

## JOIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Every worker and small farmer realizes that a bitter war is being waged between the bosses who own practically all the wealth, and the workers and small farmers who own nothing but their hands and brains to toil with.

For the past few years this war has become sharper than ever. Often the battles are so bitter that a state of martial law is declared, as at this very moment in the Utah and New Mexico coal fields, and in Agricultural fields during strikes, etc. No one can escape this war.

### Struggles Must Increase

The worker in the factory, must CONTINUALLY FIGHT in order to keep wages somewhere near a living standard.

The unemployed worker must CONTINUALLY FIGHT to force even the minimum of relief.

The small farmer MUST FIGHT to keep away the landlord mortgage shark, the bankers and for reduction of taxes, power water and transportation rates.

The Negro workers and farmers, as well as all other colored peoples in the U. S. must CONTINUALLY FIGHT against discrimination and oppression.

### Bosses Organized!

It is clear as A B C to everyone that those who are organized and properly directed in this war are the victors. Look at the way the bosses are organized. They have their chambers of commerce, trusts and Rotary Club. They control the big newspapers and journals, the universities, the churches, radios, and every other avenue of information. Through their political parties they control the government and command the military forces, the police courts, schools, and every other weapon which could be used for forcing the workers to submit to the profit system.

But in face of this organization of our enemies, look at the situation among the workers. We are split into many trade union organizations that include less than ten per cent of the working class. And even in the case of most of these unions, as in the A. F. of L., the leaders are bosses' agents. The vast majority of the workers have not yet learned the need for a political party of their own, and are still linked with the two boss parties.

Only due to such weakness of the working class, has it been possible for the U. S. multimillionaires to force the living standards down to less than half the 1929 level, to prevent the enactment of Unemployment Insurance, and keep relief down to a miserable pittance.

### Workers Pay for Crisis

After four years of every possible means to shift the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the impoverished masses the "New Deal" was advanced. But it is already apparent to scores of thousands that the old program is being put through, but only cloaked in a manner that would fool the millions becoming increasing militant.

The so-called wage increases promised have been the cause of hundreds of thousands coming out on strike, for they proved to be wage cuts.

The jobs promised, have so far hardly materialized, and the big headlines which appeared only a

### The Roosevelt Hunger Program Can Be Combated Only if the Workers Are Organized, and Guided by the Vanguard—the Communist Party—Rooted in Shops, Mines, Mills, Docks

#### Hewing the Way Toward a Soviet America



few weeks ago promising "six million back at work by Labor Day," are obviously lies to ballyhoo the NRA.

The reduction of hours thus far mean only a reduction in the number of hours for which workers still on jobs get paid.

On the pretext that there is an upturn, relief appropriations are being ruthlessly cut.

Inflation has already caused increase in prices to at least 30 per cent, which means a corresponding wage cut to workers.

Taxation increases, are another means for still further cutting down the buying power of the poor.

The Veterans had their compensation cut.

The Federal employees, and those in the army and navy have been cut by 15 per cent.

There is no real relief for the small farmers. The policy of plowing under crops is chiefly in the interest of the large growers.

### War Plans Increase

The promises of peace have thus far meant a gigantic war program, with \$233,000,000 for the navy, and huge amounts for modernization, air force, army, etc. The reforestation camps are being turned into war camps.

These are only a few of the facts that expose the "new deal," as a following up of the Hoover program on a more extensive scale. (For details read the articles by Com. Darcy, starting in this issue.)

Only the Communist Party organizes the fight against the Roosevelt hunger policy, as it did

against Hoover's.

The bosses, their parties and organizations are wholeheartedly behind it. The A. F. of L. leaders are behind it, and are busy trying to stop the rank and file workers from striking against the effects of the NRA.

The Socialist Party is proving that it is a tool of the capitalists, by declaring that the wage cutting NRA is a step towards Socialism, and is appealing to workers not to strike.

### Only C. P. Opposes Attack

The Communist Party, now with 14 years of experience in struggles of the workers, understood Roosevelt's program, and did not hesitate for one moment to expose what the workers are now learning through bitter experience. The Communist Party armed with the teachings of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin, was able to warn the workers far in advance. The party is the vanguard of the masses.

The Communist Party by taking leadership in many strikes, has been able to force increases in wages, as in the agricultural fields, coal fields and many other parts. These strikes were despite efforts to illegalize strikes.

Only the leadership of the Party in many demonstrations has forced the continuance of relief for hundreds of thousands of workers.

The Communist Party leads a struggle in every case where there is a chance to get large or small gains for the workers.

But our Party's program is not only limited to the immediate

needs. It strives for a new social order, which will be set up on the ruins of capitalism. We strive to establish a Workers and Farmers government such as in the Soviet Union. Only such a step will mean the final end to misery, war, child labor, prostitution, and all the other effects of the profit system.

### Workers Create All—Get Least

If we workers and poor farmers in the United States, being the vast majority of the population, would take over the industries we built, the railroads we run, and all the other economic and social institutions and would plan production through our own government, we could with much shorter hours enjoy a high standard of life and all the good things that the most up-to-date economy can afford.

Have not the Soviet Union workers proven this, by taking over a shattered economy, under almost insurmountable difficulties and built up the most powerful economy of Europe? Has this not been proven by the fact that during four years of crisis throughout the world, the Soviet Union has made the greatest strides forward, successfully carrying through the first Five Year Plan, raising the standards of the workers and farmers, and developing a high culture?

### Soviet Gov't. Only Cure

If a workers government existed here, we would not be plowing under vast crops of cotton, wheat and destroying food products while millions go hungry. We would introduce the most efficient means to

increase our harvests for we would be working for ourselves, not for a few hundred thousand parasites.

Under a workers government there would not be 3,000,000 child laborers. As in the Soviet Union, elementary school age would extend to the age of 18. The best of everything would be given for the building up of healthy, well trained youth before they take their places as workers.

A Workers and Farmers government would not have any Imperialist plans, such as enslaving other peoples, or engaging in a struggle for markets and territory. It would follow a peace policy as does the Soviet Union. It would not send marines against the people of Cuba, China, Haiti, Nicaragua and other parts.

All oppression can only be stopped with the abolition of capitalism. Negro, Mexican, Filipino, Indian, Chinese and Japanese people would not suffer discrimination. White supremacy ideas are advanced by the bosses only to keep the toiling masses divided, so they could be exploited more in the factories and fields.

### Organization Needed

These aims are not a dream. They are being put in practice in the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Communist Party.

But we have seen that this change will not come about of its own accord. The workers and the poor farmers, with the help of the best among the intellectuals and middle class people, must be organized behind the vanguard—the Communist Party, for accomplishing this task. While we fight for every little concession we can force from the bosses, we are at the same time laying a foundation for a mass movement, and training ourselves for successfully following the example set by the Russian workers.

Workers! Farmers! You may be among the thousands that have taken part in the recent struggles in which you saw Communists in the front ranks, among the most active. You may be of the many, who have voted for Roosevelt but have learned through experience that he represents a new starvation policy. You may be of the thousands in Los Angeles, and other parts that have been fighting the relief cut offs under the leadership of the party.

### "Do Your Part"—Now!

Take a step further! Join the Communist Party. It is your Party. Read the story of its development, and you will see that it has always fought to make itself a mass party, which the workers will recognize as their own.

The fourteen years of our party's history shows that it has smashed down all attempts of its enemies—the Palmer raids, the A. F. of L. fakers, or of the renegades. The Party emerged out of these struggles stronger and more firmly entrenched than ever.

Now the Party is facing the greatest test in its history—to defeat the hunger program in its latest form. Now, especially, is it necessary to make our party strong enough for the task. Only workers and poor farmers, joining by the thousands can make it so.

It is your Party, join it and build it!

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# 14 Years of the Communist Party In the U. S. A.

BY GEORGE MORRIS

Our Party was born out of the struggle against the great Imperialist War in 1914-18, although its formal launching was at the convention in September, 1919.

At the outbreak of the war in Europe, dissatisfaction began to develop in the ranks of the Socialist Party over the attitude taken toward the leaders of the Second International and of the German Social Democratic Party who had voted to support their respective capitalist governments in the war. To the demands that the treacherous European leaders be repudiated, and the Socialist Party withdraw from the Second International, the Hillquits replied with apologies for the "comrades in Europe" that "we cannot pass judgment upon them." "they were caught unprepared" and "wait until things clear up." Later they even placed confidence in Wilson's campaign promises to "keep us out of the war."

The decision of the U. S. to enter the war placed the issue still more sharply before the Socialist Party. Would the Party follow the line set by most of the European Parties, or would it take a stand to resist the war? All eyes were set on the St. Louis convention where the answer would be decided. The group within the Party which included such as Spargo, Russel, Sinclair and Haldeman Julius openly declared itself for war as overwhelmingly defeated. The leader at the convention for a fight against war was our Comrade Ruthenberg, first national secretary of the Communist Party (died 1927). Eugene Debs likewise took a militant stand against the war. The official leadership of the Socialist Party gave tacit support to the anti-war sentiment within the Party, but saw to it that nothing beyond the adoption of the resolution was accomplished. They sabotaged the decision for a militant struggle, gave no leadership, but left each individual member to decide what he should do. A pacifist line was carried through. This meant giving the American capitalists a free hand to carry through the war plans. The leaders in fact took refuge in the extraordinary measures the government had adopted against the activities of the militant elements in the labor movement.

But anti-war activity was not completely smothered. Comrade Ruthenberg gave a splendid example of how to fight imperialist war by leading the huge demonstration in Cleveland. Debs aroused thousands by his powerful oratory. It was these comrades and those who supported them who were jailed.

## Russian Revolution

Then came the Russian Proletarian Revolution. It was like an electric shock through the world's Socialist movement. A tremendous enthusiasm was aroused in the ranks of the dead locals. There was an influx of new members, especially from the ranks of foreign workers from countries formerly in the Russian Empire and who immediately understood the significance of the great event. This enthusiasm and support for the first Workers' Republic spread more rapidly as more information trickled through the iron ring that blockaded Soviet Russia. The growing left wing within the Socialist Party was now functioning openly.

A number of journals such as the "Class Struggle," a New York theoretical monthly, the "Revolutionary Age," a Boston weekly (later the "Communist," a Chicago weekly) and the Oakland "World" were openly calling for a revolutionary position to support the new International being formed. They published the writings of Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders.

As on the war question, the Socialist Party leaders did not dare to take an open position against the Soviet Union, or the new International. They again attempted to satisfy the membership with resolutions and lip service.

But this time the rank and file was organized. The left wing was no longer merely a sentiment, and was guided through centers. The Socialist Party leadership, determined not to give up control, expelled 40,000 in the foreign language sections. Whole city and state organizations known to be left wing were expelled. This was all in preparation for the emergency

## Party's History Shows Need for Ceaseless Fight against All Opportunist Tendencies, and Boss Ideas That Creep Into Its Ranks Despite Obstacles, Terror Party Is Stronger Than Ever

convention on Aug. 30. A referendum vote for the national executive committee, despite the expulsions, gave an overwhelming majority to the revolutionary candidates. But the leadership refused to give up their positions.

### Confusion in Left Wing

The left wing was far from being clear on Communist principles, or united. Among the different conceptions were such as came from the ranks of the foreign workers, chiefly Russians and Letts, who, coming from the country where the revolution was successful, felt themselves as the most reliable for leadership, while the American workers were considered too "backward." There were syndicalists (IWW) who wanted support for founding a new trade union movement. Some were opposed to participation in elections. Then there were the adventurists who came in with the tide, thinking that the seizure of power was on the order of the day in the U. S. and did not understand that it is first necessary to win the working masses.

The majority within the left wing opposed the struggle for immediate demands. Another group of sectarians came from the Michigan organization. They seemed to feel that only education was lacking and that the overthrow of capitalism cannot be advanced through any action of the workers, being a sort of an automatic process. The Proletarian party sprouted from that group.

These differences made difficult a united struggle. Some felt a new party should be launched immediately, while others thought the S. P. apparatus could be captured at the convention.

### Call Convention

Those for immediately launching a Communist Party, mostly such as have already been expelled decided for a convention in Chicago on the day following the opening of the S. P. convention. But by the time the conventions opened differences with the left wing developed to extreme sharpness. At that time the differences were considered serious, but they were only so because all groups were so confused on fundamental principles, and communication with the Bolshevik leaders was virtually blocked.

When the S. P. convention opened police were called in by the official leaders to eject the left wing delegates there under the leadership of John Reed. These left wing delegates, representing about 10,000, met in convention by themselves and launched a Communist Labor Party. While at the same time the Communist Party convention was in session claiming to represent about 58,000. Both parties adopted programs essentially alike and with the same mistakes. The S. P. remained with about one-fourth the former membership.

Both parties took to the task of organizing the apparatus, launching newspapers, and throwing themselves into the struggles such as the steel, the mine and other strikes, including about a million orders out.

The Wall Street government understood the significance of the launching of the Communist Party. It knew that the parties although split and inexperienced, would soon develop into a leadership for the workers. After an opportunity for about three months of legal existence came the Palmer raids. In one night more than 5,000 were arrested. The homes of all known Communists were raided. All headquarters were closed. Machinery, supplies, etc., were smashed. Newspapers were banned. Bail was set at from \$1,000 to \$15,000. It was illegal to be a Communist.

### Parties Not Prepared

The parties were not prepared for such a blow. It took weeks before even a fraction of the membership could be reorganized into an illegal apparatus. It was a long time before they could take part in mass struggles and for at least two years were chiefly absorbed in internal discussions and controversies. It was not easy to carry through the daily activities. Any comrade even caught distributing leaflets was arrested and placed under serious charges.

It was during that period that the Communist International help-

ed our party by clearing up many questions that caused great confusion. It was established that the party should remain in the reactionary unions and work from within; that it is necessary to participate in elections to expose capitalist democracy; the party must find legal ways of working; it is necessary to fight for immediate demands; that the united front is a necessary measure for winning the workers still following the reformist leaders, etc. Through illegal channels many pamphlets by Lenin were published and helped greatly in clearing the road to a united convention of all Communists.

By the end of 1921 especially due to the great crisis, the post war hysteria cooled off considerably, and the party had a better opportunity for open activity. The workers were showing signs of radicalization, and the open shop movement by the bosses was answered with the greatest strike wave yet seen. Facing such a situation our party was almost totally isolated from the workers. The farmers, getting their first dose of post war bankruptcies were likewise moving, disgusted with the two old parties.

An opportunity presented itself for our party to take up issues based on struggles in the U. S. But the overwhelming majority in the Party being foreign born were chiefly absorbed in questions based on developments in their native lands.

### Legal Party Formed

After a bitter struggle the leftist elements in the Party, who refused or hesitated to come out openly were defeated and the Workers' Party was launched at a convention in December, 1921. The Party was only a legal expression of the illegal organization that still remained intact for about a year. Added to the Communists was a fresh layer of the best elements in the Socialist Party that left it and joined at the first convention.

The Party played a small role in the strike struggles of 1922, but this was nevertheless the first experience in leading struggles for immediate needs. This period also marked the launching of the Trade Union Educational League, under the leadership of Comrade Foster. New elements started to come into the party from the trade unions. The slogans, "For Amalgamation of Craft Unions," "For a Labor Party," "Organization of the Unorganized," swept through the rank and file of the unions, like wildfire. Even the leaders of many unions were compelled to give formal endorsement so as not to lose control of their membership.

The crisis at that time had so shaken the confidence in the two old parties that a great sentiment developed for a Farmer-Labor Party similar to the British Labor Party. At that time the British party had not yet exposed itself so openly as a tool of Imperialism, while the American labor leaders had still managed to fool the rank and file, even pretending to lead strikes.

Again the guidance of the Comintern helped our party to take up the campaign for a labor party. It was not an easy task to mobilize a membership that had just been engaged in a fight against the Socialist opportunism, and against those that wanted to liquidate the Communist Party illegal apparatus long before a legal organization was firmly established, into a campaign for setting up what would amount to another reformist mass party. It was explained that this was a necessary united front that could pull the party out of isolation, and prevent the labor fakers from taking the lead.

### Right Danger Develops

It was at that time that many right wing elements felt very much encouraged and became active in the party leadership. These were especially encouraged by the opportunists' analyses of John Pepper founder of the renegade Lovestone group, and leader of the Party at that time. Failure of the party to understand correct united front tactics, its weakness and bad composition made it difficult to combat the LaFollette sweep which virtually swallowed the support for a labor party. The Federated Far-

mer-Labor Party formed with our leadership soon became reduced to mainly party supporters. A quick change in tactics was made. The party put forth a Communist slate in the 1924 elections. That election campaign gave the party its first opportunity to make a direct appeal to the workers in a nationwide campaign. Although on the ballot in only 13 states, the Communist platform penetrated most sections of the country, and laid a foundation for the party in many parts.

An analysis of the election results opened up a page in the party history that records an internal struggle which lasted six years. At first the differences were over the slogan "For a Labor Party." The majority of the central committee under the leadership of Comrade Foster was for dropping the slogan, while the minority under the leadership of Comrade Ruthenberg thought the slogan still had great vitality. The difference could easily have been settled by the Communist International, but, because of the bad composition of our party, still young in experience and divided through language federations opportunism was entrenched during the illegal period and the Farmer-Labor campaign. Furthermore, many leaders were developed, not out of struggle but through skillful internal maneuvers.

Long before the Comintern decision reached this country the party membership was organized into two factions, other issues were dragged in, old line-ups revived and decisions of meetings became nothing but rubber stamps of faction decisions. When the Communist International finally made the decision, the party did not receive it correctly, the fight flaring anew over differences in interpreting them. Preparations for the party convention were factional. They were not based on a desire to unite forces to build the party, but rather on tricks and maneuvers to give one group an advantage for destroying the other. An open split was barely averted at the fourth convention held in 1925.

### Both Groups Wrong

The Communist International declared both groups wrong, with the Ruthenberg group considered the closest to being correct on the Labor Party issue. A national committee with an equal number from each side was provided for in a special Comintern decision, and for a complete liquidation of the groups. Instead of accepting the decision correctly, the former majority refused to take leadership under such circumstances while the Ruthenberg group considered it a welcome action and an opportunity to "take over" the party.

Despite repeated insistence from the Communist International that groups be liquidated, no actual steps were taken to do so. The factional groupings were eating the life out of the party and prevented it from developing. A functional party was not judged by his quality, but by his factional affiliation. The party's role in various struggles was not estimated on the actual conditions, but rather on what faction was responsible for the mistakes or successes. New members were often taken in through factions. The situation became especially aggravated when Comrade Ruthenberg died. He as secretary of the Party was a force against the unprincipled methods of many, especially those in his own group. His death meant giving the party leadership into the hands of such unscrupulous opportunists as Lovestone, Gitlow, Wolfe etc., and their ally, Cannon. These elements were trained in universities—and not in struggle. Their stranglehold on the party was established through a tight factional apparatus. In fact, they surrounded themselves with such elements as could only hold leadership through factional protection.

### "Prosperity" Illusions

All of this took place during the period of U. S. "prosperity," when capitalist propagandists were developing an ideology that this "prosperity" would last forever. Stock ownership, labor banking, company unions and similar schemes were advanced to tie

labor to the kite of Wall Street. In the face of this our party was far from equipped. Work in factories, building new unions and leading strikes through independent leadership were not sufficiently stressed. In fact the bourgeois ideologists influenced our Party. The long factional situation made the party into a nest of opportunist theories, later known as "Lovestonism." The Analyses of the Communist International warning the Communist parties that soon there would be a deep world crisis, accompanied by a rapid radicalization of the workers, was distorted to mean that this holds for the world in general but not in the U. S. where capitalism is still on the upgrade and invincible.

Southern states were looked upon to provide expansion for American capital and this so-called "exceptionalism theory," became an excuse for sabotaging the decisions of the Communist International. In time the Lovestone leadership linked itself with elements having a similar line in Europe and in the Soviet Union, thus taking a more definite anti-Communist and naturally counter-revolutionary position.

There should be no illusions that the party was completely out of struggles in the period up to 1929. There were some very important strikes and they all brought good elements into the party. Beginning with the Passaic textile strike of 15,000 in 1926, which lasted more than a year, Party leadership was given to the Pennsylvania-Ohio coal mine strikes of 140,000, 40,000 cloakmakers, 12,000 Gastonia textile workers, 12,000 furriers, 30,000 New Bedford textile workers and many others. These struggles one might say, drew in the party despite the factional disease, and indicated how fast the party could have grown had it been really united.

### Crisis Looming

Although "prosperity" was at a high point, it was becoming more clear that there was already a deep crisis in the number of important industries, resulting in a rapid radicalization of the workers in them. The developing struggles indicated the full force of the bosses would be thrown against the workers, virtual martial law being declared in the Gastonia, Passaic and coal field situations. It was apparent the party was heading for a serious clash with American capitalists.

The 6th Congress of the Communist International issued a call to all Communist parties for swift preparation for the approaching crisis, and consequent revolutionary struggles. Opportunists, right elements, and sectarian tendencies, such as hindered the preparation were ordered cleaned out mercilessly.

But as with every decisive turn for an advance that a Communist Party makes, cowards, traitors and self-seekers who fear the class struggle look for political gateways out of the Communist movement, or seek to hold the party back.

The first of these elements was James Cannon with his following of a few Intellectuals and petty bourgeois. After the Comintern had for five years conducted a struggle against Trotskyism, Cannon suddenly discovered Trotsky as the only true leader, recruiting a following chiefly from the faction opposing the Lovestone regime which did not hurt that faction politically. The party was united in immediately cleaning out these counter-revolutionary elements, but the ideological campaign against the Trotsky tendency found the Lovestone controlled Central Committee trying to tag Trotskyism to the opposition as a whole, unjustly accusing some to expel them and remove them from leading positions.

### Sixth Convention

The 6th party convention in March, 1929, took steps to sweep out the main opportunist element, those with Lovestone. The Communist International sent representatives to carry out special organization measures to liquidate the factions. An open letter to the membership sharply criticized both groups, but held the Lovestone group chiefly responsible.

The convention was a most disgraceful moment in the history of the party, but it marked the last stand of faction controlled opportunism. The majority of delegates were hypnotized by Lovestone's

(Continued on Page 4, Col 5)

# CHARITY ON A STICK

By E. NEWMAN

(The scene is laid in the kitchen of a worker's shack. It is very poorly furnished with a table, four rickety chairs, an old piano stool, and the kitchen stove. Alongside the stove are a few broken grocery boxes, some cardboard and old newspapers; these serve as fuel).

(The characters: Mr. and Mrs. McDonald, man and wife. John, their oldest son, who can't find enough odd jobs around town to keep himself in tobacco money. Mary, their oldest daughter, about eighteen and works part time in the cannery. Agnes is thirteen and goes to school. Burt is ten and peddles papers after school. Eddie is the baby of the family, age eight. Mr. Parson is the new minister in the neighborhood church. Mrs. Lindsay is a Social welfare worker connected with Mr. Parson's church).

(The curtain opens with Eddie all alone in the kitchen sitting curled up in a chair near the table. He is barefooted and wearing a pair of patched overalls and a hand-me-down coat quite a few sizes too large. His little hands can hardly be seen at the ends of the sleeves. He is looking through a mail order catalogue admiring the boys wear pagé. Enter Mrs. McDonald. She is wearing a broken down pair of shoes with crooked heels. She throws a bundle wrapped in newspaper on the table, and kicks off her shoes. She sits down).

Mrs. McD: Damn these charity shoes. (Raises her foot on her lap and pats it). I wish that Red Cross damsel walks on a pair of these shoes ten miles to hell.

Eddie: (Fingering the bundle). What kind of slop did they give you now?

Mrs. McD: I don't know, son, but I got a hunch that the Mayor wouldn't like to eat it. Let's see what's in it. (She unwraps the bundle and there are two wilted heads of lettuce, a few bunches of carrots, a few spotted apples and a chunk of mouldy bacon).

Eddie: (Pulls the bacon over and smell it). Phew! (Screws his face up). Ma, take a whiff of that. Phew!

Mrs. McD: I guess we can use it with those beans.

Eddie: Yeah—Beans! Beans! Beans! Why don't they give you some milk? I'll go along the next time and I'll tell them that I want milk.

Mrs. McD: An' a lot of good that will do you.

(Enter Burt soaked to the bone. He throws a few leftover papers on the table. He empties his pockets and throws eleven cents on the table).

Burt: That's all today, Ma. Rotten weather. People broke. Too many kids sellin' papers. (Sits down and pulls off his shoes. Sniffs). Hm-m. I'd better put these shoes outside.

Eddie: Never mind the shoes. Ya better put this hunk of bacon outside.

Burt: (Turns around. Smells the bacon, smells his shoe and then grabs hold of the bacon and puts it outside). When Dad comes home let him take that dead stuff back and throw it in that guy's face. That's what I'd do if I was a man. Well, anyhow, here Eddie. (Pulls a piece of pie out of his coat pocket and hands it to Eddie). Here, eat this for a change.

Burt: You know Mr. Miller, the boss of the cannery, where Mary works? Well, he bought me two pieces of pie today and he bought a paper from me.

Mrs. McD: The skunk. Why don't he pay the help a little more wages, then we could buy our own pie?

(Enter John. Throws his cap on the table).

John: Hello, everybody. (Sniffs). I bet I can tell you what stinks in this room. It's that charity bacon.

Burt: Yeh. I put it outside. I thought first that it was my shoes. How did you guess it?

John: I just come from Mrs. Pierson's house. They got some and she wanted to throw it out but I got it and took it down to the Unemployed Council. We are rounding up everybody and tomorrow we all march to that charity joint with the bacon on sticks up in the air. (Puts his arm around his mother and pats her on the shoulder). You'll go too, won't you, Ma?

Mrs. McD: I guess I'll have to but how am I going to march with these prima donna shoes? Oh, well,



I'm getting tired of this garbage. I'll put these shoes on a stick too. Maybe that will help.

Eddie: Might as well put this lettuce on a stick, too, and I'll carry it.

(Enter Agnes, home from school). Sniffs. Sees Burt's shoes under the stove. Points at them but before she can say anything—

Burt: Don't look cock-eyed at me. It's not them shoes that stinks, it's that bacon that the charities gave to Ma and you are going to eat it tomorrow with beans.

Agnes: (Angrily). My God! When will this end? Beans and beans and beans, and rotten bacon to boot.

John: I'm going out for a while. I'll be right back.

Agnes: (Angry). Ma, let me take that bacon back to that rotten joint. I'll rub that guy's face in it.

Mrs. McD: (Emphatically). Uh-uh. That bacon is going to march tomorrow. It's going to march on a stick and I'm going to stick it under his nose if no one else does it.

Burt: (To Agnes). Wait till John comes back. He'll tell you all about it. We are going to march with the Unemployed Council.

Eddie: An' I'll carry the lettuce on a stick.

(A knock on the door).

Mrs. McD: Walk right in.

(Enter Father Parson and Mrs. Lindsay. The Father looks fairly well fed. His cheeks are plump and he wears a black suit and a reversed collar. A Crucifix is hanging from his watch chain. Mrs. Lindsay is wearing a black gown and

The WESTERN WORKER in printing this play by E. Newman of Santa Cruz, urges other writers in the West to send in stories or plays similar in their ability to realistically depict incidents of the class struggle.

a fur coat. Her gaudy display of finery give her away as a meddler in social welfare work).

Father: Good afternoon, Mrs. McDonald.

Mrs. McD: (Taking a pot from under the sink). What can I do for you? (She takes some potatoes out of a bin and starts peeling them). The Father sits down on a rickety chair. It collapses and he flops on the floor. Mrs. Lindsay helps him up. He stands, supports himself with one hand on the table, bows and thanks Mrs. Lindsay, and turns to Mrs. Mc. Eddie snickers at the fall of the Father).

Mrs. Lind: Now, now young man. Don't you know that it is un-Christian to laugh at someone's misfortune?

Mrs. McD: Yes, an' it's a misfortune to have around such rickety furniture as we got here. (Mrs. Lindsay screws up her nose, eying everything in the kitchen. She is not satisfied with the blunt remark).

Father: I am visiting today and I want to extend a personal invitation to you to come to our church.

Mrs. McD: (Peeling potatoes). Agnes opens a school book but watches Mrs. Lindsay's sour mug



## The National Raspberry Act

By STEPHEN PEACOCK

To the tune of the biggest lot of hooey, ballyhoo and boloney turned loose since the Liberty Loan drive to make the world safe for Morgan & Co., the NRA turns merrily around in a circle. Capitalist scribblers are wading knee-deep in ink and four-minute speakers are standing neck-high in bull exhorting bankrupt workers, farmers, professional and small business men to buy and buy and bye-bye. Sure. Pawn your toothbrush and buy an automobile.

### WHAT NRA SAYS

The NRA is supposed to raise wages, reduce hours, put people to work, raise prices, bringing back prosperity to both employers and workers. The bosses are supposed to grant collective bargaining and "to do right by our Nell." The workers are supposed to fall for the old blarney about capital and labor being partners—we are just one big happy family.

### WHAT NRA DOES

First a committee gets together representing that famous old trinity known as Capital, Labor and Public. Capital is of course represented by millionaires and billionaires. Labor is represented by such well known horny handed sons of toil as Green, McGrady, Hillman & Co. The Public—ah, the Public! The Public is Mrs. Harriman Rumsey, multi-millionaire, daughter of the railroad magnate Herriman. The bosses—whose Wall Street agents led by Roosevelt made the NRA to try and save capitalism—immediately rush forward to sign the codes; with tears in their eyes they fall on the workers' neck—I don't think. What they do is send police, troops and thugs, with tear-gas, clubs and guns to defeat the workers fighting for the right to live.

But how about collective bargaining?

Now deary, aren't you silly to ask such a question? Why, Mr. Green, and Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Dubinsky, Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Sharrenberg will do the bargaining and take up the collection—and how!

Anyhow, here is how it works out. Wages, if they go up at all, advance 10%; manufacturers then raise prices 20% to pay the cost of labor; wholesalers charge 30% and retailers 40% and here you have the score at the end of the fourth inning:

Workers .....	1
Bosses .....	4

### SCHEMES FOR BEATING THE GAME

While bosses as a whole think that to raise wages and reduce hours is a swell thing—for their competitors—each individual boss keeps awake nights figuring out some scheme to get around it. Here are just a few of the schemes that have been introduced.

1.—Restaurants who before NRA paid girls \$8 per week and meals, raised them to \$15 to comply with the code—and charged the girls \$7 for meals. How do you like that, Mabel?

2.—Cutting down wages of higher paid workers to minimum, to make up for wages that were raised.

3.—Cutting down hours—and wages to match.

4.—Introducing a 40-hour week—and having their employees kindly "volunteer" a day's work each week for nothing.

5.—Compelling experienced workers to work as apprentices at wages below the code.

6.—As executives are exempt from the hours specified in the various codes, workers, so they can put in more hours, are suddenly promoted to be executives. Janitors, errand boys, watchmen, be-



out of the corner of her eye). How can I go to church when all the clothes I got is what's on me? And look at these shoes. A fine sight I'd make alongside of Mrs. Lindsay. (At this sarcastic answer the Father becomes obviously nervous, starts fumbling with the crucifix. Mrs. Lindsay's face is blank). You know, I'm getting sick and tired of listening to the sermons you preachers are preachin' all the time. An' all the time the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. Sermons ain't bringin' me nothin'. They don't put bread on my table, they don't put shoes on my feet. What I want is more grub an' less sermons.

Mrs. Lind: But what about your soul, Mrs. McDonald?

Mrs. McD: If I was as well fed and clothed as you, and if I had your money and that money was made the same way yours was made, then I would have to worry about my soul. Right now I've got too much else to worry about.

Father: Oh! Mrs. McDonald! Mrs. Lindsay is the noblest woman we have in the church who is connected with the welfare work. She is a real Christian lady.

Mrs. McD: (Puts the peeling down and comes toward the Father pointing her finger at him). How long have you known her?

Father: Oh-er-a—not long to be sure but I am well acquainted with her work and with Mr. Lindsay's work and—

Mrs. Mc: (Cutting him short). Well, I know them too well to take any stock in their bogus praise. Charitable people! Good people!

BAH! I'll show you something it will do you good to know. (Mrs. McD. steps out of the back door and reappears in a moment with the chunk of bacon). Here, smell this. (She shoves the bacon under the Father's nose and he retreats). And you, too (to Mrs. Lindsay). This is your husband's work. He gives away this kind of garbage for the poor people to live on. (Mrs. McD. keeps on shoving the bacon under Mrs. Lindsay's nose while she and the Father are backing out of the door). Go ahead. Have a good whiff of it. Would you feed your children on this dead stuff? (Mrs. Lindsay, pale and excited, grabs the Father and half drags him out. Mrs. McD. follows, shoving the bacon under their noses). Go ahead, you hypocrite. The day is coming when you'll have to eat this or starve. (They are gone. Mrs. McD. waves the bacon after them in the manner of shaking her fist. She slams the door). Good riddance of bad rubbish.

(Enter Mr. McD. and John).

John: Did you have visitors, Ma?

Mrs. McD: Yes, and believe me I sure gave them a piece of my mind.

Agnes: Did she? Oh! Boy! Ma sure told them plenty, and was I sorry, hm. I'll bet Mrs. Lindsay don't come here for a long time after this.

Mr. McD: (He goes over to his wife and pats her on the back). Well, mom, that's pretty good. It's about time that these fourflushers begin meeting up with open opposition to their rotten social welfare graft. They are going to get the same reception from a lot of others. The working people are finding out that this black brigade, with few exceptions, are only props to support a rotten system. The more interested a fellow is in his soul, the more he forgets about his stomach. And speaking of stomachs, mine certainly is protesting. Is there anything to chew? (Turning to John). How about you?

John: Who? Me? Well, I lost practically everything—my patriotism, my job, my religion—but somehow I still retain my appetite. I don't seem to be able to part with that.

Mr. McD: What success did you have with this march tomorrow to greet the city fathers?

John: Great, Dad. They are all coming out and they are all rounding up sticks. We are going to have about one hundred banners too. One big one. On one side will be a caricature of Mrs. Lindsay, and on the other will be a hungry family, and in the middle will be a chunk of bacon. And underneath in large letters will be, "Just Smell It."

Mrs. McD: Do you think, John, that that will do any good?

John: Well, Mom, just expose these fakers and show the people things as they really are. We will pull the mask off of all these charity mongers.

(Enter Mary).

Mary: (Throws a piece of paper on the table). Here it is. A check for \$2.63. A week's work, and a Blue Eagle on the envelope, "We Do Our Part!" Look at my hands. All chopped up and laid off for a week. Gee! All the girls are up in the air. Things are getting rotten every day, and the boss is sore as a boil about the bacon parade. The fellows from the Unemployed Council were distributing circulars around the cannery, and the boss put up a sign on the punch clock saying that those who march need not come back to work.

(They sit down at the table. Supper is some boiled spuds, soup, some cooked vegetables and beans).

John: Now it's understood that we are all to march tomorrow and we have to practice the soup song.

Mary: Wait till we finish this feast.

Eddie: (Stands on his chair). I can sing that song by myself. (He sings while they are eating. They all join in on the last chorus as the curtain falls).

I'm joining the Unemployed Council,

I find them a good scrapping group, We're planning to kick out the bosses,

And feed them their lousy old soup.

Soup, Soup, we'll feed them their lousy old soup.

Soup, Soup, we'll feed them their lousy old soup.

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## CLEVELAND MEETING ADOPTS A FIGHTING UNION PROGRAM

### T. U. U. L. and Other Unions Plan United Action Against NRA; Delegates Represent Employed, Unemployed

CLEVELAND, Ohio, Aug. 28.—Laying a sound foundation for building a fighting united front of workers against the attacks of the NRA in the Manifesto unanimously adopted by the 600 delegates present, the two day United Action conference came to a close yesterday.

The earlier sabotage of the conference by Musteite leaders, and the lack of faith in the workers to fight expressed by others of them, did not prevent the conference from arriving at a clear program for action both for employed and unemployed. Earl Browder, of the executive committee of the T. U. U. L. and of the Communist Party summed up the conference and by proving the strength of Communist leadership destroyed the efforts of some of the Musteites to wreck the conference on that point.

Delegates represented 300,000 workers from every section of the country and from every basic industry. 242 were from T. U. U. L. affiliated unions, 30 from A. F. L. unions, and 47 from independent unions. 146 represented Unemployed Councils and 34 came from Unemployed Leagues. Youth and fraternal organizations were represented.

In all industries the codes proposed by the unions of the T. U. U. L. were unanimously adopted.

Basic points in the Manifesto were the struggle for:

Preservation and recovery of the workers rights, for the right to strike, to belong to any union, for free speech and assemblage, and abolishment of all forms of discrimination.

Immediate and substantial increases in wages in all industries and for all workers. Fight against all attempts to put over wage reductions under the guise of a minimum wage program.

Complete equality for Negroes, and complete solidarity of white and Negro workers.

Struggle against relief cuts, evictions, foreclosure, and all attempts

## DISABLED VET HURT IN S. F. CHARITY JOB SPEED-UP

### Spine Splintered By Pick As Men Work Jammed Together

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 5.—Harry Adams, invalided war veteran working for relief at the Washington forced labor project, 31st and Geary St., was taken to the hospital with a splintered vertebrae as the result of an accident there Tuesday morning.

At the Washington project the jobless work under guards who stand over them to speed them up. Huddled in groups, working shoulder to shoulder, several have been seriously injured with swinging picks. No measures have ever been taken to safeguard the workers. When any complain, the guards are re-inforced with machine gun and tear gas squads from the police department.

The man next to Adams was swinging a pick. As Adams raised a shovelful of earth, the other worker swung back, the point of his pick crashing into Adams' spine. The injury is so serious as to be painful for the rest of his life.

—M. B.

## A. F. OF L. IN SCAB ROLE AGAINST THE STRIKING WELDERS

### T. U. U. L. Organizer Exposes Business Agent and Workers Vote to Stay Out On Strike

OAKLAND, Sept. 2.—Bringing in the A. F. of L. to supply scabs, and announcing through the capitalist press that the Moore Shipyard strike is over, are among the latest moves to break the strike of the 68 welders working on the Oakland-San Francisco bridge caissons.

The workers are out 100% and determined to stick till the \$1.00 per hour for inside workers is granted.

Dressler, the business agent of the San Francisco Structural Iron Workers, came to the workers and ordered them to go back to work by 10 o'clock Tuesday morning and settle afterwards, or he will supply scabs from San Francisco. Gates, East Bay organizer of the Trade Union Unity League, who was there immediately exposed him as a scab herder, and the workers followed him by denouncing Dressler, voting unanimously to stay out.

Dressler was so far able to send in only one scab, and a number of apprentices are reported being taught welding. A committee of

## 21 ORGANIZATIONS AT IDAHO ANTI- WAR CONGRESS

### Elect Delegation To N. Y. Meeting Sept. 29

BOISE, Idaho, Aug. 23.—At the Idaho State Congress Against War, attended by 100, five delegates were elected to go to the United States Congress Against War, in New York City, September 29. 21 organizations were represented at the congress.

A temporary State committee, composed of one delegate from each organization participating, was set up. Osmond Call, Boise, was elected permanent chairman. Mrs. Alma Lukas, Boise, secretary. Plans were made to carry on a militant campaign against war.

the workers had a conference with Moore, owner of the shipyard, who had a sob story of how poor he was, and that he was losing money. He passed cigars around but that did not affect the determined committee.

The leaflet issued by the T. U. U. L. calling upon the other workers in the plant to support the strikers received a good response. The strikers are picketing and will guard against the reported attempt by the Industrial Association to bring scabs from L. A.

## 14 Years of the Communist Party

(Continued from Page 2, Col. 4)

interpretation that "the Comintern is not aware of the situation in the United States and this should be explained to it," that "Stalin is ruining the American party," and that "it is our duty as good Bolsheviks to fight the Comintern decisions." The delegates were even organized to vote down the Comintern proposal for removal of Lovestone, and elected a delegation to go to Moscow to plead with the Communist International to keep him in the leadership.

Lovestone carefully prepared to split the greater part of the party away from the Communist International. But he made a serious mistake. He built his support in the party by fooling many into believing that his group was the most loyal to the Comintern. During the month in Moscow efforts were being made to make Lovestone and his group understand the meaning of the Communist International decision. Comrade Stalin spoke on three occasions and predicted the American crisis and showed how the party was unprepared. But traitors can not be convinced and when Lovestone returned to the United States he found himself exposed to the entire membership, and deserted by the best elements in his group.

### Renegades Expelled

Soon he and a few dozen functionaries in his group, refusing to abide by the Comintern decision, were expelled. Within a few months factionalism was liquidated for the membership was loyal to the Communist International—to the Leninist position. Then started a new period in our party's history, a period of normal development.

And the factions were liquidated in about the nick of time. For in October, 1929, came the stock market crash, and all the events that followed. Our party was introduced into that period with a wave of unemployed demonstrations which reached the high point on March 6th, 1930, when a million and a quarter turned out on the streets for Unemployment Insurance under its leadership.

A membership drive was launched and 6,000, mostly native born and Negro workers, the kind the party hardly ever reached before, were recruited. Up to that time there were hardly any Negro workers in the party.

The membership turnover was large, but many remained in the party and helped to change the party's entire composition. Units sprang up in towns that never saw a Communist before. In place of the old expelled leaders and functionaries we saw workers not yet polished speakers, or able to write long resolutions or indulging in internal intrigues but able to feel the pulse of the workers, and take leadership in struggles.

Of course it would be a mistake to think we are free of shortcomings, or that we are fully prepared to face the test at this moment. The party does not try to hide the fact that the essential tasks to make it a Bolshevik party in the real sense, must still be carried out. The recent Open Letter clearly shows we cannot be satisfied with the progress we have made in face of the possibilities offered during the crisis, and the challenge put to us by the "new deal." The task still remains for entrenching our party in the basic industries, building a revolutionary trade union movement and winning workers for the fight against Roosevelt's hunger and war policy.

The Lovestonites, Trotskyites, socialists and similar elements chortle with glee over our admissions of party weaknesses, but when the workers see how the party openly criticizes itself, they have more confidence in it.

The party with 14 years' experience, has learned how to unearth dangerous opportunism and how to clean it out; has learned much in strikes, demonstrations and similar struggles; has learned the significance of loyalty to our world general staff, the Communist International and gives wholehearted endorsement to the Marxist-Leninist teachings and confidence to our foremost living leader, Comrade Stalin.

Our party has fought through all difficulties for 14 years. The Palmer raids, A. F. of L. reactionaries Trotsky and Lovestone opportunists could not stop its progress. Its progress will be accelerated as it blasts the way through reaction and fascism to a Soviet America.

## The Workers Want THE WESTERN WORKER

This is proven in every serious effort to sell it at Factory gates, in neighborhoods, at union halls, waterfronts, etc.

### THE WORKERS SUBSCRIBE

If they are visited, told why they should, given sample copies, and if their attention is called to the items that would especially interest them.

We can take a good example from the way newsboys sell the boss papers. The moment that the paper comes off the press, they grab it and rush off shouting the items that they know will sell. They don't come a week late as many of our comrades do.

In San Francisco two comrades went to a cannery and SHOUTED on the article on the plant, that was in the last issue. They sold 21 in a few minutes.

A number of comrades went to a German meeting and SHOUTED about the article on our Party's fight against Hitler's terror and sold over 70 copies.

Such examples, by the dozen, show that THAT IS THE ONLY WAY TO BUILD OUR PRESS.

### What About the Sections Outside California?

THE CITIES IN WASHINGTON, OREGON, ARIZONA AND COLORADO are hardly doing a thing to build the Western Worker. At a moment when most towns are beginning to increase sales they reduce.

What's the reason? Are the workers in these sections any different? We know of at least two. 1. It is not being pushed by the comrades most responsible. 2. Often issues of the Western Worker have very little on the struggles in their district.

But whose fault is it? We have proven that we welcome all correspondence from these sections. We want all the news that the comrades send in PROVIDED IT IS SENT ON TIME FOR OUR PAPER, AND NOT WHEN THE STORY IS STALE.

But the comrades send in nothing and then they wonder why the paper does not sell.

### CLUB OFFER

We will offer to our readers and go getters another opportunity for getting subscriptions. Any individual (outside of the regular agents who are getting discounts, who will obtain five subscriptions for the Western Worker will be given one free. For instance if you get five one dollar subs you will be given a dollar sub in addition. If five two dollar ones, you will get a two dollar sub. You can take it for yourself, sell it, or give it to friend.

Write in for subscription blanks and get started!

### Red Board

L. A. is taking the challenge to Frisco seriously and wired for 300 extras, and is increasing its regular bundle by another hundred. But Frisco is not keeping up with that. Fillmore took another jump by 25. Oakland sure means business and has jumped by another 100. Roseburg, Oregon increased. Unit 2 continues selling at the car barns and is SELLING THEM. Unit 15, sold nine among the Crystal Palace slaves.

Wilmington and Anaheim opened up with new bundles.

Monterey makes good use of the Spreckels story and ordered 50 extras.

### Black Board

SEATTLE CUT THE BUNDLE IN HALF. OLYMPIA CUT THE BUNDLE IN HALF. SALT LAKE CUT BY 15.

The Finnish Workers Club of Portland cut out entirely.