

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 5, No. 17

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, APRIL 25, 1936.

5 Cents a Copy

Anglo-French Military Staffs Reach Agreement

France Uses Conversations As Bludgeon Against Germany; Hitler's Hope of Splitting Locarno Powers Weakened by Rapprochement.

Altho Italy held the spotlight this week in the great play of "peaceful" imperialist preparations for imperialist war, the Rhineland crisis will receive much further attention in the near future. England's retreat on the sanctions questions means the triumph of France, the maintenance of Italy, at least objectively, as an anti-German ally. Altho Italy did not participate in the military staff conversations, an effort will be made to bring her into future ones

U. S. ITALIAN TRADE GROWS

While many countries found their trade with Italy diminished considerably, due to sanctions, the United States, "neutral pacifist," showed an increase in imports from Italy of about 85% (December, 1934-1935), while the exports of the same period showed a similar rise, from \$2,866,000 to \$4,039,000.

Italy's exports dropped to half from February, 1935, to February 1936, (about \$5,000,000). A decline of more than 6 million dollars was recorded for her imports, in merchandise. However, her export of gold and silver jumped four times, from \$1,756,000 to \$5,819,000, indicating a great financial strain and lack of credits.

MAY DAY CONFAB MEETS APRIL 25

Trade union and other working class organizations are busily engaged in making final arrangements and mobilizations for what promises to be the greatest May Day New York has ever seen. Last minute preparations will be made at the second conference of the Labor May Day Committee to be held in Hotel Delano on Saturday April 25, 2 P. M.

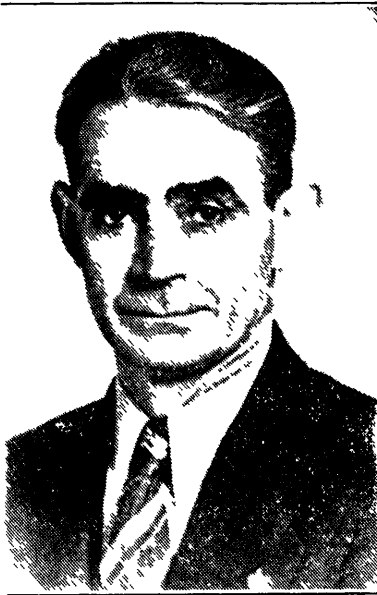
In the meantime the committee has issued a manifesto under the signatures of Norman Thomas, Charles S. Zimmerman, and Louis Weinstock, the officers of the organization 250,000 of these have already been distributed. The same applies to many thousands of placards and signs and buttons prepared by the committee. Any organizations failing to secure this material should get in touch with the office of the committee in Hotel Delano

The Labor May Day Committee emphasized that in all its arrangements it is keeping in mind the fact that the International Ladies Garment Workers Unions and other unions are meeting in the Polo Grounds to celebrate May Day. The line of march is so arranged that the members of the garment unions will head the parade and will then immediately proceed to their Polo Ground meeting. The committee expects a history-making response to its call this year.

At present, Britain, France, and Belgium have conducted their conversations and are supposed to have reached a pretty definite agreement as to technical arrangements for mutual aid. From a practical point of view this means simply the co-ordination of British military power with France's aims and need.

Primary in the plans were supposed to be the complete preparations for an air attack on Germany, in which Britain would use French bases for her aircraft, while certain ports were designated for the landing of British troops. Of course, it is hardly likely that any of the participants were too frank. The military history of the World War shows the great difficulties of real co-ordination, of unified command of the various bourgeois national armies—a reflection of the imperialist rivalries even between "allies"

The significance of the conversations lie not in that something was or was not said, but rather an indicating that England and France have more or less agreed on a common objective, that Hitler's hope of splitting the Locarno powers seems to be dimming.



DEPORTATION OF BRENNAN FOUGHT

Patrick Brennan, militant leader of the unemployed in the Anthracite region, is about to be deported to Ireland, under the excuse that he entered the country illegally. The real reason is his activity in the labor movement and his leadership in the Penna. Security League of which he is president in Luzerne.

Collection lists to raise funds for Brennan's defense and petitions against his deportation are in circulation now and can be obtained from the committee at 53 Oak Street, Wilkes Barre, Pa.

William Moriarty Dies Suddenly

The National Committee of the Communist Party Opposition expresses its profoundest sorrow over the loss of its worthy and irreplaceable member and co-worker, Comrade William Moriarty. "Bill" as he was known to those of us who were fortunate to have the opportunity of working closely with him, was a proletarian of first calibre. He came to the Communist movement from the left wing of the Socialist Party of Canada.

Comrade Moriarty was one of the founders of the Communist Party of Canada. In the CP of Canada he served in leading capacities. On the basis of his ability and sterling revolutionary character he rendered a service to the Communist Party and labor movement of Canada in the capacity of editor and business manager of the Canadian Worker and secretary of the CP of Canada. "Bill" was a militant trade unionist of national standing. His life and activities are a keen inspiration not only to all of us who have worked intimately with him but to those of us who have fought shoulder to shoulder with him in the class struggle and who are continuing on the path trod by him.

Comrade Moriarty was born in London and died at the young age of less than forty-six years. Coming to Canada in 1912, he was employed as a harvest worker. He won his spurs in the Canadian trade union movement as a militant fighter in the ranks of the building trades workers. "Bill" hails from the finest type of proletarian family. He was a tin

COMRADE William Moriarty, CPO leader in Canada, died suddenly last week at the age of 45. In the next issue we will acquaint our readers with the activities of this sterling proletarian fighter. His death constitutes an irreparable loss to the communist movement.

miner in Cornwall, England; then, he worked as a laborer on the railways; later he worked as a surface miner in Wales

In the crisis in the Communist International Comrade Moriarty fought as a Communist devoted above all to the principles of Communism and to the cause of building a healthy Communist movement. That is why Comrade Moriarty left position and power in the official Communist movement and became the founder of the CP of Canada (Opposition).

The National Committee of the Communist Party U. S. A. Opposition is deeply grieved at Comrade Moriarty's parting from us at this early age in his career as a veteran in the labor movement. To Comrade Martha Moriarty, his wife, we convey our most heartfelt condolences. To the comrades of the Canadian Communist Opposition we transmit our keenly felt sorrow. We are confident that, inspired by the tireless energy, unflinching spirit, and unquestionable loyalty and revolutionary ardor of Comrade Moriarty, the Canadian comrades, following the leadership of him when alive, will follow with even greater vigor the political course pursued by Comrade Moriarty.

No Further Sanctions By League; Italy Advances

Britain's Diplomatic Retreat Paves Way For An Imperialist Deal; France Heads in Betrayal Of Ethiopians to Get at Germany.

The Italian Armies in Ethiopia announced, this week, the capture of Dessye (170 miles from Addis Abbaba), and the preparations for the march on Addis within a few days. This military coup is not to be minimized, altho the factors behind it are hardly military in character, nor is the conquest of Addis Abbaba a purely military question.

Two features of the military advance are of interest. First, its extremely superficial character, testified to by the fact that airplanes supplied the marching columns. While this shows the new possibilities of military strategy, it also indicates the unsound basis of the drive. Secondly, it is only now that the Italians begin to enter the mountainous country of Ethiopia, and with it, a sea of troubles. Most observers have been wondering where the 350,000 men opposing the Fascist have disappeared, and, while desertions from this feudal army are probably a force, the major armies seem to have been following a policy of retreat—into the mountainous areas. Whether this is strategic or a symptom of disintegration remain to be seen. At any rate the advance on Addis Abbaba is not exactly smooth sailing,

even if only natural conditions are taken into account. The conquest of the capital can only be achieved if there is no interference thru the Jibouti-Addis railroad, controlled by France, who threatens no such interference.

The fact that the drive occurred at this particular time, that it is so superficial and unconsolidated in character signifies the other motives behind it. It could not be merely coincidence that the meeting of the League Council of Thirteen, called to consider further sanctions against Italy, had its deliberations punctuated by victory bulletins from the Ethiopian front. This was undoubtedly primary in the calculations of Mussolini, in his desperate struggle against further sanctions. The fascists are well aware that the importance of the Rhineland crisis is such that if Britain is ever to be forced into a yielding position it is now—when France, threatened by Germany, is actively opposed to such steps being taken as would drive Italy out of the anti-German orbit.

That England has begun to yield to French pressure and to be impressed by the military drive of Mussolini, is shown in Baldwin's statement that no military sanctions would be pursued, especially the closing of the Suez Canal. This is the beginning of the end, foreshadowing the imperialist partition of Ethiopia or its establishment as an Italian protectorate, if independent action of the working-class is excluded. For France has won out and the "prior rights" of the Rhineland crisis have been established.

AZANA LEADS IN DRIVE ON REDS

Under fire by the extreme right of clerico-fascist coloring, Premier Manuel Azana, leader of the People's Front, announced that he stood always ready and willing to throttle the proletarian revolution. When Gil Robles, fascist leader, warned that Azana's flirtations with the Marxist parties was leading to communism, the premier replied "I am as much an enemy of communism as you, and have as much to fear from it as you. So long I am in power there will be no communism in Spain."

Within the Cortes, almost all parties, actively or passively, united in ousting the extremely unpopular Zamorra, president of the Republic. The People's Front led in his removal, while the Rights gave silent assent by abstaining. To the left, his Catholic conservatism was an obstacle to the "liberal front" of the republic, while to the Right his wishy-washy politics, which allowed him to sympathize with them but take no action against the Left, save breaking off his personal relations with Azana, made him useless in their struggle against the proletariat. His removal means new elections on May 17.

BILL MORIARTY IS DEAD

Impossible to believe it. My eyes read and re-read the fateful lines, but the mind refuses to follow them.

His boundless energy, his strong figure, his iron constitution are put to rest for ever.

A gripping pain takes hold of me. A flame of inspiration has been put out. A life so eventful and in full bloom has been cut too soon. Our teacher and friend, our leader and comrade is no more with us.

Too fresh the wound—too painful the blow to estimate him now.

But to those who knew him and to those who heard him—to those who learned from him and to those who worked with him—

Bill will never be forgotten.

His crystal-clear honesty, his boundless devotion to the cause of the toilers of the world, his great revolutionary integrity—will for ever remain a high example to be followed, a burning inspiration for ever greater work and sacrifice.

We stand with bowed heads at the grave of Bill Moriarty, dauntless revolutionary fearless fighter of the Canadian Proletariat. Our only comfort—he hasn't lived his life in vain. His hope in the last minutes of his life was, that his work will be continued. With banners unfurled, let us march forward to a better and more glorious life—to Victory—to Socialism. The fulfillment of his Great Dream—Our Great Monument to him.

K. KALMEN
Organizer, Montreal Unit
Communist Opposition

OPEN DRIVE ON WORK RELIEF

Business Demands This On Claim of Competition; Protests Grow

While the unemployed merged their organizations to struggle for a six billion dollar relief program, Roosevelt cut down the budget relief appropriation to one and a half billion. Secondly, an increased drive against work relief from three angles was publicized in the past week.

Roosevelt's allowance is thoroely inadequate. The billion and a half, is supposed to take care of three millions on the WPA, thus sanctifying the policy of Hopkins which consisted in dropping one million people from the rolls. This cut by the "humanitarian" Roosevelt will be fought vigorously.

The N. Y. Association for Improving the Conditions of the Poor (sic) "questioned" the efficacy of the work-relief program on the following grounds: either it produces useful goods and therefore competes with private industry and delays recovery, or it engages in public works which tax the income of the community too harshly. This flies in the face of all facts which point to production indices at the 1923-25 level (and close to 1929), and the fact that public work contracts have gone to private industry and have been the basis of whatever boom there has been in building and construction trades.

General Johnson, former N. Y. Administrator, submitted a report in October which was suppressed by the administration, but, after disclosure by others was finally published. He uses certain indisputable facts of corruption and waste, plus the inquisitorial system used on applicants to insist on the re-application of the dole, and the dropping of the work relief system.

For the unemployed workers this is not merely a question of more money on work-relief than on the dole—it is a question of struggle against enforced and degenerating idleness. If they are pushed out of the process of production, they are faced with demoralization.

Ridder, who seems to have become punch drunk, published a report written in 1931 to show that all action of the workers to get their back wages, for unionization, for more adequate relief, are nothing but machinations of Moscow. The report is so stupid that it refers to the City Projects Council as controlled by the TUUL, affiliated to the Profintern in Moscow—organizations that have been dead politically and actually since the early part of 1934. Some "loyal workers," mostly reactionary veterans, have organized anti-communist unions under the direct stimulus of Ridder. These will be everything except workers organizations struggling for their interests.

Women Shoppers Heckle Borden Labor Policy

The Borden Milk Company which has been conducting an intensive campaign against unionization of its milk drivers, found itself heavily heckled by share-holding members of the Women's Shoppers League. It was alleged (and not denied) that over \$100,000 per year are spent in fighting the A. F. of L. union. Apparently the company has been paying salaries in forms of shares, because 800,000 stocks are owned by the employees. Nevertheless, a resolution to negotiate with the bona-fide union was defeated.

Roosevelt Resorts to Demagogy In Baltimore Address to the Youth

Baltimore—Harking back fondly to the days of the NRA, President Roosevelt called for the enactment of legislation which would keep youngsters in school and enable old people to retire from work. He did so in a speech that was broadcast to meetings of the Young Democrats of America.

Seeing in the proposed legislation the "solution" of the nation's unemployment problem, Roosevelt declared: "Work out for yourselves what would happen if all the boys and girls of 14 and 15 and 16 and 17 who are now working in industry found it possible to stay in school until they were at least 18 years of age. How many jobs would that give to the young people of the nation who have graduated from high school and college!"

It is significant in this connection that the NRA was brought forward by Roosevelt at the instigation of big business partially for the purpose of thwarting the sponsors of the Black-Conerly 30-hour week. Realizing this, William Conerly, chairman of the House Labor Committee, declared in calling the President's bluff, "I believe that all Congress needs is for the President to give his O. K.

to the House Rules Committee and my bill will go through."

After pointing out the number of jobs which could be created by the retirement of people over 65, President Roosevelt asked the very bosses against whom the Black-Conerly bill is aimed to institute the shorter work-week. His appeal failing, Roosevelt would go back to the NRA, the period when the notorious auto agreement was foisted upon the workers by the President himself. It will be recalled that in addition to building company unionism Roosevelt's intervention laid the base for a longer maximum work week.

Demagogically, Roosevelt kept appealing to the spirit of youth. At the end of his speech he said "You ought to thank God tonight if you are young enough in spirit to believe . . . that class hatreds can be done away with; that peace at home and abroad can be maintained. . . . If that is the fashion of your dreaming then I say, 'Hold fast to your dream, America holds it.'"

He was of course talking for the capitalist class when he thus expressed himself. He might easily have come down to earth with a demand for the enactment of the American Youth Act instead of urging youth to fill their bellies

with dreams of a "frictionless" society.

At one point in his speech President Roosevelt allowed the cat to slip out of the bag. "You and I know," he said "that while the total production of America is about back to the high level before the depression, only a little over 80% as many human beings are engaged in turning out that production."

Roosevelt showed that he is not concerned with the plight of the workers by calling for a return to the New Deal, that system of capitalist readjustment which helped put tremendous profits into the coffers of the industrialists even while keeping stationary the real wages of those workers who found jobs.

According to the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, profits of 700 leading business concerns in 1935 were 48 per cent greater than in 1934. It must have been these figures that Roosevelt was thinking of when he urged an increase in the purchasing power of the "nation"

As far as the old people are concerned, Roosevelt might declare for the enactment of the Frazier-Lundeen bill instead of cooking up fine schemes of his own.

On the LABOR FRONT

Broun Fined in Picket Test

Heywood Broun, President of the Newspaper Guild, A. Lauterbach and H. Polinsky, striking Guildsmen, were fined on a charge of interfering with a police officer, in Milwaukee. The Guild is conducting a strike there against Hearst's Wisconsin News. Broun had demanded arrest in order to defend the right to picket, after a police officer had assaulted and arrested Lauterbach. The case will be appealed.

Steel Workers Reinstated

The National Labor Relations Board figured in the news with two recent decisions. It insisted that Jones and McLaughlin reinstate 10 workers discharged for union activity, and with the decision published a long diatribe against the power of the steel trusts, owning whole towns and ruthlessly determining the squalid existence of hundreds of thousands of workers and their families. The terror against the union members was vigorously condemned.

The Aluminum Workers Union had petitioned the Board to designate it as the only representative of the workers in the plant of the Aluminum Company of America, at Alcoa, Tenn. The petition was the outgrowth of a movement by several local unions to form an international on industrial lines. The Board declared it could not interfere and dismissed the case.

Strikers Attacked with Gas

A strike of 300 butchers at a packing plant in Sioux City, Iowa, was attacked with tear gas bombs by the police. An automobile, containing a scab, was driven thru the picket lines but was stopped by the workers before it could enter the gates. Other scabs were successfully stopped, whereupon the police opened up. The casualties were the scabs. The business agent of the union was arrested on charges of violence. This is the third strike at the plant this year, the first two having been broken by the National Guard.

Railroads Break Confab

The negotiations which have been going on between the unions leaders and the railway magnates have been broken off. Although the unions consented in principle to "reorganization" i.e., the firing of thousands of workers, thru the consolidation of lines, the employers refused to meet the demands for compensation of these workers for displacement. The Railway Labor Executive Association announced that it would now devote all its energies to pressing for the Wheeler-Crosser Bill to deal with the matter, and also support Eastman's bill for railway employment insurance. Eastman is the administration's railroad co-ordinator.

Women's Minimum Wage Law

The laundry man who fought the New York State minimum wage law for women, has revealed that the campaign was financed by the Hotel Ass'n. and will continue to be when the State appeals the case. The hotels would have to increase wages tremendously to meet the requirements. Most laundries have decided to pay the minimum wage anyhow—\$12.40 for a forty hour week. The highest minimum wages offered in New York hotels is supposed to be about \$5 per week.

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

Send me more information about the C.P.O.
Name
Address
City State

MOONEY HEARING SHOWS FICKERT TOOL OF BOSSES

This week, the attorneys representing Tom Mooney in his petition for a writ of habeas corpus, broke down the legal barrier set up by Deputy Attorney General Cleary and his cohorts in their effort to conceal the deadly revelation of Charles M. Fickert as the tool of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co., the United Railroads, and the Law and Order Committee of the Chamber of Commerce.

In one single day this week, Fickert was caught in nine separate statements directly contradicted either by his own past testimony under oath, or by that of Martin Swanson or others of his associates in the frame-up. Sometimes he has been forced to backwater, as when after denying that the United Railroads had contributed financially to the support of his first campaign in 1909, he had to acknowledge weakly that they did contribute money, "but not personally to me, just to the campaign committee"—a pitiful subterfuge.

Fickert has now admitted that he did see and talk to Martin Swanson, the utilities company detective, in the Palace Hotel the night of the explosion, though he still denies that Thornwall Mulhally, assistant to the president of the United Railroads, was present as claimed by Capt. Duncan Matheson, who has testified that Mulhally was the man who put the finger on Tom Mooney and ordered his arrest. Davis asked him if it was not a fact that he had knowledge before hand that the explosion at Stuart and Market was going to occur and that he had been waiting in his office for news of it. This shocked Fickert into an explosive outburst that was decidedly not the protest of injured innocence. He jumped to his feet and he yelled, "That's a damned lie and you know it. You're lower than a snake's tail to say it."

In his account of his doings immediately after the explosion, Fickert is greatly confused, but he has confessed openly that he and F. H. Colburn, prominent banker, had enlarged a hole in the wall left by the explosion, thus destroying the actual evidence left at the scene and manufacturing a condition to fit in with what obviously was a pre-conceived theory of the bomb explosion.

Another damaging admission drawn from Fickert during the week, was his statement that he hadn't considered it necessary to talk to the detectives who had been shadowing Mooney and Billings right up to July 22, 1916. These detectives in the employ of the United Railroads, were able to testify as to every move that Mooney made and all the persons with whom he came in contact, yet none of them were ever used in the case, an obvious admission that he knew they could contribute nothing toward strengthening the case against Tom Mooney, because he knew there was no case to strengthen, except that which he, Swanson and the others were framing out of whole cloth.

JOIN COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION)
51 West 14th Street
New York City
Send me more information about the C.P.O.
Name
Address
City State

TOM MOONEY WITH 'GENE' DEBS ON THE RED SPECIAL IN 1908



Tom Mooney was on the famous Debs Special, 1908, helping out in the presidential campaign by selling literature, distributing leaflets and helping to run meetings along the way. Tom Mooney is standing in the doorway holding the Debs pennant. Note the streamer on the second car—Socialist Presidential Special.

Spying on Unions Cost \$80,000,000 Bosses Well Armed Against Workers

Washington—The charge that big business was spending \$80,000,000 a year on a spy system designed to frustrate collective bargaining and labor organization was made by William Green, president of the A. F. of L. in an appearance before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor this week.

President Green was supported in his contention by Hebert Blankenhorn, investigator for the National Labor Relations Board, who testified that the Liberty League had an organic connection with the Railway Audit and Inspection service, a labor espionage agency, and Federal Laboratories Inc., a munitions firm which supplies employers with their strike-breaking armaments.

It was revealed also that steel and coal combines receive their death-dealing merchandise through

an intermediary, generally the sheriff of the town in which the plant finds itself. Another ruse to keep the workers ignorant of the plans concocted by the bosses is that of having false labels placed on the crates containing gas grenades, riot guns, and revolvers.

William Rieve, president of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, and William Smith, national secretary of the same union, presented evidence showing that private detective agencies had specialized in planting spies in the ranks of their followers. In retaliation, they declared, the union had to mask some of its workers and send them into the espionage organizations to "fight fire with fire."

President Green read into the minutes of the hearing the contents of a confidential bulletin issued

FREUNDLICH RUNAWAY DOLL SHOP SUCCESSFULLY STRUCK BY UNION

After striking three days, the joiners of the Freundlich Doll factory won their demands for a 10% increase in wages and reinstatement of the five fired workers, who were audacious enough to ask for an increase in wages.

This doll factory is the one which moved to Clinton, Mass in June 1934 to escape the union conditions of the Doll and Toy Workers Union Local No. 18230. There, protected by the local Chamber of Commerce, it exploited its workers in the most miserable fashion. Its low wages and long hours drove the doll workers, unaided by any union, to demand and obtain a 10% increase in wages and a 40 hour week. But, due to the absence of any union to enforce and maintain their victory, the firm, at the beginning of 1936, was able to cut wages and increase hours to their former level.

The striking joiners, who worked for wages about 50% lower than the union scale, were aided by public sympathy. On the second day of the strike they were joined by other sections of the factory and their picketing attracted enough people to prevent Mr. Freundlich from importing scabs as he announced he would. The 40 joiners were able to effectively tie

up production so that for the duration of the strike the plant had to close.

This latest strike has had its effect, for the rest of the workers are now seeing what solidarity and collective action can accomplish. The strike plus the able and energetic leadership of Harry Evans, organizer of Federal Union No. 20090 has created a firm base for a strong and militant union. Organizer Evans is following up with an intense unionization drive which, from latest reports will be successful.

Mooney for May Day!

The United Labor May Day Committee sent a telegram this week to Governor Merriam of California, renewing the offer of last year to raise \$1,000,000 bail to allow Tom Mooney to come to New York City on May Day, to lead the May Day Parade.

Mooney is now in San Francisco for his hearings which have unearthed evidence again demonstrating his victimization at the hands of one of the foulest frame-ups in history. Behind this demand for Mooney's presence in New York stand many unions.

April 7 by the Washington Industrial Council, Inc., Seattle Division. After declaring that unions mean to move into industries in an effort to "dictate" their policies, the bulletin urges all and sundry to resist organization. From this and other evidence, Green concluded that the present open shop drive parallels that of 1920-21.

Blankenhorn made the significant disclosure that Roy S. Bostwick, a director of the Railway Audit and Inspection Co., was a law partner of Earl F. Reed, chairman of the Liberty League lawyers' sub-committee that prepared the opinion holding the Wagner Labor Disputes Act unconstitutional. He also charged that Raoul Desverme, connected with the Liberty League in an important capacity, was the attorney for the Frick Company, a United States Steel subsidiary.

The inter-relationships take on meaning when it is added that the Central Industrial Service, an affiliate of the Railway Audit and Inspection Co., furnished strike-breakers to the Frick Co.

The manner in which big companies work to avoid detection of their ammunition purchases is illustrated by the following letter which Federal Laboratories sent to Smith & Wesson, gun manufacturers.

"Confirming my telephone call to you a few months ago, I hope you will let nothing prevent your shipping out to us for the Weirton Steel Co. . . . the 47-38 Military & Police, S & W. 6-inch barrel, blue revolver.

"Send it to us, rather than to Weirton Steel; on account of their desire that their employees be not familiar with what they are doing."

At the time this was written Weirton was engaged in a bitter legal fight to prevent the National Relations Board from holding an election to determine whether the workers wanted a bona fide union. Mr. Herbert Sime, assistant solicitor of Philadelphia, corroborated from police records charges that men with criminal pasts had been used to break strikes. In one instance, at the Wanamaker strike in Philadelphia, 49 out of the 50 special guards hired by the store were later discovered to have criminal records.

A number of former industrial spies gave the Senate Committee an account of their activities.

MOONEY GREET'S LABOR PARTIES

To the Chicago and Cook County Labor Party. Tom Mooney, 31921, expressed his greetings and solidarity. Describing the present crisis as the breeder of war, Mooney called on the Labor Party to realize that "the real reason for this potential danger is the desperate condition in which the entire structure of our present anti-social capitalist system finds itself." Mooney, ardent champion and symbol of militant working class unity, advised the delegates that "... your one and only object should be the unity of all labor for the purpose of bringing to an end this unholy anti-social structure. . . ."

Both Mooney and Billings sent their "proletarian greetings of working class solidarity" to the Labor Party State Convention, recently held in Peoria, Illinois, praising the convention for its "effort to bring greater unity of political force of the only worthwhile section of our present social order." The two class-war prisoners asked that the deliberations of the convention include a resolution for their freedom.

Poor Stillman—He Can't Get Along on \$1900

That a man can starve on \$1,900 a year was argued in court this week when somebody sought to reduce the amount of the alimony he was paying.

Louis B. Stillman, attorney for Armour Ferguson, once wealthy heir to the Armour packing fortune declared that his "client has been literally starving since December 1933 his income was \$4,695, but since then it has shrunk and is now about \$1,900 a year."

Mr. Stillman did not explain whether or not his client had an enormous appetite.

RUSH

Your order for the special 12 page May Day issue of Workers Age.

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 25, 1936. No. 17

On the Threshold of Disaster

[In this issue we conclude the editorial begun last week.—Ed.]

THE BASIC AIM of the international working class in the present crisis should be the preservation of peace, the prevention of imperialist war. The continued preparation for and accomplishment of this task can be carried out on a lasting and effective basis only thru the international revolutionary action of the working class, thru the revolutionary struggle for power. In this struggle, the achievement of the revolution in France and Germany assumes overwhelming significance for the near future. Therefore, the revolutionary conquest of power must be the main aim of the struggle for the preservation of peace, the prevention of imperialist war, and for the defense of the Soviet Union. All immediate actions must today revolve around these issues.

Consequently, it follows that the working class must place the main weight of its efforts on its own independent class action. In no instance should it allow itself to become the mere appendage of a capitalist government—not even when, MOMENTARILY, the interests of the working class and those of the bourgeoisie of certain countries seem to run parallel to each other or even coincide in some definite immediate situations on the field of foreign politics. This does not mean that the working class is not concerned with, is disinterested in, the bourgeoisie government's acts of foreign policy and is to leave all such problems alone. This does mean that it is absolutely necessary for the working class to see clearly that every collective move for the preservation of peace, all sanctions, etc. made within the framework of the capitalist system, made thru the channels of the League of Nations, or thru sundry agreements among capitalist governments can, in the best of cases, serve only as a small hindrance to, or postponement of, the tendencies of imperialist aggression.

And here we stress that the working class must seek to put thru even such small hindrances to the trend toward imperialist aggression by Hitler Germany. It must exercise corresponding pressure on the bourgeois governments without thereby, even for a moment, abandoning its own proletarian class standpoint or ceasing to determine all its various actions from this standpoint. Moreover, it is necessary to underline the fact that the working class should not have any illusions over the importance of such war-delaying efforts by bourgeois governments because, in the last resort, all such attempts, insofar as they are being made by capitalist states, themselves pursue imperialist objectives.

The next aim of the working class must be to prevent Hitler from going thru with his program of preparation for an onslaught on the U.S.S.R. and an imperialist war of revenge. Furthermore, the international working class must strive to hinder French imperialism from utilizing the occasion of the re-militarization of the Rhineland for the purpose of waging an imperialist "preventive" war or to conclude such a compromise with Hitler Germany as will give it a more or less free hand for an onslaught against the Soviet Union.

Likewise it is necessary for the working class to prevent Italian imperialism from seizing this opportunity for securing its objectives in Ethiopia—objectives which it has so far failed to achieve on the field of military action. International proletarian solidarity must be pitted against all chauvinist agitation.

It is imperative that the international working class should resort to independent action for the purpose of preventing Hitler Germany from overcoming its shortage of raw materials, finished products, etc., which are directly or indirectly tied up with armaments or war purposes. This organized intervention of the proletariat can be effected thru the refusal to manufacture for or transport such supplies to Germany. To achieve this, it is imperative to have joint action by the international working class political and economic organizations. Simultaneously with such independent working class action, the proletariat should exercise mass pressure on the various capitalist governments for the same purpose.

In line with this, the international working class, as an integral part of a general anti-war and anti-imperialist program, should make a demand on the League of Nations and the powers involved in the Locarno pact to impose effective sanctions against Hitler Germany for its activities leading to an attack on the U.S.S.R. and to an imperialist war of revenge. The objective of such sanctions is to help defend the Soviet Union and to force Hitler Germany to keep the peace. With equal energy must international labor fight against all moves towards a so-called "preventive" war which is likewise imperialist and which only facilitates Hitler's preparations for attack.

A prominent place in the tasks confronting international labor in its struggle for peace is the vigorous moral and material support of the German working class in its fight against the Hitler dictatorship. The struggle against chauvinism should be fought on a concrete basis and bound up with fraternal actions between the proletariat of Germany and the workers of the other countries. We must demand an end to all imperialist treaties, the right of self-determination to be accorded to all peoples. We should set up as our goal the economic re-organization of Europe on a socialist foundation. In this fashion we will be able to defeat the chauvinist propaganda of the Nazis in Germany and to take the wind out of their sails.

Not even the slightest concession should be made to Italian imperialism in its attempt to conquer Ethiopia, in its attempts to utilize the present aggravated situation in Europe for its imperialist objectives in Africa.

The capitalists and their governments are to be made to pay the workers for all losses suffered by them—in the event that economic sanctions are imposed on Germany. Our entire struggle against imperialist treaties, for genuine self-determination of peoples, should have, running thru it like a red thread, the aim of the working class

SIGNIFICANCE OF IRISH REVOLT

By N. LENIN

On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the heroic Easter rising in Ireland in April 1916, we publish below the most important paragraphs of that section of Lenin's article on "The Results of the Discussion on Self-Determination" published in Sozialdemokrat October 1916.—THE EDITOR.

The War has been a period of crisis for the vast European nations, for imperialism as a whole. Every war makes away with all conventionalities, it brushes aside all pretensions, sloughs off the outlived, and uncovers the more deep-seated motive forces. What has it taught us from the standpoint of the movement of the oppressed nations? In the colonies there has occurred a whole series of attempted uprisings—the use of which the oppressing nations have tried in every way to suppress with the aid of the military censorship in Europe it reached the stage of an Irish uprising which the "freedom-loving" Englishmen tried to "pacify" thru executions.

WAR AND NATIONAL REVOLUTION

All of these facts show that the flames of national uprisings have flared up in connection with the crisis of imperialism not only in the colonies but also in Europe, and that national sympathies and antipathies have succeeded in

coming to expression in spite of all threats and draconic repression. At that time, the crisis of imperialism was still far removed from the stage of its highest development—the power of the imperialist bourgeoisie had not yet been overcome (the war "to a finish" can bring that about; at present it has not yet gone that far). Proletarian movements are still very weak in the imperialist states. But what will take place if the war leads to full exhaustion or if the power of the bourgeoisie is shaken under the blows of the proletarian struggle, as happened to the power of Czarsism in 1905?

WAS THE EASTER RISING A PUTSCH?

In the Beiner Tagwach (May 9, 1916) there appeared, on the occasion of the Irish uprising, an article signed with the initials K. R. under the title: The Song Is Over! In this article the Irish uprising is tersely disposed of as a "putsch" on the following basis: "The Irish question was an agrarian question," the peasants were conciliated with reforms, the nationalist movement then became "a purely urban petty-bourgeois movement with very slim social support in spite of the great noise it made." Is it any wonder that this monstrous estimation of the Irish uprising, with its pedantry and its doctrinarism, happens to

agree with the estimation of the Russian national-liberal, the Cadet, A. Kulscher who branded the uprising as the "Dublin putsch?"

In the scientific sense of the term, a "putsch" can only mean an attempt at uprising that is the work of a small circle of conspirators or lunatics, evoking no sympathy whatever among the masses. The Irish national movement, with centuries behind it, has already passed thru many historical stages, involving varying relations of class interests. It found an expression in the well-represented Irish National Congress in America which came out for the independence of Ireland. It found expression in street battles involving part of the urban petty-bourgeoisie and a section of the workers, after a long period of continued agitation among the masses, after demonstrations, after the prohibition of papers, etc. Those who can term such a rising a putsch are either the worst kind of reactionaries or hopeless doctrinaires, incapable of imagining the social revolution as a living phenomenon.

To assume the possibility of a socialist revolution without risings of small nations in the colonies and without revolutionary outbursts of the petty bourgeoisie, with all their prejudices, without (Continued on Page 8)

MARX ON IRELAND

More and more have I come to the conclusion—and it is only necessary to knock it into the English working class—that it (the English working class) will never be able to do anything decisive here until it breaks in the most determined manner with the Irish policy of the ruling classes, until it makes common cause with the Irish, indeed until it takes the initiative in the dissolution of the union of 1801. And this should be done not out of sympathy for Ireland, but in the interests of the English proletariat. If this is not done, then the English people will remain attached to the apron strings of the ruling classes making common cause with them against Ireland. . . . The first condition of emancipation here—the overthrow of the English land oligarchy—remains impossible for its positions here cannot be stormed as long as it maintains its hold upon its strongly entrenched positions in Ireland. There, however, just as soon as the matter is put into the hands of the Irish people themselves, just as soon as it is made its own legislator and ruler, just as soon as it becomes autonomous, the destruction of the landed aristocracy (largely the same persons as the English landlords) is infinitely easier than here, because in Ireland it is not simply an economic problem but also a national

question, the landlords there not being, as in England, traditional dignitaries and national representatives, but bitterly hated national oppressors. . . . The English Republic under Cromwell founded on—Ireland. Non bis in idem! (Not twice the same way.—Editor) Letter to Kugelmann, November 29, 1869.

5. Question of the Resolution of the General Council on Irish Amnesty.

England is the bulwark of European landlordism and capitalism; the point where official England can be hit hardest is Ireland. For Ireland is the bulwark of English landlordism. If it falls in Ireland, it must fall in England.

lines of the Franco-Soviet pact. In underground Germany the workers must expose the war plans of Hitler, the provocations made by the Nazis leading to another world war and the inevitable catastrophe for the country. Preparations must be made to utilize a war by Hitler for the purpose of destroying his regime. In the event of the application of sanctions against Germany and Hitler's consequent attempt to fan the flames of chauvinism against the other countries, the German proletariat must put all blame on the Nazi dictatorship for the suffering and develop a mighty wave of hatred to drown out Hitlerism.

Finally, we in the U. S. must do our all to prevent the further shipment of war supplies to Hitler Germany. We must be on guard against the extension of credits to Germany. The labor movement must disassociate itself completely from the attempts of Wall Street to play "neutral" in order to cover its aim of seeking to profit thru a war in Europe by continuing its business with Hitler Germany. Last but not least, the American working class must take the lead in lending material aid to the German proletariat in its fight against the Hitler plague. The American labor movement should render an inspiring and decisive service to the international working class by taking the active lead in fostering international unity of action among the working classes of the world.

lines of the Franco-Soviet pact. In underground Germany the workers must expose the war plans of Hitler, the provocations made by the Nazis leading to another world war and the inevitable catastrophe for the country. Preparations must be made to utilize a war by Hitler for the purpose of destroying his regime. In the event of the application of sanctions against Germany and Hitler's consequent attempt to fan the flames of chauvinism against the other countries, the German proletariat must put all blame on the Nazi dictatorship for the suffering and develop a mighty wave of hatred to drown out Hitlerism.

Finally, we in the U. S. must do our all to prevent the further shipment of war supplies to Hitler Germany. We must be on guard against the extension of credits to Germany. The labor movement must disassociate itself completely from the attempts of Wall Street to play "neutral" in order to cover its aim of seeking to profit thru a war in Europe by continuing its business with Hitler Germany. Last but not least, the American working class must take the lead in lending material aid to the German proletariat in its fight against the Hitler plague. The American labor movement should render an inspiring and decisive service to the international working class by taking the active lead in fostering international unity of action among the working classes of the world.

Maximum pressure must be brought to bear by the English proletariat on the Baldwin government to force it to discontinue its flirtations with the tacit support of Hitler's war maneuvers. There can be no action too sharp or too vigorous to paralyze the attempts of the British capitalists and the illusions of the pacifists and conservative labor leaders to come to some compromise with Hitler, obviously at the expense of the U.S.S.R., in order to secure peace in central and western Europe. All avenues for securing credits and war supplies in England must be closed to Hitler. British labor should insist on the government signing a mutual assistance pact with the Soviet Union along the

AT FIRST GLANCE

By Jay Lovestone

THE GROWING decay of the social and economic system in the U. S. is revealed not only in the disastrous permanent unemployment but in the very nature of a good number of the remedies offered for the cure of the ills of the system. The process of disintegration is likewise glaringly exposed in the way certain remedies offered are turned into grand rackets netting handsome rewards of sundry sorts and kinds to the "leaders and executives" of the organizations boosting and "selling" these remedies. This particular evidence of the degeneration of the bourgeois social order is a peculiar American expression of a world-wide phenomenon. The word "racket" is America's real gift to the pathology of world capitalism, in this sense.

Specifically, we have in mind the revelations of the Congressional investigation of the Townsend movement. Of course, we are aware of the fact that this snooping committee is not interested in purity, in honesty, in integrity per se. The cross between a mule and a monkey, parading as the average Congressman, does not know what these "animals" look like. It is as clear as broad daylight that this Congressional Committee is now exposing the fraud and dishonesty permeating the Townsend movement in order to discredit the idea of social insurance, in order to weaken the ardor of great masses of the middle class and the working class for old age pensions and social insurance in general. By doing this, the Democratic soldons hope to remove forces which may become potential agents for disturbing the chances of Roosevelt's victory in November. The same strategy has been and will be pursued against others falling into this category.

However, the fact that the Roosevelt machine, for one reason or another, pounds away at some organization does not in itself serve as a cause for labor, especially revolutionary labor, springing to the defense of such organizations. We must never fail to look at the picture in full. The fact of the matter is that Dr. Townsend and his partners have made a business, in short, a racket out of the idea of old age pensions. Very likely there is much truth in the accusations made by the pro-Townsend faction against George E. Highley, head of Club 93 Los Angeles, the biggest unit of Townsend movement. With equal certainty one can conclude in advance that there will be much truth in the counter-charges that Highley will make. The writer has gotten a whiff of the case presented by both factions. It is a classical case of the war between the pot and the kettle—with the atmosphere extremely malodorous.

Labor must fight for social legislation, but it must steer clear of all fly-by-night rackets, emanating from decadent and corrupt middle class sources. Otherwise, labor will render incalculable damage to the sound ideas underlying progressive social legislation. It will be compelled to defend the indefensible instead of fighting for the practical and progressive.

One drawback, however, is the bill's insistence that to be eligible one must have resided in the United States for five years prior to application for compensation.

A BILL which would stamp out professional strike-breaking organizations operating on a national scale was reported out favorably by the House Judiciary Committee. Byrnes is the author of the measure which has already passed through the Senate.

The bill, prohibiting the transportation in interstate commerce of anyone employed to interfere

with peaceful picketing or collective bargaining, does not pretend to affect intra-state strike-breaking agencies. This is a serious limitation.

The KERR-COOLIDGE Immigration bill, hailed by many as a liberal measure, is not nearly what it is cracked up to be. Under certain conditions, such as good moral character or the possession of a spouse who is legally resident in the United States, an alien may at the discretion of an interdepartmental committee take out naturalization papers. This applies even when the alien is in the country illegally, overstaying a non-immigrant or visitors' visa. Everything, however, hinges upon the "public interest."

Those who are "guilty" of "subversive political activity" are excluded at the very outset from the benefit of this law. Not only are "anarchists and communists" classified with ordinary criminals, but it is expressly declared that the phrase "in the public interest" can "by no possibility be applied to anarchists, communists . . . or the immoral classes."

The commission of a crime involving moral turpitude, a broad term covering a multitude of "sins" such as picketing and organizing labor, makes a person liable to immediate deportation "irrespective of whether a sentence is imposed."

THE FEDERAL order recently issued against all further export of tin-plate scrap is an event of far greater diplomatic import than all the vapors about

"peace and friendship among nations" which Secretary of State Hull has been wishing upon us since his entrance into the cabinet. It shows the following: First, the U. S. government fears a further strengthening of Japanese military and naval might. An extremely large part of the metal exported has gone to Japan. The latter uses scrap tin as an alloy in manufacturing armor plate and similar war supplies, with Manchurian iron ores as the basis. Apparently, the U. S. is disturbed by Japanese naval plans and the growing consumption of armor plate by the Nipponese warship builders. Secondly, it discloses the fact that the U. S. entertains the belief that war in the Far East is much closer than most observers hold just now. Otherwise, the Federal government would not interfere with the flow of fabulous profits which the Philadelphia and Reading metal export corporations have been enjoying. Thirdly, it manifests a desire on the part of the government to start amassing all immediate war supplies and thus strengthen itself for the impending conflict into which the U. S. will be drawn, regardless of how many neutrality laws Congress may enact and how many "keep us out of war" speeches the President of the U. S. will make.

Finally, it indicates that the Washington administration feels that the likelihood of war breaking out on a big and respectable scale in Europe or in the Far East is potentially much more serious in an immediate sense than the dispatches from over there would indicate. We must never lose sight of the fact that economic difficulties at home may compel Hitler to lead Germany into a war even before it is completely prepared. Much of this sort of inspiration motivated Italian imperialism's onslaught against the Ethiopians.

But that's neither here nor there. More important is it that Green saw fit to execute a shift in the course of this speech. "The public mind," says Green, "has become confused because it has been led to believe that there is an issue in the American Federation of Labor as to whether it shall espouse and apply the craft or industrial form of organization. There is no such issue."

Now everyone must admit that's news. What, we'd like to know, was Bill Green doing during the last A. F. of L. convention? Shadow boxing? And how did it come that Hutcherson suddenly found himself under the table, during the convention with a severe pain in the jaw? Did he slip and fall when John L. passed his table?

But a close application reveals that Green wants us to believe not that there was no fight but that it was an unjustified fight. Now that is different. It turns out that John L. Lewis, David Dubinsky, Sidney Hillman, Charles Howard, and others, out of sheer enmity or downright hellishness suddenly began to act up. Or as Green puts it, they began "singing a song of hate." Again there is a deep unexplained secret. If industrial unionism is not the issue then how does it come that these leaders of labor, long associated with the top leadership of the A. F. of L. suddenly go berserk and start raising hell?

If it is so easily proven that industrial unionism is not the issue then why, Brother Green, your extreme condition of "nerves" every time C-I-O is pronounced in your presence, why do you shout "rebellion" and issue mandatory orders against fraternizing with the CIO? Why do you order it dissolved? Isn't it true that if it's a false issue it won't take among the membership? You fear makes us suspect the validity of your whole case.

Suspicion becomes conviction when we see that the International to which belongs "He Who Got Slapped" issues an order, printed in the April issue of "The Carpenter," ordering the expulsion of every member of the Brotherhood, caught agitating industrial unionism. The reason given is that to hold such beliefs means to be disloyal to the Brotherhood as constituted at present. The order is a sort of "Sedition Law." All that's needed now is the organization of groups of snooters or, better still, Vigilantes, to run down these enemies of the established order in the A. F. of L. Who is "singing a song of hate?"

Again, Green resorts to some

In addition to this ominous provision, the bill authorizes employees of the Immigration and Naturalization service to detain aliens without a warrant.

The Senate Immigration Committee has already approved the bill.

Highly edifying at a time when Victor L. Ridder, Works Progress Administrator, contemplates firing 40,000 unemployed off the W.P.A. rolls is the information that there are more jobless people not on the relief rolls than there are on.

The best informed statisticians estimate the number of unemployed not on relief at about 450,000, as against 433,512 on the rolls in February.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

ISN'T IT peculiar, I am asked, that William Green should choose the New Leader dinner to open up his heart on the question of industrial unionism? The answer to that one is that Bill looked for a sympathetic audience to spill his tale of woe and found it. No one could possibly have been more sympathetic than the Oneals, Cahans, Waldmans and Lees. Defeated by the registered socialist voters in the primaries, from which they expected much, they could easily shed a tear for their own as well as other people's misfortunes. Besides it is not unlikely that a little harmless tinge of pink is not such bad strategy when "red revolution," of the John L. Lewis brand, stalks the A. F. of L.

But that's neither here nor there. More important is it that Green saw fit to execute a shift in the course of this speech. "The public mind," says Green, "has become confused because it has been led to believe that there is an issue in the American Federation of Labor as to whether it shall espouse and apply the craft or industrial form of organization. There is no such issue."

Now everyone must admit that's news. What, we'd like to know, was Bill Green doing during the last A. F. of L. convention? Shadow boxing? And how did it come that Hutcherson suddenly found himself under the table, during the convention with a severe pain in the jaw? Did he slip and fall when John L. passed his table?

But a close application reveals that Green wants us to believe not that there was no fight but that it was an unjustified fight. Now that is different. It turns out that John L. Lewis, David Dubinsky, Sidney Hillman, Charles Howard, and others, out of sheer enmity or downright hellishness suddenly began to act up. Or as Green puts it, they began "singing a song of hate." Again there is a deep unexplained secret. If industrial unionism is not the issue then how does it come that these leaders of labor, long associated with the top leadership of the A. F. of L. suddenly go berserk and start raising hell?

If it is so easily proven that industrial unionism is not the issue then why, Brother Green, your extreme condition of "nerves" every time C-I-O is pronounced in your presence, why do you shout "rebellion" and issue mandatory orders against fraternizing with the CIO? Why do you order it dissolved? Isn't it true that if it's a false issue it won't take among the membership? You fear makes us suspect the validity of your whole case.

Suspicion becomes conviction when we see that the International to which belongs "He Who Got Slapped" issues an order, printed in the April issue of "The Carpenter," ordering the expulsion of every member of the Brotherhood, caught agitating industrial unionism. The reason given is that to hold such beliefs means to be disloyal to the Brotherhood as constituted at present. The order is a sort of "Sedition Law." All that's needed now is the organization of groups of snooters or, better still, Vigilantes, to run down these enemies of the established order in the A. F. of L. Who is "singing a song of hate?"

Again, Green resorts to some

In addition to this ominous provision, the bill authorizes employees of the Immigration and Naturalization service to detain aliens without a warrant.

The Senate Immigration Committee has already approved the bill.

Highly edifying at a time when Victor L. Ridder, Works Progress Administrator, contemplates firing 40,000 unemployed off the W.P.A. rolls is the information that there are more jobless people not on the relief rolls than there are on.

The best informed statisticians estimate the number of unemployed not on relief at about 450,000, as against 433,512 on the rolls in February.

Unemployed Ranks Grow

Highly edifying at a time when Victor L. Ridder, Works Progress Administrator, contemplates firing 40,000 unemployed off the W.P.A. rolls is the information that there are more jobless people not on the relief rolls than there are on.

The best informed statisticians estimate the number of unemployed not on relief at about 450,000, as against 433,512 on the rolls in February.

Unemployed Ranks Grow

In the International Labor Movement

BANKRUPTCY OF PEOPLE'S FRONT

By WILL HERBERG

(Continued from last issue)

The practise of the People's Front flows directly from the theory. The first law of the People's Front is: Avoid anything and everything that may alienate our bourgeois allies, for if you lose them, all is lost! The official program of the People's Front is inevitably the program of the bourgeois liberals, since, in the very nature of the case, it can include only what is acceptable to these gentlemen. Consequently the bourgeois liberals always have the political hegemony in the People's Front—not in numbers, of course, nor even in direction but in what is most important, in their ability to set the political tone of the movement, to endow it with their own political color, to set impassable limits for it. In the People's Front the workers parties are veritable prisoners; upon them falls the "duty" of curbing the activities of the masses, of keeping them within the bounds prescribed by the bourgeois allies. All serious mass action, not to speak of revolutionary action, must be avoided or suppressed, for any such action would certainly alienate our liberal friends. Need we recall the part played by German social-democracy in 1931 and 1932 or shall we point to present-day France, to the disgraceful policy of calculated passivity of both socialist and communist parties in the face of the emergency economic decrees of the Laval and Sarraut cabinets?

Just about twenty-five years ago, that astute and experienced leader, August Bebel, delivered some pretty sound common sense on the subject of political alliances between proletarian and bourgeois parties. "If I, as a social-democrat," he said in 1910 at the Magdeburg congress of the German social-democracy, "enter into an alliance with bourgeois parties, you may wager a thousand to one that not the social-democrats but the bourgeois parties will be the gainers thereby. We will certainly be the losers. . . . If I enter into friendly political relations with a party fundamentally opposed to mine, I must necessarily adapt my tactics, that is, my method of struggle, so as to prevent the alliance from going to pieces. In other words, I cannot criticize as I like. I can no longer fight in accordance with my principles, for this would offend my new allies. I am forced to be silent, to cover many things with a mantle of charity, to justify many acts that cannot be justified, to whitewash what should not be, to whetwashed."

In the long run, the systematic prosecution of the policy of the People's Front means the political disarmament and demoralization of the proletariat, for every form of really independent class action is thereby denied to it. The labor movement stands helpless, imposing in its numbers and appearance of strength, perhaps, but futile and ineffective under its self-imposed curbs. Unable to act boldly and decisively for itself, the working class is therefore also unable to inspire and to lead the petty bourgeois and peasant masses. Their interests, too, are sacrificed to the idol of the People's Front, for no one is more bitterly opposed to any genuine, radical reform of the conditions of the toiling people than precisely the liberal parties and the lower middle classes become disillusioned, resentful at being left in the lurch; they grow discouraged, apathetic or even hostile to the working class. In short they become fit prey for the fascists or the reactionary dema-

gogues of the right. Such is the objective role of the People's Front—designed to consolidate the proletariat and intensify its fighting power, it can only demoralize it and destroy its class independence; designed to win the support of the middle classes, it can only alienate them and drive them in to the arms of reaction!

In Spain the People's Front runs true to form. Its program is probably the most miserable specimen of its kind. It is not even progressive; it is a program reflecting the more conservative aspects of traditional bourgeois liberalism. Of the draft originally advanced by the Communist Party of Spain as the very "minimum" for a Spanish People's Front (Rundschau, January 16, 1936)—in which there was at least the demand for the confiscation of the large estates—virtually nothing was able to find its way into the final program as adopted (Rundschau, January 23, 1936). So much fantastic nonsense is being written about this People's Front program that it will be instructive, perhaps, to list some of its main points:

- 1. amnesty—the restoration of civil rights—the rehiring of all workers discharged for their part in the October 1934 insurrection.
2. the reestablishment of the Constitution and of constitutional guarantees—"the principle of authority (of the state) is declared in all its vigor"—the guarantee of the "independence" of the courts.
3. no confiscation of the large landed estates, no nationalization of the land—instead, petty land reforms, such as lower taxes, reduction of rents and fees, easier farm commodities, etc.
4. no nationalization of the banks—instead, "improvement in state supervision."
5. no workers control of industry—instead, legislation for higher wages, etc.
6. no government unemployment relief (dole)—instead, public works and the "unification of private welfare agencies under state supervision."
7. the "autonomous principle of the Constituent Cortes."
8. foreign policy to be conducted within the League of Nations.

The Hegemony of Bourgeois Liberalism

What is this but the official compilation of all the shabby, outworn prejudices of the bourgeois republicans, the men of yesterday? And what sort of movement is it that can boast of such a program? Is it not organically bourgeois in character, and thoroly conservative into the bargain, despite the preponderance of the workers organizations in number and power? Does not the People's Front in fact establish the political hegemony of bourgeois liberalism over the proletarian movement?

The program, that is, the political essence, of the People's Front in Spain is not in the least radical, not in the least revolutionary. And I do not here refer to socialism; I refer to something much more elementary—the bourgeois-democratic revolution. By virtue of its very class character, the Spanish liberal bourgeoisie fears a genuine and thoroughgoing bourgeois-democratic revolution, (which in the first place means an agrarian revolution), more than anything else in the world. In the anti-revolutionary program of the People's Front, the liberals see their best safeguard against such a revolution, or rather their best instrument in curbing its development so as to prevent it from going "too far," which means, from really getting started at all. Thru the

People's Front, the liberals hold the workers parties hostage, robbing them of their class independence and converting them into a passive and unwilling support for their own conservative course.

"Deplorable Disturbances"

A deeply significant incident of recent occurrence will help to make this clear. On March 26, 60,000 peasants and farm laborers of Badajoz took possession of the large estates in that region and divided the land amidst shouts of: "Long live the workers' republic!" For the peasants, of course, this was the very essence of the election victory of February 16 and of the expropriation of the grandes, the return of the land to the toilers. But the Azana regime took an altogether different view of the matter; to it, the action of the peasants constituted a "deplorable disturbance," an "outburst of anarchy," which had to be put down, by persuasion if possible, by force if necessary. In all this there is really nothing novel. In every bourgeois revolution since 1789, the liberals always counseled the peasantry to be docile and law-abiding, to refrain from laying hands on property that was "not theirs," to await patiently the "scientific" agrarian reforms that the new regime would promulgate in its own good time and after mature deliberation. And every bourgeois revolution since 1789 has shown conclusively that the only way the peasants ever got land was by taking it themselves and that only such direct action of the masses ever forced any concessions or reforms out of the new bourgeois masters. Marat well understood these plain truths and proclaimed them with his characteristic revolutionary intransigence.

Liberals or Peasants?

What is new in the Spanish situation is the attitude of the workers parties of the People's Front, especially of the communists and left socialists. In Russia the whole burden of Bolshevik agitation was for the peasants not to wait for the Constituent Assembly to enact the promised reforms, as the provisional government insisted, but to settle the "land question" themselves, in their own way, by their own direct mass action. In Russia the Bolsheviks devoted themselves to fanning the flames of popular indignation against the efforts of the liberal regime to suppress the peasant outbreaks. And in Spain? In Spain Azana, as was to be expected of him, sent detachments of storm police and Civil Guards against the peasants of Badajoz, forcing them to surrender the land they had taken. But the workers parties, instead of championing the cause of the peasants and denouncing the Azana regime for its reactionary repressions in the interests of the grandes, remained curiously tongue-tied. Of course, they have always been in favor of the confiscation of the land—and they say so in their press—but, after all, what can they do? They are in the People's Front, whose outstanding spokesman is Azana. Azana is their ally; with him they share a common program; for him they have taken responsibility in the eyes of the masses. Nor can they reproach him with a breach of faith, for the very People's Front program on which the alliance was consummated deliberately rejects the confiscation of the big estates in favor of a few petty reforms. In suppressing peasant outbreaks Azana is merely carrying out the program of the People's Front—and how can the socialists and communists say one

word against him, as long as they persist in maintaining the People's Front? Here we see the People's Front in all its ugly reality—for the sake of an alliance with a handful of liberal demagogues and politicians, the workers parties seem ready to sacrifice the interests and support of the peasantry and to condone the stultification of the revolution!

"Popular Excesses" and the Liberal Regime

The "incident" is but one of a multitude of mass outbreaks of peasants and workers to which the official press has always given the name of "popular excesses." The seizure of land, the great mass demonstrations and "riots," the burning of churches and the palaces of the grandes, the rough treatment of the most hated figures of the old regime, these acts which have been the accompaniment of every bourgeois revolution since the dawn of modern history, have naturally been occurring all over Spain in the weeks following February 16. The bourgeois liberals have reacted in their characteristic manner: for them the main problem is to "pacify" the masses—by honeyed words as well as by "harsher measures," judiciously applied, at both of which Azana is no mean hand. As for the workers parties, debellified by their newfound allies, their official spokesmen have exhibited the most acute embarrassment at the "impulsive" behavior of their own followers. They attempt to disavow the actions that so shock the bourgeois apostles of "law and order"; they berate the revolutionary masses for the "irresponsibility" and counsel them to "discipline" and "patience"; they even contribute their share in the work of "pacification." After a conference between the Premier and Mr. Largo Caballero, runs a New York Times dispatch of March 13, "it was announced that no more street demonstrations or public meetings to celebrate election victories would be authorized. The order applied to plans by socialist farm laborers who intended to hold monster demonstrations in Madrid and in all provincial capitals Sunday in favor of immediate parceling of the grandes estates." And when the government comes to apply the "harsher measures" against the masses, these tribunes of the people have only a few formal words of protest to offer!

After all, what else can the workers parties do, situated as they are? Those who dominate the regime are their allies, their partners in the People's Front. The joint program of the People's Front certainly does not countenance any such "excesses" on the part of the people; on the contrary, it deliberately speaks of maintaining the "authority" of the state "in all its vigor." How, then, can the socialists and communists raise a finger in effective protest against the repression of these "excesses"—as long as they persist in maintaining the People's Front?

The Revolutionary Significance of "Popular Excesses"

But the matter goes even deeper. These "excesses" are not merely outbursts of revolutionary exuberance on the part of the people. They are something much more fundamental and significant—they constitute the very warp and woof of the revolution. Just as the agrarian revolution is constituted precisely of the "spontaneous" and "unauthorized" seizure of land by the peasantry, so is the bourgeois revolution as a whole constituted of the "spontaneous" and "unauthorized" direct mass actions of the people in general. These "excesses" are, in fact, the prime mover of the revolution. Long ago, that great "friend of the people," J. P. Marat, uttered this unforgettable truth:

"Consider the activity of the National Assembly (dominated

BOSSES REPAY POLICE SERVICE

The police did such "good" work in its strike last summer that Bickford's Inc., operator of a large chain of cafeterias bearing the same name, sent a \$2,000 donation to the Police Relief Fund out of gratitude, it was learned here this week.

The check was forwarded to Police Commissioner Lewis J. Valentine by S. L. Bickford, president of the corporation, and has been accepted.

"Our management committee desires at this time to acknowledge to you the splendid work of the Police Department during the labor trouble experienced by the company during the summer just past," Mr. Bickford wrote in a covering letter. "While their praise is wholehearted for all of the department who so efficiently cooperated during this trouble, they feel a special word of praise should be given Captain Curry, connected with the Eighteenth Precinct, and Captain Challan, connected with the Fourteenth Precinct."

The strike to which Mr. Bickford so euphemistically refers involved more than 100 employees of Bickford's commissary department, struck last May when 35 workers were discharged for their affiliation with the Cafeteria Workers' Union, Local 110.

At the time Sidney E. Cohn counsel for the union, charged the police with making wholesale and unjustified arrests. Even the Court of Special Sessions dismissed a group of strikers brought in for unlawful assembly.

by the moderate bourgeoisie—W. H.) and you will see that it becomes active only after a rising of the people, that good laws are introduced only after a riot but that the moment peace is restored bad laws are passed." To obviate or to suppress "popular excesses" means to deprive the revolution of all its active content; it means to rob the revolution of that elemental force thru which alone it can move forward, thru which alone it can bring the workers some share of its fruits!

"People's Front"—Liquidator of the Revolution

How could the communists and the revolutionary socialists have possibly let themselves be manoeuvred into such an intolerable position where they are actually being used by the bourgeois regime as an instrument in the "pacification" of the masses, that is, in the virtual liquidation of the revolution? The bitter truth is that they are captives of the People's Front, bound hand and foot by it, utterly unable to give any independent lead to the masses, to develop that clarity of aim and disciplined leadership so sorely needed in Spain today!

To appreciate how monstrously false is the whole strategy of the People's Front, let us think back to what such tactics would have meant in Russia in 1917. Let us conjure up the vision of a programmatic block, a united front, of the Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks, the Socialist-Revolutionists (Left and Right) and other socialist groups together with the bourgeois liberals, all in support of the provisional government headed by Milyukoff!

What would have been the prospects of the Russian Revolution had the Bolsheviks followed a policy such as this? What, then, are the prospects of the Spanish Revolution as long as the tactics of the People's Front are maintained?

(In his next article Will Herberg will discuss the subject: "The Tasks of the Workers Parties in the Spanish Revolution."—Editor)

BOOKS of the AGE

I WAS A SOVIET WORKER. By Andrew Smith. E. P. Dutton, 1936, \$3.00

Reviewed by LEE MASON If this book is any index to the man and I have no reason to believe it is not, Andrew Smith is a most unbalanced person. He writes with such poorly concealed animus that one is inclined to dismiss his book lightly, with a few choice words of disgust. However, I shall give the devil his due in spite of his provocation.

For him the Soviet Union looms as a monstrosity. He cannot—and will not—understand why horse dung is thrown on the country roads instead of being used to fertilize the needy fields. As an experienced mechanic he cannot bear the sight of precious machinery being allowed to gather rust. The sanatoria are hotbeds of vice. Gay Payoo officers live in luxurious dwellings, enjoying the rarest delicacies, while the utarunks must suffer miserably, piled one upon the other in bare, friendless barracks. The picture that he paints is indescribably lurid.

Most of his charges require no refutation. Duranty and Denny, with their statistics on harvest yields and descriptions of peasant life, give the lie to his statement that there is mass starvation. As for his self-righteous accusation—he claims to have been a Party member for thirteen years—that there are definite gradations in Soviet society owing to wage difficulties continued over a long period of time, the answer of the Russian comrades more than suffices. "Today, when we are building Socialism," they declare, "everybody must be paid according to his knowledge and his skill. When Socialism is realized they everybody will be compensated according to his need."

Generally speaking, "I Was a Soviet Worker" sounds like a nightmare. Smith must be in a very violent condition.

WHY KEEP THEM ALIVE? By Paul De Kruij. Harcourt, Brace, 293 pp. \$3.00.

(Reviewed by Bertram D. Wolfe) This is far and above the best of the Paul de Kruij books. To his talent for dramatic popularization of medical research and discovery as displayed in "Microbe Hunters", "Hunger Fighters" and "Men Against Death", he has added a sudden growth in social insight and understanding. This gives a new depth and a new intensity to his hitherto facile and superficial medical dramas.

For years De Kruij has been telling people about the wonderful achievements of science. With all these triumphs the world should have become rapidly a healthier and happier place. But to De Kruij's astonishment and horror he discovered that "as the wages of the workers began to dribble down to next to nothing . . . the rate of dying began to crawl upward." Then he began to discover other correlations between poverty and disease. Ezra Pound wrote to him pointing out that he "apparently knew nothing of a man-made cause of dying that was more murderous than all the swarming visible billions of man-killing microbes put together . . . that cause was poverty."

He had the courage to investigate his own facile assumption that science could conquer disease for humanity in such a society. He questioned his own optimistic balley-hoo. "What the devil was the use of my making an excellent living going on telling about excellent living discoveries when I knew that thousands were dying simply because they hadn't the wherewithal to pay for them? . . . that

LOSING THEIR CHAINS by James Sand

Morris Hillquit: The Self-Made Man as Socialist

IN MORRIS HILLQUIT were contained the most glaring errors of social democracy: philosophical, methodological and personal. Philosophically he was an anti-materialist, a Berkleyan idealist; methodologically, he was a bourgeois parliamentarian and compromiser with capitalism; personally, he sought wealth, prestige, and ruling-class status and achieved all three. As a philosopher, he turned out to be a mere emulating popularizer; as a tactician he adhered to Kautskyan revision and belief that reform was the road to socialism; as an individual he became renowned as an exceptionally able lawyer and was hailed as a great American legislator.

As a young man he had a feeling for the proletariat and a living knowledge of what they suffered from the oppressions of capitalism. Morris Hillquit wanted above all things to believe that he was a revolutionist. He died fighting the Third International and damning Lenin as a fanatic. America had given him so much of its insinuating debility that he lost the fire that a young Jewish boy named Morris Hillquit had once had. His professional reputation as one of the ablest, if not the ablest, bourgeois lawyer of his time, never gave him any surcease from the later disillusionment with his position as a force in social democracy. He knew how easy it was to play the game legalistic against the philosophic infants who masked as jurists, and he knew that it was all becoming a game with him—a game at which he was so proficient that he had lost all interest in his accomplishments in it.

There has been an opinion current in socialistic circles in America that Morris Hillquit was a philosopher and social scientist of no little ability. A reading of his works will dispell that delusion. To be a constructive thinker on social problems, one must first come to grips with important ontological issues, as Marx did in his criticism of Hegel, and as Lenin did in Materialism and Empirio-Criticism. Hillquit was a novice in this field. He has the customary misconception of all social democrats that a materialistic philosophy somehow degrades human nature, as if what really motivates men is not discovered by the scientist but concocted out of whole cloth. Such idealistic conceptions (which are today hotly defended in America by Norman Thomas) ultimately become preoccupied with empty concepts, and not with things and objects and events, and lead the theorist to speculating upon the achievement of Nirvana. In short, Morris Hillquit never knew what was really happening in the "substructure." He complains that materialism is not an adequate philosophy. By which he can only mean that he does not wish to believe that what happens does happen.

This rejection of materialism leads, in the politico-economic field, to the prostitution of socialism to that false democracy to which capitalism pays such obsequious lip-service. Thus, Hillquit in his book, Present-Day Socialism, can make this absurd remark: "In the extraordinarily difficult conditions under which the Soviet government has been operating, it has often been compelled to deviate from the principles and ideals of pure Social Democracy." As if Lenin claimed to be putting into practice the washed-out opportunism of the Second International! And yet, close onto this remark there occurs the statement that the Soviet government "has vindicated the claims of international Socialism as a living and driving force." To be sure it did, but Hillquit conceals the fact that it was not his brand of international Socialism that was being vindicated.

THE FEDERATED LABOR PARTY

This is the last story we received from William Moriarty, who died last week, in Toronto, Canada.—Ed.

The East York Workers' Association is nominally a section of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (the CCF). We say nominally because only two hundred of its membership of 1500 are affiliated to the CCF. The partial incorporation was the method used to hold the EYWA to the Ontario provincial body when the latter abandoned the principle of federation two years ago. It is important to note too, that individual membership in the Ontario CCF was the desperate step resorted to in order to lop off those troublesome trade unions and workers, groups which battled to preserve some class approach to the social problems which cropped up right and left following the financial crash.

The EYWA has been having its

troubles of late. These have been due to the healthy growing pains of a mass organization striving to advance the interests of its membership, when in common with the rest of the workers who are on relief, they are confronted with cuts in relief scales. Too often, the Workers Association has found the very natural political backwardness of the masses to drag upon its legitimate desires to advance. Obviously the EYWA, with its distinctly proletarian membership featured by a militancy quite foreign to the CCF in general, (relief strike, participation in hunger marches, virtual imprisonment of the welfare council for hours until the demands were met, etc.) finds itself confronted with the question of what next? An attempt was made by some comrades to answer this question by presenting a resolution calling for the EYWA to go to the imminent provincial con-

vention of the CCF with a demand that this body "take the initiative in extending the class front of the masses by issuing the call for a federated labor party," which "would not be based upon individual membership . . . but upon bloc affiliation, with major emphasis upon trades unions!"

It was interesting to note the stimulating effects of the resolution. And also the reactions it developed. What might be termed the official Communist point of view was embodied in a statement which was in principle nothing more than an endorsement of the status quo. The party proposals vaguely called attention to the need of unity of action between the CCF and the Communist Party. This abstraction not only lacked leadership, but carefully ducked such troublesome questions as the united front. Our comrades supported the resolution for a federated labor party. The vote of the much below average attendance at EYWA meetings, was as follows: for the status quo, 58; for the federated labor party, 47; for the "unity in action", 32. A second vote on the two major questions resulted in the "status quo" receiving 69 as against 50 for the federated labor party.

The final vote revealed the stoginess of the party forces. There were some who did break and act like communists, that is, as persons of decision. But these were few. The greater number either sat still, confused and non-plussed, or voted mechanically, forgetting that the recent change of line calls for a labor party. It is not too late for those comrades to read Lenin's "Left Wing Communism." There will be found some interesting remarks on flexibility.

Russia has been omitted altogether from this compilation. The author gives the following reason: "In the case of Russia the omission is deliberate. This may surprise many readers, but the writer has been influenced by the fact that a great deal of information now exists on the Russian social experiment." Despite this explanatory note we can't help but feel that the inclusion of the great advances made in the field of agriculture in the Soviet Union in juxtaposition to the conditions existing in other countries living under the capitalist system, would have been a great help in any attempt to solve the problems of agricultural labor.

LABOUR IN AGRICULTURE. By Louise E. Howard. London. Oxford University Press. \$7.00. 331 pages.

Reviewed by Ellen Ward All of the material in this book is based on information accumulated in the files of the International Labour Office at Geneva where the

LOSING THEIR CHAINS

Morris Hillquit: The Self-Made Man as Socialist

His early reactions to the Russian revolution are a mixture of praise for men who were doing what he would have liked to have done, and distaste for the methods that were being used to do it. That these methods were thrust upon Lenin and the Bolsheviks by the situation seems beyond Hillquit's comprehension. The octopus-like grip of capitalism he could not see, and consequently the methods for the overthrow of capitalism which he espoused are outside the objective situation.

In his most profound work—as profound as he could be—From Marx to Lenin, he realizes that "the Russian Revolution is beyond doubt the greatest event in the history of Socialism." But here again he wonders whether social democracy could not have accomplished the same thing. "The Russian Communists have preserved and stabilized the Russian Revolution. Perhaps this could have been accomplished in the same way or better by other and less painful methods. But the latter is speculation, while the former is fact." But shortly before his death, the "other and less painful methods" led to crushing defeat by black reaction. Even so, there is but one reference to Hitler in his autobiography, and in that reference Hitler is classed with Stalin! "Russia," he says, "is still governed by the iron hand of Joseph Stalin, and Germany is groveling in moral and spiritual dust before the puny figure of the sinister Adolf Hitler."

In eight items he lists with some insight the main factors in the success of the Russian Communists. In the last, there may be just a trace of envy when he gives it as "a small BUT RESOLUTE group of Socialists trained in European theories of Socialism and ready to assume and to exercise leadership." (Emphasis mine) In 1921, he says: "a wholehearted support of Soviet Russia by the advanced workers everywhere is thus dictated not only by their natural sentimental attachment for the first Socialist republic, but also by their direct class interests." This is followed by another example of wish-fulfillment about the Second International and Social Democracy. "The Russian Communists," he says, "have had an exceptional opportunity to lead in the reformation of the International of Socialism, but have lamentably failed to rise to it. The Communist International, which has been created under their inspiration, falls short in all substantial requirements as an effective instrument in the modern world struggles of the working class."

But these early criticisms become much harsher in his autobiography written over a decade later. Then he is sure that the Russian Revolution's chief aim was to annihilate the Second International. When the S.P. break took place in 1919, Hillquit, of course, came to the defense of the right-wing. True to the ideals of social democracy, Hillquit felt that a "compromise" could be arrived at.

But even if he personally had wanted to "string along" with the left wing, he could not have, for the Comintern itself said in 1920, "The Communist International cannot reconcile itself to a condition that would allow notorious opportunists, such as are now represented by Turati, Kautsky, Hilferding, Hillquit, Longuet, MacDonald, Modigliani, et. al. to have the right to be counted as members of the Third International." (Continued Next Week)

Canada Meets Deficits By Taxing the Workers

By LENA ZUKEN

With the Provincial and Federal Governments at present holding sessions, and with local municipal elections approaching, a mass of statistics and significant facts are being thrown about by opposition groups. A close observation of these figures shows the attempt of municipal, provincial and Federal governments to weather the crisis at the expense of the unemployed and the workers.

One example is seen in Montreal's financial situation. Montreal is burdened with a debt of \$266,000,000—a debt which is steadily increasing. Yet the city is planning to borrow another \$15,000,000 with the approval of the Provincial Legislature. At the same time taxes have been increased by \$8,000,000 during the past year. Of course, this tremendous debt accumulation is blamed on the cost of unemployment relief. But the municipality contributes only one-third of the total relief expenditure (the Federal and Provincial Governments contributing one-third each) and yet it claims in-

ability to pay its share. Further, while the municipal debt has increased by \$95,000,000 since 1929, the total expenditure for relief by the City during this same period, was only \$42,000,000.

Relief itself is at the lowest level possible. Direct relief to families is a paltry couple of dollars per week. Rent payments for unemployed are between \$7.00 and \$12.00 per month (the latter for a family of 10 or over). Public works for unemployed are cut down to the bone. During the past winter and spring only handfuls of men were put to work on clearing and repairing streets, when work could have been found for thousands to repair the ravages of a heavy winter.

Then whence this overwhelming debt?

If we examine the budget passed by the Montreal Council last week, we can get an inkling of the answer to this question. First, interest on the City's debt alone amounts to \$13,087,582 or 32.05% of the budget. Secondly, as elections are approaching, fat contracts

are thrown out as bait to prepare the ground for a successful campaign. Therefore, the budget contains plans for public works of which \$2,350,000 is to go for such "immediate necessities" as electrical cables in underground conduits, instead of above ground; improvement of lighting systems in parks (these were improved before the last elections); and improvement of acoustics in public baths. This in face of the vast slum areas that must be rebuilt, and streets that look as if a tornado had hit the city.

The Provinces and the Dominion as a whole show the same situation on a much larger scale. The Provinces of Alberta has recently defaulted on a \$3,200,000 bond maturity. The Federal Government refuses to extend any aid, as Alberta's Social Credit Government will not accept the plan for a National Loan Council to supervise the borrowing of the provinces. Two other provinces will shortly be forced to default on bond issues. In this critical financial situation the workers and farmers are the first to suffer. Alberta has already instituted a sales tax. The other provinces are planning to follow suit.

The Federal Government, besides being faced with the financial bankruptcy of several provinces and municipalities, has also been piling up a deficit of millions every year, until it has now reached the

total of \$1,093,958,800. Besides this tidy sum, the debt of the Dominion is \$3,400,000,000. Faced with this situation the Government economizes at the expense of the people who are most in need of additional aid—the unemployed. It has announced a 15% cut in relief grants to the Provinces; and the Provinces retort by passing the buck to the municipalities. The Province of Ontario has already cut its relief by \$8,000,000 and the other provinces will not be slow to follow. A recent amendment has been introduced to the Parents' Maintenance Act, by which employed children (of sixteen or over) of families on relief will be assessed to support the family, and so relieve the government of the burden of relief payments.

TALMADGE 'GRASS ROOTS' CONFAB HAD THE BACKING OF WALL STREET

A close connection between the Liberty League, a committee of bankers and large industrialists, and 'Gene Talmadge's "Grass Roots" convention was disclosed at the hearings of the Senate Lobby Investigation Committee. The Talmadge outfit organized itself into the **Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution** and received subscriptions and donations from such men as the duPonts (\$8,050), Alfred Sloan of General Motors (\$1,000), Raskob (\$5,000), Kellogg, former Secretary of State, Neylan, general counsel for the Hearst newspapers, Mudge of Weirton Steel and many others.

Vance Muse, manager of the Southern Committee testified that he had contacted Raskob and the duPonts, explained the "underlying principles" of the Grass Roots

convention, and received immediate donations because they agreed with the movement. As to the famous pictures at this convention showing Mrs. Roosevelt with two Negroes, Muse said that none of the financial backers had objected to its distribution or the race-hatred expressed with them.

The "Grass Roots" convention was one of the most reactionary, chauvinist, political demonstrations of recent times. So backward were these delegates that some of them were still fighting the "goddamn Yankees." The Workers Age pointed out, at that time, that here in a crude vague fashion was the beginning of a fascist ideology, a successor to Long's movement. The revelation of the connections with the biggest financial interests in the country provides the true skeleton outline of incipient fascism—a lower-middle class movement of "poor whites" apparently independent and in the interests of the "people", but financed and controlled by the money and dictates of large-scale capital.

Harlan Terror Continues Senate Comm. Hears

The Senate Committee, investigating labor spies in industry, heard the story of the continued anti-union drive in Harlan, Kentucky. District officials of the United Mine Workers testified that twenty-two miners had been put in two jail cells made for four prisoners each, likening the situation to "the black hole of Calcutta." There could be no peace in the Kentucky coal fields, they said, until the system of allowing the company to pay deputy sheriffs was eliminated.

THE IRISH REVOLT

(Continued from Page 4)

movements of the backward proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against the oppression of the landowners and the church, against monarchist and national oppression—is equivalent to denying the social revolution! Only from such a pedantic and ridiculous point of view would it be possible to call the Irish uprising a putsch!

THE COURSE OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Whoever expects a "pure" social revolution will never live to see it; he is a revolutionary only in words and understands nothing of the revolution in reality.

The Russian revolution of 1905 was a bourgeois-democratic revolution. It consisted of a series of battles in which all dissatisfied classes, groups and elements of the population participated. Among these elements there were backward masses, dominated by the wildest prejudices, pursuing aims quite unclear and fantastic. Objectively the mass movement led to the shattering of the structure of czarism and to the opening of the way for Democracy and therefore the class-conscious workers took over its leadership.

The Socialist revolution in Europe cannot be anything but an outbreak of mass struggles in which all participate who are for any reason oppressed or dissatisfied. Sections of the petty bourgeoisie and of the backward workers will inevitably participate in it—without such participation mass struggle is impossible nor is revolution in general possible—and just as inevitably will they bring with them into the movement their prejudices, their reactionary fantasies, their mistakes and their weaknesses. Considered objectively, however, they will attack and fight capital. And the class-conscious vanguard of the revolution, the advance section of the proletariat, which gives expression to the objective truth of the mass struggle, will understand how to unite all these elements to strive to seize power, to take possession of the banks, to expropriate the hated trusts, and to realize all other dictatorial measures, which together amount to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and to the victory of Socialism—which cannot

be freed all at once from petty bourgeois dross.

REVOLUTIONS AND THE "SMALL NATIONS"

In this respect it is not possible to counterpose Europe and the colonies as against each other. A struggle of oppressed nations in Europe which is in a position to go to the point of uprising and street battles and to damage the iron discipline of the army and the state of siege—such a struggle will sharpen the revolutionary crisis in Europe to a much greater extent than a much bigger uprising in a distant colony. A battle of the same strength, which hits at the power of the English imperialist bourgeoisie thru an uprising in Ireland, has a hundred times greater political significance than if it took place in Asia or Africa.

The dialectics of history is such that the small nations, weak as an independent factor in the struggle against imperialism, play the role of ferment, in freeing the true forces against imperialism and thus come to the aid of the Socialist proletariat.

We would be very bad revolutionaries indeed if, in the liberation struggle of the proletariat for socialism we did not understand how to make use of every wind of popular movement against individual abuses of imperialism in the interests of the sharpening and the extension of the crisis.

THE MISFORTUNES OF THE EASTER UPRISING

The misfortune of the Irish lay in the fact that their rising did not come at the appropriate time since the revolt of the European proletariat was not yet mature. Capitalism is not so harmoniously

BRADLEY'S CAFETERIA

SEASONABLE
FOOD
AT
REASONABLE
PRICES

6th Ave. at 14th Street

Take Advantage of our National Spring Subscription Drive

MARCH 1st to MAY 1st

Which will bring
Workers Age to
your home at

\$1.50 for
52 Weeks

or

\$1.00 for
26 Weeks

as well as our

COMBINATION OFFERS

which include

- Workers Age (\$2.00) and Bound Volume of 1935 Workers Age (\$2.00):
BOTH FOR \$2.75
- Workers Age (\$2.00) and Dialectical Materialism by August Thalheimer (\$2.00):
BOTH FOR \$3.00
- Workers Age (\$2.00) and Lewis Corey's Crisis of the Middle Class (\$2.50):
BOTH FOR \$3.50
- Workers Age (2.00) and Mehring's Karl Marx (\$5.00):
BOTH FOR \$4.00
- Workers Age (\$2.00) and Lewis Corey's Decline of American Capitalism (\$4.00):
BOTH FOR \$4.50
- Workers Age (\$2.00) and Portrait of America by Rivera and Wolfe (\$3.50):
BOTH FOR \$4.50

WORKERS AGE
P. O. Box 68, Station "O"
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Enclosed find \$..... to cover combination offer No.....
Send Age to:

Name

Address

City State.....