

WORKERS AGE

A Weekly Paper Defending the Workers and Farmers

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Five Cents

At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

NEW YORK CITY'S Fusion and Tammany politicians seem to be all hot and bothered about the scandals just uncovered in relief administration. In Ohio the Democratic Governor is hauled over the coals by his party—colleagues in Washington because of vile corruption. North Dakota has recently seen the conviction of its Republican Governor and state officials found guilty of crookedness in handling relief funds. New Jersey and Pennsylvania are soon to be treated to startling revelations with the lifting of some sewer lids in the avenues of unemployment relief.

All of these exposures have a multiphased significance. In an immediate sense they are skirmishes for the big election battle in 1936. From the long range point of view, the conditions thus revealed show the bottomless depths of decay into which every expression of capitalism is falling. But for the laboring people there is a far more sinister angle to this sudden battle for "honesty" among the thieves who have had a falling-out in their own ranks. The "tax-payers" will more and more try to seize this occasion (the honesty crusade) to force a cut in relief allowances for the army of no-occupation now pounding our pavements. Hence the high-temperated excitement over "boon-doggling." Finally, it won't be long before American Fascists of today and tomorrow will pick up all this evidence of decay and dishonesty inherent in capitalist democracy as arguments for installing a "vigorous, clean" regime along Fascist lines in the U.S. This strategy and demagoguery are common to all Fascist movements in their infancy, adolescence and adulthood. Here is the danger signal on which we must keep our eyes.

WE hasten to offer our embattled comrades momentarily in the leadership of the official C.P. some more evidence against us as confirmed opponents of the much-misrepresented theory of "exceptionalism." Thruout the capitalist world (except the U.S.) one of the direct consequences of the economic crisis has been a marked reduction of social legislation. In the U.S., on the other hand, the very intensity of the crisis has lent impetus to the development of some social legislation on a federal scale.

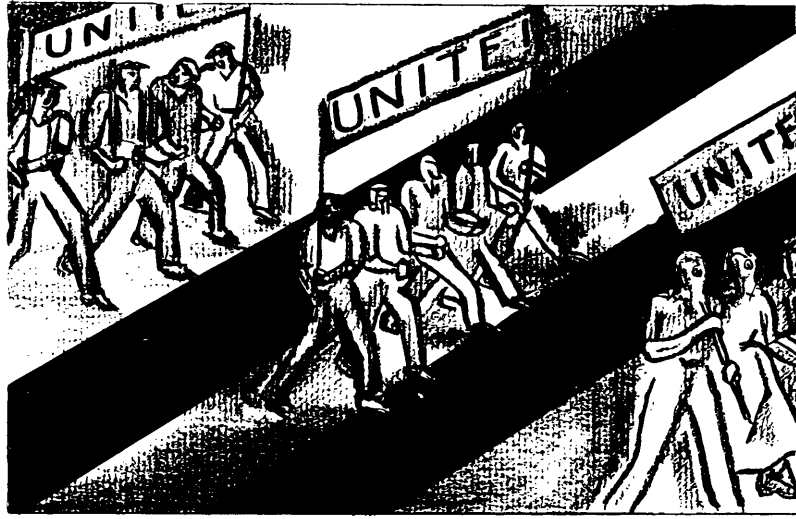
Why is this so? Certainly, not because of the generosity oozing out of Wall Street's pores. In the U. S. we have an exceptionally greedy pack of dividend-devourers. Also, in fairness to Roosevelt, it must be said that his administration is not to be held responsible for even the least bit of social legislation that may be enacted into law in the coming months. Still, there is no mystery to it. The explanation is simple. In all big capitalist countries, except the U.S., there was some system of social legislation before the present world crisis. The economic crisis served to weaken social legislation towards the vanishing point in a number of European countries. The ruling classes pleaded poverty and shifted the burdens on to the backs of the workers by reducing the benefits of sundry social insurance projects. But in the U. S., some such laws providing, very inadequately it is true, for social insurance are soon to see the light of day in order to enhance social stability. No doubt in the next crisis American capitalism, today still able to pay for such measures without difficulty, will be Europeanized in the very opposite direction. While this present crisis tends to stimulate social legislation, the next one will tend to stifle whatever such gains labor may have registered. This we cannot underscore too heavily.

THE half-baked economists and the hard-boiled bureaucrats making up the general staff of the Roosevelt New Dealers are up against it these days. Even such lowest common denominators of intelligence as the average Congressman can, with ease, nowadays point to mounting evidence of the folly of the whole scheme of alphabetized "prosperity." For decades, Uncle Sam boasted that he is the world's biggest farmer. New world conditions, new trends in the development of American capitalism in particular and international capitalism in general soon began to undermine this agrarian primacy of the U. S.

For the overwhelming majority of the farmers, for the poor farmers, this meant a bumper crop of hardships and woes. But witch-doctor Wallace set out to bring relief to the rural folks, to restore them their markets, to raise prices, etc. And what has been happening? Facts are at hand to establish beyond challenge

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ONE MAY DAY!



TO THE UNITED FRONT MAY DAY CONFERENCE,
Carl Brodsky, Secretary

TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S.A.
Earl Browder, Secretary

Dear Comrades:-

May Day should be a symbol of the strength of the working class. But there can be no show of strength as long as the workers are divided and their forces split into two rival demonstrations. On every hand we hear phrases about unity, yet factional, sectarian considerations have prevented the organizations responsible for the division from taking the real, practical steps necessary to insure one, single, united demonstration of strength on May Day. We address this communication to your conference and its affiliated organizations to inform you of what we have been doing in an effort to repair the disastrous division, and to make practical proposals to your conference for that purpose.

Those trade unions of this city which are sufficiently class-conscious to observe May Day were responsible for the calling of a conference on March 28. We sent delegates to that conference and they were seated. In the course of the preparations for a May Day celebration, both at the conference and in committee meetings, we stood for the following objectives: 1) For a demonstration and parade. Despite the opposition of some right wing Socialist leaders, this was carried. 2) For an invitation to the Communist Party to participate as well as its affiliated organizations except its dual unions. This received much support but has been so far defeated. 3) For the inclusion of the Young People's Socialist League. This was carried. 4) For a broad, inclusive, non-partisan labor demonstration in which the unions should predominate and which should not be subordinate to any political party. Many measures were adopted to prevent the demonstration from being so subordinated. An executive committee representative of all tendencies was set up. The manifesto and publicity committees chosen will emphasize the truly labor character of the conference. The name May Day Labor Conference was decided upon.

We were hampered in our fight for the invitation of the Communist Party by three factors: 1) The Local N. Y. Socialist Party leaders oppose for partisan factional reasons a united front including Communists, official or opposition. 2) The Communist Party, tho it has issued general declarations in the press calling for one united demonstration, and mailed such declarations to the Socialist Party, has obviously been preparing its own demonstration separate from the trade unions and the call for its conference was a narrow, factional document, calling for the unity of all forces in one line and attacking the Communist Opposition, the Workers Party, Socialist Party, and trade union leaders in the next. We do not question the right of the Communist Party to criticize those with whom it enters into united fronts. We do not believe in "non-aggression pacts." But surely you will understand that the manifesto which is to be the basis and common program of a united front cannot contain such criticisms. If it does, it can repeat the word unity a thousand times and still it will be an invitation not to unite, a blow against the possibility of a united front. 3. The Communist Party did not even send a delegation to the May Day Conference called by the trade unions. Instead of being able to fight for the admission of the Communist Party's delegates, we had to move TO INVITE an organization which had stayed away and was preparing its own rival, partisan conference separate from the organized labor movement.

OUR PROPOSALS TO YOU

It is not even now too late to remove the obstacles which make difficult a real united front on May Day and to make one huge united May Day demonstration.

What must be done?

First, your conference should elect a committee to negotiate for unity with the Labor Conference called by the trade unions. If your offer is sincere you will find plenty of support, including our own, inside that conference.

Second, you must remove the chief obstacle to that unity—the problem of the dual unions. Surely May Day is an appropriate time to make a real, honest step for working class unity. Surely, no factional and petty face-saving considerations should stand in the way of an open declaration that those union-splitting organizations have been a disastrous blunder and that the party which formed them has learned its lesson and gives pledges to the working class that it will not further maintain them or ever again threaten the unity of the mass organizations of the workers. The formation of those dual unions has been the chief cause of the isolation of the Communist Party from the trade unions and their continued maintenance on one subterfuge or another is the chief obstacle to the possibility of the Party's participation in one united May Day demonstration with the organized labor movement of this city.

We urge you with all the seriousness that the present situation demands, not to evade these proposals, not to make empty talk about unity without taking the necessary steps to make it possible. It is the duty of the Communist Party to observe May Day in proper fashion. It is the duty of the Communist Party to correct its sectarian blunders. It is the duty of the Communist Party to heal the rift that separates it from the organized labor movement. It is the duty of the Communist Party to march on May Day with the organized labor movement. It is the duty of the Communist Party to remove the obstacles which it puts in the way of one united May Day movement and to make it harder for some socialist and conservative trade union leaders to prevent that unity.

We earnestly urge the most serious consideration of our proposals.

For one united May Day demonstration!

For such a demonstration as will give pause to reaction, and fresh courage and strength to the working class!

Fraternally yours,

THE COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A. (OPPOSITION)
Jay Lovestone, Secretary

STRESA CONFERENCE PAVES WAY FOR SHIFT IN EUROPE'S WAR ALIGNMENTS

Britain Shields Germany From Wrath of France; Anti-Soviet Pact May Result From Discussion On "Beautiful Isle"

Out of Stresa has not come and could not come any guarantees of peace. Workers the world over, still burdened with reformist illusions, or thinking in outright bourgeois terms may have been expecting some such result. A conference of the leading capitalist powers could only be for imperialist purposes, which, in the last phase, are war purposes.

But from such a conclusion it is wrong to swing about and dismiss all "disarmament" conferences as a get-together of the Fascists. As the war danger becomes more acute, as we approach the day when the workers of the world will be requested to cut each others' throats, such a conference serves as an indication of the line up for the next battle.

In this light we can see two probable results flowing out of the Stresa conference. First, the open signs of a rapprochement between Britain and Nazi Germany. Only one force toned down France's demand for censure of the events of March 16th, and changed this to a resolution "regretting" the action—that force was British imperialism. What factors could make for such a turn? First, with Nazi Germany, Britain would fight with Japan against France and America. Japan only shows signs of muscling in on British foreign markets—that could be settled for a time by a division of spoils. America, however, has been England's chief rival in the struggle for markets. In Nazidom, the wise and experienced British bourgeoisie see an excellent anti-Soviet force.

The second possibility is the formation of a thoroughgoing anti-Soviet block of all the capitalist forces. France was not too peeved at the British concession to Germany. Italy, a second rater, from an imperialist viewpoint, will go where the booty is biggest—or, the promises thereof.

Only one force, that did not appear at this Peace Conference, really has it in its hands the power to direct the course of European history—the working class. It is the British workers who can force England out of anti-Soviet channels once again; and the French workers, in a United Front, can also swing the scales.

COPS SMASH DOWN ON BISCUIT PICKETS

Many Injured As Police Guard Attacks Strikers Three Blocks From NBC Plant

All has not been quiet on the Bakery front since the three thousand strikers of National Biscuit Company have persisted in their daily mass picket line, thrown around the company at five every evening when the scabs swarm out of the plant.

On Monday and Tuesday the strikers were permitted to circle the plant. But on Wednesday, April 10th, as the mass of strikers left the headquarters at 245 West 14th Street, a thousand strong, mounted police and riot squads mobilized between Eighth and Ninth Avenues a block away. Midway in the block, without any warning the mounted police drove their horses onto the sidewalk.

Riding wildly into the strikers, the police scattered women and men. Augmented by hundreds of police on foot who cracked down viciously on the heads of men and women alike, the La Guardia blue-coats shouted curses and threats while wielding their clubs.

A mounted cop rode so fiercely into the line that the hoof of his horse caught in the wheels of a baby carriage, from which the child had been grabbed only a second before, and turned the vehicle over, spilling the blankets and pillows onto the walk.

Although many strikers had their skulls cracked, it was significant that few arrests were made; leading to the inescapable conclusion that the police were under orders to break the picket line by violence. Further evidence of this was brought out by the press, which formerly had given but the most grudging notices to the thirteen-week old strike. With the exception of the Hearst publications, the editions of April 11th carried stories branding the police attack as an unprovoked exhibition of brutality.

Although ten pickets, badly beaten by the arresting officers, were jailed and numbers were seriously injured, the mass line went out even stronger on Thursday afternoon. The police stood to one side as the line turned along Tenth Avenue and then was stopped. Arguments proving unavailing against the raised clubs and the mounted onrush of police. The line abandoned its intention of continuing to the plant exit which spews out the eight hundred or more scabs nightly. As the line reached the subway entrance a white-faced throng of strike-breakers fled toward the steps.

With derisive cries the striking workers pushed forward. By forming a line the police were well able to hold back the strikers, without use of their clubs. However, once more the mounted officers rushed the strikers and three of the pickets were shoved and kicked out of the line, attacked by the police and hurled into the patrol wagon.

The strikers are determined to increase rather than lessen their daily picket line. The long weeks of suffering and privation have in no way mitigated their militancy and their solidarity.

Negotiations between the Company and the Union officials are at a standstill. This state of affairs is the result of the Company's proof of ill-faith in its pretence at settlement; for it has refused, despite every compromise offered by the Union officials, to take back 45% of the strikers. The Company makes the retention of the eight hundred scabs, replacing as many strikers, a term of the settlement. William A. Galvin, president of the union, refuses to consider such a settlement and is backed one hundred per cent by his membership.

MAY DAY MARCH IS RALLYING NEW YORK'S ORGANIZED

Broad Committee Mobilizes Unions and Parties For Giant Demonstration

May First, 1935, promises to mark a milestone in the history of New York's working class, through the decisions made at the first meeting of the executive committee of the May Day Labor conference.

The largest unions in the city and all political tendencies in the labor movement with the exception of the Communist Party are co-operating in the Conference. The delegates from the Communist Opposition fought to have the CP included in a united May Day parade but were defeated. It must be noted that the CP made no attempt to send any delegates to the Conference.

In the executive committee sessions the name "May Day Labor Conference" was adopted. Upon a motion by Will Herberg the Communist Opposition and the Workers Party were given representation on the executive committee. In order that the conference and parade maintain their all-inclusive labor character and that no political tendency be allowed to predominate representation was granted to the various tendencies on the different committees. The all-important manifesto and publicity committees are especially broad and representative.

30 HOUR WEEK IS CENTRAL SLOGAN

The chief slogans of the May Day parade will be "For the Thirty Hour Week," "For Unemployment Insurance," "Against War," "Against Fascism," "For a Worker's World." Plans are being developed to make the parade the most colorful and spirited New York has ever seen.

There will be two sections; one to assemble near Union Square and the second to gather in the heart of the garment district. Both sections will head for the Mall in Central Park where the workers will be addressed by speakers from the unions, political groups and fraternal organizations.

Although some of the largest unions in the city—Dressmakers, Cloakmakers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Painters, United Hebrew Trades, etc.—are already participating, a drive will be made to get other unions to engage. Special delegations are calling on the Bakery Workers, Building Service Employees, and other federal locals. A strong effort is being made to get the New York Central Trades and Labor Council to back May Day, and Charles S. Zimmerman was selected by the conference committee to lead the fight there. All readers of the Workers Age are urged to try to get to their organization to participate in the parade this year.

May Day, 1935, must be the biggest, most enthusiastic, most militant May Day New York has ever seen. The next step then will be to have one and not two, May Day Parades.

NAZI MISTRESS TELLS OF GERMAN "CULTURE"

A series of scandals among the Nazi high priests has recently revealed the state of moral degeneracy pervading the National-Socialists of Germany. The Nazi leaders are now not only the June 30th purge as a cleansing of the party of morally degenerate elements. Nevertheless the fact remains that the Nazi party was forced to recognize and take steps against the wide spread homosexuality in the ranks of the storm troops and the special guards, and against the sexual perversions of many of its leaders. Much against their will, therefore, the Nazi high priests were forced to make important admissions about the spreading sexual perversion and moral depravity under the Nazi regime.

THE SEXUAL CUSTOMS OF 'NEW GERMANY' TOLD BY A JEWISH EMIGRE'S WIFE

In the chain of reaction, a tool of exploitation. And Goebbels explained at the congress of women functionaries of the National-Socialist party: "It is proven that women are not capable of social or domestic life when they are tended to pass their lives in the shadow of the walls of their houses." Beneath the mask of "revival of morality," of "leading woman back to her true destiny" lurks the real face of capitalist competition.

BESTIALITY BREAKS ITS BONDS

If one proceeds armed with the method of historical materialism to a judgement of the position of woman in the fascist state, it will become clear to him why the under the rule of the party, bourgeois formerly held captive in the cage or office and department store should attack women with such bestial brutality. A deep insight into the coarsening of sexual customs under the Nazis is afforded by the letter of a former Jewish student, written to her husband living in exile. After the flight of her husband the woman was subjected to severe tribulation by the persecutions of the Nazis, until she finally broke down, physically and spiritually. She had an affair with an S. A. man and entered the circle of the leading Nazis. In this way she became acquainted with the intimate life of these people. In her letter she presents a revealing picture of this life.

I ran up against a group of S. A. bald heads. They reeked of tobacco and alcohol and were smeared with gray spots. They did things in my presence which I never saw in any other society. After this adventure I decided it would be better to have a friend. He is young, poor, has authority, and is stupid. When he has anything he gives me a few marks. I have become a different woman. For some time now have been shown a thousand courtesies in his presence. Those who yesterday bit my legs kiss my hand today. Those who persecuted me most promise my friend marvelous things if they can sleep with me. After several conferences at which I was not present my friend asked me to do it, for reasons of love, politics, and friendship for Hitler, to become the mistress of Peter or Paul and to agree to his being present, hidden behind a tapestry. I agreed to the proposition, but on the condition that my friend should buy me a pair of stockings, or a Mercedes car, but because I knew that resistance on my part would lead to duels and arrests and provide provocation to God knows what crimes.

BARTERING A MISTRESS IS ONE ROAD TO POWER IN NAZI POLITICS TODAY

The Nazis are bloodthirsty and sexually hypocritical and women to them are like alcohol. That is the reason they tempt them, make them slaves, prostitutes, merely sexual objects. I sleep with my friends' friends. Every evening I notice S. S. men with silk undergarments beneath their uniforms, very fine material; leaders decorated with jeweled orders, epaulets, armbands, rings, etc. This is Hitler's aristocracy, half homosexual, half indolent, waiting for this moment. . . . I see nothing but Nazis lying on top of each other, dead drunk. . . . To conquer men to them to ruin women and satisfy their instincts. The entire sex life of the 3rd Reich rests on the refrain: "The soldier, the soldier, is the handsomest man in the whole of Germany. In all the strata this moral decadence has wrought its havoc among the women. Between 5 and 7 you can see in the rendezvous—cafes, dancing clubs, ice cream parlors—the wives of non-Nazi becoming happy as they wait for the uniforms and the cap you can only see all these "Fuhrers," how they command and conduct themselves! Among the S. S. men one meets almost nothing but abnormal. The lips, the glance, the skin, almost everything betrays a perverted sex nature. . . .

The authenticity of this letter and the truth of the events revealed in it are vouched for. This is the way "the preservation of the family" from "dissolution by Bolshevism" appears under the pratorians of the Goody world order.

Labor Party and Union Line

This is the third of a series of articles by M. C. Stewart clarifying the current confusion about the Labor Party question. Other articles in this column will appear in succeeding issues of the Workers Age.

By M. C. STEWART

DESERTION AND RETURN TO LABOR PARTY ONLY REFLEX OF T. U. POLICY

This slogan no longer supplies a basis for this campaign. Any Labor Party crystallization at this moment could have only the effect of intensifying the bitter opposition to it, it completes the adventure of dual unionism, united front from below, sectarianism and isolation, by returning to the starting point, to the Labor Party, behind the mass sentiment for it, which is the political separation of the workers from the capitalists, but would mean the delivery of the workers to capitalist politics under the guise of a Labor Party. The radicalization of the working masses which led to the formation of the T. U. in 1935, and also proudly says in effect: "We have no intention of abandoning the conditions of the T. U. policy."

MAGGOTS ON THE CAPITALIST CORPSE

In the fascist system are clearly reflected all the signs of degeneracy of bourgeois society. The cultural level of a people can be measured by the social position of woman, by her role in public life and in production. Charles Fourier wrote more than a hundred years ago the notable words: "In every society the degree of emancipation of woman is the material measure of the general emancipation. . . . Capitalism in its period of growth was forced to grant women certain liberties; Fascism, to retain power, must make a broad attack on the living standard of the working class and as a part of this campaign women are being discharged from the factories, shops, offices and stores with demagogic apologies. Hossfeld says to the National-Socialist women: "We again need a people reared by a mother who watches and prays for the cradle." The lot that Hitler prescribes is that of a confined woman ignorant of the world, the best part of her husband, a breeding machine that will bring the largest possible number of children into the world because soldiers are needed, and who will be kept in darkness and ignorance for this purpose and for no other reason.

We were often laid on a table, around which the gentlemen seated themselves. My dress would be ripped from my body, my underclothes torn up, and I would be hit, flogged, and bitten. I knew on such nights that I would not be led away to a cell or apartment. But when at last the words are new, they are sung to the old tune. The Labor Party and the Trade Union Line. When we look under the smoke screen of deliberation, we find that the line is the same; that the line on the Labor Party was on the whole correct present and past; that there were "incidental mistakes" . . . which we have no reason to hide. . . . We find in the resolution of the Party the reflection of its orientation toward the trade unions. When the C.I. and the C.P. turned away from the difficult but most essential task, of working in and strengthening the conservative trade unionism, in order to broaden and deepen their class consciousness and to revolutionize them; when, instead it entered upon the course of disrupting them, and of building "revolutionary" dual unions, it was not possible, not conceivable, to maintain the leadership of the Labor Party. When the C.P. followed as a matter of course. The formal obsequies over the T.U.U. . . . Congratulations on the Labor Party announced in January, but this reversal of the logical order of events was only in the way of face saving.

The connection between the trade union orientation and the Labor Party policy has been falsified in the discussion of the Party resolutions. The forms that sectarianism is taking under the "changed conditions"—this, the speeches, the articles in the press and the resolutions, try to explain away, in order to have already voted the Labor Party resolution of October 1929. The ultra-left views and policies expressed therein are the logical application of the estimate of work in the AFL which Comrade Foster made up as follows in 1929: "What is the future of the AFL and the craft unions generally? Are they definitely in decline as labor organizations? This question of perspective of the AFL, becomes very important because it is involved the question of whether or not there is a real base for the development of the new industrial movement. . . ." and he answered, "the AFL is definitely in decline as a labor organization. It cannot and will not organize the workers in their developing struggles. I am joining the CPO, to help prepare the subjective factors so necessary, and I call upon my comrades in the ranks of the Socialist Movement, as well as in the ranks of the Communist Movement, to unite in the struggle for REVOLUTIONARY UNITY as part of the struggle for a Soviet America. . . . Yours for Revolutionary Unity and a Soviet America, JOSEPH M. GORELIK

THEY'RE ON THE WAY....

Will the native American worker ever go Communist? If so, how long will it be before he catches up to us? How far back on the trail is he? We must find out what he is thinking and why. We will raise the following questions: 1. Common membership meetings of the CP in this area are affecting the United Front. 2. The necessity of broadening the base of the united front by drawing in the Trade Union masses. 3. The building of common workers defense corps against the growing fascist terrorism. Only recently Pivert came out against Blum, with what has been to date the sharpest attack against the right and the center. He denounced the slogan "Defense of the Republican Fatherland" against Fascism, as well as the more general slogan "Defense of the Fatherland" under capitalism, and came out sharply against Socialist support of the Franco-Italian Pact. And in this sharp attack, he denounced the slogan "We must not play the progressive role that we are not to stop at some halfway house, then the CP must be able to play a more flexible, open, and critical role. But there's the non-aggression pact! Such, in conclusion is the havoc that the non-aggression pact has wrought. Creeping reaction slowly overtaking the United Front, and that at a time when fascism is potentially spreading its influence slowly but surely over the countryside. This situation can be reversed only by bursting the strangling bonds of the non-aggression pact. . . . and that speedily, otherwise the United Front is doomed, and with its destruction fascism takes a big step forward. Let the CP learn this and act accordingly. The United Front is not a reserve force against the United Front. The lefts have relatively a very small influence in the reformist Trade Unions.

"I JOIN THE C. P. O." FIGHTING FOR A REVOLUTIONARY, UNITED PARTY THE BALTIMORE ORGANIZER OF THE YPSL JOINS THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION

JOSEPH M. GORELIK

The writer of the statement printed below was formerly the C.P. Organizer of the Young People's Socialist League of Baltimore. He has now joined the Communist Party (Opposition).

As a United Communist Party is the crying need of the hour. Therefore the task for our revolutionary socialists is to give up the hopeless struggle of reforming the Socialist Movement, for history has already nailed the coffin of the socialist movements usefulness to the working class. Our task is to wage a more successful struggle for the unity of all communist forces into a united Communist Party with a correct tactical line and a healthy approach to problems confronting the workingclass. The only way this can be accomplished is through the readmittance into the Communist Party USA of the Communist Party (Opposition) which has for the past 6 years carried on a struggle for a correct tactical line, and whose struggle is now bearing fruit through the gradual adoption by the C.P. of the CPO's tactical line. The guarantee for the application and the carrying out of the line correctly is the readmittance of the CPO into the CP. We revolutionary socialists can help in this struggle for Communist Unity by thus helping generally the struggle of the American workingclass against Capitalism by joining the CPO. By joining the CPO we are not only uniting in principle but also on a correct tactical line and through our work with the CPO we strengthen the struggle for Communist Unity by exerting pressure on the CP for the re-admittance of the CPO into the ranks of the Communist Party USA thus uniting all revolutionary forces for the struggle against Capitalism. I, who have been the District Organizer of the YPSL in Philadelphia from 1927 to 1931 recognized the correctness of Communist (Revolutionary Socialist) principles and left the YPSL and joined the Communist Party. In my struggle for active in the Young Communist League until June 1933 when at that time because of disagreement of the dual trade union policy which I saw through my

the mechanical processes required for the making of an automobile can conceive the amount of blood, sweat, and toil that the auto workers put in to make the industry what it is today. The purpose of this article is not to go into the history prevalent in the automotive industry, speed-up, espionage, discrimination, low wages, long hours of the busy season, and long periods of unemployment. The Henderson-Lubin report gives only a glimpse of the conditions of the plants, watch the workers follow the belt line, carefully study the production processes generally, see the wear and tear of the human body, to get an idea of what conditions really are. The conditions of the production workers in general have always been better than "prosperous" times they at least earned a wage somewhat higher than in other industries. Since the crisis, conditions have constantly grown worse until they reached the present stage where the average earnings of the auto worker is less than \$900 a year, a wage which begins to approximate the dole of the welfare recipient.

THE AUTO WORKERS WERE READY TO ACT

It was these unbearable conditions that laid the basis for unionization in this open shop industry. Thousands of skilled and semi-skilled production workers, joined the auto unions in 1933 and 1934. In the spring of 1934 many thousands of production workers joined the American Federation of Labor Federal Local Unions with the expectation that the union was going to do something for the improvement of their conditions. The AFL, after a lot of dickering, accepted the infamous Roosevelt-Green settlement (March 25, 1934) which

ACHIEVED ALL OTHER ISSUES SHOULD BE SUBORDINATE TO THIS ONE

Until such collective bargaining is achieved all other issues should be subordinate to this one. This is the basis of collective bargaining can we hope to gain our just and reasonable demands."

IMPROVED CONDITIONS—MAIN ISSUE

As far as the auto workers are concerned is how they can improve their miserable conditions under which they slave in this, the "daring" industry of American capitalism. Very few people who are not acquainted with

THE ECONOMIC WEEK

The gradual rise in the business index for the month of March is mainly due to the big rise in coal production which, in turn, influenced the car-loading index. The fear of a strike caused the speeding up of coal production. The NRA figures on the number of unemployed, to be released shortly, will show an increase since January, 1934. The explanation for such a condition, according to the April 5th issue of *Annual*, is as follows: "In the field of industrial activity where widespread unemployment exists. . . namely, the heavy industries, the trend seems to be gradually downward, as shown by the continued recession in steel ingot production. . . . While there are still over eleven million unemployed in the nation, reports for February indicate that manufacturing plants operated at an average rate of 37 hours per week. It doesn't appear as though the mere shortening of hours will eliminate this evil of capitalism. There seems to be something very incongruous in the government's statistics for 1934 which show an increase of 4% in employment and 14% in payrolls and an increase of over 70% in families on relief. The report of the Federal Power Commission states that there are 1833 undeveloped hydro-electric sites capable of producing 52,628,000 kilowatts or 275-628,000,000 kilowatt hours. The location of over 60 per cent of these sites is in the Pacific northwest and southwest. At the same time, the "Electrical World" states that it "looks to the power industry to supply \$16 billions of new business in the next two years, and forecasts tripling the investment in the industry. . . ." which proves that on purely economic grounds American capitalism still has enough resources to make for a recovery in its structure. —ECONOMIST.

"THE THINGS WE WANT TO KNOW"

Due to the interest of Bert Wolff's answers to the questions of an intellectual, entitled "Things We Want to Know," is omitted from this week's AGE. The next installment will appear next week.

MEN, MONEY and MOTORS—and the A. F. of L.

GOVERNMENT JOINS THE MOTOR KINGS TO BUILD THE COMPANY UNIONS

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By BEN LIPSIGER

"Summary of the situation shows that the government is gradually weakening the various union arguments and, if the movement continues, within a short time labor will place its future almost entirely in the hands of the officials of the present administration. Whether or not this will later lead to a reverse cycle is problematic."

The purpose of this article is not to go into the history prevalent in the automotive industry, speed-up, espionage, discrimination, low wages, long hours of the busy season, and long periods of unemployment. The Henderson-Lubin report gives only a glimpse of the conditions of the plants, watch the workers follow the belt line, carefully study the production processes generally, see the wear and tear of the human body, to get an idea of what conditions really are. The conditions of the production workers in general have always been better than "prosperous" times they at least earned a wage somewhat higher than in other industries. Since the crisis, conditions have constantly grown worse until they reached the present stage where the average earnings of the auto worker is less than \$900 a year, a wage which begins to approximate the dole of the welfare recipient.

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It was these unbearable conditions that laid the basis for unionization in this open shop industry. Thousands of skilled and semi-skilled production workers, joined the auto unions in 1933 and 1934. In the spring of 1934 many thousands of production workers joined the American Federation of Labor Federal Local Unions with the expectation that the union was going to do something for the improvement of their conditions. The AFL, after a lot of dickering, accepted the infamous Roosevelt-Green settlement (March 25, 1934) which

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STACHEL FIGHTS TO KEEP THE "LEFT" IN LOCAL 22 IN SECTARIAN ISOLATION

Lipnak's Gesture Toward A Correct Line Squelched By T. U. "Expert"

In the Daily Worker of Tuesday, April 9, 1935, there appears an article by Sol Lipnak, who is described as a "leading member" of the "Left" group (that is, of the Communist Party forces), in Dressmakers Union Local 22 of the I. L.G.W.U. In this union the progressive forces recently scored an overwhelming victory over a combination of the C.P. followers and the reactionaries of the "Club." Immediately after its victory, the progressive administration initiated a determined drive for the unification of the ranks of the dressmakers in the union. In the article referred to, Lipnak attempts to answer the question of what should be the policy of the "Left" group in the face of the post-election situation. And the conclusion he comes to is virtually an offer of conditional cooperation with the administration. He says:

"If the present administration will conduct a struggle to improve the conditions of the dressmakers, we will not only cooperate with the administration but we will be in the first ranks to help conduct these struggles."

We are not now examining exactly what these words may mean in practice. But for a spokesman of the "Left" group merely to speak of cooperating with the "Lovestoneite" administration in any form, under any circumstances, is progress enough and should certainly be welcomed!

Three days later, in the Daily Worker of April 12, 1935, Jack Stachel, the trade union "expert" of the C.P. writes on the same subject, obviously in the name of the party leadership. And what does he say? After some flashy "analysis" and spurious "self-criticism", he comes to the point—and completely repudiates the tentative, hesitating, half-hearted approaches to a more constructive attitude contained in the Lipnak article. Says Stachel:

"The united front established in the last elections (i.e., the alliance of the 'Left' group and the reactionary 'Club') must be consolidated but on the basis of a clear-cut fighting program against the Dubinsky-Hochman-Zimmerman machine. Undoubtedly these renegades will try to make 'peace' maneuvers which in words cost very little. Such maneuvers must be exposed . . . The slogans of the dressmakers must not be merely 'unity', which means in the mouth of the Zimmermans 'unity' in the capitulation before the bosses and the Dubinskys-Hochmans. This is a trap that the Zimmermans will try to prepare for the united front."

The contrast between the trend of the two articles—three days apart—could not be greater! What does it mean?

It means that the members and followers of the "Left" group in Local 22, appreciating to some degree the real lesson of the elections, are beginning to see that the big masses of the dressmakers will no longer tolerate destruc-

tive opposition or unprincipled combinations. The demand for unity is becoming irresistible among the dressmakers and it is but natural that it should find some echo in the "Left" group itself. Lipnak's article is a reflection of this sentiment which, there is reason to believe, is fairly widespread among the "Left" group followers.

So completely lost is the leadership of the C. P. in the corrupting spirit of sectarianism, that it actually regards this new and more constructive attitude on the part of its followers in Local 22 with fear and suspicion. Unity and constructive cooperation would spell disaster for this leadership and its political course. The unity moods in the "Left" group of Local 22 must therefore, be scotched before it is too late! Stachel's article is not merely a formal repudiation of Lipnak's hesitating advance; it is a call to another crusade against "Lovestoneism" in Local 22, to another reckless offensive against the progressive movement, against the most elementary interests of the dressmakers!

Is it possible for any sincere C.P. member or sympathizer to view this situation and yet not feel the deepest concern at the depth to which his party has fallen under its present leadership that it should stand forth as the enemy of workers unity, openly resisting the demand of its own followers in the unions for a healthier and more responsible policy?

This whole situation furthermore should make the adherents of the "Left" group in Local 22 pause and think. Under the whip of Stachel they are about to be driven into another blind-alley, into another morass from which there is no way out. It is not yet too late for them to make their voices heard!

HERMAN TO TEACH TRADE UNIONISM IN SCHOOL SESSION

The two classes being given in the New Workers School on Thursday night, Fundamentals of Communism and American Communism from the Sixth to the Seventh World Congress, will begin on Thursday, April 25th. Bert Wolfe's course, Nature of Capitalist Crisis, begins on Friday, May 3rd. All other classes begin the week of April 15th. Registration is now taking place.

There is no question facing the labor movement in America which is of greater significance to that movement than the determination of the road which the trade unions are to follow in the coming years. The question of conservative unionism versus progressive unionism, the attitude of the trade union movement towards the NRA, the question of dual unionism, craft versus industrial unionism, the recent growth of the trade unions and the influx of over a million hitherto unorganized and essentially unskilled and semi-skilled workers, the menace of company unionism and of government supervision of the trade unions—these are but a few of the numerous problems demanding clarification.

The historical attitude of the Communist International towards the trade union movement, the recent turn of the C.P. towards the liquidation of dual unionism, as well as the trade union line of the Socialist Party, or rather the lines of the various groups and wings in the S.P., are likewise issues of importance for the revolutionary movement.

The New Workers School is offering in the Spring term a course, "Problems of American Trade Unionism", given by B. Herman, Associate Director of the School, which will discuss these issues, and offer a solution in the form of a constructive and progressive policy to be pursued in the trade unions. The course will be given on Tuesdays at 7 p. m. Registration is now open.

FORD SPRINGS TO THE DEFENSE OF HARLEM GOD, USES LENIN AS SHIELD

Mild Criticism Brings Blast Against Detractors Of "Father" Divine

Bitter experience has convinced us that there is absolutely no depth of intellectual degradation or political indecency to which the Communist Party leaders are not ready to sink in the reckless adventurism that has characterized their course for the last six years. But occasionally we come upon a horrible example that fairly makes our hair stand on end! Such is the nauseating defense of "Father" Divine contained in an article by James W. Ford in the Daily Worker of April 11, 1935.

"Father Divine is the head of one of those weird, exotic cults infesting Harlem, rank outgrowths of unhealthy social conditions. Among its rivals this sect is distinguished by its wild insistence on the actual personal divinity of the "Father", by its grotesque caricature of the early Christian community—and by the utter cynicism with these "spiritual" elements are utilized to promote a variety of crude rackets calculated to coin the blind fanaticism of its devotees into good hard cash!

It is with this loathsome personage,

"Father" Divine, that the Communist Party leaders found it quite possible to conclude a formal united front about a year ago, at the time that the A. F. of L. was still being branded a "company union" and the Socialist Party was still a "social-Fascist" organization! And so we had the revolting spectacle of banners inscribed "Father Divine is God", "Peace in our Father Divine," in the Communist Party anti-war demonstration last June!

But apparently even this was not enough! In a series of otherwise indifferent articles about Harlem, Oakley Johnson happened to attack "Father" Divine, characterizing his enterprise as a "spiritual racket." Surely mild enough! But evidently too much for James W. Ford! Rushing to the defense of his companion-at-arms in the united front, he takes Oakley Johnson severely to task for his "unpardonable blunder." "The Communist Party," Ford assures us, "decisively rejects this statement (the attack on Divine) and repudiates it." James W. Ford, who can find no words indecent enough for such men as DuBois or Walter White, delicately strains at branding that monstrous cult-leader, Divine, a "spiritual racketeer!"

And Ford even has brazen audacity to attempt to cover his enormity with quotations from Lenin! Lenin urges care and common-sense in approaching workers still burdened with religious prejudice and so Ford cannot tolerate a relatively mild attack on a half-lunatic, half-racketeer, whose degrading influence in Harlem is one of the most menacing forces in the life of the community! Merely to mention Lenin for such a purpose is an unpardonable insult to that great revolutionist!

The whole episode is an open challenge to the masses of the membership of the Communist Party and the workers who look to it for guidance. It is in your name, members and sympathizers of the Communist Party, that Ford wages his holy war in defense of that spiritual pervert, "Father" Divine. It is in your name that he and his like are turning Communism into a thing of contempt and ridicule for large sections of thinking workers. How long are you going to stand for it?

organized to defeat NRA. About that there is no mistake. . . . Those who want NRA to continue aren't very well organized for the job, thinking, perhaps, that it isn't necessary. If the big Wall Street gang is as strong as it thinks it is, then organized effort will be surely and sorely needed among those who want NRA in a decent form, to prevent a recurrence of jungle competition."

Oneal is right. Between this sausage "socialism" and Bolshevism there is an unbridgeable gap, a cleavage that can't be overcome. While granting this much, we are provoked to ask a couple of questions, or rather to suggest a couple of questions for the rank and file comrades in the S.P. to pose and ponder. How come that such idiocy creeps into a paper on the accredited list of the S.P. press? Is it in the interest of preserving harmony and unity with Oneal, Cahan, and Wright that this claptrap is given the "kosher" stamp by Thomas? Does the N.E.C. of the SP still think that the NRA (in a decent form, of course!) is a step towards socialism, democratically, legally, and peacefully secured? Our columns are open to SP comrades for answering these questions.

At First Glance

(Continued from Page 1)

that in four of the last five years the U. S. has imported more foodstuffs than it has exported. The forces making for this reversal of trend are numerous and complicated. The drift towards "national self-sufficiency," the rising war danger, the changed position of the U.S. in the world arena (from debtor to creditor country), are only some of the most potent forces at work here.

One very valuable lesson is to be drawn from the collapse of the entire Roosevelt relief program. It is simply this: Not even the killing of six million little pigs, nor the plowing up of ten million acres of cotton can, fundamentally or for long, alter the trend of world prices, the cost of basic commodities whose prices are fixed in the world market and not by the President in his fireside talks. Deficits, debts and despair are the only lasting fruit of the brainstorms of Wallace who is the battery of intelligence in the Roosevelt administration. World-wide economic forces, often operating behind our backs, especially behind the backs of those who can't see what's going on around them, are sooner rather than later, bound to prove far more powerful than even the craftiest manipulators.

BUT in behalf of accuracy and truth we must rush to emphasize that it would rank dishonesty on our part to say that everybody now sees thru the New Deal and the NRA. A notable and notorious exception is the New Leader, organ of the Socialist Party of the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, etc., etc. One of the rare prayers offered in behalf of the NRA we just ran across in this mouthpiece of decayed socialism. We call upon its author, "Comrade" Chester Wright, arch war-booster in 1917 and now a feature writer on this sheet, to tell his knowledge-hungry readers: "Watchman, what of the night. . . . A powerful cabal is

Books of the Age

by Bertram D. Wolfe

GRANDSONS, by Louis Adamic. Harper & Bros. 370 pp. \$2.50.

This novel traces the fate of three grandsons of Anton Gale, Yugoslav immigrant who was killed in the Haymarket bomb explosion. One of them follows the labor tradition of his grandfather and is lynched by vigilantes while organizing California agricultural workers into the I.W.W. Another becomes a racketeer and ends up in a fusillade of bullets in a gang war. The third becomes a rootless, neurotic newspaper man and writes, restlessly tearing up and down America in quest of some meaning to his own life and the life of his country; is overwhelmed by the stresses of our time and his own inner strains, suffers amnesia, and dies of a lung hemorrhage, aftermath of gassing during the war.

From his notes, Adamic (the "I" of the novel) writes the story of Anton Gale's three grandsons. Through the story runs the constant preoccupation of both

writers, the real and the fictitious one, with the problem of America, its physical beauty and grandeur, its crudeness and instability, its clashing dream and reality, its revolutionary traditions, its headline-ridden, ruthless capitalist present, and the mighty potentialities of its socialist future.

But the theme is too big for the story—as a novel it suffers by virtue of the overheavy freight of social discussion. As sociological essay it suffers from the insufficient scope of the novelesque material used and somewhat from the inadequate equipment of the author. Adamic is still wrestling with the form of the novel (it is his first). And he is still wrestling with his conception of America. Till he gets that straight in his own mind, not only his characters, but his work itself is bound to have a touch of incoherence. After all, his theme is sufficient to stump more experienced novelists and sociologists. But Adamic is the kind of fellow who will keep wrestling with it. And, in the midst of so much competent triviality, it is something even to aim at bigness.

NEGRO INTELLIGENCE AND SELECTIVE MIGRATION, by Otto Klineberg. Columbia Univ. Press. 64pp. \$1.25.

A technical study of intelligence tests given to Northern and Southern Negroes and migrants from the South after varying periods of residence in the North, tending to show that the differences found in performance among Whites and Negroes in the country as a whole are traceable to the inferior educational and cultural opportunities of the Negro people in the South. "The results give definite indication of a marked difference between northern and southern Negroes, as well as of a clear tendency for northern Negroes—at least in New York—to approach closely the results obtained by Whites." This is the main conclusion of the book. The author further points out that even in New York, where the Negro is perhaps least handicapped, he still has less opportunity for development than the White.

The book is quite technical and academically cautious, but of definite value in undermining the theory of racial inferiority which some prejudiced "investigators" have drawn from intelligence tests, school gradings, etc.

LABOR GROUPS WILL PRESENT DRAMA FESTIVAL

Drama hot from the griddle of the depression years will be presented at the Labor Drama Festival in which the drama groups of Rebel Arts, Young Circle League, Brookwood Labor College and the I.L.G.W.U. are participating. Three different shows will be given at the New School for Social Research, 66 West 12th Street, on the evening of Saturday, April 20, and the afternoon and evening of Sunday, April 21.

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