

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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SEAMENS STRIKE GROWS IN EAST

I.S.U. Officialdom Calls Movement "Outlaw" Supplies Scabs

The entire shipping activity of the West Coast has practically ceased and that of the Atlantic and Gulf coasts has been badly crippled by the concerted action of the maritime unions in defense of their interests. The Pacific Maritime Federation called its men out on strike two weeks ago when the employers continued to refuse negotiations based on continued union control of hiring halls. The obstinacy of the bosses was partially aided by the hopes of some of them that provocation of a strike would injure Roosevelt's chances of carrying the state of California. Their continued refusal to sign is far from unanimous, many employers having indicated their willingness to settle on union terms. The attitude of the latter is forcing the whole shipping employers association to make moves towards renewal of negotiations.

The shipping merchants' association in New York has been infuriated by the move of the rank and file of the International Seamen's Union, having in the past always depended on the bureaucracy of Grange, Hunter, et. al. to conduct their business very effectively (for the employers). Thru Franklin, the president of the bosses' association, they have been screaming hysterically about the "communism" of the strike, weeping crocodile tears about seamen being "coerced into the strike," misguided by Communists, "their families threatened with terror", etc. They immediately turned to Dewey, who is conducting an investigation into racketeering, demanding that he investigate what they insisted was a racket—the strike of underpaid, overworked and betrayed seamen! Dewey immediately gave his refusal to investigate, declaring he had no authority to investigate "a bona fide grievance concerning wages and hours."

With this, however, the threat of government intervention does not cease. Secretary Hull, on his way to attend the Pan-American 'Peace' Conference, deliberately went thru the picket line at the pier, disclaiming all knowledge of the strike. More important were the hints given by General Johnson, in his *World-Telegram* column, wherein he depicted the trouble ahead for Roosevelt, who now had no choice but to move the Army and Navy in to break the strike.

In addition to this outside aid, the employers have the helping hand of Grange and the top officialdom of the ISU. Grange, incidentally, is up on charges for collusion with the employers, and embezzlement of \$143,000 of union funds. The ISU has declared that it does not recognize the strike, altho it was voted at a mass meeting called by them, and has openly attempted to supply scabs.

The Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City declared itself neutral, despite a personal plea by Grange.

CURRAN ADDRESSES STRIKING SEAMEN



Roosevelt Landslide Marks Liberal Trend

Crushing Defeat Suffered By Incipient Fascist Lemke-Coughlin Group; Workers' Parties Show Decline; C.P. Off Ballot in New York

THE ELECTION campaign is over, having stirred into action the largest sections of the voting population in the country and having caused the direct intervention of the American workers on the side of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The overwhelming avalanche for the Democratic Party indicated a definite progressive mood among the American electorate—a situation which was totally underestimated and misunderstood by the Republican Party.

So great was the response to the liberal-bourgeois policies of Roosevelt that the nascent fascist groupings such as Share The Wealth, Townsend Movement, Father Coughlin's Union of Social Justice, and the Union Party headed by Lemke, were inundated. A number of these organizations have undoubtedly been destroyed in the course of this election; Father Coughlin has already announced the suspension of the Union of Social Justice. Even storm trooper Hearst was forced to recognize the great hold which bourgeois democracy and the parliamentary system has on the masses. Hence his retreat and his present belief that despite the "dictatorial" methods of Roosevelt he is in reality strengthening and revitalizing the system of bourgeois democracy.

Labor Moves Forward

Despite the fact that labor lined up behind Roosevelt it is significant that labor created its own political channels—the Labor Non-Partisan League and, in New York State, the American Labor Party. Encouraged by the response of labor, the Labor Non-Partisan League has already been made a permanent organization with the movement for the creation of a national Labor Party receiving a powerful stimulus.

In the State of New York almost 300,000 workers cast their votes for the American Labor Party—a

clear indication of the desire for a permanent organization. It appears that the founders of the organization consider this a sufficient base for a permanent state party of labor. In some labor party circles it was felt that had the labor party also placed a local ticket in the field the vote would have been still greater. In addition it must be noted that the American Labor Party permitted itself to be panicked by the red-baiting of Campaign Manager Hamilton and the Hearst press. In a frantic attempt to deny any red tinge it permitted itself to approximate a red baiting position. Thus the 3rd Assembly District of the A.L.P. distributed copies of Father Ryan's speech in which he declares: "... let me say frankly that if I had to choose between Russian Communism and Italian Fascism, I should without hesitation take the latter. . ."

Radical Parties Lose

The Socialist and Communist Parties lost heavily. The Socialists reduced their vote from about 800,000 in 1932 to about 120,000, while the Communist vote is cut in two—about 60,000 as compared with 102,000 in 1932. In addition the CP has failed to hold its place on the ballot in New York State. It received 37,000 votes and needed 13,000 more to retain its legal

Fascists Enter Madrid; Caballero Cabinet Flees

Franco Talks of Riff "Independence"; Catalonia Moves for Separate State; Blum "Justifies" Neutrality and May Recognize Franco.

Under a withering barrage of fire, and the fierce attack of Moorish mercenaries, the fascist forces of Franco have fought their way into Madrid proper. The fall of the capital, while not decisive, is ominous for its psychological effect within the country, and for the new lease it gives Franco, internationally. Madrid's fall means that Germany and Italy can recognize the fascist regime, and that further sections of the population will swing to his support.

The strange collapse of the defense of the Madrid, coupled with

LEWIS SPIKES AFL MANEUVERS

CIO Reiects Talks When Green Says No Changes Are Possible Now

All peace talks came to a sudden and jarring halt when John L. Lewis, speaking for the CIO, cut thru a maze of duplicity and wish-thinking by getting William Green to state that there is no possibility of changing the council decision on suspension.

Replying to a telegram sent by John Brophy stating that the CIO desires to have Green consult Lewis on matters pertaining to the present situation William Green pointed to the committee appointed at the last council meeting and said further: "I lack authority to change the policy outlined by the executive council." With these words it became clear that the sub-committee also would certainly have no powers to make changes of council decisions and Lewis therefore replied that "Under such circumstances a conference between you and the undersigned would be futile."

This it certainly would have been, considering the position stated by Lewis in the telegram. "When the American Federation of Labor", the message continued, "decides to reverse and rectify its outrageous act of suspension and is ready to concede the right of complete industrial organizations to live and grow in the unorganized industries it will be time to discuss and arrange the details of a re-established relationship."

The telegram addressed to Green received the unanimous approval of the CIO. There was one abstention—David Dubinsky of the ILGWU. Asked what the CIO intends to do next, Lewis declared that that depends upon the actions taken at the next AFL convention in Tampa.

It became known during the course of the session that most of the CIO unions have not received credentials from the AFL and do not intend to send delegates. The ILGWU and the AQW are to decide this week.

status.

The Socialist Party entered the campaign after having lost a number of state organizations. But a

(Continued on Page 6)

the known hesitancy on the part of the rebel forces, leaves very grave suspicion as to sabotage within the government. Only last week, Caballero announced that the defending forces were in possession of additional planes and tanks. Yet these were not used with any effectiveness whatsoever, so that Franco with 10,000 men has been able to overcome an estimated 150,000. Franco had hoped for an uprising within the city, then for its unconditional surrender, fearing the effect of a savage bombardment on the outside world as well as on the rest of Spain where he rules by the sword with a very small mass base.

The whole nature of the workers' policy, we have pointed out before, has been totally false, based on the defense of the republic. Constant attempts have been made to give a left proletarian appearance to the capitalist state, thus implying that this is a workers struggle, a struggle to overthrow capitalism, a struggle for socialism—despite the phrasemongering of Caballero and Diaz. The most recent move in this direction was the entrance of the Syndicalists into the Madrid Cabinet, two days before the flight of the whole Cabinet to Valencia. The latter move was very disastrous, conceding in advance the triumph of Franco.

Meantime, Franco is playing the game of "national liberator", having opened discussions with the Riffs to grant them independence of a sort. Thus does the sorry capitulatory policy of the SP and the CP in the Peoples Front lead them to this pass, where they dare not raise the question of self-determination, while Franco can. Such a move will strengthen Franco with Germany and Italy.

Catalonia's recent moves for autonomy reflect the feeling that Franco is already master of Spain. For Catalonia to set up a state independent of the fascist state is the correct move, but to make this the be all and end all by offering to recognize Franco's regime and reach an 'arrangement' for mutual peaceful existence now is an attempt to betray the struggle. However this proposition was made by some "republican" politicians—their workers will have their say.

Blum has announced that he will continue his neutrality and received unanimous support from his socialist party—altho the same organization voted at a mass meeting of the Second International, two weeks ago, to fight against neutrality. Such in the internationalism of Cabinet Socialists!

JAY LOVESTONE COMMUNISM OR REFORMISM WHICH SHALL IT BE?

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 12th at IRVING PLAZA 15th Street and Irving Place 8 P. M. Admission 15c

Soviet Russia Strides Forward to The Plenty of Socialist Economy

By SAUL HELD

During the last week in October, a cable flashed from Moscow to the magazine Business Week in New York:

"Soviet Russia's industrial production today, already eight times that of Czarist Russia, continues its rapid tempo in the race for time, with many of the country's 300,000 industrial enterprises working three shifts daily.

"Special emphasis, however, continues to be placed on heavy industry, despite the promise held forth that the second Five-Year Plan, which commenced in 1933, would raise the tempo of growth of light above heavy industry. As a matter of fact, the Kremlin, anxious to raise the standard of living of its citizenry who for years have tightened their belts so that the industrial basis which demanded huge capital investments could be established, did manage markedly to increase the output of consumers' goods, and even brought down the cost of living, during 1934 and 1935, by more than 25%.

Undoubtedly this process would have continued and the promise would have been kept fully were it not for threatening war clouds which have appeared over the horizon of Germany."

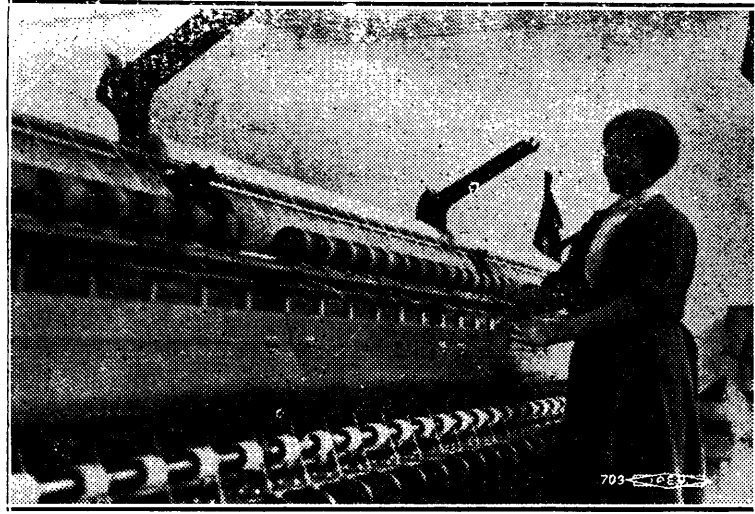
The amazing virility of the socialist state, menaced by war and forced to sacrifice, is amply demonstrated to the world when in this situation it simultaneously increases light industry and establishes a single structure of uniform price levels. The latter constitutes as real an advance in income as the former.

On its nineteenth birthday the first proletarian state can proudly and candidly declare that the rate of its industrial advance, during the span of its existence, cannot be duplicated in the history of the capitalist nations. Nazi war clouds during this year have quickened this fast pace.

Industry's Two Sectors
In the course of the past eight months the gross output of Union and local industry showed an advance of 33.2%. Production of producers' goods has increased by 35% while production of consumers' goods has grown 30.4%. Industry as a whole is operating at a level exceeding the plan for the year.

The Peoples Commissariat of Light Industry has increased output during the eight months by 37.6% compared with the same period of last year; the increase of the Peoples Commissariat of Heavy Industry was 35.5%, the Peoples Commissariat of the Food Industry, 35.4%. Certain industries, however, have failed to fulfill their programs. Among these are the lumber, coal, non-ferrous metals, oil, automobiles and transportation equipment industries.

The tremendous increase of industrial production is a result of a rise of labor productivity. Production per worker during the first seven months of the year in the industries controlled by the Union Commissariats was 25.5% above that of last year while employment increased by 7.3%. All those who are engaged in difficult or responsible work are



Industrial growth is marked by the bringing of machines to the farthest outposts of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Today a woman of the far eastern section of the Union, plies a loom, where her mother probably tended goats and ground seed in a stone handmill.

obliged by law to pass a special examination, certifying that they have reached a minimum standard of technical knowledge.

At the present time, nearly all workers, from the highest State officials down to the humblest laborers, study the theory and practice of their occupation, with Government support and at Government expense, and are subsequently examined within a specified time-limit by competent official boards in the presence of their fellows. Experience has shown that these examinations are a powerful factor in raising output, ensuring a better use of tools and plant, and reducing waste.

Unemployment Abolished
On October 1st, the beginning of the economic year, the unemployment figures were 1,070,800 in 1926, 1,041,200 in 1927, 1,364,600 in 1928, and 1,241,600 in 1929, whereas the figure for July 1st, 1930 had fallen to 725,800. Today there is an acute shortage of labor.

The reason for the abolition of unemployment during this period "may be summed up briefly by saying that [this situation] was due to the combined action of the two dominant factors in the economic policy of the Soviet Government: first, the decisive advance in the direction of rapid industrialization of the country on a Socialist basis; and secondly, the campaign to collectivize small isolated farms, and the consequent abolition of the kulak class" declares Prof. Boris Markus, Chief of the Labor and Employment Section, State Planning Commission.

The Labor Shortage
So acute is the labor shortage, particularly of skilled labor, that apart from the special training of workers, the Soviet Union has also established a highly developed system of schools of various kinds for training workers and specialists in all branches. The technical schools of the workshops and factories, which in 1928 trained 178,000 persons, had 959,000 pupils by 1933, while the number of pupils in the technical colleges rose from 253,000 to 797,000, and those in higher educational establishments from 159,800 to 470,000 during

EUROPE TODAY

By LAMBDA

THO the demand of the representative of the Soviet Union that the British and French navy patrol the ports of Portugal evoked laughter in the Nazi press it is nevertheless a step of the utmost significance to the international working class. No one harbors the illusion that either the French or the British will agree to this but it was important to expose the guilty parties to the world. Furthermore, a refusal to accept this demand justifies the Soviet Union in whatever future action it may take.

The international bourgeois press is systematically endeavoring to create the impression that revolutionary Spain is lost from a military point of view thus aiming to discourage the solidarity displayed by the international working class. As a matter of fact, the military fate of Spain hangs very much in the balance. No decisive point has been reached by either side. The international working class must discount such highly colored news and continue its efforts to break the blockade of the Madrid government.

The diplomatic alignment of the powers on the Spanish question is a strong refutation of the theory that the democracies would line up against the fascist states. In reality, we have the Soviet Union on the one side and the bourgeois states on the other, of which the fascists openly and directly support the rebels and the democratic countries indirectly. Both groups of bourgeois states are united in their opposition to a victory of the revolutionary forces in Spain.

The slogan of the "defense of bourgeois democracy in Spain" is entirely meaningless as far as the international bourgeoisie is concerned.

through the Sovietland witnessing the reality of progress mirrored in the facts and figures above. They emerged to write a eulogy of Soviet progress unsurpassed by any radical, in which category these two gentlemen cannot be included. They summarized as follows in a recent issue of International Labor Review:

"The significance of the facts stated above is greater than may appear at first. Their import is not merely that there has been improvement in the conditions of Soviet life and that the basis of industrial organization has been strengthened. What is more important is that the industrial progress recorded indicates that the Soviets are in the way of solving the essential problems of industrialization under a system of collective ownership and Government operation. The Union has shown that its workers can be industrialized, that the engineers can manage industry and that the collective method of operation can be technically successful. The tales of the difficulties which the Soviets encountered in the beginning in mastering the new machines which they bought abroad are now part of ancient history."

The Soviet Union has demonstrated the ability of a socialist social system in vanquishing the cancers inherent in capitalism—unemployment, poverty, insecurity and oppression.

In 1935, Lewis L. Lorwin and A. Abramson, who are at present working for the International Labor Office at Geneva, travelled

THE SPEECH of the Belgian king in which he announced his country's return to its pre-war neutrality status represents the most serious setback to the French system of alliances and the system of collective security since the end of the war. It marks another step in the direction of isolating the "victim" and not the aggressor which policy is being vigorously pursued by the Germans. Under these circumstances a new "Locarno" would be quite worthless and well-nigh impossible. This step will have far-reaching consequences on the alignment of forces of the European continent. There is a constant polarization of forces in Europe but not along the lines of Fascism versus Democracy. The main and decisive question that now confronts individuals states is whether to align themselves with Hitler Germany or with Soviet Russia.

As far as Belgium is concerned, the king's declaration marks a decided step in the direction of fascism. Only recently the Rexists led by the well-known demagogue, Degrelle, and the Flemish nationalists united under the protection of the German Nazis. It was revealed later that the king had delivered the speech without asking permission of his cabinet which proves that the king is working hand in hand with the fascists. Which reminds us of the kowtow attitude of the Belgian Social Democracy to the dynasty and of the V.P. to the king immediately after the elections quite in keeping with the People's Front line.

THE ECONOMIC difficulties, particularly, the food situation, are mounting daily in Hitler Germany. Devaluation in France, Switzerland, Holland, and Italy have aggravated the situation further. Hesse, Hitler's deputy, has once again issued the slogan "Guns instead of butter" but even Nazis know that the sight of guns will not silence hunger.

At the same time, the Hitler government has initiated a campaign for credits abroad. This campaign was officially launched in an article in the "Frankfurter Zeitung" entitled: "Debt Clearing—the main obstacle to genuine stabilization." The writer makes a desperate attempt to prove to the nations burdened with excessive gold the great advantages of turning over these "superfluous gold reserves" to a safekeeper to float "Reconstruction or Refund loans" to Germany and other nations which have not yet paid up their old debts. It is unnecessary to discuss the details of this glorious idea. We merely wish to remind the international working class that they must keep vigilant eye on Hitler Germany when it comes a-begging credits.

The question of foreign credits is the burning problem of Germany today. The devaluation of the Mark is secondary in importance since the Mark is today only a medium of domestic exchange. Foolish as it may seem from a capitalist point of view to sink new credits into Germany, it is by no means out of the question that certain quarters will attempt to play politics thru a new loan. When reactionary goals are at stake, nothing is impossible for the international bourgeoisie.

London, Oct. 21, 1936.

Soviet Constitution Step Further on October Road

(Reprinted from "International Class Struggle" Winter Issue.)

THE new constitution of the Soviet Union is living proof that the proletarian dictatorship makes for the full development of the rights of the toiling masses. Even Socialists and bourgeois liberals, who as a rule, attempt to class the dictatorship of the proletariat and the fascist dictatorship of capital as one and the same thing are forced to recognize the democratic nature of the Soviet state. These "well-meaning" discussions of the new Soviet constitution by socialists and liberals, however, contain a number of misconceptions. We think it necessary to discuss these particularly because the official press of the Communist International is content to record the praise showered on the Soviet state by reformist and liberal organs without criticizing the distortions that invariably accompany such praise.

Basin of Change
We must bear in mind first of all that it is by no means true that the workers of the Soviet Union are acquiring rights only now; that, in other words, they had been deprived of all democratic rights hitherto. The proletarian dictatorship has always stood for proletarian democracy—democracy for the workers in a more complete sense than the most ideal bourgeois regime can possibly offer. The Soviet Union has always been the state of the workers and peasants.

The change in essence is as follows: now that the exploiting class has been eliminated, former members of the bourgeoisie have been granted full political rights which had been withheld from them as long as their capitalist interests had not been completely eliminated and as long as they still represented a menace to socialist construction.

Furthermore, now the great mass of peasants have been transformed from petty producers into co-workers of collectivized farm enterprises, thus eliminating the class distinction between workers and peasants. Hence, the political privileges of workers which were withheld from the peasants in order to guard the proletarian character of the Soviet state and to paralyze the political vacillations of this class arising from its petty bourgeois character, have been extended to include the peasantry. Indeed, the toiling peasants (not the kulaks) of the Soviet Union have had more privileges than those of any bourgeois state. The liquidation of classes has now eliminated any difference in the political rights of the workers and peasants and the new constitution no longer speaks of "soviets of workers and peasants," but only of the "soviets of the toilers."

No Return To Old
One hears quite often that the Soviet Union is once more adopting forms of bourgeois democracy and for this reason it is not necessary for the workers of other coun-

tries to fight for the proletarian dictatorship; they ought rather to adhere to the principles of bourgeois democracy, once again confirmed in the events in the Soviet Union. This view is utterly false. To regard the new Soviet constitution as a return to bourgeois democracy on the basis of formal similarities is just as incorrect as the all-known attempts to confuse the fascist and proletarian dictatorships on the basis of superficial features. The Soviet state is by no means a "parliamentary" state. The newly created "Supreme Council" of the Soviet Union which is elected on the basis of universal suffrage is no more a parliament in the bourgeois sense than the Paris Commune which was also elected on the basis of universal suffrage.

In contrast to bourgeois parliamentarism which is based on the separation of powers, the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union and all other (local) soviets combine the legislative and executive branches of government into one body in the same manner as did the Paris Commune and as has been the case in the Soviet Union from the very first days. The Council of People's Commissars and the executive committees of the local soviets are merely administrative organs of the Soviet bodies; not only are they controlled by them but their work necessitates constant collaboration. Thus the Council of People's Commissars works with the presidium of the "Supreme Council" of the Soviet Union.

The new Soviet constitution is not concerned with creating "debating societies" but efficient working bodies. The "Supreme Council" is elected by direct suffrage. The industrial workers no longer vote in their shops because election districts have been mapped out on a geographic basis. At one time elections were held in the factories because it was a matter of emphasizing the leading role of the proletariat in the Soviet state—of stressing in a dramatic fashion the political influence of the industrial workers. Today this is no longer necessary because all class distinctions between industrial workers and the

GREETINGS TO
WORKERS AGE
Only revolutionary internationalism can defend the October Revolution

BOSTON UNIT,
Communist Party (Opposition)

rest of the population have disappeared. The new Soviet constitution, therefore, does not represent a return to bourgeois democracy. It signifies a higher level of the proletarian dictatorship made possible thru the victory of socialist production and the abolition of classes.

These achievements of the Soviet Union cannot be reached by the workers in other countries on the basis of bourgeois democracy. International labor must realize that if it seizes power it will not be able at once to reach as high a stage of workers' democracy as we have today in the Soviet Union; that, as a matter of fact, as in Russia, it will first have to smash the resistance of the exploiting classes and must liquidate the latter before one can even dream of granting equal political rights to all members of the nation, and of limiting the employment of revolutionary force thru constitutional guarantees.

Nearing The Goal
As a result of the new constitution, the Soviet state is nearing its goal of abolishing the state altogether. Marx's words on the Paris Commune to the effect that the latter did not represent a state in the true sense of the word, are even more applicable to the Soviet state at present. Inasmuch as classes in the Soviet Union have been abolished, the Soviet state is not the governing body of one class over another; its struggle against the capitalist class is mainly a defensive struggle against the imperialist nations and a struggle against still existing capitalist traditions and customs among the toiling masses of the Soviet Union. The struggle of the workers of the Soviet Union now that the material vestiges of capitalism have been removed is a struggle against the ideological remnants of the capitalist system. Hence, it is only a partial class struggle, a political struggle. For this reason, the new constitution continues to stress the important role of the Communist Party, not permitting the existence of any other political party, for the latter would be but a representative of the capitalist tradition.

Having founded the material bases of socialism, the Soviet Union is now engaged in the education of the new socialist individual. The new Soviet constitution emphasizes the rights and duties of the individual in a socialist society, thus proving that only socialism can assure the individual true freedom.

ALL IS NOT so well in William Hutchesson's union. He resigned from the Executive Council in a huff because the latter rejected certain of his die-hard plans for dealing with the CIO unions. However, his own union—the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners—does not back him unanimously. What the union as a whole thinks is hard to tell because Mr. Hutchesson, who is a great fighter for "democracy" as a false issue against the CIO, has not seen fit to call a convention for about nine years. But the Lumber Workers section of the union has recently held a convention and spoke up clearly.

Some 662 delegates representing about 70,000 workers endorsed the CIO, demanded the reinstatement of the suspended unions and also censured Hutchesson for supporting Landon in their name.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

REGARDLESS of all other considerations, the recent independent appearance of labor on the political scene, even tho it entered the lists on behalf of President Roosevelt, is of tremendous significance. The results of the elections have strengthened and broadened sentiment for independent political action, especially in the state of New York where the youthful American Labor Party, despite its running no local candidates, has more than made a place for itself in the political life of the state.

There is no doubt that progressive trade unionists will follow up the advantage and will see to it that the party is placed on a permanent footing and is dissociated beyond any suspicion, from the parties of capitalism. Trade unionists in other states can now drive forward successfully to establish state labor parties, and create a basis for a national labor party.

ONCE AGAIN the seamen are on strike on the west coast and the Eastern seaboard is being tied up by an outlaw strike because of the bitter opposition of the union leadership to strike action of any kind. If anything the strike in the east has aroused greater bitterness and resentment than even on the west coast because here the leadership of the union has placed itself so openly in a strike-breaking position.

Refusing by all means to permit a membership strike vote at the mass meeting in Copper Union, the leadership of the union walked out of the meeting. The result was a vote to strike by the workers.

Red baiting is a common occurrence in every industrial dispute but much more so in every strike on the waterfront. R. J. Baker, president of the American Steamship Owners Association, presents this point of view in a statement to the press in which he declares: "American shipping companies know that the better class of American seamen on board their ships are not in sympathy with the strike and have no desire to violate the existing agreement. They are acting only as a result of the duress and threat of physical violence made to them by a small group within the union intent on turmoil and confusion. The shipowners are going to give their men every protection possible against intimidation and violence."

And now please note how closely the above sentiments of the shipping boss is echoed by David Grange, vice president of the International Seamen's Union.

Trade unionists may look with suspicion—and justly so—on such governmental agencies as the Dewey Committee, since it sets a dangerous precedent which may be used against trade unionism itself, but little if any sympathy will be mustered unless the trade unions themselves proceed to cut out the cancer of racketeering.

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GREETINGS to the

WORKERS AGE

from

LOCAL 155

International Ladies Garment Workers Union

LOUIS NELSON, Manager

Greetings

to the

WORKERS AGE

DRESSMAKERS JOINT BOARD

International Ladies Garment Workers Union

JULIUS HOCHMAN, Manager

LEDGER OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

By JAY LOVESTONE

ON the occasion of the twentieth year in the life of the Soviet Union the question of its foreign policy assumes immeasurable importance for the workers of all lands. One need but look at the Spanish situation to realize how inextricably bound up are the problems and fate of the labor movement in the capitalist countries with the achievements and difficulties of the USSR. In fact, not since the defeat of the Red Army at the gates of Warsaw has Soviet foreign policy—Soviet relations and dealings with the rest of the world which is dominated by the bourgeoisie—played so vital a role in the entire international labor movement.

Under these circumstances it is highly appropriate to draw up a balance sheet of Soviet foreign policy. In what ways have the moves and maneuvers of Soviet foreign policy brought helpful results for the international working class movement? What have been its plusses? And what have been its minuses? In what way has Soviet foreign policy so erred that its consequences—regardless of the nobility of the intentions of its makers and executors—have been harmful to the best interests of the world labor movement and, therefore, of the victorious labor movement in the USSR as well?

The Plus Side of Ledger

1. First and foremost, we must register the indisputable fact that Soviet foreign policy has been a consistently vigorous force for the preservation of world peace. Here the USSR has very properly utilized even the smallest opportunities. No one will deny that had it not been for the energetic peace policy of the Soviets the world would long ago have been plunged into a war. Indeed, the very existence of the Soviet Union tends to paralyze the war plans of the imperialists who always see in the socialist republic an example that their proletarians might follow in the event of foreign struggle.

2. Without exception, the Soviet Union in its foreign policy has been the champion of the oppressed colonial masses. Today, China realizes that were it not for Soviet power Japan would have gone ahead much more aggressively with its encroachments. From the very day of the Bolsheviks' taking power, the Soviets have unhesitatingly befriended and aided colonial and semi-colonial peoples in their struggle for freedom from imperialist domination. Of course, the methods employed in Soviet foreign policy here vary in accordance with numerous complicated factors. But recently, Litvinoff had to battle against the representatives of these two "great democracies" (France and England) seeking to unsettle Ethiopia at Geneva. In this way the USSR prevented (or at least delayed) France and Great Britain from recognizing the Italian plunder of Ethiopia. The USSR diplomats seek no concessions or privileges at the expense of other countries because the Soviet state is socialist

and not capitalist in its socio-economic foundation.

3. In no small measure is the Soviet Union's ability to date to protract its period of living at peace or continuing the truce with the rest of the world (capitalist) due to its sound foreign policy. Through achieving this peace the USSR has had an opportunity to build up the country economically, to astound the world with its progress in socialist construction. Time and again Soviet foreign policy was subjected to the severest strain and its diplomats scored brilliant successes in avoiding open conflict. Thus the Soviets were able to use the delay in war as a breathing spell in which to march ahead and strengthen the USSR in more ways than one.

USSR is Prepared

4. Questionably the application of Soviet foreign policy has given the proletarian republic a chance to build a gigantic military machine. The prowess of the Red Army everybody recognizes today. Military students are beginning to get an idea that Soviet armed force on the high seas will have to be reckoned with very seriously. In the air the Soviet Union is today prime. I venture to say that, should an imperialist power or collection of powers attack the USSR, the world will be very much surprised at the headway made by the Socialist republic in the realm of chemistry. It is this growing military prestige and power that enables the USSR to utilize more effectively the divisions among the imperialist countries and thus to dampen their ardor for an onslaught against the workers' fatherland. Had Soviet diplomacy not been successful in its dealings with the capitalist governments, the USSR would very likely have been thrown into a conflict prematurely, long before it was prepared to hit back and hit back hard in a military and economic sense.

5. Quite obviously the game of diplomacy is a game of give and take. More and more the USSR is able to give less and less and secure more and more in its foreign relations. One need but compare the treaties signed by the Soviets in the first years after the revolution with those being signed today. This improved situation is not due to the fact Stalin is a better Bolshevik than Lenin was. It is due almost solely to the fact that Soviet economic and military prowess have grown tremendously in recent years, grown to the point where Japan and Germany have to think more than twice before they attempt biting as well barking.

6. In the main, Soviet foreign policy has served to stimulate working class international solidarity. In this sense it has served as a force of mighty inspiration to the workers of all lands. The mounting prestige of the USSR in the realm of international politics reflects favorably on the affairs of the workers in every capitalist country. The growing influence of the Soviet Union in world affairs stimulates the development of the labor movement in the capitalist

countries. It is for this reason that the Fascists in all countries go mad at the idea of the governments of their countries signing treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance with the Soviet Union. The Fascist gangs tend to resent and reject such treaties of friendship because of the effect such treaties have on the great mass of the population. This is so despite the fact that from a strictly military point of view it may be in the immediate interest of a particular capitalist ruling class to enter into such a pact for a certain time.

7. Finally, it is to the credit of the USSR that it has been able to correct itself in its foreign policy. Undoubtedly errors have been made and will be made by Soviet Diplomacy and Soviet diplomats. However, the objective limits of the application or continuation of such errors are set by the very existence of the USSR itself. Once a particular foreign policy begins to endanger in any shape, manner or form, the Soviet Union, it is a lead pipe cinch that sooner rather than later it will be discarded. The recent changes in the Soviet Union's Spanish policy confirm this beyond challenge.

On The Minus Side

In general three types of errors have been made or have occurred in Soviet foreign policy. These are:

1. On certain occasions Soviet diplomats have resorted to forms and procedure which have tended to confuse and hurt the proletarian movements in the capitalist countries. Typical of this category of mistakes are some of the declarations made by Soviet diplomats in their dealings with Italy a few years ago. A cross example of this type of error is to be found in the now notorious Stalin-Laval declaration in regard to the appropriateness of France having a powerful army. As a spokesman of the Soviet government it was perfectly proper for Stalin to issue such a statement. But Stalin is also and above all known as the leader and driving force of the Communist International. For a comrade in the latter capacity such statements are impermissible and can only sow confusion and calamity in the ranks of the workers in the particular capitalist country involved. This is precisely what has happened in France.

2. In the initial stages of its foreign policy in regard to Spain the Soviet Union broke one of its time-honored and most commendable practices when it agreed to enter into an arrangement whereby a group of big powers would determine the fate of a smaller or weaker country. In this fashion, the U.S.S.R. not only failed to render practical aid to the Spanish government forces, not only failed to put obstacles in the path of the "great democracies" of France and England aiding the Spanish Fascists by acts of omission and commission, but objectively aided the Hitler and Mussolini bandits to cover up with the cloak of the International Neutrality Commission their armed aid to the Spanish Fascists—in violation of the most elementary principles of even cap-

italist international law. This policy was leading the U.S.S.R. to outright disaster. It tended to set precedents which could only facilitate ruin for the U.S.S.R., the smaller countries, and colonial and semi-colonial people at the hands of the big imperialist powers in the future.

To the credit of the Soviet Union it must be said that it soon saw the costly error of this phase of its foreign policy. Much to the chagrin of "Comrade" Premier Blum and the French capitalist class whom he represents in the League of Nations, much to the embarrassment and irritation of Mr. Eden, Litvinoff prevented the dirty deal cooked up by "democratic" France and England for the unseating of Ethiopia and for the appointment of a committee of representatives of big powers to consider revisions in the structure of the League itself. More than that. In the so-called London neutrality commission on Spain the spokesmen for the U.S.S.R. have recently ripped the veil of hypocrisy off the whole filthy mess and have courageously told the world that it would be guided by the facts instead of the fancies and empty promises of the Hitler and Mussolini regimes.

This correction of error had an exhilarating effect on the workers of other lands. It was primarily responsible for the British Labor Party's recent beginning of a change of policy towards the heroic proletarian struggle in Spain. This turn by the U.S.S.R. in its diplomacy, in its foreign policy towards Spain will go a long way to expose the damnable role played by "Comrade" Blum in initiating and maintaining the blockade against the Spanish workers and peasants.

3. But the most serious and persistent errors of Soviet foreign policy are to be found in the transference of tactics from this field to the field of Comintern strategy. To us it is axiomatic that the interests of the Soviet proletariat and those of the proletariat of the rest of the world are identical and cannot under any circumstances conflict with each other. However, it is equally axiomatic to us that the tactics employed by the working class of the capitalist world for the maintenance and extension of its interests must necessarily be different from the tactics employed by the proletariat in the Soviet world for the maintenance and extension of its interests. The reasons for this identity of interests and differentiation of methods and tactics employed in their defense are: common goal, common enemy but different level of the class struggle. In the U.S.S.R. the workers have already won power. They control gigantic military and economic resources. In the capitalist world we still have numerous tasks to achieve before we reach this stage of the class struggle.

Let us examine this point a bit more concretely. For example, it was perfectly correct for the Soviet Union to enter into a pact of mutual assistance and non-aggression with France and to invite Germany, Japan and all other imperialist powers to join them in this setup. Lenin pursued a similar course in his Rappallo arrangements with Germany and in his offer of a military alliance to French, British, and American im-

perialism in the first days after the Bolsheviks took power. But this did not, in the least, mean that the Comintern sections of these countries involved in such a lineup with the Soviet Union would have to resort to class peace or class collaboration policies with their respective bourgeois ruling classes. That is why it was correct for the French CP to declare immediately after the Stalin-Laval declaration that "The Communists have no confidence whatsoever in the peace policy of the bourgeoisie. In view of the fact that the army is being used against the working class in France and to oppress the colonial people, and in view of the possibility that it might be used against the Soviet Union, the Communist Party will continue to fight against the two-year period of military service and will refuse to vote war credits."

But precisely for the same reason was it wrong for the French Communist Party leader Thorez a little later to speak of "French imperialism, willy-nilly, . . . carrying on an historically progressive war . . ." and for the French C.P. to go into social-chauvinist rhapsodies in behalf of the so-called French republican army and the defense of the French "fatherland."

C.I. Policy Distorted

As a result of this transference of tactics from the realm of Soviet diplomacy to the field of the international class struggle in which the Comintern plays its role, the entire policy of the CI is today distorted. In fact, the Comintern's break with principle in the application of the People's Front policy and its dropping of the Leninist position on the question of imperialist war are traceable primarily to this transference of tactics and strategy from the field of Soviet foreign policy and diplomacy to the field of international communist strategy and tactics. Gross and painful confirmation of our indictment on this score can be had especially in an examination of the declaration on war and peace and the ensuing proletarian tasks made by Dimitroff a few months ago. And if one looks into the present policies of the Communist Party of China towards Chiang Kai-shek he will find that not only are old errors being repeated there but that new and even more worse ones are now being perpetrated there due to the reasons herewith traced.

There is no doubt that the Soviet Union is facing an extremely difficult international situation. There is no doubt that in its foreign policy as well as in its other policies the U.S.S.R. deserves and must get the unstinted support of the labor movement of every country. But such support which is essential to the basic interests of the entire international working class cannot be effective unless the above-mentioned errors are corrected and their recurrence made impossible. Only then will the victories of Soviet foreign policy be of still greater aid to the victory of the world revolution.

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C.P.O.'s Struggle a Beacon Light For Communists in Present Crisis

In the CPO Pre-Convention Discussion

CPO TASKS DEMAND MORE LITERATURE

By M. Z.

In examining the current literature, pamphlets and magazines published by the Communist and Socialist parties, one is struck with the complete lack of Marxian thought and approach to the burning and decisive events taking place in the world to-day.

The well tried and tested communist principles are being abandoned at a time when they can be applied with greater effectiveness. The numerous pamphlets poured out by the C.P. during the past year are a source of great confusion. The problem of class collaboration, the dangerous ideas spread by the well oiled C.P. publishing machine is an immediate job which our group must tackle. There is no other force in the labor movement to-day that can or will do it.

We are not in a position to compete with the C.P. as far as quantity is concerned; but we can and must issue a number of pamphlets exposing the opportunist course of the C.P.

It is true that the Workers Age has effectively discussed all the fundamental and current issues and indicated a line of action. But the Age, in which these important issues, dealing with France, Spain, the Labor Movement in the U.S., etc. has a limited circulation, and can only be distributed in the very week the Age is issued. A pamphlet, on the other hand, can deal with these problems at length and more effectively, and can be more widely distributed.

Our group has acquired the reputation of a constructive and clear headed force in labor ranks. Many workers of all sections in the labor movement, look to our group for guidance and advice. They have a full right to expect it from us. It is our duty to supply them with the necessary material in written form—pamphlets and magazines.

In recent months the Literature Department received many requests for a pamphlet "What Is The C.P.O." which we were not able to supply. The old pamphlet has been sold out and is dated. A new pamphlet is needed to satisfy the growing demand. It is months since such a pamphlet was promised to be ready for sale. The promise has not been fulfilled.

Our group has made great headway in the last period of time. Its influence has grown. We are a recognized force in the trade union movement. But in the field of literature we have gone backward. One of the weakest spots in our group is the lack of literature, pamphlets dealing with the burning and controversial issues in the labor movement. At a time when such literature is needed most, our organization is publishing less than in its entire history. With the exception of the International Class Struggle, it is a very long time since we published a pamphlet.

We have made many decisions at previous conferences and membership meetings to publish the necessary literature, yet so far these decisions are still on paper. Such negligence is halting the progress of the group. The Bureau, the leading comrades must be kept responsible for such negligence. The coming convention will have to take up this problem seriously and press for speedy action.

We extend Revolutionary Greetings to the

WORKERS AGE
For Its Principled Fight For Communism and Against Reformism

PITTSBURGH DIST, C.P.O.

C.P.O.'s Struggle a Beacon Light For Communists in Present Crisis

By EVA STONE

A narrative of the Communist International since 1929 gives us a picture of the official Communist movement in the throes of the deepest crisis for the first time in its history. The source and consequences of this crisis in the Comintern is to be found in an analysis of the political and economic situation on a world scale and the application of the policies of the Communist International in this period.

Two Worlds

The Communist International was operating in two worlds simultaneously. On the one hand there existed the Soviet Union where the building of Socialism was continuing at a pace unprecedented in history. The first and second Five Year Plans were successfully building industry, accomplishing the socialization of agriculture, and improving the general welfare of the Russian masses. Outside we find the capitalist world in crisis. Mass unemployment, destitution and the continuous threat of war contributed much to the demoralization of the forces of capitalism. In some countries we witnessed the awakening of working class forces as a class and a sharpening of class relations.

The Communist International could meet this complex situation by realizing its twofold tasks. This called for the broadest type of leadership, for the collective experience and judgment of a unified international. Simultaneously with the building of socialism in the U.S.S.R. the Comintern had to apply itself to the defeat of the capitalist world on the outside. This implied maximum flexibility in the application of strategy and tactics and unswerving loyalty to the principles upon which the Communist International was founded.

Leftism Brings Opposition

At this most important juncture in the history of the Comintern it faltered miserably. It was precisely in this period that the ultra-left course was ushered in. Then came the break with tactics which have been tested thru years of Comintern life. Communists in trade unions were ordered to withdraw and set up their own pure red unions. Communists who were respected in the ranks of the workers in years past suddenly became the most hated and despised because of their disruptive role and tactics. The slogan for the United Front was abandoned. The Labor Party tactic was dropped. It became heresy to propose a Labor Party since the masses were supposedly ready for Communism and therefore no transition tactics were necessary.

The introduction of the ultra-left course in the Communist International met with the resistance of whole parties as well as leadership in the C.I. Wholesale expulsions was the reply thruout the Comintern. The leadership of the C.I. was narrowed down to such an extent that it consisted practically of the Russian Party cadre alone. It was as a result of these bureaucratic expulsions, that the Communist Party Oppositions were organized and banded together in the International Communist Opposition on a common program for the restoration of the C.I. to Leninist tactics and for the ultimate re-unification of all communist forces.

Leftism Causes Defeat

From 1929 in the recent World Congress in August 1935 the world proletariat had suffered a severe setback. As a force in the capitalist world the C.I. had become

isolated and discredited. In Germany the advent of fascism had crushed almost every vestige of workingclass activity. The anti-union front tactic which was temporary with the Communist International and traditional with the Socialist International brought painful consequences. It took such horrible experiences as Germany and Austria to force the Comintern to break with its ultra-left line.

The International Communist Opposition hailed the break with ultra-leftism though we condemned most severely the highly bureaucratic methods by which the change was brought about. While party members were still mouthing old phrases and defending the old tactical course, the new decrees came from on top. The party membership was dazed and in a quandary. These changes were made without a discussion in the party ranks, without a critical examination of the party course and therefore with no guarantee against a repetition of these errors in the future. The pass word for party members in this period was "changed conditions."

Swinging Right

The break with ultra-leftism swung the pendulum in the opposite direction. The Communist International was thrown into panic over the growth of fascism and initiated new tactics resulting in a break with the fundamental principles of our movement. Just as Germany became the testing ground for the ultra-left course, so France and Spain today serve as the base of Comintern opportunism.

The perversion of the united labor front to include sections of the bourgeoisie on a program acceptable to the latter, is a compromise on principles with a reactionary force, as in the case of the bourgeois Radicals in France and the bourgeois republicans in Spain. When the C.I. came out for the People's Front in France and signed its name to the joint program with a bourgeois party, this was made possible at the expense of principles. Today the Communists in France are in a position of joint responsibility for all that comes out of the People's Front. In place of revolutionary slogans that lead to revolutionary actions, that stimulate class consciousness, the C.P. of France calls for "Law and Order," "For a free, happy and prosperous France," "No matter how loyal the party worker may be, he cannot explain away such agitation. What happens to class lines in such slogans? Are Communists honestly for a "Free, happy and prosperous France" without concern for class relations, or are they for freedom for the workers and peasants of France and against the "Law and Order" as dished out by the bourgeoisie in order to quell class activities? What more is necessary to prove how disastrous the consequences of such a course?

C.P.U.S.A. Follows Suit

The American C.P. is not in an exceptional position in this regard. It too has its place in the list of contributors to opportunism. One glimpse at the 1936 Election Campaign is sufficient to convince us of that. In 1929 the population was divided into Communists, social-fascists and just fascists. In 1936 the "Nation" is split into democrats and fascists.

We were told in the recent election campaign that Roosevelt is for Democracy and Landon for Fascism and that we must defeat Landon. Such logic surely revealed the position of the C.P. in spite of its veiled phrases. The platform

called for the organization of a "Farmer-Labor Party to fight for and establish a government of, for, and by the people." Says Browder, "The Communist Party declares that the time is ripe for the People's Front in this election campaign, and it is calling for the rallying of the progressive people of all shadings for the defense of democracy, against fascism."

Why the reference to "people" and not "workers and farmers"? What about the class nature of government, of society? What happens to the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat? What about the overthrow of the capitalist system? Can the Farmer-Labor Party accomplish this task? Since Browder thinks it can what becomes of the role of the Communist Party? And since when do Communists talk about the "defense of democracy"? Has not comrade Lenin taught us to distinguish between bourgeois democracy and workingclass democracy? Can a communist indulge in such tactics and still maintain a communist position?

Dissatisfaction Grows

Party enthusiasm and an inspired membership is lacking thruout the Comintern today. Party comrades are either dulled by the new line and therefore become apathetic or have become disillusioned in the present course and are beginning to grumble. The theory of the infallibility of party leadership is collapsing rapidly. There is an unrecurrent realization that the fight waged by the I.C.O. and the C.P.O. was a justified one and that it has met with success. In France, Czechoslovakia and Germany new layers of party membership are beginning to resist the chauvinism of their parties and are cooperating with the International Communist Opposition.

In the American C.P. and Y.C.L. there is marked confusion as well as disagreement with the line to such a degree that special meetings were called to discuss the elections to attempt to put across the line. It was not so simple. The questions asked indicated disagreement with the Election Platform and its classless appeal. In spite of the hold of discipline on the party membership prior to the elections, there was evident widespread condemnation of the policies pursued in this country as well as on general C.I. policy.

These are new moods in the Comintern. We of the C.P.O. are well aware of its significance because it is so closely bound up with our fight for inner-party democracy, for the right to discussion by the party membership of all policies and decisions of its higher bodies. These issues which divide communists today might have been avoided if the right to inner-party democracy were maintained at all times. A discussion of these issues is bound to lead to a clarification of the most fundamental tasks before us.

We welcome this new current in the ranks of the Party and will do all in our power to encourage such discussions in order to break through what seemed to be an impenetrable wall between communists and communists. It is thru these discussions in our press, thru our literature and special appeals to the membership of the Party that we hope to shed light on the fundamentals of Communism from which the Comintern is deviating today. A political discussion on a high political plane in the ranks of the party, without the threat of expulsions or character assassination, is most necessary today. It is up to the membership of the Party to force thru such a discussion.

BOOKS of the AGE

MOSCOW REHEARSALS. By Norris Houghton. New York, Harcourt Brace and Co. 1936. 291p. \$2.75.

A fascinating book on the Soviet theatre by an expert on the theatre in the United States. Mr. Houghton is especially interested in the directing end. Of the six months he spent in Moscow he went to the theatre every night. He sat in on rehearsals of every type and watched the plays of the great Moscow Art, the Vakhtangov, the Realistic Theatre, the Kamerny and the Bolshoi Opera, and each presentation gave him a new thrill. Everywhere he was struck with the completely different attitude towards the public. In the Soviet Union the theatre does not descend to the level of the "average man" as it does in America and to the dictates of the box office, but, on the contrary, each new play attempts to lift the audience to new cultural levels. In America the belt is applied to rehearsals just as it is in a Ford factory, but in the Soviet Union a director doesn't care if it takes him six months or longer to rehearse a play. The push of the profit motive is out for good and the permanent slogan in the Russian theatre now is "Never present a play to the public until it is ready." Mr. Houghton then points out that the Soviet actor is more devoted to his play because he works in a repertoire system. Each theatre runs several plays alternately each season, not like in America where the actor wears of his single play, and the more successful the play, the wearier he becomes.

The author also tells us how the pulsating new life about him was reflected in every section of the theatre. "In examining each theatre's individual development, I have shown how the trend has been toward the new 'socialistic realism' . . . and so long as the Soviet Union remains in its present materialistic mind, realism will be its most satisfactory medium."

The book ends with a brief analysis of the causes of decadence in our theatre: "The American theatre is a selfish and money-making enterprise, not an art. The theatre in America exists for everyone but the audience. It exists, first and foremost, for the real estate men who own the buildings, for the big business men who back shows for the money they hope to get out of it, and for the theatrical magnates of the show business for the money they can make. The author holds out very little hope for the American theatre until such time as it is able to forgo some sort of collective enterprise.

The book is enriched by numerous excellent reproductions of stage sets for many of the leading Moscow plays which will gladden the heart of anyone interested not only in the theatre as such, but in its new approach to life in the Soviet Union and in the rest of the world.

—ELLEN WARD

BRONX FORUM
of the
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WILKINS HALL
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WE GREET the
WORKERS AGE
on its
SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY
DOLL & TOY WORKERS UNION
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EMANUEL DIANA, President

PHILADELPHIA

I. BROWN
Former leader of the Revolutionary Policy Committee in the Socialist Party
—SPEAKS ON—
"The Socialist Party In Decline"
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 15 8 P. M.
329 Pine St., Phila, Pa.

Communist Greetings to
WORKERS AGE
Most Effective Weapon in the Fight for Labor Unity
DETROIT DISTRICT, C.P.O.

Bronx Section Communist Party (Opposition)
Greet
WORKERS AGE
on its
SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY
●
CONTINUE THE FIGHT FOR LENINISM!

RELIEF BUDGET FORCES NEEDY BELOW SUBSISTENCE LEVEL

By STUART FORSYTHE

The closing of cases by the Relief Bureau is based on a suspicion that the family has enough on which to live, that someone may be able to aid the family, or on the knowledge that there is a job to cover living expenses. But "living expenses" in the relief set-up means only that the income is as large as the E.R.B. budget allowances for that family. Let us, therefore, examine this "living" in the light of the budget.

When the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment Relief published its report in the spring of '35, it stated that the food allowance for a family of five consisting of a father, mother, boy 13, girl 10, and boy 7 was \$7.25 a week or 7c per meal per person. The Committee therefore recommended that the food allowance be increased 11% to cover the actual increase in food costs between the date the budget was devised and the date of the issuance of the report and that in the future the food budget be kept in line with these food costs. As a result the food allowance was increased—a year later by 7%, which was still 4% below the absolute minimum necessary to avoid malnutrition a year before. Between April and July of this year alone, food prices in the city rose 5.8% thus practically cancelling the 7% increase. So our relief family of five dines magnificently on \$8.40 per week or 8c per meal per person.

In the same report, the allowance granted by the Relief Bureau for rent was found to be wholly inadequate showing a differential from actual rents of from \$3 to \$25 per month. The Mayor's Planning Committee also recently reported that the majority of city residents pay \$19 to \$60 rent per month, only 8% paying less than \$19. But an extra cent per meal should make a relief client happy! So the budgetary rent remains unchanged with its maximum of \$25 for a family of 9 or more living in a steam heated flat with private toilet facilities.

Since New York's climate and New York's cops make sleeping under the stars impossible, relief families try to keep a roof over their heads by using some of their starvation food allowance for rent. The Mayor's Unemployment Relief Committee found this to be the case in 17% of the relief families in 1935. With the attempted boosting of rents by landlords, this practice will necessarily become more prevalent. And the client starves to save his home, evictions still occur regularly and the marshals flourish. Moving expenses are granted in such cases of eviction or when occupied quarters are ordered vacated by the Tenement House or Health Dep'ts.—but only after all other personal and neighborhood resources have been ruled out. But if the inadequate rent allowances forces the client to move ("voluntarily", as they say) to avoid eviction, he must pay his own moving expenses. Thus another slice comes off the food budget.

During July, August and September, an ice allowance is granted to families with children under 16 or in which there is illness. What happens, during the hot days of May and June, to the food consumed by the families without children under 16 may be guessed. The choice lies between buying in small quantities which means greater cost and more starvation (if that is possible) or eating rotting food during most of each summer month.

There is, as yet, no regular budgetary clothing allowance. The amount granted for clothing during September of this year averaged 90c per family. W.P.A. sewing projects have provided some clothing and house linens, but since the project began in March, only 1½ million articles have been distributed. Today there are approximately 600,000 people on relief. Add to this the numbers who have been on relief at some time during this period, and the average number of W.P.A. articles distributed will be about 1½ per person. Thus every one of the 178,870 cases on relief today must have a well stocked linen closet with 7/10 of a new sheet, 8/10 of a new pillow case, 2¼ huck towels and 1 1/3 terry towels. The 170,000 adult males (16 years and over) are undoubtedly well dressed with 9/20 of a new suit each, and 1/50th of a pair of trousers, while the adult women and older girls are all newly attired with ½ a dress apiece.

To come back to our relief family of 5, living in Manhattan in an improved flat. They receive a budgetary allowance of \$8.40 weekly for food, 25c for soap, \$4.70 weekly for rent (\$21.00 monthly) and 72c weekly for gas and electricity or a total of \$14.07 a week. What will happen to this family if the father gets a job? The relief bureau will then figure the family budget by adding to it 10c per day for carfare, 15c per day for lunch and \$1.10 per week for incidental expenditures such as hair cuts, clothing replacements etc. Thus, if he works 6 days a week, the relief budget will total \$16.67 weekly. But this father earns \$16 a week and since his earnings are not at least \$1.15 (\$5.00 per month) below the weekly budget the relief bureau will not make up the difference. The case is closed and the family is officially declared to be self-supporting. Thus is the American Standard of Living maintained and "rehabilitated" families kept from pauperization by the "dole".

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Note Re: Typographical Error: In a previous article of Stuart Forsythe entitled "Relief Workers Get 'Hint' to Slash Rolls—Or Else" in Workers Age Oct. 1, 1936 the increase in employment upstate from January to July should have read 7.5% instead of 75%.

TOO MUCH ALIVE TO BE BURIED



ROOSEVELT LANDSLIDE MARKS LIBERAL TREND IN COUNTRY

(Continued from Page 1)

much greater factor in its defeat was its bitterly hostile attitude to the American Labor Party and to labor's attempts—even the confused—at independent political action. Their playing the Landon angle was an additional factor leading to loss of influence. Embittered and disappointed Norman Thomas closed the campaign by scolding the workers because they "join a kind of stampede and act like men who would rather ride on a bandwagon to hell than build a road to heaven."

The current issue of Socialist Call shows the SP to be shocked and dazed at the extent of its losses. Even in such strongholds as Wisconsin (home of Mayor Daniel Hoan) the SP was wiped out. In the Reading section of Penna. Thomas's strength dwindled to the vanishing point, and the militant

members of the N.E.C.—Darlington Hoopes—failed of reelection to the legislature. Also the Old Guard socialists suffered a crushing defeat in Bridgeport where they lost all 5 members of the state legislature.

The Communist Party is indebted for its defeat to its policy of "Defeat Landon—at all cost!" In practice it amounted to support of Roosevelt as became evident to the most casual observer. Duncan Aikman, writing in the New York Times on November 8, characterizes as follows the policy of the CP: "Earl Browder, the Communist candidate, for instance, steadily talked 'people's front' alliances with farmer-labor groups that were already in the Roosevelt camp, and apparently, by this means, helped to 'sell Roosevelt' to voters of leftist inclination."

What Next?

The tremendous vote for Roosevelt is being interpreted in many different ways. In liberal and labor ranks the election is interpreted as a guarantee for the continuation of social security legislation, and the return to legislation tending to protect labor in its right to organize. But in the ranks of the employers, despite some misgivings, belief is growing that Roosevelt will move to the right. Indicative of this attitude is the editorial expression of the Magazine of Wall Street (Nov. 7):

"The campaign was not specific in its indication for the future, but industry which entertained many fears of a return of the New Deal can take some measure of comfort from one aspect of the election. It is that a great part of Mr. Roosevelt's heavy majority arose from the single fact that business is better.

"... In other words, the big vote was for better business—not only that which has been enjoyed but that which is expected. Mr. Roosevelt must know this. He must so interpret his 'mandate'. No greater urge is upon him than to refrain from legislation or reform that will stem recovery.

"The emergency was passed. The time has come for the encouragement of calm and natural progress in trade, industry and in the halls of Government."

JAY LOVESTONE will analyze the presidential elections in a series of articles beginning in the next Workers Age.

New Workers Sch. Bazaar Opens Soon

Our stockrooms are packed to the ceiling with boxes containing dolls, furs, pottery, and countless other items for the coming bazaar of the New Workers School, which will take place on Saturday and Sunday, November 21st and 22nd, at Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place. Dressmakers, furriers, milliners, knitgoods workers, tailors and others are at their machines, making thousands of items for sale at the bazaar. From all over the city, from various sections of the country, and from foreign lands as well, enthusiastic workers and friends are sending in valuable gifts.

Hundreds of workers are on the job to make this bazaar an affair that the workers of New York will not soon forget. They are working hard so that the underground fighters in Germany will benefit from the huge proceeds, so that comrades in Spain will have funds to buy more food, and, by the grace of Leon Blum, some ammunition; they are working so that our School and our paper can be increased to spread further our message of communism, of revolutionary internationalism to the workers in America.

The bazaar will open Saturday, November 21st, and there will be a dance on Saturday night, with Lou Ross's Orchestra. On Sunday, November 22nd, there will be a swell entertainment.

Besides the items mentioned above, there will be literature, leather goods, infant wear, etchings and lithographs, Mexican art-craft, men's haberdashery, and a host of other things, at bargain prices.

Admission on Saturday and Sunday afternoon will be free, and admission in the evening will be thirty-five cents for one night and sixty cents for both. Write to the New Workers School, 51 West 14 St., for your tickets now.

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