For Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle!

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AND FARMERS

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# PROGRESSIVES IN LOC. 22 WIN

Carry Executive, Manager Despite Tacit Right-Leftist Alliance

New York City

In spite of the tacit agreement between the right-wing Club and the ultra left "Left Group" (the cover-or-ganization of the Industrial Union), the left-progressive block (of the United Progressive League and the Trade Union Circle) in Local 22 (dresmakers) of the International Ladies Garment workers Union obtained fifteen out of the twenty-five members of the executive committee of the local in the elections held on April 14. The right-wing club got seven and the ultra-lefts three.

The largest individual vote, 944, was received by Chas. Zimmerman, leading member of the United Progressive League.

As manager of the local, the progressive, Max Bluestein, present incumbent, was re-elected. The vote was: Bluestein (left - progressive block), 847; Abe Staum (right-wing Club), 756; and Morris Stamper ("Left Group"), 431.

Of the business agents elected, two were from the left-progressive block and four of the right-wing Club, the same as before.

On convention delegates, the rightwingers succeeded in electing five of the nine delegates, the other four being progressives.

Coming after the progressive victory in Local 1 the week before, the Local 22 elections give the proper answer to the demoralizing machinations of the unprincipled alliance of right-wing class collaborationists and ultra-left sectarians.

# IN COLLAPSE

Revolt In North And Big **Advance Of Red Armies** Shake China Regime

PEIPING.—Considerable advances on the part of the Red armies are reported here. Large Red forces are approaching Changchow, the capital of Fukien province. General Chang Chun, Governor of Fukien Province. has declared that he is in no position to meet the advance of the victorious Communist forces.

SHANGHAI .- Between the revolt of the Northern war-lords in the Yellow River area and the steady advance of the Red peasant revolution-ary forces in Central China, the Nanking-Loyang Kuomintang government the most direct agency of Yankee imperialism in China, finds itself today in a more than precarious position.

On April 6 General Han Fu-chu, the war-lord of Shantung, assumed an attitude of open secession from the "central" government. His action followed the break at the so-called Loyang National Emergency Conference, when the delegates of North China left the gathering. With Han, who has at least 75,000 well armed troops, are almost certainly Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan. The authority of the Nanking-Loyang government in Shantung and other Northern regions, always slim at best, is now altogether non-existent.

A number of Cantonese leaders are rumored to be working in alliance with the Northern secessionists. To the West, in Central China, are a number of Soviet areas. The most powerful of these has a well-equipped army of 60.000 men under the leadership of Ho Lung, which is preparing for a decisive offensive against

the Nanking government.

Meanwhile, famine is reported as spreading in inner China.

TOKYO.—Revelations to the effect persons, are on the waiting lists of that the conquest of Manchuria by the Emergency Work and Relief Buro, of the jury he already showed that he Japan was already planned in detail in 1928 but was forestalled by politiin 1928 but was forestalled by politi-about 250,000 members, are in need of the whites who predominate in this body. Now he is planning to make a about 1,160,000, according to the re-case on the basis of the "unwritten Fusanosoke Kuhara, who was Minister of Commerce at the time he describes, in the Toyko magazine, Bungei Shinju.

MELBOURNE, Australia. - The Labor government of Victoria, defeated by a no-confidence vote (20 to 25) on April 13, obtained a dissolution of Parliament and new elections have been set for May 14. It proved impossible for the forces that overthrew the Labor government to set up another administration.

# An Interview With Father Cox

We publish the following account "What is of an interview between Father keeps them" Cox and a Forum writer, Charles R. Walker. It throws a clear answered, "talking about God and light upon the social significance the flag. Talking about the conand meaning of the Cox Hunger stitution, the church and the flag— March and subsequent political actual that is all that keeps them!"

ed Pittsburgh's famous Father Cox last week in his office at the Rectory. The reverend father received me cordially. He has a full-blooded jowl and wears a long silk cas-sock which falls amply over a paunch that would do no dishonor to a Bishop.

He gave me his solution of the "unemployment problems." It is this: a two billion dollar sum to in sympathy with our aims ought be raised by inheritance and in-come taxes and to be expended on support us who hold the trust of job-making public works program. the workingman — because only With great enthusiasm he spoke of thru us and persons like us can Cox's convention of the unemploy- they retain even a part of their ed which he proposes to hold next properties.' August to nominate the unemployed party's candidate for the Presidency. "We shall take a million men to that convention," he shout-

"What is it," I asked, "What

"It is people like ourselves," he that is all that keeps them!"

I had heard this theory of the basic aims of the Cox movement In connection with the survey I am making for the Forum Magazine of industrial conditions in the East and the Middle West, I interviewthe matter as clearly as the Father himself.

He attacked big businessmen vehemently, and spoke of the need for a more equitable distribution of wealth. But he recognized that they were or should be his allies. Speaking of the propertied classes he said:

"Even these people—who are not

After the interview I visited ed.

I expressed the opinion that little or no federal aid would be chen. On every shanty there is a forthcoming unless in the wake of printed sign, which says: "God bread riots and mass pressure. Bless Our Homes." By inquiry I "Bread riots!" he shouted, the discovered that a few weeks ago, blood coming into his face, "I eleven Shantytown residents who could have a bread riot in Pitts- had grown impatient with the burgh, tomorrow if I wanted! I church and the flag and joined the could take over the city of Pitts-Communist Party, had been turned burgh" he said loudly, "if I wanted to." He studied my face. "Do you served their sentences, they were know what keeps the working men of America from revolution?" served their semences, they were given orders to keep them out of their "homes" in Shantytown.

# NANKING CLIQUE | Mass Starvation Faces Land As Meager Relief Agencies Collapse, Say Expert Reports

"Survey" And "Business Week" Studies Show Frightful Conditions In Country; 1,250,000 In Dire Want In New York City, Houston Declares

thruout the country, is imminent, ac-William H. Matthews, director of the Emergency Work and Relief Buro, "from present appearances it is extremely likely that thousands of people who have been receiving relief of some kind during the Winter, will be thrown back into destitution, with no avenue of aid open to them." In other parts of the country, both reports indicate, tens of thousands were at all and now their number will be

augmented several fold! It is in this situation, with about ten million unemployed, at least thirty million in want, the almost insigni ficant charity and local relief that has existed about to go, it is in this situation that the apostles of "rugged individualism", from President Hoever down to Matthew Woll, obstinately oppose every suggestion for a system of government unemploy-ment relief and insurance, the only way of warding off wholesale mass starvation as long as the murderous system of capitalism exists.

At least 150,000 families, consisting ian athlete. of over three-quarters of a million and Relief Buro.

The average earnings of an unem-rialism of the murder of a native ployed family, consisting of two ad-Hawaian.

meager unemployment relief that was ing relief in any form, are about gressive weapons" of warfare, now extended in the Winter months by \$8.20 a month, derived from odd jobs the various city and local agencies by both adults and children. When last employed the average earnings referring to the war in the Far East.)

of capitalism have been so proud and conference. never able to get on the relief lists which Governor Roosevelt assures us is "everlasting."

# DARROW TO 'INSANITY PLEA

HONOLULU.— "Insanity," which as always been the plea of rich murderers and other malefactors when brought before so-called "justice," is in New South Wales to protect the the plea that will be entered by Cla- left Socialist government of that state rence Darrow for his clients, Mrs. New York City. Granville Fortescue, Lieutenant Massutacks of the reactionary Commonwealth administration slayers of Joseph Kahahawai, Hawa-

Mr. Darrow, who all his life atpeople, are receiving municipal aid tacked the schemes and tricks by in the form of emergency work and which the rich and the powerful have been able to escape the legal consequences, at least 32,000 heads of quence of their crimes, is now en-Japan Planned Manchurian Conquest agencies, at least 02,000 heads of quence of their crimes, is now enfamilies, representing about 160,000 gaged in putting over precisely just and 50,000 additional families, with intends to play on the race prejudice port of Raymond W. Houston, assit- law" and "temporary insanity"—all ant director of the Emergency Work for the sake of exonerating some of the representatives of Yankee impe-

# MINER SLAIN IN **OHIO STRIKE**

State Troops Fire On 4,000 Miners: Doak Attempts To Break Strike

CADIZ, Ohio.-Attacks of State Guardsmen upon the striking miners in the East Ohio region have been growing very considerably lately as a result of the attempt of the coal operators to import scabs on a large scale. At Harmon Creek near here, a detachment of thirty-five Guardsmen from the Third Battalion of the 145 Infantry rushed into the field on April 16 and immediately began an attack on a crowd of 4,000 miners who had gathered to prevent the scabs from taking their jobs. One miner was killed and several wounded.

The strike of all miners in District 6 was called on March 31 by the district organization of the U.M.W.A. The strike movement had begun in the Hocking Valley some weeks before and is in the main directed against a wage-cut offensive of the operators.

Doak Tries Strikebreaking WASHINGTON-Secretary of Labor Doak has called a conference of mine operators and union leaders to "settle" the Ohio strike, i.e., to smash

# TARDIEU ATTACKS U.S. ARMS PLAN

French Leader Bares U. S. Hypocrisy And Own Jingo Aims In "Disarmament"

GENEVA-The rankling antagor isms between American and French imperialism which have been a big factor in disrupting the Four-Power Danubian Conterence the week be-fore, came out into the open at the 'disarmament" conference here on April 11 in a sharp attack of Premier Tardieu upon the proposals of Hugh S. Gibson, American delegate. Gib son, having the necessities and the position of the United States in mind and wishing to place France in as "that aggressive war has been out-lawed!" (Mr. Gibson was evidently cording to exhaustive studies published in the Survey and in the Business

Week. In New York City, declared half of the unemployed families are since technicians could always replace the so-called "aggressive weapons" by now in need of serious medical attention.

Almost a million and a quarter
people in New York City in dire want
and without means of support! Just
over \$2.00 a week to gurrout a fam.

His speech completely exposed the over \$2.00 a week to support a family of five! These are the fruits of hypocrisy of the Gibson proposals "splendid system of rugged in- while at the same time making quite dividualism" of which the apologists clear France's militarist aims at the

While the conference is engaged in this imperialistic sparring, the real disarmament proposals of the Soviet Union as made by Litvinov, have been completely rejected. Even the proportional disarmament proposals of the U.S.S.R. have been rejected!

#### TRADE UNION ARMY IS RAISED IN N. S. W.

SYDNEY, Australia.-Au arm, of 25,000 trade unionists is being raised under Premier J. T. Lang against the

Premier Bruce of the Commonwealth had recently issued official orders to divert the taxes from the N.S.W. treasury into that of the Commonwealth. Armed intervention into N.S.W. affairs, under some sort of legal cloak, is not impossible and the trade unionists, supporting Lang, nance Minister under Arthur Griffith, are preparing for it. In addition to the 25,000 men, plans are under way for raising a reserve of 100,000, mostly trade unionists also.

The trade union army is also ex-

Gov. Roosevelt Meets Sharp Rebuff, Curry Triumphs In Corrupt Struggle

Albany, New York. The capture of the Democratic State organization by Tammany Hall and a signal rebuff to Gov. Franklin D. Roosevelt, were the main features of the important meeting of the Democratic State committee here on the afternoon of April 15. Not only was a resolution adopted demanding the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, a step which Roosevelt had opposed, but both Alfred E. Smith and John W. Davis were elected as delegates at-large to the Democratic National Convention, while the Governor was conspicuously not included.

John F. Curry, head of Tammany (Continued on Page 2)

DUE TO THE (RISIS

WILL SHUT DOWN

ALL RELIEF

UNTIL

FURTHER NO

# TAMMANY TAKES Nazi Gains in Prussian Vote Are Foreseen; Labor Unity Needed!

Fascist Storm-Battalions "Dissolved" And Prussian Constitution Changed In Socialist-Center Panic At Hitlerite Victory On April 24

Berlin, Germany.

April 25, throw their shadow over all major political developments in Germany at the present time.

The Prussian government is today in the hands of a Socialist-Center-Democratic block. The strength of these parties, especially the Social-democratic, has greatly diminished since the last elections, while the Nazis have grown gigantically. The

Reichs-Presidential elections, both the

first and the run-off, demonstrated The Prussian elections, coming on this growing strength of the Nazis in a most sensational manner. As a result panic has overwhelmed the Social-democratic and Center leaders, who are frantic at the possibility of a Nazi victory.

On April 13, President von Hindenburg, in an emergency decree based on Article 48 of the Constitution, "dissolved" the Storm-Battalions of the National-Socialist Workers party (Nazis), which include at least 500,000 well organized and militarily equipped members, largely unemployed young workers and peasants, sup-ported by the Nazi treasury. The action of the Reich was taken at the insistent pressure of the Prussian government leaders, who were also leaders in the "iron front" coalition that supported von Hindenburg in the elections of March 13.

Hitler immediately announced that the order of dissolution would be 'obeyed"; the "dissolved" Storm-Battalions would be embodied into the Nazi party as "special bodies." An appeal to the courts against the dissolution order has been made by Hit-

Foreseeing the emergence of the Fascists as the dominant party in the next Diet, the present Prussian Diet, on April 12, amended its by-laws making a majority vote of that body necessary for the election of a Premier, instead of a plurality as hitherto. These and various other last-minute measures against the Nazis are certain to have a boomerang effect for they constitute an open admission of the expected triumph of the Hitlerites and will operate to drive many hesitating middle class elements into the camp of Fascism.

The defeat of the Socialist-Center-Democratic coalition government in Prussia will have a serious effect upon the Social-democratic party. Prussia is the tower of strength of German Hindenburg-Socialism; tens of thousands of Prussian office-holders make up the backbone of extreme reformism in the Social-democratic party. If the Nazis are able to establish a government, either by themselves or in coalition with other parties of the right, a clean sweep in Prussia will be the inevitable result, especially in administrative and police positions.

A victory of Fascism in Prussia will be a most disastrous blow to the German and international labor movements and a strong impetus to the forces of reaction on a world scale. Unfortunately, the working class of Germany, which alone is in a position to meet the menace of Fascishn, is today disorganized, disunited, dispirited. The incredibly shameful course of betrayal of the Social-democrats has not only been instrumental in rapidly desworkers but has also demoralized the working class itself. The extremely narrow and sectarian policies of the Communist Party, supplemented by a mad course of union splitting, have made it impotent to serve as the rallying and uniting force of the proletariat and have led to the disastrous defeats of the Reichs-Presidential

In the Communist Party and among its sympathizers the wave of panic ship in the power of their cause have been seriously compromised. Instead of meeting this situation with earnest self-criticism and a change of course, the leaders of the Communist International are trying the old manouvers of finding a scapegoat and blaming everything on him, at the same time maintaining the fatal policies. It is rumored that it is even not unlikely that Thaelmann himself may be the scapegoat this time.

Thru all these events it is becomsystem as a whole.

# IRISH CAPITALISTS THREATEN SHUT DOWN IF OATH IS REPEALED

THE INSIDE OF THE RELIEF CRISIS

The complete collapse of the very ults and three children, not receiveneager unemployment relief that was introduced in any total and three children, not receiveneager unemployment relief that was introduced in any total and three children, not receiveneager unemployment relief that was introduced in any total and three children, not receive urged the "outlawing" of some "ag-On Annuities; DeValera At Parting Of Ways

> DUBLIN.—A direct attempt to ex- were aware of it. ercise economic pressure upon the Fianna Fail government of the Irish Free State in the direction of forcing thru a "moderate" attitude towards Great Britain on the oath and nnuities questions, was made by the W. R. Jacob Biscuit Company, one of the Free State's biggest capitalist counting upon his "perfect legal concerns, in a circular issued on April 16.

> This circular constitutes a virtual British Crown, and thereby "seced-es" from the "British commonwealth of nations" (i.e., the British empire), the firm would throw 1,500 people, ways are open to DeValera now: to or half of its employees, out of work! resign himself to the "legality" of the The company would transfer most of its production, the circular added, to gle on the issue on which he was elect-

The DeValera government, in close ouch with the native capitalists and expressing their interests, is seriously disturbed by this ultimatum. It is under such pressure that the Fianna Fail cabinet is moving gradually to the right.

DUBLIN.—A new factor of very serious implications for the DeValera government has entered the Anglo-Irish situation. It is the revelation in the note of J. H. Thomas, British Secretary of the Dominions, that a secret agreement was made in 1923 between the British government and William T. Cosgrave, then Acting Fifor the payment of land annuities by the Free State government to Great Britain. Another financial settlement was made secretly in the Dail in 1926.

The 1923 annuities agreement was question. pected to serve as a defense of the labor movement against the "New by Cosgrave without the knowledge Guard" organization, a growing Fas- of the Dail, or even of the Cabinet of the Dail or even of the Cabinet of the

This secret agreement contains a legal obligation upon the Free State government to pay the annuities into the British Treasury and establishes a guarantee fund for these payments DeValera, who has hitherto been

right" to suspend annuity payments, is now face to face with the accomplished actions of the real government ultimatum that, if the Free State removes the oath of allegiance to the crats who conduct the important business of the state without even taking the so-called "representatives of the troying their influence among the ed, or else to advance in the fight against the annuities and the oath without regard to the secret "agreements" entered into by the reactionary burocrats at the expense of the elections. masses.

> To take the first road means capitulation and bankruptcy; to take the and pessimism has already worked second implies the unleashing of a havoc. The fighting power of the struggle of the workers and farmers Party and the faith of the memberagainst British imperialism.

For the latter road DeValera, leader of the Irish nationalist bourgeoisie, is far from ready, altho he has not vet reached the point of embarking on the former. He is therefore trying to shift the attention of the Irish people to a forthcoming election in which the "mandate" for an Irish Republic will be the issue. Under the enthusiasm engendered by the vision of a future Irish Republic, DeValera hopes to be able to make a retreat and a compromise on the annuities

LONDON-The Independent Labor party has come out in favor of recist band, pledged to terrorism and which he was a member. Only the moving the pledge of allegiance to attacks upon labor.

ing increasingly clear that only the program of the German Communist Opposition, urging a change of tactics and a reestablishment of democracy within the Communist Party, can serve to restore the Communist Party as the revolutionary leader of the masses of workers against the menace of Fascism and against the capitalist

McA. Coleman Lectures Sunday, April 24th 8 P. M. "Militant Socialism", 228 Second Ave.

office required of British office-holders and members of the House of Commons. This of course would also involve the dropping of the oath in the Some More "Revolutionary Trade Unionism"

# A T. U. U. L. LOCKOUT IN THE COOP

by A Food Worker

The following letter was written agent that anyone would be consider-to the Workers Age by one of the ed enemies of the revolutionary move-workers involved in the affair. It is ment and of the working class who an accurate account of almost incredible anti-union and anti-labor activities on the part of the leaders of the Trade Union Unity League, the selfstyled "revolutionary trade union

New York City. On March 16, the secretary of the Trade Union Unity Council and also the business agent of the cooperative called a meeting of the Concoop Cafeteria, department and the store workers and the following was proposed by the business agent: that we accept the new agreement that had been worked out by the Communist Party, the T.U.U.C. and the union. From now on we must accept a wage-cut of now on we must accept a wage-cut of cussion starts. "Is this the strategy 20%, increase of hours and, instead of a revolutionary union?" "What of a shop committee or grievance board, a labor dispute committee composed of the various trades of the T.U.U.L. be formed—this committee to be given the full power to hire and fire and thus you don't give the union any trouble! Also that the cafeteria be closed for ten days for alterations and that, before the place reopened, every worker be reviewed as to his personal character, his competence and his political views as to Lovestone and Trotsky.

After a long, heated discussion and the repeated remarks of the business

# N. Y. DEM. PARTY

(Continued on page 2)

Hall, came to Albany with the one purpose of settling accounts with Governor Roosevelt, whose factional feud with Tammany, the not "official," has been quite obvious for some time. Together with John H. McCooey, boss of Kings county, M. William Bray, former chairman of the State committee whom Roosevelt had removed, and others, he got solid it silent control of the committee. The first demonstrative act against Roosehad introduced the repeal resolution ing. and put it thru on a "unanimous" vote. The second move against Roosevelt was in the delegation. The Governor had asked that his name be not neither Smith nor Davis, previous presidential candidates, would be on the list. But the committee did elect Smith and Davis—and not Roosevelt.

The Party is organizing a march

obvious John F. Curry stuck his name the graves of the workers who were first at the head of every important body elected by the State committee. plan to organize on Grand Circus He headed the delegation, the working committees, the replacement com- We have instructed a committee to mittee, and all the rest!

The triumph of Tammany Hall, a simultaneous triumph for Smith, the employing class a united front comes as a very serious setback for Governor Roosevelt in his campaign for the Democratic Presidential candidacy, in spite of his sensational vic- May Day demonstration the same as tories in other states.

events in Albany throw a clear light tion but our committee is determined on how our supposedly "democratic" government is actually run. Various groups of capitalists, thru the instru- Day. mentality of various cliques and parties of politicians, put up their candidates and, at most, graciously allow the masses the glorious privilege of deciding which of the rival politicians should oppress them. Roosevelt declared, only a short time ago, that the capitalist system, the system of war, poverty, unemployment and starvation, is "everlasting" and neither can nor should ever be changed! And the spokesmen for Governor Smith once the idol of the liberals and liberal-"Socialists," actually attack Roosevelt as too radical (!), as making speeches that "stir up class ha-Neither Smith nor Roosevelt nor any of the other candidates of either of the capitalist parties, has any interest in the conditions of the masses, except to serve their demagogic attempts to get votes. Only a Labor party, backed up by the trade tive police fired upon a big demonunions and other labor organizations, and consciously representing the interests of the workers and farmers as against those of the capitalists, can, revolutionary nationalist organizaat the present time, become a powerful challenge to the two big capitalist parties and break the vicious two- nationalists have decided to boycott. party system that holds the American None were killed and several were worker in political slavery.

these proposals were rejected. Then (Fascist) party, modeled avowedly another scheme was tried. An emergency meeting of the shop delegates council was called. Then things hap-tral committee of the Social-demopened. And when they could not ma- cratic party, held recently, the secre nouver it thru them, Kromberg tary brought in a plan to change the

(whom you know) passed a note to program and organization of the parthe chairman to adjourn the meeting. ty from a reformist to a Fascist bas-One leading Party member jumped is. His proposal was rejected by a on a chair and shouted: "You fakers! vote of 62 to 61, whereupon the spin You want to postpone the meeting took place. while to-morrow the workers will be locked out under the pretext of alterations"! With chairs and tables flying in the air, the meeting was broken and in the Labor-Farmer party; it up. A general fraction meeting was moreover took with it one member of called and there the holy agreement the Diet. does the Party want—to substitute cialism" of Hitler and "integral synthe Coop for the union?" "To hell with such leaders." The business make considerable headway among agent said: "Yes we know there is a Lovestone hand in the Coop that

A motion was made to vote. And, like one, they all voted down the pro-posals. The business agent makes another round. Whether you like it or not the decision stands. And now the cafeteria workers are locked out and their places taken by the sisters of the directors and the managers! P. S. For further information come down to the place.

wants to break this institution and

you comrades express this to-night.

I believe there is an organized Love-

stone fraction here!

Workers Correspondent.

## FOR UNITED MAY DAY

IN DETROIT

Detroit, Mich. The first meeting of the United Front May-Day Committee was held last night with delegates present re-presenting the Detroit Mooney Deense Conference, Proletarian party, I. W. W., Proletcult, Marxian Labor College and a German singing society.

I am representing the Mooney Defense with two others, one of whom velt was the wet resolution. The is the business agent of the Fire-Governor had urged against "hanging men and Oilers and the other is a out the wet sign" by the New York printer who is also a delegate to the delegation, because of sentiment in Detroit Federation of Labor. I was the South and West. Without con- elected chairman of the committee sulting the Governor at all McCooey and chairman of the May Day meet-

We have the permit for the east side of Grand Circus Park from 12.30 to 3 o'clock on May 1. After the perernor had asked that his name be not included on the understanding that the nor Davis, previous ty learned of it and went down to neither Smith nor Davis, previous

The Party is organizing a march to the cemetery to lay wreaths on Park and start the march from there. wait upon the Party and propose that we amalgamate our forces and show by all marching to the cemetery to honor the fallen workers. The Party was asked to come into the united all other working class organizations. They refused so I do not know what To the wide-awake worker the their attitude will be to this proposito do everything possible to bring about a unity of forces on this May

> Every organization affiliated with the committee will have a speaker if

they desire to. The Metal Polishers Union at their last meeting endorsed the meeting and urged all their members to turn out. There have not been many union meetings held since the call went out

The next meeting of the committee will be held next Thursday at 7 P. M. just before the defense meeting a which we will probably know who the speakers will be and arrange for the advertising. All proceeds over and above cost of the advertising will go to Tom Mooney.

—С. W. В.

PESHAWAR.—A detachment of the Hampshire regiment and some nastration of Red Shirts on April 13 in the village of Katlang, north of Mardan. The Red Shirts, a Mohammedan tion, were engaged in picketing the Indian elections which the militant

# Greet the Workers Age MAY DAY ISSUE

Communists and sympathizers, labor unions, fraternal bodies and other workers organizations: Have your greetings appear in the only Communist paper in the United States fighting for labor unity and for real Communist strategy and tactics!

Name	Name
Address	Address
A	
Amount	Amount

# FORM NAZI PARTY IN JAPAN

TOKYO.—A split in the Social-democratic party of Japan, in the course of which its secretary, Katsumaro Akamatsu, and nearly half of the executive committee seceded, has would vote against, nevertheless all given rise to a National-Socialist

along Hitlerite lines. At the plenary session of the cen-

Th new party, called the National Socialist party, has already made some inroads into the trade unions

The basic principle of the new par-

ty is "imperialist socialism", closely akin to the theories of "national so-The business make considerable headway among the ultra-patriotic young officers and petty bourgeois professionals who are disillusioned with parliamentarism. The split in the Social-democratic party is the direct result of the wave of chauvinism that recently over-

#### FROM A FRAMED-UP MARINE WORKER

whelmed the whole population as a re-

flection of Japan's imperialist adven-

ture on the continent.

We publish below a letter from lack Soderberg, one of three marine workers recently convicted on a frame-up "bomb-plot" charge. This letter shows clearly how these workers were railroaded to jail in the face of clear evidence of their innocence and of brutal mistreatment by the

This letter should be a spur to all workers and workers organizations to make special efforts to support the Marine Workers Defense Committee, which is continuing the struggle in defense of the framed-up workers.

> Tombs Prison, N. Y. C. April 13, 1932.

Dear Comrades: When during our trial, I offered in evidence my blood-stained shirt and told on the stand how the blood came on the shirt during the beating sustained at the hands of the police at the station, on the day of our arrest, photography knows that such a color The chairman was Daly. would show white on a photograph.

this question but on the Monday, after having consulted photographic experts, he was satisfied that the shirt was the identical control of the identity control of the iden was the identical one worn by me on the day of arrest and had present in court photographic experts ready to take the stand to prove this. In addition to this I offered to put the shirt on and be rephotographed by the district attorney's own photogra-

pher to prove my contention.

The judge presiding at the trial refused to allow this and consequently the mute but unbeatable piece of evi dence was barred from the jury.

It is hard to conceive a more biased and prejudiced ruling than this one and should teach the workers that very little justice can be expected from the courts. It is just possible that the barring of this piece of evidence changed the whole outcome of the trial and is responsible for the verdict of guilty.

-Jack Soderberg.

## JIM CORK

Speaks on:

Science at the Crossroads

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# THE SYMPOSIUM ON LABOR EDUCATION

Some Reports Of Recent Meetings

l ism.

Over 250 people listened with keen attention to one of the most interesting discussions on workers education dictatorship of the proletariat was ever held in this city at the sympo- the only remedy. sium on that subject arranged by the New Workers School in Labor Temple on the evening of April 15, 1932.

Every important phase of the subject was well covered. Spencer Milier, Jr., the head of the Workers Education Buro, endorsed and supported by the American Federation of Lapor, gave a clear and comprehensive view of labor education as the conservative trade unionist sees it. A. Muste, the third speaker, countered with the program and conception of workers education held by the progres sives in the labor movement, ideals that have animated Brookwood Labor College since its toundation. Mr.

Muste is dean of Brookwood. An exceptionally strong impression was made by the spiendid talk of Professor George S. Counts, of Teachers College, Columbia University. He spoke of education in the Soviet Union with an enthusiasm and insight which were spontaneously communicated to the audience that listened almost spellbound to Dr. Counts's pregnant remarks on the basic aims, objectives and methods of Soviet education. Dr. Counts is a well known American educator, a close student of the Soviet Union and translator of M. Ilin's book "New Russia's

The last speaker was Bertram D. Wolfe, former director of the Workers School and present head of the New Workers School, long active in workers education in this country. He made a remarkably keen and incisive analysis of the main problems of labor education from the viewpoint of the revolutionary labor movement and concluded with a striking contrast between the corruption and decadence of bourgeois culture in the present historical period and the viril-ity, broad perspectives and fruitful Sunday afternoon, April 17. promise of the culture of the prole-

ments of the audience in extending the discussion which was interesting warm thanks to the participants in and instructive. Cohen, representing the symposium.

#### Gitlow At Mooney Meet In Hazleton, Pa.

The workers of Hazelton went on record demanding the immediate rethe district attorney claimed that lease of Tom Mooney and Warren K. photographs showed that I wore a white shirt that day. The shirt is of Anthracite Free Tom Mooney Comlight pearl-grey color and any one with just elementary knowledge of Ben Gitlow and McLaughlin, a miner.

McLaughlin gave a detailed account The defense counsel was temporari-of the traming up of Mooney and

the so-called relief schemes and tax measures of the capitalist ruling class. He showed how the district officials of District Nos. 1, 7 and 8 had failed to back up the strike. His attack upon the anti-labor, strike-breaking actions of the "liberal," Pinchot, Governor of Pennsylvania brought out great applause.

He called for a united working class action to free Mooney, to free Billings and to fight against the capital-

The resolution demanding the immediate freedom of Mooney and Bilings was passed unanimously. Nick Borich introduced the Mooney pamphlets. Over \$5 worth of them were grabbed up by the miners.

#### Boston Symposium Debates Fate Of Capitalism

The Communist viewpoint in the present world crisis was presented by lay Lovestone, at the symposium or ganized in the Ford Hall Forum, it Boston on April 14, 1932. About 1000 people gathered to listen to the va rious viewpoints presented on the world crisis.

Dr. Mordecai Johnson, President of Howard University, Dr. Rabbi Stephen Wise, Morris Ernst, Prof. John J. Mahoney, Prof. K. F. Mather, and Lawrence Dennis, author of "Is Ca pitalism Doomed," were among the speakers.

Lovestone examined the inherent chaos of the capitalist system and attacked the pessimism and helplessness of the various bourgeois theories as indicated by the general crisis pro valent in every walk of bourgeois life. He showed that there was a way out and this was the revolutionary path taken by the working class of the Soviet Union now building a new order, a socialist society.

The various spokesmen all attacked the deep-going crisis of capitalism but had sundry remedies to cure and save civilization.

#### **Ben Gitlow In Three-Corner** Debate At Rand School

Over 300 workers were present at the Capitalism-Socialism-Communism symposium arranged by the Forum Young Circle Club, Branch 1025, Workmen Circle, on April 17. The speakers were Dr. King of the New York University, Algernon Lee and Benjamin Gitlow.

Dr. King contended that capitalism was a "highpowered motor car whose oil, gold, was bad" and that all that was necessary was to replenish the gold supply. Lee spent all his time proving capitalism a failure but gave no remedy save democracy. He further launched an attack against the Soviet Union. Gitlow showed how the ADMISSION

Those present showed a lively interest in the discussion, as evidenced by the large number of questions. After the meeting many workers evinc-ed an increased interest in Commun-

#### Discuss Germany At Phila. Liberal Forum

Under the auspices of the Philadelphia Liberal Forum, Jay Lovestone spoke on Sunday, April 10, at 911 Girard Avenue, on "The Lessons of the German Elections." Despite inclement weather, over 200 workers turned out to listen to the report and discussion. The false policy of the E.C.C.I. and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany were examined at length and shown to be responsible for the disastrous election results. A strong plea was made by Lovestone for a change of tactical line by the C.I. in the United States as well as in Germany and elsewhere, with the view of enabling the World Communist Party to equip itself to meet the tasks arising out of the present crisis of world capitalism.

A collection was taken for the Ageafter the appeal was made by Comrade Wakshul.

#### Progressive Club Meeting In Paterson, N. J.

The "Present and Future of the American Labor Movement" was the subject discussed by Jay Lovestone before the Progressive Workers Club

There was a splendid attendance Herbert Zam, the chairman of the evening, certainly expressed the sentithe extreme right wing of the Socialist party burocracy, presented the opinion of the Hillquit group against Communism and militancy in

the class struggle. Comrade Krause presided.

#### Jay Lovestone At L. I. D. **Debate On Democracy**

Before a well attended meeting of the Philadelphia League for Industrial Democracy. Dr. Reinhold Nie-buhr, speaking for "Parliamentary Democracy," and Jay Lovestone speaking for "Proletarian Dictatorship" engaged in a spirited debate. was very attentive and showed its interest in the subject by the response

to the presentation. A. J. Biemiller, head of the Philadelphia League for Industrial Democracy, presided.

#### **Banquet For The Workers** Age In Philadelphia

On Saturday evening, April 9, the Communist Party (Majority Group) of Philadelphia organized a proletarian banquet for the Workers Age, at 315 Pine Street. The meeting was spirited and enthusiastic. About \$20 was raised for the Age. A discussion on the trade union policies and the desertion of the united front tactics by C.P. leadership brought up interesting questions and clarified a number of issues before the workers.

## Special May Day Issue!

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# With the WORKING

# REED HARRIS'S EXPULSION-AND AFTER

by Our Special Correspondent

Spectator.

"Material published in the Columbia Spectator, during the last few days," declared the Dean, "is a climax to a long series of discourtesies, innuendoes and misrepresentations which have appeared in this paper during the current academic year and calls for disciplinary action.

This action came as a shock to both faculty and students. Columbia, since the day, fifteen years ago, when Charles A. Beard resigned as Professor of Politics in protest against the dismissal of Professors Dana and Cattell for pacifist activities, has been trying hard to maintain a reputation for full freedom of expression. President Butler in repeated public state-ments has upheld the right of his faculty to say what they pleased.

Yet Butler, according to the Dean, "agreed that Harris should be disciplined."

Harris first attracted the attention of the metropolitan press in the fall when he attacked college football as of sympathy. Sixteen instructors a semi-professional racket." Charges joined in a petition of protest to the regarding the payment of athletes made the university administration uncomfortable and roused the bitter hostility of powerful alumni who believe universities exist to provide them with weekly gladiatorial shows tests last year between October 1 and all know that everything that Harris Thanksgiving Day.)

While Harris was conducting this campaign to show that "college foot-ball as maintained today has no place on intercollegiate gridirons," a group of football scholars invaded his office and offered to settle the issue with their fists. But when Harris stood up behind his desk and showed that he was even bigger than they were they withdrew, "on the Coach's orders!"

During the year Harris discussed public questions, attacking war and militarism, the influence of the American Legion, the D.A.R. and the presence of the R.O.T.C. units in colleges and Citizens Military Training Camps. He also discussed the mine labor situation and heartily endorsed ly discussion ensued as a result of the questions asked. The audience was very attentive and a live-the student delegation to Harlan. But what finally made the Dean loose his tempor very attentive and a live-the student delegation and nearthy endorsed the student delegation to Harlan. But what finally made the Dean loose his made by a previous editor of Spectator accusing the authorities of the students dining hall in John Jay Hall of excessive prices, bad food and exploitation of student waiters.

> The Dean demanded proof. Harris claimed that giving such proof to any but an impartial investigating committee would endanger the position of student employees who had furnished the information. Declaring that this was inadequate substantiation for the "libeling of university officers," the Dean dismissed Harris with this statement, according to Harris:

saw President Butler this noon and he agreed that Harris should be disciplined, but he cautioned me to give the appearance of holding a hearing.' On Monday morning the campus

was at a high pitch of excitement. Spectator came out with a heavy black rule in place of Harris's name and with its editorial column blank in mute protest.

A mass meeting was held at noon on the library steps under the leadership of the Social Problems Club and with the cooperation of the National Student League. Practically the entire undergraduate student body at tended. Resolutions were adopted de manding Harris's reinstatement, the guarantee of a free and untramelled student press and an impartial investigation of the charge regarding the dining hall.

A student strike was called for all of Wednesday, April 4, as a demonstration of earnestness to the administration. Another mass meeting was held Tuesday.

The following account of the recent events in Columbia University opinion was well crystallized as a re-When Wednesday arrived student was written by a special correspond- sult of the demonstrations of the two On Friday, April 1, Dean Herbert

E. Hawkes of Columbia College expelled Reed Harris, editor-in-chief of the athletes (the football crowd), the student's daily, the Columbia the campus politicians (the Student Board endorsed the Dean's action) and the arrow-collar fraternity boys, who thought that Harris was guilty of ungentlemanliness and bad manners.

A continuous mass meeting was held in front of Alma Mater statue from 9 A.M. The administration defenders, who had formed themselves into a group, called the Spartan Society, to resist the strike, answered the impassioned demands for free speech, Harris's reinstatement and an impartial inquiry into the charges regarding the dining hall with showers of bad eggs and rotten apples. But the pickets kept on parading and the speakers went on attacking the Dean's autocracy, and President But-ler's "liberalism," which, said one student, "is evidently meant only for international affairs."

More than half the students stayed away from classes. Some professors appeared before empty halls, while many others dismissed the handful who showed up. Several professors dismissed their classes as a a gesture Dean.

The pro-administration boys were asked to stop answering arguments with eggs and get up on the steps and state their position. The first one to accept the invitation declared: "We said was true, so why bring it up?"

Another, O'Connor by name, a perfectly dressed fraternity boy, objected to Harris's ungentlemanliness. He admitted, however, that he threw eggs. That, he said, was all right for a gentleman.

There were minor fights and brawls which the big press played up out of all proportions to their significance. The affair for the most part was a dignified and effective protest. The speeches were good and held the attention of the crowd, which during the hours of twelve to two grew to about 4,000, and remained as large for the greater part of the day.

The day after the strike the Dean sailed for Euror aware," he said "there is no likelihood of Harris's reinstatement." Yet it will be a long time before any office of the university who recalls the activities of last week will exercise the power of expulsion in the heat of

temper. And incidentally, after the Dean's boat sailed, a signed statement by members of the Faculty announced that there would be an investigation of Harris's charges against the dining hall authorities.

The investigating body will consist of a joint committee of faculty and

And if the committee should sustain Harris's charges? The Dean said he didn't deal in futures!

#### Splendid Youth Meeting In New York

New York City. Over seventy-five, in the main young people, attended a highly interesting discussion meeting called by the Youth Section of the Communist Party (Majority Group) on "What Does the Communist Youth Opposition Stand For," with Herbert Zam, former national secretary of the Young Communist League and for-mer member of the executive committee of the Young Communist In-

ternational, as the speaker. Present at the meeting were many members and sympathizers of the official Young Communist League. A small group, eight in all, had evidently been sent down to smash up the meeting, just as they had done on previous occasions in order to prevent a discussion of the vital issues and policies which determine the growth or decline of the Communist movement in this country. They failed, due to the splendid turnout of he young workers and students of various political tendencies. A number present were members of the

Young Peoples Socialist League. Herbert Zam dealt at length with the incorrect tactics being pursued by the Communist International today which have resulted in a serious loss of Communist influence, most recently and dramatically shown in the decline of the Communist Party's influence in Germany. For the benefit of those young people present who had no conception of the fundamental program of the Communist movement, he gave a detailed analysis of the capitalist system, the factors making for its disintegration, the need of a Communist Party, and so on.

The discussion lasted far into the night, with all elements, Socialists, official Y.C.L. members and sympathizers, non-partisans and Communist Opposition members participating. Over 30 copies of the Workers Age were sold and many young workers

left their names and addresses for 35 CENTS | future notification.

# MAY DAY CELEBRATION AND DANCE

Auspices: WORKERS AGE

SATURDAY EVE. APRIL 30TH SPEAKERS:

BENJ. GITLOW—National Secretary EDWARD WELSH—Negro Organizer MINNIE LURYE—Youth Secretary **MUSICAL PROGRAM** 

REBECCA DAVIDSON—Pianist, and Others MUSIC BY KID TAYLOR'S ORCHESTRA **DANCING** 

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## The Background of the Irish Crisis

# British Imperialism in Ireland

by Fenian

(Continued from the last issue) The approximate share taken by the various groups out of the total value of production may be summarized as follows:

Taken by capital in Interest on land loans 3,250,000 (annuities) Rent on unpurchased land 1,500,000 Int. on mortgs. (agric.) Farming profits (large 1,500,000 14,000,000 farms)

Taxation of workers and 10,000,000 working farmers Comm. industrial profits 12,000,000 Comm. & financial profits 11,000,000

£53,000,000 Taken by labor in Wages of agricultural workers (139,000 at £1 a week average) 7,000,000 Wages of other workers 12,000,000 included in Census

Income of working farmers and relatives (390,000 at 26 shillings a week average) £45,000,000

Less taxation taken back by capitalist class 10,000,000

£35,000,000 The profits of commercial and financial groups, amounting to £11 million, represent profits absorbed from transactions connected with agricultural produce. These groups share with the British bondholders and capitalist farmers the surplus-value produced by Irish working farmers and agricultural wage-earners.

### Industry, Transport and Trade

Industrial production in the Free State is still undeveloped. In 1926 the total value of output (apart from agriculture) was only 24 million pounds, and the number of workers employed as "producers, makers and repairers" in occupations other than agriculture was 186,000. The chief industry was brewing, which produced over 20 per cent of the total value. The only other industry whose output reached 2 million pounds was building. The remaining figures represent a series of small enterprises mostly engaged in finishing trades. A list of new factories established in the Free State since 1925 shows that, out of a total of ninety, 45 were clothing factories, 13 confectionery, and 9 furniture-making. There was one brickworks, and one motor-factory -the Fordson Tractor Works in

Transport, trade and finance employ nearly as many workers as the whole series of productive industries. In 1926 the number engaged in trans port was 65,000, in commerce and finance 85,000, and in clerical work (apart from public administration) 30,000; a total of 180,000. The total turn-over of foreign trade is more than 100 million pounds each year, on which charges for collection, transport and distribution in Ireland must amount to approximately 10 million pounds. The Irish Free State, with less than half the population of London, is the fifth largest market in the world for British goods, and imports nearly half as much as Índia, which is the largest.

Transport and distribution, therefore, represent an important field for Irish investment as well as an essential service to British interests. This is one aspect of the alliance between the British and Irish capitalist class which determines the character of the next stage in the Irish struggle Further, the rail and road transport system of the Free State is jointly owned by British and Irish capital, while Free State banking is closely linked up with the banks of Northern Ireland, which are themselves very largely British-controlled.

Stages in the Nationalist Struggle The nationalist struggle in Ireland has passed through a series of stages, corresponding with changes in the country's productive forces. The interests, industrialization was checkcentury a peasant proprietorship was was altered. Commercial capital ab-

pendent on imported raw materials. and Schaber). From this division arose the Carsonite opposition to Home Rule, and the
beginning of the policy of the partition of Ireland. The old religious

| The triumph of the Extreme Right | Construction of socialist construction of and race differences between Ulster and the South provided the means of drawing large numbers of the population into a struggle which was es-

tremendous advance in political con-pounds in 1929. sciousness and in organization was made by the working class in the years 1907-1913. But the movement stopped short at industrial unionism; it aid not build a revolutionary party of the working class. Thus, in 1916, when the workers and working farmers began to secure some degree of war prosperity, and there was no immediate economic pressure forcing them into action, the revolutionary section of the workers failed to secure a mass following in the country

as a whole.

In the years 1919 to 1921 the agricultural depression, following the rall in British demand for fooustums at the end of the war, and the rapid increase of unemployment in the towns, in America. brought immense numbers into the struggle against Britain. But the leadership was in the hands of the bourgeois Sinn Fein party, which was fighting for a greater measure of established the dictatorship of the capitalist class in Ireland, in close alliance with British imperialist in-The bourgeois nationalist terests. leaders abandoned the struggle for independence, and settled down to operate the machinery of the Free State Government. After the settle-ment the special function of the Irish capitalist class became more clearly defined. The establishment of the Free State was not the setting up of an independent capitalist power; on the contrary, it has placed Irish capitalists, as the owners chiefly of means of transport and distribution, in the position of commission agents for British interests.

#### Economic Crisis in Ireland

Ireland is inevitably involved in the conditions that are driving British capitalism to intensify the exploitation of workers and peasants in every part of the Empire, in order to maintain its profits. Both in Northern Ireland and the Free State there are signs of economic crisis. The volume of production as well as the population of the Free State has fallen since the pre-war period. In 1911 the population of the twenty-six counties of the Free State was 3,180,000; in 1926 is was 2,971,000. The volume of agricultural exports in 1926 was less than 87 per cent of the average volume in the three years before the war. In Northern Ireland the shipbuilding industry has never recovered from the post-war depression, and the value of linen exports has declined from 13

1 a large-scale industry in the South, a million pounds in 1924 to 9 million

The general lowering of the actual standard of living of the agricultural population is revealed in the fact that while the cost of living at the end of 1929 was 79 per cent. above the level of 1914 (compared with 66 per cent in Great Britain) prices of Free State agricultural products were only 39 per cent above the pre-war average. Workers in nearly all industries have had to face wage reductions and increasing unemployment, in spite of the fact that from 1927 to 1929 emigration each year averaged 24,000. Of the working class and peasant families who remain in Ireland many are living to a very great extent on remittances from relatives

In spite of falling production the Free State Government is increasing the aggregate capital on which interest and dividends have to be paid. The Shannon Electric Power Scheme, resources. The settlement of 1921 on which the capital outlay up to other development schemes, are financed by loans which have to be paid for out of Irish production. Capital imports in connection with these undertakings, as well as interest on profits previously accumulated in Ireland and invested abroad, are reflected in the heavy excess of imports over exports shown in the trade figures of the Free State:—

Year	Imports (million £)	Exports (million £)	Excess of Imports (million £)
1924	68.5	50.0	18.5
1925	62.8	43.2	19.6
1926	61.4	40.3	21.1
1927	60.8	44.1	16.7
1928	59.8	45.6	14.2
1929	61.3	46.8	14.5

The tariff policy of the Free State Government, which has imposed du-ties up ot 33 percent on certain manufactures, has increased the cost of living but has not brought about any great development of Irish-owned inlustry. It has tended rather to stimalate the absorption of Irish by Bri-

WORKERS: HAVE YOUR OR-GANIZATION GREET THE **WORKERS AGE MAY** DAY ISSUE!

tish concerns, shown, for example, in the buying up of paper works and (To be continued)

Communism And Centrism In Germany

# THE CONGRESS OF THE S.W.P.

by A. P.

Berlin, Germany, April 2, 1932.

The results of the first congress of the Socialist Workers Party, held in Berlin on March 25-28, will have a big effect in dissipating the illusions in the ranks of the S. W. P. members as to the character and the possibilities of development of their

The End Of An Illusion

Every speech contributed to the general impression that in the last Socialist Workers party has developed much more slowly than was originally expected; indeed it was admitted that the influx of new members has

country's productive forces. The gradually bringing the Socialist openly threatened the lefts, who bourgeois revolution at the end of the Workers party, as a party, on to the championed the Cologne resolution 18th century was defeated by British fundamental basis of Communism and and the Rucck proposal, with "organof getting rid of the pacifist and other |izational measures" for their "ultraed, and Ireland in the early nineteenth centrist-reformist elements without century became a food-producing an organizational break with them, colony of England. In this period without a split, has certainly not stood zig Social-Democratic congress tothe agrarian struggle was intensified, the test of this congress. Precisely zig Social-Democratic congress tountil under the pressure of the Land those who have been preaching the League movement in the later 19th possibility of "winning" the S. W. P. century a peasant proprietorship was as a party for Communism, and the set up, and the form of exploitation leaders of the ex-minority of the Communist Opposition not least of sorbed an increased share of the sur- all, showed themselves at this conwhere years of general imperialist prosperity, some degree of capitalist accumulation in Ireland formed the basis for a new phase of production.

This was the period of the Home

This was the period of the Home

Seydewitz and Rosenfeld and willing declaration as adopted by the congress by a vote of 72 in favor is not simply centrism along the well-known Austro-Marxist model, as was complete the congress as the chospen congress as the gress to be the eager assistants of centrist character of the party. This This was the period of the Home ship against the few lefts who de-Rule movement, the political expres- manded a stand against reformism sion of bourgeois demands, including and semi-reformism (the proposal of the need for independent control of the Cologne organization) or who taxation and trade policy. But the brought up the question of affilia-policy which suited the interests of the South, still mainly agricultural on condition that the sectarian tactical

Socialist Workers party, the pacifists and open defenders of bourgeois democracy, grouped around Kleinbeist, Siemsen, Kuester, etc., altho they counted about 12 delegates of the hundred or so that made up the meeting, met with an acknowledged triumph at this congress. In the program commission and in the party leadership they are strongly represented. But most important of all, when it came to a vote on the Declaration of Principles, which verbally endorses the proletarian dictatorgeneral impression that in the last ship, Anna Siemsen, in her own name six months (since its foundation), the and in the name of her group, made a declaration that they could not recognize this declaration as "binding" but his summary, Rosenfeld went out of already stopped. (At a recent Berlin his way to give a demonstrative ased that the membership of the S. W. "freedom of opinion" for their counter-revolutionary and C. T. C. Whatever belief there may have geois-democratic views. But on the existed among the left elements of the S. W. P. as to the possibility of the Socialist openly threatened the lefts, who other side, Seydewitz, in his closing left tricks." Seydewitz was as "objective" in his attitude towards the wards Seydewitz and his friends. \* \* \*

The programmatic debate on the Declaration of Principles showed the marily Walcher, Froelich, Thomas mental in raising this new flag for centrism to sail under.

# POKROVSKY, USSR

Marxist Scholar Dies At 65 Years Of Age; His **Works Famous** 

MOSCOW. - Over 50,000 people participated in the funeral of Michael April 11. Joseph Stalin, V. M. Molotoff and the other leaders of the union. Soviet Union stood in Red Square to review the funeral demonstration, while Nikolai Bukharin, well known delivered the eulogy.

rapidly under him.

the Russian people, gave him a great reputation in his chosen field. His studies in Russian historiography have also been noted abroad. Just recently the first volume of his history of Russia was translated into English. The urn containing the ashes of the great Marxist scholar was placed in the Kremlin wall.

#### C. P. OF SPAIN HOLDS the Union. IV CONGRESS

Madrid, Spain. The Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Spain took place at Seville towards the end of March

The congress showed the extreme organizational weakness of the C. P. of Spain in the midst of great events taking place in that country. The Party numbers hardly more than 2,000-3,000! Its influence, altho omewhat broader, is equally limited.

Instead of seriously investigating the reasons for this political and organizational isolation of the C. P., the congress concentrated on sharpening the ultra-left course responsible for the impotence of the Party. The extreme splitting policy of the Party all the local unions.

In the trade unions (the setting up of A few months before the strike the separatist "Federation of Seville") was endorsed. In place of making a clear formulation of the character and course of the Spanish revolution and an estimation of its present stage, the congress indulged in abusive attacks upon the Catalonian Communist Federation ("Workers and Peasants Bloc") and upon the Spanish Trotskyites.

The Fourth Congress of the C. P. of Spain gave no promise for a change of course on the part of the official trary it constituted a guarantee that the Party will, in the near future, move into even deeper isolation and

tion in a single country. It was Walcher who was the spokesman of the centrists on this question. His declared opinion was that the Communist International and the international labor movement were being deliberately ruined by the Russian Izvestya, raising the question of a So-Communists, or at least "neglected," thru their insistence on the possibility Japan, we publish below some para-of the completion of socialist con-graphs from Lenin's famous "Letter" other. But temporarily our interests struction in the U.S.S.R.! He even to the American Working Men," were identical. To throw back the set out to "prove" that the Prussian which elucidate the question of whereferendum tactics had been forced ther such alliances are in principle we made use of the equally greedy upon the C.P.G. by Stalin in order to permissible. The concrete questions interests of their opponents, thereby prevent a Franco-German block ruised in Radek's article are treated serving the interests of the Russian against Russia!" The typical Trot- in the editorial in this issue.

kvist position! It was on this basis that the S.W.P. decided that the second Five-Year Plan must not and could not be carried out, for it envisages the completion of socialist construction, at least merely as a "basis for discussion." In insofar as the abolition of classes is

concerned! On this general question, 16 delegates voted against the party leadership, 11 abstained, among these the entire delegation from the Zwickau-Plauen district, the strongest in the S.W.P. These delegates, who had all along supported the centrist leadership, here came out against it.

On Current Political Questions In the current political questions the congress was a drastic evidence of the incapacity of centrism to show clear way to the workers. Even on such questions as the League of Nations and the "disarmament" conferences, there were found elements at Centrism Under the Trotskyist Flag the congress (the extreme right group) who championed a positive attitude towards these imperialistic institutions (like the American rightwing Socialists—Editor) these were treated very considerately by the centrist leaders while the lefts were bullied and threatened.

Seydewitz declared that nonpartisan workers bodies (especially anti-Fascist cartels) were all very good but must not be "rushed."

Seydewitz declared that nonpartisan brought the French officer de Lubersac to me. "I am a monarchist. My only purpose is the overthrow of must not be "rushed."

against the other, for the purpose of weakening all oppressors and strengthening those who were struggling against tyranny. The American peofermany," de Lubersac declared to nle utilized the antegration of the content of the

Lessons for the S.W.P. Workers policy which suited the interests of the South, still mainly agricultural and commercial, was opposed by the industrialists of Belfast who were dependent on imported raw materials.

It ion to the Communist International, it is necessary to unite S.W.P. The debate on the declaration of who are really striving towards Communism, this congress will be a lesson to the S.W.P. Those workers in the S.W.P. The debate on the declaration of who are really striving towards Communism, this congress will be a lesson to the S.W.P. The debate on the declaration of with de Lubersac concerning to an understanding by side with the armies of one group with de Lubersac concerning to an understanding by side with the armies of one group with de Lubersac concerning to an understanding by side with the armies of one group with de Lubersac concerning to an understanding by side with the armies of one group with de Lubersac concerning to an understanding by side with the armies of one group with de Lubersac concerning to an understanding by side with the armies of one group with de Lubersac concerning to an understanding by side with the armies of one group with de Lubersac concerning to an understanding by side with the armies of one group with de Lubersac concerning to an understanding by side with the armies of one group with de Lubersac concerning to an understanding by side with the armies of one group with de Lubersac concerning to an understanding by side with the armies of one group with de Lubersac concerning to an understanding by side with the armies of one group with de Lubersac concerning to an understanding by side with the armies of one group with de Lubersac concerning to an understanding by side with the armies of one group with the sector in the s.W.P. The sector in the of the S.W.P. that the "basic evil" of an uncompromising struggle against to hold up the German advance by English and then freed themselves

# The Lessons of the Dress Strike

# HISTORIAN, DEAD Left Wing in the Dress Strike

by Chas S. Zimmerman

administration of Local 22 and the Nikolaivitch Pokrovsky, the great Dressmakers Progressive League in Marxist historian who died here on this strike, let me first give the back-

Over a year ago, the left-wingers who disagreed with the dual-unionist Marxist, sociologist and journalist, Union and joined the International, organized the Dressmakers Progres-M. N. Pokrovsky was 65 years old when he died. He had been a member of the Communist Party of the performance of the Progressive League was to develop the performance of th Soviet Union (Bolsheviki) since 1905 and was for many years a director of the Communist Academy, which grew and arouse their fighting spirit, to fight for a militant class struggle His whole life was devoted to ex- policy in the union and against the tensive historical studies from the class-collaboration policy of the prespoint of view of Marxism. His re- ent leadership of the International searches into the pre-history of the World War, into the bourgeois revolutionary movements of the 19th for the strict enforcement of union century, and into the development of conditions and union standards in the shops, for rank and file organization committees, and so on.

In the Union at that time there was also a progressive group which was functioning under the name of the Dressmakers Trade Union Circle. They fought for reforms in the union, for a more aggressive policy against the bosses and also, hesitatingly, review the program of action of the against the reactionary burocracy in Committee of 25. The following are

In the elections of last year, the candidates supported by the Trade Union Circle were elected into the administration of Local 22.

turers expired during the same year. Realizing that the only way to improve the miserable conditions of the dressmakers was thru a genuing that the only way to improve the miserable conditions of the dressmakers was thru a genuing that the only way to improve the miserable conditions of the dressmakers was thru a genuing that the manufacturers are residential sections of the issues for the coming strike.

2. That we organize a Committee of the coming strike issues for the coming strike. Strike Preparations of Local 22 tant strike, the two groups, that is, strike preparation activities. the Trade Union Circle and the Progressive League, came to an understanding to work together for an intensive campaign to mobilize the recruiting members for the Committensive for this strike and arouse in the second ar workers for this strike and arouse in tee of 500. them a fighting spirit and to compel

the membership of Local 22 elected a special Rank and File Committee of 25 to work together with the Executive Board of the Local in the strike preparation activities.

Immediately upon its election, the Committee of 25 worked out a pro-

Before explaining the role of the supporters of the International offi-dministration of Local 22 and the cianuom in the local, organized in the rejected by the Joint Board! Mutual Aid Club, fought against this committee. They sneered at every one of its proposals. The Joint Board a question of "separation." The truth the committee and refused to recog- of the Joint Board and the internamission to its members to attend snop and were afraid that too much sentimeetings to speak to the workers ment should be created for the strike. about the coming strike but even prohibited the Executive Board members from attending shop meetings! The and mobilize the workers up the and the Committee of 25 was that Local 22 wanted to create a separation between itself and the other lo-

> The logic of these people is difficult to understand. Local 22 demanded that the Joint Board and Locals 10, 35 and 89 also become active in preparing for the strike. This demand was refused. What the Joint Board and the other locals wanted practically amounted to cooperation on the basis of non-activity and the \$3.75 tax and what the Local demanded was cooperation on the basis of strike preparation activities.

> The ridiculousness of the charge of "separation" can be seen when we some of the points of the program adopted by this committee and by the Executive Board and approved at the general members meetings:

1. That we begin a campaign of propaganda and agitation, by issuing a series of leaflets, thru the press and

dressmakers was thru a genuine mil- of 500 active members to carry on

4. That we call on the Joint Board

the Union as a whole, that is, the to organize similar committees in all Joint Board, to carry on mobilization the locals and coordinate their activand strike preparation activities in ities, to which we pledge our fullest cooperation.

5. That the Joint Board begin immediately to organize building committees.

6. That, in view of the poor financial condition of the Union and in view of the fact that the outcome of this strike will affect the Union as a whole, the International call a congram of activities, all of which were ference of all of its locals for the purapproved by the Executive Board and pose of enlisting their support moral-by the membership of Local 22. The ly and financially.

rapacious advancing German army

and the international Socialist rev-

gress, weaken the international bour-

Long ago the American people used these tactics to the advantage

of their revolution. When America

isted between the English and the

The Soviet Union And World Politics

"ALLIANCES" WITH IMPERIALISM

by V. I. Lenin

olution.

We have been attacked for coming And however much the hypocrites to terms with German militarism. Is of Anglo-French and American im-

there no difference between a pact perialism may howl and abuse us . .

entered upon by Socialists and all will not hesitate for a moment to

bourgeoisie (native or forcign) conclude a similar "agreement" with against the working class, against lathe German imperialist robbers in

bor, and an agreement that is made case the attacks of the Anglo-French

by a working class that has over-thrown its own bourgeoisie with a fident that the class-conscious prole-

bourgeoisie of one side against a tariat of Russia, of Germany, France,

bourgeoisie of another nationality, for England and America, in brief of the protection of the proletariat? the whole civilized world, will ap-

Shall we not exploit the antagonisms prove these tactics of mine. Such that exist between the various tactics would help the cause of the groups of the bourgeoisie? In reality Socialist revolution, speed up its pro-

ference and the American people, as geoisie and confirm the position of

When the robber barons of German | waged its great war of liberation

imperialism threw their armies into against the English oppressors, it defenseless, demobilized Russia in likewise entered into negotiations

February 1918, when Russia had with other oppressors, with the staked its hopes upon the internal French and the Spanish, who at that

tional solidarity of the proletariat be- time owned a considerable portion of

fore the international revolution had what is now the United States. In

completely ripened, I did not hesitate their desperate struggle for freedom

for a moment to come to certain the American people made "agree-

'agreements" with French monarch- ments" with one group of oppressors

But this by no means prevented me French, at times even fighting side

will presently show, have had a very the triumphant working class.

viet-U.S. A. military alliance against archist altho we knew that each one

Practically all these proposals were From this plan of the committee,

it can readily be seen that it was not officials rejected every suggestion of of the matter is that the leadership nize it. In their fight against the tional were afraid of too much strike committee, they not only refused per-talk. They did not want a strike That is why they not only did not do anything themselves to prepare charge against the Executive Board strike but even hindered and fought and the Committee of 25 was that against the activities of Local 22. Later, when the agreement nad already expired and the Joint Board finally awoke to the necessity of beginning to make preparations, a number of the proposals mentioned above were adopted. But it was too late to be as effective as they could have been. Only the members of Local 22 were prepared to carry them thru.

On the question of strike demands also Local 22 was the only local to work out a set of demands and submit them to the membership for discussion and approval before the

strike.

#### From Los Angeles

The Committee of 25 was fought from two angles; on the one hand, the reactionary Mutual Aid Club, the supporters of the officialdom of the International, fought against the committee, and, on the other hand, the so-called "Left Group" carried on a campaign of vilification against it. On this question, there was a united front between the Club and the self-

styled "Left-Group". In spite of an the obstacles, the Executive Board and the Committee of 25 carried on their work. Many open forums were held in various sections of the city. A number of leaflets were issued. A large number of active members were enlisted in the Committee of 500. The result of these activities was that the members were aroused for the strike. A new hope and a new spirit was created

aniong the workers. This spirit was shown at the various meetings that the Union called prior to the strike and also in the single strikes the Union carried on before the general strike. In these the picket lines assumed a mass character and a number of employers, who had locked out their workers, were compelled to settle with the Union and take the workers back. This spirit of militancy prevailed on the picket lines and in the halls after

the strike was declared. Most of the members of the Committee of 25, as well as the active members of Local 22, were in the hali committees during the strike and, while we tried our utmost to maintain the militant spirit of the strikers and utilize it for spreading the strike, the tactics and strategy of the leadership of the International, as has already been pointed out in the previous article, played havoc and demoralized the ranks of the strikers. We had, therefore, two streams working in this strike: One that was spreading the strike so as to be able In connection with the recent article by Karl Radek in the Moscow ment in the interest of Socialism. We for the workers; the other, that shook hands with the French mon- wanted to get rid of the strike. The reactionaries, being in the leadership

> The Outcome of the Strike Now let us see what was the outcome of the strike. There are several angles from which this question can be viewed: from the point of view of the agreement, from the point of view of the conditions of the workers in the shops after the strike, and from the organizational viewpoint. From the point of view of the agreement there were some improvements. A number of clauses in the agreement were changed for the beter. Take for instance, the important demand, on which the International eadership tried to build up their case -that is, the schedule. The schedule would bring about real improvements in the conditions of the workers. It would do away with the flat-price evil

of the International, had it their way.

#### GREET THE WORKERS AGE MAY DAY ISSUE!

existing in the industry. Instead of accepting a price for making a garment because it is a \$6.75 or \$10.75, regardless of the amount of work in it, the garments would have to be setled under a schedule system, according to the amount of work in it. Other improvements in the agreement were the reduction from five to two days in the time permitted to work on unsettled garments, the non-compliance clause (which means that when a boss does not carry thru a decision of the impartial chairman, the Union can strike against that firm instead of having to take it again to the impartial chairman as it has been until now), the rejection of all the demands of the employers, etc. Can we conclude from these improvements in the agreement that the strike was victorious? No, by no means! All these improvements I have mentioned

above are on paper only. The conditions of the workers have not been improved. The workers have gone back to the shops and are compelled to work under the same miserable conditions that prevailed before the strike. The Union was not strengthened organizationally. Only a small number of open shops were affected by the strike and very few

open shops were unionized. (Concluded in the next issue)

# sentially a conflict between different capitalist groups. With the indutrialization of the North and the growth of transport as We have not be sentially a conflict between different capitalist groups. With the indutrialization of the North and the growth of transport as DISCUSSION MEETING, April 22, 1932 at 8 P. M. Labor Temple, 14th Street & 2nd Avenue

me. "That is self-evident," I replied.

every European understands this dif-

similar experience in their own his-

tory. There are agreements and

agreements.

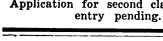
# Workers Age

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#### SOVIET STATE POLITICS AND AMERICAN "COMMUNIST" CHAUVINISM

THE recent article of Karl Radek in the "Izvestya", reported in the bourgeois press and in the "Daily Worker", raises the possibility of a Soviet-American military alliance as a "warning" to Japan in its mad course of anti-Soviet provocation. This article brings to the fore a number of pertinent questions on which the militant workers of this country must be thoroly clear to be able to function as a strong and effective IN-DEPENDENT CLASS FORCE in the present complicated world situa-

(1) Is it permissible IN PRINCIPLE (i.e., from the point of view of the interests of the international class struggle of the proletariat) for the Soviet Union to attempt to form and actually to form military alliances, no matter how temporary, with one or another imperialist power or a group of powers? (2) Does the present world political situation, and especially the part played by the United States in it, justify Radek's suggestion of a Soviet orientation towards an American alliance? (3) Can the chauvinistic attitude and slogans of the leaders of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. in the Far Eastern crisis be justified by a Soviet state policy such as outlined in the Radek article?

We believe that Lenin's pregnant words, published elsewhere in this issue (on page 3), answer the first question, the question of principle with a decided affirmative. That it is wrong in principle for the Soviet power to form temporary alliances, even military alliances, with capitalist powers, only a muddled pseudo-revolutionary phrasemonger will maintain. For we must remember that "war is the continuation of politics by other means," and that "politics is concentrated economics;" any "principle" that would forbid a military alliance must likewise, if logically ex tended forbid a political treaty or a commercial agreement!

But the second question bears quite another aspect. We believe that the practical political calculations of the Radek article are very much out of the way. It is absolutely false to say that American imperialism "at present stands aside in the struggle that is tearing the imperialist world to pieces"; it is equally false and equally dangerous to assert that the United States does not "at the present stage infringe upon her (the Soviet Union's) frontiers or interests." A totally false understanding of Wall Street's role in world politics is implied here. In the Far East the United States has been following a well defined, independent, aggressive courses against Japan for hegemony in China and for the lion's share in the colonial partition of that country, and, in its role as historically chosen leader of world capital against the Soviet Union.

That there are deep and rankling antagonisms between Japan and the U. S. A. we, of course, recognize; indeed, for several months, we have been trying to hammer this fact home into the minds of the Communist Party leaders and spokesmen in this country. But we are no less convinced that, should the Japanese militarists launch their offensive against the U. S. S. R., both Washington and Tokyo will be glad to patch up some sort of agreement between themselves for the sake of an opportunity of dealing the final blow to their common enemy, the dreaded enemy of all capitalism. For these reasons, the speculations of the Radek article seem utterly lacking in that foundation of realistic appreciation of facts that has always been at the bottom of the Bolshevik world politics of the Soviet power; it smacks altogether too much of unsubstantial and therefore dangerous diplomatic adventurism!

But even if the political analysis of the Radek article were correct (which it most assuredly is not!), it would be utterly impermissible to draw from it a justification for the chauvinist mistakes of the American official Communist leaders. THE SIMPLE MECHANICAL CON-VERSION OF SOVIET STATE POLICY INTO COMMUNIST PAR-TY POLICY IN THE CAPITALIST WORLD, IS A MOST FRUIT-FUL SOURCE OF SUICIDAL ERROR, as Lenin long ago pointed out. When the Soviet power concluded peace with the German militarists at Brest-Litovsk, that was no sign for the German Communists to make peace with these same militarists. When the Soviet Union and Germany entered into the Rapallo military-political alliance, that was no signal for the revolutionary workers of Germany to fall into the arms of the German bourgeoisie. On the contrary, in each case it was the manifest duty of the German proletariat to sharpen the class war against "their own" bourgeoisie, and to expose the latter's imperialist objectives hidden by the "pro-Soviet orientation." These examples suffice. The Soviet state also fights, and fights hard in the international class war between labor and capital, but it fights on another plane, as a state power, with special weapons appropriate to a Socialist state surrounded by capitalist enemies. There is not a particle of Marxism, of Leninism, of Communism, in the attempt to automatically transfer the forms and slogans of Soviet diplomacy to the strategy and tactics of the class struggle in the United States. So far from aiding the Soviet Union against its enemies, such "cleverness" can only do grave hurt to it and to the international revolutionary movement as well.

For Radek to speak of a Soviet-American alliance is bad politics based upon an unrealistic analysis. But for the American official Communist leaders to echo the jingo slogans of Wall Street and to compromise the struggle against American imperialism, as they are doing, is quite an- May 8-JAY LOVESTONE, "The Future of Communism in America" other: it comes altogether too close to a betrayal of principle . . . .

## Present and Future of American Labor

# Some Specific Features of Labor Movement in America

by Jay Lovestone

This is the first of a series of four articles by Jay Lovestone on the "Present and Future of the Labor Movement in America." The other articles are: "The Economic Crisis and the Labor Movement," "Some Problems and Tasks Confronting The American Working Class," and "Towards Working Class Unity!"

The founders of the international revolutionary movement long ago realized the significance and the potentialities of the American working class. Engels in a letter to Mrs. Wischnewetzky (Florence Kelley) on Tune 3, 1886 wrote:

"The breaking out of class war in America would be for the bourgeoisie of the whole world what the breakdown of Russian Czarism would be for the great military monarchs

of Europe-the snapping of their mainstay." The history of the American labor movement has proved the essential correctness of this analysis and

#### SOME SPECIFIC FEATURES OF THE AMER-ICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

The international revolutionary leaders have always recognized the special conditions under which the American trade union and labor movements have developed. Contrary to the average notion that Marxism is dogmatism and that Marx, Engels and Lenin were "prophets", it is well to emphasize for general consumption and for particular notice by formal Communists that the founders and builders of scientific Socialism specifically warned against turning working class theory "into a dogma, into a petrified orthodoxy, into a symbol of belief," instead of using it as a "guide to action". In line with this approach, let us suggest some of the concrete features peculiar to the development of the American labor movement.

1. The continued availability of free land, up to as late a date as the close of the century, meant that there was no serious feudal background in this country. Instead of rebelling against the first life-sapping effects of capitalist industry, as the European workers did, the most dissatisfied and militant American workers could take the path of the pioneer, go to the free land and become independent producers. The role of the frontier in American labor history cannot be over-

2. The development of United States imperialism towards the dominating position in the world market greatly influenced the development of the American working class. American labor, in its smug detachment from international working class problems, has, to no small extent, been influenced by the bourgeois notion of "happy isolation". Before the working class in the United States had had a chance to develop homogeneity, comparable to that developed by the continental European proletariat, it was split in two by imper ialism: the labor aristocracy, who shared in the superprofit, and the great bulk of the working class, the unskilled, semi-skilled, who were shut off from all such privileges. We will elaborate this point further.

3. As a result of this split, American labor history is, in certain fundamental respects, analagous to British. In the United States, as in England, the trade unions were formed before a movement towards a national political party of labor had gotten under way. In continental Europe, the political labor parties came first and the trade unions were organized directly by them. Thus in the continental European countries, because there was no such split of the working class in the beginning, the political parties were the first expression of organized labor. Note how the Socialdemocratic Party of Germany controls the trade union movement, whereas in England, where the trade unions were organized first, they control the Labor party. In this country, the split brought on by imperialism, before definite crystalization of the working class, also resulted in only sectional organization of the workers-

that is, into trade unions. 4. The social composition of the American working class has certain distinct features, certain special peculiarities. It has never been homogeneous but is sharply divided into Negro and white, native and foreign-born, skilled and unskilled, labor aristocrats and unprivileged. The United States has a bigger and more corrupt labor aristocracy than any other country. In America, more sharply than anywhere else, has the gap between the skilled and unskilled expressed itself in the standards of living, and in political and social

5. The absence of a strong Social-democratic Party, or a mass Labor party, is peculiar to the United States.

6. The trade union movement, even to the limited extent of its organization, has not succeeded in winning a foothold in the basic industries, such as steel and oil, which are unorganized, and is losing much of its influence in mining and the railways.

7. In the basic industries of the United States, as nowhere else in the world, monopoly is so dominant that the machinery of business and the apparatus of the government are merged into an industrial feudalism. Witness the coal and iron towns where the companies own ourtright the judges, the police, the church,

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the schools, the mayors and the jobs. Under such conditions what influence can the archaic craft unions of the American Federation of Labor hope to wield?

8. In the United States, more than in any other capitalist country, rationalization of industry (i.e, scientific management) has meant for the working class intense exploitation, industrial accidents, rapid-aging, stultifying monotony, and life-sapping speed-up.

9. In no other highly developed capitalist country is there such a general absence of social legislation as in the United States.

10. It is no accident that, with all this challenge to the working class, there is a complete absence of any contribution to working class theory by the American labor movement. Instead, there is even an attitude of contempt for such theory.

#### FURTHER ANALYSIS OF THE SPECIFIC **FEATURES**

It is impossible in one article to elaborate on all of the ten points which I have suggested for the reader's consideration. I shall limit myself to three questions which seem to me decisive.

1. Why was trade unionism and not a political party the first expression of labor organization in the United States?

2. Why has the American working class evinced no interest in social-economic theory such as is shown

3. Why is there no Labor party in the United

Why was trade unionism and not a political party the first expression of labor organization in the United States? We have already touched upon this. Before class lines had a chance to harden in this country, before ever the proletariat could consolidate itself as a class to the extent that it had in the older countries, in the continental countries of Europe, the mighty surge of imperialism cleaved the tenuous bonds of working class solidarity, lifting on its crest the best organized groups of workers and separating them from the great mass of their fellow-workers. The interests of this small group congealed into narrow, selfish, craft channels, distinct from and hostile to the general stream of basic fundamental working class interests. Thus the dominant labor organization today is still frankly based on organization by crafts instead of by industry, and effectively excludes workers thru such devices as exorbitant initiation fees and high dues, color prejudice and apprentice rules.

Why has the American working class evinced no interest in social-economic theory such as is shown in Europe? There are two reasons for this. America, without any serious feudal background, was more free to concentrate on practical work and the accumulation of capital. In this set-up, without any accumulation of traditions but with increasing emphasis on practical activity, the working class naturally reflects a contempt for theorizing, generalizing and abstractions, and limits its learning to its own concrete experiences. What is working class theory? It is the crystalized expression of the general interests and tactics of the working class. No contributions to proletarian theory can be expected from a working class which is not yet conscious of its existence as a class. The lack of working class homogeneity in the United States is obviously due to such special factors as differences in color, race, nationality and, in another category, differences arising from position in industry, such as skilled and unskilled, the labor aristocrat and laborer. As the American working class develops homogeneity, as its divisions are overcome, and as it begins to fight for its general interests, distinct from isolated, local, craft interests, we can expect that it will change its attitude on theory and will make contributions to the science of the international revolutionary struggle. So a functional change will lead to a change in Anschauung-general conception.

Why is there no Labor party in the United States? The American working class has been the most politically backward, the most conservative, the least class-conscious of any proletariat in the world. Bourgeois spokesmen and academic leaders have hailed this as a special American virtue. At one time they would say "Anglo-Saxon workers are different." But since English workers have shown such class-consciousness, have given "so much trouble," the capitalists now confine their praise to the American workers. A more objective analysis of this special American "virtue" of labor conservatism would lead to the dominant economic position of United States imperialism as the explanation. Wall Street imperialism has for years been able to gather such huge super-profits that it could afford to corrupt a substantial section of the working class with crumbs, sugar plums. Even the American working class as a whole has enjoyed a generally higher standard of living than prevails in other capitalist

The seduction of the most organizationally experienced workers deprived the working class of some of its best trained forces, split it in two, and thus hampered the organization of the workers into a united class party which would defend and represent their general, their political interests.

## ORDER MARTIAL LAW IN AUCKLAND

AUCKLAND, New Zealand. - A demonstration of hundreds of unemoloyed workers took place here or April 14, in the course of which a harp struggle with the police occurred, when the latter tried to break up the gathering. Mounted police re-

ORDER BUNDLES OF THE SPECIAL MAY DAY ISSUE!

inforcement and soldiery finally are rived and opened fire and thus dispersed the demonstration. The city s now under martial law.



MEXICAN MAZE, by Carlton Beals

Carlton Beals indulged in the pleasure of surrendering himself to the moods and the mysteries of Mexican breezes while rambling thru that country. The beauty of the place overpowered his emotions to the extent of considerably hampering his power of evaluation.

The language he uses in depicting ome of his reactions is very labored. Where his words are the offspring of his moods they have a strangeness about them which I imagine can only be sensed by the super-sensitive poets, or those with a feeling for inlescribable ecstasy. But in his ability o describe places, Beals trimuphs. He depicts their atmosphere in such a way as to make them the experiences of the reader which live in one's memory long after. The result is that the average reader, not concerned with he social-economic, or political implications of any country, will consider "Mexican Maze" a colorful picure of life and vivid indeed is its picture of primaeval Mexico.

"Mexico still is in the main a land of witchcraft. It is a land of miracles. People are bewitched and unbewitched." The chapter on oil is a striking example of "unbewitchment." The American found no method too degrading for them to use in swindling the natives out of their oil fields.

Beals touches on some burning issues among the varied currents of Mexican lite. His personal conclusions about them, however, are narrow and dangerous, for they are mis-

In the main, Mexico remains in precolonial isolation, he tells us. Mexico City, the oldest living metropolis on this continent, is the only place where Beals found any modern tendencies. 'But in spite of the changes which are overtaking it, the place is still of vivid contrasts, of sharp sunlight and deep shade, of old and modern, of wealth and poverty." What else does Beals expect in a country of private property?

The Mexican workers and peasants ave not only been kept in slavery, gnorance, religious superstition and darkness by a greedy governing aristocracy of selfish dictators or incompetent religious dreamers, but have alserves. Of course, catching fish for and exploitation of their mines, oil fields, and railroads. What else did railroad tickets. he expect to find in Mexico, but a And it's as sp degrading poverty on the part of the ing fish into your own bathtub and masses, and wealth and degrading de-bauchery on the part of the few bar-But some Bolshevik of a railroad ons. He laments and questions too, he invasion of the machine age with ts industrialization of the country. when used for the benefit of the mass-es instead of their exploitation.

Herbie may have his sport.

Meanwhile, the 500 royal (excuse

He either refuses or cannot grasp he opportunities for leisure and a fuller life of culture and plenty im-plicit in the machine age. "What plicit in the machine age. "What will happen," asks Beals, "when the American industrial system really

There ought to be a law against the description of Harbir's intended fish makes headway in Mexico? He is desecration of Herbie's intended fish native Indian and his beautiful handicraft produced in the quiet fuertas, where they live simply, fulfilling their destinies, planting their corn, picking their fruits, raising their babies, tellng them strange sweet stories! Beals's story is certainly not strange

t is the usual story of a man with deep altho somewhat hidden imperialdeep altho somewhat hidden imperialistic impulses. Under certain conditions, Mexico might be "absorbed in the American federal system". This would bring new worries—fifteen million dark-skinned people added to existing thirteen million Negroes and sting thirteen million Negroes and three million of Spanish blood would and is being shipped to America for make an "alien stock." Disintegra-Herbert Hoover to sit on while he tion would come which would pro-foundly alter the character of American institutions, lower living stand-ards and probably ultimately lead to the downfall of American democratic practices. Further, history teaches us hat "unless a people is exterminated The American High Living Standard the conquered always conquers the

Another shameful chapter in the Another shameful chapter in the history of the Second ("Socialist") International has been written in Lapan in the last been written in Lapan in the last few with the last fe apan in the last few months. The making a total of \$28.01 for two apanese Social-democrats have learni well in the school of European Social-democracy, of European chauvin-ist "Socialism"; they can now boast \$3 for coal, 50c for the burial fund of outdoing their masters! Here is what the general secretary

of the Siakai Minseito, the Japanese Social-democratic party, declared: "The intervention in Manchuria is not of an imperialistic nature,

because even Socialist Japan will have to fight for the necessary raw it is now in the hands of America, Great Britain and Russia."

The paper of the Social-democratic League of Women, Minzui-Fudzin, the resurrection. becomes even more enthusiastic in

Mongolian question makes it aba just demand.'

"Socialists."



Sociology Gets Short-Changed The Buro of Weights and Measures is dear to the hearts of bourgeois sociologists. Here is one function of the State, they say, which can be offer-ed in evidence that the State is not merely an organ of capitalist dictatorship. And checking on scales and measuring instruments is not only a service without which business would be impossible but it's a guarantee against short-weight for the "common man."

Alas for the sociologists! The Seaoury Committee now reveals: "1,384 indications of laxity in the ,374 cases the buro handled.

"negligence in preventing shortweight and short-measure sales.' "false reports by inspectors showing check-ups on scales in places they had never visited, places which had

no scales, and even empty lots." "a woman inspector on five-year leave of absence with pay, received three salary increases during the fiveyear period.'

"two men employees took similar leave of three years each and receiv-

ed salary increases while absent." "the supervision of coal weights by two men in the pay of the coal dealers but acting as agents of the city
"over 300 short-weight scales in one market area over which the buro

had exercised supervision." The bourgeois sociologists have lost a talking point. They have been short-weighted, short-measured and short-changed. Now they will all have to go to the dog-pound or to the monkey-house as the last "purely social" function of the capitalist State.

Even the Fish are Deserting Him Herbert Hoover is a sportsman. When little Herbie goes to his De-pression Camp on the Rapidan and drops in a fish line, trained fish grab the presidential hook immediately and Herbie says: "What a good boy am

The government, which is oh, so busy economizing, sent 500 fine brook trout from Nashua, New Hampo been subjected to foreign invasion your own dinner is an economy meas-nd exploitation of their mines, oil ure—if you don't have to pay their And it's as sportsmanlike as dump-

man dumped the New Hampshire trout into the Rose River in place of the Rapidan and now the government He, like many others, does not under-stand the possibilities of the machine, per berths for 500 more fish so that

> me, I mean presidential) trout that were dumped into the Rose River may be caught by more plebian hooks and

worried as to what will happen to the Or a lynching party. Or a Ku Klux nightgown expedition. Or at least, an investigation by the Fish Commit-

> Christ Feeds The Multitude The miracle of the loaves and the fishes, in which Jesus fed a great multitude with five loaves and two smal fishes and had twelve basketfuls left

> stories and sales-taxes. Thus will the Biblical saying be verified: "Ask for bread and receive

> feeds America's jobless with fish

We have seen a pay check of a coal miner who, after two weeks of steady work for the Hocking Valley Mining Company, received a pay check for one cent.

From this the company deducted

and he was docked 50c, making \$28. From the one cent left on the paymaster's check he had to pay doctor bills, buy clothing and other necessities, school books for the children recreation, dues, charity for the un-employed and a share in the Workers Age. The check should bear the inmaterial for its industry, whereas struction: "Don't spend it all in one

Spring Fancies

Spring is the glorious season of The plants that 'combining" Socialism and chauvin- withered and died last autumn spring up anew. Appropriately there is a "A solution of the Manchurian-new Spring crop, a resurrection of anti-Soviet atrocity stories, in all the prevarication-farms solutely necessary to abolish the Spring comes early in Roumania so capitalist system. Our rights and the first blossoms were noted there: interests in Mongolia and Man-the Red army was shooting Moldavian churia, conquered at the cost of peasants on the ice as rifle practice. churia, conquered at the cost of peasants on the ice as rifle practice. great sacrifices by the proletariat, Now the light fantastic breath of must, of course, be given only to Spring flies northward to Riga and the proletariat. Socialist control Helsingfors. From Finland's late over rights and interests in Man-churia and Mongolia is therefore flower: the O.G.P.U. is broadcasting its secret instructions to its agents in These words are not only a defense Finland by radio!!! The Cheka agents of the present imperialist policy of remember one old proverb: "If two Japan; they constitute a shameless people know a secret it's no secret." promise that this imperialist policy So they have hit upon the diabolical will be continued unabated if and device of broadcasting their secrets is now under martial law.

When the Social-democrats get into to everybody so that no one can bepower. Worthy companions of Mactest cuts in wages and in unemployDonald and the German HindenburgG.P.U. is going too far! -B. D. W.

ment relief.