

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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'NOT A SINGLE COMPROMISE' IS HITLER'S REPLY TO LEAGUE; FRENCH DEMAND ACTION



LEFT: German troops in full war equipment entering Cologne, large city in the Rhineland. RIGHT: French troops leaving Metz, bound for the impregnable "Maginot Line" of subterranean fortresses paralleling the German border.

THEY ARE ON THE MARCH AGAIN



Britain Continues Role of Pacifier

On March 7th Hitler's troops re-occupied the Rhineland and thus came dangerously close to reenacting the political situation that developed on the eve of the world war in 1914. On Thursday March 19, the Council of the League of Nations met in London and after listening to the oft-repeated charge that the Franco-Soviet Pact constituted a breach of the Locarno Pact, voted 11 to 0 that Germany had destroyed the Locarno Pact with the remilitarization of the Rhineland.

Conditions To Germany

The Locarno powers formulated their position in the form of five proposals: (1) France's alleged violation of Locarno, it was proposed that Germany place before the Permanent Court for International Justice. (2) No more troops or supplies to the Rhineland. No building of fortifications. (3) British and Italian troops are to be stationed in the zone from the German frontier to a line twenty kilometers east of the Rhine. (4) International conference to be held later to take up international peace, disarmament and improvement of economic relations. (5) During this emergency Britain, France, Belgium and Italy set up a virtual military alliance. In case Germany balks at foreign troops in the Rhineland the military alliance is to become actual.

'Dictat of Versailles'

In Germany these proposals were met with bitter resentment. The Nazi press insists it sounds too much like the "Jargon of Versailles" which is so distasteful to Germany. However, Germany has still not given up hope of maneuvering between Britain and France. It is well known to Germany that Great Britain vacillated constantly and changed its position from day to day. The German Ambassador, Dr. Leopold von Hoesch expressed this in an interview with the German correspondents in London, when he declared with amazing frankness: "The situation is

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SEAMEN FIGHT DOUBLE CROSS

After Taking Perkins' Promise Seamen Find Themselves Laid Off

Spontaneously rallying around 60 of their number who had been laid off, fined and blacklisted for their part in a strike at San Pedro, California, the seamen of the S.S. California and the S.S. American Trader took up mass picketing before Piers 62 and 63 where the two ships are docked. The International Merchant Marine is the company involved.

The sympathetic action developed because of the decision of the United States Shipping Commissioner John J. Daly upholding the I.M.M. in its retaliatory treatment of Joseph Curran, leader of the San Pedro strikers, and his followers.

The present strike is a continuation of the San Pedro affair, where 374 seamen of the California refused to take her out of port bound for New York, unless their pay was jacked up to the Atlantic level. They agreed to bring the ship back after a promise by Secretary of Labor Perkins of fair treatment and arbitration of their demands.

On learning of the ruling of Commissioner Daly, Curran declared "the union officials have sold us out" and ordered the men out again. Gus Brown, vice president of the International Seamen's Union, declared the strike to be unauthorized and "illegal".

Roosevelt Intervenes To Aid Rail Companies

Labor and Companies Deadlocked Over Eastman's Economy Plan; F. D. Warns Against Effects Of Legislative Action On The Railroad Companies.

WASHINGTON. — Representative of labor and the Association of American Railroads promised President Roosevelt this week to resume negotiations deadlocked since Coordinator of Transportation Joseph Eastman submitted his plan for revamping the railroad system and thereby proposing to lay off thousands of men. At the same time Senator Wheeler and Representative Crosser sponsored a bill to protect employees who might be dismissed or relocated as a result of this shakeup. The bill, they said, would be pressed if the two parties could not agree upon a voluntary understanding.

Before the conference with Roosevelt, J. A. Phillips, vice chairman of the Railway Labor Executives' Association, was frankly pessimistic. In the course of his negotiations he had declared time and again that altho the Eastman Plan might mean annual savings of \$18,000,000 for the companies, labor was bound to lose.

Eager to save Eastman and protect the railroad interests President Roosevelt dispatched identical letters to both parties in which he says in part:

"In the long run, the employees will surely gain from maximum efficiency and economy in railroad

operation . . . Given sufficient time, the management and the men ought to be able to agree upon a reasonable plan of protection. If they do not agree, and legislation is sought as the only solution, I fear harm to the railroad industry . . ."

Eastman was prompted to evolve his railroad unification plan, which effects terminals in eleven cities, by the clamor of the railroad companies. The Association of American Railroads whined that their members lost almost \$17,000,000 in 1934 and \$15,000,000 in 1935. The trouble, declared the Association, sprang from the inflexible fixed charges on a funded debt that the railroads have had to meet since the depression began.

The Railway Labor Executives' Association takes these figures with a grain of salt, inasmuch as utilities have the habit of padding their capitalization figures. Also Standard Statistics contradicts the statement of the railroads, claiming that 1935 shows an \$8,000,000 profit and not a \$15,000,000 deficit.

According to the terms of the legislation sought by railroad labor, the Interstate Commerce Commission would create a special adjustment board of rail employ-

YOUTH ACT GETS SENATE HEARING

Senate Hearings Reveal Desperate Conditions Of Youth Nationally

WASHINGTON.—With the argument that young men and women are being used as a bludgeon to defeat the trade union movement, Francis J. Gorman, vice president of the United Textile Workers, voiced his support of the American Youth Act during the hearings before the Senate Labor Committee.

"They (young workers) are hired at non-union wages" Gorman declared. "They are sent out to displace older workers, they are put into the National Guard and taught to fire on picket lines, and they are taken out of colleges and used as strike-breakers."

The bill, sponsored by Amlie and Benson as against the proposals of the National Youth Administration, would give to those between the ages of 16 and 25, vocational training and employment on public projects at wages not less than \$15 a week. High school students would be guaranteed a minimum of \$15 a month and college students \$25 a month.

Representative Amlie and Senator Benson propose to finance

ees, employers, and the usual "disinterested" party, to conduct hearings on consolidation applications. If any plan involved a reduction of employees, the railroad would have to provide "comparable employment for those displaced".

their plan by levying higher taxes on inheritances, gifts, and individual and corporate incomes over \$5,000 a year.

Charles A. Beard, historian, appeared before the committee and gave dismaying figures on "unemployed youth" Of the 20,000,000 people between sixteen and twenty-five, he stated, 500,000 are without employment and are taking part-time school work; 300,000 are out of school, unemployed, and not seeking work; 4,700,000 are in schools and colleges, but are on their way to swell the army of job seekers.

Minnie Lurye, representing Dressmakers' Union Local 22 of New York, reported that conditions even in unionized industries are being threatened and called for the adoption of the bill.

Unions Issue Call for May First Conference

Nine outstanding trade unionists and labor leaders have issued an appeal to all labor organizations of New York to send representatives to a United May Day Conference to be held on Friday evening, April 3, 8:00 p. m., at the Delano Hotel, 108 West 43rd Street, New York City. "Regardless of differences of race, color or political opinion," urges the call in its appeal to all labor, let us "join hands in a common front, in a common cause against the common enemy . . . in a united working class demonstration against the forces of reaction" on May Day.

Signers of the call for the Provisional May Day Committee were: Charles S. Zimmerman, manager, Dressmakers Union, Local 22, I.L.G.W.U.; Louis Nelson, manager, Joint Council of Knitgoods Workers Union; A. Philip Randolph, president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Murray Barron, manager, Suitcase, Bag and Portfolio Workers Union; I. Lederman, manager, International Pocketbook Workers Union; Sam Freeman, secretary, District Council 18, Brotherhood of Painters, David Lasser, president, Workers Alliance of Greater New York; Connee Kaye, Sec'y-Treas., Meat Cutters Union of N. A., Local 665 and Herman Gund, Sec'y-Treas., Bakery and Confectionery Workers Union, Local 50.

While Nazi Germany, fascist Italy and militarist Japan are ready to plunge the world in another world-wide imperialist conflagration, declares the call for United May Day demonstration, the American workers are "facing attack by the combined forces of the employing class who hope to

BKLYN UNIONS START DRIVE ON OPEN SHOPPERS

On Saturday March 21, the trade unions of Brooklyn gathered in conference in the headquarters of the Joint Council of the Knitgoods Workers and set on foot a movement for union organization to smash the open shop drive of the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce aided by the police and the District Attorney's Office.

The conference was opened by Sam Freeman, secretary of the Brooklyn District Council of the Brotherhood of Painters. After the election of Chester Cook of the Painters as Chairman and Jesse Lane of the Knitgoods Workers as Secretary, the conference got under way with a report by Louis Nelson, manager of the Knitgoods Joint Council.

In a masterly address Nelson presented the alarming situation in which the trade unions find themselves. He pointed out that the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce has been one of the worst offenders in the field of company union organization according to the reports even of government authorities. He charged that the police department and the District Attorney's office are working as one with the Chamber of Commerce. Nelson pointed to the arrest of the head of the organization department of his union—William Schaeffer—without a warrant and without even an excuse. At least 200 police surrounded the building, armed with machine guns for no other purpose but intimidation.

Nelson also called attention to the bitterly fought strikes his own union has waged, as also the Painters and the Department Store Workers at Mays. In all cases the right to picket has been taken away.

Under the excuse that factories are moving away because of "racketeering and gangsterism" by the labor unions of Brooklyn, Nelson further stated, the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce has introduced a bill, thru the Democratic Party politician James J. Crawford, calling for an investigation of the Brooklyn unions and singling out the Knitgoods, Dressmakers and Painters for special attack. This, Nelson charged, was a deliberate frame up and an insult to the trade union movement. Why don't they investigate, he asked, the attractive offers from southern towns in which labor is offered for as low as 65c a day. This, not gangsterism in the unions is the cause for the moving factories.

"Unless," Nelson concluded, "the trade unions band together in one group to aid each other during strikes, unless the assistance of all unions is secured for the organization of the unorganized, unless the assistance of the unemployed workers is won, unless these things are done the Chamber

RUBBER STRIKE IS ENDED IN AKRON

AKRON, O.—Just as the "Law and Order League," organized by the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company to smash the picket line, was about to wheel into action and the union forces were digging in for a determined defense, the disputants resolved their five week old differences and announced that the plant would be reopened immediately.

The strike, which began as a protest over the layoff of sixty-three men in the tire building de-

GHASTLY!

London—"SIT DOWN, MAN; YOUR EFFORT IS GHASTLY." This was thrown at former Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald by a Scottish Laborite when the former, attempting to defend the Baldwin Ministry from a motion of censure, declared that the government intended to rehabilitate depressed areas by establishing arms manufacturing plants.

of Commerce will crush us one by one."

The conference then heard a report on resolutions and approved resolutions condemning the use of injunctions; attacking the open shop drive of the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce; scoring Mayor LaGuardia for permitting the use of city employees for purposes of strike-breaking; protesting the outrageous police brutalities and calling for the organization of the unorganized. It was understood that these resolutions were to be sent out to all the unions in Brooklyn.

In order to acquaint Mayor LaGuardia with the sentiment of the Brooklyn unions the conference elected a committee of seven to confer with him. Among the members of this committee are Freeman of the Painters, Nelson and Spindell of the Knitgoods workers, Blanchard of the Women's Trade Union League and Michaelson of the May's strike staff.

The conference closed with the election of a permanent committee to continue the work outlined by the conference.

UNITED LABOR TICKET IN '36 GETS BACKING

LANSING, Mich.—Independent political action for labor in the form of a mass labor party based primarily on the trade unions was the keynote of a talk delivered by Jay Lovestone before a crowd composed chiefly of members of local unions affiliated with the United Automobile Workers of America.

On the economic field, Lovestone advocated the immediate formation of powerful industrial unions in the mass production industries as the only means through which workers in these industries could hope to cope with the gigantic corporations of the bosses. By pointing out that the recent reorganization of the AFL was due to the influx of hitherto unorganized workers in these very mass production industries, and by exemplifying the garment workers' and the mine workers' achievements as due to this type of organization, the speaker drove home to the auto workers the outline which they must follow in order to build their own organization.

Enthusiastic applause greeted his contention that while no time remained to place a Labor Party in the field in 1936, the support of Tom Mooney for President on a united labor ticket could and should be undertaken. Such a move, based around a man whose name is a byword in all labor circles, would serve as a unifying force for the entire labor movement, he said.

LABOR DISCUSSES LAGUARDIA

The March 15 issue of "Justice", official organ of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union indicates that the ILGWU was by no means unanimous in its attitude toward Mayor LaGuardia's role in the recent dispute with the employers in the dress industry.

"Justice" presents us with three documents. The resolution of the Joint Council of the Metropolitan District ILGWU which extends "appreciation and thanks to Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia for the part he has played in bringing about the conclusion of a new collective agreement in the industry"; the resolution of Local 89 signed by Antonini, which not only repeats more or less the same words as above but also "reaffirms" the high regard and esteem in which the dressmakers hold him . . . ; the resolution of the Executive Board of Local 22, which speaks for itself. (The Local 22 delegates voted against the first resolution quoted above) . . .

The Local 22 Resolution. In the name of the membership of our local the executive board of Dressmakers' Union, Local 22, ILGWU, hereby registers its protest against the "Resolution of Thanks to Mayor LaGuardia," adopted by the joint council of the Metropolitan District on March 6, 1936. We feel very strongly that the adoption of such a resolution constitutes an attempt to foist on us a conception and an attitude directly contrary to the best traditions of the Dressmakers' Union.

What helped in "bringing the dress manufacturers to the realization that the union demands were just and fair" was not Mayor LaGuardia's eloquent arguments but the invincible argument of the organized power and solidarity of the dressmakers, convincingly manifested at the great Madison Square Garden demonstration. We believe that this resolution of thanks is especially inappropriate because, two days before Mayor LaGuardia addressed our ratification meeting, he arbitrarily refused a permit for a demonstration of the unemployed, altho this demonstration was arranged by the Workers Alliance, an organization accredited by the A. F. of L. and on the advisory board of which are a number of leaders of our International.

The delegation of Local 22 to the Metropolitan district council vigorously opposed and voted against the resolution of thanks offered at the March meeting. In view of the nature of the issue, we want our position on this matter to be officially registered in the records of the Joint Board and "Justice" and to be made public to all dressmakers and other workers.

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

R. P. P. A. Presents Its Spectrum

By ARNOLD

The R.P.P.A. Group (Revolutionary Policy Publishing Association) in the Socialist Party has just released a bulletin on the struggle against war and fascism. It is really three distinct and sharply differing positions which, the introduction explains, are submitted for discussion of socialists in their pre-convention period.

The first position expressed by Warren Findley, is entitled, "A perspective for the Socialist Party." It might just as well have been captioned "The position of the Communist Party" for it is nothing but that plus a few crudities of his own creation. His reference to "apparent prosperity" in the United States, for instance, is all his own. In true C.P. style he sees fascism in the resort to "vigilante law" and "martial law in labor disturbances." As if these were never seen in the United States before Hitler or Mussolini came to power!

Findley sees two cardinal principles on war: "1. Defend the Soviet Union" and "2. Turn imperialist war into civil war against the capitalist forces in the United States." No disagreeing with that, but it becomes a little fuzzy when we read that "we must use the conflicting interests of imperialist powers, if necessary, to prevent their getting together to attack the Soviet Union." And this, when further developed, flows into the full position, sponsored today by the Communist International, which would have us support our own bourgeoisie in a war, if for its own imperialist aims it happens to be fighting on the same side as the Soviet Union. He says: "At the same time we must emphasize that any departure from the second principle, that of turning imperialist war into class war, is at the risk of bringing reaction into complete control in the United States. Imperative need of direct defense of the Soviet Union, the Workers' State, is the only exceptional condition that warrants that risk."

There are no exceptional conditions that warrant any proletarian supporting his imperialist government in a war. Will Comrade Findley please explain in what way his position differs from the Dan-Bauer-Zyromski resolution (which the New York Militants reject) and also from the position of the Communist Party? If there is no difference, why not say so?

As for the struggle against fascism Comrade Findley displays the remarkable faculty of agreeing with two proposals which negate each other. On the one hand he supports "the resolution endorsed by Paul Porter, Socialist Party observer at the Third Congress against Fascism and War" and on the other hand he urges "cooperation of the Socialist Party with the American League Against War and Fascism . . ." But Porter refused to cooperate with the American League, declined to accept any post and only pledged to participate in a new broad movement based upon the trade unions. The resolution of Porter excluded cooperation with the American League.

"Forward The Fourth International!"

The second position, sponsored by William McKenzie, Ronald Duval and Gordon Mitchell, unfurls the banner of the still unborn Fourth International and bristles with "stalinist bureaucrats", "Petty-bourgeois reformists" and the rest of the lexicon which has become so closely associated with Trotskyism in decay.

"The bureaucrats of Stalinism" must be forced "to capitulate to the living force of the world revolution." "It (the Socialist Party) must defend the Soviet Union by rallying the world working masses to the banner of revolution." And how do these phrase flingers propose to rally the masses? "By re-creating the forces of revolutionary socialists into new international groupings and preparing the needed new International for Revolutionary Socialism."

The masses are to be rallied to the banner of revolution by further dividing and splitting the revolutionary vanguard—splits and divisions in place of revolutionary unity. So much for what they have learned from the defeats of the proletariat by the fascists.

The R.P.P.A. Position. The third position is presented by Irving Brown, William B. Chamberlain and Frances A. Hendon—these are among the outstanding figures in the R.P.P.A. This statement spends little time in discussing the struggle against fascism except in the sense that it rejects participation in the American League Against War and Fascism "because of its isolation from the organized working class in the trade unions. We also reject its petty bourgeois base, illustrated in its program. . . ." It pledges itself to work toward "building up an anti-war movement thru the trade unions in alliance with other working class organizations."

Characterizing the present Ethiopian dispute as a struggle between the imperialist "haves" and the "have-nots" they reject the Kautskyian formula of "aggressive" and "defensive" wars and accept as theirs the slogan "turn imperialist war into civil war." The statement discusses in great detail the various types of wars possible at the present time and proposes a revolutionary Marxist stand in each case. Here are the types of wars considered:

1. Between two imperialist powers. "Must work for the defeat of

THIS IS NEWS!

Ethelbert Stewart, for 45 years head of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics declared recently that he was retired in 1932 because he refused to juggle unemployment figures to suit the views of the then President (Hoover) and his secretary of labor.

How Canada Solves Its Unemployment

By LENA ZUKER. After the Regina Riot last July (The riot caused by the police attempting to stop the relief camp workers' march on Ottawa) the Government appointed a commission to inspect the Relief Camps, for single unemployed, and bring suggestions for changes if any were found to be necessary. The report of this Commission was published recently.

They blame the restiveness amongst the Camp workers on the influence of that class of unemployed (young men between 18 and 25 years of age) who have never yet had an opportunity to work for any length of time. "Most of these young men are gifted with average intelligence and if they had grown up surrounded by a normal environment, which included useful work, they would no doubt, have given a good account of themselves. Under the influences among which they have lived during the past few years however, they constitute a real menace to the maintenance of our existing institutions." Further according to the commission, "the concentration of such a large and vile body of men, few of whom are, or could reasonably be expected to be satisfied with their lot, affords the most suitable opportunity for the successful propagation of subversive ideas and the stimulation of the spirit of rebelliousness."

To avoid this menace of Communism, the commission proposes that the camps be closed as soon as possible and these men be absorbed into industry and agriculture. How this is to be accomplished without creating a new army of unemployed is not very clear. It is suggested that the government finance the placing of 10,000 workers on maintenance work on the railroads. But what is to happen to the long waiting list of unemployed railroad workers? And can the regular railroad workers maintain their wage when they are faced with competition from 10,000 relief workers? Several unions have voiced their protest to this plan. Another suggestion is that the Provincial governments and industry in general should cooperate in giving preference to a certain number of relief camp workers in filling vacancies. At the same time they agree that there are very few vacancies in industry and all industrial concerns already have long lists of applicants waiting for their next. Until it is possible to absorb all the relief camp workers in industry and agriculture, the commission proposes that the camps stay open on a "work and wage" basis; each man to be allowed to stay in the camps 6 months out of the twelve. As the unemployed object to the 20c per day wage, the camps should be established on a basis of \$15.00 per month, \$7.50 to be paid in cash and \$7.50 to be deposited to be the man's account, for his use after leaving camp at the end of the six months.

But here is the catch: The unemployed also object to being dressed alike, as if they were prisoners or soldiers. Also there have been numerous cases of unemployed selling outside of camp the

clothing they receive free. To overcome these difficulties, now that the unemployed will be paid "wages," they will be graciously allowed to buy their own clothing, pay for their transportation and for medical treatment (all of which they now receive free) all with the sum of \$7.50 per month. The one accomplishment so far has been that the camps have been transferred from the supervision of the Department of National Defense to the Department of Labour.

Social Credit Discredited

The budget of the Province of Alberta (Social Credit Province) presents the workers and farmers with a gift—a \$2,000,000 sales tax. This in place of the \$25.00 credit promised by Premier Aberhart. This \$2,000,000 will make up two-thirds of the total increase in taxes. But Premier Aberhart has been provided with an excuse for not being able to produce his long-awaited Social Credit plan—Major T. C. Douglas, founder of Social Credit, and adviser to the Alberta Social Credit Government, recently got cold feet and took to his heels. He announced from London, England, that the Government has broken its contract with him by employing a second financial adviser. What with Douglas gone, and increased taxes on the already over-burdened farmers, and with clashes among the Social Creditors themselves, Social Credit will soon be a thing of the past, if the Communist Party lets it die.

Empty Victory

Victory of the People's Front in Montreal! At a meeting of the Popular Front to aid the unemployed, on Sunday last, Mayor Houde promised the unemployed free electricity, and higher day payments for rent and medical attention by May 1st. The only catch is that, Mayor Houde is at odds with his City Council, so that they oppose every proposal of his. Therefore, Houde will only be set up as a martyr for the cause of the unemployed. As long as his friend Chalfoux participates in the Popular Front, Houde will be able to utilize it as an election platform.

Have You Contributed To \$5,000 Drive?

It is only in the last two sentences that one becomes aware that

Social Credit and Communism in Can.

Nothing less than actual support of the worst kind of demagoguery is the only way to describe the Toronto Worker's out and out support of the Social Credit movement. If any one doubts the severity of this movement, let him read the February 8 Worker. Not content with special correspondent Cecil Smith's painstakingly flattering interview at Ottawa with the Social Credit leader, an editorial writer describes this as being indicative of "the extent to which pressure in the House (of Parliament) on the King's government to put thru its promises is possible." Social Creditors were allegedly elected "as a means of winning immediate relief."

"The Communist Party appeals to the CCF and Social Credit M. P.'s finds response in Mr. Blackmore's statements." (Blackmore was the man interviewed.) And in Calgary the party unqualifyingly supports the S. C. candidate in a municipal election. This is editorially described as "added proof that the movement among the Social Credit supporters is proceeding towards action to fulfill the needs of the masses." Is this enough? Well, one last line. "The CCF members, representing the labor movement in the House, must regard it as their duty to cooperate with the Social Credit members."

One feels thankful that there is a campaign being waged to change the name of The Worker

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SUICIDAL IDOLATRY

IT HAS BEEN a long time since the monthly business reviews of the American Federation of Labor have been as interesting, and significant as the latest one.

First of all, it sheds welcome though not startlingly new light on the persistence and extent of the unemployment crisis, on the sweep of recovery for biggest business in recent months, and the simultaneous worsening of the conditions of the workers—to be more accurate, on "the increasing misery" of the proletariat as a class in American capitalist society today.

We do not desire to be impolite, but we are compelled to be accurate. It has been a mighty long time since we have seen such outright, deliberate fraud or such crass stupidity as the following apology for capitalism made by this A. F. of L. business review:

We have not seen a more blind, a less unquestioning, attitude to capitalism as a social system (that must be with us eternally) than this declaration under the name of President Green of the A. F. of L. Not for a moment do we deny the anti-labor attitude of the judiciary.

Unemployment is not a problem faced by the U.S. only in times of crisis. It is a phenomenon rooted as much in the nature of capitalist prosperity as in the outbreak of capitalist crisis.

In the U. S. PRODUCTION is being carried on today COLLECTIVELY, but the APPROPRIATION of the products is being carried on PRIVATELY, completely on the basis of private profit.

It is out of this general and basic nature of the present American economic "order" that there arise conflicts and antagonisms not only between classes WITHIN countries but also struggles, clashes, conflicts, and devastating wars BETWEEN countries for markets to dispose of the commodities produced by the workers, the products turned out by the working class but not available for its consumption because of the system of private profits.

All attempts to sidestep the social and economic consequences of this fundamental nature of capitalism are at best new patches. But even the newest and most varied patches are only patchwork; they do not change the system; they do not give us a new garment; they only emphasize the despair with which one clings to the old.

ECONOMICS OF TOWNSEND PLAN

By SAUL HELD

Where Roosevelt and his adolescent economists have tread "lightly" to bolster their masters' rotting economic order, Townsend has plunged in with a vengeance—taxing the employed poor to maintain life in the unemployed poor.

What It Wants To Do "The Townsend Plan proposes to pay pensions sufficient to provide a total income of \$200 per month to all citizens of the United States who are at least sixty years of age and who (1) are not habitual criminals; (2) 'solely promise' to spend the entire amount of the pension during the month in which it is received; and (3) retire and abstain from all productive and gainful occupation or labor.

Paradise By Pensions "Some 8 million persons 60 years of age and over will be retired on his pension scheme, calculate the Townsend statisticians, contending that this will almost automatically dissipate the crisis by providing jobs for all the youths and adults now unemployed.

40% Sales Tax On Workers "The 2% tax is a tax on every transaction, which means that every movement of a commodity is taxed." "For example, the following transactions are found in the process by which wheat reaches the ultimate consumer: 1. Farmer to local grain dealer 2. Local grain dealer to city

Equitable Taxation? "... all classes of the population pay in proportion to their financial ability. ... As the tax is paid only in relation to transactions, the largest taxes will be paid by the largest income groups, the smallest taxes, by the smallest income groups."



DR. FRANCES E. TOWNSEND refreshing his memory for the Congressional Investigation

was taked up after it was discovered that according to the 1930 census only 4,156,495 of the 10,385,026 persons of 60 years of age and over were gainfully employed. If all the assumptions of the Townsends were true, then according to their own figures approximately 12 million jobs would be created, which would undoubtedly leave several million unemployed unprovided for.

Taxation Features Originally there was only one method deemed essential for taxation by Townsend—the 2% transactions-sales tax. But the Townsend leaders were not long in discovering that the income derived by this tax would fall far short of the sum required.

While The White House is hiring literary men to write songs of praise for the new Soil Conservation Act, it will not be out of place for us to say a few words about the results of the now-dead AAA. We take our readers to Alabama. We introduce them to the findings of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration investigating more than a thousand households in this state.

Most of the taxes in the end would be paid by customers at retail. And this means the great bulk would be paid by the wage earners of the nation."

From the new act there can at best be expected nothing worse than from the AAA. How much help that would be for the sharecroppers who don't own the soil they use, requires little conjecture. The above findings mark the way clearly. It is obvious that both

the old and the new much-heralded Roosevelt relief measure are a grand but painful delusion for the great mass of the rural population

AT FIRST GLANCE

By Jay Lovestone

NOT ALWAYS is the significance of a strike determined by the number of workers involved in the struggle. Some strikes as me special importance because of the character of the industry affected. Other strikes take on particular import because of the relationship of the workers in the struggle towards other workers, organized and unorganized.

It is from this larger viewpoint that the strike conducted by the United Rubber Workers of America against the Goodyear plant in Akron, Ohio, must be estimated as a first rate event in the situation confronting American labor.

AS NOVEMBER approaches one is reminded of the "sunshine" propaganda directed by Hoover during the darkest moments of his prosperously-around-the-corner days. These reminders, however, do not at this time emanate from the headquarters of the Republican National committee. They are conceived, nursed and launched in the offices of Roosevelt's cabinet members and are blessed by the chief executive himself.

The eight-fold over-subscription of the government's offering of one billion-two hundred fifty million dollars new obligations is a case in point. It was the largest operation of its kind since the victory loan of 1919.

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

WE NEED UNITY for contests in the economic field. We need unity for the establishment of our interests in the political field so that we may be represented in lawmaking, in the appointment of administrative and judicial agents.

speaks so eloquently? Does not "charity toward each other" and "appreciation of each others points of view" extend also to those firmly convinced in their right to propagate the idea of Industrial unionism?

And it is not time that we broke with the concept of supporting, on the political field, the representatives of the employers, while contesting these same employers on the economic field? How long must labor "be represented in law-making, in the appointment of administrative and judicial agents" by conniving politicians and agents of the employers?

Once Again Charles P. Howard, a leader of the Committee for Industrial Organization answers the charge of secession and dual unionism in "The Typographical Journal" of March 1936:

AN INTERESTING angle of this problem of industrial unionism is discussed in a recent issue of the "Christian Science Monitor." The Monitor says: "Moreover, you can't have large masses of workers whose livelihood and happiness depend on satisfactory relations with a corporate employer without having efforts to organize them on a basis big enough to supply some sort of bargaining equality. . . .

The Senate Audit Committee, supposed to vote the wherewithal (\$7,500) by which the Van Nuys resolution to investigate lynchings after May 1, 1935 may come to life, is doing its best to kill the bill.

And talking of Van Nuys, the House Judiciary Committee is now considering another of his bills (already approved by the Senate) This one is designed to prevent the coercion of employees in the forthcoming national elections. Aimed at the opponents of Roosevelt, the measure prescribes a fine of \$5,000 for corporations guilty of such an offense, or, if agents are involved, a penalty of one year in prison and a \$1,000 "assessment for the public welfare."

NO, you can no more convince Green and Wall than you can convince Ham Fish that Roosevelt is not "more dangerous" to the institution of capitalism than Earl Browder.

HAVE YOU GIVEN TO \$5,000 FUND?

WITH THE LAWMAKERS

By LEE MASON

"The mountain labored and produced a mouse" The New Jersey state legislature, after being threatened with demonstrations by the unemployed if relief funds were not forthcoming, finally managed to cke out a measly \$3,000,000 for such purposes. The money, diverted from highway funds after a luxury tax bill had fallen by the wayside, will last only one month.

Apparently afraid that Hoffman might eat into the highway funds once again, the Senate passed a bill repealing a 1935 law empowering the Governor to divert \$2,000,000 a month from State moneys for relief uses.

The legislators and the chief executive atoned partially by enacting into law five measures designed to make the lot of the old people more bearable. By the new laws indigent persons 65 years of age are made eligible for old age pensions and the residence requirements are cut down from fifteen years in the State to five in the last nine.

Not content with the "small" allowance given the War Department by the House, the Senate Appropriations Committee raised the ante to \$603,230,604, the largest peace-time appropriation in the history of the country. The measure will enable the army to maintain an average enlisted strength of 165,000 men as compared with the present enrollment of 147,000.

Seeing what good luck its martial partner, the War Department, had, the Navy Department has

Literature Department COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION) 51 W. 14 St., N. Y. C. SPECIAL OFFER Correspondence of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels Formerly \$3.75 NOW \$2.50 August Thalheimer's—Introduction to Dialectical Materialism NOW \$1.75 Cloth Bound Volume 1935 Workers Age NOW \$2.00 Address mail orders to: BOX 68 STATION "O" NEW YORK, N. Y. Add postage cost to above prices

In the International Labor Movement

A Program of Action for Spain

(By our European Correspondent)

1. The events immediately following the elections in Spain have shown that the Azana government carried out only those measures which the masses forced them to act on. The liberation of political prisoners was directly achieved through mass demonstrations in front of the prisons and thru insurrections in the prisons. Events in Madrid and other cities show that the army could no longer be used to suppress mass demonstrations. The reconstitution of left municipal councils in the municipalities was also realized only by the revolt of the masses. The Azana government gave its approval after these measures had been carried thru without it and even against its will.

TOWNSEND ECONOMY

(Continued from Page 4)

All non-Townsendites are agreed that nothing can prevent the making of any business transaction—excepting the worker—from passing on his financial responsibility to the ultimate consumer. Every employer's organization has already proclaimed the inevitability of such a procedure.

But assuming that each transactor would pay the 2% tax without passing it on, what then? Surely it cannot be claimed that the worker, who today averages \$15 to \$20 per week in manufacturing industries, would be equitably taxed in relation to the ownership and management who may make hundreds of thousands or more per week, when the rate of tax is equal for both. What is more, the worker would be drowned in a sea of misery unknown even today. It is difficult to discern an iota of equitability much less redistribution of wealth in this scheme.

Whatever redistribution would take place would throw more workers out of jobs and into lower living standards. Such a tax would lend great impetus to the further concentration of business into fewer and fewer hands. Small business would perish or consolidate, or be absorbed by the giants—more unemployment, less wages, etc.

Can Piper Be Paid?

To pay \$200 monthly to 8 million, Townsend estimates, would require \$20 billion annually. This was deducted as follows. In 1929 the total dollar value of all business transactions amounted to \$1,200 billion, therefore a 2% of this sum would yield \$20 billion. And while it is admitted that the total transactions for the present is much less, it is claimed that the operation of the plan would so increase transactions as to bring it to or above the 1929 level.

While the tax is imposed on gross income, it must be paid out of net income or profits—national income. Let us see if a sufficient sum could be raised if the tax were applied.

Agriculture: "The total tax burden in 1929 would have \$208 million, or 18.1% of the profits of farm operators. It should be remembered, however, that these profits are not uniformly distributed among all farm operators. The sum of \$1,150 million, representing profits or the amount available for capital and management in 1929, was received largely by well-to-do farmers, who account for about one-third of the total of farm operators."¹

Industry: "In 1929 there were 509,436 corporations doing business in the United States. The gross income of these corporations was \$161,158 million. Their net income was \$10,676 million. The tax of 2% would have been imposed on the gross income and would have amounted to \$3,223 million, or 30.2% of the net income."²

Together a grand total of \$3,431,000,000—far short of \$20,000,000,000!

What of the supplementary taxes? "The increase in the income tax, even on the basis of 1929 yields, would furnish only \$233,000,000, and even if the tax on estates and gifts based on the 1935 estimates (which is higher than 1929) were to be doubled, the total available for the Townsend pensions from these two sources would be scarcely \$450,000,000. Inasmuch as this sum is only about 2 percent of the amount needed to pay the Townsend pensions, it can be dismissed from the picture as irrelevant and immaterial."³

1. The Townsend Scheme, National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., \$1.00.

2. The Townsend Plan, Workers Library Publishers, 5c

3. The Townsend Plan, Doubleday, Doran & Co. \$ 50

2. The same is true of the agrarian measures passed by the government, such as, the discontinuance of the return of the land to the nobility, who had been active in the unsuccessful coup d'etat, and cessation of the auctioning of peasant holdings. The mass flight of the Spanish nobility leads us to conclude that a movement to confiscate the land of the nobility is under foot amongst the poor peasants and landworkers.*

3. The Azana government is ready to carry out the People's Front program. At the same time, it has asked the working masses to cease its own activities and to leave the execution of the People's Front program entirely to the government. The regime, in other words, is afraid of mass action. Its policy has clearly indicated that it will carry out the People's Front program only to the extent to which the revolutionary activities of the masses will force its hand

4. It is quite characteristic of the political situation in Spain and of the tactics of the big bourgeoisie, the landowning nobility, etc., that the permanent committee of the Cortes, in which the reactionaries have a majority, accepted the amnesty decrees unannouncedly. In other words, the forces of the counter-revolution are now rallying to the Azana regime—the program of the People's Front.

5. The most essential points of

* *Widespread agrarian unrest has developed already*

the People's Front program, namely, the amnesty and the restoration of the republican municipal councils have already been fulfilled thru the actions of the masses. The only other point in the program of any significance to the workers is the demand for minimum wages. The People's Front program on the whole, however, is quite inadequate as a working class program.

6. The workers and peasants must fight for those demands which were left out of the People's Front program because the Left Republicans objected to them. In the main, these are as follows:

a. The thro completion of the agrarian revolution; i.e., the expropriation without compensation of the estates of the nobility and the church (including, of course, the landed property of the big bourgeoisie), the distribution of this confiscated land among tenants, farmers and farm hands

b. On the industrial field the Social-Democrats advanced the slogan for the control of production by the workers. This was rejected by the Left Republicans, which proves that the slogan of workers' control of production—the management of capitalist factories by the workers—is a basic slogan. (We hasten to add that this does not involve the immediate juridical expropriation of factory owners. It simply means that the actual management of factories will be in the hands of the workers for the time being. Furthermore, it does NOT mean state control of factories. The factories are to be run by committees elected by the workers and responsible to them.)

c. The Left Republicans expressly rejected the demand for state unemployment relief. The working class of Spain must fight for a system of unemployment relief maintained thru contributions from the employers exclusively and administered entirely by the workers.

d. It is obvious that even those minimum wages which adequately cover the needs of the workers can be enforced only thru a direct struggle of the workers.

e. The Left Republicans refused to endorse the demand for the nationalization of the Bank of Spain. This demand must be fought for. Control must rest with the organs of the workers elected for this purpose.

f. The program of the People's Front demands that those officials and army officers who were guilty of excesses in the October revolution are to be indicted. It is fantastic to believe that bourgeois courts will be able to deal with such cases or that they will make any serious attempt at punishment. Such a task can only be carried out by revolutionary tribunals composed of workers, white

collar employees, poor peasants and farm hands (that is, elected by these).

7. These fundamental demands in the interest of the working class and the peasants cannot and will not be fulfilled by the Azana regime or by any parliamentary setup. The Azana regime may find it convenient at any moment to swerve to the right and to form a parliamentary majority with the reactionaries, whereas the Socialists and Communists cannot by themselves form a parliamentary majority. Therefore, in order to advance the working class movement and in order to realize its revolutionary aims the masses must create their own broad class organs which in the course of events will develop into workers', peasants' and soldiers' councils leading the mass struggle and finally establishing a soviet government. The fact that the next historical step in Spain is the bourgeois revolution by no means proves that it must be carried out in alliance with bourgeois parties and thru a parliamentary procedure. The experience of China has shown that soviets as state organs are suitable even for the bourgeois revolution. Furthermore, the bourgeois revolution is by no means the limit for workers and peasants. The logic of events will show that the limits of the bourgeois revolution must be transcended. The expropriation of large estates and even workers' control of production, however, are demands within the framework of the bourgeois revolution.

8. Organizationally the decisive step in Spain is the formation of broad class organs of workers, peasants and soldiers—that is, soviets. At present, the working class parties must agitate for soviets and educate the masses on their role in the struggle for power. The appropriate moment for the election of soviets can be determined only on the basis of a precise knowledge of the political development of the country. To what extent and what length of time the workers and peasants alliances will act as preliminary stages for soviets can be determined only by future developments in Spain.

However, it is already apparent to us that the workers' and peasants' alliances, consisting in the main of a coalition of the existing workers' parties and organizations, are inadequate from the point of view of the needs of an unfolding revolutionary movement. The reasons are twofold: the soviets of the future must draw in the great mass of peasants and tenant-farmers. The great mass of peasants, however, is not organized in a political party and is therefore inaccessible thru the workers' and peasants' alliances. The same is true of the soldiers who likewise lack political organization and can therefore only be organized thru soldiers' councils.

9. The smashing of the bourgeois state apparatus and the arming of the workers and the revolutionary elements of the peasantry is a decisive phase of the future development of Spain. The main slogan with which to win over the army (i.e. the common soldiers and the lower officers) is the slogan of the revolutionary expropriation of large estates coupled with the slogan of soldiers' soviets and the replacement of reactionary officers with military leaders from the ranks of the common soldiers and the lower officers. The army is mainly composed of peasants. It is for that reason that the slogan of an agrarian revolution will have its effect. There must be a demand for the immediate dis-

olution of such reactionary troops as the Civil Guard and the Foreign Legion which behaved so bestially in the Asturias. A workers' militia or workers' guards must be organized and agitated for.

10. Nowhere in Europe are conditions so favorable for a revolution as in Spain. One of the fundamental pre-requisites for a revolution, however, is the formation of a united Communist mass party which will be capable of independent leadership of the revolution. Such a party does not exist in Spain today. However, these exist elements which might well give rise to it. Neither the Communist nor the Socialist party in their present condition would be equal to that task. The Communist Party is pursuing the suicidal policy of the People's Front. A break with this policy is absolutely essential for the advancement of the revolutionary movement and for the role of the C.P. in it. The left Socialists under Caballero have left themselves of quite a number of reformist illusions but are still dominated by the People's Front idea. The C.P. and the left wing of the S.P. must rid themselves of the People's Front illusion; they must clearly understand the real tasks of the revolution and be ready to carry them out. The formation of a united Communist mass party composed of the present Communist Party, the left Social-Democracy as well as all those anarchists and syndicalists who are ready to throw overboard their old reformist, opportunist and anarcho-syndicalist ideas and to pursue correct Communist tactics, is absolutely essential.

11. The international significance of the events in Spain cannot be overestimated. First of all, Spain is the first concrete test of the People's Front policy. If this policy is adhered to, we predict a smashing defeat of the working class. If, however, the C.P. drops this false line, the revolutionary movement of Spain may score a victory of international significance. In either case the test of the People's Front in Spain will be decisive for the future of the People's Front policy of the C.I. in other countries. We refer to the French People's Front in particular. Secondly, a victory of the socialist revolution in Spain which is quite possible provided the above-mentioned conditions exist would have a tremendous effect on the entire labor movement despite the relative isolation of Spain. Such a victory would be a blow to the fascist regimes of Italy, Germany, etc. A victorious revolution in Spain would have a very strong effect on France. 12. The above analysis was made on the basis of the little news which has come from Spain. It is by no means complete and will be supplemented on the basis of further information.



AZANA

BOOKS of the AGE

PARADISE LOST, by Clifford Odets. Random House. 204pp. \$2.00.

Reviewed by BERT WOLFE
"Paradise Lost" is a play dealing with the tragedy of the middle class. Their last paradise lies in the "good old days" when life seemed secure and their children were always sure to rise in the world if they only "got the breaks." The Gordons and Katzes, the Bronx garment-manufacturers whose ineffectual battle against slow and all-pervading decay forms the subject of the play, are not so much individualized types as symbols of their class and puppets of the theme. This is not said in derogation, for a drama of social thesis requires that its characters serve as social symbols. Only in one respect do the characters fall short of the functions Odets has assigned to them, namely, he has sought to dramatize economic decay too much in terms of physical symbols: one Gordon boy has a weak heart, the other sleeping sickness, and Mr Katz is impotent. Here the symbolism is inadequately socialized. But finding new symbols for the new themes of social drama is by no means an easy task, and our writers of today are only beginning to express their abstract ideas in terms of concrete, living symbols whose meaning will become more immediately clear only as they have been many times expressed and fully developed. It is interesting to note that Odets' imperfect solution is similar to that of many of his fellow writers thus Grace Lumpkin seems to symbolize the decay of the Old South in *Sign for Cain* by the cancer of the throat that is killing the old silver-tongued orator of a Southern judge, and James Farrell gets much of his tragic effect in the Lonigan trilogy out of the weak heart of the once athletic Studs Lonigan.

The play is moving, as is all the work of Odets. It is infused with an eloquence and restrained, homely poetry distilled from Bronx American speech that is peculiarly his own, and idiom that he invented in *Awake and Sing* and continues to employ here. A certain technical diffuseness, the defects of symbolism already alluded to, and a tacked on "revolutionary ending" prevent the play from acting as well as it reads. The play adds nothing to the stature Odets has already achieved, but it does demonstrate that he can maintain level he has already reached, and gives promise as did each of his earlier plays that Odets may prove to be the most important dramatist that the American theatre has produced in a decade.

THREE SOURCES OF UNEMPLOYMENT, by Wladimir Woytinsky. International Labor Office. 166pp. \$2.25.

Reviewed by ECONOMIST
This is an unusually good statistical study of world wide conditions pertaining to unemployment. Proceeding from country to country, the author illustrates how " . . . industry, notwithstanding ready expression, is not absorbing any new workers" and that "this phenomenon . . . is not confined to the U. S. . . ." Stripped of its verbiage of mathematical formulas, the study piles fact on fact chart on chart to prove the constantly growing contradiction between marketing possibilities and swiftly increasing labor productivity.

Combining the three sources of unemployment—change of population; economic conditions; and technical progress—into an interacting and dynamic process, the author has been able to present a rather fundamental analysis. He comes to the conclusion, on a statistical basis, that " . . . it is clear

LOSING THEIR CHAINS by James Sand

Eugene Victor Debs

(Continued from previous issue)

But he scarcely had time to warm his favorite rocking-chair at his home in Terre Haute where his wife Kate brooded over him and tried to contain his boundless energy, when the Pullman strike broke out in Illinois. Off to Chicago Gene rushed. He suggested arbitration to Pullman. Pullman told him to go to hell, and Gene ordered every A.R.U. man to refuse to pull Pullmans on his trains. This, in June 1894. The conditions against which the strike had been called were so bad that even some Middle Western clergymen felt compelled to condemn the Honorable George W. Pullman.

But on the pretext of protecting the mails, Grover Cleveland, the apostrophe of washed-out liberalism, sent Federal troops into Chicago. Governor John P. Altgeld, true friend of labor, condemned Cleveland's action as a usurpation of state authority, and even bourgeois historians have had to concede the correctness of Altgeld's position. The arrival of the troops threw the city into an uproar. General vandalism resulted, and the "impartial" press of the nation named Eugene Victor Debs as the precipitator of the vandalism! Gene was learning the price of loving mankind.

Cleveland's action enraged Debs. Gompers took the first train to Chicago to confer with Debs, but when he saw the difficult situation, he jumped on his "pure and simpleton" horse, and like Don Quixote, rode off in all directions. Debs meanwhile had violated an Illinois court injunction.

The strike became national news for months. Debs became the recognized leader of militant labor in America. Gompers tried to cash in on his popularity with the rank and file by praising his "earnestness, honesty, and sincerity." But popularity with the working class did not save Debs from the clutches of capitalist law. He was sentenced to jail at Woodstock, Illinois, for six months for contempt of court, and the United States Supreme Court upheld the decision. Whereupon Debs did a strange thing—something that showed a basic contradiction in his social philosophy. He claimed that he was being sent to jail because he had stood by his constitutional rights as an American citizen, at the same time that the Supreme Court upheld his sentence as constitutional. It was to take more persecution for Gene Debs to discover that there is a basic opposition between the labor movement and a property-protecting constitution. He received the news of the sacred Nine by announcing that they had violated the principles of Jefferson. He went to jail firm in his stand, and as they led him off, he said: "If it is expected that six months or even six years in jail will purge me of contempt, the punishment will fail of its purpose."

During his six months in Woodstock, Victor Louis Berger, an Austrian who had taught school in Milwaukee upon his arrival in this country, was then editing a German social-democratic journal in that city; came to Debs and spoke to him of socialism and a man named Marx. Gene never forgot that visit. He was overwhelmed by Berger's learning, and thereafter, until the end of his life, right-wingers among the socialists had the Indian sign on him. Years later Debs himself described the visit thus:

"It was at this time, when the first glimmerings of Socialism were beginning to penetrate, that Victor L. Berger—and I have loved him ever since—came to Woodstock, as if a providential instrument, and delivered the first impassioned message of Socialism I had ever heard—the very first to set the 'wires humming in my system.' As a souvenir of that visit there is in my library a volume, CAPITAL, by Karl Marx, inscribed with the compliments of Victor L. Berger which I cherish as a token of priceless value."

He himself announced, on his release from Woodstock, "I entered jail a trades unionist, and came out a socialist." Certainly he came out politically muddled, but it took him five years to really come to socialism, and then he did not come to it through Marx, but through Jefferson. It was to take more than Berger to make Debs a Marxist.

In 1896 the wheat-belt whirlwind, William Jennings Bryan, took him in. "I believed," said Debs, "that the triumph of Mr. Bryan and free silver would blunt the fangs of the money power." This was bad political socialism and even worse proletarian economics. Debs stumped the country for the Democratic candidate.

Then he began to see some light. In June 1897, Debs transformed the A.R.U. into the political Social Democracy of America. "There is no hope for the toiling masses of my countrymen except by the pathways mapped out by Socialists, the advocates of the cooperative commonwealth," said Debs. In March 1900, the present Socialist Party of the U.S.A. was formed. Debs, shortly before the formation of the S.P., wrote the following in the New York Journal:

"The Social Democratic Party is not a reform party, but a

revolutionary party. It does not propose to modify the competitive system but to abolish it. An examination of its platform shows that it stands unequivocally for the collective ownership and control of all the means of wealth, production and distribution,—in a word, Socialism."

Gene was in for bitter disappointment on the revolutionary nature of social democracy and the "unequivocal" stand on ownership. In 1900, Eugene Victor Debs of Indiana was the first presidential candidate of the newly founded Socialist Party. He polled 96,116 votes, with Job Harriman of California running for vice-president. There had been little time for organization and the party was poor in funds.

Now begins in earnest his writing for socialism in the press, and his lecturing tours, on which he thrilled the working class of his time. In addition there was his political agitation, which showed such remarkable results in the 1904 vote of the S.P. Debs ran again for the presidency and his vote leaped to 402,321. This was cause for more than hope. It was the cause for rejoicing among Socialists and for fear among capitalists.

But with that strange insight into the need for economic organization which he always evinced without being fully aware of its sound theoretical basis, he knew that the hope for the co-operative commonwealth lay in industrial unionism. In 1905, over the protests of Berger and the right-wing he joined in signing the manifesto calling for the organization of the I.W.W. Berger, Morris Hillquit, and Abe Caham were panic-stricken by such revolutionary zeal. The beer-stube socialist from Milwaukee called the struggles of the miners who formed the bulk of the Wobblly membership "border feuds." There was also the fear of DeLeon who wielded great power in the I.W.W. for a few years. Debs' presence at the first convention was, as always, electrifying. But that visit in Woodstock came to haunt his revolutionary activity. Berger dissuaded him from further participation in the I.W.W. and Gene acceded. To his earlier contradictions he therupon pled this one: he acceded to Berger, and at the same time damned the S.P. for not aiding DeLeon in the I.W.W.

"The fact is," he said, "that most of the violent opposition of Socialist Party members to DeLeon and his purely personal animus. . . . It may be that DeLeon has designs upon the Socialist Party and expects to use the I.W.W. as a means of disrupting it in the interest of the Socialist Labor Party, and if he succeeds it will be because his enemies in the Socialist Party, in their bitter personal hostility to him, are led to oppose the revolutionary I.W.W. and support the reactionary A. F. of L."

Out of the Far West in 1906 there came the spark that lit the fire of revolution in Gene Debs. The workers of America awoke one winter morning to discover that Idaho justice had kidnapped Big Bill Haywood, Moyer, and Pettibone of the Western Federation of Miners, from Colorado and railroaded them to Idaho to stand trial on the charge of killing ex-Governor Steunenberg who had been blown to bits on December 30th, 1905 as he left his home in Caldwell. Debs flew completely off the handle, and would have been off to Idaho, if Kate had not actually held him down. When Teddy Roosevelt, that staunch henchman of American imperialism, called them undesirable citizens and announced their guilt before they even came to trial, Debs attacked him so furiously that Teddy must have thought San Juan Hill was paradise. In the "Appeal to Reason," of which he was an associate editor, Debs wrote:

"He uttered a lie as black and damnable, a calumny as foul and atrocious as ever issued from a human throat. The men he thus traduced and vilified, sitting in their prison cells for having dutifully served their fellow workers and having spurned the bribes of their masters, transcend immeasurably the man in the White House, who with the cruel malice of a barbarian has pronounced their doom."

Haywood's trial was to come up in May 1907, and it was on May Day of that year that Debs cried, "VIVE LA REVOLUTION!" The most heroic word in all languages is REVOLUTION." He led the May Day parade and denounced capitalism. To the rank and file, he said, "Let us show the world that workingmen of America are not so lost to shame, not so devoid of the red blood of courage, that they will allow one of their comrades to suffer death at the hands of their enemies!" This was class-struggle theory and no mistake. It is Debs at his best. Only in the Canton speech and subsequent trial did he reach greater revolutionary heights.

Haywood was acquitted, and Debs convicted himself of Marxism.

(To be continued in next issue)

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Auto Workers Convention Faces Many Grave Tasks

By S. J.

By the decision of the Executive Council of the AFL the probationary period of the International United Auto Workers Union, which was formed by the federal auto locals in Detroit in August, 1935, will terminate at a special convention called for April 27th in South Bend, Ind where the delegates will have the full right to elect their own international officers.

What Kind Of Union?

Other issues of this convention will be, how to react to the decision of the Executive Council of the AFL to limit the jurisdiction of United Auto Workers Union to production men only, that is to exclude all tool and die and parts plants workers. There are some people in the union who are in favor of one all-inclusive industrial union, by merging with all the independent unions. If the AFL is against granting an all-inclusive charter there is one tendency which will say, "To hell with the AFL. We will start an organization drive outside."

The craft unionists in the union under the leadership of Dillon, are for a genuine craft union not having anything to do with the skilled workers over whom other international unions are claiming jurisdiction. They are even in favor of giving over many of the present existing locals of the UAW in the auto parts plants to other international unions. They are carrying on a vicious propaganda against the CIO claiming that it is a movement dual to the AFL.

The progressives in the union are for one industrial union in the auto industry. They are also in favor of adopting a resolution in support of the CIO, but they are against any talk or action for splitting away from the AFL. They will resist any attempt by other international unions to take away any of their present existing local unions. Although they are excepting the present limited charter granted to them by the AFL, they are preparing to elect delegates to the next AFL Convention and will fight like hell to get their charter extended. They will continue to fight until they are allowed to organize every worker connected with the auto industry in one union.

Local Autonomy

Up to now President Dillon, who was appointed by Wm. Green at the last convention of the union, has acted more as a dictator than a leader by sending his personal representatives to different localities; removing elected local officials as was the case in the city of St. Louis; forcing members of the United Auto Workers to scab against other workers, as in the Motor Products strike; making settlements without the consent of the workers involved; appointing a number of organizers who had neither the ability nor the confidence of the membership. All these actions of Dillon lead to a general demand by the membership in the different localities for more local autonomy. There is sentiment for an amendment to the constitution

to limit the power of the general president and give more autonomy to locals. At the same time they want to give the general executive board power to become the stable national leadership, to control the actions of the international officers and local unions. This is necessary to carry on a real united policy of organization work in order that there shall be established more uniformity in wages and conditions, not to permit one Chevy or one Chrysler local, for instance, to compete with another Chevy or Chrysler local in another district.

For Independent Political Action

In the short time the auto workers have been organized, they have already had many bad experiences with the so-called progressive New Deal administration. We have but to recall the personal interference of President Roosevelt in their union business; and the appointment of the Wollman Auto Labor Board, stopping the organization drive and sentiment for improving working conditions through a strike.

If a local strike broke out representatives of the Labor Department were there to persuade them to go back to work immediately under the old conditions. In the localities where the workers resisted this action of the Labor Department or Wollman Board representatives a Republican or Democratic judge was found to issue an injunction against the strikers. These policies of the Roosevelt administration which brought such hardships for the auto workers stimulated sentiment among the organized auto workers for independent political action. Resolutions to that effect are being introduced in many locals.

There will also be resolutions for the 30 hour week. The elimination of chemical materials which are poisoning workers and for the right to organize and strike with-

FLA. LABOR MAN IS CRUCIFIED

OCALA, Fla.—Because he had recently been engaged in labor difficulties on the cross-state canal, George J. Timmerman, thirty-nine, unemployed bricklayer, was nailed to a wooden cross in a heavily wooded region inside the city limits. His assailants sewed his lips tightly with heavy twine and threw a hunting coat over his head to muffle his groans.

Found by a friend, James White, who was on his way to work at Camp Roosevelt, headquarters for construction on the Florida ship canal, Timmerman was only half conscious.

Police "could find no reason for the assault" but it is known that Timmerman had protested against working conditions.

WILL A. F. L. SPLIT?

Hear

George F. Miles

Editor "Workers Ages"

Thursday, March 26, 8 p. m.

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POOR FISH!

Berlin.—Good Friday will come twice a week for the German soldiers and police according to War Minister von Blomberg and Interior Minister Wilhelm Frick. Orders have been issued placing the army and the police on a fish diet twice a week.

This is due to the shrivelling meat supply which dropped 15.3% during the month of January.

out interference of the government

Question of Leadership

The main issue will be the kind of a new leadership to be elected for the international union. There is no doubt in the minds of the auto workers that Dillon will not be their next president. There is no question that Dillon, because of his policy of no strike and for peace at any price in the industry, will not get the votes of the delegates. The opposition to Dillon is itself divided on a candidate against him. At the present time there are four contenders for the job. The first and most influential person in the union today is Homer Martin from the Kansas City local, now general vice-president. The second in influence is Wyndham Mortimer, the president of the Cleveland district council. The third is Edward Hall from Wisconsin, at present general secretary-treasurer of the union and up till recently a part of the Dillon machine. The fourth is Shipley of South Bend. It will be the job of the progressives to unite around one. With a strong general executive board they will be able to mobilize the entire membership with the help of the CIO and other AFL organizations, to start a genuine organization drive to improve the conditions of the auto workers.

'NO COMPROMISE' SAYS HITLER

(Continued from Page 1)

becoming very dangerous for us. It is uncomfortably like that of 1914. The British are wavering as they did then. But also, as in the eleventh hour in 1914, they are now beginning to stiffen."

But this remark must not be overestimated. Stanley Baldwin is still torn between the two camps in his own cabinet. This was once again illustrated when upon request for further information from Berlin on the nature of these five proposals to Germany. Anthony Eden, apparently carrying out a change of attitude by the Cabinet, informed the Germans that these were not to be considered as an ultimatum. At the same time Foreign Minister Flandin declared that these demands constitute the maximum that the Locarno powers are ready to grant and the minimum that they demand.

Sanctity of Treaty

The air is now being filled with the cries of "sanctity of treaties" and the impermissibility of "unilateral abrogation" of "multilateral pacts." Still stranger is it to see Italy strut among the Locarno powers and solemnly agree that Germany had shown poor sportsmanship in abrogating the Locarno pact. But international imperialist politics boils down to a few very simple formulas, the most widely applied of which is "take while the taking is good." Thus we hear Dino Grandi, Il Duce's emissary, saying "Now is the time to settle everything." And, in truth, it seems as if he is right. Foreign Minister Flandin speaking before the Chamber of Deputies, already intimated that sanctions against Italy will have to be dispensed with, due to far more bothersome problems that

have arisen.

Nor is Italy's present attitude out of tune with its traditional stand against a stronger Germany, fearing that a strong Germany might absorb Austria and thus extend its borders to Italy.

Also England is hardly without its interests in the situation. Decisive at the moment appears to be that section of the British cabinet which constantly harped upon the fact that a rearmament of Germany is a menace to Britain as well as to France; that Dover is not so far from Calais; that a Germany victorious over France would await its first chance for tackling Britain. There was still another consideration: Britain's great concern over the Mediterranean Sea. A frigid attitude toward France now might throw France into the arms of Italy and their combined navies are something which even Great Britain must respect. It is not uninteresting that despite the fact that the trouble zone has shifted from Italy to Germany, not a single battleship has been ordered out of the Mediterranean by Great Britain nor has a single ship been ordered to approach Germany.

Elections Coming

Thus do things stand now. What may we expect? Hitler may now rant against yielding one centimeter of Rhineland soil but after the Reichstag elections (in which there is no way of registering opposition) he will be much more amenable to reason. Similarly it is possible that the die-hard attitude of Foreign Minister Flandin may be softened by the exigencies of politics—after the general elections in France. Now, feeling its running high against any concessions to Germany. In short we are in for a period of stalling and protracted negotiations.

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