to the interest of capitalist profits.

is fatal to the success of a particular campaign, as well as endangering our future development. The tendency to bring forward workers' tickets in large industrial cities is generally wrong; it is a tendency to surrender to Farmer-Laborism.

Recently, in South Dakota, our comrades seized the opportunity of a broad State conference of farmers and the Unemployed Council movement to launch a campaign of a leading Communist for Governor of that State. This was correct under the circumstances, even though the Communist Party, as such, had not yet named publicly its candidates. But there is a danger that the further development of this campaign in South Dakota may have a tendency to develop under the flag of non-partisanship. If this is permitted, the movement is in danger of sliding off into the old traditional path of Farmer-Laborism with disastrous results to the workers and farmers in South Dakota. To prevent this, the Communist Party there must come to the front most energetically. The candidate for Governor must make this campaign openly and frankly as the nominee not only of the broad united front, but also of the Communist Party. He must speak as a Communist. The Party must not dissolve its own activities into the broad movement and lose itself there. On the contrary, the Communist Party must be tremendously strengthened in the course of this campaign and must prove in practice its right to the title of leader of the exploited masses of South Dakota.

There are still some tendencies in our movement to look upon the United Front as purely a matter of addressing letters to the top committees of various organizations and conducting negotiations with these committees. But this is not the essence of a united front at all. Letters and negotiations to top committees of reformist organizations have their place at certain moments when they serve as instruments to dramatize issues before the broadest masses and arouse these masses to action and to a movement toward unity. But if such letters and negotiations become an end in themselves; if they are constantly repeated without any results, then they serve not to build the movement for unity, but on the contrary, to demoralize and dissipate it, to discredit the whole slogan of the united front.

Further Questions of the United Front

The tactic of the United Front must be applied in all mass activities. In each case a special form suitable for the occasion must be found concretely. That means the whole Party must be trained to alertness against distortions of the United Front and against deviations. These are of two general types: the right deviation which consists of hiding the face of the Party, sacrificing the main political line, emphasizing the formal aspects of the united front at the expense of the real struggle. The "left" deviation, which is opportunism covered with left phrases, is characterized by contempt for the patient, systematic, daily work necessary to win the workers who are under reformist leadership; by rigid and mechanical approach to united front problems; by fear to plunge boldly into the broadest mass struggles.

In all of our election campaigns, we have the problem of giving them a united front character. The coming Congressional Elections must everywhere be made real united front drive, with the objective of electing at least a few Communist Congressmen from a few concentration points.

We must pay a good deal of attention to two important local united front efforts, namely, the Cleveland and Dearborn elections last year. In Cleveland, the comrades correctly set themselves the task of involving the mass movement of small homeowners in the Communist election campaign. But they made many serious errors in doing this. They encouraged or tolerated the tendency for the Homeowners' Federation to go into politics on its own hook and to transform itself into a political party. The Homeowners' Federation took the initiative in nominating aldermanic candidates, and only as an afterthought, were other working-class organizations drawn in, while the Communist Party, as such, was pushed entirely into the background. Let nobody understand our criticism of this as trying to protect narrow Party interests against the interests of the Homeowners' Federation. No, we are insisting equally upon the interests of the Homeowners' Federation, when we demand that such an organization shall not be transformed into a political party. To attempt to make a political party out of such mass organizations is to seriously threaten their future work and growth, and turn them aside from their proper function. At the same time this has a liquidating effect upon the Communist Party. It does not consolidate the unity of the masses of workers, but rather threatens to break up that unity.

Similarly in the Dearborn election campaign: Dearborn is the city of the Ford Motor factory; it is a company town. There was a mass revolt against the Ford domination in the city government. We correctly decided to unite this revolt around a workers' ticket, participated in by the Communist Party and with Communists as the central candidates. But in practically carrying through this correct line, the comrades retreated before the "red scare," hid the face of the Party in this united front, evaded some of the most crucial political issues. Thus, our comrades contributed to the creation of such an atmosphere of timidity, and evasion, that under sharp attacks from Ford's agents, some of the weaker elements on the workers' ticket fell into panic entirely, and the candidate for Mayor, at one point, signed a resignation from the struggle.

We must again emphasize that, while workers' tickets are permissible under certain special circumstances, and especially in company towns, this under no circumstances means the abandonment of the independent role of the Communist Party. To push the Communist Party into the background, to allow it to be forgotten,

important role in the trade union field and strike movements. This is especially true in those industries where two or more trade unions are already being built among the workers. In every case, revolutionary forces must come forward as the practical fighters for uniting all workers against the company unions, for finding the forms to unify the struggles of the workers in the A. F. of L., T. U. U. L. and independent unions. An excellent example of correct effort in this direction was the proposal for united action submitted by the delegates of the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union to the Conference of the Republic Steel Mill locals of the Amalgamated Assn. of Iron, Steel & Tin Workers held recently in Ohio. Another example of the correct united front tactics in the trade union struggles was the work in the Western Pennsylvania mine fields during the big strikes there, in which the National Miners' Union declared its support for the demand for the recognition of the United Mine Workers, and in which the S.M.W.I.U. successfully began the establishment of united action of the striking miners, with the steel workers. Another example of the correct application of the united front was the Automobile Workers' Conference held last week in Detroit on the joint call of the Auto Workers' Union and the Mechanics Educational Society, participated in also by rank and file delegates from the A. F. of L. auto unions, with the slogan of joint struggle against company unions, and for the auto workers' demands. Many other examples could be brought forward, should be analyzed. Comrade Stachel in his special report on the trade union question is going to go more into detail in analyzing the whole of our trade union problems now.

In all united front activities, the Communists must always grant the right to all other groups, and reserve the right for themselves, of mutual criticism. It is permissible and correct to make specific agreements of non-criticism during the actual carrying through of joint actions agreed upon, within the scope of the specific agreement, so long as these agreements are loyally adhered to by all sides. But when the Communists can never agree to be silent, to refrain from criticism, on any breaking of agreements for struggle, on any betrayal or desertion of the fight. Any such agreements would not be contributions to unity, but rather to disunity.

"Left" Social-Fascism and Its Role

The relationship between immediate demands and revolution has become closer than ever with the deepening of the capitalist crisis. The capitalists are driving more and more to reduce the standards of living. The Socialist leaders and the A. F. of L. are more and more driven by their subordination to the Roosevelt program to openly betray the struggle of the workers for the means of living. Where formerly they had time and room to maneuver in and fool the workers, they now more and more have come out quickly and openly with their strike-breaking role. As a result, the masses are becoming quickly disillusioned. There is a real crisis among the social-fascists; their followers are turning away from them.

A little example of the speed of this development has been seen in the two taxi drivers' strikes in New York City. Two months ago the taxi workers went out demanding the recognition of their union and increased pay. When they first struck, who were their leaders? Mayor LaGuardia, himself, appeared as a sort of godfather to them; Socialist Judge Panken was their principal spokesman; liberal Socialist Morris Ernst was the arbitrator; the Socialist Party spoke of it patronizingly as "our" union. Quickly the scene changed. The arbitrators got to work. When the men hesitated to compromise their demands, LaGuardia quickly changed from the kindly godfather to the threatening policeman. The liberal Socialist councillors and arbitrators pressed the taxi men to accept the settlement dictated by LaGuardia; the men finally accepted under the impression that they had gotten part of their economic demands, plus the recognition of their union. The Communists told the taxi strikers they had been betrayed. The taxi strikers were still loyal to these "leaders" and they tore up the Daily Worker that told them the truth, and beat up the Communists. Disappointed though they were, they would have nothing to do with the "Communist disrupters" and "reds." But when they got back to work, they found that they

had been not only cheated out of their supposed economic victories, but were completely denied the right of their own organization. The companies began installing company unions; the men threatened to strike against them; they returned to their old leaders for advice and were told not to make any more trouble, to submit to the N.R.A. code of \$13.00 per week; that the company had a right to organize company unions if they wished. In desperation, the men went on strike again to enforce the recognition of their union. Already they had arrayed against them all their former friends; every newspaper in the city vilified them; LaGuardia threatened them; the police arrested them and beat them up; the Socialists washed their hands of them; the A. F. of L. threatened to come in and take over sponsorship of the Company union. Only the Communist Party, the revolutionary trade unions and the Daily Worker came to the assistance of the taxi strikers. Result: the same taxi drivers who a few weeks ago were tearing up the Daily Worker, and beating up Communists, today cheer the Daily Worker, send delegations to the Communist Party Convention, and are no longer afraid or ashamed that their union is being called a red union. In a few brief weeks the social-fascists lost their influence over them; in a few brief weeks these men who in overwhelming majority, a few weeks ago were actively antagonistic, became Communist sympathizers.

The same thing is happening on a larger and smaller scale everywhere. The class lines are tightening; the class struggle is sharpening; the masses can learn quicker now than ever before on which side do the leaders stand—with the capitalists or with the workers. The social-fascist leaders are being exposed before the masses as capitalist agents.

In this crisis the social-fascist leadership finds it necessary to invent new means to keep the workers fooled and under their control. For this purpose, they are beginning, wherever the situation gets too hot for them, to establish a

division of labor—one part of them becomes the "right wing," which carries through the dirty work of the direct sell-out; the other part becomes a "left-wing" which mildly deprecates the necessity of submitting to the sell-out, and which consoles the workers with an ineffective opposition and a sugar-coating of radical and even revolutionary and Communist phrases. This left-reformist, left-social-fascism, is springing up everywhere today, and is especially dangerous. One form of it is the self-styled "American Workers Party," headed by the Rev. Muste. Another is the Lovestone group, with its I. Zimmerman in the shoe industry and its S. Zimmerman in the needle trades. Another is the Trotsky group in the food industry. They are characterized by the multiplicity of their banners, their hatred of the Communists; their radical hot-air, and their practical service to the A. F. of L. and Socialist Party officialdom.

A classical example of this left social-fascism is given by the "Communist Oppositionist," S. Zimmerman in Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U. Zimmerman's "Communist" revolutionary phrases have become invaluable instruments in the hands of the I.L.G.W.U. officials and the Socialist Party. The workers in Local 22 are becoming disillusioned with the officialdom. They can't be fooled anymore by the old means. They are prepared to give a large vote for revolutionary policy. So the S. P. and A. F. of L. officials decide that here is an occasion to apply the good old American saying "if you can't lick 'em, join 'em." They find ready at hand in the person of S. Zimmerman their own "Communist" to lead Local 22, and safely preserve these workers under their control. They assure the workers: "Your choice is no longer between reformist and revolutionary leadership. Now you choose between two kinds of revolutionists—the practical, the realistic Zimmerman, or the impractical, utopian, disruptive Communists. You're not even choosing between non-Communists and Communists, because we've even prepared to give you a Communist to lead you." Thus in the recent elections in Local 22, the A. F. of L. officials, Socialist Party, the Socialist press, created a firm fighting united front in support of the "Communist" Zimmerman. Thus these little groups of renegades, trading on the name of Communism hire themselves out to the blackest reaction in the labor movement, and become "mass leaders" in the service of social-fascism.

The example of the Zimmermans gives the type of the whole tribe of left social-fascist type of the whole tribe of left social-fascist leadership. They are the most dangerous enemies of the workers' struggles today. We can move forward only to the extent that we expose their true character, and thus drive them out of the workers' movement.

In this respect we must say that too often we still see remnants of a certain liberal, tolerant attitude towards the renegades. To some extent this is born out of the fact that we have such a new membership in our movement—because we are growing so rapidly. Many of our members are not familiar with the direct facts

of the history and functions of these people who call themselves "Communists." Too many of our members still do not understand that Trotskyism and the Trotskyists are not a "branch" of the Communist movement but rather a police agency of the capitalist class.

There is also a real leftward movement among Socialist workers which tries, often confusedly, to give expression to a revolutionary policy. A symptom of such a movement is the platform recently issued by the Revolutionary Policy Committee in preparation for the S. P. Convention in June. Some of its proposals have been included for action in the official agenda adopted for the Convention. It must be said that the Revolutionary Policy Committee comes much closer to revolutionary formulations on central issues than does the Muste "A.W.P."; and further that it is much less vicious in its attacks upon Communism than is Muste or the renegades. The composition of this "left-wing" however, gives little ground for expecting it to lead the real leftward development of the S. P. members toward the united front with the Communists and eventually toward unification. It is not homogeneous; many of its members are known for their vacillating, compromising character. In all probability this effort also will collapse into another contribution to that "left" social-fascism whose object is to disrupt and disperse the leftward movement of the workers.

All Socialist Parties, in their division of labor, are producing not only "left" wings, but also open fascist groupings. Thus in Japan, the Socialist Party split with its general secretary going over with a section of the Socialist Party to "national socialism," a crude imitation of Hitler adapted to Japanese war policy. Thus in France, the "neo-socialists" have split from the Socialist Party, in order to pass over openly to a national chauvinist platform, open fascism. The American Socialist Party also has its open fascist grouping, which centers here in Ohio. Its spokesman is Joseph W. Sharts, state secretary of the S. P. Let me give you a few samples of this new fascist program for the S. P.:

"Frank recognition of the futility of all Socialist efforts so long as we ignore or oppose those elemental emotional forces implied in 'Americanism,' 'nationalism,' and 'patriotism,' and therefore the need of utilizing or at least neutralizing them by a shift of attitude and propaganda so as to enlist national pride and love of country."

"The socialist appeal which relies on a vague internationalism and a mythical working-class instinct of solidarity is easily crushed whenever it meets the elemental emotional forces roused under the name of patriotism."

"These great traditions cluster around the Stars and Stripes and make it worthy to be fought for, regardless of the capitalist connections in recent years."

"Not by the pacifist but by the patriotic approach lies our path to power and freedom." It would be difficult to improve on Mr. Sharts by quoting directly from Hitler.

Progress in the Bolshevization of the Communist Party

It means to master all the lessons taught us by that first Communist Party, the most successful one, created and led to victory by Lenin, and now successfully building Socialism under the leadership of Stalin. It means to become a party of the masses; to be a Party with its strongest roots among the decisive workers in the basic industries; it means to be a Party whose stronghold is in the ships, mines and factories, and especially in the biggest and most important ones; it means to be a Party that leads and organizes the struggles of all the oppressed people, bring them into firm alliance with the working class; it means to be a Party that answers every question of the struggle; that can solve every problem; it means to be a Party that never shrinks from difficulties, that never turns aside to find the easiest way; that learns how to overcome all deviations in its own ranks—fight on two fronts—it means to become a Party that knows how to take difficulties and dangers and transform them into advantages and victories.

Are we such a Party? Not yet. We have a strong ambition to become such a Party. We are making progress in that direction. But when we consider the extremely favorable circumstances under which we work, when millions are beginning to move, to organize, to fight, when only our program can solve their problems, then we must say that they are moving forward entirely too slowly. Our task is to win the majority of the working class to our program. We do not have unlimited time to accomplish this. Tempo, speed of development of our work, becomes the decisive factor in determining victory or defeat.

The Bolshevik method of work necessary in this period was concretely outlined for the Party in the Open Letter of the Extra-ordinary Party Conference last year. It called for concentration of our forces upon the most important tasks, upon the workers in the basic industries, upon the biggest factories. It set certain minimum, practical tasks to be accomplished within a certain period; it called for periodical re-examination, check-up and control on the execution of these tasks.

This 8th Convention of the Party must make such a check-up and control for the entire Party. We must review the work of our Party since the 7th Convention and especially since the Extraordinary Conference, and establish what we have failed, and where are our weaknesses? Upon this basis we can then correctly set ourselves the control tasks for the next period. We must forever put behind us that time when we wrote resolutions and set ourselves tasks on paper, then took this paper, carefully locked it up in the drawers of a desk, forgot about it and proceeded to drift along as best we could according to the exigencies of the movement without plan, without direction, and then wrote another resolution like the one we wrote before and proceed to forget it like we forget the other one. When we write a resolution, this is the most serious binding of ourselves to carry it out. If it is not carried out we must know why, and in the next resolution we write we must take all necessary measures to guarantee that the resolution will actually be put into execution.

In 1930, at the 7th Convention, our Party had just emerged from a long period of relative stagnation and even retrogression, resulting from protracted inner party factional struggles, and the domination of the opportunist policies of the Lovestone leadership. The 7th Convention consolidated the unification of the Party, confirmed the throwing off of the oppor-

unist, and turned the Party resolutely towards the correct Bolshevik policy of mass struggles and mass organization. But the Party was still very weak in practice. It had only 7,545 dues-paying members; its factory nuclei were few and functioned very weakly. The revolutionary trade unions had no more than 25,000 members, and were poorly consolidated; revolutionary work in the A. F. of L. was at its lowest ebb; mass organizations around the Party, mostly language and cultural organizations, were not politically active and a very generous estimate of all mass organization membership could not possibly exceed 300,000.

Since that time important changes have taken place. Consider first only the dues-paying membership of the Party. If we take this by half yearly averages, we obtain the following very instructive figures:

1931—First half	8,339
1931—Second half	9,219
1932—First half	12,936
1932—Second half	14,474
1933—First half	16,814
1933—Second half	19,165
1934—Three months	24,500

From these figures it is clear that the unification of the Party and its correct general political line from the 7th Convention and during the period of the crisis, has resulted in a constant increase in membership from half year to half year. Today our Party is more than three times its size at the 7th Convention. But it is also clear that it is the past six months which show the most decisive upward turn. This corresponds with the period when the main body of the Party began seriously to improve its work, that is, since the Party studied and began to master the Open Letter.

This becomes even more clear when we study the figures of our shop nuclei. At the 7th Convention, we had a little more than a hundred shop nuclei. At the time of the Open Letter there was still only 140. Even taking into consideration that the intervening period had witnessed the closing down of innumerable factories, and the consequent destruction of many nuclei, still it is clear that we only little more than held our own. Since the Open Letter, however, due to our concentration and improved work, assisted, of course, by the general atmosphere of struggle that has swept the factories, we can now report 338 shop nuclei. The proportion of total membership in shop nuclei has risen from 4 to 9 per cent, and the proportion of employed members is 40 per cent.

What kind of shops are these in? Last year, 68 of them were in basic industries. This year, there are 154, with a proportionate increase in membership. The majority of these shop units are in small factories. A growing number are in the larger and more decisive factories. We have shop units functioning now in our concentration points in the steel industry, the big mills of Pittsburgh, Youngstown, and Calumet Valley areas. We have nuclei in the important auto shops as well as in many of the smaller shops; we have a growing number of mine nuclei. In the shops where these 338 shop nuclei operate, there are at work a total of over 350,000 workers, showing a general average of about 1,000 workers per shop.

In these enterprises where our shop nuclei work, there was one year ago very little trade union organization. The total membership of all categories in the shops of the 140 nuclei was a little more than 7,000. Today in the 338 shops where our nuclei operate, there are over 10,000 members of the revolutionary unions, more than 5,000 members in independent unions, and over 21,000 members of the A. F. of L.

These figures represent a very important increase, comprising more than 10 per cent of all the workers in these enterprises. That the Communists have had a great deal to do with this growth in trade union organization, is demonstrated by the relatively high proportion of revolutionary and independent unions. The most serious weakness that these figures disclose is that as yet only a little more than 10 per cent of the workers have been brought into the unions.

It is clear that resolutely at this point we have

Example of Good Shop Work

Let us take, for example, the case of a certain metal shop, the experiences of which I have personally examined. This shop is of medium size in the lighter section of industry. It employs in this period about 500 workers. A year ago we had a stagnant nucleus of three members. Following the Open Letter, the Party committee in the section where this factory is located, assigned some politically capable comrades to work with and help the nucleus. In connection with the Metal Workers Union, the shop was drawn into a strike movement, together with many other small metal shops. The demands of the strikers were won, and the employers signed a contract with the union. The nucleus was still functioning very weakly. It had worked only as a fraction of the union, without showing the Party face. Consequently, the shop didn't know the Party existed there. The union leaders were afraid that if the Party nucleus took any initiative it might disrupt the mass organization of the union in the shop. As a result of this political weakness, the shop committee of the union elected as its chairman one of the most reactionary elements in the shop, a very conscious supporter of the Socialist Party leadership, and an enemy of the union. The opinion prevailed that this was the way to secure full unity of the shop, but this shop chairman sabotaged the work of the union. The shop nucleus meeting every week with the personal participation of representatives of the section, and discussing all the problems of the shop and the union, gradually became conscious of these weaknesses and dangers. They saw the boss becoming very arrogant again and threatening to refuse to renew his contract with the union, or to consider the new demands the workers were formulating. They saw a spirit of passivity and defeatism spreading among the workers in the shop. The nucleus decided that it must become active and make its presence known in the entire shop. Its first move was to secure the defeat and removal of the sabotaging shop chairman. A shop paper began to appear regularly. It is interesting to note that our trade union leaders resisted the developing initiative of the shop nucleus. They were afraid of it; they even developed the theory that the shop nucleus was merely a fraction of the union, and subject to the directives of the leading fraction of the union as a whole. But the nucleus correctly and successfully overcame this resistance. At the crucial moment when it seemed that the union in the shop was about to be wiped out, the nucleus distributed throughout the shop to every worker a leaflet in which, speaking as a unit of the Communist Party, it pointed out the dangers to the workers, called upon them to rally their forces to the union and to win their demands. Within a day the atmosphere in the shop was entirely transformed; defeatism and demoralization vanished. The Communist who had been discharged for distributing the leaflets in the shop was quickly reinstated in his job by the action of the entire body of workers, who threatened immediate strike if this demand was not complied with. The employer quickly changed his tone, and instead of tearing up the union contract, he negotiated a new one, embodying additional gains for the workers. The union meeting in the factory thereupon invited an official speaker from the Communist Party to come and speak at their meeting; greeted the speaker with an ovation. It is the common talk of the shop that "our union is strong because we have an active, strong Communist Party nucleus among us." The Party and Y.C.L. membership in this shop now comprises 14 per cent of the whole body of workers. The shop is 100 per cent unaffiliated in the revolutionary union. These workers are raw and inexperienced, the type usually known as "backward." The leaders of the shop nucleus and the shop committee of the union is now composed of new, active, capable forces in command of the situation, displaying strong initiative; the individuals who made up this leadership were three months ago looked upon as "backward workers" who rarely raised their voices in meetings.

Imagine the tremendous steps forward our Party would make if the experience of this shop was repeated in just half of our existing shop nuclei! Imagine how quickly we could develop a mighty mass Party when we get a few hundred strongholds like this throughout the country, especially in the basic industries! What a transformation would take place in the Chicago District if the Packinghouse and Steel nuclei would repeat this experience, if the comrades had not forgotten their own good resolutions! What a new District Pittsburgh would become if a similar work were done in the Jones and Laughlin steel mill!

The greatest weakness of our shop nuclei is that they are not so much secret from the bosses as they are from the workers in their shops. They are afraid to speak to the workers in the name of the Party. They rarely issue leaflets. Less than 15 per cent of our shop nuclei issue a shop paper of any kind. We even find theories in some sections of New York, that Party shop papers are really a danger and a hindrance to penetrating the factories, that we must work by stages and have first only union papers; then later on, carefully begin to introduce Party shop papers. This opportunistic hiding the face of the Party in the shops is the most serious right danger.

Our street nuclei are also beginning in some cases to learn how to do mass work on their own account. We now have 1,482 street nuclei. What a tremendous power even these can become when they learn Bolshevik methods of work. That they are not such a power today is only because they will look upon themselves merely as dues-collecting agencies, as agencies to distribute leaflets handed down to them from above; at best, as political discussion clubs of a general character and a timid distributor of the DAILY WORKER. That is the

key problem to the future growth of our Party and of the revolutionary trade union movement. The problem of our shop nuclei is to win the leadership of the overwhelming majority of these 350,000 workers, bring the best fighters, the most capable forces, into the Communist Party and the whole mass of workers into the trade unions. Is it utopian to set such a task for ourselves? No, it is not. Weak as our shop work has been, we already have examples showing that it can be done, and done quickly.

It is clear that resolutely at this point we have

picture of the average nucleus. But in these cases where a street nucleus begins to understand its independent political function as being the Party in its own neighborhood, as being the organizer and leader of the masses in that neighborhood, when it begins to set itself the task of winning the majority of the workers in its neighborhood, and to take the initiative in accomplishing this task, the results are simply tremendous. Street nuclei are finding out that very often with only a little attention, they can, themselves, give birth immediately to important shop nuclei out of their own membership. They are finding that individual connection with particular shops can quickly be built up into a shop nucleus, and especially they are beginning to find the proper activity for a street nucleus, as such, rooting the Party among the masses in the neighborhood, building neighborhood strongholds for the Communist Party.

Above all, the street nuclei must become serious organizers and leaders of the unemployed. From 60 to 70 per cent of our members are themselves unemployed, but relatively few of them are active in building block committees and Unemployment Councils winning strongholds for the Party among the 16,000,000 unemployed. We must declare that just as it is the duty of every employed Communist to be a leader in his trade unions, so also is it the duty of unemployed Communists to become the leader of 10 or 100 other unemployed workers in block committees and neighborhood councils.

Let me cite only one good example of a street nucleus which is beginning to get itself on its own feet, politically. This nucleus has no great achievements yet in factory work. A year ago it was a rather discouraged group of good, loyal comrades who didn't exactly know what to do. They began to apply the Open Letter to their neighborhood problem. They opened a neighborhood Workers' Club and kept it open all hours, especially for the young people in the neighborhood. They introduced organization among these people of a primitive sort, giving them activities, games, music, etc. In another part of the neighborhood, with a considerable Negro population, they began to build a branch of the L. S. N. E., with white and Negro members. Some members of the nucleus took the initiative in launching a branch of the C. W. A. Workers Union. The nucleus put on activities of a couple of strikes that affected the neighborhood, and rallied some support for picket lines. As a result of these activities, the unit began to grow, more than doubling its membership. It has drawn into the Party several excellent new Negro workers. At its last meeting, it spent a couple of hours discussing the most difficult problems that have arisen with the mass influx of raw young American workers from the streets into the neighborhood clubs. Large groups of such youngsters that had for months been avoiding the club as "disreputable red" headquarters, had suddenly changed their attitude, and presented themselves for membership in the club, and were making all sorts of demands upon the leadership for organization and activities.

The life of this unit is now rich and intense with the problems of the daily life of the neighborhood. It has become a mass influence among thousands of people. An interesting sidelight on our methods of work is given by an experience of this unit in conducting its neighborhood club. In order to raise the political level of the club life, they have been inviting speakers from various mass organizations and the Party from other parts of the city. They report almost invariably these speakers are absolutely unintelligible for the neighborhood crowd that attends this club. The speakers never find any point of contact with their audience. They talk over their heads, use long phrases which may have been very good in a thesis, but of which these neighborhood workers haven't the slightest understanding. As a result, the audience grow restless; the young people get bolsterous; and even contemptuous of these political spouters. This phase of politicalization has been a dismal failure, as it was bound to be with such an approach. Here is a lesson for the entire Party, in its work of mass agitation and propaganda, of political education of the new mass masses that are coming to us. It is the virtue of parrots and of phonographs that they mechanically repeat the phrases given to them. But that is no virtue for Communist speakers. We must completely overhaul our methods of mass education; we must absolutely put a stop to this business of our Party speakers copying parrots and phonographs, putting forth the Party program in such unintelligible terms that it is just so much Greek to the audience and doesn't touch their lives in any way or arouse a spark of interest.

Party Section is the Keystone

The next central point in Party building after the shop and street nuclei is the Party Section Committee, Section Bureau. This is the real cadre of the Party's mass leadership. To the extent that this is broadened and strengthened, to the degree that it becomes the decisive and controlling force in our daily work, to that degree, the Party will become a mass Party. That means that our sections must be small enough for the committee to actually know the problems, find the solutions, and give direct leadership in carrying through the work. A Section Committee must be the general staff of the revolution in its territory. It must know every house, street, and factory. It must know the daily problems of life of its population. It must know all our enemies and learn how to defeat them. It must turn its section into a Communist stronghold. That means a larger number of sections, more careful selection of leadership, and a better quality of leadership to the Sections from the Districts.

We have made progress in development in sections of our Party, but not nearly enough. Where in 1930 there were 87 Party sections, there are today 187. The geographical extension of the Party organization is shown in the fact that these sections include functioning Party committees in 463 cities. The work of these Section Committees have improved, but we must

These figures represent a very important increase, comprising more than 10 per cent of all the workers in these enterprises. That the Communists have had a great deal to do with this growth in trade union organization, is demonstrated by the relatively high proportion of revolutionary and independent unions. The most serious weakness that these figures disclose is that as yet only a little more than 10 per cent of the workers have been brought into the unions.

It is clear that resolutely at this point we have

Example of Good Shop Work

Let us take, for example, the case of a certain metal shop, the experiences of which I have personally examined. This shop is of medium size in the lighter section of industry. It employs in this period about 500 workers. A year ago we had a stagnant nucleus of three members. Following the Open Letter, the Party committee in the section where this factory is located, assigned some politically capable comrades to work with and help the nucleus. In connection with the Metal Workers Union, the shop was drawn into a strike movement, together with many other small metal shops. The demands of the strikers were won, and the employers signed a contract with the union. The nucleus was still functioning very weakly. It had worked only as a fraction of the union, without showing the Party face. Consequently, the shop didn't know the Party existed there. The union leaders were afraid that if the Party nucleus took any initiative it might disrupt the mass organization of the union in the shop. As a result of this political weakness, the shop committee of the union elected as its chairman one of the most reactionary elements in the shop, a very conscious supporter of the Socialist Party leadership, and an enemy of the union. The opinion prevailed that this was the way to secure full unity of the shop, but this shop chairman sabotaged the work of the union. The shop nucleus meeting every week with the personal participation of representatives of the section, and discussing all the problems of the shop and the union, gradually became conscious of these weaknesses and dangers. They saw the boss becoming very arrogant again and threatening to refuse to renew his contract with the union, or to consider the new demands the workers were formulating. They saw a spirit of passivity and defeatism spreading among the workers in the shop. The nucleus decided that it must become active and make its presence known in the entire shop. Its first move was to secure the defeat and removal of the sabotaging shop chairman. A shop paper began to appear regularly. It is interesting to note that our trade union leaders resisted the developing initiative of the shop nucleus. They were afraid of it; they even developed the theory that the shop nucleus was merely a fraction of the union, and subject to the directives of the leading fraction of the union as a whole. But the nucleus correctly and successfully overcame this resistance. At the crucial moment when it seemed that the union in the shop was about to be wiped out, the nucleus distributed throughout the shop to every worker a leaflet in which, speaking as a unit of the Communist Party, it pointed out the dangers to the workers, called upon them to rally their forces to the union and to win their demands. Within a day the atmosphere in the shop was entirely transformed; defeatism and demoralization vanished. The Communist who had been discharged for distributing the leaflets in the shop was quickly reinstated in his job by the action of the entire body of workers, who threatened immediate strike if this demand was not complied with. The employer quickly changed his tone, and instead of tearing up the union contract, he negotiated a new one, embodying additional gains for the workers. The union meeting in the factory thereupon invited an official speaker from the Communist Party to come and speak at their meeting; greeted the speaker with an ovation. It is the common talk of the shop that "our union is strong because we have an active, strong Communist Party nucleus among us." The Party and Y.C.L. membership in this shop now comprises 14 per cent of the whole body of workers. The shop is 100 per cent unaffiliated in the revolutionary union. These workers are raw and inexperienced, the type usually known as "backward." The leaders of the shop nucleus and the shop committee of the union is now composed of new, active, capable forces in command of the situation, displaying strong initiative; the individuals who made up this leadership were three months ago looked upon as "backward workers" who rarely raised their voices in meetings.

Imagine the tremendous steps forward our Party would make if the experience of this shop was repeated in just half of our existing shop nuclei! Imagine how quickly we could develop a mighty mass Party when we get a few hundred strongholds like this throughout the country, especially in the basic industries! What a transformation would take place in the Chicago District if the Packinghouse and Steel nuclei would repeat this experience, if the comrades had not forgotten their own good resolutions! What a new District Pittsburgh would become if a similar work were done in the Jones and Laughlin steel mill!

The greatest weakness of our shop nuclei is that they are not so much secret from the bosses as they are from the workers in their shops. They are afraid to speak to the workers in the name of the Party. They rarely issue leaflets. Less than 15 per cent of our shop nuclei issue a shop paper of any kind. We even find theories in some sections of New York, that Party shop papers are really a danger and a hindrance to penetrating the factories, that we must work by stages and have first only union papers; then later on, carefully begin to introduce Party shop papers. This opportunistic hiding the face of the Party in the shops is the most serious right danger.

Our street nuclei are also beginning in some cases to learn how to do mass work on their own account. We now have 1,482 street nuclei. What a tremendous power even these can become when they learn Bolshevik methods of work. That they are not such a power today is only because they will look upon themselves merely as dues-collecting agencies, as agencies to distribute leaflets handed down to them from above; at best, as political discussion clubs of a general character and a timid distributor of the DAILY WORKER. That is the

key problem to the future growth of our Party and of the revolutionary trade union movement. The problem of our shop nuclei is to win the leadership of the overwhelming majority of these 350,000 workers, bring the best fighters, the most capable forces, into the Communist Party and the whole mass of workers into the trade unions. Is it utopian to set such a task for ourselves? No, it is not. Weak as our shop work has been, we already have examples showing that it can be done, and done quickly.

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picture of the average nucleus. But in these cases where a street nucleus begins to understand its independent political function as being the Party in its own neighborhood, as being the organizer and leader of the masses in that neighborhood, when it begins to set itself the task of winning the majority of the workers in its neighborhood, and to take the initiative in accomplishing this task, the results are simply tremendous. Street nuclei are finding out that very often with only a little attention, they can, themselves, give birth immediately to important shop nuclei out of their own membership. They are finding that individual connection with particular shops can quickly be built up into a shop nucleus, and especially they are beginning to find the proper activity for a street nucleus, as such, rooting the Party among the masses in the neighborhood, building neighborhood strongholds for the Communist Party.

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CHANGE THE WORLD!



By MICHAEL GOLD

WHY do we love the Soviet Union? Why are we ready to fight and die for it? Why do we defend it doggedly, against the daily slander and confusing lies against it in the capitalist press? Why do we defend it against those more subtle slanderers, the Trotzky-Lovestone-A. F. of L.—liars?

Because we know what is happening over there. Every day a new proletarian life is being built. The liars may confuse some of us temporarily on those necessary diplomatic compromises, maneuvers that the Soviet Union must make to preserve its peaceful existence in a world of capitalist wolves. But all the time, day by day, behind the newspaper walls that shut us from the truth, a new Socialist world is being built. The masses are being transformed into a new kind of man and woman. They are working, while the liars talk. They are pushing into the future, every day, every hour. And it is something wonderful, the most worth-while thing in the world today. The story never gets old, it is fresh and new every morning, it makes us happy, like a dawn in spring.

Take this business of militarism. The Soviet Union must have an efficient army to protect it from the capitalist butchers. If the Soviet Union were weak, the capitalists would have eaten it alive years ago. They would have taken it over like Africa or India, partitioned it among themselves, and made an imperialist colony of it, where the natives are flogged and starved and worked to death, to make profits for some distant aristocrats.

But the Red Army, and the fighting spirit of the Russian workers and peasants have scared off the robbers. Everyone knows that the first capitalist nation that attacks the Soviet Union will have a first-class war on its hands, in which it may be defeated. Capitalism is based on force; it is a system in which the bully and the armed bandit triumph; it is really a regime of gangsters. But gangsters think twice before risking their own necks; they want easy money; and the Soviet Union isn't easy.

No, the Red Army is as necessary as a strong and honest trade union is to the workers under capitalism. Call it militarism if you wish; force, violence, anything you like. It is necessary. It is the strong protecting barricade behind which the workers and farmers of the Soviet Union build a new life.

The Life of the Red Army Man

RECENTLY, in that interesting English paper, the Moscow News, there was an account of the work of the House of the Red Army in Moscow, which is the central organizing base of this new army's cultural work throughout the Soviet Union.

This military "barracks" in the north of Moscow was formerly a boarding school for daughters of the nobility, but was converted to its present more useful purpose in 1928.

Think of it; this army "barracks" has its own theatre, its own symphony orchestra, museum, motion picture house, gymnasium, lounges, restaurant, game rooms, and a library containing 90,000 volumes of the world's best books, both scientific and literary.

The walls are covered with paintings by some of the best Soviet artists. There are classes for Red Army painters, and recently an interesting exhibition was held of paintings by Red Army men from all over the Soviet Union.

Soldiers who love art! Soldiers who play symphony concerts! Soldiers who study to be scientists! Isn't this revolution?

Art and Science for the Red Defenders

IN THE month of February, twenty leading Moscow scientists lectured for different Red Army groups; also a number of explorers, literary men and artists. The Red Army lecture bureau sends speakers all through the country to the various Red Army houses.

The Red Army Concert Bureau, which is also housed in this building, has its own staff of performers, but in addition engages the best musical and theatre talent for the Red Army houses.

Last year, this agency, which has an eight million ruble cultural budget, sent 3,500 concert artists to various parts of the country, including the Soviet Far East. The Red Army Lecture Bureau sent professors of astronomy, biology, architecture, agronomy, medicine and similar subjects throughout the Soviet land. Last year it arranged 2,000 such lectures before Red Army groups outside of Moscow.

The symphony orchestra gives many concerts of the finest music, Beethoven, Wagner, Rimsky-Korsakoff, Borodin, Stravinsky, and the younger composers. It is said to be one of the finest groups in that Soviet land of music-lovers, and it is made up of active Red Army soldiers.

There is also a famous choir of several hundred voices. The Red Army theatre in Moscow, which was founded less than five years ago, has an actors' training school with 80 pupils, and produces plays that stand high in the esteem of the Moscow critics.

The museum, which is one of so many fascinating ones in Moscow, concentrates on the history of the Civil War against capitalism and the intervention period, when 17 capitalist nations, including America, tried to crush the young workers' republic. It is a very popular institution with the workers of Moscow, who come in groups from their factories.

And the library, with its 90,000 volumes, one of many innumerable such libraries in the Soviet land, has 7,000 Red Army readers. Among the activities of the library staff is organization of discussion evenings for regimental literary circles; for you see, many of these Red Army men are intensely interested in literature; in fact, quite a few talented young poets and novelists have recently graduated out of the ranks of this strange and new army. During one month the library sponsored evenings devoted to discussions of Nekrasov, Leo Tolstoy, Mayakovsky, the futurist poet, and the novelist Sholokhov. And there is a tourist bureau. Red Army men on vacation can go home to their villages or travel in the Crimea, Caucasus, or other places once occupied, like our own Florida, by the idle rich. Skiing, hiking and mountain-climbing trips are also arranged during the year, as well as trips to museums, art galleries and factories by this Red Army Tourist Bureau.

This Is What a Workers' Revolution Means

BUT one could go on with the catalogue, endlessly. What it sums up to is, that there is a military organization that does not shrink its job of making efficient soldiers who will defend the workers' republic against capitalist invaders, but also does a quite new thing; gives these soldiers a full, gorgeous, creative, human life. It prepares them to be cultural leaders in the world outside. And in every Red Army house throughout the Soviet Union the same work goes on.

Yes, it is a land where humanity is no longer exploited for private profit, but educated, helped, taught, enlightened. This is what we mean by a workers' revolution; this is why we love the Soviet Union, and will make every sacrifice to defend it from the bloody hand of the capitalist destroyer, from the dollar-worshippers and enemies of a finer human race.

Marguerite Young Speaks on "Press Reporting in Washington" Sunday

"Press Reporting at Washington" is the subject of a talk by Marguerite Young, of the Daily Worker, Washington Bureau, at the New School for Social Research to-morrow evening at 8 o'clock. Robt. W. Dunn will be chairman. Comrade Young has just returned from Cleveland where she, together with Harry Gannes and Carl Reeve, staff writers of the Daily Worker, covered the historic Eighth Convention of the Communist Party of the United States.

The speaker, who prior to coming to the "Daily" worked for four years as a reporter for the Associated Press in Washington, will discuss her experience in the nation's capital as a writer for the Communist press, and also described how important news is handled by the big capitalist news associations. The lecture Sunday night is held under the auspices of the Press League, an organization formed last Fall for the purpose of assisting the workingclass press.

Fine Journalism in "Partisan," J.R.C. Magazine on Coast

THE PARTISAN. Revolutionary Journal of Art, Literature and Opinion. Published by the John Reed Clubs of the West at Box 2088, Hollywood, California. Vol. 1, No. 4, March, 1934.

Reviewed by GRANVILLE HICKS

THE striking thing about The Partisan is that it contains so much good journalism. In this issue, for example, we find an article on the A. F. of L. policy among the movie men, a summary of recent labor struggles in California, and an account of the theses of the 13th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. There is also a short article answering S. N. Behrman's defence of the movies, a sketch of milk strike, and a report by a relief worker. On the back page are news letters. Even the cultural departments are, for the most part, journalistic: "The effect of the depression on musicians, the C. W. A. projects for artists, the need for a workers' theatre."

This seems to me a decidedly good thing, and I believe that The Partisan is pointing the way for other proletarian literature can be printed, and I trust that the editors of The Partisan are not turning down any great short stories and fine poems. But the truth is that great short stories and fine poems are not written every month, whereas good journalism is always possible. Journalism, moreover, is extremely good practice for the short story writers and poets. Of course, only certain types of reporting are effective in a monthly publication, but the editors of The Partisan seem to me to have been successful in selecting the kind of news articles that belong in such a periodical.

There is one short story in the issue, "The Rope," by John McGregor. It suffers from over-condensation; the author has tried to cram into it more than any short story can carry. He has a good theme, however, and the characters do at moments come to life.

Tillie Lerner has taken the letter of Felipe Ibarro in the New Masses of January 9, and has found in it its essential poetry. The result, called "I want You Women Up North to Know," is one of the finest contributions to the growing body of workers' correspondence in verse. It was Mike Gold who originated this idea, he can be thanked for discovering one of the richest veins of proletarian literature. The other poem in the issue, "Canticle of Labor," by Theodora Erwin, is less effective.

The weakest section of The Partisan is that devoted to books. There is an amusing and pointed note by Guy Bruce on the publishers' habit of putting out one book on the right and then one on the left, but the reviews are weak. The review of Fox's Lenin is rather indiscriminate, and the review of The Native's Return is merely a news-note. Conrad Seller's account of Mussolini's Fascist Manifesto is informative but that is all. Some of the brief paragraphs show more critical ability than the longer reviews.

On the whole The Partisan is satisfying because it is alive. Too often magazines of this sort betray, either in a constant preoccupation with slogans or in sheer pedanticism, a kind of remoteness from the struggle. Moreover, it is firmly rooted in its locality; it belongs to California. It seems to me that, though the editors and writers have a good deal to learn, they are taking the right course, and we can expect better and better things from them.

TUNING IN

TONIGHT'S PROGRAM
WEAF—660 Kc.

- 7:00 P.M.—Stars of Broadway and Hollywood—George Allan, Edna Collins, Jack Oakie, Lorelei Young, Spencer Tracy, Frederic March and Others from Hollywood; John Seal, Florence Rice, Tess Cardillo, Arvids and Others from New York
- 8:00—U. S. Marine Band
- 8:30—Should the Government Issue Currency or Bonds?—Representative Wright Patman of Texas
- 9:00—Voices of Texas: Donald Knott, Tenor; Frances Langford, Contralto; Arthur Boran, Impersonations
- 9:30—Real Life Problems—Sketch: Beatrice Fairfax, Commentator
- 10:00—Hayton Orch.; Al Trahan, Comedian; Saxon Sisters, Songs
- 10:30—Pan-American Relations—Cordell Hull, Secretary of State; United Service Orch.; Leyla Rivera, Soprano
- 11:00—Madrigal Orch.
- 11:15—News; Dance Orch.
- 11:30—One Man's Family—Sketch
- 12:00—Opera, Aida, With Elizabeth Rothberg, Soprano; Giovanni Martinelli, Tenor

WOR—710 Kc.

- 7:00—Sports Resume
- 7:15—Harry Herzhfeld
- 7:30—Robbins Orch.
- 8:00—City Government Talk
- 8:15—Bavarian Trio
- 8:30—News—Graham Heister
- 8:45—Briny and Crystal—Sketch
- 9:00—Newark Civic Symphony Orch., Phillip Gordon, Conductor
- 10:00—Sunbeam Hospital Benefit

WJZ—760 Kc.

- 7:00 P.M.—John Herick, Songs
- 7:15—To Be Announced
- 7:30—News
- 8:00—Jefferson, Last of the Gentlemen Builders—Sketch
- 8:30—Bavarian Band
- 8:45—Canadian Concert
- 9:00—Stern Orch.; De Marco Sisters, Songs; Eddie Peabody, Banjo
- 9:30—Dustin Orch.
- 10:00—Reminiscences of Parks and People—Horace M. Albright, Former Director of National Park Service; Marine Band
- 10:30—Barn Dance
- 11:00—News Reports
- 11:35—Wilkins Orch.

WABC—860 Kc.

- 7:00 P.M.—Michaux Congregation
- 7:30—Serenaders Orch.; Phil Cook, Impersonator
- 8:00—Jones Orch.
- 8:30—Rich Orch.; Morton Downey, Tenor; Van, Songs; Fats Waller, Song
- 8:45—The Band of Erin
- 9:00—Gretz Stueckgold, Metropolitan Opera Soprano; Kostelansky Orch.
- 9:30—Dramatic Guild—Alice in Wonderland
- 10:00—Rebroadcast from Byrd Expedition
- 10:30—Testimonial Dinner to Edward A. Hayes, National Commander, American Legion, Hotel St. George
- 11:00—Florida Orch.

An Able Book on the USSR By an American Engineer

INDUSTRIALIZED RUSSIA, by Alan Hirsch, New York: Chemical Publishing Co. 369 pages. \$3.

Reviewed by A. G. BOSSE

DR. HIRSCH is a New York engineer who was employed under a technical assistance contract by the Soviet Government for two years as chief consultant to its chemical industry. He had been consultant to various corporations and to the Japanese Government during the year. His book is illustrated with three-score photographs and maps and an extensive bibliography makes up an appendix. It is a comprehensive and very sympathetic review of economic, political, cultural, and travel and living conditions. I can almost say that it is the sanest and most understanding of the scores of books written on the U. S. S. R. by non-Communists. It gives a vast amount of interesting detail on work and life there, in simple, direct English. A test of a person's attitude toward the Soviet Union is his reaction toward any one of the following institutions or phases of life: the O. P. G. U., the Red Army, sex, prostitution, divorce, food shortage, bureaucracy, and Soviet position on peace. In every one of these test cases, and many others, Dr. Hirsch comes through with flying colors. Let us take some of them: The G. P. U. was necessitated by the terror of its enemies, and "without such an organization the Revolution would have failed." The Red Army sets a standard by its "example of discipline, personal hygiene and coordinated labor." But the workers in "leather jackets" are the real military force, and they gave the author a "feeling of absolute impregnability. Even if all the front lines were to crumble one felt that with this kind of organization, Russia was indeed unconquerable."

Soviet citizens are "very sane and adult in sex matters," and the "gap between physical maturity and economic independence which usually delays marriage in our western world does not exist." The economic necessity for prostitution "has almost been removed." The "lack of suggestives or eroticism" is striking. Scientific criminology "is further advanced in the Soviet Union than anywhere else in the world." Children are "served first of the best available."

DATA on vital statistics, scientific research and the like are exciting (canned blood for transfusions, discovery of typhus virus and serum, decline of a one-third in mortality since 1923 and increase in life span from 32 to 42 years, etc.). Difficulties are not glossed over. The terrible living conditions at Magnitogorsk last summer (which Ordzhonikidze called a pig-sty) are referred to, and housing and transport shortages in Moscow. Since Dr. Hirsch is writing for the average American businessman, or one who has been misled by the lies of Fox's Lenin is rather indiscriminate, and the review of The Native's Return is merely a news-note. Conrad Seller's account of Mussolini's Fascist Manifesto is informative but that is all. Some of the brief paragraphs show more critical ability than the longer reviews.

On the whole The Partisan is satisfying because it is alive. Too often magazines of this sort betray, either in a constant preoccupation with slogans or in sheer pedanticism, a kind of remoteness from the struggle. Moreover, it is firmly rooted in its locality; it belongs to California. It seems to me that, though the editors and writers have a good deal to learn, they are taking the right course, and we can expect better and better things from them.

The section on the chemical industry is the longest chapter in the book. Pre-war Russia was chemically backward, despite the fame of Mendeleev and Tentyevsky, producing only one-twentieth to one-thirtieth as much sulphuric acid as the United States, Great Britain, Germany or France. The war practically wiped out the industry, the few, half-ruined plants at work could produce at 10 per cent of capacity. The Communist has to replace them and start anew, and they have begun "from the beginning on advanced processes which it has taken years of experimentation to develop elsewhere, and which through centralized planning are being applied in an effective way with duplication."

The success with which the U. S. S. R. is producing the most complicated chemicals in some of the largest plants is exemplified by the following facts: They have developed nephelite production in the Arctic, a chemical worked industrially nowhere else in the world, getting from it glass and ceramics, leather and textile dyes, fertilizers, etc. Sulphuric acid output in 1932 was four and one-half times of 1913, superphosphate ten times, and soda ash twice. It has at Magnitogorsk Europe's largest by-product coke plant and the third largest in the world.

MY FIRST ARREST

I WAS fired from the C.W.A. along with thousands of others on April 3. I had been working in the public library. We had been told by the chief librarian that hardly anyone would be laid off from projects 123 and 260 about a week before, and for that afternoon, at any rate, he had made us feel good. He told us we were slacking up in our work, probably because we were working, and that we had no need to worry about losing our jobs.

In the library all was going along quite smoothly, like a huge polished wheel, when on Monday morning, ten were laid off—and in the afternoon 100 more. The next day hardly anyone came to work because we had all been fired. I went up to the supervisor and asked him why I had been fired, but the man shrugged his shoulders, grinned foolishly, and said he did not know. The next morning I pickedet with others of the Recreation Workers Project in front of 50 Lafayette St., in which building the city's Public Welfare Department, of which Mr. Hodson is the head, is located. There were about 20 of us carrying banners, and we had begun to march up and down the street, when two cops, who had been watching, approached us and told us to scram. "Keep walking," they said. "We kept walking, but nearing the curb, turned around and came back. The officers thereupon pushed us against the wall and told us that we would cool off in jail. We were locked up in the Ala-

world, and one of the world's greatest paint and varnish plants at Yaroslavl. The Stalinozorsk synthetic ammonia converters, when producing thirty tons daily were as efficient as those anywhere else in the world; now they are producing 38 tons. Products old Russia never knew are synthetic rubber, (produced nowhere else except recently by du Pont) synthetic ammonia, nitrates, natural and synthetic resins, rayon, coke-oven by-products, all pharmaceutical products, etc. In short, they are getting ahead with terrific speed, despite the greatest difficulties any nation has ever faced, whether of labor forces, technic, international cooperation, finances, etc.

New International Pamphlet Reveals Education Decay

Schools and the Crisis, by Rex David, International Pamphlets, No. 39. 46 pp., 10c.

Reviewed by STEWART CARHART

IN AMERICA, "the crisis of the whole out-worn system of production is inevitably reflected in the nation's schools." Developing his case from this theme, Rex David draws the whole sordid picture of the collapse of the educational system, with the drastic cuts in the budgets to pay the interest on bankers' loans, which forced out of the schools and into unemployment and starvation and with the teachers under-paid, over-worked and in many cases actually destitute and starving.

Others have presented a similar picture. But unlike the others who have presented these statistics and these instances, David goes further. After briefly contrasting this capitalist picture of "education for the masses" with the Soviet Union (where, to quote the author, "The aim of Soviet education is to develop generations of children who will build a Communist society"), the author takes up the all-important question of the schools, the payment of teachers and adequate educational facilities.

While "Peace on Earth" continues uptown, three of its prominent actors have joined the "Stevodore" company. They are Millicent Green, who was the girl strike leader of the first play; Victor Kilian, who was the leader of the longshoremen, and Jack Williams, who took nine roles in the anti-war play.

"Stevodore Cast" At Negro Art Evening At Theatre Collective

NEW YORK—The Theatre Collective is sponsoring an evening of Negro Art at its headquarters, 52 W. 15th St., tonight at 8:30. The entire cast of "Stevodore" will appear, including Georgette Harvey, Leight Whippier, Richard Hugg, as well as Edna Guy, dancer, who will give dance interpretations of Negro Spirituals and work songs.

Says Book on Struggles of Irish Proletariat "Will Raise Sparks"

"This book will raise sparks; it may even start a fire," Peadar O'Donnell, outstanding Irish Republican Army leader and author of "There Will Be Fighting" and other works, says in his introduction to Brian O'Neill's "War for the Land in Ireland," released by International Publishers.

The value of the "The War for the Land in Ireland," O'Donnell believes, lies in its approach: it studies the separatist movement in Ireland and its base in the land struggle from the 18th century to the present day.

The book discusses agrarian revolts in the epoch of the United Irishmen of 1798; Whiteboys and Ribbonmen of the era of the tithe wars and the famine of 1848; the crisis in Irish agriculture and the way out. Appendices give information on land purchase schemes, agricultural wages, live stock and land distribution.

Discharged CCC Boys To Speak At Chicago Youth Forum April 16

CHICAGO—The Youth Forum, organized by the Young Communist League, held every Monday evening at 3847 S. State St., announces as the topic for April 16, "Youth Fights the Roosevelt Jim Crow Military Civil Conservation Camps." Former C.C.C. boys, discharged for fighting discrimination and had fought, will speak, as well as a youth speaker from the American League Against War and Fascism.

Silk Screen Strikers Hold "Victory Party"

NEW YORK—The Silk Screen Process Workers League, which recently won a strike victory, will hold a Victory Theatre Party for its friends and membership, Sunday, April 15, 8:30 p.m., at the Workers Laboratory Theatre, 142 E. 12th St. The program will include Intervention, the Soviet play by Lev Slavin, a skit by the process workers themselves, and a varied program of solo presentations, to be followed by dancing.

PARY FOR POTAMKIN CENTER

NEW YORK—A party will be held Sunday, April 15, at 8 p.m., at the United Front Supporters' Hall, 11 W. 18th St. for the benefit of the Potamkin Children's Center. The National Student League chapter of the Juilliard School of Music will present a concert of chamber music, and a Soviet film will be shown.

PARCHED EARTH

"A revolutionary class novel. It will find a popular and eager audience in the working class. We would recommend it for required reading."
—Daily Worker.
"Fired with a brutal honesty."
—N. Y. News
Macmillan \$2.50

At John Reed Forum



LAUREN GILFILLAN, author of "I went to Pit College," a novel of Pennsylvania coal miners, who speaks at the John Reed Club, 480 Sixth Ave., near Tenth St., this Sunday evening at 8:30.

Workers' Organizations to See "Stevodore" in Preview Performances

NEW YORK—Although "Stevodore," the lynch-expose play by Paul Peters and George Sklar, will not open officially until April 18, workers will have a chance to see this second Theatre Union production in preview performances beginning April 14. Benefits will be given by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights on Saturday, April 14, the Young Worker on April 16 and the Office Workers' Union on April 17. Smaller theatre parties for the Monday and Tuesday preview will be given by the Phi Beta Kappa of Brooklyn, the Young Communist League and the After Care Department of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum.

"Stevodore" portrays in a series of brilliantly dramatic episodes, the rise of a mutual spirit of understanding of their common plight among Negro and white workers during a strike on the docks of New Orleans.

The cast is predominantly Negro and includes a number of distinguished artists, such as Georgette Harvey, well-known singer, who appeared in "Porgy" and "Five Star Final"; Edna Thomas, of "Lulu Belle" and "Run, Lil Children"; Susie Sulton, from the cast of "Green Pastures"; Jack Carter, who played "Crown" in "Porgy," and others.

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Leninist Classics Now Ready In New, Revised Edition

New translation of two of Lenin's most famous polemics—Left-Wing Communism: an Infantile Disorder, and The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, are being prepared for early publication by International Publishers, only authorized publishers of English translations of Lenin in the United States.

The next of a series of the works of Marx and Engels to appear will be Engels Herr Duhring's Revolution in Science, popularly known as Anti-Duhring, to be published for the first time in full in English.

like all International's editions, is being translated from texts approved by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in Moscow, will appear in the Little Lenin Library and in a cloth edition.

Extant translations of this and other of Lenin's writings are inaccurate, incomplete and in many cases misleading. The release of International's edition of Imperialism, particularly revealed glaring errors in former translations.

Freiheit Mandolin Orchestra Anniversary on 21st

The Freiheit Mandolin Orchestra, Jacob Schaefer, conductor, is celebrating its Tenth Anniversary on Saturday, April 21, at 8:30 p.m., at Town Hall, 43d St., east of Broadway.

The orchestra of 75 players will be assisted by a group of the Freiheit Singing Society and a full set of symphony wind instruments. It will feature the overture "Egmont" and the Fifth Symphony by Beethoven, "Eine Kleine Nachtmusik" by Mozart, and "Suite" for Mandolin Orchestra based on melodies of minority nationalities in the Soviet Union arranged by Jacob Schaefer.

SPIVAK SPIES MONDAY

John L. Spivak's Article on Conditions in California will appear in Monday's issue.

JRC of Philadelphia Opens Art Exhibition

PHILADELPHIA—The First Annual Exhibition of the Art Group of the Philadelphia John Reed Club, will open Saturday night, April 14, with a discussion on "Social Trends in Art," and will continue till May 1, at the club's headquarters, 1395 South Eighth St.

Forty-four artists, including J. C. Onozco, George Hiddle, Julius Bloch, Thomas Benton, George Schreiber, Allan Freeman, Leon Kelly, Benton Spruance, as well as other artists from this and other cities and the members of the Art Group, will be represented by paintings, lithographs, drawings and sculpture.

CAR WANTED

One of the NEW MASSES editors is going on a lecture tour of thirty-six days to the Middle West and return. If anyone has a car he could loan the NEW MASSES during that period, will be pleased get in touch with the office at 31 East 27th Street, New York City, or phone Caledonia 5-3076.

AMUSEMENTS

Soviet Russia's Great Satire on Disarmament!

"LET'S HAVE PEACE"

Also: CHALUTZIM (Pioneers With the HABIMA PLAYERS)
Hebrew Talking Picture of the Workers of Palestine (English Dialogue Titles)
ACME THEATRE 14th STREET & UNION SQ.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents

FIGURE ONE!!
AH, WILDERNESS!
with GEORGE M. COHAN
GUILD, 824 St. W. of B'way
Even. 8:30 Mats. Thur. & Sat. 2:30

MAXWELL ANDERSON'S New Play
"MARY OF SCOTLAND"
with HELEN PHILIP HELEN
HAYES MERVILLE MENKEN
ALVIN
Theat., 824 St. W. of B'way
Ev. 8:30 Mats. Thur. & Sat. 2:30

The THEATRE UNION Announces

stevodore
by PAUL PETERS and GEORGE SKLAR
Thrilling drama of Negro and white workers on the docks of New Orleans
Opening Wed. Eve., April 18
CIVIC REPERTORY THEATRE, 105 W. 14 St.
Even. 8:45, Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:45
TICKETS ON SALE AT BOX OFFICE
30c-45c-60c-75c-\$1.00-\$1.50
For information on tickets and preview performances Phone WAT. 9-2461
Benefit Preview Perf. Apr. 14-15-17

ZIEGFELD FOLLIES

with FANNIE BRICE
Willie & Eugene HOWARD, Earlbert SIMMONS, Jane FROMAN, Patricia BOWMAN, WINTER GARDEN, D'way & 30th, Evs. 8:30 Mats. Monday, Thursday & Saturday 2:30

MADISON SQ. GARDEN

TWICE DAILY NOW
2 & 8 P.M.
Including SUNDAYS
RINGLING BROS. and BAILEY
CIRCUS
ALL NEW THIS YEAR
BIGGER THAN EVER!
1000 NEW FOREIGN FEATURES
Tickets Admitting to Everything (including Seats) \$1.10 to \$3.50 Including Tax
Children under 12 Half Price Every Afternoon except Saturdays
TICKETS at Garden, Macy's and Agencies

TAMARIS

and Her Group
Prices: 75c, \$1, \$1.50, \$2, \$2.50, Plus Tax

BRONX THEATRES

FIRST SHOWING IN THE BRONX!
5 DAYS ONLY—Saturday to Wednesday (April 14 to 18)
THE GREAT INTERNATIONAL TALKIES!

"HELL ON EARTH"

"The Greatest of Anti-War Films"
—Henri Barbusse
Produced in 4 Different Countries—Spoken in 4 Languages, Mainly English
with WLADIMIR SOKOLOFF (Moscow Art Theatre) and ERNST BUSCH
RKO EMPIRE THEATRE AND 151st ST., BRONX

Marguerite Young

Washington Correspondent of the "Daily Worker"
will speak on

"PRESS REPORTING IN WASHINGTON"

Sunday Evening
April 15th, 8:15 P.M.
New School
66 West 12th St.
Chairman—ROBERT DUNN, Labor Research Ass'n.
Admission 35 cents
Auspices: PRESS LEAGUE

"Daily Worker Circulation Is the Weakest Sector In Our Battlefront"-- Browder

(Continued from Page Eight)

place before the leadership of the Party today as a decisive question for our future progress, much more decisive improvement of the quality of our Section leadership.

A most serious problem of Party growth is the fluctuation in membership. Since 1930, starting with a membership of 7,345, we had recruited up until February 1934, 49,050 new members. If we had retained all old and new members, we would have had in February, 56,595 members. Instead of this, we have dues-payment of only about 25,000. Two out of every three recruited members have not been retained in the Party. Fluctuation is being reduced, but is still high. It is no explanation for us to cite the fact that organization membership is in America traditionally unstable and fluctuating. It is precisely the task of Bolsheviks to be different from everybody else. It is no explanation for us to cite the unsatisfactory character of this recruit-

On Using Our Strongest Weapon, the Daily Worker

The Open Letter set a main task for the Party in improving and popularizing the Daily Worker and transforming it into a real mass newspaper. This problem has two distinct sides, which are, however, very closely interrelated. These are the editorial improvements of the Daily Worker's contents, and the creation of a mass circulation of the paper. In the first respect we have made a decisive step forward. Since last August the contents of the Daily Worker have been enlarged, enriched and improved in every respect. The paper has become of interest to its readers every day, and is more and more showing what an indispensable weapon it is in the building of a mass Communist Party, as well as for the conduct of the everyday struggles. It is still far from the ideal Bolshevik newspaper; the editorials are as yet weak, not simple and clear enough; it is not yet sufficiently decisive in its role as political educator of the masses; it is not yet sufficiently bound up with the daily life of the masses in the decisive districts and factories. We can say it has made important steps in the right direction.

Unfortunately we cannot say the same about the Daily Worker circulation, with regard to circulation the situation is really alarming. The number of copies printed daily (not taking into

ing, which was largely from the unemployed, from open-air mass meetings, etc., and not the basic building of the Party through struggles and in the midst of struggles in the factories, in stable neighborhood organizations, in the mass organizations, trade unions, etc. It is precisely the task of Bolsheviks to improve the quality of recruiting itself, so that Party recruits are permanently assimilated into the life of the organization. The proper use of the new forces drawn to us, their activation and education in Bolshevikism is our basic task. This is the creation of the main instrument for building a socialist society in America. Every weakness, and especially such weakness as exhibited in this still high degree of fluctuation, signals a danger to the successful building of the revolutionary movement in America. The whole Party must be roused to a consciousness of this problem. All the forces of the Party must be concentrated upon the task of holding and consolidating every new recruit.

consideration the large special editions and the special Saturday circulation) still remains considerably below the level of 1931. True there has been a certain improvement even here, so far as payment to the office of the Daily Worker for this circulation. The amount of money received by the Daily Worker for its papers has slightly increased above 1931. It is also true that there has been an improvement in circulation from the low point of a year ago by about 50 per cent. But this has been almost entirely the product of the spontaneous response to the improved contents of the paper and only in a small degree the planned, conscious, systematic activity of our Party. Shall we wait until it cost our head to be caught with a copy of the Daily Worker before we realize its inestimable value? We are only playing around with the Daily Worker, until we have given it a minimum circulation of 100,000 copies a day. We already have grouped around our Party, under its influence, far more than that number of workers who need a Communist newspaper and are not served by our language newspapers. To set the goal of 100,000 circulation is merely to reach with the Daily Worker those workers with whom we are already in contact. Until this goal is reached we must declare that the circulation of the Daily Worker is the weakest sector in our battlefront.

Check-up on Our Control Tasks

The Open Letter set us the task of decisively strengthening our work in the A. F. of L. and other reformist trade unions. We can register some serious beginnings of improvement in this field. I have already spoken of the broad scope of the movement for the Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill inside the A. F. of L. We can record that the work of the revolutionary oppositions under Communist direction is now the decisive leadership in approximately 150 local unions of the A. F. of L., with a membership of from 50,000 to 60,000. This opposition work is improving in the most important industries such as mining and steel. In addition to those local unions in which the revolutionary opposition has the support of the majority of the workers, there are serious minorities in a larger and growing number of unions. The weakest field in this respect remains the railroad industry. Here we cannot yet say that the Party has taken up the task with full seriousness, nor even made a considerable beginning. Throughout the work in the A. F. of L., the characteristic weakness remains the formal character of the opposition work, its tendency to remain contact with participation in union elections and formal debates, the legalism of the work, its failure to orientate itself to the shops and establish its organizational base there, and its weakness in developing independent leadership of the daily struggles.

The most decisive advance in the trade union field in the past year has been the emergence of the revolutionary trade unions as real mass organizations, directly leading the struggle of 20 per cent of all the strikers in this period, and winning a far higher proportion of the victories won by the strike movement. Especially important has been the advances in steel, agriculture, marine, as well as the serious advances in lighter industries, such as, shoe, needle, furniture, etc. Over 100,000 new recruits, offset by fluctuation of about 15,000 gives us at present about 125,000 members in the revolutionary unions. The increased stability of these organizations is due to the fact that they were built in struggle, that they are mastering the art of trade union democracy, are developing their own responsible trade union functionaries and exhibit a growing and active inner life.

under our leadership is the only broad, unifying force, and the only section of the unemployed with a clear and consistent program. It has a growing cadre of the best leaders of the unemployed movement. If we will give it the proper guidance, with persistent, systematic support, it can in the coming year organize millions instead of the present hundred thousands. Since the 7th Convention, we have made another important addition to the list of mass revolutionary organizations. This is the mutual benefit society, International Workers Order. Since the Open Letter, the I.W.O., through its membership campaign, has multiplied itself, and now contains about 45,000 members. Even more important, it has built strongholds among the workers in the basic industries and has extended beyond its foreign language sections by recruiting native-born American and Negro workers. The I.W.O. has before itself the problem of how to consolidate and further extend its mass membership, without lowering its previous high standard of revolutionary activity, of political education of its members, especially through involving them more directly in the class struggle.

Surveying the whole field of language mass organizations (including the I.W.O.), we find in 20 language groups that these mass organizations have grown from about 50,000 in 1930 to over 133,000 at the present time. Besides these organizations led by Communists, large gains have been made in building revolutionary opposition movements inside the reformist language organizations, on which it is difficult to give reliable statistics. The Party's foreign newspaper circulation has increased from 110,000 in 1930 to 131,000 in 1934. Most of this increased circulation has come within the past year. It is clear that the language press is by no means keeping up with the extension of the language organizations. We must set for our language bureaus and language newspapers the task of raising the political standard of their work, to draw their membership much more intimately into the main stream of the American class struggle, to activate it, to bring forward new leading cadres, and to speed the process of a Bolshevik Americanization—that is, the welding of a united proletarian mass movement that transcends all language and national barriers.

Special sub-reports will deal with the problem of training new cadres and the related question of our growing system of Party schools. We have advances to record in dealing with these questions in a planned way, as special problems. But again we must say, this is not characteristic for the entire Party. Planned training and promotion of new cadres is the essence of Bolshevik leadership.

If we make a conservative estimate of the total membership of mass organizations around the Party, and under its political influence, allowing for possible duplications of membership, we will see that we have approximately 500,000 individual supporters in these organizations. Compared with the estimated 300,000 at the time of our 7th Convention, this is not quite a doubling of our organized supporters. The quality of this support we must say, however, is on a far higher level; it is more conscious, more active, more consolidated, and has been tested in the fires of four years of struggle against difficulties, against the sharpening attacks of our enemies. The largest part of this gain has come in the past year as the result of serious efforts to carry out the line of the Open Letter, and to execute the control tasks set by the Extraordinary Party Conference.

We have been able to make these advances because we have begun to learn how to apply Bolshevik self-criticism. We have learned to face our weaknesses and mistakes, boldly and openly.

On Learning the Art of Self-Criticism

We have learned that the powerful corrective influence of collective self-criticism. Our enemies gleefully exhibit our self-criticism as the sign of a dying movement. We can afford to let them have what satisfaction they get out of this, when we know that it is precisely through self-criticism that we have begun seriously to overcome these weaknesses. We are beginning to master, according to our own weak abilities, the art of self-criticism, so ably taught to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by Comrade Stalin. We can still, with great profit, read again and again the reports of Comrade Stalin to the Congresses and Conferences of the C. P. S. U. As one such contribution to our 8th Convention, I want to read a few pages from the report of Comrade Stalin to the 15th Party Congress in 1927, almost every work of which has a direct lesson for us in our work. Comrade Stalin said:

"Let us take, for instance, the matter of guidance of economic and other organizations on the part of the Party organizations. Is everything satisfactory in this respect? No, it is not. Often questions are decided, not only in the locals, but also in the center, so to speak, 'en famille,' the family circle. Ivan Ivanovich, a member of the leading group of some organization, made, let us say, a big mistake and made a mess of things. But Ivan Federovitch does not want to criticize him, show up his mistakes and correct him. He does not want to, because he is not disposed to 'make enemies.' A mistake was made, things went wrong, but what I, who does not make mistakes? Today I will show up Ivan Ivanovich, tomorrow he will do the same to me. Let Ivan Ivanovich, therefore, not be molested, because where is the guarantee that I will not make a mistake in the future? Thus everything remains spick and span. There is peace and good will among men. Leaving the mistake uncorrected harms our great cause, but that is nothing! As long as we can get out of the mess somehow. Such, comrades, is the usual attitude of some of our responsible people. But what does that mean? If we, Bolsheviks, who criticize the whole world, who, in the words of Marx, storm the heavens, if we refrain from self-criticism for the sake of the peace of some comrades, is it not clear that nothing but ruin awaits our great cause and that nothing good can be expected. Marx said that the proletarian revolution differs, by the way, from other revolutions in the fact that it criticizes itself and that in criticizing itself it becomes consolidated. This is a very important point Marx made. If we, the representatives of the proletarian revolution, shut our eyes to our shortcomings, settle questions around a family table, keeping mutually silent concerning our mistakes, and drive our ulcers into our Party organism, who will correct these mistakes and shortcomings? Is it not clear that we cease to be proletarian revolutionaries, and that we shall surely meet with shipwreck if we do not exterminate from our midst this philistinism, this domestic spirit in the solution of important questions of our construction? Is it not clear that by refraining from honest and straight-forward self-criticism, refraining from an honest and straight making good of mistakes, we block our road to progress, betterment of our cause, and new success for our cause. The process of our development is neither smooth nor general. No, comrades, we have classes, there are antagonisms within the country, we have a past, we have a present and a future, there are contradictions between them, and we cannot progress smoothly, tossed by the waves of life. Our progress proceeds in the form of struggle, in the form of developing contradictions, in the form of overcoming these contradictions. As long as there are classes we shall never be able to have a situation when we shall be able to say, 'Thank goodness, everything is all right! This will never be, comrades. There will always be something dying out. But that which dies does not want to die; it fights for its existence, it defends its dying cause. There is always something new coming into life. But that which is being born is not born quietly, but whimpers and screams, and the new, between the moribund and that which is being born—such is the basis of our development. Without pointing out and exposing openly and honestly, as Bolsheviks should do, the shortcomings and mistakes in our work, we block our road to progress. But we do want to go forward. And just because we go forward, we must make one of our foremost tasks an honest and revolutionary self-criticism. Without this there is no progress."

Soviet Sowing Is Far Ahead of Last Year

Stalingrad Plant Turns Out Hundred Thousand Tractors

(Special to the Daily Worker) MOSCOW, April 12 (By Radio)—Today at 12 noon, the hundredth thousand tractor was turned out at the Stalingrad Tractor Works.

Lenin's words, spoken 15 years ago, that "100,000 tractors is the best means for winning the middle peasants to the cause of communism" have become reality.

At the present moment, over 200,000 tractors are operating in the

collective and soviet farms. Other mighty giant works of socialist industry, children of the first Five Year Plan, are rapidly catching up to the Stalingrad works—the Kharabinsk works, which have produced 3,000 caterpillar tractors.

The projected capacity of the Stalingrad works has already been achieved.



ERNST THAELMANN

Thaelmann Beaten When He Refuses To Reply To Nazis

(Continued from Page 1)

saved the defendants in the first trial." Gallagher discussed the present situation in Germany, the danger of fascism in the U.S.A., and the Scottsboro case. "Germany is one vast concentration camp, and no one dare open his mouth. The fascist dictatorship, however, is in decline, and hasn't the power it had a year ago. People who originally had faith in the Nazis are beginning to realize there is no possibility of improvement in their intolerable conditions under Hitler.

"Fascism also increases the war danger. In regard to war, Hitler is between the devil and the deep blue sea. If he makes war, it will mean immediate revolution at home. If he doesn't, revolution will come anyhow. And after fascism there will come Communism.

"There is great danger of fascism in U.S., unless workers learn the lessons from Germany, recognize the misleadership of the officials of the Socialist Party, A. F. of L. and form a united front against fascism. The N.R.A. is a big step toward fascism. It is organizing industries under codes that create the machinery for a fascist corporate state, and is trying to abolish the right to strike and organize in trade unions.

"The Scottsboro case is part of these growing fascist tendencies. It is being used to terrify the American Negro workers and divide them from the white. The activities of the I.L.D. in bringing the case to the attention of the workers throughout the world has put the entire Southern white ruling class on the defensive, and is showing the Negro workers that the only possibility of destroying race prejudice, with its Jim Crow and segregation laws is a united front with white workers."

After speaking in Detroit, Gallagher and Mrs. Wright are leaving for Chicago.

Farm Workers Win 100 P.C. Wage Rise After 5-Day Strike

Communist Leadership; Workers Vote to Join T. U. U. L.

BRIDGETON, April 13.—Winning all their demands for increased wages and recognition of their union, more than 250 agricultural workers on the Seabrook Farms near here returned to work today after five days of strike.

They have won wages increases of 100 to 150 per cent. The strike was led by Agricultural Workers Union with the active co-operation of the Communist Party unit of Camden. The strikers have voted to affiliate with the Trade Union Unity League.

The demands won by the workers are: 30 cents an hour for men, 25 cents an hour for women, and the same for young workers and recognition of the Union. Former wages were as low as 5 cents an hour.

Valuable aid was given to the strikers by Eleanor Henderson, of the Farmers National Committee of Action, who was jailed during the strike, and was immediately released when the workers threatened to continue the strike.

One of the outstanding features of the strike was the fight of the strikers, mostly native born whites, against white chauvinism, one of the strike leaders being a Negro, Jerry Brown.

USSR Shows Big Gains in All Industry

Enthusiasm Mounts As Production Sweeps to Prosperity

(Special to the Daily Worker) MOSCOW, April 12 (By Radio).—A summary of progress in agriculture and industry shows a powerful rise in the second year of the second Five-Year Plan.

On April 4, 25,000,000 acres had been sown throughout the Soviet Union, against 9,500,000 acres on the same date last year.

This victory is due both to the enthusiasm of the shock-brigades of the Socialist fields, and to the achievements attained through the steady application of the plan of extra-early and early sowing.

Industry in the Soviet Union in the first quarter of the second year of the second Five-Year Plan shows a further steady growth. In all the most important branches of heavy industry, the output shows a marked increase over the same period of last year.

In coal the increase is 30 per cent; in oil, 27 per cent; in pig iron, 61 per cent; in steel, 49 per cent; in rolled metal, 42 per cent; in locomotives, 45 per cent; freight cars, 55 per cent; tractors, 59 per cent; motor trucks, 27 per cent; motor cars, 650 per cent; chemical fertilizers, 563 per cent.

These figures contrast strikingly with the continued economic depression of capitalist countries. The year 1934 is becoming a year of great new victories of Soviet economy.

A powerful new wave of Socialist competition is rising among the masses of the towns and countryside. The powerful sweep of the movement of shock-workers and enthusiasts of production for mastering modern technique is extending daily. This provides the guarantee of constantly greater victories.

Police Attack Farm Strike Pickets

Pea Pickers, Demanding Increase Pay, Victims

HAYWARD, Cal., (F.P.).—Deputy sheriff and state police have started the threatened new attacks on California agricultural workers by dispatching a picket line of 50 strikers. Pea pickers, who had walked out in a demand for increased pay, were the victims. They promised to return in greater numbers. Police are patrolling all highways, armed with tear gas and guns, and hint that Alameda county may be the scene of the state's next bloodshed.

N. Y. Anti-War Group To Plan for Aug. 1st At Monday Meeting

NEW YORK.—The New York City Central Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism will meet in full session on Monday, April 16 at 8 p.m. in Irving Plaza Hall, 15th St. and Irving Pl.

This special meeting will hear reports by the general secretary, Norman H. Tallentire; James Lerner, National Youth Organizer, on the progress of the work in the colleges; David L. Lee, on the work of the speakers' bureau, and Grace Allen on preparations to send a women's delegation to the great Anti-War Congress in Paris in June.

Preparations are now going forward for International Anti-War Day, 20th anniversary of the outbreak of the World War. At Monday night's conference, plans will be laid for mass action on Aug. 1.

The organization plans to run 100 street meetings a week during the coming months in preparation for August 1. A speakers' class has been organized which will meet at 7 p.m. in Irving Plaza.

To facilitate the work of the speakers' class a Research Bureau has been set up. The Research Bureau will be formally organized at a meeting to be held in the office of the League, 112 E. 19th St., N. C., Room 605, Tuesday, April 17 at 8 p.m.

Your revolutionary greeting to the Daily Worker on May Day will show that the workers support our "Daily."

Vienna Workers Resist Attempt At Fascization

'Patriotic' Trade Union Rejected in Two Big Plants

VIENNA, April 1 (By Mail).—The 400 workers of the great Vienna printing office of Vernay & Co., have decided to pay no more contributions to this has been coordinated by the appointment of governmental commissars.

In the Bally shoe factory, employing 600 workers, a workers' meeting was held at which the former Social-Democratic head shop steward proposed that the workers should join the Patriotic Front in order not to lose their work places. At first the motion was accepted in silence. But when a speaker representing the Patriotic Front rose and spoke of their aims, he was shouted forward the demand for unemployment and misery.

Bronx Conference To Hit High Cost Of Living April 14

Workers Will Demand Lower Rate for Gas, Food, Milk

NEW YORK.—A conference against the high cost of living will be held on Saturday, April 14, at 1 p.m. at Ambassador Hall, 3875 Third Ave., Bronx. This conference is being called by the committee of 25 elected at the first conference held Nov. 18, at the same place.

The first conference started the campaign against the high cost of living. As a result of it, many militant struggles were led in different parts of the Bronx. They ended victoriously for the workers, bringing down the prices on bread, rolls, and gaining the sympathy of hundreds of workers. In order to strengthen the campaign and to widen its leadership, the committee of 25 is calling this April 14 conference.

"The burning issues of this campaign, such as lowering the prices on milk and gas and electricity, putting forward the demand for unemployment insurance, all these are vital issues for every working class family. The committee declared yesterday. Above all, the struggle against imperialist war and fascism, and to rally working class women around this issue, will be stressed.

"In order to make this a broad united front conference, we are calling upon all workers organizations regardless of their political beliefs and affiliation, neighborhood centers, house and block committees, to support this conference and elect delegates. If you do not meet before April 14, you can be represented by the officials of your executive."

19 Jailed in Turin for Anti-Fascist Action

ROME, April 1 (By Mail).—Nineteen persons have been arrested in Turin, on the charge of being in communication with the Italian anti-fascist committees in Paris, and distributing anti-fascist propaganda material.

The proletarian revolution can not take place without the forcible destruction of the bourgeois State machine and its replacement by a new machine.—Lenin.

'Long Live Red Army' Cry Paris Conscripts Returning from Drill

PARIS, March 30 (By Mail).—Scores of soldiers, returning today after their period of military training, formed compact groups in the Eastern railway station here, singing the Internationale, and shouting "Long live the Red Army!"

Thousands of young men released after their compulsory period of military training, are returning home now to face unemployment and misery.

French Workers Protest Today Against Wage Cuts

Veterans' Pensions Cut; Their Leaders Call for Fascism

PARIS, April 13.—Nation-wide demonstrations and mass meetings against the civil service pay cuts and mass dismissals of the Doumergue "economy" program are scheduled for tomorrow and Sunday, and on Monday many of the 800,000 state employees are to carry out a short protest strike.

Meanwhile, the Doumergue cabinet today passed a second "economy" decree, cutting veterans' pensions by 3 per cent. The cut is to be effective April 1.

Last night, the National Council of the Confederation of War Veterans, the top leadership of the official veterans' organization, voted to accept the cut on condition that the government institute a series of changes which would sharpen its fascist character.

25,000 Farmers to March, Demanding Release of Leaders

Freedom of Harry Lux Bureigh, Object of Huge Demonstration

LINCOLN, Neb., April 13.—Plans for a protest march of 25,000 workers and farmers to converge here from three states on April 16 to force the release of Harry Lux, State Organizer of the Farmers Holiday Association and Robert Bureigh, a worker of this city, were announced today. The two prisoners were jailed for "contempt of court" for protesting a Nebraska farm foreclosure last year.

The workers and farmers will go to the Federal Court, third floor of the Post Office building, at 9:30 a.m. when the two defendants are to be tried. After the trial they will march to the State Capitol and present their demands to Gov. Bryan.

The plans were made public by the Emergency Defense Council of the Farmers' Holiday Association. A vigorous campaign is being carried on in this city to rally local workers to support the protest action.

NEW RAIDS ON ATHENS TRADE UNION HEADQUARTERS

ATHENS.—Police raids on Trade Union headquarters in Athens and Piraeus resulted last week in the arrest and sentencing of five workers for Communist activities. Their sentences totaled 22 months at hard labor.

Katerina, the Communist candidate for Mayor was arrested during the strike, and was immediately released when the workers threatened to continue the strike.

One of the outstanding features of the strike was the fight of the strikers, mostly native born whites, against white chauvinism, one of the strike leaders being a Negro, Jerry Brown.

The task of our Party today, the tasks of this Convention, have been clearly and systematically set forth in the documents before us for adoption, especially the Theses and Decisions of the 13th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, and the Draft Resolution prepared for this Convention by the Central Committee. My report has been for the purpose of further elaborating these fundamental directives and discussing some of our central problems concretely in the light of these directives. All these tasks set forth in the documents before us are particular parts of the one general task to rouse and organize the workers and oppressed masses to resistance against the capitalist program of hunger, fascism and imperialism. They are parts of the one task of winning the majority of the toiling masses for the revolutionary struggle for their immediate political and economic needs as the first steps along the road to proletarian revolution, to the overthrow of capitalist rule, the establishment of a revolutionary workers' government, a Soviet government, and the building of a Socialist society in the United States.

It is the source of our greatest strength that in our work in the U. S. A., we are not isolated from our brothers in the rest of the world. We

are organizationally united in one World Party with all that is most fearless, devoted, honest and energetic in the working class of every capitalist country, as well as of the toiling masses struggling for their liberation throughout the world. We draw additional strength and inspiration from the magnificent achievements of our brother Communist Party in China, which stands at the head of the powerful and growing Chinese Soviet Republic. We are proud and inspired by our unity in one Party with such fighters as George Dimitroff and his comrades, who, single handed, met and defeated the Nazi murder bands in the courts of Leipzig. It is our strength that we are of the same Party with Ernst Thaelman, and the thousands of heroic fighters in the German Communist Party, who, through prison cells and concentration camps, defying the Nazi headsmen, maintain and carry on every day struggle for the overthrow of Hitler. We take special pride in the achievements of our brother Communist Party in Cuba, which roused and led the mass upheaval that overthrew the bloody Machado, and which is now gathering the forces of the Cuban masses to drive out Machado's successors and establish a Soviet Republic of Cuba. We are stronger in the knowledge that the Communist Party of

the Philippine Islands stands, shoulder to shoulder with us in the joint struggle to overthrow American imperialism. Our work in the United States gains additional power from the fact that, reaching across the border, both north and south, we grasp the hands of our brother Communist Parties of Canada and Mexico. Throughout Latin-America, our brother Parties are challenging us to socialist competition as to who can strike hardest and quickest against the imperialists and their agents. When we contemplate the tasks of struggle against imperialism, war, for the defeat of our own imperialism, our muscles are further steeled by the knowledge that our brother Communist Party of Japan is blazing the way for us by their heroic struggle for the overthrow of Japanese imperialism in the midst of war. Above all, do we arm ourselves with the political weapons forged by the victorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with the mighty sword of Marxism-Leninism, and are strengthened and inspired by the victories of socialist construction won under its Bolshevik leadership, headed by Stalin. Our World Communist Party, the Communist International, provides us the guarantee not only of our victory in America, but of the victory of the proletariat throughout the world.