

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Joint Military Staff To Meet As Britain Shifts Its Policy

Germany Rejects "White Paper"; Nazi Coup In Austria Now Expected

While an open break has not yet occurred in Britain's Cabinet, it is clear that a sharp fight is brewing on the question of foreign alignment. The struggle between the pro-Nazi and pro-French sections of the British bourgeoisie, however, seems to be on the way to settlement in favor of the latter. Only so long and no longer could Britain hold out for a "conciliatory" move by Hitler as the basis for delaying action in the Rhine-land crisis existed. When ambassador Ribbentrop rejected the "White Paper", a document practically recognizing the breaking of Locarno, the British were forced to shift slightly in orientation.

The result of this move is a new lineup in which conversations between the General Staffs of Britain, France and Belgium undoubtedly mark the revival of the Franco-British alliance. It will not be consummated for some time. The pro-Nazi Britishers (Lloyd George hopes to regain popularity thru this group) will make a sharp fight leading to more than one political crisis in London.

Flandin of France is working overtime to cement an anti-German lineup. For this it is necessary that Britain and Italy reach an agreement on the Ethiopian question, making France the chief of the anti-sanctions bloc in the League. The Council of Thirteen meets this week, and its only achievement will probably be to lay the basis for a mutual (imperialist) understanding to settle the war at the expense of Ethiopia's independence. Italy is always quite willing to bargain for terms, but it must be remembered that the Fascists hailed Hitler's coup, recognizing this crisis as excellent for bargaining purposes—with either side.

Rumors of an impending coup in Austria by the Nazis have their basis partly in reality (it is undoubtedly part of the German program), and partly in diplomatic necessity. By harping on this possibility French imperialism is able to wave bogeymen in front of the eyes of Italy, especially, and also England. If some arrangement can be reached in Ethiopia, the possibility of a Nazi Austria will undoubtedly swing Italy into line with the French bloc. Thus emerges out of dark swamps of imperialist intrigue solid lines that bring the workers of the world closer to massacre.

HOW MUCH HAVE YOU?

The following is the estimated wealth of the candidates mentioned for the presidency:

Herbert Hoover	\$2,500,000
Col Frank Knox	1,500,000
Senator Arthur Vandenburg	800,000
Gov. Alf Landon	500,000
Senator William E. Borah	200,000

And President Roosevelt himself is not down to his last nickel either!

MOONEY APPROVES CANDIDACY FOR PRESIDENT ON LABOR TICKET



Nation's Capitalist Press, Fearing Move, Completely Suppresses Interview in Jail

One of the most complete and amazing examples of suppression of vital news in the entire history of America's corrupt "free" capitalist press, has just come to light thanks to the alertness of a London correspondent of the **Workers Age** who was amazed to find no mention of the Mooney for President campaign in the papers arriving from America, altho it is big news in the course of a presidential election campaign.

The English press so estimated it. The London Daily Mirror of February 14, 1936, carries the story under the caption "**Convict May Be President.**" It is from this source that we finally secured the important sections of the interview of the Associated Press with Tom Mooney in his San Francisco jail cell on February 1, 1936. Here is Tom Mooney's reply to the proposal that he become the candidate for president on a united labor ticket.

"If it is the desire of all working class political parties to so honor me, I would be very happy to accept such an honor and would do everything within my power to fulfill the requirements that such an obligation imposed.

"I think it would be very fitting and proper for American workers to use this as a political weapon of expressing their symbolic interest in the liberation of myself and Warren K. Billings."

Patient examination of all the big metropolitan dailies of every important city in the U S., from the kept street-walker Hearst sheets and tabloids to the self-righteous, stodgy, all-the-news-that's-fit-to-print N Y Times, reveals not a line, not a syllable, of Mooney's significant interview.

The amazing completeness of this conspiracy of silence is in itself an overwhelming demonstration of the fear in capitalist political circles aroused by the very thought of the political unity of labor with Tom Mooney as standard bearer.

We are conducting a study into the inside story of this conspiracy of suppression and promise further information in the near future.

WE AWAIT AN ANSWER

The Communist Party Opposition does not view this problem of a united labor ticket in 1936 in any other light than that of securing the greatest unity of working class action under the circumstances. Hence its proposal to choose as standard bearer one who is not tied up with any of the existing political groupings in the ranks of labor, yet one who symbolizes and champions the working class essentials binding all proletarian organizations. Such a standard bearer today is Tom Mooney.

The CPO sincerely hopes that the leadership and membership of the Socialist and Communist Parties will approach the problem of unity of action in the 1936 elections in a similar manner. All faction interests and group maneuvering must be cast aside. The CPO seeks no special privileges, rights, or credit in this matter.

It sincerely wishes and energetically works for a united labor ticket in 1936. It believes that the realization of such a significant step toward working class unity depends today primarily on the attitude and policy of the CP. and SP.

Indeed even the most politically purblind will see that only such a ticket headed by so heroic and world-renowned a figure as Tom Mooney—a man who has spent two decades of his life in California dungeons in the interest of militant trade unionism, in the interest of all that is sacred to the working class as a class—can today rally an appreciable number of labor unions for independent working class political action. Certainly this is the case in view of the Roosevelt myth gripping such large sections of the working class.

The CPO anxiously awaits a favorable response from the Socialist and Communist Parties. It can think of nothing more suicidal than a repetition of the 1932 fight between the SP and CP in the coming presidential elections.

1,000 DELEGATES JOIN IN MAY FIRST UNITED FRONT

A. F. of L. Trade Unions, Socialists, Communists, Set Up United Labor May Day Body To Prepare Parade and Meetings on Labor's Holiday

Over 1,000 delegates representing 73 A F of L unions and the working class political and fraternal organizations met in Delano Hotel last Friday night and organized themselves for a mighty demonstration of working class solidarity on May First. The conference represented the first united front effort of this kind in almost two decades.

The resolutions passed by the conference are indicative of the keen desire for the unification of the ranks of labor. One resolution set up a committee headed by Norman Thomas, socialist leader, to appear before a committee of trade unionists set up by the I.L.G.W.U. and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, with the proposal for coordinating all activities on this coming May Day.

This action by the conference was already indicated in the report for the sponsoring committee delivered by Charles S. Zimmerman, manager of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U. "We do not want to make any arrangements," said Zimmerman, "to conflict with any other functions on May First. Labor has had

enough division in its ranks. Let us do our best to march together with our fellow workers. To this end I suggest that this conference select a committee to appear before the committee in charge of the Polo Grounds meeting."

The conference seemed to appreciate the importance of this united front step when it gave a hearty reception to the speakers for the various political organizations. Jack Altman, speaking for the Socialist Party, which had just defeated the Old Guard in the New York state primaries, for control of the organization, received a rousing welcome. Altman pledged the Socialist Party to a struggle against any war waged by American imperialism, and hailed the achievements of the Soviet Union, stating that the Socialist Party stands ready to defend it from any capitalist attacks. Objecting to any fly-by-night Farmer-Labor parties, Altman declared his party to be ready to help build and participate in a Labor Party built upon the trade unions.

District Organizer Israel Amter,
(Continued on Page 8)

Powerful Red Army Cools Japanese Ardor

Alliance With Germany Is Japan's Policy For Drive Against Soviet

While the past week has seen the continuance of provocative border "incidents" on the part of the Japanese, it is becoming clear that the decisive sections of Japanese finance-capital and higher-ups on the military staff, are alleged to be against war—immediately. Stomachakoff, Vice-Foreign Commissioner, protested the Japanese provocations against the People's Republic of Outer Mongolia, and is supposed to have been assured that such acts are being carried on against the will of Tokyo, by irresponsible militarists.

The army, while grumbling against the delaying tactics of the government, recognizes that strategically it would be "unwise" to attack Russia now. The time for attack was about 1932, when Russia was weak on the Far Eastern Front, when she was engaged in the drive for collectivization. Today an entirely different situation prevails. The Far Eastern Front has been made practically autonomous from an economic and military point of view. The Far East-

ern Army numbers about 250,000 possessing modern equipment, a large motorized force, a powerful air fleet. Most important of all, this army need not be a dependent on European Russia, 5,000 miles away, but has its own base including factories and farms right in the territory—thus allowing tremendous mobility.

To back this up a new railroad has been constructed, back of the Transiberian line. In the face of their powerful defense, Japan's game is to await an attack on Russia's western front. To this end she has a working agreement with Naziland which may soon blossom into an open alliance.

LEFT SOCIALISTS WIN PRIMARIES

The Militant faction defeated the Old Guard of the Socialist Party at the primaries in New York last week, thus "legalizing" their claims to organizational supremacy.

The leading figures of the Old Guard suffered personal defeats, as Waldman, Oneal, Gerber, Claessens, Algernon Lee, and others failed of election. Upstate voters returned 13 Militants and five Waldmanites, while New York City elected 19 Militants and 5 Old Guardists, a total of 32 to 10.

The Old Guard used all the time-honored bourgeois means, court proceedings, etc. As a matter of fact, the whole nature of the Second International is characterized by the fact, that the struggle over strategy and tactics was settled by the election apparatus of bourgeois democracy, and not by the inner vote of the party's workers. Despite this, the defeat of the Old Guard is most stunning; they have received and finishes them within the S.P. It must be remembered that the Old Guard of S.P. is primarily an election machine, and having lost that, they have lost everything. Several stalwarts of the right-wing are known to recognize that the primary defeat is the end.

The sharpness of the struggle, however, was not brought home to all the party membership. Only 40% of the enrolled Socialists participated in the primaries. Whereas the 1919 split which resulted in the birth of the American Communist movement was a struggle over principles, revolutionary versus reformist, this struggle presented itself to most socialists as a struggle for an "active" party, for more militant tactics as regards the trade unions and the united front. As such, the victory is to be welcomed, but it cannot be considered as fundamental—the conflict between the revolutionary and reformist points of view will now begin to have enough space to be resolved.

Vive la Republique

PARIS—One representative of "Humanite" (official organ of the French Communist Party) is serving a jail sentence and another is to stand trial for permitting the publication of letters exposing conditions in the army. The charge is inciting to mutiny and thereby undermining the safety of the republic.

Did you do your share for \$5,000 fund?



Marshal Bluecher, commander of the powerful Far Eastern Army of the Soviet Union. His army has done much to cool the enthusiasm of Japan's imperialists.

CHI. PREPARES FOR MAY DAY

For the first time since 1919 Socialists and Communists in Chicago will participate in one united May Day demonstration. The occasion is given additional color by the deliberation of the fiftieth anniversary of the eight hour day strike in 1886 out of which the International Labor Day developed.

On Monday, March 30th, 515 delegates of 128 different organizations met at the Capitol Building to commence preparations for the demonstration. The delegates were estimated to represent over 46,000 workers. Seventeen AFL unions, with a total of 5000 members, sent delegates to the conference. Abraham Feinglass, of the Fur Workers Union, opened the meeting as temporary chairman. Henry Topp, of the Bakers Union, was elected permanent chairman; Henry Johnson, of the International Workers Order, and Samuel Laderman, of the Pocketbook Workers Union, were elected vice-chairmen, and Arthur McDowell, of the Socialist Party, was elected Secretary.

Maynard Krueger, a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, spoke on the history of May Day in Chicago and the significance to the workers of Chicago of a united demonstration in 1936. Harry Yaris, of the Communist Party, spoke on the plans for the demonstration. A resolution was passed endorsing the slogans for the demonstration, (1) for the thirty-hour week, (2) for unemployment insurance at the expense of the employers and the government, (3) against war and Fascism, and (4) for independent working class political action. A resolution was adopted calling for the release of Tom Mooney and all class war prisoners.

Brother Topp was instructed to ask the April 5th delegate meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor to endorse and participate in the demonstration. A further mobilization conference will be held Sunday, April 19th.

CHILD LABOR ON INCREASE

New York City Bosses Account for 400% Rise Other Cities As Bad

Mills and factories are being operated by an increasing number of children now that the NRA is defunct, it was revealed this week in a report to President Roosevelt.

During the seven month period following the invalidation of the NRA, a 58% increase in the number of employment certificates issued to children 14 and 15 years of age in 129 cities has been noted by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor.

New York City employers have been even worse offenders. They took on 400% more youngsters during the last four months of 1935 than were employed during the similar period of the preceding year. The statistics of the National Child Labor Committee reveal that employment certificates issued to children of 14 rose from 266 to 570 and those issued to 15-year-olds from 1,139 to 4,659.

What is significant is that in the same period certificates issued to 16-year-olds declined from 8,730 to 8,424, a certain indication, according to members of the committee, that older children are being displaced by younger ones.

In Maryland and North Carolina the same story is told. The former state, which could boast of the issuance to children of 14 and 15 of only 11 certificates in the last half of 1934, now must hide its head in shame with a record of 190 certificates. The latter state has been unable to maintain its relatively high standard as of the NRA years. Permits issued for work in the "service trades," including laundries and restaurants, increased more than 100%.

Sweatshops, never eliminated in New Jersey, have come back to the height of fashion. Small silk mill operators have set up rickety buildings, which sway and vibrate to the motion of the machinery. Although the New Jersey Department of Labor and the Paterson Chamber of Commerce vehemently deny that children are forced to work under such conditions, the National Child Labor Committee swears that it has seen many such shops. They do not even have, in many cases, doors by which to enter and exit. Fire-escapes, when they are obtainable, serve as normal stairways and exist.

The National Child Labor Committee is modest enough and clear-sighted enough not to say that child labor was wiped out completely even during the life of the Blue Eagle. The nation's farms, not to mention the factories, employed some 100,000 children in 1930, and this number is believed to have increased sharply during the depression. Similarly, in the anthracite fields, in the telegraphic monopolies and in some branches of the publishing industry, children under 16 were exploited in good old capitalist style, NRA or no NRA.

PROFITS SOAR

But unemployment figures remain at very high levels, according to A.F.L. statistics. Here are some comparative figures:

January 1930	3,216,000
" 1931	7,160,000
" 1932	11,926,000
" 1933	15,166,000
" 1934	13,382,000
" 1935	13,058,000
" 1936	12,626,000

On the LABOR FRONT

Miners Contract Extended

After four weeks of negotiations at the Anthracite Joint Wage Conference, being held in New York, the contract which expired on March 31 was extended to May 1 with provisions that if negotiations are not concluded by that time a further extension is possible.

According to a statement received to the membership by the miners' committee the conference is getting nowhere. Instead of making progress on the demands put forward by the United Mine Workers, the bosses came forward with a list of their own demands. The most important of them are:

1. Back to 1918 scales. This means a loss of 27% in wages for the miners.
2. U.M.W. must help curb boot-leg mining.
3. Penalty clause for stoppages in violation of agreement.
4. Rate differentials where mechanical loading devices are in use. (This means a rate below regular contract rates.)
5. A five year contract with right to arbitrate wage scales during life of contract.

The union turned down all these counter-demands of the employers.

Turned Down Again!

Federal District Court Francis G. Caffey has denied the writ of habeas corpus for Vincent Ferrero and Dominick Salitto, now being held at Ellis Island for deportation to fascist Italy. Protests against their deportation to Italy where at best very long jail sentences await them, have been pouring in from unions and other organizations throughout the country. The defense organization asks your aid. Address all communications or funds to Box 181 Station D, New York, N. Y.

Who Is Next?

The latest news from the C.I.O. front, according to Union News, is that the central labor unions of Boston, Mass., Roanoke, Va., and Rochester, N. Y. have gone on record endorsing the Committee for Industrial Organization. The central labor union of Council Bluffs, Ia. not only endorsed the C.I.O. but sent a communication to William Green urging a referendum among the membership of the A. F. of L. on this burning question.

Teachers Support Feld Bill

Active support of the Feld Bill to reduce the working hours of over 1000 Vocational and Trade School Teachers in New York City is being urged today in a letter to these teachers from Charles J. Hendley, President of the Teachers Union.

The measure provides for the "teachers and principals of the Vocational and Trade Schools, including the duration of the school day in hours and minutes as the teachers and principals of any kind of high school maintained by the Board of Education."

B. S. & A. U. Picket Slugged

Rose Pfeffer, one of the seven office workers, members of the Bookkeepers', Stenographers' and Accountants' Union, who are striking against the Margon Corp., 233 Spring Street, was hit on the mouth by a sergeant's club on the mass picket line in front of the building on Tuesday evening. She was arrested and held for trial on April 7th.

250 manual workers, members of the International Association of Machinists, Lodge No. 1547, AFL, are also on strike against the firm in sympathy with the office workers and for their own demands. This is the first joint strike of office and manual workers in New York City.

WILL ORGANIZED LABOR HELP? By Tom Mooney

The following article from the pen of Tom Mooney was first printed in "The Blast" of April First 1916. It is of special interest to us now for two reasons: It is now being used as evidence against Tom Mooney in the hearings now proceeding before the referee appointed by the California state supreme court to hear his application for a writ of habeas corpus, and because it was written about one year before the U. S. entered the war and gives Tom's opinions on war and militarism.—EDITOR.

A new institution has sprung into activity. Its purpose is primarily the making of profits out of the war game, out of the wholesale slaughter of the workers by the workers, with the instruments of their own creation. But in order to have this war game carried out to the success of those who benefit from it, the opposing sides in the game must be somewhat equally matched, for duration, because the longer the game goes on the more profits the Steel Trust, the Standard Oil Company, the Du Pont Powder Company and the rest of their ilk, make out of the spilling of the worker's blood.

The Pacific Coast Defense League has a mission in this game. It plays the part of doctor, and it also has the aid of many specialists for the purpose of curing the sick and fast dying militia. Among them, and chief in importance, are two labor specialists: Andrew J. Gallagher, past president of San Francisco Labor Council, and Tom Finn, Union Labor sheriff and member of the Stabblers' Union.

A Multi-Class Students Movement Is Not Possible Today

By AL EPSTEIN

At last the radical student movement of America has been united into the American Student Union. Its very existence raises the question what type of an organization is the American Student Union? Is it certainly not a students' trade union. Nor is it a political body. It cannot be merely a discussion group, for the A. S. U. must engage in a struggle for immediate demands on the campus. In short, the A.S.U. is a new type of organization, having features peculiar to itself. And since there is no model to follow, it must fashion a program of activity for itself and submit such a plan to the criticism of time and man.

We have before us the program adopted at the First American Student Union Conference held at Columbus, Ohio, Dec. 28-29, 1935. This program is by far the sanest and soberest attempt at a student platform. In fact, it is so cautious and so respectable that it turns opportunist. Four years of struggle within the S.L.I.D. (Student League for Industrial Democracy) and N.S.L. (National Student League) against sectarianism, and four years of bitter strife between the two bodies have helped to shape this document. But it remained for the 7th World Congress of the Communist International to give the characteristic touches to the program. There is much that is good in the program, but there is too much that is bad.

People's Front Hits Campus. The very opening of the declaration proclaims its alien origin (alien to the working class): "Because American students want peace..."

"Because they, like their forefathers, are devoted to freedom and equality..." The empty shibboleths of the bourgeoisie replace a concrete examination of the economic, political and social conditions in the country. Why has the S.L.I.D. dropped the substance of the opening sentence of its own Declaration of Principles: "Thruout the world today economic and class interests are becoming more and more clearly defined." The N.S.L. must explain why it omitted the first words of its program: "The economic forces which are causing the disintegration of capitalism are at the same time destroying the security of the American student." Are these statements any

educational institutions, and which shall provide for their equipment?"

The "fifth object" of this League was forwarded to the San Francisco Board of Education, in the form of a resolution asking the board officially to approve by resolution the establishment of military training in all standard schools.

The Board of Education turned it down in no uncertain terms. Part of their resolution follows: "Resolved, That such establishment of cadet companies be entirely voluntary upon the part of the students and supplementary to their usual school exercises and outside of the usual school hours; that it in no respect take the place of the usual courses in physical training; and further resolved, That the secretary be instructed to send a copy of these resolutions to the committee on cadets and schools of the Pacific Defense League. Report approved and re-

solution adopted by unanimous vote."

One of the Board of Education's members in speaking on this matter said: "The schools are for the children to learn their lessons, and not to learn how to kill people." Now the question is, will the San Francisco Labor Council give this outfit a recommendation, or will it put a crimp in their rotten scheme? A. J. Gallagher is a representative labor leader; he has asked organized labor to consider this matter, and is urging favorable action upon it. He is a cabinet member of the League. He tried to get other labor men of prominence to act on the labor committee of the League, but after attending one meeting they refused to have anything more to do with it. The following unions have taken a stand against it: Waiters, barbers, butchers, riggers and stevedores, machinists and molders. Many other labor bodies are considering similar action.

It is the duty of every worker to have his union take a stand against the League, its aims and objects. The ten governors of the above mentioned States are respective numerical vice-presidents of the League. The cabinet has four capitalists, two lawyers, two labor men, one priest, one adjutant general, one legislative representative. These men constitute the respective chairmen of as many executive committees of the League; they can select as many in their given field as they want to. A great deal might be said about the motives of these men in this organization, but space will not permit it. It will suffice if I say that I agree with the sentiments of a worker in this community when he said that if they are not getting paid by labor's enemies they are scabbing on the job. This move of the League to trap the workers must be pushed back in the teeth of the labor crushers.

THE PEOPLE'S FRONT GOES COLLEGIATE

less true today? Why, pray, does the A.S.U. revert to superstitious ancestry worship? Has the A.S.U. suddenly become proud of the pirates, smuggler, slave-owners, and robber-barons who constitute at least a part, the "noblest" part, of our "revolutionary forefathers"? We should like the A. S. U. to tell us when, in the history of America, there ever was "freedom and equality" for the whole people? Why must the discredited ghosts of the past evict the living realities of the present?

When the program does touch upon the present crisis, the treatment is completely false. It says: "We are not a lost generation. Unemployment is not inevitable." One need not be a Marxist to recognize that unemployment is inevitable under capitalism. Everybody today, accepts this as an undisputed fact. As for the slogan of "Peace," I can express my feeling best by repeating the honest words spoken by a character in the play, "Libel": "Many poems have been written about the horrors of war. Why doesn't someone write a poem about the horrors of peace?"

"Our Democracy"

The A.S.U. actually speaks of capitalist America as "our American democracy." This capitulation to bourgeois prejudice vitiates the whole program. The declaration lacks the burning indignation which students in revolt should feel toward capitalism. No mention is made of the brutal terror so widely used against the workers of "our American democracy." Not a word of protest is raised against the inhuman oppression of peoples in the American colonies. Nor is there even a word of encouragement to the students of these countries in the struggle against imperialism. Are we to remain unmoved by the heroic sacrifices of the colonial students? Shall we be open to the charge of being defenders of American imperialism? If not, the program must demand the liberation of all colonial peoples now under American domination.

The effort of the A.S.U. to be respectable becomes positively revolting in its treatment of the Negro question. It declares, in a manner befitting the Supreme Court of the U. S., "The Student Union stands opposed to the Southern system thru which the Negro is kept in servitude by denial of educational rights." How free and happy the educated Negro of the North and South must feel after reading this bit of wisdom. Elsewhere, there is a better formulation on the degraded position

of the Negro in the South: "The Social code and the whole economy of the South are based upon the subservience of the Negro race, as much today as in the period of slavery..." But why this dispassionate tone? Where is the cry of anguish at the terrible sufferings of the Negro? Can any decent program be written without the bitter condemnation of that peculiar and horrible American pastime—lynching? Is it possible that the A.S.U. is afraid of alienating the student-democrats?

International Relations

The A.S.U. platform has nothing to say about the students in other countries. Not so long ago the S.L.I.D. was affiliated with the International Socialist Student Federation. Must one abandon the I.S.S.F. only to accept nationalism? It is the duty of the A.S.U. to foster the spirit of internationalism. The A.S.U. might learn something in this respect from the International Student Service which declared in one of its folders: "American students must participate in the task of salvaging the lives of their colleagues of the world university community, fellow students exiled from their native land because of race or political belief." It is the solemn obligation of the A.S.U. to help the victims of fascism. Moreover, the program must include a section on the menace of fascism.

The failure to discuss the Soviet Union is another serious omission. The least that the A.S.U. could have said is that the Soviet Union offers a promising experiment. You cannot ignore the Soviet Union. Certainly the program could have come out against intervention and for the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

Role of the Student Movement

There is a distinct misunderstanding as to the role of a student organization. There seems to be the opinion that the A.S.U. is a students' trade union. This was the position of the N.S.L. which maintained that a student movement can be most effective if it relies primarily on "a program based on the conditions and desires of the students in their inner school relationships and campuses."

The A.S.U. accepted this approach, and the program generally follows within this groove. No one will deny that a student organization must concern itself with "inner school relationships." But these "inner school relations" are incidental to the "chaotic tides of the outside world." Consider the very good section, "In Defense of Academic Freedom." Here we

Program Fails To Score Full Education Hold By Capitalists

find this bold declaration: "These encroachments on academic freedom... THREATEN OUR WHOLE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM; they are forerunners of those tendencies most fully expressed under Fascism." (My emphasis—A. E.)

The "educational system" as such is good, but those villains—the "Tories" and the "vested interests," the "financial pressure groups" and the "Hearst press"—"are imposing systematic repression on our educational institutions." Whose educational institutions are they? James Wechsler, who undoubtedly had a hand in the program, reveals the following significant facts in "Revolt on the Campus": "Of more than 900 existing institutions, more than 700 are private corporations with vast endowments administered by boards of trustees. Seldom is the extent of the network realized. Students have been made repeatedly aware that they are indebted for their education to the benevolence of Wall Street; but the 'supervisory' role which Wall Street has seized is not so widely explained." In the face of this the A.S.U. dares to speak merely of "inroads of repression." The American educational institutions are owned body and soul by the capitalists of America. More than that, Harvard, Yale, Columbia, and others are huge financial corporations in their own right. We must face this fact squarely. We must not spread illusions about "our educational system." Dean Paul Klapper of C.C.N.Y. speaks the truth when he says "... education has ever been a product of the existing social order, charged with the function of rationalizing and perpetuating the society that supports it. However progressive the teacher and however unfettered the school, they nevertheless seek to justify what is." We suggest the inclusion of this passage in a revised program.

(Continued Next Week)

• LAMAR HARDY, involved as a defense witness in important mortgage swindles, was O.K.'ed by the U. S. Senate for the post of U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York, by a vote of 57 to 9. The Senate thus thumbed its nose at our august Bar Association of New York which had been conducting a campaign against his appointment.

WORKERS AGE

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IT'S FOR YOU

San Francisco, Cal.

MAN HAS just chalked up another marvel to his handiwork. Soon people will be able to cross San Francisco Bay by foot.

Watching the workers finishing up the building of these bridges is awe-inspiring and thrilling. But it is more than even that. It leads one to ask many questions. It helps one learn the most valuable lesson of all.

How did it all come into being? There was united effort; there was oneness of purpose. Workers are constantly facing a plunge to death as they balance themselves on narrow strips of steel.

How much encouragement for labor's struggle one gets from this stirring sight!

If labor can do all this, if labor can rear such wonders, if the workers can perform such miracles, how much could they do for themselves, for their freedom, if they only applied the same principles of conduct to the battles they are waging against their employers.

It was here that I began to draw some conclusions for our determined and sustained drive to raise \$5000 for overcoming serious difficulties in our struggles at home and in our life-and-death combats abroad in the lands of open fascist terror.

We know that our comrades and sympathizers can do likewise. We know that even the smallest contributions piled together will weave cables of solid support for our comrades in Germany, Austria, Spain and in the industrial baronies of the U. S.—class fighters performing feats as daring and hiding difficulties and obstacles as insuperable as the spanners of the San Francisco Bay, as the wizards who are joining San Francisco with Oakland.

In making this move, in launching this drive to reach a sum almost double that sought by us in the past, we felt that some would call us reckless, that many would say we are reaching out for the moon—considering the poverty of our supporters, the paucity of our resources.

How about storming the last line? With united effort and added strength we can do anything and attain everything. Let's get going. We are long overdue.

JAY LOVESTONE

FRANZ MEHRING'S WORKS

The New Workers School will have a small number of sets of the political and philosophical works of Franz Mehring. These books are a limited edition in the strictest sense of the word—"limited" by the Storm Troopers who burned all available copies along with the works of Einstein, H. G. Wells, Bertrand Russell, Franz Boas and many other distinguished writers and scholars.

The New Workers School is offering Mehring's books for sale at \$2.75 a volume—the lowest price at which they have ever been sold in

Mehring was and remains the foremost historian and critic writing from the standpoint of Marxist philosophy. He is, perhaps, best known for his work on the "Lessing Legend". He served as editor of the Berliner Wage, the Frankfurter Zeitung and for many years on the Neue Zeit the chief theoretical organ of German Social Democracy.

TOWNSEND'S DEATH RATTLE

By SAUL HELD

The siamese twins of American politics, the Republican and Democratic Parties have triumphed—they have taken the Townsend movement for a ride, perhaps a fatal ride for this crisis hybrid.

The most vulnerable aspect of the Townsend movement, financial racketeering, provided the opening wedge for checking and discrediting of the movement. It is ironic but typical of American politics that, in this case as well as others, the petty piffers are being prosecuted by the big-shot bandits.

Elephant and Jackass Unite The wily Senator Borah of Idaho lured Dr. Townsend into changing his registration from Democratic to Republican.

Zur LITERATURGESCHICHTE. VON CALDERON BIS HEINE. (History of Literature: From Calderon to Heine). The method of dialectical materialism applied to literature.

Zur LITERATURGESCHICHTE VON HEBBEL BIS GORKI (History of Literature: From Heibel to Gorki). Introduction by August Thalheimer. 397 pages. Berlin, 1930.

Zur PREUSSISCHEN GESCHICHTE. VON MITTELALTER BIS JENA. (History of Prussia: From the Middle Ages to Jena). An excellent history of Prussia—the result of a careful detailed study containing Mehring's brilliant analysis of the times of Frederick the Great, etc.

Zur GESCHICHTE DER PHILOSOPHIE. (History of Philosophy) Introduction by August Thalheimer. 430 pages. Berlin, 1931.

KARL MARX: GESCHICHTE SEINES LEBENS. (Karl Marx: His Life's History). The standard biography of Marx. Introduction by Eduard Fuchs. 630 pages. Berlin, 1933.

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for the crisis, of old age under capitalism, of poverty and insecurity brought about by the exploiters and their damnable system.

A Racket? Robert E. Clements, co-founder of the organization, took a runoff powder by resigning from the gold-mine that threatened to trap him.

These facts will hardly heighten love for the organization amongst the membership. However, Dr. Townsend has demonstrated in his haste to repair his fences, that the organization was a sieve through which the lucre flowed to individuals.

What is the real purpose behind these falsifications of Bittleman? If a movement, figures he, is composed of workers, genuinely desiring old age pensions, and protesting against the monopolies, then, despite all its grave errors, it is permissible to have a united front with it.

Does this mean that the proletariat and its vanguard, the Communists, must under these conditions give themselves over to preserving the old, the prevailing, form of capitalist dictatorship?

The benefits of this Act shall apply to every citizen of the United States or its territories for at least five years prior to his claim for compensation and has, prior to his claim, formally filed his declaration of intention to become a citizen.

Mass Movements—Principles Be Damned! A strange and unsavory promiscuity permeates the Communist movement today.

If the reactionaries capture (haven't they done so from the start?) the Townsend movement, declares Bittleman, it will be the fault of Roosevelt who betrayed the people on the question of social security.

Incidentally, one of the basic proofs that capitalist democracy is no longer a progressive force in such countries is that it has arrived at the stage of its development in which the germs of fascism deeply imbedded in it, flower out into full and ugly bloom—into a fascist form of capitalist dictatorship.

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AT FIRST GLANCE

By Jay Lovestone

COMRADE Jack Gaster, a recent convert from the Independent Labor Party of Maxton and Brockway to the Communist Party of Great Britain, deserves a vote of thanks for his honest confessions about the essence of the new line of the Comintern for utilizing capitalist democracy as an institution, for relying on the constitutional democratic form of capitalist dictatorship, as the means with which the Fascist form of bourgeois dictatorship is to be avoided or prevented.

Gaster and his friends will say that we are no authority, that we are no "keepers of the sacred seal" and hence our words are of no special worth to him. Be that so. We will then introduce him to some very pertinent remarks from Comrade Browder, the Politburo of the American Communist Party, anent this subject.

Does this mean that the proletariat and its vanguard, the Communists, must under these conditions give themselves over to preserving the old, the prevailing, form of capitalist dictatorship in order to prevent the ruling class from replacing it with a new one? Would Comrade Gaster earnestly maintain that the working class has no other choice but capitalist parliamentary democracy or capitalist counter-revolutionary anti-parliamentarism?

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

THERE ARE only eight international unions out of 109 who support Mr. Lewis. The proportion of voting strength is larger, but not enough. The A. F. of L. will come through this storm as it has come through others. Lewis cannot win."

When you look at the figure 8, it sure looks small compared with 109 of which Green says he has 101 in his vest pocket. But is it really as bad as all that for the industrial unionists? We can hardly believe that even Green takes his own figures seriously.

Now it's different. Every friend counts. So we find William Green sending a telegram that he will positively address the "New Leader Dinner." Nor is it very queer that the telegram was addressed to Alexander Kahn, 175 Broadway. Everybody knows that the Rand School extends clear thru to the Forward Building.

We congratulate the Old Guard on their new recruit—or is he an "innocent"? As for Green we doubt that even the yeoman service that such skilled malingerers as James Oneal and John Powers can render will help him materially in his fight to keep out of the A. F. of L. the steel, rubber, auto and other workers.

When is dual unionism respectable? What, never? Says you! The New Leader doesn't think so.

What ever else may have developed as a result of the present schism in the trade union movement, we note a most touching rapprochement between the Old Guard Socialists and William Green. Not, mind you, that the Old Guard ever said a harsh word against Green. God forbid, that would have endangered their relations with the "labor movement."

Incidentally, it would be of interest for the delegate from the Teachers Union to the Central Labor Union, to find out what Mrs. Betty Hawley, vice-president of the New York State Federation of Labor, was doing at the testimonial luncheon for this dual unionist. Isn't this a slap in the face to the union of the A. F. of L. which Linville tried his best to bust up?

On a previous occasion Workers Age discussed the significance of the strike of 14,000 rubber workers at Akron, Ohio. The strike now settled as a result of a compromise agreement, it remains but to express our admiration for the militancy and loyalty which these workers showed and the ingenuity used in blocking every move of the employers. It is this hustling aggressiveness which won for the rubber workers the support of the trade union movement.

It must also be stated that the rubber workers would indeed have been in a tough spot were it not for the loyal assistance of the Committee for Industrial Organization and its member Internationals.

They have done it again! The International Ladies Garment Workers Union, having pledged itself to raise \$50,000 for the victims of fascist terror raging in Europe went over the top by almost \$10,000. We join many others in extending congratulations to President Dubinsky, the officers of the Joint Boards and locals, and to the membership as a whole, for this time, have their pay cuts restored by the Crews measure which was passed unanimously by the Assembly.

All employees of the Board of Education, including the teachers this time, have their pay cuts restored by the Crews measure which was passed unanimously by the Assembly.

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In the International Labor Movement

Spain and the Liberal Regime

By WILL HERBERG

An Associated Press dispatch of March 26, 1936, carries the following report of recent events in Spain:

"BADAJOZ, Spain, March 26.—Detachments of storm police and civil guards rushed to this city and province today in an effort to oust 60,000 farm laborers who had suddenly swarmed over the farms of this area.

"The police were instructed to avoid using firearms unless they were fired upon, but the situation was tense.

"Premier Manuel Azana sent orders from Madrid that the peasants would have to wait until the lands can be distributed legally.

"The workers, most of them Socialists and Communists, members of the National Association of Land Workers, marched on their local villages in an apparently long-prepared movement.

"Arriving at the large estates, they divided the land in accordance with lists already made, each group then taking over the land assigned to it with shouts of 'Long live the workers' republic.'

"The groups then returned to their villages, where they informed the local Mayors of what had taken place and told them to enter the divisions in the public books with the names of the new land owners."

A later report of the same day adds:

"Orders were sent to the governor of Badajoz to use force, if necessary, to oust the farm laborers. . . . The governor reported late tonight all the seized farms had been abandoned by workers in accordance with the government's request and that there were no disorders."

The Spanish Revolution Is An Agrarian Revolution

1. "Arriving at the large estates, they (the peasants) divided the land in accordance with lists already made. . . ."

The Spanish revolution is fundamentally an agrarian revolution directed towards expropriating the big landowners and dividing the land among the peasants and agricultural workers. It begins essentially as a bourgeois-democratic revolution with the underlying historical objective of clearing away the putrid remnants of a long decaying feudalism in the economic, social and political spheres. For the peasants and the semi-peasant farm laborers, the whole meaning of revolution can be summed up in the word "land". They judge everything, all events, all parties, all programs by that touchstone.

2. "... each group then taking over the land assigned to it with shouts of 'Long live the workers' republic!'"

Under modern conditions no bourgeois-democratic revolution achieves its basic objectives or even develops in a consistent and thorough manner except under the leadership of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie has already become far too much a part of the system, far too closely bound to it by ties of common interest, far too thoroly afraid of a great mass upheaval of any sort, to allow it to take the lead even in "its own" revolution; it may hesitate and vacillate for a time, but, as a class, it is sure to turn reactionary before long and take its place among the upholders of the old regime. The peasantry and petty bourgeoisie, fervently revolutionary in their determination to settle accounts with the royal-aristocratic

order, are unable to take independent and leading action because of their unequal economic and social position and can therefore be historically effective only if they ally themselves with the modern proletariat under its leadership. The Spanish peasants can get the land for which they have been yearning for so many centuries only thru a revolution in which the working class is the leading and driving force. And the peasants realize this—this is the meaning of their cheer "Long live the workers' republic!", significantly raised in the division of the land. To the peasants, the concrete, practical, substantial meaning of the "workers' republic" is land—and they are for the workers republic just because and insofar as it does mean land! This is the real and material foundation of the revolutionary alliance between proletariat and peasantry!

Once initiated under the hegemony of the proletariat, the Spanish revolution will not, however, stop at its bourgeois-democratic tasks. Inevitably it will pass over into a socialist revolution. In accordance with this double character of the revolution, its long-range slogans bear, from the very outset, a fundamentally socialist character—workers control of production, soviets, proletarian dictatorship!

The Agrarian Revolution and the Liberal Regime

3 "Premier Manuel Azana sent orders from Madrid that the peasants would have to wait until the lands can be distributed legally. . . . Orders were sent to the governor of Bajados to use force, if necessary, to oust the farm laborers."

To the bourgeois liberals, raised to power by the rising tide of mass upheaval, the revolution is obviously complete with their accession to office. From that moment, they become the champions of law and order, telling the masses to return home in peace and quiet and there patiently await the reforms that they, in their good nature, may think it proper to enact. But when have the peasants ever gotten land by parliamentary decree or in any other way but by taking it?

For the liberal bourgeoisie, the revolution is over before it has really begun; its fruits are already theirs in terms of political power and social and economic advantage. But for the workers and peasants, the very essence of the revolution—and the only way in which they can possibly hope to share in its fruits—is their own independent revolutionary mass action, which now appears as "illegal excesses" in the eyes of the new regime. What is the good of the revolution to the peasants if the government, which they have hoisted to power, is going to continue to defend the property of the big landowners, the aristocrats, monarchists and enemies of the people? The peasants expect land and not promises from the revolution. The peasants, too, have their own conception of legality and a very curious one it must seem to the bourgeois parliamentarian. For the typical peasant is a stickler for law and order—as he interprets it! No peasant ever seems able to get it into his thick skull that the land he is working upon is not really his and so, when he takes hold of it for himself, it seems an obviously legal transaction. ("The groups of peasants) then returned to their villages, where they informed the local mayors of what had taken place and told them to enter the divisions in the public books with the names of the new landowners."

What more in the way of legal

formality could be desired? The land was divided according to carefully prepared lists and the transaction registered, properly and in due form, in the village records. It comes as an incredible shock to the peasant when he is told that such a simple and natural affair is somehow irregular and illegal—and this shock may have the most far-reaching consequences.

The Liberal Regime Suppresses the Peasants

4 "Detachments of storm police and civil guards rushed to this city and province today. . . . Late tonight all the seized farms had been abandoned . . . in accordance with the government's request."

The bourgeois liberal government is now definitely anti-revolutionary. Its chief aim is to curb the revolution, to stifle its further development, to freeze it in its initial stages. How can it accomplish these reactionary purposes? By its prestige of the day before yesterday—and by the menace of its armed force, inherited from the old regime and left virtually intact by the new. Dismayed and puzzled at what appears to be the inexplicable conduct of those whom they have been accustomed to regard with veneration as their spokesmen and representatives, overawed by the Civil Guard, the peasants disperse, grumbling, muttering, with bitter disillusion in their hearts.

The full tragedy of this situation is not disclosed by the newspaper report. For, trailing behind Azana in his repression of the peasant movement and in his defense of property and order, are the workers parties, the socialists and communists, rendered impotent, as far as any effective action is concerned, by the straightjacket of the People's Front. After all, Azana is their ally; with him they share a common program; for him they have taken responsibility in the eyes of the masses. Nor can they reproach him with a breach of faith, for the very People's Front program on which the alliance was consummated deliberately rejects the confiscation of the big estates in favor of a few petty agrarian reforms. It is Azana who is carrying out the People's Front program and how can the socialists or communists say one word against him—as long as they persist in maintaining the People's Front? And indeed the workers parties have allowed themselves to be maneuvered into an impossible position, cooperating with the regime in the "pacification" of the masses, condoning the suppression of the so-called "excesses," and so on. For the sake of their alliance with the liberals, they seem to be ready to sacrifice the interest and support of the peasantry!

The Road of the Spanish Revolution

Is it so hard to see the inevitable result of all this? Have we already forgotten the inglorious tale of the first Azana regime (1931-1933)? Disappointed, disillusioned, losing all faith in the workers parties, the peasant masses become fit prey for the reactionary demagogues and fascists. The revolution is undermined in its class foundations and its fate is sealed.

It is not yet too late. An end must be put to the People's Front which strangles the unfolding of the revolution. The class independence of the workers parties must be reestablished in a firm revolutionary block (united front); the Workers Alliances must be rebuilt and invigorated. The seizure of the land by the peasants and other so-called "excesses" must be

encouraged, stimulated and directed by the workers parties—the support of the peasantry decides the fate of the revolution. The distrust of the masses must be turned against the bourgeois liberals, now that they are in the saddle. The masses must be armed and prepared for decisive revolutionary combat. Side by side with the existing regime, organs of revolutionary mass power (councils) must be built up thru the Workers Alliances, to function first as instruments of struggle and finally as centers of revolutionary state power. Under these slogans the Spanish revolution can march forward to victory.

A LETTER FROM SWEDEN

Gothenburg, Sweden, March 19, 1936.

of an era of "peace in the labor market."

Seamen Make Gains

The seamen's situation ended with the shipowners coming to terms. The main gains are a 5% increase in wages for most categories and an increase in overtime for the lowest paid. Overtime rates begin at the end of 9 hours of work instead of 22 as before. We did not secure everything we asked for but did make gains. It is significant that the agreement stipulates that in case of war we shall get "krigstidsersättning," or "war risk compensation." The question of war here is rather real, as you will note

SYRIA RESTIVE UNDER FRENCH

Syria, a victim of French imperialism, has been experiencing a series of general strikes, and the resurgence of a radical nationalist movement against French domination.

The rumorous nature of imperialism, which is supposed to bring in "civilization" to the backward peoples, has perhaps nowhere been so completely exposed as here—under the heel of "democratic" France. No stimulus has been given to native industry whatsoever. The establishment of local tanneries on a successful basis, possible because of the 40% duty on French goods, was completely ended when, under pressure of French tanners, the import was lowered to 11% and local manufacturers were unable to compete. Altho native Syrians established a huge cement plant, capable of producing high grade cement, the local French authorities refused to utilize the native products, specifying French cement in all contracts for government building.

While the French officialdom draws its fat salaries from the taxes and custom dues paid by the natives, they spend practically no part of this money in Syria, obtaining everything including automobiles from duty-free cooperatives. Even army fodder, which is said to be plentiful in Syria, is purchased from Morocco. This bureaucracy arrested the leader of a mass movement to boycott a power company, which refused to lower exorbitant rates. His arrest was the spark setting off the many strikes that have convulsed Damascus.

Syria is under French mandate, under the rules of the "peace-maintaining" League of Nations. This is the same France which is expected to fight a "progressive" war against Nazi Germany.

reliable, but nevertheless indicative of a trend) claim that an increase in wages and salaries will amount to 25% as compared with 1932. This is still 11 billion marks below 1928 and does not at all reflect an increase in wages. The government has been able to "save" a billion and a half marks on unemployment relief by its labor camp policy, and by the partial re-employment in war industries. Competent observers state that even according to these figures, it becomes clear that many Germans were better off at the height of unemployment, so low has their standard of living fallen.

WAR PREPARATIONS are not the cause of war, said Herbert Lawrence, chairman of the board of Vickers Ltd. (England's chief munitions maker) "The real cause of wars in the past, as in the future, is economic in nature." We'll remember that the next time we're told to die for democracy else the heart of the world will break.

BOOKS of the AGE

AMERICAN LABOR STRUGGLES. By Samuel Yellen. Harcourt, Brace and Company 398 pp. \$3.50.

Reviewed by George F. Miles

A most stirring record of some of labor's most heroic and bloody battles. Merely to enumerate them is sufficient to make the pulse beat faster: The railroad uprisings (1877), Haymarket (1887), Homestead Lockout (1892); Pullman Strike (1894); Anthracite Strike (1902); Lawrence Strike (1912); Bloody Ludlow (1913); General Steel Strike (1919); Southern Textile Strike (1929); and the General Strike in San Francisco (1934).

Written with a sympathetic approach to the labor movement the book becomes more than a mere chronicle of labor's deeds, defeats and victories. One feels the despair of defeat together with the railroad workers; burning indignation against the outrage of Ludlow; boundless love and sympathy for Debs when he goes to Woodstock jail to pay for his contempt of court, and the great all-pervading joy at the sweeping victory of the textile workers in Lawrence.

So much for what there is in the book. Now a few words about what there is not in the book. We note that the great general strike in Seattle, Wash is not even given a single page. Why? In a fundamental sense, the Seattle strike far transcends in importance the general strike in San Francisco. Let us not forget that San Francisco never was more than a partial strike, with a section of the labor movement—the official section at that—hostile from the very beginning and knifing it ultimately. The Seattle strike was general in every respect. What is more important, the very operation of the strike led to the trade unionists setting up their own, dual government and actually running the city. An experiment in American "soviets" which has no equivalent in labor history, except in Canada.

Yet, Mr. Yellen saw fit to pass this over in silence.

Then again we note a gap between 1919 and 1929, and our amazement has no bounds. Surely Mr. Yellen must know that during that period occurred some of the most dramatic battles fought in the last three decades. Does not Mr. Yellen know that during 1922 alone, more than 1,000,000 struck in what was one of America's biggest strike waves? 100,000 textile workers on strike thruout New England with pitched battles in Pawtucket, R. I. and other centers; 600,000 miners in one of the biggest strikes the U.M.W.A. ever went thru—remember bloody Herrin!; 400,000 railway shop men involved in an outlaw strike—these the first really national strike; these and many other smaller strikes occurring during one year of the post war adjustment period, and not a word by Mr. Yellen? Surely there is nothing holy about the figure ten. Why could it not have been twelve or eleven or thirteen great struggles?

These, as I have said, are shortcomings of omission. What there is in the book will repay your time and effort. Every militant worker should read this book in order to brush up on the militant, fighting traditions of our class.

THE CASE FOR INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION, published by the Committee for Industrial Organization, Washington, D. C. 48pp. Price including postage: single copies, 10c; 5 for 25c; 12 for 50c; 100 for \$3.50; 500 for \$15.00.

Reviewed by G. F. M. A very well put up and cleverly illustrated pamphlet explaining the issues dividing the American Federation of Labor today. The bulk of the pamphlet discusses the changes in structure of American industry, especially the mass production industries and arrives at the conclusion that it would be impossible to organize these industries thru the craft unions, even if there were a burning desire to do so, which there isn't.

In the chapter "How the A. F. of L. Has Treated Mass Production Workers" the C.I.O.'s opinion can be shown best by merely repeating the subheads: "Autocracy in Autos," "Run-around in Radios," "Stalling in Steel," "Tin-

LOSING THEIR CHAINS by James Sand

Eugene Victor Debs

(Concluded from previous issue)

He came out to find the socialist ranks split in twain, the I.W.W. massacred, and the Third International in full swing. He never again regained the revolutionary fire he had that day in Canton and those days in the court room. But they were so much that he is easily forgiven for growing old and wanting rest. While he was in prison the split in the S.P. had occurred. Eugene Debs was distressed by it and would have liked to patch it up. In prison he took no sides. Out of prison he finally was won over to the S.P. His quarter of a century affiliation with it swayed him, as did his continued respect for the hifalutin' ways of the right-wing intelligentsia. In 1922 he endorsed the S.P. It was an old man's last tribute to those whom he held in awe. In the meanwhile, he eulogized Lenin and the Russian Revolution. He called Lenin "the greatest thing that has come out of the war." He knew real proletarianism when he saw it. But he disliked force and violence. He had said that he abhorred war, and that the thought of cold steel being plunged into human flesh sickened him. He should have known that nobody wants armed insurrection, and that it takes place because capitalism refuses to do the without being brutally killed. He could not tolerate the thought of even a "final struggle." How else the revolution could be achieved he never speculated.

During the last five years of his life he was racked by illness. He had an exceptionally strong constitution and was able to get around until the end. On October 20th 1936, he died at the age of seventy-one.

As the problem in personality analysis, Debs is a constant contradiction. He would hate with fury, and then forgive. He loved everything human so much that he became incapable of making class distinctions. He projected into men all his own kindness, and he continually paid for that projection. In the Canton speech he said of Gompers:

"Sam Gompers . . . through all his career has been on the side of the master class. You never hear the capitalist press speak of him except in praise and adulation. He has become a great patriot. Gompers, who was never on the unpopular side on any proposition, always conservative, satisfied to leave the labor problem be settled at the banquet board with Elhu Root, Andy Carnegie, and the rest of the plutocrats."

And yet a few years later in "Walls and Bars" he let him get off as easily as this.

"I met Mr. (1) Gompers when he came to the prison, at the invitation of the warden, to deliver an address to the convicts in the auditorium of the penitentiary. Mr. Gompers was courteously received by the inmates, and their response to his re-

SEAMEN FIGHT OUTLAW BATTLE

In a protest against the agreement by the International Seamen's Union and the shipping interests, a so-called "outlaw" strike is being conducted by Joseph Curran, a rank and file labor leader, who claims to have enlisted 2,000 men on the waterfront. The terms of the agreement are much less favorable than the West Coast contract, and, besides, was never submitted to the membership of the union for ratification or amendment. It is this latter point that ruffles most the members of this bureaucratic outfit.

The International officials have completely overridden any demands of the insurgents, and proceeded to aid the shipping interests in hiring scabs. At first the WPA machinery was swung into line, but later, under pressure, Ring, Assistant Administrator, announced that no strikebreakers would be furnished. He said that men had originally been sent to work in good faith because it had been the I.S.U. which called for them!

A citizen's committee, investigating for 50c; 100 for \$3.50; 500 for \$15.00.

Reviewed by G. F. M. A very well put up and cleverly illustrated pamphlet explaining the issues dividing the American Federation of Labor today. The bulk of the pamphlet discusses the changes in structure of American industry, especially the mass production industries and arrives at the conclusion that it would be impossible to organize these industries thru the craft unions, even if there were a burning desire to do so, which there isn't.

In the chapter "How the A. F. of L. Has Treated Mass Production Workers" the C.I.O.'s opinion can be shown best by merely repeating the subheads: "Autocracy in Autos," "Run-around in Radios," "Stalling in Steel," "Tin-

ing charges of bureaucracy in the union, gave findings indicating the validity of these charges. Curran stated that, while he had nothing against Furuseth, president of the International, "All the executive board are old men and they call you a Red if you try to put new life in the union."

marks was appreciative and generous. After his prison address we enjoyed a brief visit in the office of the warden." And that is all that Debs has to say about this perfunctory visit of the man whose labor philosophy poisoned the country against his genuine proletarianism.

Only at the height of his emotions could he be a Marxist. In the quieter moments he really hated the thought of the class-struggle. He was never anywhere near historical materialism. In fact, he would not have understood it even if he had wanted to. But though he could not understand it, at his best he was actively practicing it.

He was a prolific writer and his correspondence was enormous. Whenever he could he answered letters personally in longhand. People who were not socialists would meet him once, love him instantly, and carry on a life-long correspondence. Even the bankers and business-men of Terre Haute loved him. And, paradoxical as it sounds, he loved them too. He was a pamphletor of great ability, an agitator of tremendous appeal. What he wrote and said, however, becomes quantitatively infinitesimal compared to what was written and said about him. The press made much of his career after the Pullman strike. Upon his release from Atlanta, there was a regular procession of crowds thronging his train on his way back to Terre Haute. Arrived there, he was besieged with requests to write articles, to deliver addresses, to appear in vaudeville (as if he were a fat man in the circus, he said), and generally make a spectacle of himself. He turned them all down, except that of the Bell Syndicate for a series of articles on his prison life and experiences, and his views on penalty. These later were published as "Walls and Bars." Mail came to him by the bagful upon a return.

Every famous name in radical and liberal circles came to his defense for the Canton speech, but Woodrow Wilson was too busy living the precepts of Calvin to appreciate the religion of mankind. George Bernard Shaw cabled to the "New York Call": "Clearly the White House is the only safe place for an honest man like Debs."

At the hands of his biographers he has fared badly. Karsner wrote of him in a slushy, sentimental vein, Koplenski's little book is inadequate and serappy; McAlister Coleman's is a right-wing misinterpretation of a great proletarian which sloughs over Debs' revolutionary tendencies. Debs was important for what he was heading. That he did not get there was partly due to the America in which he lived, partly to his, non-philosophic intellect, and partly to his inability to live down his early respect for the "vicious intellectualists" and the topsy-turvy reformers. But with all its halts and doubts and set-backs, the tradition of Debs is revolution.

NEWS IN BRIEF

WARSAW, POLAND was paralyzed by a one hour general strike as a reply to widespread raids of unions and workers organizations resulting from various strikes in progress at the time. Police arrested nearly 1,000 labor leaders.

BLANK BALLOTS were counted for Hitler. This is now admitted by Nazi authorities who stated that this was one of the election rules previously decided upon. Only 73,000 blank ballots were cast—so they say.

THE CRUSADERS, a southern organization of semi-fascists, is coming under the eye of the Senate Lobby Committee this week. After the sensational expose of the Townsend movement, the Black

TENANT FARMERS and sharecroppers, attention! The sale, rental or mortgage of land in the Soviet Union is absolutely forbidden since it is for public use. A number of high-pressure bureaucrats are cooling their heels in jail for renting out land belonging to collectives, which should have been worked without any fee whatever.

GERMAN COLONIES are under discussion again. From London comes a report of a speech made before a conservative organization by Lord Stanhope, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in which he declared that the "time will doubtless come when we shall have to give back Tanganyika to Germany." Lord Stanhope is here voicing the opinion of an important section of the British Cabinet which has been very friendly to Nazi Germany.

THE ANTI-LOBBY BILL has been amended to make possible the unrestricted activity of the A. F. of L. and the veterans organizations. The hole thus created is big enough for almost any corporation lobbyist to crawl thru.

NAZIS DELAY FACTORY VOTE

BERLIN—Elections to the Nazi workers' council, scheduled originally for this Thursday, have been put off indefinitely by the leaders of the government-controlled Labor Front. It is said that they fear the consequences of the present widespread unrest.

In the last elections, it will be recalled, many workers refused to accept the candidates offered by the Nazis and attempted to substitute their own people.

The official excuse for the delay is contained in the communique which declares that the recent plebiscite has made it impossible to hold the contemplated shop elections.

What, No Butter?

Berlin—So great is the butter shortage in Nazi Germany that people are beginning to grumble aloud despite the snooping of the secret police. The resentment is illustrated by the following incident:

A white-haired granny came into a grocery store one day and asked for some butter. When told there was none, she complained bitterly about the shortage, unthinkingly of the Storm Trooper who was standing about.

"But, little mother," he expostulated, preparing to give her a dose of anti-Communist propaganda, "why do you grumble? If you were in Soviet Russia, you'd never get any butter."

"What?" exclaimed the housewife, quick as a whip, "Have the Nazis come to power there, too?"

HAVE YOU GIVEN TO \$5,000 FUND?

Roosevelt Seeks Labor Backing in 1936 Race

Berry's 'Labor Non-Partisan League' Seeking To Mobilize Labor Support by Short Circuiting Movement for a Labor Party; Must be Fought

Major Berry, Industrial Coordinator of the Roosevelt Administration, has announced the formation of a "Labor Non-Partisan League" to support the candidacy of Roosevelt in 1936. Letters inviting labor leaders to participate in this League have been sent, according to Berry, to "Republicans, Democrats, and Socialists", quite impartially. He added that no differentiation was made between craft and industrial unionists. This is indeed non-partisan!

The leading figures of the League, as at present organized, are Lewis and Hillman. The former swung into line at the last convention, while Hillman hopes to do the same at the Cleveland convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union.

Undoubtedly this represents the crassest and most open form of class-collaboration yet devised to smash the growing movement for independent political action on the part of labor. In a situation where the old A. F. of L. "non-partisanship" has completely broken down, where large sections of the labor movement are looking for a labor candidate with a labor program at the very least, if not a labor party, Berry, Lewis and Hillman put forward a seeming break with this policy by open support of a capitalist candidate and a political party of the bosses. But this break serves not the cause of labor's political development, but to tie the labor movement to the political apoplexy of one of its worst enemies. Labor has but to recall, Section 7a and the growth of company unionism which accompanied it, Roosevelt and the Auto Agreement of 1934, the role of McGrady, chief trouble-shooter (strikebreaker) of

the Roosevelt crowd, to realize whose friend is the charm-dispensing President. Only in the industries where the labor unions have been strong and independent have there been gains for labor. Under the Roosevelt administration, whereas production has almost reached 1925 levels, wages are only 75% of that base, employment 85%. This is the record of the administration which the new "Non-Partisan League", wishes to maintain in office.

For a Labor Party

A sharp break must be made with such a policy, a vigorous struggle begun in the progressive unions. True it is not possible to launch a bona-fide Labor Party for this year's national campaign, but a progressive step of independent action leading in the direction of a labor party will be the United Labor Ticket with Tom Mooney for President. It must be remembered that when the "progressive" capitalist politician, Teddy Roosevelt went out to "bust the trusts" on a Third Party ticket, in 1912 a separate labor ticket, with prisoner Debs running for President, polled one million votes, doubling the vote of the previous election. A united labor ticket uniting many trade unions and the working class political parties, could rally the workers. It should be clear that in the face of this move for Roosevelt, progressive elements of the labor movement can find only one answer, and that immediately—Tom Mooney for President!

ference the beginning of a vast movement to set him free."

The conference was conducted by Murray Barron of the Suitcase and Bag Makers who was elected Chairman and Alexander Hoffman of the Journeymen Tailors who was secretary.

Speakers from all the important trade unions participating made addresses pledging their support.

The conference closed after electing permanent officers and an executive committee. Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party became Chairman, Charles Zimmerman of Local 22, I L G W U, vice-chairman, and Louis Weinstock of Painters District Council No. 9, Secretary. On the executive committee there were elected representatives of the most important trade unions. Among these are Charles S. Zimmerman, Herman Gund, Louis Nelson, Ben Gold, Sam Freeman, A. Phillip Randolph, Louis Weinstock and others. I Amter and James Ford were elected for the Communist Party, Thomas and Altman for the Socialist Party, and Jay Lovestone for the Communist Party (Opposition).

The gathering will reconvene on April 25 at the Delano Hotel for a final mobilization conference.

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USSR ECONOMY GOES FORWARD

Railroads, Food, Show Marked Improvements In First Two Months

MOSCOW—The Soviet Union has made so much progress that it can now remove the stigma formerly attached to class enemies.

This is revealed by the action of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in the case of a 17 year-old daughter of a kulak, Lydia Oloznaya.

In its formal resolution rebuking the political chieftain, the Central Committee pointed out the girl's industriousness since her father's exile. She had gone to work on a state farm immediately after his banishment and had risen steadily from job to job until she had become a combine operator. Consequently the resolution held, the political head had violated the new constitution for collectivized agriculture, which makes no distinction on grounds of social origin among members of collectives.

Railroads Improve

The railroad system, weak point in the Soviet's armor, showed remarkable improvement in a ten day test period. Although transportation set a program of 76,000 freight-car loadings daily, the railroad workers were able to load as many as 98,000 in some 24-hour stretches. Passenger traffic also showed an upward curve in efficiency.

Foodstuff Plentiful

So great has been the production of food stuffs and light industry manufactures that the masses of Russian workers and peasants, accustomed to sharing in the social wealth of the nation, expect to find prices reduced considerably.

The retail turnover in January and February was 32% higher than the corresponding months of 1935. The increase was greatest in country districts which had been supplied poorly previously. For these districts the gains amounted to 52% as compared with 24% improvement for the municipalities.

THYSSEN SAYS: HEIL HITLER!

Duesseldorf, Germany — The German Steel Trust has been supplying so much steel for the Nazi rearmament program that it was able to pay a dividend of 3½% to its stockholders, for the first time in years.

Fritz Thyssen, head of the trust, let the cat out of the bag at a general shareholders' meeting. He could explain the unexpected dividend only by the 25% rise in the production of raw steel.

With a knowing smirk, Herr Thyssen declared:

"Since 'der Fuehrer' had adopted rearmament as an outcome of Germany's equality claims, the trust has applied itself to this task with the utmost diligence and, I am happy to say, to the satisfaction of 'its mandator'" (Hitler)

RIDDER SHOWS HIS POSITION

In a speech delivered before a highly appreciative audience of Rotarians, Victor F. Ridder, WPA administrator, turned the vials of his wrath upon those who object to being fired from WPA projects, characterizing them as "rats who are trying to communicate their venom to our people."

"If there is anything that I am proud of and want to continue to earn," Mr. Ridder declared, "it is the undying hatred of those cheap Communists who are trying to hurt our WPA people."

Apparently oblivious to the repercussions his speech will undoubtedly have, he added, "When the disturbances of agitators protesting against the proposed layoff of 40,000 workers began, I called our guards together and told them that if anybody got rough with them they should use their clubs. I told them that if anybody kicked them in the shins that they should see to it that the culprit never kicked anyone again."

JUDGE BYERS AIDS DUPONTS

Rules President Cannot Stop Arms Shipments on Basis of "Opinion"

The manufacturers of munitions were assured by Judge Byers of the U. S. District Court that they could not be hampered in their raking in of the shekels. A 1934 resolution of Congress had empowered the President to prevent shipment of arms to belligerents. On the basis of this power, Roosevelt had issued a proclamation forbidding arms shipments in the Chaco dispute between Paraguay and Bolivia. The decision claimed that this was not a valid grant of power to the President, since he could use his power if in his "opinion" it would promote the cause of peace. Laws, said the judge must be based on facts and Congressional inquiry, not on Executive opinion.

The possibilities of passing neutrality legislation are said to be considerably dimmed by this decision. While such legislation was an expression of the peculiar position of American imperialism rather than any pacific tendencies on its part, the importance of the decision lies elsewhere. It precludes an attempt to aid an oppressed nation against an imperialist rival. For example, if a strong campaign had been successful in placing an embargo on arms and oil to Italy while allowing these to be sent to Ethiopia, such action would be "unconstitutional" under this ruling.

The Rotarians gave him an ovation at this point. It was plain that they liked the rough stuff. Thus encouraged, the WPA administrator continued:

"I am an old-fashioned American. If it comes to protecting our 240,000 people on relief against 1,000 cheap Communists, I will take care of our own people."

"If they charge discrimination I will declare before the Whole United States: 'I will discriminate!'"

LABOR UNITES FOR MAY DAY

(Continued from Page 1)

spoke for the Communist Party. "I welcome Comrade Altman's declaration of solidarity with the Soviet Union," said Amter amid great applause. "In a world of fascist nations bristling with armament preparations the Soviet Union is the only militant force for peace. Still, let the Nazis and the Japanese militarists not fall prey to the delusion that just because the Soviet Union earnestly desires peace it will not defend its borders. The workers and farmers of the world are prepared to spring to its defense." Amter closed with an attack against the growing reaction and the restriction of working class rights.

"The Communist Party (Opposition) welcomes this conference warmly. Our tendency was born in the struggle for the united front," said Bertram D. Wolfe. "I am happy too to find that this conference is distinguished not only by who is here but also by who is not here. It is a distinct step forward that the liberal demagogues, politicians and 'god' have been excluded from this conference."

Wolfe's stirring appeal for the liberation of Tom Mooney and Billings received an ovation from delegates. "Let us, in the further solidification of our ranks," Wolfe declared, "remember that Tom Mooney has given twenty years of his life to the working class and let us determine to make this con-

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