

WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Five Cents

For a One Day General Strike!

At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

WE have a hunch that some of our comfortably "left" liberals will shed too many tears over the Supreme Court decision on the NRA and its consequent weakening of the prestige of our "progressive" President Roosevelt. Crying on such occasions as the demise of the NRA is of a pattern with the weeping over the dead in whom virtues are suddenly discovered as the last shovel of earth is thrown on the coffin.

Under these circumstances it is most appropriate to call for some light from Professor Wm. Trufant Foster, veteran lecturer and professor at Harvard and Columbia, who back in 1926 was a lodestar amongst liberals. Professor Foster, recently addressing the convention of the New Jersey Bankers Association, evaluated the liberalism of Roosevelt and his administration in this fashion: "We have been saved from industrial suicide by one man. We shall continue to withstand the assaults of the inflationists because this week the President has gained the support of many conservatives who had hitherto condemned him. Roosevelt and Eccles stand staunchly between the impotent do-nothing crowd on the right and the irresponsible do-anything crowd on the left."

For once, Professor Foster is right. We venture to add that the NRA decision will drive Roosevelt still more to the right. This Supreme Court verdict will further lay bare the pretense of the President to liberalism.

DESPITE the successful peace policies of the U.S.S.R. no one can say that German imperialism is really isolated. It is becoming ever more clear that the British are leaving more than one door open for agreement with the Nazi regime. This was particularly evidenced in the reactions of leading British statesmen to Hitler's last "peace" speech. Baldwin saw some rays of light. Apparently he did not wish to recognize them for what they were—streaks of the war flames now in preparation.

And, alongside of the "liberal" and "radical" Marquess of Lothian, Lloyd George continues most persistent in his pro-Nazi propaganda. To this former spokesman of British imperialism, who may soon again be in the cabinet—especially if there be any emergency—"Der Fuehrer" is an angel of peace, the dove of European peace doves! No one genuinely interested in preventing, or at least delaying, another imperialist war can fail to be aroused over Lloyd George's estimate of Hitler's last speech. It follows: "There is, in fact, not a single issue on which the British government, at any rate, has formulated its own views, on which he (Hitler) is not prepared to meet us wholeheartedly and more, in some cases, than half way."

It is precisely on such attitudes becoming dominant in England that the Nazi warmakers are speculating. Here is another keg of dynamite in the powder magazine called Europe.

ONE, John Powers, writing in the New Leader chides the Communist International because the world revolution has not yet come. Poor Powers! Why don't you ask why the proletarian revolution hasn't come yet in Germany, Austria, Italy, etc.? Maybe the Reichswehr generals could refer "Comrade" Powers to the famous documents describing how the Social Democratic leaders of Germany murdered Liebknecht and Luxemburg and saved the necks of the Junkers and big business men from the hands of the proletariat. If Scheidemann, Wells, and Kautsky can't help Powers secure these revelations, we will.

Perhaps this New Leader expert has forgotten how his Socialist Party of Italy made a peace pact with Mussolini's Fascist gangs to respect each other's safety in the class war. Assuming that Power's tears are already dry over the death of Pilsudski, we are tempted to ask this "student" if he still recalls the role played by his Comrade Pilsudski against the Soviet Red Army and in behalf of the French and British imperialists.

Why hasn't the proletarian revolution won in Germany, Austria, etc.? The best people to answer this question are those who answered it—in behalf of the capitalists—from 1919-1923—the leaders of the Social Democratic parties.

THE voiding of the NRA, by unanimous vote of the United States Supreme Court, is unquestionably an event of major importance in the recent history of the country. Its significance should be estimated not merely from the point of view of its immediate consequences but above all from the angle of the effect it is bound to have upon the trends of economic development, upon the relations between labor and capital and upon the course of the class struggle in general. For labor especially is a clear understanding of the meaning of the Supreme Court decision essential since the new situation will certainly bring new problems and new tasks—and the future of the labor movement will be determined, to a great degree, by the initiative and clarity it shows in the present crisis.

NRA LOST FAVOR IN CAPITALIST CIRCLES

If it is to be understood, the decision of the Supreme Court must be regarded in the light of recent shifts in attitude of various sections of the capitalist class towards the NRA and the "New Deal" as a whole. For the fundamental factors determining Supreme Court decisions of such weight are not so much the legal or constitutional considerations involved as the underlying class forces moulding the viewpoint of the decisive social groups.

For some time before the Supreme Court action it had been clear enough that the NRA had lost favor in some of the most reactionary big capitalist circles, among precisely those elements who had originally championed it. Echoing this sentiment, the New York Times declared editorially (May 28, 1935): "The Recovery Act had done its work . . . and had come to be almost universally regarded as a piece of legislation now obsolete and ineffective." Originally big capital had sponsored the NRA in a desperate attempt to meet the emergency of the acute economic crisis, to stave off the collapse believed to be looming, to rehabilitate the badly shaken economic structure. Within twelve or eighteen months, however, the emergency in all its acuteness had passed, a measurable de-

Statement of the Communist Opposition

gree of confidence had been restored and the prospect of economic collapse was no more believed to be at all imminent. In very important capitalist circles the NRA soon came to be looked upon as no longer useful or necessary, as a distinct hindrance, in fact. The occasion no longer called for such "drastic" measures of economic stimulation and rehabilitation.

LABOR MILITANCY SCARED CAPITALISTS

This sentiment was decisively strengthened by the totally unexpected by-products of the NRA in the way of labor relations. Instead of serving to render the workers docile, submissive, as had been confidently looked for by its sponsors, the NRA was in actual fact accompanied by a marked resurgence of labor militancy, by the spread of trade union organization and industrial unionism, by a gigantic strike wave, by a growing tendency of the workers to look upon organization and collective bargaining as guaranteed rights. Nor did it escape notice that, with the NRA, the mass demand for social legislation was notably stimulated, the people becoming accustomed to looking to such legislation as a remedy for existing evils.

Finally, certain aspects of the NRA (price fixing, production, control, etc.) had long become burdensome to a number of important capitalist groups, mostly in light industry and distribution. Indeed the process of paring down the NRA in these respects had begun many months before the final voiding of the act.

MIDDLE CLASS AGAINST NRA

This dissatisfaction with the NRA was accumulating in big capitalist circles. At the same time, distinct opposition was being manifested also in important sections of the petty bourgeoisie and smaller business men. Among farmers many voices

were raised against the NRA because of its effect in raising the prices of manufactured goods while the smaller business men were hostile to it because of the monopoly it vested in the hands of code authorities controlled primarily by big capital (see the Darrow commission report).

Arrayed against the continuation of the NRA were therefore important sections of both the big capitalists and the smaller business men, altho of course, for different and even opposed reasons. And this accounts for the striking unanimity of the Supreme Court. For the unanimous vote voiding the NRA was the result of a "united front" between the ultra-reactionary section of the Supreme Court, opposed to the NRA from the viewpoint of big capital, and the so-called "liberal" elements, expressing the hostility of the smaller business man and farmer. It was surely no mere accident that the action of the Supreme Court was hailed in almost identical terms of gratification by the heads of big trusts and Carter Glass, on the one hand, and by Senators Borah and Nye, on the other.

In voiding the NRA on the ground that Congress had no right to regulate wages, hours and labor conditions in intrastate commerce, the Supreme Court took the position, already indicated in its ruling in the railway pension case, of banning in advance any sort of Federal social and labor legislation, of declaring such legislation unconstitutional in principle—with the obvious aim of counteracting the growing movement for social and labor legislation that is gaining wide support throughout the country today. Here too the Supreme Court was merely giving clear voice to the attitude of the most decisive sections of big capital.

ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF VOIDING NRA

The immediate economic effects of the annulment of the NRA are not likely to be very marked. In the most important basic industries, controlled by huge trusts and combines, the codes were dead letters anyway except insofar as they coincided

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Renegade SP'ites In French Gov't

Class relations in France continue to sharpen at an accelerated pace. This is clearly indicated in the establishment of the new cabinet headed by the Socialist, M. Buisson.

The dictatorial powers which the Chamber refused to grant to Flandin, preceded Buisson as premier, will undoubtedly be accorded to the head of the "public safety cabinet". Its main object is to save the franc, to check the drain of gold from France, to stem the tide of pessimism and utter lack of confidence marking the French economic developments in recent weeks.

How long or how short a time the Buisson cabinet will last is unimportant. What is significant is that Buisson, who has been a social-democrat all his political life and who has only recently resigned from the French Socialist Party on sentimental grounds, will now put thru a number of "economy measures" at the expense of the workers, small peasantry, and urban middle class. Very likely a series of extra-ordinary, "emergency" decrees will perform this trick for the big bourgeoisie—especially during the summer when the Chamber of Deputies will be away on its vacation.

It is of the greatest import to register the fact the big business press has hailed this cabinet primarily. The Echo de Paris confessed, on the ground that "M. Buisson is a Left man who has moved to the Right and is playing regular politics." In the new cabinet are found such outstanding Socialists as Frossard, Minister of Labor, and the "militant" Lafont, Minister of Health. Frossard, once a Communist, has in recent years been a bitter opponent of communism and of the united front between the Socialist and Communist Parties. He and Lafont just resigned from the Socialist Party in order to join the cabinet, since, officially, the Socialist Party is not participating in the government.

Of course, the new cabinet has retained the worst reactionaries of the Flandin setup. Generals Mourin and Denain continue in the Ministries of War and Aviation and Pietri as head of the Marine Ministry. In the ranks of the Socialist workers this development has caused profound dissatisfaction. Many suspect that the "resignations" of Frossard and Lafont from the party are on a par with the formal resignation of Vandervelde from the Executive Committee of the Second International upon his acceptance of a post in the cabinet of King Leopold of Belgium which is also in desperate financial straits and in the throes of acute class conflicts.

Progressive Union Leaders Demand Action to Stop Anti-Labor Drive

The Supreme Court ruling voiding the NRA has caused consternation in the ranks of the leadership of the A. F. of L. William Green has conferred with President Roosevelt but no information has been made public on the matters considered. An emergency session of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has already been called.

Despite the announcements of a number of leading industrialists that codified hours and wages will not be changed "for the time being", cases of changes in both are multiplying rapidly. The textile industry is beginning to return to the 48 and 50 hour week. Right here in New York there are numerous cases of changes from 36 to 48 hours of work with no increases in pay. What is being done now on a slower tempo will soon be pepped up when the larger industries swing in, unless labor can stop them by taking the offensive.

William Green and Gorman have made very strong statements but what they will do when it comes to action is still to be seen. In the meanwhile a number of outstanding progressive leaders have spoken up for the immediate mobilization of the entire labor movement on a war time basis to hold on to present conditions and push ahead where possible.

STATEMENT OF CHARLES ZIMMERMAN

(Manager Local 22, I.L.G.W.U.)

Charles S. Zimmerman, manager of Dressmakers Local 22 and vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, branded the Supreme Court decision on NRA as "extremely reactionary" and as tending "to begin a vicious drive to restore sweatshop conditions in industry." He called upon the organized labor movement "to get into action to defend its gains against the reactionary onslaught and to drive ahead for increased power and improved conditions."

The following statement was issued by the Executive Board of Local 22:

It is clear that the action of the Supreme Court in voiding the NRA is likely to become the signal of a concerted drive on the part of the employing class to increase hours, to slash wages, to destroy unionism, to bring back the sweatshop. We declare most emphatically that we will not tolerate the slightest step on the part of the employers in our industry to undermine our conditions. We won our agreement on the picket line in the great general strike months before there was any NRA dress code at all and we are determined to enforce

rigidly every right of the workers under the agreement with all the resources at our command. With the united and loyal support of every dressmaker, our Union will certainly see to it that the old sweatshop conditions do not return, that our gains won thru long and bitter struggle are preserved, that our conditions are maintained in the shops. Any violation of the conditions prescribed in the agreement should be promptly reported to the Union which will take immediate action to see that the workers get their rights!

The Supreme Court decision has implications that are extremely dangerous for the workers. Apparently the decision means that Federal social and labor legislation as such is to be banned. This is a direct challenge to the whole labor movement and to all forward-looking sections of the people. The only effective answer to such a challenge is for labor to declare its political independence, to unite its forces into a powerful labor party able to beat back the rising tide of reaction and assure the workers their most elementary rights.

STATEMENT OF LOUIS NELSON

(Manager Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union)

Reaction and open war against trade unions and union conditions, return to the sweatshop, is the challenge flung at labor by the decision of the Supreme Court. This decision is the signal for employers everywhere to begin a drive to lower the already tragically low standard of living of the workers. This has already manifested itself in a number of industries, by immediate wage cuts and lengthened hours.

In the knitgoods industry the Supreme Court decision will give impetus and encouragement to the employers in the drive they have already started against Union conditions. Workers of non-union shops are already reporting that several employers have posted notices in the mills calling on the workers to return to the 48-hour week, using the abolishment of the N.R.A. as a pretext. Our Union won the present agreement through the struggle of a General Strike, not as a gift from the N.R.A., we have kept the Union wage scales and hours in the shops only through the watchfulness and militancy of the Joint Council. Our Union has never relied on the N.R.A. or any other governmental decree to obtain conditions for the workers, we have repeatedly stated that only a fighting wide awake Union could ob-

tain and keep conditions. Using the defunct N.R.A. as an excuse to increase hours will not help the employers, the Joint Council will not yield one inch on this issue, we will continue to demand the absolute enforcement of Union hours and wages.

Our Union has always emphasized that the N.R.A. automatically organized the employers into trade associations and that it never could organize the workers. The abolishment of the N.R.A. leaves the employers strongly organized and serves as a pretext for organized capital to start a drive for the open shop. Organized labor cannot sit with folded arms waiting for events to occur. We must now realize that only in our organized strength, united in a concerted fight against this onslaught of the employers can we maintain our conditions and drive forward for improved conditions. Upon the shoulders of the progressives lies the historic task of leading the workers into battle in answer to this challenge of the employers. Progressives must rally the workers around the battle slogans, onward to the 30 hour week, for the outlawing of company unions, for adequate social and unemployment insurance. Labor must stop depending on the capitalist parties, we must immediately declare our political independence and begin to unite our forces for the building of a powerful party of Labor.

STATEMENT OF ISRAEL ZIMMERMAN

(General Organizer United Shoe & Leather Workers Union)

Israel Zimmerman, General Organizer United Shoe & Leather Workers' Union today issued the following statement on the Supreme Court decision on N.R.A.

The decision of the Supreme Court will, no doubt, be used by the employers in a concerted drive to undermine existing wage levels and working conditions. Now more than ever is it necessary to point out that any hope for the improvement of conditions of the shoe workers lies primarily in organization of all shoe workers into one national organization, an organization that will not look to Messiahs for support but will depend for its strength upon realization by shoe workers of their combined strength and power as the most dominant factor in the industry.

The N.R.A. cannot in any sense be considered to have been a boon to the shoe workers. Whatever shoe workers

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By GEORGE F MILES

Several weeks ago we announced the birth of the infant "JUCITUGNY". We are sorry to state, however, that the youngster is already up to those old tricks which made his parent—the TUUL—so notorious. Among the organizations listed as participating in the conference was the New York Chapter of the Newspaper Guild and the Brotherhood of Utility Employees.

My interest was aroused. Being a member of the former organization and knowing a few members of the latter, I had no difficulty in getting the facts straight. An inquiry in the case of the Brotherhood brought the information that they were not represented and authorized no one to speak on their behalf at any such conference. My own union flatly denied ever having considered the matter or having sent delegates to that conference. It is of course possible that the Daily Worker of the Guild was represented but that's a dog of a different breed.

And subtracting the Guild and the Brotherhood from the 41,000 members which "JUCITUGNY" is supposed to have, what's left? We'll let "Mr. X" answer this one.

Weinstock Figures

While we are on the subject of figures we'd like to say our respects to our good Comrade Louis Weinstock. We recently read his statement on the Supreme Court in which he declares, with a straight face, that he speaks for 'about one million workers' in the A. F. of L. Knowing how woefully weak is this comrade's Rank and File, and the audacity of such claims. But thinking over the matter very calmly we came to the conclusion that if anything, his claim is an understatement. Historically speaking the Communist Party speaks for the whole working class so you see that Weinstock's statement was dictated by the most severe restrictions of modesty. Then again he did not say the one million were all in good standing!

Mr. Collins Forgets Himself

One of the chief differences between human beings and animals is the ability to bring us to a point of experience. This brings us to A. F. of L. organizer Collins who, also presenting all superficial evidence of being a human being, nevertheless is totally lacking in the art of learning from experience. One would surmise that anyone experiencing such an unceremonious bum's rush as Collins got at the hands of the Detroit auto workers, would never forget it. But you don't know Collins. The experience left him neither more cautious nor wiser than he was.

Wants To Liquidate Federal Council

So this "ripper" arose at a recent meeting of the Council of Federal Unions and said that in the Middle West there are many cases of federal local unions ousting the leadership of the Central Labor Unions. The "top leaders," said Collins, are therefore very suspicious of the federal unions. He went on to state that he did not like the way the New York Council was doing things. It is, he said, a nest of Communists and Socialists and therefore he proposed that it dissolve itself.

Speaker after speaker arose and argued against the proposal. This did not in the least disturb Collins. You see he is used to such receptions for his proposals. What did disturb him very much was the support of one lone delegate in the Council. He was amazed at the support he received from the American people. Suspecting a deep plot he promptly withdrew his proposal and these matters stand at present.

There is no question that Collins expressed the wishes and the desires of the local Moguls of the Central Trades. The federal local unions will do well to watch Collins closely. It might not be a bad idea to write to some of the boys in Detroit to find out exactly how they "did it."

Baseball And Unions

The trade union movement has suddenly become very anxious of organized baseball and in at least two cases has come to grips with it. We have carefully examined the records and find that the trade unions are credited with one victory and one defeat.

The laurel wreath goes to the St. Louis Central Trades for its appeal to trade unionists to boycott the red birds. It appears that Branch Rickey, owner of the Cardinals, and Frankie Frisch, manager, refused to do anything about the anti-union activity of shortstop Leo Durocher. The dress factory, owned and run by his wife, being on strike, Leo escorted his wife past the strikers and jeered at the pickets.

Considering what a bum team Hornsby has this year, trade unionists are making a real sacrifice in boycotting the Cards. Incidentally, if the strike is not settled, it wouldn't be a bad idea for the New York Dressmakers to

What's Behind Soviet Foreign Policy?

This is the first of a series of articles on the "Soviet Foreign Policy and the World Revolution." In the order of importance, the subjects are: Soviet Diplomacy at Work, Debunking Some Hostile Criticism, Bolshevik Foreign Policy in Retrospect, Soviet Foreign Policy and the Comintern and the U.S.S.R. and the World Revolution.—Ervor.

By JAY LOVESTONE

Why the problem of Soviet foreign policy has been provoking so much heart-searching and brain-racking in the labor movement is easily understandable. Here is a question which mirrors the international situation in all its phases and complications: the transitory relationship between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist world, the antagonisms among the imperialist powers, the complexities of the struggle of the international working class and the oppressed peoples. Several recent developments of paramount import have only underscored the vital significance of this problem. These are: the change of policy towards the Soviet Union by the U. S. government—the last of the major powers to drop non-recognition as a method of expressing its disapproval of the Soviet Republic—the aggravated menace of an attack against the Soviet Union thru the open extensive war preparations of Japan and the German-Polish bloc; the remarkable pact achieved by the U.S.S.R. in socialist construction; the consequently enhanced economic power and military efficacy of the Soviets leading it to play a new role in world affairs (entry into the League of Nations, Franco-Soviet pact, mutual assistance pacts, etc.); and the continued grave crisis in the Communist International.

Why STOP WAR?

It is in this concrete situation that Soviet foreign policy must be examined, that Soviet foreign policy must be treated, that the background of events that has caused some serious-minded bourgeois students of Soviet affairs to pose, what appears to them, the following paradox: "Why is it that the Russian Bolsheviks with their concept of the present and the future of the world, which should, nevertheless, have such a strong desire to prolong the equilibrium of peace and to stop war?" This cultured correspondent evidently could not comprehend the marked contrast between the Soviet Union as a proletarian state and a statement by Soviet Ambassador Potemkin in Paris urging an Eastern pact for peace.

CLASS BASIS OF DIPLOMACY

Too many look upon foreign policy as something abstract, as intergovernmental relations in a vacuum, without regard for the class basis of the states involved. Likewise, too many conceive Bolshevik foreign policy merely as affairs arranged by Soviet diplomats, the exchange of notes, or the conclusion of diplomatic, commercial or military treaties. Such an approach is totally inadequate, it fails to bring us to the end. To the sole working class government, the U.S.S.R., surrounded by a world of enemies, foreign policy has always been only the strategy and tactics pursued by the proletarian dictatorship in its relations with imperialist and non-Soviet countries. Viewed in this light, Soviet foreign policy cannot be imperialist; it involves nothing but the strategy of finding the most effective steps in its inter-governmental relations for the purpose of securing a defense and strengthening the Soviet Union as a proletarian state. Therefore, as the base of the international labor movement, the base of the world revolution.

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Coming Events Cast Their Shadow Before

"The Communist Party of Belgium Liquidates Its Sectarian Party and its leading No. 1 of 'Rundschau' carries the most interesting article on the political line of the Belgian party—past and present. It is an article of major importance and proves our contentions, despite all denials from official Communist sources, that the sectarian, ultra-left line has brought such disaster to the Communist movement that it is being felt even in the highest cadres of the Comintern. Section by section the C.I. is forced to cut loose from its tactical policy which is dragging it to extinction but it continues to change dishonestly, blaming the local leadership for the evils growing out of the C.I. line.

This document is of considerable importance also for American communists. We urge our supporters to read this document with special care for, in general approach and in some parts even literally, it might well have been written to the American Party. Who knows, maybe not so many months from now the American Party will be presented with a document closely patterned after the one in Belgium.

Below we give a digest of the article.

On April 21 and 22 the C.P. of Belgium held its national conference in Charleroi. Most of the time was spent in discussing the political situation and the tasks of the Party because the situation had brought to light the lack of connections with the working masses—a result of the "traditional" sectarian policy of the Party.

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WHY THE SOVIET'S PEACE POLICY—PERIODS OF CHANGE IN USSR DIPLOMACY—ITS CLASS BASIS

The confusion pervading the approach of some to this whole question is brought home to us in the following remarks by Prof. Edgar S. Furniss: "To conclude with a capitalist state a pact that is so much like an old-style military alliance represents a complete reversal of the original Bolshevik foreign policy as derived from the tenets of communism." (Current History, May 1935). Then, in the same vein, some self-acknowledged "pure revolutionists" (Trotskyites) mix "alliance with their 'analysis' and conceal the great advances made in cartelization and monopolistic organization under the NRA will certainly be retained; the vast apparatus of trade associations and control boards built up in the past few years is here to stay, probably modified in some secondary aspects. On the other hand, the trend towards state capitalism (the fusion of business and government) neither originated with nor was limited mutual assistance pacts; etc. How deep-rooted is this tendency is also indicated by the fact that, while in 1929, the government took up only 15% of new securities issued and private interests 85%, in 1930 the proportion became 24% and 76%; in 1932 it shifted to 92% and 8% and in 1934 the government actually took up 97%, leaving 3% for private interests. This vast oversupply of available capital is one of the most powerful factors making for state capitalism in the United States. The NRA, affected by the abolition of the NRA. The outlook today seems to be that some efforts will be made in the way of "state NRAs", "voluntary" codes, etc. but it need hardly be emphasized that the prospect is not bright. In a brief period of development exemplified by the NRA 1926 witnessed the recognition of the Soviets by most of the big capitalist powers after prolonged negotiations. The Treaty of Tartu, the basis of which was laid down by Lenin, served as the model for the Bolshevik government.

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tical moment. Capitalist powers "friendly" to the Soviet Union yesterday are potentially its sworn enemies of tomorrow. And its active enemies of yesterday may become the passive and unreliable factor tomorrow, tomorrow or the day after tomorrow!

PERIODS OF SOVIET POLICY

Measured with these yardsticks, it is not difficult to gauge accurately the change of German bourgeois policy towards the Soviet Union, from the friendly days of Rapallo to the hostile days of Hitler; the turn in American policy from Wilson's military intervention to Roosevelt's recognition; the recent change of front by France and Czechoslovakia, from military intervention to an examination of the various perfidies of Soviet foreign policy confirms the soundness of our approach. In general the history of Soviet foreign policy may be thus divided:

1. First came the era of military intervention lasting approximately from 1917 to 1922. These were likewise the days of open, frontal revolutionary struggle against the capitalist regimes of various countries (Baltic States, Bavaria, Germany, Hungary, Italy, etc.). At this time the major power accorded de facto recognition to the Soviet government, Estonia sort of broke the ice by signing the Treaty of Tartu with the Soviet Republic.

2. The period of negotiations and recognition after the signing of the Treaty of Tartu, the basis of which was laid down by Lenin, served as the model for the Bolshevik government.

3. A whole series of diplomatic difficulties and ruptures featured the U.S.S.R. relations with the United States. The relations with Great Britain, France, Japan, Chang-tso-Lin, Roumania, Chiang Kai-Shek were considerably strained. In the summer of 1927 the Soviet Union was perilously near war, dangerously near being completely destroyed by France, Britain and the other lackeys of French and British imperialism. In these tense days the Soviet government resorted to foreign policy aiming to achieve peace for the proletarian state thru negotiations with the imperialist powers, aggression, non-intervention, and neutrality. The completion of certain defensive military preparations was the real force behind the arguments of the Soviet diplomats in these hours of strained relations during the 1920's.

4. In formulating policies in its foreign relations the Soviet government must resort to constant adaptation—adjustment and readjustment—to the concrete conditions prevailing at any particular moment.

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June 8, 1935.



EUROPE TODAY Drivers' Union Ousts Militants

By August Thalheimer

HITLER'S MOVES ABROAD

Following the conclusion of the Franco-Soviet and Czecho-Soviet treaty it was to be expected that Hitler would try to stage a retreat in foreign diplomacy in order to split the ranks of the enemy, to gain more freedom of movement and to continue re-arming. While Laval was negotiating in Moscow, Litvinov was invited by the Germans to stop off in Berlin on his way to Geneva and enter into special negotiations with Berlin. Laval also received a special invitation. Both refused to enter into special negotiations with Germany. Laval in his official speech with Goering in Krakow declared that France would not enter into negotiations with Germany without first securing the approval of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, Mr. Eden informed Germany thru his speech in Fulham that the England was now as before ready to come to an agreement with Germany (he expressly emphasized that) such an understanding could not be reached on the basis of the present military demands of Hitler which call not for parity but for the military superiority of Germany. Furthermore that England would consider negotiations only in conjunction with France and Italy. Immediately preceding the Reichstag speech of Hitler the Nazi press predicted a decisive change of German foreign policy. The essence of the turn was to be the proposal for a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union.

The solidarity exhibited by the Soviet Union and France on the one hand, the statements of Eden on the other, have spoiled Hitler's plans. Thus, his maneuver

published the same year by Maurice Joly. With great skill he uncovers the obscure trail of the forgers. Here is a true detective story which eclipses all the fictional uncovering of criminal trails, for it has added advantage of truth and the gravity of issues involved.

One serious defect mars the book. The author tells of anti-semitism and the "protocols" as if they existed only among the masses. "The lower classes," he writes, "continue to profess superstitious convictions long after they have been abandoned by the higher classes." But his own record shows that backward sections of the masses are not alone in this dark superstition. The active promoters or believers in the legend include Count Reventlow, Lord Alfred Douglas, Henry Ford, Adolph Hitler and his lieutenants, Prince Otto Salm, Count Behr, General Ludendorff, Ex-Kaiser Wilhelm, Prince Joachim Albrecht of Prussia, the Latin Patriarch at Jerusalem, the Polish Episcopate, the Court of Czar Nicholas, Generals Denikin and Wrangel, Mgr. Jouin and "savants" and student groups in Central European universities. The "London Times" took it seriously and demanded an investigation of the "Jewish conspiracy." The "Morning Post" devoted 23 articles to it, "The Deutsche Tageszeitung" and "Kreuzzeitung" and other reputable organs of reaction spread it far and wide. In short, altho his work bristles with clues the author fails to discover the real motives and movers of the crime. The driving force of anti-semitism is reaction. The decaying bourgeoisie supports everything that is backward, dying and medieval. Wherever the weakening structure of capitalism is rottenest, there anti-semitism is strongest. The tottering Czarist empire, the Austro-Hungarian prison-house of peoples, the German imperial autocracy, these were the breeding places of modern anti-semitism. And as it spreads throughout the Western world it lays bare the spread of the creeping disease that besets a dying social system. If the author had made this clear, he would have written a profound book. But even as it stands, he has written an interesting and revealing pamphlet.

CHANTS FOR SOCIALISTS, by William Morris. New Horizon Press, New York. 22pp., paper. 25c.

A well printed pamphlet containing six of William Morris's socialist songs: The Day is Coming; The Voice of Toil; All for the Cause; No Master; March of the Workers; Message of the March Wind; and Down among the Dead Men. It is a real service to spread these songs of a half century ago in a popular edition. In mood and imagery some of them show their age; in theme and spirit they will be young and fresh at least till the workers rule the world.

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lacked a definite aim as a result of the position of England, France and the Soviet Union.

In reality, Hitler's speech in the Reichstag of May 21st represents no turn at all and did nothing to relieve the tense situation. The decisive thing is that Hitler stated that the 36 military divisions would be maintained, as well as the demand of 35% of the English fleet and an air fleet as strong as that of the strongest on the continent. These are precisely the demands which had been rejected by all and are now being put up by Germany as minimum demands while they appeared to be maximum demands heretofore. The proposals of Germany are not meant seriously. Hitler stated that the Germany no longer accepted the military clauses of the Versailles treaty, she would respect the Locarno treaty—above all the retaining of the demilitarized zones—provided that the other powers would do so and accept the territorial clauses of the Versailles treaty. These proposals are just so much bluff as long as Germany is preparing to scrap the territorial clauses of the Versailles treaty thru its military activities and as long as she makes the preservation of the Locarno treaty dependent on conditions which she can always charge have not been lived up to. The proposed ban on heavy tanks merely means that Germany would require a long time to catch up to the other powers and that she would therefore welcome a general agreement not to build these weapons. It is obvious that this maneuver will fail. So will the proposal to give up submarines if all other powers do likewise. Hitler's speech shows that Germany will not be at the Danube conference and that her return to the League of Nations is indefinitely postponed.

The proposal to offer a non-aggression pact to the Soviet Union vanished altogether since it was accompanied by a new crusade against bolshevism. The basic policy of Germany has not changed. The planned maneuver turned out to be so weak and confused that it will not bring any essential improvements to the tactics of Hitler's foreign policy.

STALIN'S STATEMENT

The statement of Stalin in reference to the Franco-Soviet negotiations were unfortunately not restricted to the usual attitude of non-interference of the Soviet Union in the domestic situation of France. This statement has caused a great deal of confusion in the ranks of the Communist Party of France and in the French working class in general. The most widely divergent views are rampant in the CP of France on this matter. One view is—and this a correct one—that the CP will refuse war credits and reject class peace, fighting for the establishment of Soviet power and the building of a Red army. At the same time, there exists the totally false conception that the Party would under certain circumstances come out for the "national defense" of French imperialism. They often confuse an act of Soviet diplomacy with the guide of action for the Communist Party of France.

This confusion has been created because Stalin, speaking as an individual, has approved of the national defense of France. This has enabled the bourgeois and reformist press to describe this as the policy of the 3rd International—which is, of course, erroneous.

The effect of this statement calls attention to the weakness in structure of the Communist International, to the harm done by the monopoly of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the C.I. leadership. This circumstance alone

The rank and file milk drivers of Chicago, suffering under a tyrannical reactionary union leadership, are waging a militant fight to gain decent working conditions and higher wages.

At the present time the drivers are working 12-14 hours a day and forced to shoulder expenses of \$10-\$15 a week in the form of cut prices, forced sales, dead beat payments, etc.

The growing resentment of the most progressive drivers against these evils has steadily become a menace to both the reactionary union officials and dairy owners alike. A holy alliance between these corrupt union officials and the bosses has existed for a long time, in order to protect their mutual interests, and for suppression and ousting of the most outspoken and militant drivers.

This warfare against the progressive drivers, by both union officials and dairy owners, has, inside of the last week, taken a sharper form, due to the breakdown of negotiations of a new wage agreement. The Western Dairy Co. in order to intimidate the most outspoken amongst the drivers, has, last week taken off the routes seven drivers, to club the rest into submission so they will swallow any kind of wage agreement the bosses see fit to offer.

The whole labor movement must come to the help of the rank and file milk drivers of Chicago in this fight against a combination of corrupt union officials and the Western Dairy Co.

A somewhat similar case happened a few months ago when the organized protest of all the mass organizations defeated a conspiracy between the Capitol Dairy Co. and the corrupt union officials in their attempt to oust a milk driver because he ran for Alderman on the Workers ticket.

Through the mass protest and the boycott against the Capitol Dairy Co. this milk driver was put back to work and is working today. We can and must do the same thing to the Western Dairy Co.

The progressive milk drivers of Chicago appeal to all customers of the Western Dairy Co. to help us so that we may help the labor movement as a whole. **PROTEST AGAINST THE ACTION OF THE WESTERN DAIRY CO. REFUSE TO BUY THEIR PRODUCTS. DEMAND THE REINSTATEMENT OF THE SEVEN MEN ON THEIR ROUTES!**

We appeal to all labor and mass organizations to protest against the action of the Western Dairy Co. and the union officials. Send resolutions of protest to both the Western Dairy Co. and President Fitchie of the Milk Wagon Drivers Union.

Demand the reinstatement of the seven men on their routes. Protest their right to refuse any kind of wage agreement the bosses see fit to offer. Help in the fight for a decent progressive and militant labor movement.

Send protest resolutions to Western Dairy Co., 1443 Edgemont Ave., Chicago, Ill. and Milk Wagon Drivers Union 2205 Ashland Ave., Chicago.

Fraternally,
PROGRESSIVE RANK AND FILE MILK DRIVERS OF CHICAGO

accounts for the fact that the leadership of the C.P.S.U. is confused with that of the C.I.

The demand for a collective leadership of the C.I., raised by the Communist Opposition for a number of years, has been justified. The result—unexpected but desirable—will be that this question will at least be posed in the most important sections of the C.I. and will sooner or later be solved.

THE ECONOMIC WEEK

THE trend of the business week keeps on its downward course. The past week saw the decline continued, as a result of the electric power index which rose but much below seasonal expectations.

The outstanding event of the past week is the Supreme Court decision invalidating the NRA. This does not mean the end of what lay at the basis of the act. State capitalism will continue to grow and crystallize in the U.S.A. Instead of regulating the codes thru the agency of Governmental approval, the industrial trade associations will now have unbridled control of business regulation. Already the president of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Sibley, reassures the world that "fair regulation" will continue but "we demand that it shall be in the form of voluntary cooperation and not thru imposed Federal coercion." This is more nearly clarified in the statement of Raymond Moley, appearing in the N. Y. Times (May 31, 1935): "The compulsory codes, now declared unconstitutional, should be replaced by voluntary codes of trade associations."

The international scene presents the serious spectacle of the French gold drain. In the space of one week, France has lost nearly 5,000,000 francs in gold (the franc is currently worth about 6.59 cents—N. Y. Times of May 31). This flight of gold reflects the activity of speculators both within and outside of France, but mainly on the basis of the international currency policies of England and the U.S.A.—the debasing and devaluation of their currencies. This added to bad internal conditions of French economy, has resulted in the flight of capital and is fast leading to a political crisis of major importance. —ECONOMIST

The Time to Fight Is Now!

ORGANIZED labor stands at a decisive turning point at this moment; the initiative and determination it shows in this crisis will in a great measure determine its entire future. The Supreme Court decision voiding NRA has become the signal for a menacing attack on the workers along two fronts—from one side, a planned campaign to stem the growing demand for social and labor legislation and even to rob the masses of the little that has already been won; from the other a concerted drive to slash wages, lengthen hours, destroy unionism and entrench the open shop and the company union in industry. A vicious propaganda is being promoted by the employing class aiming to demoralize the ranks of labor by making the workers believe that the voiding of NRA has not only outlawed all Federal social and labor legislation in principle but has even deprived them of their economic power, rendering their organizations impotent and their struggles futile. This is the obvious strategy of capital today.

It is up to organized labor to answer this new capitalist offensive before it is too late! The mood of the masses is now especially favorable for an effective counter-attack. A new wave of bitterly fought strikes is beginning; the indignation and resentment of the workers are rising at the brutal and utterly undisguised attacks of capital. But action must be taken promptly and decisively, before demoralization sets in, before the militancy of the workers is dissipated in isolated guerrilla struggles leading to disaster and despair. Decisive and clear visioned action is the great demand of the hour.

Above all the labor movement must make up its mind to stand on its own feet, to rely on its own organized and not on the lame crutches of the NRA; now that the crutches are gone it must either strike out boldly for itself, depending only on itself; or else face certain defeat! The entire official philosophy of the American Federation of Labor must be revised along more progressive and militant lines if labor is to emerge victorious from the critical situation ahead!

A nation-wide organization and unionization drive is first on the order of the day—a drive in dead earnest, involving a fight to the finish with company unionism and the open shop. Wherever necessary strike action must be initiated to prevent the destruction of wage scales, the ruthless increase of hours and the general degradation of working conditions. Such strike action must receive the unstinting support and cooperation of the entire labor movement or there will soon be occasion enough for it to rue its lack of solidarity. A vigorously executed unionization campaign together with well planned and concerted strike action will quickly inspire the masses of workers, organized and unorganized, with firm confidence in their own power and will soon convince the employers, in the only way they can be convinced, that labor does not mean to take a beating lying down. And, fundamentally, that's the main thing.

Labor must also take up the challenge thrown down by the Supreme Court in its attempt to ban forever any sort of Federal labor legislation. A new and more determined drive must be initiated for labor's legislative program—the outlawing of company unionism, the 30 hour week, adequate minimum wage laws, the abolition of child labor, social and unemployment insurance. But it should be realized once and for all that the struggle for this program will be largely futile and self-defeating as long as the workers remain simply the pawn in the game of capitalist politics—until they come to declare their own political independence as a class, until they form a powerful Labor Party to express their interests on the political field. The Labor Party is the only fitting answer to the callously reactionary edict of the Supreme Court!

The question of a Labor Party is of vital significance from yet another angle. Popular resentment is high at the recklessly arbitrary and despotic conduct of the nine lamas on the Supreme Court bench. Where will this resentment go, to what end will it be turned? Will it serve to revive the waning popularity of Roosevelt as the champion of "liberation," as the crusader in the cause of the masses? Or will it be converted into mass support for the incipient fascist movements in this country? It will be a bad setback for labor if the former were to occur and a terrible calamity if the latter ever took place. And the only way in which both of these outcomes may be warded off is by a bold and vigorous appeal to the workers to organize politically along class lines in support of their own interests. The slogan of a Labor Party is a powerful weapon at once against the revamped "New Deal" propaganda of Roosevelt and the vicious demagoguery of the would-be American Hitler of the stripe of Huey Long or Father Coughlin!

How can organized labor concentrate its energies into one great action that shall be the inspiring demonstration of its demands, of its aims and aspirations, of its invincible determination to stand up and fight for its rights? What better and more effective way than by a gigantic one-day general strike, tying up for twenty-four hours the shops and mills and mines and traffic of the entire country? Only two weeks ago President Green spoke very decidedly about a general strike to force the renewal of NRA, whose benefits to labor he himself had repeatedly pronounced as more than doubtful! How could he then be opposed now to a great one-day general strike in the face of the grave emergency which labor finds itself. Everywhere let the voice of the workers ring out, calling for a one-day general strike:

TO PROTEST AGAINST THE SHAMELESSLY REACTIONARY ATTEMPT OF THE SUPREME COURT TO BAN ALL FEDERAL SOCIAL AND LABOR LEGISLATION IN PRINCIPLE!

TO DEMAND THE ENACTMENT OF LABOR'S LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM!

TO SHOW TO THE EMPLOYERS THAT LABOR WILL NOT TOLERATE THE LEAST STEP TO UNDERMINE ITS CONDITIONS OR TO DEPRIVE IT OF GAINS WON THRU MANY YEARS OF HARD AND BITTER STRUGGLE!

Books of the Age

by Bertram D. Wolfe

THE PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION, by Benjamin W. Segel, Bloch Publishing Co., N. Y. 97pp., paper. \$.50.

A lively expose of that mischievous forgery which has served as an "intellectual" weapon of the dark forces of anti-semitism in many lands. The "protocols" are supposed to be a verbatim reproduction of a report by Theodore Herzl to the Zionist Congress at Basle in 1897, a report which took its presenter 24 sessions to deliver. In it he tells how the Jews under the rule of their "secret" elders have fomented revolutions, assassinated monarchs, promoted freemasonry, developed political liberalism, in-

vented the class struggle, the stock exchange, the high cost of living and the gold standard, caused the world war, the League of Nations and the Russian and German revolutions, all in order that they might in the fullness of time, after all churches and governments are destroyed, establish an absolute autocratic, world-wide monarchy under the rule of a prince of the House of David.

The author of this pamphlet demonstrates that the "protocols" are a crude plagiarism from "Biarritz," a sensational, trashy novel by H. Goedsche, published in 1868, and from a political satire, entitled "Dialogue in Hell between Machiavelli and Montesquieu"

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