

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 5, No. 16

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, APRIL 18, 1936.

5 Cents a Copy

## MONGOLIAN PACT WITH RUSSIA

### Hopei-Chahar Areas Are Being Tied to Japan's Northeastern Lands.

Attention in the Far East was shifted from Outer Mongolia to the Hopei and Chahar provinces of north-east China, but still expressed the same fundamental forces. Upon the publication of the mutual assistance pact between the Mongolian People's Republic and Soviet Russia, Nanking raised an outcry, comparing this with Japan's invasion of Manchukuo. Litvinoff answered immediately that this was first of all not an invasion and therefore not an encroachment upon Chinese sovereignty but merely a recognition of the fact that the seizure of Outer Mongolia by Japan would mean the creation of an effective military base directed against Soviet Russia.

It was obvious that once again Nanking, center of Chiang-Kai-shek's government, had grovelled before the demands of the Japanese foreign office. Further action was taken by Chiang-Kai-shek when he moved five divisions of his army up to the Shansi region, to conduct another of his periodical "annihilations" of the Chinese Red Armies. Due to the persistent rumors of a Nanking-Moscow secret treaty, some observers maintained that this was but a maneuver to get within shooting distance of the Japanese at Hopei (a conti-



The Soviet Union's Assistant Commissar of Defense, Tukachevsky, considered as one of the keenest military tacticians in Europe.

guous province). Very little exists to support this contention—Chiang-Kai-shek immediately announcing a new road into Tsinghai "to save China"—i.e. to transport troops for smashing the Red Armies.

Japan, which allows the weak and crumbling Nanking government to lick its boots occasionally, nevertheless has no high opinion of its "loyalty". It announced this week the most effective autonomization of the Hopei-Chahar area that could be devised. No port taxes or customs duties will be sent to Nanking.

## ASK FIFTH AVE. FOR MAY FIRST

### April 25 Conference Will Make Final Plans For March, Expect 100,000

A committee from the United Labor May Day Conference appeared before the police authorities insisting that Fifth Avenue be granted for the May Day parade planned by the United Committee of the trade unions, socialists and communists.

The Fifth Avenue business men are putting up a stiff fight against the parade claiming that it hurts their business and that anyway this parade is intended to recruit members for red organizations and this should not be permitted. There were other arguments of the same low caliber.

In the meantime the plans for the second conference, to be held on Saturday, April 25, 1 P.M. at Hotel Delano, are proceeding. New organizations are constantly joining up. One of the latest recruits to fall in line is Local 117 of the I.L.G.W.U. (cloakmakers) which after a long and sharp discussion voted 540 to about 400 to march in the parade on May First. Manager Levy had opposed the motion.

The committee appeals to all organizations to place their orders for May Day buttons, leaflets, placards and banners. Organizations which have not yet contributed to the expenses are urged to do so without delay. Write to May Day Committee, Hotel Delano, New York, N. Y.

## France Threatens Break If League Action Lags

### Russia Warns Against Hitler's "Peace" Plan As Endangering Little Entente; France Gives England Hint To End Delay In Counter-Plan.

The continued speculative politics of Great Britain is serving to anger a growing section of the French bourgeoisie. The policies of both countries are in immediate conflict and have reached a deadlock which, however, can hardly be of long duration. France wants to line up all powers against Germany, and therefore to lift sanctions on Italy; England wants sanctions against Italy and wishes to first settle that question before getting to work on the Rhineland crisis.

Certain deeper forces are in motion which belie the diplomatic flurries. The general staffs of Belgium, France, and Britain meet Wednesday, in London. Thus, the Locarno powers, while finding some questions as stumbling blocks, are preparing the basis for the imperialist alignments of the war to come. Even France realizes that the Rhineland is a fait accompli. Fortifications have been built on the German side, and a proposal for a fort-building armistice during negotiations was turned down by Germany—the Maginot Line must be matched.

In order to play election ball and also put the pressure on England necessary to insure an alliance, France put forward a "peace" plan, which is strikingly similar to that of the League of Nations—especially to certain original proposals at the time of the Versailles Treaty. France offers Europe a police force, arbitration, and all the usual "dust-in-the-eyes" plans for peace to which post-war imperialism has given birth. Insofar as its structure is concerned it is of no interest to the proletariat. Its importance lies in that it is a French League of Nations as opposed to what Paris considers the present British one.

concerns A Puerto Rican company received \$961,064, while an Hawaiian sugar concern was listed for \$1,022,037.

Undoubtedly the Republicans will crawl out from under DuPont's petticoat, to pose as the defenders of the downtrodden farmer. But the danger of their campaign will be its implied attempt to cut down relief to the farmer.

The significance of Wallace's report is twofold. First, that the entire capitalist machinery set up under the AAA makes impossible any adequate relief for the suffering sections of the agrarian population. Further economic organization of the small farmers, croppers, tenants, and laborers is necessary, which shall have as its goal the smashing of the AAA apparatus, the governmental disguise for the landlords, banks and plantation owners, and insistence upon union control of the farm-relief program. Secondly, it makes clear the great stratification within the agricultural population, a division between the banks, and the government on one hand and the tenants and "peons" on the other. The seven years of crisis have been a catalyst for latent tendencies of capitalist agriculture. Here is the real, material basis for a farmer-labor alliance.—M.S.M.

Already the dissatisfaction with the League, which takes steps against Italy when it threatens British imperialism but not against Germany when it sniffs at France's colonies, has caused a deluge of editorials in the capitalist press demanding withdrawal from the League. There is no doubt that France is panicky, fearing that when the war crisis comes in reality, she will stand alone. If England can be swung into line now, most of the work will have been accomplished. Thus the new anti-League attitude that is creeping up in France fits in neatly with her latest peace plans. They combine to form a subtle note to Great Britain to the effect that there is a difference between log-rolling and chestnut-retrieving. Essentially, then, no such policy can be or is intended to be put into action.

Russia issued a note of warning against Hitler's "peace" plan, pointing out that its purpose is to assure a certain amount of quiet on the Western front, while he drives east. A correct analysis, it indicates the two basic camps between which England wavers. The anti-Soviet group of Japan and Germany, which stands for immediate attack against Russia, and other imperialist nations, predominantly France, which propose to settle their immediate disputes with rival capitalisms with the aid of Russia, and put the question of posing system against system to a future but inevitable date.

## WPA WORKERS OUSTED

Madison, Wis.—Although police routed them from the Assembly Chamber of the State Capitol, their stronghold for ten days, striking WPA workers from the industrial Fox River Valley declared that they would be back again. They will still fight for a \$60-a-month WPA.

While in possession of the Assembly, the WPA strikers, members of the Wisconsin Workers Alliance, passed resolutions condemning State officials and WPA executives.

## ILL. SETS UP A LABOR PARTY

PEORIA, Ill.—A conference of trade unions called on the initiative of the Labor Party of Chicago and Cook County, was held here during April 4 and 5 and resulted in the organization of the Illinois Labor Party.

The constitution, platform and program of the Cook County Party was temporarily adopted for the state organization until the next convention which will be held in Springfield within three months.

Roy Ruyle, of Local 193, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (Springfield) was elected chairman; D. C. Morris, of Local 1397 United Mine Workers of America (Centralia) vice-chairman; and George Meade, of the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen (Chicago) secretary.

## AAA Gave Millions to Rich Farmers While Tenants and Croppers Starved

The protestations of the organized share-croppers, tenant farmers, small farmers of the Midwest, finally forced the AAA to reveal (in part) where the relief checks have been going. Vandenberg, sniffing around the committee doors for the Republican presidential nomination, posed as "friend of the peepul" and took political slaps at Wallace for a week, until the information was made public. Much more is yet to be revealed,

and probably the very important figures of relative distribution between landlord and tenant will come from union surveys rather than the government.

The 1933 cotton payments totaled \$112,794,034. 46 cotton plantations received a total of \$818,656; 27 received \$1,484,194. Two Arkansas plantations received \$84,000 and \$80,000 respectively. Here Wallace proudly presented himself as the upholder of justice when he took the trouble to point out that not until these plantations had fulfilled their obligations to their croppers and tenants did the Federal Government make out checks. Secondly, they had to "share in equity" with the croppers and tenants, the Federal money. The old AAA contracts under which these transactions took place didn't recognize the croppers and the tenants, and whatever was gotten was thru the Union—by fighting.

The new AAA "voluntary" con-

tracts recognize the following "equitable" distribution. Where it is a landlord-cropper relationship, 75% to the landlord and 25% to the cropper. A landlord-tenant relationship results in 50% to each. Now, even if we supposed that these "shares in equity" existed, it would mean that the plantation which received \$84,000 would keep at least \$42,000 to \$63,000, while the remaining twenty to forty thousand dollars would be distributed among 1,125 sharecroppers and tenants—a maximum possibility of \$40 per worker! Actually, at the time of this Federal donation to the plantation owners, such a division was not even recognized on paper. Today, since these contracts are "voluntary" (i.e. unwritten) the croppers and tenants have to depend on the local organizations—which "happen" to be composed of the AAA bureaucracy and the plantation owners!

In some cases, the money went directly to the Farm Credit Administration, which signifies how far the government has become an effective owner of agricultural property. Other cases showed payments to banks and mortgage companies who owned outright wheat fields and cotton plantations. Hail the free and independent American farmer!

The trustification of the sugar industry and its wide-flung imperialist development was revealed by the payment of \$1,167,665 to one Florida concern; a total of \$563,159 paid to four Louisiana

## HOAN SQUEEZES THRU AS MAYOR

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Daniel Hoan, Socialist Mayor for six consecutive terms, was returned to office this week in the closest election he has ever faced. He received 111,167 votes while Joseph J. Shimmers, his Law and Order opponent, tailed at his heels with 97,124.

His running mates, however, suffered defeat. Max Raskin, the City Attorney, was taken over the jumps by Walter Mattison, a young Republican attorney, and the Socialist president of the City Council was superseded by his opponent.

In addition to these losses, the Socialist Party lost control of the City Council and the County Board. On the latter body they retained only four members, five



### SOVIET MINING GETS SHAKEUP

MOSCOW—The Communist Party and the Commissariat for Heavy Industry, tired of the opposition of conservative mine managers to the Stakhanoff movement, have begun to replace them with leading Stakhanoff workers. This step was taken to speed up the output of the Donetz basin, the laggard in the coal industry after a promising start.

Despite the let down in the Donetz region, the Commissariat's statistics reveal a 40 per cent gain for the entire coal industry. This figure, achieved by the superior technique of the Stakhanoffites, is some 14 per cent better than the mark originally set.

The greatest gains were chalked up in the iron and steel fields. The rolled metal, up 49 1/2 per cent, is now overtaking pig iron, the output increase of which was 23 per cent in the last quarter. With the increase and all, the quarter's production of pig iron amounts to 3,500,000 tons; steel, 3,900,000 and rolled steel, 3,100,000.

The manufacture of machinery too, took an upward leap, the rise for the first quarter being 45 per cent as compared with the corresponding period of last year.

### Segregation Root of Evil, Says Harlem Hospital Report

Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia suppression of his committee's report on health and hospitalization in the Harlem community caused a veritable storm in New York labor and radical circles this week. The document, very outspoken in its denunciation of conditions at the Harlem Hospital, had been submitted last December and not a week ago as the Mayor pretended, Dr. Roberts, Negro physician on the commission, said.

It is believed that Mayor La Guardia tried to bury the report because it pointed an accusing finger both at his appointee, Dr. S. S. Goldwater, Commissioner of Hospitals, and himself. These officials were held directly responsible for the widespread discrimination against Negro patients, doctors, and nurses at the uptown health agencies.

Declaring that Commissioner Goldwater "flatly refused to testify," the report concludes that he "has shown a flagrant disregard for the sentiment and opinion of Harlem citizens, and thereby places the responsibility for the present situation squarely upon your (La Guardia's) shoulders."

The interesting thing about this report is that it is the first one in

### ELECTIONS ON IN ACW LOCALS

New York locals of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers are electing delegates to the Cleveland convention, this week. Special significance to these elections is being attached because of the belief that Sidney Hillman will attempt to have the convention endorse the candidacy of President Roosevelt. If this attempt succeeds it will be the first time that one of the so-called radical unions of the needle trades will support a candidate in a capitalist party.

In local 25 of New York the Progressives and the Rank and File Groups have combined to place in the field four candidates for which they appeal to the members. The four according to the number on the ballot, are: 7 Magid, B.; 8 Passijoff, P.; 10 Shneiderman, M. and 11 Tartasky, S.

These four candidates are pledged to fight for national minimum scales, the classification system, observance of the democratic rights of the membership, and for industrial unionism, labor party, amalgamation and for a struggle against war and fascism.

Elections are being held on Wednesday, April 15.

### On the LABOR FRONT

**Equality—For "Nice" People**

The Unity convention of five unemployed organizations, now being held in Washington, received a dose of Federal humanitarianism and "democratic" methods of helping organizations. 250 delegates who had hitchhiked their way to Washington and found themselves without food or lodging after a grueling trip asked Congress for an appropriation of \$1,000 to help them out. One representative drafted the bill, but another raised the point of no quorum—result, the House adjourned till Monday. It is quite customary for Congress to appropriate \$10,000 for a convention of the Daughters of the American Revolution, however.

**Non-Partisanship in W. C.**

Branch No. 122 of the Workmen's Circle (Progressive Dressmakers), has passed a resolution urging real non-partisanship in the policies of the W. C., stating that "the educational activities of the W. C. as well as its financial contributions to labor organizations shall be so conducted that all tendencies and points of view shall find expression and comfort in the work of the Workmen's Circle."

**Brookwood's Term Ends**

This year's class at Brookwood Labor College has been graduated. It consisted of 33 workers representing 21 industries in 17 states, Puerto Rico and England. Unemployed organizations, the ILGWU, the ACW, and the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union were included in the representation. The Brookwood labor players, who made such a hit last year, will make their fifth tour starting April 13th.

**CIO Aids Sharecroppers**

The special report on the lot of the sharecroppers and tenants prepared for the CIO has been released. Wm. J. Sneed of the U.M. W.A. reports that evictions and terror is the accepted method of fighting the Union. The victims of the planters' methods sleep by the roadside. Sneed estimates no more than 5% of the sharecroppers, day laborers and tenant farmers are permitted to participate in the elections.

**Hearst Bribe Fails**

The strike of the Newspaper Guild against the Hearst owned Wisconsin News entered its eighth week with ranks unbroken. Police brutality, threats of lockout and now an attempt to bribe the leaders have been the methods of strike-breaking employed by the management. A strike-leader was offered his pay check (\$450) and a raise if he would leave his fellow workers in the lurch. Naturally the offer was indignantly turned down. To those who wish to help the striking newspapermen, address all contributions to the Milwaukee Guild, 939 N. Third Street, Milwaukee, Wis.

**Labor-Spy Investigated**

Recent revelations concerning the wide-spread industrial spy system, plus the secret purchase of tear-gas, ammunition and arms, by many companies from the infamous Federal Laboratories, have forced a Senate hearing which will open this week. Blankenhorn of the NLRB estimates that there is at least one spy in each of the hundreds of locals of the Amalgamated in the steel industry. Madden, chairman of the board, claims to have evidence showing the preparations made by the steel magnates to crush a union movement by ruthless bloodshed.

to fight not only against the autocratic regime in the union and for the restoration of their democratic rights, but also for their very bread and butter.

## Mooney Backs Industrial Unionism

Tom Mooney, labor's martyr number one, has stood firmly for industrial unionism, these last 24 years, a search of the records of the International Molders' Union, revealed.

As early as September 26, 1912, when the issue of industrial unionism was still young as far as the mass of American trade unionists was concerned, we find Tom doing pioneering work. On that date we find in the records of the Milwaukee convention, to which he was a delegate from local No. 164 a resolution (No. 236 on page 181 of the proceedings) which states:

"Whereas, the I.M.U. is experiencing unwonted difficulty in maintaining the standard of living won by its members, and in many cases is failing to do even this, and

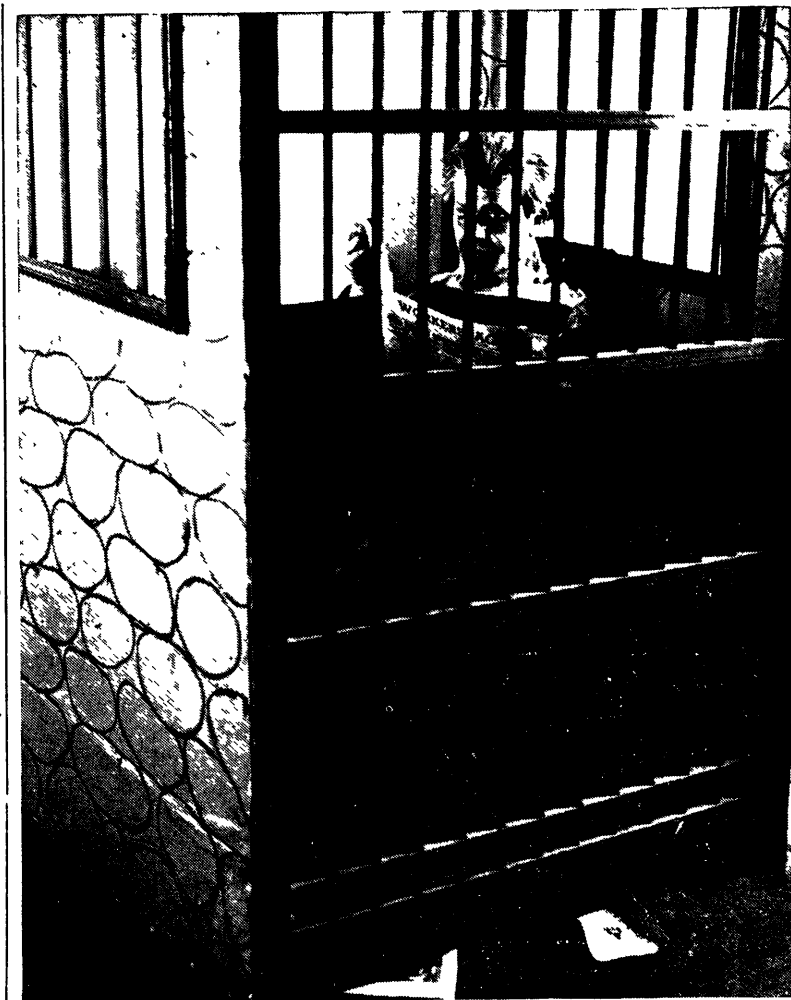
Whereas, This condition is due (1) To the organization of capital into such vast and powerful aggregations that craft unions such as the I.M.U. are seldom able to compel them to grant their demands;

(2) To the introduction of modern machinery and female labor and the specialization of labor into the foundry, which is driving the skilled workers from the strategic position they have hitherto been in to control the iron molding industry through the strike; therefore be it

Resolved, That this Convention, recognizing the need for greater co-operation between foundry workers engaged in and around foundries, and be it further

Resolved, That the following proposition be submitted by referendum to the general membership; "Shall the statutes of the I.M.U. be so changed as to admit to the membership in the I.M.U. of all the workers engaged in and around foundries?"

As early as 1912 we find Mooney fighting the battle of the mil-



The masque that won a trip to the Soviet Union, at the dance of Dressmakers' Local 22, I.L.G.W.U. The picture shows Jack Broder, masqued as Tom Mooney reading a copy of Workers Age in his cell.

## PERJURED WITNESSES CRACK AT HEARINGS IN MOONEY-BILLINGS CASE IN SAN FRANCISCO

San Francisco.—Charles M. Fickert, District Attorney at the time of the Mooney frame-up, acted as the tool of the United Railroad system in 1916, it was disclosed this week at the Mooney Supreme Court hearings.

The defense established this significant fact in a cross-examination of the formerly powerful political figure. A book by Franklin Hiehorn, called "The System", gave Mooney's lawyers the clues to Fickert's connection with the United Railroads, the fountain-head of the whole dirty deal.

**Fickert Evasive**

Questioned on his financial backing in the 1909 election for District Attorney, Fickert, now a broken-down figure in contrast with the alert Cunha, his henchman, refused to say anything positive. However, despite his stubborn evasion, Davis, attorney for the defense, brought out the fact that Fickert quashed certain graft indictments, for which he was put into office.

Davis pointed out that Fickert's dismissal of the charges against Patrick Calhoun, president of United Railroads, Thornwall Mullally,

his chief assistant, and William Abbott, the company's leading counsel drew the fire of Judge Lawler, later a Supreme Court justice. Lawler, resenting the mere form of Fickert's motion, refused to act until compelled to do so by the appellate court.

Fickert tried to defend his breach of procedure in sitting in upon the police investigation of the defendants. However, he could not hurdle Captain Matheson's testimony to the effect that this couldn't be true, he knew it wasn't so because "Fickert said it wasn't." Despite this statement, he later testified that he never talked to Fickert about Smith's part in the Edeau affair.

Finnerty grabbed at this discrepancy. He read the record of Cunha's sworn testimony at the Grand Jury hearing on Oxman, which showed beyond a shadow of a doubt that Cunha was lying. Cunha had reported the conversation in full!

Confronted with this bald fact, Cunha lost control of himself and shouted, "I couldn't remember details; I didn't iron the thing out carefully with Mr. Fickert."

**Funds Needed**

Thus does the defense for Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings slowly break down the evidence of the star witnesses of the prosecution and the prosecuting officers themselves, during the hearings on the petition for a writ of habeas corpus which began in San Francisco on March 2.

Once more Tom Mooney calls upon every one of you to help financially to make these hearings possible and enable a transcript of the hearings to be made. Mooney ends his most recent appeal for funds with the words: "I know you will do your utmost to strain a point at this time to give us the desperately needed financial assistance. With your continued aid I know we shall crown our struggle with victory. Without your aid we are hopelessly lost."

Send all funds for Tom Mooney's defense to Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, Box 1475, San Francisco, California.

## WATCH and PRAY

By JAY LOVSTONE

The weeks of appealing for cash in our \$5000 drive have finally taught me a lesson. And it's not a bad lesson for all of us to learn!

Here it is. You can't get anywhere on earth by merely watching and praying. That's precisely what has been the matter with us in our big campaign. Too many of our friends—and, honest to goodness, even too many of our members—have been either watching or praying (perhaps both?) for our success.

We know of nothing more useless in the labor movement than the class struggle, than hoping to get results by watching or praying or thru a combination of the two. Maybe the "Lord above" likes such activities, such do-nothing games. However, we are neither Lords nor disciples of the supernatural. We are just ordinary, plain humans, everyday mortals working under and fighting against capitalism and its twin monsters of war and fascism. We are of and among those who think, feel and fight as class-conscious workers.

"Rather unfortunate," the cynic might say. All of this cost money. It cost more than money. It cost untiring devotion, ceaseless labor, unflinching effort. But just now, all we ask of you, who are also human, who ARE class-conscious, who are also aware of what's to be done and how we are bending our all to do it, is to spare a dollar, or donate five, or contribute ten, or GIVE. Stop praying. HELP.

**NEW CONTRIBUTORS TO OUR \$5,000 DRIVE**

Previously listed \$3,014 53	Ray Michael 15 00	Jim Cork and R 15 00
I. and R. Breslow \$10 00	Group of Auto Workers 22 50	F. A. Sympathizer (Phila) 11 10
I. Albert 30 00	50 00	Abe Rosenfield 2 00
O. Schiefer 20 00	Hasenberg 5 00	Eli Keller 2 00
I. Davis 5 00	Kleiman 1 00	E. B. 5 00
Via J. L. 55 00	L. Dzug 1 00	M. Gorenfeld 2 00
Ruth Henry 5 00	L. J. 4 80	B. Baraz 5 00
Robert Strong 5 00	Nel Edwards 2 00	Rose Prepsstein 10 00
Robert Paine 10 00	Toronto Unit 2 00	J. Stenberg 5 00
D. Gerson 10 00	Pittsburgh 10 00	Bernie Broder 5 00
A. Richardson 2 00	H. Freed 10 00	Z. Rich 5 00
Nora Grey 7 00	I. Stenberg 5 00	R. Taylor 10 00
Eric Anderson 10 00	C. Silverman 3 00	Stamps, Frances Fox 1 00
Florence Reid 5 00	M. Hittner 3 00	100, George Halpern 1 00
Anne Larkin 2 00	L. Rosenthal 10 00	665; Kenneth Epstein 1 00
Youth Unit 15 00	A. Sandrin 2 50	220, G. Lipshitz 1 35
Min. Luzye 3 00	S. and H. East 1 00	I. Semberg 1 50, E. Lawrence 1 30, Besse-Young 1 35, M. Shauna 35, R. Brill 1 10; Toronto Unit 2 20, A. Burrows 50; Goldberg 50, E. Ward 3 50, E. Schlachter 50, Boston Unit 1 00, Total Stamp Collection 26 50
E. and H. Schlachter 2 00	Anna Gold 5 00	Total Collected 3762 34
A. Friend 5 00	A. Bail, Phila 2 00	Still To Go 1237 66
Himmelfarb 10 00	S. and H. East, Philo 3 00	Total Needed \$5,000
H. Rubenstein 5 00	G. Goncharski (Phila) 2 00	
Ed Welch 4 00	S. Yampolsky (Phila) 1 00	
Jean Le Gausois 1 50	J. Thorpe (Phila) 1 00	
Marie Duke 5 00	Joe Rosen 10 00	
St. Louis, Mo. 3 00	Chicago Unit 20 00	
M. Orfinger 3 00	Pete Ross 20 00	
J. Taksen 5 00	Montreal Unit 2 00	
Eud. Conok 1 00	Chicago Unit 2 00	
Jeanne Bayssiere 10 00	Boston Unit 7 00	
Detroit Unit 11 28	Theatre Party 50 00	
Rose Zorn 3 00	F. A. Sympathizer (thru Baraz) 3 00	
Jack Smith 50 00		
Chas. Schorr 2 00		
A. Skolnek 5 00		
Morris Miller 15 00		

## McMAHON LIFTS CHARTER OF PATERSON SILK UNION

The charter of the Broad Silk Local of the United Textile Workers in Paterson, New Jersey, was suspended by President MacMahon on April 1st. This drive to "purge" the union of militant leadership has been prepared for many months. In spite of repeated warnings by the Progressives in Paterson that such an attack from the conservative leadership of the union was coming, the Rank and File Group, which is in the leadership of the Paterson organization, found itself utterly unprepared for the blow.

The attack of the conservative leadership upon the Paterson organization is motivated by the opposition which both the Rank and File Group and the Progressive Group put up to a contract proposed for acceptance by the employers and endorsed by the MacMahon leadership. This contract would have led to the introduction of a six-loom system in Paterson, thereby increasing the stretch-out and speed-up by fifty per cent. After the membership overwhelmingly repudiated this proposed contract, President MacMahon stepped in and, suspending the charter, established a committee to reorganize the local. A new Executive Committee has been appointed for the Plain Goods Department, with Anthony as President & Brooks as an outstanding leader. The new apparatus has no support amongst the membership. It is interesting to note that the henchmen of MacMahon in this situation are the former partners of the Rank and File Group in its fight against the former Progressive Administration.

The attack of MacMahon upon the local not only abrogates the democratic rights of the membership and violates the local autonomy, that has been characteristic of the organizational structure of the U.T.W., but also wipes out the amalgamation of the locals that the Progressives were able to achieve thru the establishment of the Joint Board in 1933. MacMahon has not granted separate charters to the Jacquard Department and to the Ribbon and Hat Band Department which were for more than a decade an integral part of the Associated Silk Workers, and which later became the Broad Silk Local of the U.T.W. Therefore, MacMahon not only destroys the progress made in recent years towards amalgamation in Paterson, but goes even further and breaks up the unity of the Broad Silk Local which existed even prior to the Amalgamation.

The most strenuous campaign must be waged against this move. The labor movement must be aroused to the dangers involved in this. How is it that MacMahon, one of the leaders of the Committee for Industrial Organization, can take such a step in the direction of craft unionism within his own organization? This must be brought to the attention of the entire labor movement.

The membership of the Broad Silk Local is refusing to accept the jurisdiction of the newly chartered apparatus, and is making a fight for the restoration of the charter. The Progressive Group has decided not to enter the newly chartered local or to accept any offices in it. The membership is aware of the fact that the acceptance of the reorganization means acceptance of unemployment, and therefore is ready

## ANDRE' MARTY

Below we reprint an editorial published in TOM MOONEY'S MONTHLY, San Francisco, California, on January 26, 1922. It was written by Tom Mooney himself and is significant because of Mooney's attitude to being placed on the ticket to run for office while he is serving his sentence. In line with his attitude in this editorial he has already expressed his readiness to head a united labor ticket for the 1936 Presidential elections.—Ed.

Andre Marty is now serving the fourth year of a fifteen year sentence for leading a mutiny on a French battleship of which he was senior engineer during 1919, as these ships were about to fire upon the City of Odessa, Russia, then in the control of the Bolsheviks. At that time the French militarists were making war upon the Bolshevik government of Russia.

Marty refused to run the engines of the battleship unless they headed away from the Russian coast. The mutiny became general throughout the squadron, the mutineers hoisted the red flag on the battleship and sent a committee ashore to prove their solidarity with the workers of Russia. There was much rejoicing, and these ships headed back for France. The French government sent another squadron to arrest the mutineers and restored discipline. The mutineers were tried by court-martial and sent to prison. All of them have been released, except Marty the leader.

The Communist Party of France in their cry for amnesty for Marty, have adopted an age-old weapon to force his case to the fore at all times. Marty has been nominated and elected to 19 public offices in Paris. Recently, he was elected to seats in two of the different districts of Paris for the Municipal Council, and in both instances, he defeated candidates of

the Bloc National, the political combination that gives Premier Poincare his majority. Marty is unable to take office, he is in prison, but in spite of this nominate him for some office in every election and he is always elected.

Each day Marty remains in prison he becomes more powerful and his influence is felt all over France, his very name is a household word in every workers home in the nation.

No opportunity along this line of propaganda is lost. Recently a public reception was given by the City of Paris to Dr. Charles Vaillant, the noted French scientist and developer of the X-ray. Among the most distinguished guests was Myron Herrick, American Ambassador to France, who presented Dr. Vaillant with a gold medal from the Carnegie Foundation. The reception was arranged for the principal council chamber in the Hotel de Ville (the City Council), beautifully decorated for the occasion, but at the last moment had to be held in the Salon des Arcades, because the French Communists refused to allow the removal of the picture of Marty which had been placed upon his vacant seat in the Council.

Four years ago Marty was unknown to the great mass of the French workers for whom he now serves as a rallying point. We have a double object at this



WORKERS AGE

Organ of the National Committee, Communist Party U. S. A. (Opposition), 51 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y. Phone GRamercy 5-8903.

Published every Saturday by the Workers Age Publishing Association Subscription Rate \$2.00 per year; \$1.25 for six months, 5c a copy. Foreign Rates \$2.50 per year, \$1.50 for six months.

Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879

Address mail to Box 68 Station "O" New York City.

Vol. V. Saturday, April 18, 1936. No. 16.

On the Threshold of Disaster

CONFUSION reigns supreme in the ranks of international labor over the collapse of the Locarno treaty and the ensuing tremendously sharpened danger of imperialist war. This was painfully revealed in the bankruptcy of the recent London deliberations of the "general staffs" of the Socialist and Labor International (LSI) and the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam International).

A sharp turn for the better will have to be made soon by the LSI and the Amsterdam International, as well as by the CI, if the workers of the world are to prevent an imperialist war alongside of which the last carnage will appear as a picnic.

For some time France has been and will continue to be the pivotal country of the international proletarian movement in the capitalist world. Hence, the touchstone of the tactics to be employed to make impossible the debacle must, above all, be found in the strategy resorted to by the French proletariat. It is just here that we find stark inadequacy and dangerous fault. Let us see why and let us suggest a way out.

In its manifesto of March eighth the Communist Party of France, (CPF), doesn't provide the French working class with a single concrete indication of what is to be done. Worse than that and, on the other hand, this call tends to develop public opinion in the sense of "national unity." Objectively, such an approach can only play into the hands of reaction as a whole and facilitates class peace and the establishment of a government of "national unity."

What else can the following from the CPF's call mean? "Frenchmen, men, women, youth, unite to prevent the scourge of war from lashing you anew. Let us establish the unity of the French nation against those in France who, in accord with the foreign provokers of war, want to lead us to a bloodbath.

"Down with the French nation for the defense of freedom. Down with murderous Fascism which leads only to misery and war! Down with the French accomplices of Hitler! Dissolve the Fascist leagues! Long live the international alliance of NATIONS (our emphasis) which wants freedom." (L'Humanite, March 8, 1936).

What is this but leaving the leadership in the hands of the Sarraut government during these critical hours? What other consequences can there flow from this appeal to the spirit of "national unity" than those objectively favorable to reaction?

The CPF supplemented the above appeal with a proposal to the Socialist Party to call into session the Co-ordination Commission of both parties and to work for unity of action by the LSI and the CI and by the international trade union federations.

To date, the CPF has failed to fulfill even the most elementary duties of a revolutionary party; for example, the mobilization of the masses, the organization of mass demonstrations. These are duties which even the parties of the Second International performed in the critical days of July 1914. This is how the policy of the People's Front works in these decisive hours; this is the result of the bloc with and the concern for the Radical Party, the fruit of the C.P.'s toleration of the Sarraut government. Thus there is sacrificed the mobilization of the masses for their appearance as an independent force, for bringing pressure to bear on the Sarraut government. Indeed, what greater interest do the bourgeoisie have than to thwart such a mobilization of the masses?

Here it must be underscored that the responsibility for these serious acts of omission and neglect is borne not only by the CPF but also by the leadership of the CI and the leadership of the Second and Trade Union Internationals which have toted failed to call for international proletarian solidarity in action. Only a catastrophe can ensue for international labor if these policies continue and are in force when war really breaks out.

In this sense we cannot condemn too sharply the position of the Socialist Party of France, as indicated in an article by its secretary, Paul Faure in "Le Populaire" of March 8th. Faure insists on negotiations with Hitler at all costs. This article is further replete with poisonous attacks against the Soviet Union and demands collaboration with England instead of with the U.S.S.R.—obviously for the purpose of leaving the Soviet Union in the lurch.

No less worthy of condemnation is the declaration made by the parliamentary delegation of the French Socialist Party. Following the same vein, it proposes: (1) protest against Hitler's violation of international law; (2) a reference to the S.P. position towards the Versailles pact; (3) a demand for security thru treaties, courts of justice and general disarmament; (4) demand for joint action by France, England and Belgium within the framework and spirit of the League of Nations; (5) enhancement of collective security thru extension of non-aggression pacts; (7) international economic negotiations and conferences for the purpose of alleviating the economic crisis; (8) peace.

Characteristic of and significant in this program of the S.P. are: its readiness to negotiate with Hitler under all circumstances; the restriction of the actions of the proletariat to supporting the League of Nations and certain capitalist powers; the advocacy of disarmament so thoroughly unrealistic in the present situation; the utopian slogan of wiping out or softening the economic crisis on the basis of the capitalist system; and finally, the complete renunciation of independent working class action, of the revolutionary way out of the situation

REVOLUTION and PEOPLE'S FRONT

By WILL HERBERG

No one who has given any serious thought to the recent events in Spain can possibly miss the striking historical parallel between the great Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Spanish Revolution as it is unfolding itself before our very eyes today. The resemblance is not merely superficial and accidental; there is a real similarity in class-economic forces, in fundamental tasks, in stages of development. A real similarity—but only up to a certain point!

Spain And Russia

In Spain today, as in the old Russia of yesterday, economic and social conditions are backward, obsolete, undeveloped. The prolonged feudal decay and immature capitalism of Czarist Russia are paralleled by the decadent medievalism and arrested capitalist development of modern Spain. It was as true of Russia then as it is of Spain today that the "possessing classes have long been afflicted with a constitutional weakness, a sort of anemia, rendering them incapable of vigorous social or political action" (B. D. Wolfe, in Workers Age, April 4, 1936).

In Russia, the peasantry occupies a position of great strategic importance in the system of class relations, while the specific gravity of the proletariat is exceptionally high despite the industrial backwardness of the country. As in Russia a decade and a half before, the republican revolution in Spain was ushered in thru a great upsurge of the masses, under the impact of which the old regime, rotten to the very core with internal decay, ignominiously collapsed. In Spain, indeed, the monarchy put up no resistance at all, simply turning tail and fleeing at the first sign of mass revolt. The initial tasks of the Spanish revolution in its present stage of development are essentially bourgeois-democratic in character, as they were in Russia thruout 1917 and for a good part of 1918. Such a movement begins fundamentally as an agrarian revolution, directed towards expropriating the big landowners and dividing the land among the peasants and farm laborers—as a republican revolution aiming to overthrow the tottering monarchy and establish a democratic republic—as a cultural revolution, aspiring to break the deadly clutch of the church over the life and soul of the people and to bring enlightenment to the masses—in short, as a bourgeois-democratic revolution, striving to clear away the festering remnants of a long decaying feudalism.

But such a revolution today can be effective and reach its historical goal only if it is under the leadership of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie has already become far too much a part of the old regime, far too closely bound up with it by ties of common interest, far too afraid of a great mass upheaval of any sort, to allow it to take the lead even in "its own" revolution. For a time, it may hesitate and vacillate but, as a class, it is sure to turn reactionary sooner or later and take its place among the upholders of the old order of things. The peasantry and petty bourgeoisie, no matter how revolutionary they may be in their sentiment, are unable to lead the assault on the royal-aristocratic order because of their uncertain economic and social position; their intervention on the stage of history can be of progressive significance only if they ally themselves with the proletariat under its leadership. In the very nature of things, the proletariat is the only class in modern society that can lead any great revolution of today in a determined and thoroughgoing fashion, even tho it may be bourgeois in its social content.

Transition from Bourgeois to Socialist Revolution

The Russian experience has plainly shown that, once initiated under the hegemony of the proletariat, a revolution of this character does not stop in its bourgeois-democratic phase. Inevitably it passes over into a socialist revolution, aspiring at essentially socialist goals. And this will be true of the Spanish Revolution as well, just as soon as it passes under the leadership of the proletariat. It is in accordance with this double character of the revolution that its long-range slogans bear, from the very outset, a fundamentally socialist character—workers control of production, soviets, proletarian dictatorship!

But whatever may be its culmination, the revolution begins as a bourgeois-democratic overturn.

In such a revolution, the first step almost always is, as Marx pointed out years ago, the elevation to power of "people who appear as the representatives of the popular movements of an earlier epoch." In other words, the conservative constitutionalists and the bourgeois liberals. The fall of Nicholas in Russia was followed by short-lived regimes of Prince Lvov and Milyukoff; the flight of Alfonso from Spain thru power into the hands of Alcalá Zamora, a big landowner and secondary minister of the old monarchy, and Manuel Azana, the radical spell-binder. In both cases, the bourgeois liberal regime was able to maintain itself in power only with the support or, at least, the toleration of the socialist parties, under opportunist leadership. How long could the provisional government in Russia have held up had it not been sustained by the repository of real power, the soviets, following the policy of the Mensheviks and Right Socialist-

Revolutionists? In Spain, the first Azana government (1931) was actually a liberal-socialist coalition, while the second Azana government, now in office, depends for its existence entirely on the People's Front, a liberal-socialist-communist-syndicalist block.

A great fundamental difference between the Russian and the Spanish Revolutions is that, in the former case, the revolutionary socialists (the Bolsheviks) consistently refused any support to the provisional government, striving with ultimate success to overthrow it in favor of a proletarian regime, while, in the latter case, the revolutionists (the communists, left socialists and anarcho-syndicalists) are bound hand and foot to the liberal government thru their self-imposed People's Front. At least as much as any other factor has this difference in attitude to the bourgeois liberals contributed to determine the widely diverse fates of the two revolutions!

February Elections and Attitude to Liberals

The elections of February 16, 1936 confronted the working class forces of Spain in an especially urgent form with the problem of their relations to bourgeois liberalism. To block the reactionary anti-republican elements around Lerroux and the clerico-fascists following Gil Robles in their effort to get their grip on the new Cortes, to win freedom for the more than two score thousand political prisoners of the October insurrection, some sort of joint action with the liberals in the elections was obviously necessary. In the Spain that had just had a taste of Lerroux and had good reason to fear the advent of Gil Robles to power in case of a right wing victory in the elections, these considerations operated with decisive force. The dogmatic anti-parliamentarism of the anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists collapsed and hundreds of thousands of conscientious "abstainers" went to the polls to vote for amnesty with the full, tho unofficial, blessings of their organizations. Under the same influences, virtually all tendencies in the labor movement agreed upon the necessity of establishing a common front with the liberals in the elections. In this they were certainly correct whether judged by the imperative demands of the situation or by the fundamental teachings of Marxism. "Before the downfall of Czarism," Lenin tells us, "the Russian revolutionary social-democrats repeatedly entered into practical agreements with the bourgeois liberals." In Spain, on the eve of the February elections and for these elections, some sort of "practical agreement" with the bourgeois republicans was plainly on the order of the day.

Election Alliance and People's Front

But, between an election agreement of this kind and a "People's Front" of such was actually concluded, there is a world of difference. A "practical agreement" with bourgeois liberals is possible for workers' parties only if it leaves them (the workers parties) absolutely intact in their political and organizational independence, only if it does not saddle them with responsibility for their bourgeois allies by making them share a common program with the latter. But this is exactly what the People's Front does, for the People's Front is not just a temporary working agreement; it is essentially a lasting alliance of proletarian and bourgeois parties on the basis of a common program. Once you share a joint program with your bourgeois ally you are by that much identified with and made responsible for him and, by that much, (Continued on Page 6)

AT FIRST GLANCE

By Jay Lovestone

OF ALL the achievements credited to the Roosevelt Administration, those recorded on the agricultural field have won the widest acclaim. Prior to the decision of the Supreme Court, the AAA was generally accepted as the one measure that really stood the test. Not only friends but in many instances even foes of Roosevelt granted that the Administration made real headway in solving the agricultural crisis.

We never sided with these friends and never lined up with such enemies of the White House. We always insisted that the AAA was over-advertised in its efficacy as a relief measure, that its aid was most unfair in distribution, that the basic forces making for agricultural distress continued intact, and that the whole agricultural recovery scheme was unsound and artificial. In fact, whatever recovery there had been attained in the rural areas could be attributed to three main factors: government checks, dust storms, and drought. This is the essence of Roosevelt's most remarkable triumph!

If anyone thinks we are guilty of gross exaggeration, then, let him digest the latest declaration of Secretary of Agriculture Wallace as to the price prospects in view of the outlook for big farm surpluses next year. We might further refer those interested in learning about the continued lack of soundness in American agriculture to the most recent material sent out by the Department of Agriculture itself. An announcement emanating from its Office of Information reveals that farmers' cash income from the sale of their products for February fell by \$67,000,000 from the corresponding month of last year. And why is this so? There were no rental or benefit payments this February, while a year ago these totalled no less than \$52,000,000.

But Roosevelt is very hopeful—for the farmers in the coming election months. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics assures us that 1936 will be even better than 1935, that the cash income of the farmers will be "well maintained during the first half of 1936." How come? Well, the Bureau is frank enough to add: "This is predicated on the resumption of government payments to farmers in March." And further: "Indications are that the Government payments during the next two or three months may exceed the rental and benefit payments for the corresponding months in 1935."

This is and has been the "solution" of the farm crisis at the hands of the White House. NO SERIOUS observer of American politics expects Senator Borah to win the Republican nomination for the Presidency. We are sure that the last one in the world to expect such a result is the Idaho stalwart himself. Why then is he running in a number of primaries? Why is even so radical a Republican as Marcan-tonio fighting for Hamilton Fish who is shepherding Borah's eastern delegation flock? We reckon that at most Borah hopes to be able to influence the Republican choice of a standard bearer so as to insure the greatest likelihood of a Republican triumph next Fall. The Western support, we mean the Party Western, of the Republican Party is looking askance at the domination of the G.O.P. by the out-and-out reactionary financial overlords and industrial magnates of the Eastern states. Borah is the spokesman of the former in the Republican organization.

But, tho Borah will not get the nomination of a united Republican Party, one thing is already very clear and certain. He will make more trouble for "the party of the elephant" at its convention and provide more difficulties for it after its convention than all the divisions and difficulties now manifesting themselves in the Democratic party will make for the President. No doubt there will be very serious defections in the ranks of the Democratic party. But it would be folly to assume that the trend toward party realignments which is only one of the manifestations of the gradual weakening of the two party system—will omit the Republican party in the coming election struggle. Insofar as dynamic, articulate individuals play a role in influencing political trends, Borah will be a more potent force than the Smiths and Colbys.

In other words, let no one think that the fate and fortune of the Democratic Party alone will be affected in the coming months by "deserters." The Republican prospects will be at least as much affected by realignments and divisions and dissensions which may not formally assume the label of a "walk-out."

THE EMINENT authority on naval affairs, Hector C. Bywater, who once had the U.S. and Japan fight it out in the Pacific in 1936, has come forward with some very interesting and timely observations in regard to the much-abbreviated London naval conference. The latter was one of the most gigantic flops in the history of post-war conferences. Its most redeeming feature was that all participants openly viewed it as a skin game pure and simple. Mr. Bywater does point to a number of features of this conference and its aftermath which deserve serious thought in that they shed momentarily accurate light on the international line-ups and situation. He says: "Beyond 'saving face' in the eyes of her own and other Asiatic peoples, Japan has gained nothing by her attitude at the conference. She has merely hardened the resolve of other powers with vital interests in the Pacific to sustain at all costs the existing balance of power." Of course, the reason for Japan's inability to do any better is to be found in her economic situation at home. However, this does not in the least mean that the prospects of peace in the Far East are enhanced or even relatively permanent. Bywater rejoices in that "One excellent result of the conference has been the smoothing out of all naval differences between the English-speaking powers. It is now actually recognized that their sea power policies are practically identical." There is quite some truth in this conclusion—at least for the immediate moment. It appears that some real understanding has been reached between Washington and London in regard to Far Eastern affairs. No doubt the U. S. will welcome and pay for the support she will be getting from Great Britain in the Far East as against Japan. Where the U. S. will pay the price and of what magnitude it will be, we are not in a position to say with definiteness just now.

Let anyone think even for a fraction of a second that this momentary Anglo-American rapprochement, which Secretary of State Hull hastened to deny is an alliance, is a genuine factor for peace, we lose no time in asserting with the maximum vigor at our command that it is only a first-rate move in the preparation of the next war in the Pacific. Bywater himself does not blush to admit that: "Whereas the previous treaties of Washington and London placed definite shackles on naval power, the new London covenant is far less drastic. However strictly it is enforced by the signatories, they will not have to sacrifice an iota of combatant power at sea."

Conclusion: Once again it is proven that capitalist peace talks shops are only whispering galleries and conspiratory chambers for the coming wars.

There is very little, if anything, in the intellectual baggage of a Sam Gompers which we would have retained. There is little in Sam Gompers' philosophy (which hung like a shroud over the trade union movement) to commend itself to the progressive and militant trade union leader of today. There is however, one attitude which Gompers always showed to the courts and to the government deserving of mention—the always fought against, the intervention of these agencies into the inner affairs of the trade unions.

These days, when fascist tendencies are on the rise, it is especially necessary to be on guard

It is not generally known that the Nye bill, acclaimed by all and sundry from left to right, turns over the whole industrial setup to the president whenever "a grave national emergency" arises. The emergency need not be a war situation, which is bad in itself.

As revised by the Senate Committee the only part of the original bill that is left untouched is that permitting a war-time president to facilitate the concentration of capital and the growth of monopoly.

In Massachusetts, an attempt in the House of Representatives to repeal the Teachers Oath Law, enacted last year, met defeat as 133 legislators rallied in defense of the reactionary act. This represented an even larger majority for the measure than mustered originally.

The Board of Estimate, intent on passing the Lyons bill requiring employees of the E.R.B. to reside in New York City one year prior to their appointments, voted 11 to 2 this week to override the veto of Mayor LaGuardia. The bill becomes law just as soon as the Board of Aldermen gives it its perfunctory approval.

Lyons is pressing his bill through both "houses" of the municipal assembly despite the threat of Frederick I. Daniels, executive director of the State Temporary Emergency Relief Administration to withhold funds: Under the law his organization is supposed to contribute 40 per cent of the administrative costs of the Emergency Relief Bureau.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

ON BEHALF of the Committee for Industrial Organization, which represents about one-third of the members of the A.F. of L., said John L. Lewis at a Town Hall meeting in Washington, "I propose that the Federation permit the Dept. of Labor to conduct a national referendum of all A.F. of L. affiliates, by means of the Australian ballot, on this question: "Shall the A.F. of L. issue complete industrial charters to national unions in the mass production industries and encourage organization of the workers on this basis?"

The merit of such a proposal in dramatizing the struggle for industrial unionism, is self-evident. But to permit such a poll to be taken by the Department of Labor, a government department, is to open the door to a precedent which may be very costly to the labor movement.

N.R.A. brought with it any number of philosophes hatched by the brain-trusters, but one thing all of these trade union philosophes had in common—some form of government supervision, no matter how carefully that word may have been camouflaged in some cases, of the trade unions. All such proposals are dangerous to a trade union movement that desires to keep itself independent of governmental interference. The proposal by Lewis, authorizing the Department of Labor to supervise any function whatever, is therefore out of place and dangerous.

There was no cause for quarrel! The proposal of the left for fraternal relations with both the Amsterdam and the Red trade union international was a mere formality. They knew very well that there was, practically speaking, no red international of trade unions left. Furthermore, the left knew in advance that the Congress would vote for Amsterdam and had agreed to abide by the decision.

The other decisions, however, are more serious, tending to show that the French trade union leaders with Jouhaux at the head have learned little if anything from developments in other countries. The proposal for a centralized organization was defeated leaving the organization in a loosely federative state. It is primarily this condition to which Jouhaux always attributed his failure to involve the trade unions in campaigns of even the Socialist Party, of which he is a member. Now when the opportunity presented itself to correct this condition Jouhaux was as loath to change as is William Green here.

Even worse is it with the question of political relations. A proposal was actually carried that no trade union official be permitted to hold a place on a leading body of a political party or to become a member of parliament. This concession to syndicalism, always strong in French trade unionism, may have disastrous consequences for the labor movement. It sets up artificial barriers between Party and trade unions harmful to both. Let us not forget that even during the period of united front between the Socialist and Communist Parties of France (prior to the People's Front) the trade unions refused to participate in or cooperate with this united front. Even at this very congress the trade unions abstained from endorsing the People's Front program. Over this we would shed no tears if it were done on a proper basis. But the real reason for its abstinence is its desire to steer clear of cooperation with the political parties of the working class.

At a time when the mass of the French proletariat is keenly aware of the menace of fascism the decision of the trade unions seem to indicate that the reformist Jouhaux, who controlled the congress, refused to do anything in the way of preparing the trade unions for an effective struggle against it. An attitude of aloofness from the working class political parties is grist for fascist mills.

Incidentally, how does it come that the Militant "Socialist Call" reports the congress without a word of criticism? Or does the Call agree with the decisions?



In the International Labor Movement

# Maurin's Organization Leaves People's Front

On March 8, 1936, at a meeting of the People's Front Bloc in Spain, Joaquin Maurin, leader of the Workers Party of Marxist Unity, officially resigned from the People's Front. He explained that in his opinion the People's Front had been an election bloc and that as such had lost its significance for the working class after the elections. The majority of the election bloc, he continued, is in favor of parliamentary action only. The main task of the proletariat today, however, is to concentrate on extra-parliamentary activities. It is prevented from doing so by its alliance with the petty bourgeoisie.

Maurin is correct. The attitude of Azana toward the propertyless classes becomes more evident every day—his declaration of a state of martial law, strict censorship of the press and his insistence that the political struggle be confined to parliament. The bourgeois press demands that Azana restore "order" in Spain. The bourgeoisie has confidence that he will do so, remembering Casas Viejas and Casa Blancas, incidents of 1932 when Azana brutally suppressed uprisings of starving farm laborers who had collectivized their land and imprisoned the Civil Guard and partially disarmed it. On Mar. 14th, his paper, "Politica" published an article entitled "Political Control Belongs to Parliament and not to the Street" which ended as follows:

"The People's Front which now controls the street and the masses will enter parliament to begin its constructive work. Those, who disrupt, are devoid of the most elementary political feeling."

This article appeared after the assassination of Jimenez Asna, or, rather, despite the assassination, for it is an answer to the reactionary "Information" which published an article on March 11th entitled "Undisciplined Masses":

"We do not believe that the disturbances manifesting themselves all over Spain are the results of an organized effort. We believe them to be issuing from an impulsive, undisciplined mass of people that must not receive recognition in government circles under

## Spring Term of Workers School Begins Week of Ap. 20; Register Now

During the week of April 20 three classes of the New Workers School get under way. Registration for these classes (listed below) is now open. Write to New Workers School, Box 68, Station "O", New York, N. Y., or come up to see us at 51 West 14th Street.

- The following are the three classes:
1. *Marxism and Political Thought of the Nineteenth Century*—Instructor, Will Herberg. A socio-historical analysis of the outstanding tendencies in West-European political philosophy in the nineteenth century. Included are: The aftermath of the French Revolution; English Utilitarianism and Liberalism; Romantic Traditionalism; Utopian Socialism; German Idealism (Kant and Hegel); Anarchism; Scientific Socialism (Marxism); The Historical Schools; The Political Philosophy of Rising Imperialism.

MONDAY NIGHTS at 7:00 beginning April 20th. 6 Sessions, \$1.50

2. *What Is the Communist Party (Opposition)?*

Instructor, B. Herman. This course will present the position of the C.P.O. on questions of principles and tactics; the origin of the crisis in the Communist International and the struggle of the Communist Opposition against the ultra-left course from 1928-1935. It will analyze the right turn of the Communist International and the policies adopted by the 7th Congress; the line of the C.P. since the congress—the Peoples Front policy and the Communist attitude towards war; the regime in the Communist International; the problem of Communist Unity and a united revolutionary Party, and the perspectives before the movement.

TUESDAY NIGHTS at 8:30, beginning April 21st. 6 Sessions, \$1.50.

3. *Towards Revolution: Strategy and Tactics*. Instructor, D. Benjamin. An independent course following the Fundamentals of Communism course. A basic orientation course for those desiring to begin a sys-

# People's Front Goes Collegiate

By AL EPSTEIN  
(Concluded from Previous Issue)

The program is far too hesitant and cautious in its attempt to link the struggle for academic freedom with the fight for democratic rights of the working class. We insist upon a constant reference to the working class because no progressive program can be developed without such an inter-relation. The best part of the program confirms this. Take the section on "The Student and Peace" where the A.S.U. not only accepts the Oxford Pledge "to refuse to support any war conducted by the U. S. government," but also says, "These circumstances (war preparations, etc) demand independent organization and action against war by the anti-war forces of the world. PREEMINENT AMONG WHICH IS THE ORGANIZED LABOR MOVEMENT." (Emphasis mine—A.E.) This is an excellent declaration. Again in the part on "The Student and Society," we find the statement: "In a larger sense, the ends which the A.S.U. has set for itself cannot be secured by students alone, nor within the confines of the campus. . . . Our struggles demonstrate our community of interest with trade unions and farmer groups, who, just because they are the chief victims of exploitation by the inner oligarchy, are the mainstays of progressive social change. The A.S.U. is not a political organization. Although it recognizes the need for thoroughgoing change, it leaves to political organizations as such the achieving of these changes."

This section, although good in its orientation, is faulty in several respects. The last clause is thoroughly false. Perhaps it is due to poor wording, for obviously the student must be called upon to participate in changing the social order. The A.S.U. should leave it to the students to choose for themselves which of the existing working class parties he should support or which philosophy of social change he should accept. But social change cannot be achieved by political parties alone. It can be achieved only by the participation of the working class as a whole, supported by the rest of the toilers. The "community of interest" between the students and the working class should also express itself on the political field—in a Labor Party. The failure to endorse the idea of a Labor Party is inexcusable. This is especially necessary at a time when Roosevelt "fights" the "Tories" and "money changers." There is a very dangerous thought concealed in the expression that the "trade unions and farmer groups, who, just because they are the chief victims of exploitation by the inner oligarchy, are the mainstays of progressive social change." In the first place, the farmers must not be placed in the same class with the workers. We shall not dwell upon the fact that the trade unions represent only a part—a very important part, it is true—of the working class. The farmers (except farm laborers) belong to the petty bourgeoisie and

tematic study of Communist Theory and Practice. Examines the role of the proletariat in the socialist revolution, necessity and function of the revolutionary party of the proletariat and the other proletarian class organizations (trade unions, etc.) and the problems of strategy and tactics of the class struggle; the united front, Labor Party, revolutionary work in the trade unions and other mass organizations, alliance with non-proletarian classes, agrarian question, colonial question, etc.

THURSDAY NIGHTS at 7:00, beginning April 23rd. 8 Sessions, \$2.00.

so do the vast majority of the students. Nor is it true that the working class is the "mainstay of progressive social change" because it is the "chief victim of exploitation." The revolutionary character of the working class is determined by its decisive position in capitalist production. It is the only class capable of achieving a new society. Sections of the petty-bourgeoisie may be worse off than the working class. It may suffer horrible privations. But that will not make it a progressive force. Long ago the Communist Manifesto made this point clear. "Among all the classes that confront the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is really revolutionary. . . . The lower middle class—small manufacturers, handicraftsmen, peasant proprietors—ARE NOT REVOLUTIONARY, BUT CONSERVATIVE. Nay more, they are reactionary. IF they ever become revolutionary, it is only because they are afraid of slipping down into the ranks of the proletariat; they are not defending their present interests, but their future interests; they are forsaking their own standpoint, in order to adopt that of the proletariat." (Emphasis mine—A.E.) The rise of fascism has confirmed the correctness of this view.

**Student And Class Alignments**  
The young Communists and young Socialists who wrote the A.S.U. program did not heed the warning of Marx and Engels. On the contrary, "if (A.S.U.) proposes to unite students irrespective of political parties or religious faith, in defense of their lives and liberties. It offers to them an instrument thru which together they may strive to achieve a better, secure and fruitful life. These are tasks confronting all of us; these are aspirations which we share together."

It is a serious mistake to believe that the A.S.U. can include all students irrespective of political parties. For many students "to achieve a better, secure and fruitful life" may mean to break strikes in order to protect the security of their own class. And

believe it or not students have been known to act as scabs. Perhaps after all the "task confronting all of us" are not the same. In fact, this excerpt contradicts the statement made in the first paragraph of the program. "It educates students to the cause of their plight and to the need of aligning with labor and other progressive forces in the achievement of these ends."

Revolutionaries are not interested in forming petty-bourgeois organizations. The N.S.L. and S.L.I.D. in their pristine glory, suffered from sectarianism. The N.S.L. was merely the campus equivalent of the Y.C.L. (Young Communist League). The S.L.I.D. served the same purpose for the Y.P.S.L. (Young Peoples Socialist League). Now, the NSL has swung from the conception of a "revolutionary student movement" to an all-people's student movement. The S.L.I.D. has abandoned its role of being "part of the Socialist movement in America." It too has accepted the conception of a populist student movement. Fortunately it is possible to steer a sane middle course—to be pro-labor without being sectarian. The A.S.U. must adopt, in addition to its campus demands, a program that is anti-capitalist, anti-fascist (since fascism poses as anti-capitalist). It must be against war. It should recognize the unique position of the Soviet Union—the only land with a new social order. The need for a new social order must be stressed. Being pro-labor it must necessarily be pro-trade union and for a Labor Party. It must offer aid in strikes and fight for civil liberties.

Under no circumstances is it possible to agree with statements as: "The A.S.U. welcomes into its ranks anyone who wishes to act on a single issue outlined in this program, no matter what his disagreements with other phases of it."

Away with illusions. There must be no flirtation with empty phrases. Under the slogans of liberty, fraternity and equality capitalism oppresses the working class and the toilers of the world.

Under no circumstances is it possible to agree with statements as: "The A.S.U. welcomes into its ranks anyone who wishes to act on a single issue outlined in this program, no matter what his disagreements with other phases of it."

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## BOOKS of the AGE . . . . .

RELIGION AND SCIENCE, by Bertrand Russell. Henry Holt, and Co.

Reviewed by JIM CORK  
Nobody can present the shortcomings of the liberal rational approach more charmingly than Bertrand Russell. His latest book is worthy of the tradition. The same genius for popularization, the same disarming phrase, the same wit, the same lucidity, yet all incapable of covering up the essential hollowness of the abstract rationalistic approach to the history of ideas.

Russell retells the tale of the successful struggle that science has waged against the stubborn efforts of traditional religion to dam its onward march. Much of the material in this book merely repeats what was already said in a previous work, "The Scientific Outlook." Some well-known Russellian shibboleths in science are of course again in evidence, to wit, his subjectivist anti-materialist leanings in regard to physics. Russell once more blithely repeats that " . . . the atom has been reduced to a series of events," that " . . . in any case, no modern physicist thinks of the electron as 'real,'" sublimely unconscious, apparently, of the diametrically opposed viewpoints of such men as Planck and Einstein. His ultra-scientific impartiality, his suspension of judgment before future possibilities, finds no difficulty in bringing grist to the mill of obscurantism. He is perfectly willing to feel open-minded on the question of psychical research, to admit that " . . . there is, indeed, one line of argument in favor of survival after death which is, at least in intention, completely scientific, I mean the line of argument associated with the phenomena investigated by psychical research. . . it is clear that there could be evidence which would convince reasonable men." Russell's discussion of the Indeterminacy Theory, in which he rejects the anti-causal claims deduced therefrom, is a welcome relief from this shoddy idealism.

Russell's treatment of the conflict between religion and science, the main theme of the book, is singularly barren because of his almost complete neglect of the social roots of that struggle. The analysis revolves almost exclusively around the external clash of ideas, and that's a pretty tholoy covered field. The roots of the conflict are attributed as due mainly to the connection of creeds with churches.

" . . . those who questioned creeds weakened the authority, and might diminish the incomes of churchmen."

This crass oversimplification indites how much Russell (than whom no more undialectical mind can be imagined) could profit by a good dose of historical materialism. Lacking that, he is still applying "pure logic" to society, still pursuing the chimera of the regeneration of society thru pure science. The astoundingly fantastic discussion resulting is inevitable in view of the basic confusion of categories. The relation between science and society are reversed: "The evils of our time are . . . due . . . ultimately to science." Better science means better society! That progress in science is socially conditioned, that science today is circumscribed in a thousand and one ways by our capitalist society, that the "bettering" of science, opening its limitless possibilities of unfettered growth depends upon the requisite task, is not clear to our pure logician. Similarly in the case of the conflict between science and religion. Resolving that conflict, destroying the dead-head influence

(Continued on Page 8)

# LOSING THEIR CHAINS . . . . . by James Sand

## Mayor Daniel W. Hoan - Grand Sachem of Socialism

[This article appeared in part in the *American Spectator* for Mar 1936] AT THE MEETING of the National Executive Committee held in New York in July 1935, a new leader of the American Socialist Party was unofficially selected. Mayor Daniel Webster Hoan of Milwaukee finally was lifted to stardom after years of effort. He was a protege of Victor Berger, and at the latter's death in 1929 he grasped control of the Wisconsin Socialist Party.

Daniel Webster Hoan is the epitome of the frontiersman and populist making his way under advanced capitalism in America. His perspective is narrow, his aims are restricted, and his mentality has become sharp and forthright through remaining aloof from all problems too big for his intellect even though part of his public creed. Not the least famous of his remarks he made in an open N.E.C. meeting last year when he said that international problems give him a pain in the neck, as he put it in his homely English. He followed this up by trying to have the Socialist Party cease paying dues to the Labor and Socialist International. He still does not understand why he was voted down.

One thing must be said to Dan Hoan's credit: he has never claimed to be a Marxist. As a result, his stands on questions involving fundamental principle have, one and all, been as far away from Socialism as Milwaukee is from Paradise. In August 1932, he addressed the United States War Veterans when they met in convention, in his home town. Here was an excellent opportunity to speak out to ex-service men against imperialist war, to uncover the nefarious practices of munitions manufacturers, to urge world Socialism as the only sure foundation for peace. Instead, Hoan pleaded that the United States government should take better care of its war veterans, and said it in such a way as to presume his acceptance of the next war. To four thousand cheering veterans, he announced: "The men who go to war and their women who stay at home must be given a better deal in the years that follow wars. The service man is promised everything. In my own city he was promised jobs. But when he gets home, he is forgotten. The peculiar thing is that those who make money out of war by staying at home are the loudest to complain. The government must see that those who serve and toil get the full profits out of their labor."

When this country entered the late war, Dan Hoan was serving his first term as mayor of Milwaukee. As a well-meaning but befuddled Socialist and an indiscriminate upholder of constitutionalism, the St. Louis Anti-War declaration of the Socialist Party threw him into a panic. Consequently he played both ends at the middle. He claimed that Milwaukee was the most patriotic city in the country, and he bought Liberty Bonds. After the war was over he did all the spectacular things that would redound to his Socialist advantage without hurting his patriotic prestige in Milwaukee.

When King Albert of Belgium was being scheduled for his Western tour in America in 1919, Hoan refused to invite him to Milwaukee with this rousing comment: "All Kings and Emperors can go to hell!" This is the pungent language of the frontier from the lips of America's sole remaining populist. When Woodrow Wilson died, Mayor Hoan refused to mourn for him, and even mass protests in Milwaukee failed to move him.

His economic views are hilarious to non-Socialists and tragic to Socialists. He reached the heights of infelicitous anti-climax in 1932 when he announced: "There is no security today in this country. There is not even a millionaire who can guarantee that he will not end his days in the poor house." Earlier that year, in a telegram to Senator Borah urging him to take the lead in the fight to have Congress grant cities, villages, and counties the privilege of depositing their bonds with the Controller of the Currency and obtaining currency in exchange, he uttered what is undoubtedly a classical rhetorical question for a national leader of a Socialist Party: "Why must the banks have all the concessions?"

In his last inaugural address Mayor Hoan said that capitalism is dying and a new and better world is coming into being. But his own Socialism consists of nothing more than keeping one step ahead of the LaFollettes! If the LaFollettes say that capitalism must be reformed, Dan Hoan says it must be abolished; if they say it must be abolished, he says that the workers must do it through the Socialist Party. In reality, however, he does not expect the party ever to succeed in doing more than to continue electing him mayor of Milwaukee. The LaFollettes have too strong a hold on the state of Wisconsin for Hoan to gain higher office in his lifetime, and nationally the Socialist Party has been waning.

On occasional issues not involving too wide a social vision, Hoan has accomplished some good. In July 1932, he refused to accept the City Council's offer to pay his expenses if he would go to Los Angeles for the forthcoming meeting of the American Association of Port Authorities. He said he would not set a foot on California soil so long as Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings were in prison there. And in 1920 he denounced the National Security League for trying to turn May Day into "Security Day." But on fundamental politico-economic issues he is always in a fog. And within the Socialist Party he has played a dubious role.

Daniel Webster Hoan was born at Waukesha, Wisconsin on March 12th, 1881. As a boy he worked as a cook, and when he entered the University of Wisconsin in 1901 he continued to earn his way in that capacity. Four years later he took a bachelor of arts degree from Wisconsin. He then entered the Kent College of Law in Chicago and received a law degree. From 1907 on he practiced law in Milwaukee. There he found an unusual political situation. The population was overwhelmingly German-immigrant, highly influenced by German Socialism. Victor Berger had become the leader of social democracy there, and when the Socialist Party was formed in 1900 Milwaukee was one of its strongholds. By the time Dan Hoan arrived on the scene Socialism was a powerful force in municipal politics. With no comprehension of Socialist principles, Hoan took to the Socialist Party.

For two years he was attorney for the Wisconsin Federation of Labor, and then he became city attorney. In that office he directed the fight for Wisconsin's Workmen's Compensation Law, the first of its kind enacted by any state. Finally, in 1916, by the margin of a few hundred votes, he was elected mayor of Milwaukee, and he has held that post ever since. For twenty years he has been the city's first citizen.

One might expect that Dan Hoan would attempt to act like a

Socialist at least culturally. Instead his organizational affiliations are the Knights of Pythias, the Elks, and the Eagles. There Dan seems to find the company best suited to his tastes. There a politician is respected for his material success. Certainly among the Elks and Eagles Dan has always felt more at home than at the Rand School of Social Science in New York, backward as the latter is.

In Milwaukee Hoan has built a machine patterned after the traditional lines of boss-rule municipal politics. Strong-arm methods are not unknown, and ward-healing is very much in style. Of course, within the bounds of capitalism, Hoan has done well in Milwaukee. The city is very nearly a model of municipal government. But a man is usually judged in terms of the philosophy he professes, not in terms of the philosophy he is supposed to oppose but with which he compromises. The one time Hoan allowed himself the privilege of ethical Socialism, personal disaster stalked him. In September, 1931, he refused a city job to his brother, George F. Hoan, a laborer, because he did not want to favor a relative in hard times. The next day his brother hanged himself from a banister in the mayor's private garage.

Milwaukee is justly celebrated for its self-liquidating debt-system, excellent financial administration, and economical purchasing plan. In 1932 it took the first prize in the national health conservation contest for cities. All over the world the clean sewers of Milwaukee are known. Five years ago the Health Department gained the ear of the nation by issuing a press release announcing that thereafter in Milwaukee wrappers must be put on pretzels.

In November 1934 in Chicago Hoan was elected president of the United States Conference of Mayors, and pledged himself to the Roosevelt social-security program. He never took a stand for the Lundeen Bill, the so-called Workers' Insurance Bill. In the conference of mayors, Dan Hoan is indistinguishable from the other mayors.

Towards the Soviet Union he has shown no understanding whatsoever, and even less sympathy. Within the councils of the Socialist Party he is a professional Red-baiter, and Communists are treated almost as stupidly in Milwaukee as they are in San Francisco? The truth is that Hoan is not even a social democrat. He is a liberal without the saving grace of a liberal's humanitarian confusion. He has clung to the Socialist Party because it has been politically powerful in Milwaukee. He has successfully thwarted every attempt made by Communists for a national united front on immediate issues, such as Fascism, war, civil liberties, defense of political prisoners. In the winter of 1934 when the *New York Times* mistook the stand of the National Executive Committee on the united front as favorable, Hoan by letter hastened to assure the paper that no united front was wanted or contemplated.

I was at the 1934 Socialist national convention where Dan Hoan began to aim for the leadership of the party. There were three factions: the reactionary old guard; the "militants," centrists trying to adjust their amorphous theory and practice to new world-conditions; and the Revolutionary Policy Committee, pledged to Marxism and revolutionary socialism. The "militants" wrote a Declaration of Principles which is marked by confusion and temporizing. The R.P.C. issued an "Appeal to the Membership of the Socialist Party." The Declaration of Principles was passed and sent to the membership for referendum. Dan Hoan, seeing the lay of the land, discovered that he was a "militant" and as such was elected a member of the National Executive Committee which consists of eleven members.

When the national membership of the party gave a majority to the Declaration of Principles, the New York old guard refused to acknowledge it as binding, began taking over locals in New York, and broke into the office of the Young Peoples Socialist League and took over the organization. The N.E.C. last March called upon the New York State local to show cause why the state-charter should not be revoked and the state reorganized. The New York local refused to appear and Dan Hoan succeeded in having the matter delayed for six weeks. It was taken up sixteen weeks later at the July N.E.C. meeting. Here Hoan took complete command of the situation. He saw to it that a sub-committee of right-wingers headed by him met with the representatives of the New York old guard to work out a compromise. This sub-committee did not permit the "militants" to appear in the conference because it felt that such a conference would not achieve harmony. The old guard, under Hoan's guidance, received the blessings of the N.E.C., and Hoan led the attack on the R.P.C. and all revolutionary Socialists and Marxists in the party.

Hoan was promptly hailed as the new messiah of American Socialism by the right-wing, and the daily press was quick to see that he might be making a bid for the 1936 nomination. To be sure, he does not think that he can be elected; what he believes, and rightly, is that if he becomes the standard-bearer and recognized leader of the American Socialist Party, his hold on Milwaukee will remain secure.

But the recent split in the New York State party has had national repercussions. Both sides—the right-wing and the leftward moving "militants"—banked on Dan Hoan's support in the N.E.C. But Dan, unwilling to risk a split in the Milwaukee Socialist Party on the eve of a mayoralty campaign, did not even come to the Philadelphia N.E.C. this January when the New York situation was "settled" by further delay, but this time in favor of the "militants." Reliable report has it that, after the coming municipal election, Dan Hoan, sick and tired of the infernal squabbling over fundamental principles, is preparing to leave the national organization of the S.P. and put the Wisconsin party into the LaFollette progressive front! The threat of the Socialist Party becoming Socialist has finally awakened Dan Hoan to his class position.

One is tempted to make a comparison between Hoan and Debs because of their indigenous Americanism and Middle-Western backgrounds. The comparison is all against Hoan. Debs saw a new day arising, and wholeheartedly accepted the new philosophy of the proletarian. Hoan was close to the daily beat of the labor movement; Hoan knows nothing of the inner life of the labor movement. Debs would sacrifice everything he had for a principle; Hoan has no Socialist principles and makes no personal sacrifices.

1. *The Socialist Party has since merged with LaFollette's organization into one federation.—Ed.*
2. *In the recent bitterly contested Mayoralty election he turned red-baiter in response to an endorsement by the Communist Party.—Ed.*



# Knitgoods Union Scores Sec. Perkins' Whitewash

The following statement has just been released by the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union.

On Tuesday, March 31st, the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union sent out a release of a statement issued by the Manager, Louis Nelson, in which were included remarks about a post card sent to the New York knitgoods manufacturers from Mount Airy, North Carolina, advertising cheap labor and inviting them to locate there. This statement and the post card were printed in the Workers Age, a labor paper, in its issue of Saturday, April 14th.

The New York Daily News of Thursday, April 9th, runs a story in connection with this post card containing a denial on the part of the Greensboro Chamber of Commerce and business men of the vicinity of Mount Airy, North Carolina, charging that the post card was a hoax and that the wage figures were false. But the facts presented by the investigator for the Daily News in the very same article prove conclusively that the wage levels stated in the post card are correct and that it is the reaction to and the exposure of this situation that has caused the business men and the Chamber of Commerce of North Carolina to repudiate the post card.

It is clearly stated in the post card that the wage rates quoted are on piece work. The findings of the Department of Labor of North Carolina report only on day or week work and report only on wage averages, which must necessarily include higher paid skilled labor. However, it is pointed out by the investigator for the Daily News that in addition to the facts found by the North Carolina State Department of Labor, the following is true: That in factories where piece work prevails, pay checks for \$3.00 were handed out to the workers as payment for a semi-monthly period. It is further pointed out by this investigator that girls who are employed as finishers and clippers were receiving as low as \$15.00 for a two-week period, which reduces their daily rate to the

amount quoted in the post card.

The Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union maintains that the wages quoted in this post card represent the standard paid to the southern workers in the textile mills and states that the investigation conducted by the North Carolina State Department of Labor was superficial, cursory and misleading, and tends to whitewash the conditions imposed upon those workers by southern employers. The Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union calls upon Secretary of Labor Perkins to authorize representatives of the American Federation of Labor in the textile industry to investigate this matter more thoroughly.

The question of these low wage standards in the south is not only restricted to the problem of southern labor but reflects itself in problems of labor and industry in New York. The knitgoods manufacturers in New York constantly point to this existing condition in the south and are attempting to establish those standards here, or in some cases are moving to the south in order to take advantage of such a low-priced labor market.

## Mayor Scores May's Store

Finding that the officials of May's Department Store were responsible for the strike, the Mayor's committee investigating the situation recommends that "shoppers of Brooklyn make their purchases where a sense of justice controls employment policies."

The committee's report, after stating that the walkout began as a result of the dismissal of two employees, who were members of the Department Store Workers Union, lists a number of abuses. Wages at May's were at least 30 per cent lower than at any other retail store in the city. Other causes of dissatisfaction for the employees were uncompensated overtime, compulsory deductions for a "benevolent" association, and unsanitary working conditions.

The attempts of the committee to settle the strike failed because of the refusal of the store owners to reinstate ten of the strikers.

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REASONABLE  
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# UNEMPLOYED IN MERGER CONFAB

WASHINGTON—Taking a big step forward, the Workers Alliance of America voted for a merger of its forces with those of the National Unemployment Councils and the National Unemployed League.

In connection with this action, the Executive Board recommended that the National Unemployment Councils be given seven seats on the new leading body, while the independent organizations, such as the National Unemployed League, the American Workers Union, and the California Federation of Unemployed and Allied Organizations, are slated for three places. The Workers Alliance, by common agreement, will have top-heavy representation with 17 seats.

David Lasser, chairman of the old Workers Alliance, gave voice to the feelings of all the delegates when he declared: "This great victory of unity is a victory in the first place for the unemployed and in the second for the trade union movement to which we can now contribute much more."

When Herbert Benjamin, leader of the Unemployment Councils, took the floor he stressed the value of organization and of unity. "We are here," he stated, "not to put something over on somebody, nor because somebody put something over on us, but because of a realization that with unity the U. C. members could contribute their assets more effectively to the struggle for all."

The only delegations which fought unity were from Oregon, Pittsburgh, and Milwaukee.

Frank Morrison, Secretary of the A. F. of L., told the convention that the organized labor movement is behind the unemployed. He reminded the delegates of the letter William Green sent State Federations of Labor last April asking them to cooperate with the Workers Alliance.

Lasser raised the question of a Farmer-Labor Party in a very sharp form. "The alliance of working people for security and freedom must not be only economic but political. I say that we must be done

# Living Costs Still Rising

Washington—Average living costs in 32 large cities of the United States went up seven-tenths of 1% during the three months ending January 15, 1936, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins announced this week. In 29 of the cities, the increases were due primarily to advances in food costs, although slight rises in the cost of clothing, rent, fuel, and light were also factors.

with electing capitalist politicians to wield power over us and then have us crawling to them for favors"

The National Executive Board of the Workers Alliance urged the passage of the following legislation: the Frazier-Lundeen Unemployment and Social Insurance Act, the Marcantonio Relief Standards Act, the 30 hour week proposal of the A. F. of L., and the American Youth Act. They also stressed the importance of curbing the dictatorial power of the United States Supreme Court.

According to an understanding entered into by the Workers Alliance and the National Unemployment Councils, David Lasser will be the president of the new organization, and Herbert Benjamin will be organizational secretary.

The delegates marched upon the White House with demands that the scheduled layoff of the 700,000 WPA workers be rescinded. They carried placards requesting the enactment of the Marcantonio and Frazier-Lundeen bills.

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# ROPER TALKS MUTINY CHARGE

The drive against the West Coast Maritime Federation, which has won sympathy and demands for emulation on the Atlantic Coast and the Gulf Ports, has now received governmental sponsoring. Roper, Secretary of Commerce, has published a report in which he seeks to cover up the marine disasters of the past few years with blasts against "agitators", that is, seamen who demand tolerable working conditions. Roper is fighting hard within the Cabinet itself to win approval for his plans to smash the union movement on the grounds of "insubordination" and "mutiny."

An illuminating answer was given by Cullman, vice-president of the National Committee for Safety at Sea. He pointed out that these so-called cases of insubordination were revolts against abominable conditions of work, such as could not be condoned. The World-Telegram, in attempting to investigate these charges of mutiny found them "highly tenuous or inaccurate." Under cover of the terms "mutiny," "insubordination" and "agitation" lies an attack on the maritime trades unions.

However, the greatest danger does not merely consist in the aid the government is giving to the shipowners in this open-shoppism. Implicit in the present position of Roper is the tendency to bring more and more under direct control of the government the shipping industry, for economic and military reasons. With more powerful or perhaps open government ownership instead of regulation, strikes can be outlawed "for the good of the nation," since they would then be "mutinies," rebellions against the government, even tho, in actuality, the demands of the seamen were for 2 1/2c more per hours. Such an attack cannot be fought with Cullman's report, but by the further amalgamation of the crafts on all coasts, by the extension of the maritime federation. Above all the union members must be aroused to oust the reactionary, scab-herding leadership.

## BOOK REVIEWS

(Continued from Page 7)

of religion, can come ultimately only as social acts which uproot the social inequalities which nourish religion. Religion can never be destroyed by the mere waging of rationalist ideas vs the holy absurdities. Russell proclaims the warfare between science and theology as practically over. In so doing he gives carte blanche to Christianity:

"The warfare between science and Christian theology . . . is nearly ended . . . Christianity has been purified . . . and nearly cured of its desire to persecute."

Persecution of impartial intellect has however not ceased. Its base has merely been shifted:

"New religions have arisen . . . which . . . in Germany and Russia has surpassed in severity anything perpetrated by the churches during the last two hundred and fifty years"

The hounds of international reaction will thank our professor An open mind to the claims of spiritualism, carte-blanche to contemporary Christianity, no differentiation between Facism and Communism in relation to culture, grist to the mill of obscurantist attack against the Soviet Union, this is where Russell's ultra-scientific-abstract-logico-technique has landed him!

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