

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## FRANCE DEMANDS SANCTIONS AS NAZI TROOPS MARCH INTO THE RHINELAND

### Drive Against WPA Endangers Unemployed

The drive against work-relief, in the very inadequate form of the WPA, has taken on serious momentum in the past two weeks. New York has seen the office staff cut 50%, with more cuts threatened; from Washington Hopkins announces that nationally the rolls are to be cut to 3 million; in Congress the revelation of political corruption in West Virginia's WPA is to be used as a spade to root out the whole system of work relief.

The clearest voice of the Republicans, the Herald-Tribune, writes under the heading "The WPA Must Go." "... the WPA mechanism puts in the hands of any partisan adventurer who lays his hands on it, power . . . over the miserable beneficiaries of a system which teaches them that the government owes them a living . . ."

"The basic relief structure must again be revised on a plan of straight relief, which will be more suited, financially, administratively and in its social and economic aspects, to the realities of the national situation."

The outlook for those engaged in relief is not bright—according to

administration plans. Hopkins "hopes" to transfer the estimated 350,000 WPA workers to PWA. With the coming of Spring, the construction work of PWA is supposed to swing into action. At the same time, rumours coming from reliable sources, state that first, the whole PWA may be discontinued, and secondly, that this lopping off of the rolls will not even consider the potentialities of the PWA but will throw workers back on the miserable pittance of home-relief. A third factor complicates the situation—the New Deal cannot afford, in this election year, to abolish home relief. Nevertheless the curtailment of relief, the slow wearing away at various points of the whole structure shows the trend of government policy. Of the four billions appropriated, very little is being shelled out at present.

Victor Ridder, New York administrator, has delivered himself of a vicious attack on the demonstrations of bona-fide WPA labor organizations. Under the guise of a red scare, Ridder called for "the co-operation of the peace-loving workers" pleading that he "cannot stop them alone." He seems to be planning some sort of company union which shall have as its main objective the squelching of all elements that attempt to really organize the WPA workers for pay and conditions. And he knows just the type that would aid in such a reactionary movement. Get this gem: "I hope that the peaceful elements on the projects—those who believe in God, in the family, and in our Government—will represent such representation as these agitators appear (sic) to give them."

"But I hope that members of the American Legion, of the Catholic and Methodist Churches and others like them will take action to organize for themselves."

This is deliberate attack on labor organization and one of the most provocative statements made by an administrator.

His advice has been followed by American legionnaires who organized on the Theatre Project of the WPA a Federal Theatre Veterans League. They were invited by Major Ball to form a secret service squad to ferret out the "communists." Phelps, former assemblyman, called on these incipient fascists "to fight the foreign mongrels who invade our homeland, whom we clothe, feed and house, and who spend their time trying to upset their institutions."

Thus the forces of big capital, thru the government and "the gangs" are attempting to throttle all demands for unemployment relief of an adequate nature for the workers.

### STRIKE-BREAKING—A LaGUARDIA



Bernard Burke and Virgil Vaughn, striking elevator men, conscripted for duty by the Dep't of Health, under the excuse of "emergency".

### Settlement Likely in Building Service Strike

LaGuardia has offered a peace plan to the realty interests and the Building Service Employees International Union, Local 32B, which the union has accepted "unconditionally", and which the Realty Advisory Board finds, "altno not attractive to the realty owners, certainly a basis for working out terms". This plan is based on two major points. First, as regards the closed shop, it opposes to this original demand of the union, the status quo: "Where a vacancy occurs, created by the discharge, or other reason, of a union member such vacancy shall be filled by an existing member of the union". This means, in addition that non-union members can be replaced by non-union men, which is no gain for the union. Secondly, that both sides accept arbitration, the strikers to return to work as soon as an arbitrator is accepted. Thus, the lessons of the NRA strike struggles are completely overlooked, and the union gives up the strike before it has received any conditions or union recognition.

Bambrick, president of the Local, believes that this is better than last year's agreement because it is "an extension of the preferential shop." Last year's agreement stated that any man replacing a

union employee would have to join the union. This may be true, but the Mayor's plan is not better than the agreement consummated with the Prudential, a realty outfit, where any employee is to be replaced by a union man, if the union can supply such replacement.

The strike itself has been militant. Picketing saw the free collaboration of Negro and white employees in true class solidarity. The tenants, and this is news in New York, did not merely sympathize with the strikers, but formed organizations in many places to help the union. The pickets were fed by many tenants, were joined on the line by many others, and were supported "against the landlord", the common enemy, by refusals to pay rent and demands that a settlement be reached as quickly as possible.

LaGuardia early established his role as a strike-breaking mayor by declaring an "emergency", whereby the lives and health of the citizens were threatened. Under this guise he brought the city police and firemen in as strikebreakers, ignoring the union's own pledge not to prevent aid to the sick in apartment houses. The Mayor did not mention the health of the strikers, who have received as low as \$13 for a 90 hour week.

Into the already seething pot of Europe's imperialist tangle was thrown the red-hot stone of Hitler's final scrapping of Versailles and Locarno. While the Nazi leader rasped at his Reichstag, German troops marched into the Rhineland, the so-called "demilitarized zone" forced upon Germany by the victors of Versailles.

France responded by moving up her troops, and demanding that sanctions be applied by the League of Nations against Germany. In view of the fact that the Locarno Treaty, providing for maintenance of the existing border (1925), and signed by Germany, was now violated.

It is rumored, authoritatively, that Italy has jumped at this opportunity, and has offered a deal to France, whereby, if the latter will squelch sanctions against Italy and work for an imperialist "peace" in the Ethiopian war, Italy would support France's demands against Germany. Primary in any move made by the League is, of course, Great Britain. Her attitude is not yet known but will be determined by the following factors. First, there is a definite pro-Nazi reconciliation attitude in certain circles of the British bourgeoisie, based mostly on common anti-Sovietism. Secondly, and opposing this, there is the question of sanctions. Sanctions against Italy were to protect British imperialist interests in India, Africa, etc. But they do not assume this vitality for Britain against Germany. It is probably that Britain would counterpose its own deal to France. Let France support sanctions against Italy and then Britain will support France against Germany. From a political and military point of view, it is far more likely that France would accept Britain's offer than Italy's. But England's role is to defeat any attempts to bring up sanctions against Germany, and she will try to pacify France—in order to maintain the status quo as a "satiated" power.

Two factors made Hitler take this step at this particular time. (The move itself was expected and known to be forthcoming). First, the signing of Franco-Soviet pact, which isolates Germany. Hitler offers as opposed to this, a twenty-five year non-aggression pact to France and Belgium, plus a "new Locarno". The latter is a continuation of the established policy of Nazi Germany to appeal to Europe to form an anti-Soviet bloc, with itself as the spearhead of the attack against Bolshevism. Secondly, the big powers had troubles, not in Central Europe, but in the Mediterranean, and in the Far East, where Japan is fuming. Thus it was the best time to make the move from Hitler's viewpoint, and since it shifts attention from both the African and Asiatic scene may now, in turn, embolden Italy and Japan in their policy of aggression.

### Cotton Workers Get 15% Slash In Amoskeag Mill

MANCHESTER, N. H.—Pledging themselves to a system of "permanent peaceful operation" a majority of the workers employed by the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company, one of the largest cotton textile corporations in the world, voted 3,669 to 3,133 accepting a 15% cut in wages.

It is clear that even this slight majority was secured by the company under the threat that unless this is granted the firm will have to locate elsewhere. Under the new schedule the minimum wage would be about \$9.60 a week while the present minimum is about \$13.

In addition the majority also voted for a system of having their wage scales determined by a "competitive cost basis". That is, if Amoskeag finds it necessary to slash prices for purposes of competition the workers pledge to take up the slash in the form of lower wage scales.

What is significant in this whole development is not the majority vote for the proposition but the almost 50% against the plan. Look out for strike action in the Amoskeag in the near future.

# Ciattei Dies; Receives Impressive Red Funeral

By JAMES A. MacARTHUR  
The first working-class funeral in the history of the Balto. labor movement was accorded Nicholas Ciattei, member of the C.P.O. and delegate to our last convention, on Sat. Feb. 29th, in tribute to the memory of this proletarian revolutionist. At the funeral service representatives were present from the Peoples Unemployment League, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, I.L.G.W.U., Upholsters Union, The Dental Technicians Union, the I.W.O., the Socialist Party, Communist Party, and other labor organizations. Over 200 workers attended the service, at which Comrade Dorothy Dare, MacArthur, James Blackwell, Chairman of the Peoples Unemployment League, and others spoke.

his membership as secretary of the Balto. Section. Throughout his political life, he displayed a consistent line. In 1924 he was the only follower of the Ruthenberg group in the Party—the group which a couple of years later was unanimously supported by the Balto. section. In 1929, during the “enlightenment campaign” Comrade Ciattei remained loyal to his communist principles. Upon raising his voice against the ultra-left line and the denial of democratic centralism, he had the unfortunate honor of being expelled. From then up to the change in the Party line of a year or so ago, he was conspicuous in the Balto. labor movement for his advocacy of a Labor Party as the next step forward in the development of the American working class.

Comrade Ciattei was born in Italy 39 years ago. He came to America when 17, immediately becoming active in the Italian branch of the Balto. S.P. Upon the formation of the Communist Party, he became a charter member, and served during part of the years of

Comrade Ciattei was an untiring worker in the labor movement. He was employed in the largest shoe factory, and a leader in the Boot & Shoe Union. Following a lost strike in the early years of the depression, he was blacklisted. He

## 3,000 = 5,000

By JAY LOVESTONE

Who said this? Nobody in his rational moments would or could say it. At any rate, we disclaim all responsibility for such nonsense.

If any one were to talk this way, you would surely call him unbalanced. We wonder, then, what you think of those who act this way.

Here's what it's all about. Rain or shine, mean winter or are going to put over our \$5,000 by giving to the \$5,000 fund which is most urgent and equally worthwhile.

If you have planned to donate later, then donate to-day. The deadline for ending the drive is close at hand.

When we fixed \$5,000 as our quota, it was our minimum and not the maximum. Thus we didn't think thru our wishing caps is clearly seen from an examination of the fourth list of donors we publish below. And why? How?

If you have never given to proletarian, to revolutionary efforts, we can honestly assure you that you could choose no better occasion for beginning.

Well, the unpleasant but not unreal story runs something like this: The fourth is less imposing than the first three. Nevertheless, it is very impressive. It reveals that the collection is proceeding much more actively and that the response is much more generous among our less “comfortably fixed” comrades and among our far less comfortably secured sympathizers than among those who are relatively and positively far better off. It's the latter who have been (only so far, we hope) stone deaf to our appeals.

Various comrades from the C.P.O., P.U.L. and I.W.O. pointed out that the purpose of the funeral service was not only for those present to express their grief and sense of loss, but to carry on the cause of Comrade Ciattei—the cause of labor, of which he was a part and which will never die.

Look over the list of donors printed below. Very likely you will feel your blood tingling and your face flushing. We hope you will blush with shame at or in anger with yourself because your name, pseudonym or initials aren't there. We have a right to hope so. You have good reason to be glad that we entertain such hopes about you. Surely you can see that we count on you for a noble aim, for a righteous and vital cause.

Over the top in the Five Thousand Dollar Drive!

### IS YOUR NAME ON THIS HONOR ROLL?

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Abel Callender 2.00	Emma Shapiro	5.00	No. 2	30.00
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I. and Rose Brill 15.00	Gollia	8.00	S. Zeldin	5.00
Albert Bell 1.00	Jos. Stanley	5.00	A. Sandrin	5.00
J. Levine 1.00	F. Vitarich	5.00	Chas. S. Zimmerman	20.00
Belgian Comrade 5.00	Joe Datus	5.00	Stump Sales E. Schlichter	15.00
Ida Albert 1.00	Eve Stone	5.00	Ida Albert	5.00
B. Solomon 7.00	Hamilton Unit	10.00	1.50; Misc. 55; Rose Brill	10.00
Henry Rubinstein 5.00	Celia Silverman	2.00	1.00; I. Hirschman 25.00;	Isabelle Harding 1.35; M. Zelnik 1.55; Florence Reed 2.10; Abe Schneider 2.20;
Frederick 1.00	Morris Gornfeld	1.00	Phila. Comrades 7.65; J. L. 4.00; Bert Wolfe 1.00;	Stogie 6.75; G. Halpern 2.00; Local 22 Comrades 14.00; Lerner 5.00; Sara Rose 1.00; Mautner 1.00;
H. Shtimnick 15.00	IL & E. Schlichter	10.00	Phila. Comrades 7.65; J. L. 4.00; Bert Wolfe 1.00;	Stogie 6.75; G. Halpern 2.00; Local 22 Comrades 14.00; Lerner 5.00; Sara Rose 1.00; Mautner 1.00;
Ray Michaels 15.00	Leone Silverman	12.00	Phila. Comrades 7.65; J. L. 4.00; Bert Wolfe 1.00;	Stogie 6.75; G. Halpern 2.00; Local 22 Comrades 14.00; Lerner 5.00; Sara Rose 1.00; Mautner 1.00;
Brown Unit Affair 15.00	Pope & Dimitroff	8.00	Phila. Comrades 7.65; J. L. 4.00; Bert Wolfe 1.00;	Stogie 6.75; G. Halpern 2.00; Local 22 Comrades 14.00; Lerner 5.00; Sara Rose 1.00; Mautner 1.00;
Sally Nehama 10.00	IL Shtimnick	4.00	Phila. Comrades 7.65; J. L. 4.00; Bert Wolfe 1.00;	Stogie 6.75; G. Halpern 2.00; Local 22 Comrades 14.00; Lerner 5.00; Sara Rose 1.00; Mautner 1.00;
Strong 5.00	Joe Datus	5.00	Phila. Comrades 7.65; J. L. 4.00; Bert Wolfe 1.00;	Stogie 6.75; G. Halpern 2.00; Local 22 Comrades 14.00; Lerner 5.00; Sara Rose 1.00; Mautner 1.00;
D. Paine 10.00	C. W. B.	1.00	Phila. Comrades 7.65; J. L. 4.00; Bert Wolfe 1.00;	Stogie 6.75; G. Halpern 2.00; Local 22 Comrades 14.00; Lerner 5.00; Sara Rose 1.00; Mautner 1.00;
T. Axler 10.00	Montreal Unit	41.00	Phila. Comrades 7.65; J. L. 4.00; Bert Wolfe 1.00;	Stogie 6.75; G. Halpern 2.00; Local 22 Comrades 14.00; Lerner 5.00; Sara Rose 1.00; Mautner 1.00;
Ozuz 1.00	A. Friend	2.00	Phila. Comrades 7.65; J. L. 4.00; Bert Wolfe 1.00;	Stogie 6.75; G. Halpern 2.00; Local 22 Comrades 14.00; Lerner 5.00; Sara Rose 1.00; Mautner 1.00;
Davis 5.00	Alice and Danny	5.00	Phila. Comrades 7.65; J. L. 4.00; Bert Wolfe 1.00;	Stogie 6.75; G. Halpern 2.00; Local 22 Comrades 14.00; Lerner 5.00; Sara Rose 1.00; Mautner 1.00;
Nelson and Esther 10.00	Lansing Unit	12.00	Phila. Comrades 7.65; J. L. 4.00; Bert Wolfe 1.00;	Stogie 6.75; G. Halpern 2.00; Local 22 Comrades 14.00; Lerner 5.00; Sara Rose 1.00; Mautner 1.00;
B. E.	Buffalo Unit	30.25	Phila. Comrades 7.65; J. L. 4.00; Bert Wolfe 1.00;	Stogie 6.75; G. Halpern 2.00; Local 22 Comrades 14.00; Lerner 5.00; Sara Rose 1.00; Mautner 1.00;
	Sam Bail	10.00	Phila. Comrades 7.65; J. L. 4.00; Bert Wolfe 1.00;	Stogie 6.75; G. Halpern 2.00; Local 22 Comrades 14.00; Lerner 5.00; Sara Rose 1.00; Mautner 1.00;

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WE NEEDED \$5,000.00

### CAN IT BE?

AKRON, O.—Anything can happen in the United States—or so it would seem before all the facts are in.

A stockholder in the Good-year Tire and Rubber Company is suing Paul W. Litchfield, president of the firm, to compel him to negotiate with the 14,000 rubber workers who are on strike. The petition, led in the Common Court Pleas here, demands the appointment of a receiver for the company in the event that Mr. Litchfield refuses to comply with the request.

The plaintiff, Mrs. Lucy Booth, has a special interest in the strike, her two sons are Goodyear employees.

his wife and five children, were forced to depend for their living on the starvation allowance of the relief agencies.

In no small measure Comrade Ciattei's untimely death was due to the undermining of his health. The last few months of his life were spent working as a laborer in sub-zero weather for \$49.50 a month—Roosevelt's W.P.A. wage. He was active organizing the unemployed, being the Chairman of Local 28, of the Peoples Unemployment League, and a member of its Central Body.

Among the Italian workers of Balto. Comrade Ciattei was the outstanding revolutionist. He built the Italian branch into the largest in the I.W.O. Unceasingly he carried on anti-fascist work among the Italian workers.

Comrade Ciattei was buried as he wished—with a Red Flag over him bearing the slogan: “FOR WORKING CLASS UNITY” and signed Communist Party (Opposition). This slogan expressed to some extent the meaning of his life. He fought for revolutionary unity on the basis of democratic centralism. He believed in the invincible power of a united working-class to do away with the life-destroying system of capitalism, under which militant workers are blacklisted, under which workers suffer hunger and want because of “over-production”—a system which breeds fascism, war, poverty and disease. He devoted his life to helping create a world free from poverty, unemployment, and insecurity—a workers' world.

Various comrades from the C.P.O., P.U.L. and I.W.O. pointed out that the purpose of the funeral service was not only for those present to express their grief and sense of loss, but to carry on the cause of Comrade Ciattei—the cause of labor, of which he was a part and which will never die.

# CONGRESS OK'S SOIL SAVING ACT

The House and Senate agreed on amendments to the Soil Conservation Act, and it goes to the White House for the President's assured signature this week. (The principles of this act were discussed in a previous issue of the Workers Age.)

The three most important and disputed amendments concerned the dairy farmer, the consumers, and the share croppers. Under the adopted bill, the dairy farmers are to be given benefits. The converted acres must not, under this arrangement, be used for grazing purposes, if the farmers are to be paid.

The “consumers protection” clause, it is hoped, will raise the farmers benefits and grants by about 22% or \$1,500,000,000, since instructions are given to “achieve the pre-war parity of farm and non-farm income.” Secondly, the Secretary of Agriculture is instructed not to lower the volume of production below the average output of 1920-1929, altho he is allowed to take so many factors into consideration that this will have very little meaning. This latter was originally the whole “consumer protection” clause; the addition of the first part shows what sort of protection is meant. Under the administration had to make some sort of gesture, while at the same time assuring themselves of the farm vote in this chronic agricultural crisis. It is a commentary on the effectiveness of the amount and distribution of New Deal benefits that it should be found necessary to pump a billion and a half dollars into capitalist agriculture. No consumer protection is possible by vaguely worded laws. It is the economic system itself which boosts prices at the expense of both farmers and workers, and this arrangement can only be disturbed by the independent action of the mass organizations of the toilers.

Wallace, in a blast against the processing tax decision of the Supreme Court stated: “The facts show that the processors, by increasing their operations and profit margins during the period when processing taxes were in effect, have collected the equivalent of the impounded taxes from consumers. . . .” Furthermore, a report ordered by him maintains that “the accumulated unpaid taxes of cotton, wheat, and hog processors, as a group, amounted to 3 1/2 times their net profits in 1927-1929, while the uncollected taxes of hog processors alone were 8 times more than their profits of the prosperity years.” Thus, the consumer paid sky-high prices on the grounds of increased taxation, while these taxes were never paid! And this does not take into account the fact that the prices allowed a comfortable margin even if the taxes had been paid. The consumer protection amendment is economic nonsense and political hokum.

One delegate in the house proposed a special amendment to provide a share in any benefits granted to the share-croppers and tenant farmers. It is well known that these Southern types of farmers, or more accurately peons, have suffered terrifically under the AAA. The comment of the senate chairman, Smith, should be a stimulus to the unions representing these two groups. He said: “What kind of a fool thing is this? The tenant and the share-cropper get it all now. The landlord has to pay taxes, the cost of production, housing implements and repairs, while they get their share of the crop with no strings on it! No comment in words could be adequate to answer this pack of lies. From

# On the LABOR FRONT

## Dress Shop 'Runaways'

Chambers of Commerce and elected officials of towns in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and other nearby states are offering free rent, financial aid, factory buildings gratis, etc., to New York dress and other garment manufacturers. Town officials guarantee to smash strikes, to deal effectively with union organizers. Facts gathered during the NRA revealed wages as low as \$3 to \$9 per week with the preponderant number of the workers being girls. This problem of ‘runaway shops’ is the most difficult one to solve for the trade unions, be they the garment unions, shoe unions, knitgoods, etc. In this connection we believe it timely that the trade unions demand that the government make public that report of vocational education funds (from Department of Interior) being used to set up dress and other sweatshops in the South.

## Akron Strikers Battle On

Paul W. Litchfield, president of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, said in a press statement: “The company will not sign any agreement with the United Rubber Workers, even if a vote of employees shows a majority wish to be represented by the union.” Meanwhile, the 14,000 strikers increased their vigilance on the picket lines after union leaders warned of a surprise attack by the company. Gov. Martin Davey refused to send militia for political reasons but informed Sheriff James Flower that he could “deputize 15,000 men in Akron in no time at all.” The Company demands that the Sheriff carry out a block injunction against the pickets. Labor has been told the Wagner Bill (NLRB) would bring firms to their knees in such cases of employer defiance. . . . so what!

## Steel Firm Defies NLRB

Representatives of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation of Pittsburgh, Pa., withdrew from hearings of the National Labor Board claiming that since their business was intrastate rather than interstate, they were not under the jurisdiction of the Board. The firm had fired 12 employees of the All-quippa plant because they were members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers Union. Chairman J. W. Madden of the NLRB took evidence to Washington proving that the firm had intimidated workers and assaulted union organizers. The case is expected to reach the Supreme Court shortly as a test case.

## Strike-Breaking Militia

Increasingly the militia is being used against labor. Statistics for the fiscal year 1933-1934 show 28 States resorting to militia, for 1934-1935, 20 States utilized this anti-labor mailed fist. For the first period, strike duty of 980 days involving 447 officers and 7,002 men. For the second period, strike duty of 3,398 days involving 1,672 officers and 22,762 men.

it, all sections of the farming class must draw the conclusion—organization and independent political action together with the workers.

# Comintern Cracks Down on Czechoslovakian Communist Party

## Excerpts from Gottwald's Article

In the previous issue of Workers Age we informed our readers of the new campaign opened by the Communist International, thru the person of Comrade Gottwald, against certain of the crassest manifestations of the opportunist line of the 7th Congress as applied in the Czechoslovakian Communist Party. We now present a number of excerpts from Comrade Gottwald's lengthy article which appeared in the Rote Fahne No. 38, Friday, February 14, 1936.

Our readers may be irritated by certain deletions in the document. The responsibility for these rests with the all-powerful censor of democratic Czechoslovakia.

The reprinting of the excerpts must not be considered as an endorsement by us of all opinions expressed therein. For our attitude consult the editorial in this issue and also the material published last week.—Editor.

The Party leadership has forgotten one thing. In order to effectively influence the solution of political problems in its own interests the proletariat must appear as an independent factor waging mass struggles in the factories and on the streets. The Party leadership begged, implored, and warned everybody in sight—deputies, ministers, the cabinet, the executive committees of the various parties. The Party leadership tried to persuade Hampl, Czech and Benes. It did its utmost to prove to the government that the C.P. was ready for a joint struggle against fascism and reaction. But it forgot one thing: the masses. It forgot that independent mass actions would have much more effect on the powers that be than the most eloquent anti-fascist speech, than any attempt at negotiations with parliamentary representatives. Such policies have nothing in common with an “active bolshevist mass policy” of which Comrade Dimitroff spoke, such policies will not make the Party “a political factor in its own country” as demanded by the 7th Congress and by the interests of the working class—on the contrary, the continuation of such policies regardless of the subjective intentions of our Party will make it easier for our opponents to carry thru their aims. A case in point is the approval of our fraction in parliament of the bill on the foreign ministry and social welfare.

This vote was a political error. A situation may arise in which the government under pressure of a mighty mass movement is forced to propose certain measures which are in the interests of the toiling masses, in the interest of the fight against fascism and which the fascists and reactionaries oppose. In such a case the Communists would vote for these measures taking into account the mass movement behind them. But such was not the case when this budget came up. The government had not accepted a single demand of the workers which would have placed the burden of the crisis on the wealthy. The government did absolutely nothing to oppose the fascists or to extend democratic rights. On the contrary, it is closely allied with the fascists and is steadily steering to the right. By voting for the two provisions of this budget we gave this government a vote of confidence. In other words, we have tied our own hands, we gave up any independent policy and have confused the masses.

## FORGETTING MASSES

The dangerous implications of a policy which substitutes parliamentary negotiations for independent mass actions become even more evident if we look at the problem from yet another viewpoint. The reactionary socialist leaders who are today in the government are basing their policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie on the following arguments: “Strikes and demonstrations are antiquated as weapons of the class struggle. We have discovered far better methods of fighting. We urge all workers to vote for us so that we may have numerous representatives in parliaments, several ministers in the cabinet who will carry on the ‘class struggle’ from above in the cabinet. Don't let yourselves be provoked into ‘irresponsible actions’ such as demonstrations and strikes. Don't worry, we are carrying on the fight for you. You need not exert yourselves at all nor risk your lives.”

As is well known the working class has paid heavily for such a policy and is still suffering from it. Capitalism has thus always won its victories at the expense of the working class and, furthermore, the class consciousness of the working masses has been impaired and its militancy decreased. It goes without saying that the working class must utilize all posts, those in parliament and those in the municipalities. The source of strength of the representatives of the working class, in parliament and other institutions, however, lies in the working class, in its organizations, in its militancy, in its readiness to fight for its demands. Without a mobilization of the masses the best and most sincere representative of the working class in a bourgeois institution remains powerless. For this reason Communists must be very careful indeed lest their policy show the slightest trace of that dangerous tendency of making the masses believe that demands can be won thru activity from “above” without independent mass actions.

THE PERSISTENT clinging to the policy of domination of the C.I. by the CPSU, the practice of mechanically transferring tactics from the CPSU to other Parties which have not yet led the working class to power, the denial of democratic centralism and international collective leadership, these are the basic sources of suicidal confusion in the ranks of the entire Comintern over a whole series of fundamental questions. Hence, the failure of the Communist Parties to understand the relationship between Soviet foreign policy and the anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggles in the different capitalist countries, the identity of the interests of the Soviet and of the rest of the international proletariat accompanied by an inevitable difference in tactics to be employed by a proletariat already in power and the working class not yet in power.

CPO Thesis, Workers Age, Vol. 4, No. 28, July 13, 1935

## As We Saw It

WHAT HAS been the position of the Communist Party leadership and its fraction in parliament in this situation?

It has approved the foreign budget and that of the Ministry of Welfare, thus bearing the responsibility for the imperialist foreign policy of the Czech bourgeoisie and the unemployed relief which the state grants to its unfortunate. What a change in policy! A year ago, the Party denounced the former Malypetr government as a transition to fascism and today it approves the budget of Hodza who is the key man of the right wing, of the Agrarians. Indeed, the Party leaders have travelled a long way in a very short time. One can add sorrowfully that they have overstudied their part. Such toleration on the part of the CP is the first result of the “People's Front Tactics.”

The so-called People's Front policy has led the CP to place its trust in parliamentarism. Instead of propagating communist principles on the occasion of the elections for President, it decided to vote for Benes as the candidate of all anti-fascist forces. Karl Kreibich states in the “Rote Fahne” that the question of bourgeois democracy versus proletarian dictatorship is no longer on the order of the day. The real enemy today is fascism. And he concludes:

“Masaryk and the political groups around him can and must be our allies in the fight against fascism, just as they are the allies of the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace and against war.”

The Party leadership knows full well what price it is paying, nevertheless, it has failed to mobilize on the extra-parliamentary field that force which alone can oppose the reactionary, fascist coalition thirsting for power. . . . Nothing is done in order to form working class organs in the struggle against unemployment and against high prices, to bring about the mobilization and organization of the broad masses of city and rural proletariat and finally to lead successful mass actions. There is much talk of the fascist danger without a thought of organizing anti-fascist cartels and anti-fascist defense organizations.

Small wonder that in such a critical situation the tremendous potentialities of the proletariat lie unused and go to waste. Instead of promoting independent political working class action, the People's Front policy ties the working class to the tail of bourgeois democracy and diverts it from the struggle for its own class aims.

The working class must learn quickly and thoroughly; the Party membership must correct the opportunist line of the CP leadership—or else perish.

From Workers Age, Vol. 5, No. 2, Jan. 11, 1936.

ment, and all this in the supposed interest of the struggle against fascism. As a result a very peculiar theory of “the modification of class antagonisms” arose. No. 2 of “Plamen” (theoretical organ of the C.P.Cz.) carried the following among other monstrosities:

“Can there be an end to the class struggle in a capitalist state? Never. Can the tension between the classes be modified? Yes, provided a united working class attempts to enforce its demands and the bourgeoisie retreats.”

The author completely forgets that the bourgeoisie will not retreat unless it is forced to, and that the united proletariat can only force the bourgeoisie to retreat if the class struggle becomes sharper. The author ignores the fact that the bourgeoisie will not resign itself to a retreat but that it will re-group its forces and undertake new attacks on the working class and that the proletariat if it wishes to maintain its gains and increase them must never demobilize but must prepare for sharper struggles. He ignores the fact that this will inevitably lead to an increase in class antagonisms. On the contrary, he speaks of the “lessening of the antagonisms.” The political gist of this theory is a naive appeal to the present government to effect some sort of compromise between our Party and the government thru a “sensible” policy. Small wonder that the healthy class instinct of the masses scents in all this devilish play a mere “loyal” opposition. Small wonder that the impression was created that the Communists had given up their principled stand on the question of bourgeois democracy and the bourgeois state and had accepted the viewpoint of the Social-Democracy. Small wonder that the masses became confused and the formation of a united front was hindered. In other words, the results of such a policy necessarily contradicted the subjective intentions of the Party.

## ARMY AND ARMAMENT

Even greater confusion among the workers was created by several statements of various Party organs on the army and armament. It was certainly correct for the Party to show an active interest in the affairs of the army. It was and remains correct for the Party to put up a number of concrete demands aiming at the democratization of the army which would make it more difficult for the fascists to turn the army to their use. It is very much to the interest of the proletariat to have the army on the side of the workers and not on the side of the fascists. It would be fatal for the working class to show indifference to the happenings in the army. In short, it is correct to ask for the democratization of the army and to see to it that the army does not

(Continued on Page 7)

## “ENEMY CLASS AGENT”

It is quite true that the working class suffers even more under a fascist dictatorship but it by no means follows that it must therefore become resigned to its present misery since, moreover, such resignation would inevitably invite further misery. It is true that our Party never told the masses to become resigned to the present situation but the fact that it neglected to carry on a concrete struggle for concrete demands of the people against the present regime has misled the masses to identify it with the present regime. I am not saying that we did not put demands to the government. That's not the point. We did have demands. But we failed to organize a mass struggle for the carrying out of these demands. There was a certain tendency to avoid a sharp conflict with the present regime, to avoid embarrassing the govern-

THE FUNDAMENTAL problem involved here is that of the relationship between the interests, aims and tactics of a Communist Party already in power and those of the C.P.'s still struggling to win a majority of the workers for taking power. Both types of Communist Parties have identical interests. Both types of Communist Parties seek the destruction of all capitalist forces and the state powers which protect and seek to perpetuate the bourgeoisie as ruling classes. In this light, the revolutionary class is thoroughly international. We must, however, distinguish between the various stages of the class struggle in the different countries. This means that we must differentiate between and allow for differences in the tactics employed by the C.P.'s in the sundry countries for the achievement of the common, identical objectives.

JAY LOVESTONE, in Workers Age August 17, 1935

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The C. I. in Throes of Left Turn

It has now become quite clear that the official communist movement, at home and abroad, is at present deep in the throes of a "left turn," the first of its kind for many years.

Insofar as this "left turn" may bring with it even the slightest retardation of the breakneck pace with which the official communist movement is speeding towards the grossest opportunism, it is certainly to be welcomed.

But there is another aspect of the matter that seems to be even more dangerous, especially in its consequences for the future. Just as the big turn away from ultra-leftism, performed at the seventh congress of the C.I., led not to a sound policy but to opportunism, so this very small quarter-turn to the left is now again leading not to a sound policy but to the danger of a revival of sectarianism.

The Daily Worker of February 26, 1936, features a four-column editorial, a frontal attack on the socialists, especially the Militant leadership in New York. This document smells of the "third period" all over again.

"You (socialists) are wrong if you think we have given up the united front 'from below'. We shall fight from above and below."

The new attitude has its implications for trade union tactics as well. Suddenly, without any rhyme or reason, there is taking place a "sharpening" of the trade union line—a tendency to resort to the old, discredited tactics of manufacturing issues, creating opposition out of the thin air and so on.

But what we are now witnessing is after all, not simply a reversion to the "third period," for the opportunism ushered in by the seventh congress continues to flourish in the rankst manner. Take the Labor party question, for example. The Communist Party is not reverting to its old anti-Labor party attitude, nor even to the Labor party "from below" of January 1935.

THE TOWNSEND PLAN - A RACKET

By SAUL HELD

"Fear of the Townsend opposition smears the whole Western political picture," wrote Frank R. Kent, political commentator, in recent days. This testimonial to the strength of the Townsend movement is not one whit exaggerated.

What is the strength of the Townsend movement? Townsend himself claims a voting power of twenty-five million people. "The most conservative estimate, by the most caustic critic of the plan, admits that the Townsend organization has a minimum of ten million supporters included in which are at least three million affiliated Townsend-club members."

This claim is amply bolstered by the typical petty-bourgeois nature of the movement's social outlook. Clements, real estate shark and co-founder, repeatedly says: "We believe the profit system is the very mainspring of civilized progress."

"... Being good its source is God and it will prosper and do that whereunto it was sent. . . . We believe Dr. Townsend's perception of such an idea is not an accident but rather an answer to the prayers of tens of millions of organized children of God lost in a wilderness of doubt."

We state unequivocally that the Townsend Plan's backers are racketeers of superb skill; that the present form of the Townsend

advance. This "Labor party" is to be organized whether the trade union movement is ready for it or not, whether the socialists are prepared to cooperate or not! What have we then? Opportunism in general policy—sectarianism and adventurism in organizational approach, methods and tactics.

We appeal to the comrades of the C.P. to wake up and take notice before it is too late. The party is drifting towards an impossible position, to an opportunistic sectarianism combining the worst features of the old sectarianism and the new opportunism. It is not yet too late to mend!

This entire experience in Czechoslovakia, in the United States and, to an extent, in France as well as in the other sections of the Comintern, illustrates graphically and painfully the price that the world communist movement is paying today because of its lack of international collective leadership and democratic centralism. Had there

Plan, the McGroarty Bill, is a menace to labor and the middle classes. Finance capital has its political reasons for fighting the Townsend movement, but that need not blind us to the fact that the Townsend movement is a racket, is a menace to labor! Merely because Wall Street has exhibited a bitter animosity toward the Townsend Plan is no measure, in itself, of the worthwhileness of the movement. Most of the capitalists are against inflation; is inflation, therefore, of benefit to labor? Only the uninformed or knaves will so contend.

Strength And Character

What is the strength of the Townsend movement? Townsend himself claims a voting power of twenty-five million people. "The most conservative estimate, by the most caustic critic of the plan, admits that the Townsend organization has a minimum of ten million supporters included in which are at least three million affiliated Townsend-club members."

The first explanation is astonishingly naive; the second is neither here nor there.

Fortunately, Richard L. Neuberger and Kelley Loe, in Harper's Magazine, March issue, have presented a devastating analysis of the history of the Townsend movement. They conclude that the movement is a gigantic racket; their supporting evidence, which jibes with previous accounts by other writers, such as Robert M. Lovett in the New Republic, is summarized below.

Don't Tax The Rich!

"The pension proposal, as finally drafted into a bill, included a number of departures from the doctor's original scheme. It provided for a two per cent tax on all transactions, instead of a retail sales tax of indeterminate rate; another very important alteration was a change in the amount of the pension from the flat, unequivocal sum of two hundred dollars to the drastically different 'not to exceed two hundred dollars,' which might legally mean an amount as low as ten or fifteen cents."

Of course no one in his serious mind would express any horror at such normal procedure in the life of Japanese politics. Japanese

The Gold Mine

When Frank Peterson, former publicity director of the movement, testified at the first session of the 74th Congress, he levelled these charges:

- A. That Townsend and Clements secretly opposed old-age pension legislation while they continued collecting campaign funds from the old people. B. That while Clements was without funds when the movement began, he now "possesses a beautiful Lincoln car, his clothes are of the finest weave, he lives at the finest hotels and uses airplanes almost exclusively." C. That the Townsend Weekly, privately owned by Townsend and Clements, netted \$2000 (Continued on Page 7)

been party democracy, the ultra-left line would not only have been dropped because it collapsed, but its errors would have been discussed and understood and the membership would have learned what was wrong. This would have been the most effective guarantee against any revival of leftism. Furthermore, had there been party democracy in the Comintern and its various sections, the crude ultra-right line could never have been adopted. Errors which would perhaps have occurred would have been corrected on the basis of critical examination and experience. Only in this way could the membership of the Communist International thruout its sections learn to develop that initiative, that self-reliance, which are essential to the growth of mass bolshevik parties. The present sterility and paralysis of critical approach, initiative and responsibility in the Comintern will prevail so long as the present international regime in the C.I. and its sections continues.

AT FIRST GLANCE

By Jay Lovestone

IT IS only a matter of weeks before the French elections will be over. All straws in the wind seem to indicate that the enlarged left block ("Cartel Gauche") will score heavy gains in the electoral contest. However, it is not too early to point out that important as these gains may be in certain respects, they will not, in themselves, bring about any fundamental changes in class relations, in transference of power from one class to another, even on a limited scale.

In this sense it is vital to underscore that of the 858 French cities of 50,000 inhabitants or more, at least 450 are today in the hands of parties belonging to the Peoples Front (Radical Party, Socialist Party, Communist Party, etc.). Yet because of the organic nature of the parliamentary state, or so-called constitutional democracy, as a form of dictatorship by the owning class, the proletariat and middle classes of France do not come anywhere near wielding any real power in control over the police forces or over any of the other armed battalions of the country. The latter forces are at the beck and call of the bourgeoisie, particularly in decisive moments of class conflicts.

A VERY interesting and timely sidelight on the critical situation in Japan is registered in the status of the Imperial budget. For 1935 the latter reveals a deficit of 757,500,000 yen, or two-thirds of the total government expenditures including military and naval appropriations. The report of the Ministry of Finance openly admits that such appropriations devour nearly 47 out of every 100 yen in the budget. Actually the proportion of the budget going into military and naval appropriations must be much higher.

How long can Japanese imperialism continue this? So far, the Nipponese ruling class has been able to get along by resorting to heavy devaluation of its currency, dumping commodities on the world market, reducing the peasantry to abysmal conditions and cutting the workers living standards to the bone. There is good reason to believe that the workers and peasants of Japan are becoming increasingly restless at the heavy burdens imposed upon them by the military clique and the top industrialists and financiers. An index of this restlessness and discontent was disclosed in a vague, hesitant, but nevertheless unquestionable manner by the recent election trends. The gravity of the economic situation, in a measure incurred as well as reflected by the huge budgetary deficit, was disclosed in the recent Cabinet shootings.

Of course no one in his serious mind would express any horror at such normal procedure in the life of Japanese politics. Japanese

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL FORUM BERT WOLFE — Speaks on — "What's Happening To The Line Of The Seventh Congress?" The significance of the latest "left" turn of the Communist International, as shown in Czechoslovakia Sunday, March 15, 8 P. M. IRVING PLAZA 15th St. & Irving Pl. ADMISSION 25c Questions and Discussions (Continued on Page 7)

they do, and even of the very moments they choose for saying or doing things. What's behind the Comptroller's report? Why does it come out at this time? Why such boastfulness? To be frank we believe that this report is tied up with preparations for the mayoralty elections next year. We would be anything but surprised if Tammany were to nominate Mr. Taylor to head its ticket in New York City. But there is still another phase that merits examination and comment. We would like to know what Mr. Taylor proposes to do in the way of altering or modifying New York's financial policy in view of the healthy condition of its finances. Since the municipal treasury is in such good shape, why not end the sales tax? Does Mr. Taylor propose to have New York make even the slightest move in the direction of independence from the big bankers? Of course not!

And here's a pointed question addressed to Comptroller Taylor and Mayor La Guardia. Why don't you, self-labelled friends of the poor people, come forward and propose an increase in the inadequate allowance for relief in view of the favorable condition of the city's exchequer? Honestly this is only a rhetorical question. It would be no use asking this question in seriousness. We have more than a hunch that if any changes were to be made in the amount of relief allowed for the unemployed in the metropolis these changes, as far as they are concerned, would be for the worse, for reducing instead of increasing the relief allowance.

It is axiomatic that in municipal as well as state and federal financing, balanced government budgets seem to go hand in hand with unbalanced budgets for the unemployed and needy.

WITH THE LAWMAKERS

By LEE MASON

With child labor 40% more extensive than before the abolition of the NRA, the Assembly Judiciary Committee voted 8 to 3 to reject ratification of the Federal Child Labor amendment. This represents the twelfth time that the bill has met the same fate.

Senator Fearon made an attack on the state's unemployment benefits when he offered an amendment which would have declared the law inoperative in the event of Supreme Court invalidating the Federal Social Security Act, but the Senate voted him down after a bitter struggle.

What moved Fearon to offer his amendment was his solicitude for business in the state. He declared in support of his "friend" that New York's isolation in the field of unemployment insurance would cause a general exodus of industry from the state.

"You who pretend to be friends of labor," he said, "might well pause and consider what good it does a man to have unemployment benefits if there are no employers left to give employment."

Although Fearon's amendment took a licking in the Senate, there is the danger that the Republican Assembly will deal with it more favorably.

George F. Meany, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, was very conciliatory in meeting the arguments of the employers. He predicted that the merit system would be incorporated into the unemployment insurance act and declared "even now there is a very strong minority among labor groups who favor employee contributions to the fund."

Ostertag, Assemblyman, had his eye on the Communist, Socialist, and budding Labor Parties when he introduced a bill that would make it impossible for a party to be on the ballot if that party "advocates or carries on a program of violence, or which advocates or carries on a program of sedition or treason against the local, state, or national government. . . ." This bill is now before the Committee on Judiciary.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

AT this writing the building service men are still putting up a good fight against the Real Estate Board's dictatorship over conditions of labor affecting several tens of thousands of workers. The colossal arrogance of the real estate owners went completely without notice, as did also their refusal to even answer the suggestion of the union for a conference. But when Local 32B ordered the strike a veritable avalanche of slander and abuse was let loose upon the strikers by our bourgeois press. The sedate Republican "Herald Tribune" rolled up its sleeves and jumped into the battle against "the challenge of dictatorship" (by the union) and the conservative "New York Times" declares that "if it (the strike) is not broken, the life of the community is placed in danger."

And the same papers will declare, with a straight face, that the "class struggle" exists only as a figment of the radical's imagination.

There is another angle to this business which the New York trade unionists would do well to watch closely. I mean the deputizing of strikers by the Department of Health. This little trick thought up by our "union-loving" Mayor La Guardia, is as effective a strike-breaking proposal as we have seen in a long time. In cases "where an emergency exists" strikers are deputized and must report for work.

Mayor LaGuardia now threatens that unless the employers and the union mediate the strike he will take matters into his own hands to start the elevators going, the furnaces burning, etc. This you will note is a perfectly "impartial" manner of settling the whole dispute. Whatever this proposal may not prove, it does prove one thing—and that is that LaGuardia's much publicized friendship for the trade unions has completely evaporated.

A recent meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor listened attentively to an impassioned plea for a Labor Party by Francis Gorman, applauded him heartily and then proceeded to endorse a couple of old line politicians running on the Republican Party ticket. "Give unto Caesar . . ."

The Amalgamated Journal (Feb. 27, 1936), official organ of the Amalgamated Association of Iron Steel and Tin Workers, reprints the proposal of the C.I.O. for the organization of the steel industry and after listing the conditions set forth by the C.I.O. it goes on to say:

"These conditions entirely ignore the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, the proper A. F. of L. organization for steel workers, an organization which has been organizing iron and steel workers for sixty-one years . . ."

On the basis of the present membership in good standing of the A.A. its organization results will average about 150 per annum. Will some expert mathematician please figure out how many centuries it will take the A.A. to organize the steel industry?

L. Z. informs us that the Toronto & District Trades and Labor Council filed, without discussion, the communication of the Executive Council on the Committee for Industrial Organization. The Secretary stated the C.I.O. is not a dual organization and that industrial unionism is the burning question of the day.

U. N. S. (Union News Service,

issued by the Committee for Industrial Organization) reports that a poll taken by the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette on the question of industrial or craft preference in organization resulted in industrial unionism receiving 68% of all the votes.

I have just received a long and very interesting letter dealing with the situation in Paterson. The essence of the letter is the decline of the union to the point of extinction. In the course of twelve months of leadership by the "Rank and File Group" the union dwindled in membership from 8,000 to a few hundred. The Plainclothes Department had 5600 members a year ago, today it has barely 400. Out of about 500 shops of varying size, there are about 30 in which there is some semblance of unionism left. This was on the basis of a makeshift two-months settlement which has already expired.

There is no need of going into details on the present horrible conditions in the industry. What is needed, and very badly, is for all the progressive forces to get together and see whether a common program can be found to begin to rebuild what has been pulled down so effectively in the last year.

Wages in USSR Increase by 23%

MOSCOW — Russia's 24,700,000 industrial and office workers are getting fatter pay envelopes and eating more food, Soviet statistics published this week show. Even the banner year of 1934, with its record average wage of 1,853 rubles, has been bettered this year. The survey reveals an increase of 22.6% for 1935, or an average wage of 2,271 rubles.

Not only are there increased supplies and a greater variety of foodstuffs, but the people are able to buy more. This is borne out by the figures on consumption which show an increase as compared with 1934 of 31% per person for meat, 85% for lard, 29% for milk, 33% for butter, 5% for sugar, 27% for potatoes, and 148% for fruits.

By way of contrast, the survey indicates that the consumption of these items has gone down markedly in Nazi Germany. Higher prices, due to the strangled condition of the present German economy, are responsible for the decrease.

Stakhanoffite workers, such as miners, are earning as much as 1,200 to 1,400 rubles a month, four times what they used to make in former years. They are piling up savings at the rate of 400 rubles a month.

Prices have gone down considerably. In the State stores the reductions amount in toto to 2,000,000,000 rubles, compared with 1934. In open market trading, such as is conducted by individual members of collective farms and cooperative artisan enterprises, the prices have been cut to the tune of 3,000,000,000 rubles.

PHILADELPHIA George F. Miles Editor—Workers Age — Speaks on — WHAT NEXT FOR THE A. F. OF L.? Is a split inevitable? Sunday, March 15, 8 P. M. at 329 PINE STREET Auspices—Communist Party (Opposition)

# PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S NEW DEAL AND BIG BUSINESS

By WILL HERBERG  
(Continued from previous issue)

In December 1935, with production at or above 1923-25 levels, with employment at 15% below this norm, factory payrolls stood at 25% below. In other words, altho in December this country produced about as much as a decade ago, only 85% as many workers were employed and they were only paid 75% as much. Here is a graphic picture of the nature of the present recovery.

The contrast is startling when we turn to profits and corporation earnings. In the nine month period of January-October 1935, as compared with the similar period in 1934, net profits of manufacturing concerns rose 32% and, for a group of 64 "leaders," almost 44%. The profits of 1900 corporations, noted by the National City Bank and Standard Statistics, jumped nearly 80% in the period from 1933 to 1935. United States Steel, we learn from A. F. of L. reports, scored a profit for operations in 1935 of over a million dollars as compared with a loss in excess of \$21,000,000 for 1934. It is reported that the profits for the fourth quarter of 1935 were the largest since the final quarter of 1930. The trade periodical, Steel, announces in its issue of February 3, 1936 that the first nine steel companies to report 1935 earnings show a total profit of \$32,000,000 as compared with a deficit of \$14,000,000 in 1934. "Of the integrated producers reporting thus far," we are informed, "every one has emerged from the red of the depression."

Profits in the automobile industry have also made tremendous gains in the year just ended. The 1935 preliminary report for General Motors shows the largest profit since 1929, an increase of more than 75% over 1934.

These few figures are enough to indicate that, for big capital, the desperate economic situation which drove American business to fashion the New Deal in its main outlines, is already disappearing. "Gratifying" levels in production and profit are being reached but, more important than that, big business is beginning to regain its self-confidence, to get back its nerve, to recover from the jitters of the last days of Hoover. The specter of the imminent collapse of the whole economic structure of capitalism no longer stares it in the face. With the passing of the desperate disease, the desperate remedy no longer seems as necessary as it once was.

### Something for Big Business to Worry About

On the other hand, the New Deal has brought with it some utterly unexpected and quite disturbing by-products for big business. Who among the "best minds" could have foreseen in 1932 and 1933 that their plans for the "self-government" of industry and the strangulation of labor would, when put into effect by the new administration, become the occasion for a tremendous upsurge of the labor movement, for a gigantic strike wave, for a sweeping unionization movement among the workers? Yet the New Deal, despite its diametrically opposed aims, has come to be identified with precisely these "shocking" manifestations.

Another New Deal development that has arisen to disturb certain sections of big capital is the Federal program of social legislation, which the Roosevelt administration holds to be absolutely necessary in order to bring about greater stability in the industrial structure and to allay discontent among the masses. The actual outcome, as embodied in the much vaunted "social security" program, may be

miserable enough nor can the financial burdens this program lays on business be taken seriously, but big capital fears, with good reason, the consequences of any sort of Federal social legislation whatsoever, the irresistible mass demand for more substantial and more effective benefits that is certain to arise once the door is opened by even so much as a crack. With the emergency over, the vast "dangers" implied in the New Deal program on this field, are coming to the fore.

The New Deal, furthermore, is costing more in terms of taxes than anybody originally expected it would. It is true that the American bourgeoisie is hardly overwhelmed with taxes, especially if it is compared with the propertied classes of countries like England; it is true also that a good part of the burden has hitherto been shifted to the backs of the poorer sections of the population. But the fact remains that budgets and deficits are mounting to astronomical figures. Now, while big business may have been ready to pay and pay heavily for security when disaster and chaos were staring it in the face, its mood is somewhat different today when production and profits are again approaching "satisfactory" levels.

Most offensive of all, perhaps, to the leading elements in the capitalist world is the tendency towards "public interference" in business, which, in substance, means the intervention of the government, representing the general interests of the capitalist system, into the "private" affairs of the big trusts and monopolies that dominate the economic life of the country. Such intervention was naturally implored and welcomed in the dark days of the 1932-33 but now it is just as naturally spurned as oppressive and subversive of every law, human and divine.

### Big Business Veers Away From the New Deal

In short, the last year or two have witnessed a marked swing away from the New Deal in capitalist circles, leaving American business deeply divided in attitude. Whatever form the controversy may take, at bottom the fundamental issue remains—how shall capitalism meet the challenge which the economic crisis has thrown straight in its face? One section of business having recovered from the Hooverian jitters, believes the emergency to be over and the "heroic" measures embodied in the New Deal no longer necessary, indeed positively harmful and dangerous. The other section, standing by the New Deal, believes that some sort of long-range stabilization ("reform" in the Roosevelt vocabulary) of the capitalist structure is necessary in order to perpetuate it; that government leadership and interference in business, as well as Federal social legislation, with all its dangers, are essential elements in such stabilization; that labor can no longer be dealt with in the old manner but must, in the very interests of capitalism, be carefully integrated into the new industrial structure; that high taxes and other burdens are necessary sacrifices to the great end; that the only alternative to the New Deal is a return to economic collapse and social chaos.

### Economic Interests Behind the Conflict of Views

Of course, this deepening divergence in attitude is not merely a matter of differing concepts and theories; behind each viewpoint there are definite economic groups whose interests are intimately connected with that particular approach. Chief among the enemies

of the New Deal today are the public utility interests and very big heavy industry, who resent "public interference" in the sense explained above, who again feel themselves quite capable of taking care of "their own" affairs without any help, who dread the dangerous experiment of Federal social legislation, who feel the tax burden falling essentially upon them, who object to the administration farm policy as bringing higher costs and reduced turnover to industry.

On the other hand, there are the less organized, more competitive but very considerable branches of American industry which still see in the New Deal more of a promise than a menace. The coal mining industry is divided. The big independents in the oil industry are largely pro-Roosevelt. So are the dominant elements among the big railroad interests, which live on governmental bounty and which have less fear of social legislation since the invalidation of the pensions act. While the gigantic, concentrated banking groups of the East are definitely hostile to the New Deal, many important bankers in the rest of the country are to be found in the Roosevelt camp; Giannini of San Francisco, the fourth biggest banker in the country, may be taken as an example. This analysis—which, it should be noted, is limited entirely to big capitalist interests and does not touch the petty bourgeoisie and working masses—might be extended much further, but the point under consideration is already clear enough for present purposes. The impression assiduously spread by the anti-administration press that Roosevelt is completely isolated among the business men and capitalists of this country, who constitute just one great hostile mass arrayed against him, is nothing more or less than a Postmaster General Farley, so enthusiastically claims, that "for every capitalist or industrialist who wishes to bring back the Hoover days, there will be ten of his own economic group who will appreciate that the New Deal stopped the panic and gave each of them a chance to recover," it is nevertheless a fact that the president and his policies have wide support among business and industrial leaders in all parts of the country.

The political expression of this conflict of viewpoint and interest cuts across traditional party lines. The Democratic party is not entirely behind the New Deal nor is the Republican party entirely against it. As a matter of fact, the real political embodiment of anti-New Deal sentiment in business circles is the American Liberty League, a bi-partisan reactionary coalition, with the Republicans naturally in the lead. On the other hand, there is also emerging a definite but not formally organized New Deal coalition, consisting of the Roosevelt Democrats and the Republican progressives, together with "liberals" of all sorts. The old party labels are, of course, being retained but the contest is essentially between these two political camps.

### What Do the Anti-New Deal Forces Want?

What do the anti-New Deal forces in the ranks of big capital actually want? Does any one really believe that these devout worshippers at the shrine of Alexander Hamilton are out for "stater's rights"? Does anybody really believe that these trust kings and monopoly tycoons are anxious to restore the reign of free competi-

### What big capital wants today is an end to Federal social legislation under the shabby pretence that such legislation is the sole and exclusive concern of the states.

What big capital wants today is the lightning of its tax burden

tion and laissez-faire? Nonsense! They haven't the slightest desire to undo the advances in cartelization, industrial organization and state capitalism made under the New Deal nor could they if they would. Roosevelt was issuing no empty challenge when he dared his opponents in Congress to propose the outright repeal of the chief New Deal measures. No!—their program is something else entirely.

Let us recall that, in the second year of the present administration, outstanding spokesmen of big capital, then still parading as friends of the New Deal, raised the "innocent" slogan of the "constructive revision" of the NRA. What this "constructive revision" meant was to be seen in the second Swope Plan (November 1933), which was engagingly simple in its main outlines. Its first plank was: "Return industry to itself," by which its sponsors candidly explained they meant "the transference of the NRA to the headquarters of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce," that is, at one and the same time, the removal of "public interference" in business and the endowment of the organizations of big business with quasi-governmental powers in economic affairs. The second plank was: "Revise section 7a," which certainly needs no explanation. At first, Swope and his friends believed that their "constructive revision" could be carried out within the bounds of the NRA and, indeed, in NRA circles, the plan was openly hailed as an "ultimate ideal." As time went on, this was found to be neither possible nor desirable and big capital soon determined to achieve the same objectives outside the NRA.

### Cartelization—The Aim of Big Business

In its survey for the year 1933, the A. F. of L. called attention to the significant fact that: "Under the present code set-up a drift towards the cartel system seems probable. If the code authority is no more than a management committee, we may expect an era of artificial price-raising and limitation of production."

What decisive sections of big capital want today is precisely this cartel system, with its powers of organization, price fixing and production control, but purely on the basis of "self-government," without any "public interference" or governmental intervention except at their own behest and on their own terms. Important business groups, which loudly cheered the restoration of the sacred right of free competition thru the voiding of the NRA, are now appealing to the Supreme Court to ease up on the anti-trust laws so that they can violate these very same sacred laws thru price-fixing and limitation of output! The Sugar Institute has been pleading before the Supreme Court for some months on these grounds. The Cotton Textile Institute is now in Washington arguing that textile companies should be allowed to get together to curtail hours of operation, restrict output, regulate the introduction of new machinery and the like. The window glass makers, the lumber manufacturers and committees of consumers goods industries are engaged in the same effort today. While asking for the "reform" of the anti-trust laws and the legal recognition of cartelization, these interests admit quite frankly that the anti-trust laws are now being disregarded at least as widely as prohibition ever was.

What big capital wants today is an end to Federal social legislation under the shabby pretence that such legislation is the sole and exclusive concern of the states. What big capital wants today is the lightning of its tax burden

both by scaling down taxes and by shifting an even greater proportion of them to the shoulders of the poverty-stricken masses. What big capital wants today, at least as much as anything else, is the curbing of labor, the strangulation of trade unionism, the unchecked reign of the open shop and the company union!

### Unity in Aim — Conflict in Ways and Means

Between Roosevelt and his enemies in the ranks of big capital there are no differences of fundamental aim or purpose. Both stand on the basis of the capitalist system and both want to stabilize and perpetuate it. But they disagree basically as to ways and means and these differences go deep and far. Both agree that labor must not be allowed to get "out of hand" and challenge, directly or indirectly, important business interests. Both want to destroy its class independence and its class militancy. But the Liberty Leaguers want to do it by cracking down hard and ruthlessly; Roosevelt would accomplish the same end thru the insidious but no less fatal process of the integration of labor into the governmental machinery, thru "NRA unionism," as it used to be known, thru "quasi-unionism" as Lewis Lorwin calls it. And so on; the divergence is serious and significant but it does not touch fundamentals.

It is hardly possible to avoid the conclusion that, from the long-range social viewpoint, Roosevelt is certainly a better, more far-sighted and more effective champion of the fundamental interests of capitalism, than the loud-mouthed political business men who now pretend to consider him a "Red." In fact, it is no exaggeration to state that the anti-New Deal sections of big capital constitute its most politically backward elements, its standpatners and reactionaries, its Bourbons who seem unable either to forget or to learn anything. In a recent issue of the New Yorker, Henry Pringle quotes Elihu Root as passing the following significant judgment on Theodore Roosevelt, the New Dealer of yesterday: "Where should we now be if Theodore Roosevelt had not restored to the plain people of the United States confidence in our institutions." It is not altogether impossible that a future Elihu Root, perhaps a John P. Davis of today, may yet come to pass a similar judgment upon Franklin D. Roosevelt!

Not so long ago Earl Browder in his *Communism in the United States* set for himself the difficult task of breaking down the walls of prejudice which separate the average American worker from Communism. It is the failure of this effort which accounts for "What is Communism?" This book, I have no doubt, will commend itself both to those amateurs who were terrified by the dry prolixity of the official reports and resolutions in his earlier book and to those professionals who were appalled by the glaring inconsistencies, inaccuracies, half-truths and subtleties which even casuistry could not explain away. It is entirely likely, however, that for the average American reader of "What is Communism?", plausibility will be followed by conviction. It is therefore, to the implausibilities of the book—in fact, to the weaknesses of "Communism in the United States"—that this review is addressed in the interest of sounder communist theory and practice.

### WHAT IS COMMUNISM?

(Reviewed by BERN BRANDON)

In his chapter on "Fascism: American Brand" Browder gives no evidence that he has learned as yet the nature of Fascism. Old absurdities have been jettisoned for new, and in the process some of the old has been unwittingly left aboard. Like all confusion, Browder's mistaken approach is never sharp and clear but contradictory and self-defeating. At the same time that he attempts to pin Fascism on the Liberty League, the House of Morgan and the Du Ponts, "the spearhead of reactionary opposition to Roosevelt . . . convinced that Roosevelt must be replaced" (P. 52), he includes the Manifesto of the C.P.U.S.A. in the appendix stating that "inflation, N.R.A., A.A.A., P.W.A., C.W.A., C.C.C., the Wagner Bill, etc." are "fascist and war measures." (P. 240.) At the same time that he says that "To rely upon Roosevelt to keep 'fascism' from coming to power, plays into the hands of the Liberty League" (P. 55), he says "The mutual recriminations of the rival bourgeois groups (and isn't Roosevelt leader of one of these?—B.B.) which expose one another's fascist character as they struggle to win the support of the vaguely anti-fascist masses of people, are too often discounted and disregarded as being only the hypocritical exaggeration of politicians." (P. 56) Now there is patent contradiction, not to say confusion, in these positions. But the tragic irony of this foray is that, like Hobson's choice, there is none. For the truth is that neither the Liberty League and its ilk nor Roosevelt and his ilk are fascists.

In the light of the darkness which envelops all that Comrade Browder has to say on the subject of Fascism, including the fantastic explanation of the Long assassination, it is hardly amiss to suggest the quarter from which it will stem. In the pages of the "American Review" and the "Southern Review" is to be found an already developed fascist ideology for a still amorphous and undeveloped fascist movement. Characteristically enough, it is professedly "anti-capitalist," "anti-propertied," "agrarian" and "anti-democratic." This, in all probability, will be the language of Fascism when, as, and if it comes to the United States.

Much of this Fascist phobia, it will be clear, has its origin in Europe where it is an ominous

the process of separation has not even taken place. There is no national Farmer-Labor Party. The effect of this Peoples' Front nonsense in America has been to work at cross and, therefore, contradictory purposes. At the same time that the Party is making every effort to foster sentiment for a Farmer-Labor Party, a task which involves making the American worker conscious of his political and economic role, it is banishing the very word "worker" from the pages of its national organs. The height of this folly was probably reached at the recent Negro Congress in Chicago where the trade union committee of a Communist-initiated Congress refused to report out a resolution in favor of a Farmer-Labor Party because many of the middle-class and capitalist elements that swamped the Congress would not support it!

In conclusion, I wish to point out some of the other serious shortcomings of this book. For one, I am

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# BOOKS of the AGE . . . . .

## Comintern Cracks Down On Czechoslovakian Communist Party

(Continued from Page 3)

become a stronghold of reaction and fascism. But to approve the armament policy of the present government, nay, to call for increased armaments is entirely incorrect and impermissible from a worker's point of view.

"No honest workman in our Republic is today opposed to the army or armaments. The army must have the best of everything. We must arm. Everyone of us will go to war against fascism. We therefore want the best of weapons and plenty of them.

"His Honor, the Minister of National Defense elaborated the budget of the army administration in the armament committee. The army must have a big budget. This is necessary. If it were not for the fact that a certain section of society pockets profits . . . the army would have two cannons instead of the one made by our patriotic arms manufacturers, two airplanes instead of one, two machine guns instead of one. . . . We must all sacrifice for the army, workers, peasants, civil service employees and clerks included. We shall give our lives in a war but we must have the certainty that no one will pocket millions at the cost of our sacrifices."

### "UNBELIEVABLE"—GOTTWALD

If I had not seen it with my own eyes I would not have believed that such things could appear in a Communist paper. This extract was published in "Rude Pravo," the central organ of the Party on November 27, 1935. The author was evidently an element hostile to the proletariat and the party. While there were no slender distortions of the fundamentals of class struggle in other manifestos of the Party the fact that the author of this incredible paragraph was not immediately expelled from the Party as an agent of the enemy class proves that the Party does not have a clear, consistent, bolshevik position on the army.

It seems that the comrades have forgotten the main thing, namely, the question of the class character of the army. The class character of the army is determined by whatever class is in power.

### PARTY AND GOVERNMENT

The comrades were evidently succumbing to the propaganda of our opponents, who shrieked: "If you Communists really stand for the defense of the republic then you must vote for the war budget. How else can you prove your sincerity?" To superficial minds this sounds logical. Actually it is not so.

The toiling masses of Czechoslovakia want to defend themselves against Hitler and other foreign fascists. Can they rely on the bourgeoisie in this fight? Not without paying a heavy price for it. We need not point to the German and Hungarian bourgeoisie both of which entertain the friendliest relations with Hitler and Horthy respectively. We can give an example closer home. What about the Czech and the Slovakian bourgeoisie? Are the Kramars, Stribrnys, Stoupals and Hlinkas not at this very moment conspiring with Henlein and are they not flirting with Berlin?

(Thirty-six lines cut by censor)

Perhaps some comrades became confused in their estimate of the relation of the Party to the government, to the bourgeois state and the army as a result of the present relations between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union? The Soviet Union has entered a mutual assistance pact with Czechoslovakia. Does this have any influence on the relation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie of Czechoslovakia? None at all. The interests of the proletariat of the Soviet Union are the same as the interests of the world proletariat. Forms and methods of its defense may be different due to the fact that in the Soviet Union the proletariat is the ruling class while the rest of the world proletariat is an oppressed class. In this case the government of S. U. concluded a treaty with the government of Czechoslovakia in order to prolong the peace. This is in the interest of the toiling masses of all countries. But the oppressed proletariat of Czechoslovakia did not conclude a peace treaty with the ruling bourgeoisie of Czechoslovakia. The aim of the proletariat remains the same, namely, to overthrow capitalism as soon as possible just as the capitalists retain their goal of exploitation and oppressing the proletariat. It follows that the class relationship between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie of Czechoslovakia remains unchanged despite a treaty of the bourgeois government of Czechoslovakia with the Soviet Union.

reality. It is no surprise, therefore, to learn that Browder advocates precisely the same anti-fascist policy—the Peoples' Front—to counteract the forces of Fascism. And, according to the author, "a powerful people's anti-fascist front" is "given an organized expression in a Farmer-Labor Party." (P. 107) Suffice it to say that his present conception of a labor party as described in Chapter 10 is in the main sound and its program acceptable. (Pp. 11-117) But what mystification is introduced when this is confused with and labelled a "People's Front!" The very function of a labor party in the United States is to accomplish the long overdue separation of the workers from the capitalist parties into their own working class organization. The very function of the Peoples' Front is to create a united bloc of the already existing working class parties with the political organizations of the petty bourgeoisie. In the United States,

# THE TOWNSEND PLAN - A RACKET

(Continued on Page 4)

four million would give headquarters as much as \$25,000,000 this year!"

And this estimate is truly conservative, other facts indicate: a Townsend National Legion, a Townsend honor society, is being organized by headquarters with Dr. George W. Buntion as organizer. The goal is a membership of 50,000 and the dues are \$12 a head, which should net a cool \$600,000 a year! What the income is from the booklet "That Man Townsend" which sells at 50c a copy, or the licence plates manufactured by the Atlas Stamp and Badge Co., or the stickers, buttons, etc. is unknown. Who gets the income is also unknown.

### A "Progressive" Movement

While ranting against Communism and Fascism, and while ostensibly upholding the New England town-hall meeting as a model of democratic procedure for itself, the Townsend movement, in all its activities, is governed by the two dictators Townsend and Clements. All organizers are appointed by them, all matters concerning finances and political attitude or action, are exclusively in the hands of these unscrupulous partners. In fact, members can and have been expelled for fighting their autocratic reign. Moreover, the outspoken anti-Communist attitude coupled with the exclusion of the foreign born from benefit provision in its program, reveals the reactionary character of the movement. It is not a progressive movement as the Communist Party declares. Its fear of even mentioning the class-struggle, its hatred of "reds" and "foreigners," its almost exclusively petty-bourgeois composition, its racketeering leadership—these are not the marks of a progressive movement. Genuine sentiment for social security amongst its members does not determine the character of this movement or any other movement.

In future issues of Workers Age, Comrade Held will take up other phases of the Townsend movement.

unable to go along with him in his perspective for the Socialist Party. "Communists do not want a weak Socialist Party which is no asset to the working class. They urge Socialists to join the struggle for the united front because it will strengthen both the Socialist Party and the Communist Party and thus strengthen the working class." (P. 111) It is my opinion that in the interests of the working class movement, we should work for the revolutionary elements in the Socialist Party going over to Communism, and for scattering to the four-winds the reformist elements. This has been the attitude of Communism. To obfuscate this perspective in the supposed interest of the "united front" or in the supposed interest of anything else serves no purpose save to sow confusion in the ranks of Communists.

In regard to the question of war, Comrade Browder reaffirms the "small nation" deviation. (P. 171) On the other hand, he comes out for the transformation of imperialist war into civil war and argues convincingly against the "neutrality" and "isolation" position of Norman Thomas and the liberals. (Pp. 176-8) As for the "practical tasks" to be carried out against an aggressor, I can support everything he says except his stand on the American League. Furthermore, I would suggest for his consideration another demand that would serve to fix the working class character of his program (pp. 179-80) a little more clearly: the demand that colonies, protectorates, spheres of influence of "our" country be given up, that "our" troops be recalled to American soil; the demand for our immediate dis-

armament and the use of the military budget in aid of the aged, unemployed and sick. Finally, in his discussion of "How the Communist Party Works," we read: "No, the Communist Party does not 'take orders' from Moscow. The very placing of such a question becomes absurd when we remember that a political party, even so small a one as the Communist Party still is, can live and grow only to the extent that it directly represents, leads, and organizes the masses whom it daily wins. That cannot be done by orders from anywhere." (P. 205) To which we say—well, what can we say?—you're right and you're wrong.

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(Continued on Page 4)

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# USSR Pledge to Defend Mongolian Republic Hits Japanese Militarists

Joseph Stalin, in an interview with Roy Howard of the Scripps-Howard chain, issued what is tantamount to a warning to Japan, when he declared that in any military action on the part of Japan against Outer Mongolia, the Soviet Union would place all its resources, military and otherwise, on the side of the Mongolian People's Republic.

Altho Japanese foreign office spokesmen have characterized these statements of Stalin as "bluff" there is no doubt but what the foreign office is in for some heavy brow knitting. Military observers and leading political thinkers thruout the world believe that this interview, especially in its discussion on the danger of war from the direction of Japan or Germany, will have a salutary effect.

### Scoffs At "Red Propaganda"

In answer to the usual questions about "red propaganda" and "fomenting revolution" Comrade Stalin referred to these as "tragicomic" and insisted that "revolutions will occur in other countries but only at a time when it will be considered possible or necessary by the revolutionists in each specific country. To attempt to export revolution is nonsense. Without desire within a country there will be no revolution."

### War Question Paramount

However, the center of the interview was the war question. Giving as the reason for war, the very existence of capitalism and its drive for "territories, markets, raw materials, spheres of influence," Comrade Stalin stated that "it is impossible to say" when war will break out. "It may come very unexpectedly. Nowadays wars are not declared. They simply start."

Considering both Germany and Japan as potential centers for precipitating a war, Stalin considered the Far East as the most immediate trouble zone. Asked what would be the attitude of the Soviet Union if Japan begins military action against Outer Mongolia, Comrade Stalin stated that:

"If Japan ventures to attack the Mongolian Peoples' Republic and seeks to destroy its independence we have to be able to help that republic. Litvinov's assistant, Stomoniakoff, recently so informed the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow and called his attention to the unchangeable friendly relations which the Soviet Union has entertained with the Mongolian Peoples' Republic since 1921. We would help that republic as we did in 1921."

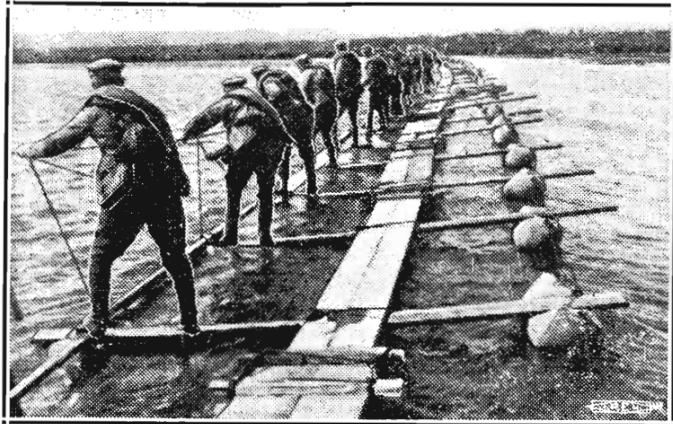
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This group of soldiers, constructing a pontoon bridge, are part of the Far-East Red Army guarding Siberia against an expected attack by the armies of Japanese imperialism.

## Citrine Exposes Nazi Sports

"Athletics and Sport are the preparatory school of political driving power in the service of the State. Non-political, so-called 'neutral' sportsmen are unthinkable in Hitler's State."

This is an extract from the preface of an official Nazi publication outlining the method by which German athletes are "politicalised."

It is quoted in a new pamphlet: "The Dictatorship Over Sport in Nazi Germany," by Sir Walter

Citrine, General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress in England, in which the domination of the Nazis, not only over sport, but over other departments of German life, is fully revealed.

Incidentally the pamphlet vindicates the intervention of the T.U.C. against the visit of a German football team in London in December 1935.

Sir Walter shows that the regimentation of sport in Germany

serves a definite political purpose.

"The militarisation of the German people, the youth of Germany in particular, is the object at which it aims. As I write, a Reuter message comes to my desk from Berlin, summarising an article published by van Tschammer-Osten in the conscripts' weekly journal:

'The task of physical culture in the National-Socialistic State (he writes) consists in maintaining and increasing the nation's strength and its combative character . . . If we succeed in developing the mass of German men and women to the highest point of their bodily powers through physical culture, then we shall have provided the broadest and most secure basis for direct defensive instruction.'

"The Sport Leader added that sport is 'the most pleasurable and comprehensive kind of soldierly and pre-military education.' The point is even more plainly put in a pamphlet which is on sale in the German bookshop. It bears the title PHYSICAL TRAINING FOR MILITARY DEFENCE. The opening sentence is:

'The goal of all physical training was, and will always be, military defence.'

and the writer on one page compares the football team to a storming party of infantry in action."

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## F.D.'S TAX PLAN IN COMMITTEE

After much speculation as to the type of taxation the President would propose, after rumours had filled the city of Washington about a rise in taxes on the lower income brackets, which caused deep groaning in the halls of Congress—came the proposed corporation tax.

Roosevelt "suggests" the following: on all future surplus profits corporations shall pay a tax. Surplus profits remain after everything, including dividends, have been paid, and are usually provided for by corporations in their annual budget as a percentage to put aside as a nest egg. This tax essentially seems to perform the function of leverage rather than taxation. The surplus profit taxes can be avoided by the corporation if they pay out higher dividends. The government will receive approximately the same amount since, coincidentally, the exemption on dividends is to be lifted. Obviously the corporation will attempt to pass the tax on to its stockholders by paying out in the form of dividends, which may put a very small amount of tied-up capital into circulation. There is no guarantee that the receivers will not reinvest their money—but it would undoubtedly cause some motion in the stagnant money market, and for the administration it's an excellent talking point.

The "suggestion" (Roosevelt insists that's all it is, and for good political reasons, too) has been sent into committee where it will be shaped or scrapped. The latter is very unlikely, for from a purely political point of view this is one of Roosevelt's master strokes, and as every commentator has pointed out—is a godsend to the Congressmen standing for re-election.

An equal amount (and this has been overlooked in the ballyhoo) is to be raised thru excises on agricultural products. This federal sales tax is therefore increasing, and must result in higher commodity prices.

## UNIONS CONFER ON LABOR PARTY

NORFOLK, VA.—The creation of a Farmer-Labor Party was advocated here in a resolution passed at the Virginia Workers Educational Conference and the appointment of a committee to further the organization of such a party.

The conference also adopted a resolution approving the work of the Committee for Industrial Organization, and urging that action "be not construed as dualism within the federation but as a necessary change in the organizational policy of the American Federation of Labor."

One hundred and six delegates were in attendance, representing 17 local unions, 4 central labor bodies (Norfolk, Portsmouth, Newport News, Richmond) and 10 other organizations.

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