Workers

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Britain Maneuvers to Aid PROVOCATIONS **Nazis In Rhineland Coup**

France Decreases Pressure To Maintain British Alliance; "White Paper" Rumored A Cover For Italian Deal, As Line-Ups Shift.

The Rhineland remains occupied by the Nazi troops, while Britain dickers for such terms as will suit its imperialist love of "peace France has undoubtedly received some assurances behind the scenes, and, indeed, is fighting now for some sort of ineffective action whose purpose will be merely to set a precedent Two factors are moving France and her imperialist diplomats First, Soviet Russia which is fighting for the maintenance of collective security, by urging that Hitler be punished now, before he is ready to begin war

lication of a "White Paper", which

attempted to soothe Frace by pro-

posing no further militarization of

the Rhineland while negotiations

are being carried on, plus a coali-

tion of Britain, France, Belgium,

and, the erstwhile arch-foe, Italy!

But Britain was well aware of the

fact that Germany would reject

this policy—her diplomats wanted

Hitler to make any move that

could be called conciliatory in or-

der to prevent the forcing of the

game at present. The pro-German

forces (headed by the democratic

Edward VIII) are playing for time

and for the underhand recognition

of the invasion of the Rhineland.

Altho the League voted that Ger-

many had violated the Locarno

Pact, no action was taken, despite

the fact that legally the Locarno

signers were then empowered to

italy awaits the completion of

the transaction which will undoubt-

edly result, if these double-dealers

have their way, in a lifting of

sanctions in return for some sup-

port in the European crisis. Mus-

solini has further strengthened

Italy as a war machine and for

oppression at home—with the full

approval of Britain.

act themselves.

in earnest. [While there is a division of opinion between the Junker militarists and the Nazi chiefs as to when war should be declared, competent observers say the plans point to 1938]. Another thing the Sarraut cabinet has to face is the forthcoming elections. So long as the masses are mobilized within the framework of capitalism, the government has to present a sharp face against Nazi Germany

England's role has been that of chief trader and maker of imperialist bargains. Once again she appears as the holder of the balance of power, and as the force making for a subdued continent, subject to her policies. But such a policy has very little basis in reality, and is more an echo of past imperialist glory, than present economic decline. The past week saw the pub-

NO TRESPASSING SAYS BUSINESS

Stop Competing Against Private Business Gov't Is Told By Committee.

WASHINGTON .- The government is urged by the Committee on Government Competition with Private Enterprise to step out of business wherever it finds itself in competition with private industry, it was revealed here by George L. Berry, Coordinator of Industrial Cooperation. Only when the public welfare can thus be served is it permissible for the government to enter business, the committee holds.

The report, submitted to President Roosevelt, declares that the government's function was to protect the economic activities of its citizens, not to supplant them It also says that the government's dabbling in business is costly.

"Government competition with private enterprise is not normally justified to preclude the possibility of the exploitation of the public by private industry, since the antitrust laws may be relied upon to control and correct this situation, the committee declares with a straight face.

In an attempt to cover up the failure of the NRA, President Roosevelt appointed Secretaries Roper, Perkins ,and Wallace to serve as the nucleus of a committee which will have as its function the summation of the accomplishments of the National Recovery Administration. The body to be known as the Committee of Industrial Analysis, will appropriately start functioning on April 1.

Japan Uses Artillery In **Border Attacks Against** Mongolian Republic.

Despite the so-called defeat of the military extremists in Japan a few weeks ago, the program of armed provocation and anti-Soviet activities is being carried by Japanese and Manchukoan forces with increased vigor.

Japanese forces have been deliberately invading Soviet territory along the Manchukoan border, and also penetrating the territory of the Outer Mongolian People's Republic Cannons and airplanes are being put into action, thus increasing the danger of "border incidents". Small pitched battles have taken place between the Red Army of the Far East and the Manchukoan and Japanese border forces. So far the Red Army has succeeded in driving back the Japanese armed detachments Both the USSR and Japan have lodged protests with each other over these clashes.

Two other events marked increased tension in the Far East. Japan has issued a series of broadsides against the "weak policies" of the Nanking government in attempting to suppress the Chinese Red Army. It has stated, thru Major Imai, super military-imperialist, that if this situation continues the Japanese army will be forced to take action to protect "the interests of the Chinese people (sic)". The Chinese Red Army has, in the past few weeks, made advances in the Northern province of Shansi, which lies near Manchukuo.

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

Half Million Vote Against IN FAR EAST Hitler Despite Nazi Terror

Nation Goose-stepped Into Confidence Vote For Hitler; Correspondents Say Blanks Were Listed for Hitler; Opposition Gets Half Million.

Adolph Hitler has scored a sweeping victory over a prostrate people who had no other choice but to vote "YES" The increase in the confidence vote received by Hitler is of slight significance (95 1 in 1933 and 89 1 in 1934 and 98 79 now), what is significant is that there was no possibility to cast a negative vote and no possibility to vote for any but those designated by the Leader

Even were these possibilities to be present, advantage could hardly have been taken of them in safety Reporters for the Amer-

ican press wrote of widespread raids and arrests thruout Germany in preparation for this "confidence" vote. If despite all these terroristic precautions against a negative or protest vote more than half a million Germans went to the polls to cast their protest it is a demonstration of unparalleled heroism. If a half million finally did break thru this police terror cordon then it is indicative of much broader areas of disatisfaction which could not come to expression. This becomes even more apparent when we read statements of reporters witnessing the counting of blank ballots as "Yes" votes in Berlin. And outside of the Berlin district not even a pretense at a secret ballot was made.

If the Nazis intended to show that the nation is unified behind Hitler's maneuvers, which may well 'hrow the whole world into a new carnage, then they have failed, for the very figures tend to prove that the utmost pressure was brought to bear upon a shackled people to say "Ja". A monstrous unreality, is how the British characterize this vote, and it is well known that the British are not the least friendly to Germany.

However, it is safe to assume that Hitler did secure a majority for his foreign policy. We must remember that Hitler is making his appeal to a people restive under the restrictions of Versailles and Locarno. An appeal to national pride, an appeal for the reconstruction of its pre-war territorial boundaries, an appeal for equality with other powers, is bound to get a widespread sympathetic response. Remember the Saar plebiscite.

But there was a vote cast against Hitler besides the half million counted, we refer to those in the jails and concentration camps. The workers' opposition in Germany has still to go far before it can really threaten the Nazi structure.

PEASANT REBELS **OUSTED IN SPAIN**

Peasants Who Tired Of Delay And Took Land **Are Checked By Troops**

BADAJOZ, Spain. - Premier Manuel Azana, leader of the People's Front, ordered out detachments of storm police and Civil Guards in an attempt to clear 60,-000 farm laborers off the land they have just seized. Though the police were told not to use firearms unless they are fired on, the situation is tense and anything may happen.

The laborers, unwilling to hear of the inner logic of the People's Front, brushed Azana's words of caution and swarmed over the estates. From their action it is apparent that they are not going to wait until the Cortes distributes the land legally.

Most of the workers were Socialists and Communists and members of the National Association of Land Workers. Arriving at the 264 villages upon which they marched, they divided the land according to lists which they had ready for the occasion. Shouts of "Long live the workers' republic!" resounded all over the region as they took possession of the land.

Their land hunger appeased, the laborers returned to their villages and notified the authorities of their actions. They asked that the shift in ownership be noted in the public books.

This represents the first large concerted movement on the part of the farm hands to seize land. (See article on Spain by Bertram D. Wolfe, in this issue).

T-P-P-S

WHAT do these four letters stand for? What do they mean? Are they some Rooseveltian combination with which to throw sand into the eyes of the laboring masses? Are they some bait for the Supreme Court to nibble at?

No. It's got nothing to do with any of the above-mentioned tripe. These letters stand for something real, for something alive, for something dynamic today and symbolic tomorrow. But, you will insist, "for heaven's sake, why don't you spill it, why don't you tell us what it is all about?"

Well, perhaps I won't need to tell you after you read and act on what I am going to say here. Perhaps you will guess and be glad that I didn't tell you. We are not planning to play a cross-word puzzle game with you. We are going to tell you an old, but nevertheless ever-new and ever-urgent, story and then—and then—we will see how keen you are.

Let's take it in the straight simple A—B—C fashion. If we were not afraid to tell you the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth— AS WE ARE NOT—we would not lose a moment's time informing you that our \$5,000 drive is on the blink. It's just N. G. Very likely it is my fault as much as yours. At any rate, for the sake of argument, I am going to collectivize the responsibility for the cause of this defect. Here we are, with the time limit set for the drive over, gone, we have only about \$3,500! A painful surprise to all of you, to all of us, to everybody!

Honestly we stress the worst. Perhaps this will help us all cure the present condition of our \$5,000 campaign which is much worse than we expected it to be by this time. We have plodded like the proverbial mare of old. It's not patience that we have lacked. It's plain, ugly, cold, hard cash that we have failed to gather.

We have been told that our appeals have brot here and there, now and then, some drops of tears. It's not because of this that we are sort of heart-(Continued on Page 6)

Mooney Unearths New Evidence at Hearings

shine State is still intent on keeping Tom Mooney in jail, records of the Supreme Court hearing now being held reveal. The witnesses produced by the State involve themselves in one contradiction after another as they attempt to implicate the labor martyr in the Preparedness Day Parade of 1916.

All that Edward A. Cunha, star witness for the State, could remember for one minute on end was that "Mooney is a murderer, Mooney is an assassin, Mooney is a dynamiter." Otherwise, his testimony was a mass of conflicting evidence. He spent most of the time he was on the stand getting out from under his cooked-up

Cunha, who was District Attorney Fickert's chief assistant at the time of the original trial, attempted to whitewash himself in regard to the Oxman-Rigall letters, denying all knowledge of perjury or subornation of perjury. He declared that he had never seen the letters until after the Mooney trial. What he had said previous ly, that he had "delegated" Oxman to write to Rigall because Rolph, but he reserved his most Fickert and he were going out of sensational statements for the town, he left to his conscience to

to the evidence of not only Denton, but also Zindars.

ing. He told how in 1916 he was side. strike and lick hell out of them." Calhoun confided.

In 1916 Grimmer made use of his old connection with the United Railroads and landed a job. Here is where Tom Mooney enters.

McCants, the assistant general manager, said to him when he took him on, "We've got a number of no good men in this city whom we want to run out of the state or across the bay." He was referring to Mooney and Vandeleur, ferring to Mooney and Vandeleur. now head of the Central Labor

In obedience to his instructions Grimmer shadowed Mooney for a few days, but then became nerv ous about the assignment. "Do expect another job.

happened to be in San Francisco the murder, tar and feathering, your district and urge you and all and heard the blast. "I guess that and flogging, on the grounds that your friends to vote for him . . . chosen by the majority of workand heard the blast. "I guess that is going to be pinned on Mooney," public opinion is high against the he remarked to a conductor and an immurderers.

your friends to vote for him . . . chosen by the majority of work-in the Republican primaries on ers, the law has been declared unget further than the President's constitutional. Secondly, it is he remarked to a conductor and an murderers. inspector of a California street car line with whom he was then

you think pulled that stunt at to escape with their lives.

own shoulder and replied. "That - wouldn't have the guts. could put my hand on the man's shoulder that pulled that stunt. Mooney had nothing to do with it.'

Daugherty was later murdered in Chicago, his head cut off. The second witness, George Miller, then a special policeman for the Southern Pacific, reported a conversation he had with McCants one day. "Miller, Mooney, and Billings are going to remain in prison as long as the United Ra roads can keep them there. Wel

know they're not guilty, but they're hearing, decided upon hearing this bit of testimony that he oughtn't to risk cross-examining Miller at

Draper Hand, formerly a mem ber of the San Francisco Bomb Bureau and one of the original frame-up gang, dropped a bombhis culpability to Fremont Older in the presence of the then Mayor hearing.

Amongst the things he spoke o When he discussed the charge was the "demonstration" of the that he had tampered with the Eilers Building roof scene which jury, a charge levelled by Den- he staged with the witnesses so as ton, brother-in-law of MacNevin to synchronize their accounts of who was foreman of the jury, he when the Mooneys came there. H denied that there was a corrupt declared that when he finished the connection between Fickert and little tableau, Assistant District connection between Fickert and MacNevin. In this he ran counter to the evidence of not only Denthe wrong person—Mooney was u on that roof. We're going along the On the first day of the hearings wrong course." For this expression George W. Grimmer, a labor spy of doubt as to the prosecution was for many years, delivered sensa- of the story the prosecution was tional testimony exonerating Moo- trumping up, Brennan was regardney of any guilt in the bomb- ed as having sold out to the other

hired by Patrick Calhoun, presi- Hand told how Oxman had said dent of the United Railroads, and to him, "Draper, don't you think the Republican National Conven- this phrase. instructed to join the carmen's they'll know we're lying?" He also tion, it was learned here this week. union and "holler strike from the recounted how he took Mrs. Edaau, Mr. Fish, a perennial red-baiter, housetops." "We want to force a a State witness, to see Mooney, headed a Congressional committee Billings, Weinberg and Nolan, and which investigated radical activhad them "identified" by calling ities a few years ago. each by name.

Asked if Older had given him any inducement to make his confession in 1900, he said, "Yes, he of the West Side of Manhattan. told me I would feel better if I told He is pledged to Senator William the truth and helped to free a man E. Borah of Idaho and is opposed who did not commit the crime to the regular Republican organwhen I knew who did it."

The trial of three policemen you want to frame them?" he three members of the Ku Klux years AND HAS STOOD FOR masses, the Liberty League group asked McCants. "Of course not," Klan, and a former Tampa chief of SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL included the Wagner Act on its "No- police for the flogging and murder JUSTICE AND A SQUARE DEAJ "must go" list. Actually they did national Seamen's Union protested body likes to hear the word of Joseph Shoemaker began this FOR LABOR and small business 'frame'. We just want you to be week in Tampa, Florida. A motion interest. at the same place where Mooney for change of venue was denied by is, at the same time, if anything the judge who stated that there A SUPPORTER OF SENATOR happens." Grimmer stepped off was no evidence to show that a BORAH FOR THE REPUBthe job, receiving \$15 for his work fair and impartial jury could be LICAN NOMINATION FOR and being told that he could never not be chosen there. The motion PRESIDENT, I take this opporxpect another job. had been entered by the defense On the day of the explosion he for those accused of carrying out had been entered by the defense Fish's candidacy for delegate from tract, since employers are forced of "mutiny" on the sailors. The

Shoemaker, an organizer of the unemployed, was kidnapped, flog- Marcantonio spoke for a Labor- commerce, and since only commerce in conversation. About a week lat- ged and left to die in the woods. Party at a Social Insurance Con- falls under federal, i.e. interstate, which only the socio-political morer, he was approached by a number of thugs and told, "You've beyond a doubt that not merely ber of thugs and told, "You've beyond a doubt that not merely from the July 3 Labor Party Con- With these aspects of the decision, find as pro-labor. Labor must been throwing up your guts about was this instigated by the K.K.K., ference in Chicago, on the grounds the workers have only one inter- gird itself for a long battle with this case. The best thing that you but that the local police force took that the movement was ill-prepared est. Implied in the first section the bosses and the courts on the can do is to beat it." Scared, part in the murder themselves. The and "premature," setting himself is an open-shop decision, a court issues of the closed shop and the facts were so clear and the protest up as the proponent of a real Labor ruling which if continued can only right to organize. And the weight Four years later he met an old friend, Joseph Daugherty, also a was forced to resign. The trial will labor spy, and asked him whether also include charges against these radical congressman was to a great It is not the death (or proposed Bill Act has shown, lies not in the he knew anything about the Moo- men for kidnapping and flogging extent built up by the Communist killing) of the Wagner Bill that is skill of its hired attorneys, but in ney case. Grimmer said, "Who do Poulnot and Rogers, who managed Party, which made him a major to be lamented; it was an anti- its militancy and program of indespeaker at many conferences. labor bill from start to finish, pendence.

San Francisco, Cal. — The Sun-nine State is still intent on keen-nine State is still intent on keen-Mooney Masque Draws First Prize of the Workers Alliance will be

trip to the Soviet Union-awarded asembled at the dance. at the annual dance of Dressmakas Tom Mooney.

ers, resulted in a great ovation eration.

NEW YORK.—First prize—a from the 10,000 dressmakers as-

Charles Zimmerman, manager of ers Union Local 22 of the I.L.G. the union, remarked that the ova-W.U. on Saturday March 28, went tion for the award showed the to Jack Broder who was masqued deep sympathy which the masses of workers always have shown for The announcement of the award Tomn Mooney's tireless, 20 year by a committee consisting of ac- old struggle for freedom. It was tors, literary critics and union lead- a demonstration for Mooney's lib-

agitators, and cost us a million dollars in this strike." Cleary, the prosecuting attorney at the Wagner Act Ruling ternational. The local man tremely militant, and altho its attitude towards the International was in some cases slightly "ultra",

And, as the Herald-Tribune pro-The Labor Disputes Act was introduced at a time when the drift away from the New Deal was beginning in certain sections of the

Representative Vito Marcantonio, of "Daily Worker" fame, has fire. come out for the candidacy of

Mr. Fish is one of two candidate for delegates in the Fifteenth Congressional District, taking in most ization nominees.

Mr. Marcantonio in a letter to a number of voters in the district

"My Colleague, Hon. Hamilton Fish Jr., is a candidate for delegate to the Republican National Convention from the Fifteenth the two camps of the big bour- posals, the solution of the prob-Congressional District. He has geoisie as to how best preserve lem was achieved. served in Congress for sixteen

Act was declared unconstitution- important sections of the trade ism in the trade union movement. al for the second time in its car- union movement, were beginning A meeting of protest was held in testified. He had already confessed eer, this time by a Federal Court to lose faith in the notorious "sec- Belleville, Illinois, where resolu-Judge in Chicago. There will be tion 7a", and in the government as tions of solidarity with the strika series of appeals and counter- an organizing force for the labor ers were passed and some money appeals until the bedraggled docu- movement. The Wagner Bill was was raised. "Boycott Kroger" rement reaches the Supreme Court. a cunning and vicious attack on mains the slogan! trade unionism, couched in such phecies, "who is there left who terms ("collective bargaining", doubts the nature of the decision?" "right of free association", "the right of the worker to choose" etc.) as pulled the wool over the has announced plans for a big drive eyes of the conservative A. F. of on the Southern front. The date L. leadership. Thus, precisely what the big moguls were objecting to in the NPA (1). was revived by the Wagner Act, to the Southern mills. with the consent of the majority of the labor movement. In the eyes pany unionism, was to play with other large unionized cities to their own strength, they feared a Hamilton Fish Jr. as a delegate to liberal judge might misinterpret simism that hit the labor move-

> trade" clause, to step into all lais right. This was to be done work, Evans! thru the federal agency, the National Labor Relations Board. Thus it increased the power of capitalist government to bring the trade unions under its control, and therefore under the direct rule of the

the system at the expense of the unions had strength.

(?) to negotiate with the "unit" Only last Saturday, March 21, maintained that manufacture is not

On the LABOR FRONT

The second National Convention held in Washington, April 7-10. The convention will map out a campaign of struggle for the Frazier-Lundeen Unemployment Insurance Bill, and to fight against the proposed layoff of 700,000 WPA workers. This meeting will also mark the unification of the various groups thruout the country.

Kroger Strikers Lose Charter The struggle of the Retail Clerks, affiliated with the A. F. of L. in St. Louis, against the Kroger Grocery and Baking Co. was given a blow from behind when the Warehouse Workers Local 667 was expelled from the International. The local was exthe suspension of its charter is The Wagner Labor Disputes employing class. Simultaneously, undoubtedly a blow at progressiv-

Hosiery Union To Meet The American Federation of Hosiery Workers, of the U.T.W., ing to in the NRA, (its so-called mer to April 20 in order to lay the "dangerous social implications") plans to bring unionization early

Runaway Halted!

Clinton, Massachusetts is one of of the leaders of open-shoppism, "those open-shop towns". The to merely mention collective bar- Chamber of Commerce spends its gaining, even as a screen for com- time inviting firms from N. Y. and Perhaps, underestimating come up and be free of "labor troubles". But the extreme pesment concerning the organization The Act, drawn up by a sup- of these towns is being completeposed friend of labor, further gave ly dispelled by such work as that sweeping powers to the United of A. F. of L. organizer Harry States government, under the Evans. He has established his of-"general welfare" clause and "un- fice in the town and reports indirestricted flow of commerce and cate that workers are flooding the place with demands to be enrolled bor disputes and itself decide who in their respective unions. Good

Building Crafts Reunite

Word comes from Green's office that a single Building Trades Dep't has been set up, ending a jurisdictional dispute of long standing between the various crafts in the department. Altho However, with the raging strug- the early part of the conference gle that is now going on between showed much discontent at the pro-

Mutiny Charge Fails

The rank and file of the Internot keep up a very concentrated against the new wages agreemen fire, desultory sniping being more by striking on two liners in New characteristic of this campaign. York. The strike did not suc-The decisions of the NLRB have ceed, the ships sailing on time with been meaningless, except where full crews, supplied by the I.S.U. It was in connection with these Under the guise of its having sporadic strikes that Roper, Sec. of Commerce tried to pin a charge crassness of this move and its recabinet.

FORCES MAKING FOR REVOLUTION IN SPAIN BY BERT WOLFE

Wolfe two years ago (in October, 1934) while the events of the October uprising were still in progress, but has not hitherto been published. Only the last paragraph is new, yet the entire article has a timeliness which demonstrates once more how fruitful is the Marxist method for analyzing and

Peculiarities of Spanish Development

Spain, more even than most lands, refuses to yield her secrets to abstract analysis conceived in Its party labels, codes, constituterms of the generalities common tional devices and prescriptions, to all modern European countries. are shadows of the institutions of The present events and perspec- other European lands. The polielopment are kept in mind.

and from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries has been going through a process of "inglorious and slow decay." 2. The structure of Spanish

economy and politics may best be characterized as a kind of centralized localism. In this respect its centralization is more nearly comparable to that of an Asiatic despotism than to the centralism of such a land as France. Whereas absolute monarchy was historically an instrument of the nascent bourgeoisie to break down feudal localism and lay the foundations of economic and political unity, in Spain as in the Orient, absolute monarchy and the bureaucratic centralism of the Republic that succeeded it, have been based on retardation of capitalist developtille (the land of the castles) which, in the words of the poet Margall, "can never see the sea." center has proved itself the throt-

not an instrument of the bourgeoisie against feudalism and for national unity. It is an instrument of a decaying but tenacious latifundial feudalism against the

The following article is the first and the Philippines, symbolized 7. The labor movement, too, of a short series to be written by the last stage in three centuries shows peculiarities in its develop-Comrades Wolfe and Herberg on of "inglorious decay" and in the ment. Of these we have space the present situation in Spain. The realm of thought, the profound disintroductory article published in turbance expressed itself in the say "red and yellow" in Spain movement of the Generacion de they are not thinking of Commun-'98. The monarchy lost its visible ist and Socialist but of Anarchomeans of support, and the Moroc- Syndicalist and Socialist unions. can disasters of the '20's completed the process, causing the negligible force. Until recently the monarchy to collapse.

A Rachitic Ruling Class 4. The Spanish possessing clas-

ses have long been afflicted with interpreting history on the wing. a constitutional weakness, a sort geois radicalism. of anemia, rendering them capable of vigorous social or political action. What else can be expected of a decayed aristocracy and a of Spanish industry during the stunted bourgeoisie? That is why World War. As the solitary neu-Spanish politics has about it an tral country in Southern Europe astonishing air of unreality . . tives can be understood only if tical unreality of its institutions and proletariat and a sudden imthe peculiarities of Spanish dev- is a reflex of the economic unreal- petus for the bourgeoisie to free ity of its centralism. This explains itself from moldering feudal fet-1. Spain is a land of prolonged the astonishing "lyricism" of ters. With the end of the war, feudal decay and arrested capital- Spanish politics and such peculiar the balloon of Spanish industry colist development. One of the most institutions as rotativismo, a sys- lapsed and a fantastic post-war even present candidates. The petty cratic-military war apparatus inbackward lands of Europe, it was tem whereby under the monarchy crisis shook the ancient structure bourgeois and socialist Republic tact. More than that, the energetic nevertheless the first country to two groups of politicians, one cal- to its depth. Strike waves, pea- ans were but making a time-hon- Azana as Minister of War, sought lay the foundations of modern ling itself "liberal" and the other sant insurrections, movements of ored opposition gesture. But Recapitalism. Having gotten off to "conservative," and neither with a the bourgeoisie, unrest in the army, an early start, the Hispanic pen- real party behind it, succeeded each a catastrophe in Morocco—the insula did not maintain its lead, other by agreement, alternating at throne tottered. rhythmic intervals as if governed by tidal forces or sun spots or some old regime sought to solve its inother "natural", non-social deter- soluble problems by the timeminant. It explains, too, the honored device of a military diclight-hearted use of resounding tatorship. It is the fashion in

phrases with no concern for con- journalistic circles to call all per- \$1,500,000 to a bank in London jurjo actually attempted a monians to write into the Republican dictatorship of Primo de Rivera constitution, "Spain is a workers' was no such thing. It had no epublic of all classes." This helps, petty bourgeois or proletarian oo, along with the general backwardness of economy and class armed bands to bring it to power. development, to explain the anti- It employed no social demagogy. parliamentarism of so large a secion of the Spanish proletariat. The Role of the Army 5. As appropriate to such a politic al structure, the army plays an ex- throughout the 19th century. The dictatorship smashed the ceptionally important role and the syndicalist unions but it accepted high political specific gravity. The the cooperation of the leaders of a decentralized economy and the special interests of the semi-inde- the Socialist Unions. It lowered pendent bureaucracy reach their the level of wages. It crushed the gave birth to the Republic of 1931! high point in the special interests peasant movements. It granted tions of the Spanish peninsula, of the military caste. Hence all monopolies to bourgeois-feudal Catalonia and Portugal, far from previous revolutions began in the favorites. It tried public works, supporting centralization, have ac- army. Even the Republic of 1931 high tariffs to protest an unpro-

officers' corps has an exceptionally alry, the bulk of the army. On ed to meet. the one side, the advanced technique, the younger sons of the Again and again this political bourgeoisie, in revolt; on the "classless" bureaucratic-military machine.

resolves itself into dissimilar 10- decay, the ciergy also represents appear without as much as an upcal economies. Napoleon found this nerve center lifeless. He smote portance with strongly marked punctured balloon. Alfonso tried the monarchy. To Melguiades the monarchy. To Melguiades punctured balloon. Alfonso tried the peasant movements) and guard the ticklish relations between it with his mailed fist and it special interests. The clergy was to save his skin by treachery to the exiled monarchist Alba! And Church and State. The socialist fell apart. But to his astonishment as the center collapsed, Spain weakened by the fall of the monment as the center collapsed, Spain weakened by the fall of the monment as the center collapsed, Spain weakened by the fall of the monment as the center collapsed, Spain weakened by the fall of the monment as the center collapsed, Spain by treatnery to the extremal monatorist Alba. The
ment as the center collapsed, Spain by treatnery to the extremal monatorist Alba. The
ment as the center collapsed, Spain by treatnery to the extremal monatorist Alba. The
ment as the center collapsed, Spain by treatnery to the extremal monatorist Alba. The
ment as the center collapsed, Spain by treatnery to the extremal monatorist Alba. The
ment as the center collapsed, Spain by treatnery to the extremal monatorist and the collapsed and compromised

The new government that sucsuddenly manifested life in all its with the compromising bourgeois ceeded Primo de Rivera permitted monarchy, the Andalusian landparts. Their energies had been re- republic, but set into play its mar- a couple of months of free press owner, Alcala Zamora. To their parts. Their energies had been released by the removal of the dead
weight of centralized bureaucracy,
and his Spanish campaign proved
the landowners. It provided the
landowners. It provided the
landowners. It provided the
geois Republicans, supported by

a couple of months of free press owner, Alcaia Zamora. To their
relief he accepted and became the
first President of the Spanish Republic as a whole.

Great sections of the beginning of the end for Na- ideological banners and organized the workers and peasants, much forces for the recent coup d'etat to their own astonishment swept 3. "Imperial" Spain lost its last in the form of the Lerroux-Gil every city in Spain except four, ment might be summed up in the answered with purely negative overseas colony in 1898 when in Robles government. The new govthe modern world imperialism was ernment has been called fascist. villages as well. The anarcho-syn-economic revolution had scarce be-the anarcho-syndicalists advised just beginning! The revenue from But it should rather be called dicalists "abstained" officially, but gun but the government declared boycott. But refusal to develop its ill-administered colonies had clerical-military-fascist with clergy the masses of their organized that the revolution was over. It a party of the proletariat tended elevated the monarchy into a re-lative independence from capital- elements of fascism in its make-

Communism is thus far a relatively Socialist movement was the reflex in the working class of petty bourgeois liberal ideology and the anarcho-syndicalism of petty bour-

The Birth of the Republic The events of 1929-36 have their antecedents in the feverish growth Spain found an unexpected and unlimited war market. Its industry, unequal to the task, swelled up like a balloon. Followed a mushroom growth of bourgeoisie

From 1923 to 1929 the Spanish mass base. It had no extra-legal It was, in fact, with certain modifications, only one more of the long chain of military dictatorships traditional with Spain

tually been separatist. It is a was preceded by the Jaca military tectable industry and economic fitting symbol of this bureaucratic uprising of 1929. The division nationalism on the basis of namilitary-feudal centralization that among the officers' corps in that tionalized poverty. It enlarged the its axis is not Barcelona, center of uprising was interesting. On one only public possession which Spanish trade and industry on the side the engineers, the bicycle Spain could boast: the public debt Mediterranean, nor Lisbon, center corps, the miners and sappers, the was increased by one-third. But of Iberian trade and industry on artillery, the air force; on the other essentially the dictatorship solved the Atlantic, but Madrid in Cas- the command of the infantry, cav- none of the problems it was creat-The Fall of Primo de Rivera

While Spanish economy tottered through the storms of internal tle of national development. It is arms, the younger sons of the crisis it was overwhelmed by the landowner aristocracy, loyal to the whirlwind of the world-wide crisis monarchy. In such peculiar forms in 1929. The peseta dropped to ses turned trustingly to the leaddo class forces break through in a new lows; the cost of living sky- ers that had been officially toleratlatifundial feudalism against the nascent bourgeoisie and against economic unity. It is unstable and easily overturned. Then Spain resolves itself into dissimilar logoromics. Napoleon found a bureaucratic force of great im
The Church

6. As befits a land of arrested development and prolonged feudal decay, the clergy also represents a bureaucratic force of great im
in the army. Followed a strike wave, student demonstrations and powernment was patched up. Republican illusions seemed inexhaustible. They appeal to Sanday without as much as an upchez of the execution of the property laws and land laws (the suppression of the manufacture of the manufact



The hated Civil Guard sets up machine guns in the streets

box already packed containing three million dollars in cash. However he had been farsighted enough

The open-mouthed astonishment of the Republican victors is best portrayed in the words of one of heir own leaders:

when we saw that the people had taken the streets, there was nothing we could do ("no tuthe Republican banner."

Such was the "revolution" that

Character of the Spanish Republic Marx once (1854) wrote of

Spanish revolution: "One of the characteristics the revolution consists of the fact that the people, at the very moment when it is preparing to people who appear as the rep-

The Aborting of a Revolution The aims of the new govern-

tarian isolation, did not feel the vent the peasants from seizing the publicans swept the country and Guardia Civil was not dissolvedthe monarchy ran away. Alfonso it was strengthened. And to it fled in such precipitate haste that was added another division of prehe forgot to take with him a tin torian guards, the Guardia de to invest 60% of his fortune in Director of the Civil Guard, Sansecurities abroad and to transfer jurjo, were not removed until San-

For months after the flight of the king, the frugal Republic continued to use, until they were all gone, postage stamps with the face of Alfonso on them and a "The 14th in the morning black imprint "Republica Espanola" over the stamp-not for nothing are the Spaniards known as the "Scotch of Southern Europe!" vimos mas remedio") but to go Then, at last, a new stamp appearto the city hall and the par-liamentary building and raise bore the face of a nineteenth bore the face of a nineteenth century Republican and the stiring revolutionary motto: "Fomentar el arbol"-Plant a tree! A small detail, but eloquently sym-

The Conflict of Parties

The masses exhausted their ilusions more rapidly than the Republican politicians, and they looked to each party and tendency take a big step forward, falls in turn for guidance and light on under the power of the illusions their problems. They offered their confidence to the Socialists, but of the past, and all the forces and all the influence it has conquered at the cost of such sac- pular majority refused to take rifices, pass into the hands of more than a minority in the cabinet. On Prieto was wished the resentatives of the popular declining peseta and the bankrupt movements of an earlier epoch." treasury. His popularity continued So it was once more. The mas- to fall with the continued fall of the neseta. Thus the history rocketed to new highs. The year ed and consecrated by decades of 1929 opened with an insurrection shadow opposition under King Alin the army. Followed a strike fonso. Out of them a fantastic given the Ministry of Labor. His ministers acted as buffers between the new government and the dissipated faster than that of the

Great sections of the masses turned to the anarcho-syndicalists for leadership. But they were

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Saturday, April 4, 1936,

End That Confusion and Division

TT IS in the friendliest of spirit and solely in the interest of our common aims and goal that we address ourselves to the comrades course was a catalyst for trust-

Much has happened since the fateful Sixth National Convention continued for large sections of the of our Party in March 1929. At the moment we do not choose to petty-bourgeoisie right into the for example, General Motors alone rets, etc.) the revenue was only comment on the swing to the ultra-left, on the wave of expulsions, on present crisis. The tremendous the wiping out of party democracy thru the so-called enlightenment pressure of these middle classes campaign, on the unheard of over-riding of the will of the overwhelm- undoubtedly forced Roosevelt to one industry—obviously, some man" was of course, the income ing majority of the membership which followed this convention. One his very meffective taxes on divi- body's pen slipped someplace! thing we do want to emphasize at this time: we realize the gravity dends, "excess" profits, capital of the situation faced by the American and the international working stock, etc. Their economic misery inauguration of a gift tax and an called up for evasions on huge class; we realize the complexity of the problems confronting the most was and is the social basis for the estate tax. Combined, these totalled amounts, must be beginning to dim advanced, the communist, section of the proletariat—particularly in "soak-the-rich" platforms that lit- 113 millions in 1934, and 200 mil- his enthusiasm for this part of the the U. S. Hence, we are prepared to do everything in our power to ter the countryside. It must be lion in 1935. How much of this was populist-agrarian program. Secondfacilitate and insure the achievement of sound communist unity, of realized that only secondarily and bona fide—and how much evaded? | ly, the smallest part of the tax is healthy revolutionary unity which we consider the first and absolute indirectly is the propertyless class A rise in the tax rate on gifts, paid by those who have a million prerequisite for working class unity in the struggle against capitalist -the workers-affected by taxa- established Jan. 1936, brought dollar income (about 6%). Those

Let no comrade in the Communist Party whether he or she be a perty. rank and filer or leader have the slightest notion that we seek to approach questions of strategy or problems of tactics from the viewpoint of "I told you so. You see, we were right and you were wrong." This has not been and will not be the manner or spirit in which we again in so sharp a manner? It is in upper-bourgeois circles, for Finally, tax assessments, in adof the Communist Opposition work. When we emphasize the need not true, of course, that the only when this section was exempt much dition to all the above taxes, are of frank, critical, comradely and constructive discussion we have no opposition to the New Deal's tax capital was made tax free—by paid to city and state governments. ulterior motives animating us. We see in such discussion the best program comes from the bankers, "giving" to one's wife or two-year The Supreme Court recently decidway of realizing and overcoming errors, the surest way of preventing their recurrence, and the best road to the development of initiative and self-reliance in the ranks of the membership. Without question, no comrade in the ranks of the party will or can honestly contend that not a billion dollars appropriated the latest pre-convention discussion had any substantial value in this for national defense (and another respect. Without fear of being called carping critics, we do not hesitate to declare that we found it sterile. Furthermore, every effor a military character); they object of Mr. Roosevelt! we made to participate in this discussion—in line with the appeal of to the whole notion of taxes on in-Comrade Dimitroff before and during the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern—came to naught. The party leaders simply paid not the slightest attention to our suggestions or proposals.

Again we must underscore that we seek only the assurance of their cherished purses. Actually, the soundest basis for communist unity in the U S. and on an inter- as we shall see in a moment, none national scale when we insist on the establishment of genuine party of these "radical" taxes were any democracy, on the complete restoration and enlargement of democratic centralism as the sole condition, as the one essential prerequisite. It is not party positions or jobs we are after. Nor do we seek certificates of recognition of the services we rendered in our struggle against dual returns) amounted to \$2,200,000,unionism, against union-splitting, against social fascism, against the nonconso of the "the social fascism, against the nonconso of the "the social fascism, against the nonconso of the "the social fascism, against the local fascism, agai nonsense of the "third period" and itn theory and practice of the united that only one-half of this money front from below, against the mechanical transplanting of tactics. No disagreement separates the International Communist Opposition from the Comintern in the realm of principles. We do have important of capitalist democracy as the means of defeating fascism and in the strategy to be pursued by communist parties in countries which momentarily may be lined up on the side of the U.S.S.R. in the coming

We are firmly convinced that these disagreements can be overcome of the Comintern itself. That this said and done, they are genuine thru a thorogoing party discussion, on the basis of the application of is so, is further confirmed by the communist organizations. Here is books to eliminate cheating, etc. democratic centralism party discussion, on the basis of the application of very declaration of the Comintern's the reason for the all-too-frequent of communist principles. We are prepared to defend our position on representative, Comrade Gott-dilemma in which the French and which would carry out certain the controversial questions in a broad and free party discussion and to abide by the decision of the membership after the latter has had an adequate opportunity to examine freely and critically all viewpoints. Gottwald: "Was it correct for the repeatedly indicated in our col-To date, we have not yet heard any good reason why this procedure, Party, in the face of the danger umns. why this proposal of ours should not be accepted. Only thus can the of fascism, to call for the creation decisive step towards achieving communist unity be taken.

But one thing is certain. The present situation in the Comintern People's Front and to speak out the official communist movement ments. It is definitely to the imis most unsatisfactory. The Seventh Congress was compelled to recognize the total bankruptcy of the ultra-left line prepared by the congress was compelled to recognize the total bankruptcy of the ultra-left line prepared by the congress was compelled to recognize the total bankruptcy of the ultra-left line prepared by the congress was compelled to recognize the total bankruptcy of the ultra-left line prepared by the congress was compelled to recognize the total bankruptcy of the ultra-left line prepared by the congress was compelled to recognize the total bankruptcy of the ultra-left line prepared by the congress was compelled to recognize the total bankruptcy of the ultra-left line prepared by the congress was compelled to recognize the total bankruptcy of the ultra-left line prepared by the congress was compelled to recognize the total bankruptcy of the ultra-left line prepared by the congress was compelled to recognize the total bankruptcy of the ultra-left line prepared by the congress was compelled to recognize the total bankruptcy of the ultra-left line prepared by the congress was compelled to recognize the total bankruptcy of the ultra-left line prepared by the congress was compelled to recognize the total bankruptcy of the ultra-left line prepared by the congress was compelled to recognize the total bankruptcy of the ultra-left line prepared by the congress was compelled to recognize the total bankruptcy of the ultra-left line prepared by the congress was compelled to recognize the total bankruptcy of the ultra-left line prepared by the congress was compelled to recognize the total bankruptcy of the ultra-left line prepared by the congress was compelled to recognize the total bankruptcy of the ultra-left line prepared by the congress was compelled to recognize the total bankruptcy of the ultra-left line prepared by the congress was considered to the congress was congressed to the Sixth Congress and adopted by the Tenth Plenum The Seventh Congress was compelled to utter words of warning against mechanically transferring tactics, against the refusal to recognize the specific peculiarities characterizing the conditions in the various countries. The culiarities characterizing the conditions in the various countries. The speak out clearly for the defense speak out clearly for the defense so grave, the need for clarity, large interests to pay more taxes. towards the establishment of party democracy. But what has happened? The only thing that could have happened under the existing circumstances of the absence of party democracy and collective international leadership. The congress itself did not face the facts. It refused to correct openly, and in a spirit of genuine self-criticism, the whole series of false tactics constituting the ultra-left strategic course. In a spirit of despair, it substituted for the broken-down ultra-left sectarian course an ultra-right, an ultra-opportunist, course. It dropped old mistakes and took on new ones. More than that, after adopting the so-called people's front tactics for the French C.P., the model Party of the CI today, these tactics were mechanically transferred to all countries—to lands where fascism has already triumphed, like Germany, and to countries (the U.S.) where capitalist democracy continues as the unquestioned effective form of bourgeois dictatorship. And despite the resolution on paper for party democracy and for more collective international leadership, the proposal of the International leadership le

in the Czecho-Slovakian Party are surely welcome. However, they tions, etc. is leading to a state of We are of the firmest convic- agitation to convince these people are most inadequate. The source of these grave errors which were a confusion worse confounded in the tion and belief that by approach that a "soak-the-rich" platform is travesty of communist tactics and bordered on a break with com- various parties. The Comintern ing your tasks and problems in limited by the confines of capitalmunist principles is not to be found in the stupidities or carelessness and its various parties dare not such a spirit, in this manner, you ism, that expropriation is the final of some individual party leader or even the Central Committe as a go to the very logical end to which will be rendering a service not only solution. We cannot involve the whole. The primary blame falls on the shoulders of the leadership the People's Front line leads. All

WHERE DO TAXES COME FROM?

By M. S. MAUTNER There has always been a struggle between the small property excess profits taxes amounted to a ly by small-propertied interests, taxation. With the rise of monopoly amounted to 80 millions. In the items as matches, gasoline, (on capitalism in America, the pettysputterings, but again thought its light was burning brightly with the passage of the income tax. The pressure of the war (which of of the Communist Party in preparation for their national convention incation) and the post war crisis, creases in profits of the vast and 13 millions. On all other admistion, which falls directly on pro- about a sudden shift of \$85,000,000 who earn below \$25,000 pay more

Who Is Protesting?

billion or so thru relief projects of dustry, financial dealings, etc. To have proposed a tax on dividends. is in their eyes today, an attack on

more than a gesture In the fiscal year ended 1934. dividends (according to income tax was taxable—and that to the tune of 5%. Knowing that capitalists do

of an all-inclusive anti-fascist correct" and "completely correct" kia, the U. S., France, etc.

Communist Opposition for unity with the CI has not been considered.

The recent corrections of some of the extreme opportunist errors

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The recent corrections of some of the extreme opportunist errors the extreme opportunity errors are the extreme oppo

had a net profit of \$167,000,000, in \$1,200.000. 1935. This is but one enterprise in The great hope of the "little

in stocks alone before the deadline. than 16% of the tax, while the The whole idea of a gift tax is in whole tax itself applies merely to itself an admittance of the un- the year's income and not to fixed Why has the question arisen punishable fraudulence practiced capital.

> For 1935, there was reported a concerned, taxes could not be coltotal revenue of \$3,790,000,000. Of lected on the 1929 evaluation. Does this sum, about 340 millions, or less the small property owner ever get than 10%, were raised by the as far as the Supreme Court? "radical," "soak-the-rich" program

Where did the money come from ed report shows certain interesting

Alcoholic beverage taxes: Tobacco Taxes: Manufacturer's \$340,000,000 Excises:

This totals to \$1,200,000.000. every cent of which is paid, not by the large brewers and distillers, or not hire accountants on a "back- by tobacco princes, or other industo-work-in-private-industry" basis, trialists, but is passed on to the alliance of forces. For example, not amount of the dividends were whit- prices—and the consumer means taxes (it is interesting to note that tled away, long before the income the middle class and the workers. the Penna Supreme Court declared

It is this confusion, it is this population—that is, it contains continued division in the ranks of negative as well as positive ele-LUTELY CORRECT. Was it corment, to the proletariat as a whole. rect for the party, in the light of In the present international situation of the process of the result of increased excises. To cement this alliance the danger of Hitler Germany falling upon Czecho-Slovakia, to ist war against the Soviet Union workers will struggle to force the of the Republic against foreign soundness and unity in the ranks But it would entirely defeat our fascism? COMPLETELY COR- of the communists assumes a burn- purpose, and make impossible the RECT." (Our emphasis). What ing urgency and immeasurable immaintenance of a class alliance, if Gottwald labels here as "absolutely portance. To the delegates of the we did not "patiently explain" the party convention, to the comrades limitation of this struggle to the are the absolutely false and the in the membership, to the leader- farmers and others. The class-concompletely wrong conceptions—
laid down by the Seventh Conlaid d gress—which are the very source time that you drop subjective re- which one can tax the bourgeoisie and which have served as the very actions rooted in conditions which under a bourgeois regime. What starting point for the crudest op- no longer exist, that you examine precisely do the bourgeoisie need a portunist errors in Czecho-Slova- critically the status and the prob- state for, an executive committee, lems, the errors and successes of if this is an instrument to be used This failure to drop completely, the party in the light of the ex- for anybody's anti-capitalist pur-

> (Continued on Page 7) masses in historically futile battles.

tax reports reached the treasury. Thus one-third of the taxes of The report also informs us that large property is paid for indirectowner and the big bourgeoisie as little more than 2½ million dol- and the propertyless The manuto who shall shoulder the burden of lars, while the capital stock tax facturers' excise taxes include such budget report for this year these which there is a tax for each of courgeoisie went thru a few last two items are lumped together, to its three stages) playing cards, make a total received in 1935 of 98 oleomargarine, toothpaste, soaps, millions. At best therefore, the ex- candy, admissions, etc. Even in the cess profit taxes have risen a half- last the burden is not borne by the million, if the ratio is similar. And rich—on a tax of 1c on every 10c this in a year of extraordinary in- above 41c, the total revenue was basic monopolies of this country- sions (specifically including caba-

> tax. The fact that the Raskobs and Another great "reform" was the Mellons and Morgans are being

> > ed that as far as a railroad was

The struggle of the petty-bourgeosie against direct property taxation and indirect payment in the the other nine-tenths? A detail- form of higher prices has not resulted in easing himself of the burden at the expense of the big bourgeoisie on the one hand and the workers on the other. Quite \$410,000,000 the contrary! Precisely because the \$460,000,000 capitalist class has been able to keep the petty-bourgeoisie in tow, has the result been against the interests of the middle classes them-

Certain alleviations can be achieved for the middle class thru a labor government based on an this unconstitutional), but trade union control of the employers' Generally, therefore, a program petty-bourgeoisie can eliminate the characteristic of this section of the

cel all preceding ones. The Republican Party, being the in diumming up fraudulent issues against the Democrats Two camattention will be "hight against | he had. rights It is this outfit which for decades has been systematically drawing business and government closer and has been organizing

But, of course, different times

government instigation of monop-

We have in mind the spirit of uniest, the mood of revolt, the urge for freedom from all imperialist domination encouraged by the heroic resistance of the Ethiopians

AT FIRST GLANCE

By Jay Lovestone

ing from the attack by Mussolini on the Abyssinian people.

situation in the French imperialist

since the days of the Riff war.

It is true that so far "the Great

French Democracy, that ciadle of

liberties," has succeeded in ruth-

lessly crushing the insurrection in

Syria. But scarcely has this suc-

cess been registered when the

French imperialist brigands were

confronted with a serious threat to

their rule of blood and non in

the Tunis protectorate. The Sar-

raut government—in whom the

Socialists voted confidence and

against whom the Communists did

not vote-has just arrested many

hundreds of Tunisians because

they were suspected of being op-

posed to the rule of the Fiench

bankers and because they want

freedom from French imperialis

And if this war continues for

any length of time, we will un-

doubtedly see such a spirit of re-

bellion grip the other colonial peo-

ples of Africa. England's troubles

one may confidently expect to see,

as a direct consequence of the

Ethiopian war, a further sharpen-

ing of the relations between the

Egyptian people and the British

Lansbury, are playing right into

the hands of the blackest reaction-

aries by proposing a re-distribu-

tion of the world's resources

among the capitalist looters Now

more than ever is it necessary for

international labor to fight for the

immediate and complete freedom of

clutches of the imperialist oppres-

sors-whether the latter be French,

British, American or Belgian,

American politics In this respect

at least it would appear that the

present election campaign will ex-

Dutch or Japanese.

domination.

to Italy's war machine Take the and fight in these regions unseen esting against the government's country. Likewise, when the Chi-cal

cago Tribune shrieks against government in business it is not objecting to huge government subsidies to individual capitalists, to crooked bankers who need a lift We need but remind this lag about the millions given to its friend the the press reports go, in so tar as the headliners would colors and runs against the peril to rugged indithe thinking and problems of the great mass of unconscious and semividualism when the Federal govconscious readers. However, let no one make the mistake of over- broken banking business, and gave looking or minimizing some of the significant consequences now flow- away several tens of millions to this aich-individualist

In the same sense we must rip the veil of lies off the mouths of what industrial unionism means OF FASCISM?" a change, the Democrats are the the highly-paid nanters against for the aluminum workers in and "ins" In most essentials the Re- government spending. Had it not around Kensington, Pa. The offipublicans would have done the been for the huge government ex- cialdem of the A F. of L. was en- ciushei" the author considers the same thing, if they were in charge penditures in recent years, the raged David Williams, A F of question as settled for good empire Recent months have wit- of the Administration today Un- mightiest banks would have been L. organizer appointed by William nessed a flaring up of discontent der such altered circumstances, the drowned in a sea of unused and Gieen to direct the affairs of the the simple mind of the Electrical Democrats would no doubt have unusable cash. It is not the "gentaken the position now taken by eral public" which has been pour- Workers, promptly sent a letter to The author has first to prove that the Republicans on many questions. Ing money into New Deal enter- Gravatt declaring. "ONE MORE an industrial union is by its very What the workers should be on prises It is the big banks which ARTICLE LIKE YOU HAVE nature more autocratic (pardon us, the world's democratic rights and guard against in the whole situa- have the money to invest and are PLACED IN THE PRESENT IS- centralized) than the majority of tion, is the hypocrisy, the fraud, able to take advantage of tax-ex- SUE OF THE ALUMINUM the now existing ciast internationthe cunning fabrication in the empt government bonds Seven of WORKER WILL MEAN YOUR al unions From our own expericapitalist politicians' strategy. the biggest banks in New York LAST AS AN OFFICER OF THE ence, we know that it is not diffi-Surely when the Hoover crew yells and Chicago have invested from 30 UNION AT NEW KENSING- cult for the miners to secure strike against "dictatorship" it is not pro- to 58% of their deposits in gov- TON" enment securities Obviously, the As a result of what Williams ance boards He also knows that use of troops with which to break distinction between "government strikes, it is not crying against in business" and "business in gov- tum" Gravatt has resigned from where such action is practically government by injunction, it is not ernment" is getting ever thinner. his position. shedding a tear against dictatorial From the point of view of practirule over the lives of millions of cal class relations and politics both hardly the proper tactics to assure centralized procedure we would workers and impoverished farmers are becoming synonymous, ever the unity of the trade union move- call it by the biggest corporations in the closer to the point of being identi-

WITH THE LAWMAKERS

Workers of this State will lose the little insurance benefits they now enjoy in the event they contract silicosis if the Crews bill, already passed by the Assembly and ominously enough, reported in Egypt are far from over and favorably by the Senate, drives through to final enactment into law In almost every respect the measure is worse than the law which it to a Lewis psychosis. John L. "is drop a line to David Williams (see

It starts off on the wrong foot by ruling that "compensation shall not be payable for partial disability due to silicosis or other

imperialists in the not distant fu- dust disease." Going further astray, it fixes an arbitrary maxi-At this time especially, while the mum instead of paying as the need big imperialist powers are begin- lasts. If death or disablement oc-\$50 a month. In no event, however, will he receive more than \$3,000.

To obtain the meager medical treatment afforded by this bill, the victim must not "falsely represent in writing that he has not all colonial peoples from the previously been disabled from the disease." Woe unto him if he does not know the nature of his affliction when he signs up for a job!

Unless the silicosis sufferer files his claim within one year after the last exposure or dies within five years of his contrac-"outs," will naturally take the lead tion of the disease, he—or his family-will not be eligible for benefits. Compensation is s paign slogans of the GOP. which hedged in with conditions that the will receive most money, men, and worker loses what little insurance

dictatorship" and "keep govern- The bill is moving so quickly ment out of business." In both in- and silently towards enactment stances the Republican Party will only because labor has not had its be reversing its historical position | say George Meany, president of The Republican Party has, until the New York State Federation of recently, not only championed but Labor, knows about the existence actually fostered the concentration of the measure, but he seems to of power in the executive arm of see only the clause calling for safethe government It is this "party ty devices. He has given the legof Lincoln" which has smashed the slators a whitewash, even in the ranks of the advocates of states' face of the Gauley Bridge tragedy

The Moran bills to require a referendum by the people of New York City on any proposal for transit unification and to forbid any increase in the five-cent fare hring different birds and different on city-owned lines were voted birds mean different songs. For unanimously by the Assembly

Public Service Committee.

dustries

change."

Taking aim at "foreign agita- editorial is written. And now, if The argument of industrial ning to talk about a re-division of the spoils amongst them, must lather spoils amongst them. The spoils amongst them spoils amongst the spoils amongst the spoils amongst them spoils amongst them spoils amongst them spo the spoils amongst them, must labor leadbor beware of certain "peace jured person is entitled to only amended the Coolidge-Kerr meason amended the Coolidge-Kerr me Commissioner of Immigration to MORE CENTRALIZED FORM in the USA then the loid have deport any alien convicted of a OF UNION GOVERNMENT? De-mercy on our souls! It will probably be reported out within a few weeks despite labor's express disapproval.

the Senate Commerce Committee, OF DEMOCRATIC IDEALS. The penalty for such ignorance is not only would give the shipping HAVE UPON THE NATION the loss of ninety days worth of interests a "little hand," but would IN GENERAL? WOULD IT sues, are not new methods in requires "all medical attention." passenger vessels too would have

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

T SEEMS that the Rhineland controversy has completely submarker Dawes. Not a single word was uttered by the Chicago Tribune WE REFERRED last week to an editorial in the March Fedward the Italo-Ethiopian war. This may be true in so far as is made for "charity toward each other" and "appreciation of each others points of view." We are now in a position to show how this is translated into life.

> W. B. Gravatt, secretary of Alumnaum Workers Local 18356, s an enthusiastic supporter of industrial unionism, and he doesn't care who knows it. So he wrote an article for his union paper explaining

With this argument as the "final

But is this question as simple a National Council of Aluminum Journal would have us believe? himself referred to as his "ultima- there are many craft internationals impossible without the direct sanc-It appears to us that these are tion of the President A highly

ment or its growth in the basic in-As tor democracy in the unions, there is nothing inherent in the industrial form to make it less democratic than the craft form A THE "Journal of Electrical comparison let us say, of Dan To-Workers" (March 1936) lays bin's Teamsters Union, with David down what we presume it consid- Dubinsky's semi-industrial Interers as a very effective barrage national Ladies Garment Workers against John L Lewis, in the form Union, will reveal a favorable balof an editorial entitled "John L. ance for the latter

Lewis's Contribution" According If the Editorial writer of the to the author the whole movement | "Electrical Journal' is so het up for industrial unionism boils down against autociacy we suggest he a strong, heady, inordinately ambi- above) or look up the facts in the tious man, primitive and not re- attempt to lift the charters, withflective by nature, and he will not out charges or hearings, of Painters' District Councils No 9 and The above will give you an idea No 18, by the General Executive of the perfectly calm and objec- Board of the Brotherhood of Painttive manner in which the whole eis—a ciast union

mocracy is unwieldy, but it is also stable, and it resists reaction. A more centralized form—we will not call it autocracy, because we do mittee for Industrial Organization Hitherto, the act permitted the Commissioner of Immigration to use his discretion.

Call it autocracy, because we do mittee for Industrial Organization muttee for Industrial Organization for organizing the steel industry use his discretion. might make for more mobility has placed the A. F. of L. in a of action, but WHAT EFFECT difficult position. Its announce-A Copeland bill, reported out by WOULD LABOR'S DESERTION ment about organizing the steel industry was one of the usual announcements made annually from time immemorial Came the CIO medical attention. How little this also keep foreign born sailors off HASTEN OR NOT THE COMING and called William Green's bluff. DELIBERATE beclouding and is may be seen from a comparison outlight falsification of is—with the standard provision which with Gicen's announcement than Mike Tight and the steel companies.

> The insidious germ of post-of-One might think that for purely fice censorship is contained in the factional reasons Green would pro-Dobbins bill which provides for the ceed to do something now that the punishment of any person who CIO is raising hell about the steel sends "any obscene, lewd, or lasindustry, but the facts prove othercivious, or any filthy book, pamphwise Look over the most recent let, picture . . . " through the releases of the A F of L. and mails. The bill, now before the you will note that the steel organ-House Judiciary Committee, is esization drive is conspicuous by its pecially venomous because it makes absence To make doubly sure you the offense punishable either at might take a look at the latest the place of sending or at the place number of the "Amalgamated

of delivery. Journal, (March 12) there is not a single item on the campaign. Stuck in the Assembly Ways and Means Committee for lack of a little support from organized labor is the Holley resolution to investigate private detective agencies and their strike-breaking proclivities.

Non-citizens of the United States will not be permitted to remain inside the boundaries of New York City for more than five days unless they register themselves, ac cording to the provisions of a resolution introduced into the Board of Alderman by Mr. Keegan.

At the same time, the local unions of the Amalgamated Association are raising hell and demanding action The proposal is made for calling a conference of representatives of all locals and of unorganized mills The purpose of such a conference, it is stated, is to plan "an immediate organizational drive in conjunction with the CIO"

HAVE YOU GIVEN TO \$5,000 FUND?

(Continued from Page 3) peasants to the parties of the bour georsie.

As the indignation of the workers and peasants mounted at the repressive measures of the coalition government, the syndicalists short-circuited the growing tension by a series of ill-prepared and clumsily executed insurrections which depended upon small bands of picked militants and the use of diminutive dynamite bombs. The consequent failures weakened the insuirectionary wing and strengthened the trade union sector of state apparatus caused a defeat anarcho-syndicalism.

The communists were also buefly offered the confidence of right government. The anti-rethe workers and peasants in the quest of the latter for guidance. But the official Communist Party did not prove equal to the task The events of 1930 took it by surprie. In the elections of 1931 it and Austria had made their imdid not participate. When the pression on the Spanish working great strike waves began involv- class A left swing began in the ing virtually the entire proletariat | Socialist Party. The Young Soof Spain under the leadership of cialist League prepared to leave two big federations of labor the Second International. After had been most inclusive and the (U.G.T and C.N.T.), each with a bitter fight in the Party, in a membership of a million out of which Largo Caballero and Prieto a total proletariat of about three joined the revolutionary faction million, the communists were en- against the rest of the old leadergaged in playing with the attempt at forming memberless unions of coalition, against democratic illuthen own. When the masses asked questions about their burning problems, the Communists answered with glowing accounts of life in the Soviet Union—as one popular phrase had it, "they talked majority took rapid strides to-

Trotsky's personal prestige in Spain was great but the Spanish Trotskyites answered concrete questions put by Spanish history with the abstract litany characteristic of international Trotskyısm-"Chang-Kai-Shek", "Anglo-Russian Unity Committee", "socialism in one country", "Thermidor". The prestige of Trotsky was

The opposition Communist party under the leadership of Joaguin Maurin also proved unequal to the socialists, opposition communists, influence. Its regional character and theoretical weaknesses preto the Spanish workers.

all-inclusive united front.

The Insurrection of October 1934 An incomplete revolution either goes forward or slides backward. professing to offer leadership, disgood on the promissory notes of the revolution, all these had their inevitable effect The masses became quiescent, sections even turned reactionary, and a cleverly framed electoral law and hostile for the republican-socialist coalition in the elections of November 20, 1933, laying the basis for a publican majority began to pave

transition to clerical-fascism. But the experiences of Germany ship, the party declared against sions, for armed uprising and proletarian dictatorship, and against struggles for immediate demands!

Meanwhile, the anti-republican

the way for a "peaceful" and legal

wards dictatorship. In the first ninety-four police censorship "deeries of reactionary demonstrations were held, a clerical demonshation, a nation-wide landowners memonstration. To each of these the proletariat answered with a began to develop one overwhelm- reversed its stand that the Working conviction—that unity was ers Alliances were "the holy alnecessary if they were to accompliance of counter-revolution" and lish anything. The elections of decided to join them. It was these November 20, 1933 gave a power- alliances that led the general ful impetus to the demand for an strike and insurrection of October of last year.

The October Revolution The immediate occasion of the

general strike was the fall of the petence or worse in every tendency under the premiership of Lerroux, all workers under capitalism the fifth of October and the next bewhiskered melodrama is enough day the general strike developed to bring a blush of shame to one's into an armed uprising The response of the proletariat

> but the revolution suffered from less monotonous. unclear aims ("save the republic" or "proletarian dictatorship"?), from the lack of a unified party and planned leadership, from the vacillating weakness of the petty bourgeoisie (e.g., Companys in Catalonia). from inadequate work and support in the army. Only in Asturias, where the united front petty bourgeoisie largely out of the picture, was the heroic miners' uprising equal to the historic tasks that confronted the Spanish masses That heroism already belongs to the great traditions of the European working class. And the determined struggle carried on there, though defeated, has given

fascist-military dictatorship.

The defeat of the October insurrection left the Gil Robles' clericalnine months of 1934 there were fascist group as the strongest element in the new Lerroux govnunciations" of El Socialista A ernment, but the unanimity and heroism of the mass struggle compelled the preservation of Republican trimmings, stayed the hand demonstration, a student-fascist of the white terror. The widespread repression only deepened the resistance of the working class general protest strike. And when, and the demand for amnesty for on the initiative of the opposition the pilsoners that jammed the Communist Party (Maurin group), unjustified arrests. Even the Court an Alianza Obrero was formed in direction of fulfilling the program Catalonia, a united front including of reaction intensified the resentment among workers, peasants and task It developed great strength Tiotskyites and other groups, the petty bourgeoisie The Leiroux in Catalonia but no real national Workers Alliance idea spread like government could not fulfill its wildfire, dragging in, against the program in the face of the steadily opposition of their leaders, the rising tide of opposition, which vented it from giving leadership anarcho-syndicalist and official finally overwhelmed it. The fall communist organizations in As- of the Lerroux-Gil Robles govern-Gradually, in the face of all turias. Finally, in mid-September | ment led to a brief "transition" these conflicting forces and in- 1934, less than three weeks before cabinet under Portela, charged adequate leaderships, the masses the uprising, the Communist Party with conducting new elections These were the elections scheduled for February 16, of the present

> Have You Contributed To \$5,000 Drive?

T-P-P-S

(Continued from Page 1)

broken. It's solely because we have apparently failed to provide that spark of fire so necessary for kindling enthusiam and response. This is straight goods. We have our hearts in our mouths . . .

To the point: what you will do in the coming fortnight will make or mar us. But, whatever you will do or not do, remember when we say "us" we include "you" as well. So, what's to be done by our friends, by our smypathizers, by the readers of the Workers Age, by every member of the CPOregardless of how poor or hard-hit he or she may be, regardless of how many other pressing obligations and essential expenses? Well, I reckon by this time vou either know or really don't have to be told what we are after and what you are going to do. You are going to act in that inspiring and fighting spirit of the militant French Socialist youth organization known by the

T.P.P.S. is only an abbreviation for TOUJOURS PRETS POUR SER-VICE. In plain English, in ordinary everyday shoptalk, this means: AL-WAYS READY FOR SERVICE.

Our goal is within sight. Make it within reach. Get ready for service. Render it in double quick time. JAY LOVĚSTONE.

"Love On The Dole"

TF YOU do not already know what it is to be in love and not to be able to get married because of a brutal, unfeeling system, go by all means to see "Love on the Dole", the little play that tells an all too true story of life amongst the ruins of humanity I guarantee Samper government and the for- that though you be the hardest of people you will be touched by the ranks of the workers, incom- mation of a coalition of the right the plight of the Hardcastles, the lowest common denominator of

llusion with the republic and the the lead of Gil Robles in the ca- play overreaches itself. Gow and socialist ministers for not making binet. The petty bourgeois Re- Greenwood, the authors, are too publicans under Azana left the ambitious The Three Old Women, Cortes and appealed for extra-. Cortes and appealed for extra- sahioned upon the pattern of legal, i e, insurrectionary, defense Shakespeare's witches, do not quite of the Republic. The petty bour- come off; the symbolism of the geois nationalist and syndicalist love scene on the moois is much unions declared general strikes on too blatant; and the resort to

cheek Still, the play is a good solid one, on the order of "Let and peasantry was overwhelming, Freedom Ring," but livelier and

The characters come from one milieu (the slums bordering on distributed among ACW mem-Manchester) just as they do in bers signed by the Amalgamated Bein's play, but here they have Progressive Circle and the Amalmore individuality. They do not lead skimpy lives, bound fast to the facts of their existence They can look beyond, and do In tact, it is precisely because Sally and Larry permit themselves the luxury of dreaming that the play takes on the color of a rich and clear of drabness at any cost.

Sally, played beautifully by Wendy Hiller, begs Larry Meath, her sweetheart, to have her even though the future looks dark and hour week pause to the plans for a clerical- forboding "I'll scrub my fingers to the bone, doing service," she pleads eagerly The poor gul constitution of the union This bewants her chance but isn't destined to get it. Even as she utters her plea, so affecting in its poignancy, we realize that it cannot be granted. Her Larry has already been

Told thus nakedly, the scene seems barely to skirt the thin ice CENTRAL TRADES IN of triteness But as written by the authors and as acted by Wendy Hiller, it takes on a glow that is seldom seen in the theater You forget the maladroit lines and the painful situations and think only of the tragedy of two individuals | Liberation of Victims of Persecuat bay against a hostile world.

The same may be said for the notives, but always they catch themselves in time For this they must thank the Hardcastles, who, once set on their feet, are too \$5.00 are already on sale at the sturdy to be swept away by any wind of fancy of the authors In fact in their zest for life and their strongly thythmic language, a perpetual joy, to the ear, the Hardcastles resemble no one so much is Prompted by a determination to the characters who people the provide substantial funds for the such solid people to keep him busy!

Addenda: It's a pity that the Frank Gilmore of Actors Equity "Daily Worker" doesn't boost the play. It has its revolutionary implications even though they are given a defeatist twist. I suspect, their artist membership. The orhowever, that what proved to be ganized musicians, through Pres. Thirteenth Street was the lacing Federation of Musicians, and Edgiven ultra-leftism Goodness knows, no one is accusing them of this sickness nowadays. Why the providing outstanding musical tacampaign of silence then? -LEE MASON

FERRERO-SALLITO ARRANGE CONCERT

The Ferrero-Sallitto defense committee, desperately attempting to save these two Italian workers inson, Mezzo Soprano; Rose Dea, from deportation to Mussolim's dungeons has arranged a con- The foregoing artists are from the cert and dance to raise the neces- | Chicago Opera Company In addisary funds.

The affair will be held on Sat- soldi, Soprano and Gaetano Luzurday April 4 at Star Casino, 105 zaro, Baritone.

with three clerical-fascists under I say this advisedly. I realize that in point of construction the

PLAN FOR ACW CONVENTION

In preparation for the coming convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, to be held in Cleveland during the month of May, a joint statement is being gamated Rank and File Commit-

After a discussion of conditions in the industry and in the union, the statement pledges to work for the following demands:

1. Guaranteed minimum wage variegated robe The authors steer scales, on the basis of \$100 per hour to be applied nationally.

2 Classification system to be applied nationally 3. Strict enforcement of 36

4 Adherence to the rights of membership guaranteed in the comes necessary, the statement explains, "buiocratic officials have trampled the constitution under then feet and ignore the most elementary democratic rights of the embership."

GARDEN MEETING AGAINST FASCISM

The Committee for the Relief and tion in Europe, organized recently by the Labor Chest of the Amernemainder of the play. Always kan Federation of Labor, and the Gow and Greenwood appear on the Central Trades and Labor Council verge of surrendering to their basei of New York, has completed preparations for a gigantic All-Star Benefit at the Madison Square Garden on Sunday evening, May Committe offices at 3 West 16th Street, New York, and at all trade union headquarters in the greater

theater of Synge and O'Casey An thousands of victims of persecuauthor can't go far amiss with tion in Europe, the committe has scaled its prices in a manner which will provide upwards of 50,000 dollars.

too much for our comrades on Joseph M Weber of the National ward Canavan, of Musicians Union Local 802 are busily engaged in lent, and already have arranged for a symphony orchestra of 150 musicians, organized from the leading symphony orchestias.

> E. 107 Street. Admission is 49c. Among the outstanding artists appearing on the program are Nino Ruisi, Basso; Agnes Rob-Soprano; Mario Carola, Tenor. tion there will appear Marcella Ri-

BOOKS of the LOSING THEIR CHAINS by James Sand

Eugene Victor Debs

REVOLT AMONG THE SHARE-

Covici-Friede. 98 pages. 50c.

Reviewed by Bertram D. Wolfe

ists who has helped to redeem the

inciedible shame of "Lily-White

he has long ago abandoned the

favor of an energetic activity to

for oppressed Negroes and poor

whites while they are still alive

As Secretary of the Committee on

Economic and Racial Justice, as

one of the Directors of the Raleigh

Conference and the magazine

conditions he portrays. The result-

ing pamphlet is a moving as a

of crops" in the "New South":

decades largely because of the

growth of concentration in agricul-

ture and growth of domination by

Having established the facts of

increasing misery, Kester tells the

dramatic story of the sharecrop-

per's revolt, of the unity of black

and white cemented in the midst of

WE SOVIET WOMEN. By Tatiana

Reviewed by Ellen Ward

It appears that Tatiana Tcher-

navin had only one story to tell

unappetizing dish, attempting to

stretch the original work into a

The book itself is a misnomer It

might have been called anything

clse, since it deals as much with

men and children as it does with

women It contains a series of

thumb-nail sketches of Soviet of-

ficials, their wives, their children,

G.P U. agents, writers, free-lanc-

The traits that Madame Tcher-

there, a worker and peasant

Dutton, 1936, \$2.50.

Tchernavin. New York, E. P.

banks and mortgage companies

plant cotton."

preaching of compensation

heaven for misery on earth,

Howard Kester is one of that has its humor, and Debs did not fail to remark upon it. It had taken a Justice leaned over to David Kaisnei, Debs' amanuensis, and said little band of revolutionary social- good deal of convincing a couple of years previous to make him ride on "You've got to hand it to the old man, he came through clean" a Pullman Certainly the lack of comfort on the "Red Special" never good name of his party in the helped to lessen his hatred of the man after whom they are named Southern United States where for But the vote did not increase very much. It was 420,873, an increase the judge sentenced him to ten years at the West Virginia State sometime it had been sullied by the of only 8,000. But Debs was not discouraged.

ning as Bull Moose candidate with Taft as Republican and the "Presnational ticket, the vote fell almost half a million Debs did iun foi Congressman from Indiana, but waged a perfunctory campaign

He was then the living symbol of proletanianism in the American labor movement But his name had not yet become the household word the effort was not feeble. It was the greatest individual protest against that it now is That waited upon the entrance of America into the imfor the Socialist Party and its perialist war in 1917 Debs could hardly believe his ears when this it rallied liberals and radicals to him Woodrow Wilson never forgave country entered the general grab-fest Once he came to the realization him, and never would countenance an unconditional pardon. as an active participant in the of what had happened, for him there was only one course. He must work of the Southern Tenant express his hatred of war, and he must reveal its anti-workingclass Farmers' Union, Howard Kester basis Some others were doing it with impunity, but 'Gene Debs was by Oliver Wendell Holmes It is one of the most reactionary decisions has had an unusual opportunity to going to do it in such a way that every worker, every wage-slave that the Supreme Court has even handed down learn at first hand and participate would know To him it was not to be a sacrifice; it was to be a actively in the fight against the symbol of proletarian revolt against the oppressions of capitalism

On June 16th 1918, at a tremendous open-air meeting at Canton Ohio, Eugene Victor Debs put himself irrevocably on record as opposed novel and as well documented and to all wars, as opposed to capitalism, and as a comrade of the Russian He acted like a man convinced he is right. And the future has shown far sounder than the best academic Bolsheviks. His own people had wained him that it meant suie imeconomic study In it there is no prisonment To which he replied as only he could: "I would rather a nonsense about the "diversification thousand times be a free soul in jail than to be a sycophant and coward on the streets"

And how he did let go in the Canton speech! With Federal agents "When the landlord tells him to plant cotton and furnishes placed all through the gathering and a government stenographer to him with no other seed he is take down what he said, 'Gene Debs announced that he was opposed to powerless to do anything but the present form of government in this country. "Wars," he said, "have always been declared by the master class; the subject class has He demonstrates that share always fought the battles; the master class has had all to gain, nocropping is not merely the heritage thing to lose, and the subject class has had nothing to gain and all to lose,-including their lives." This was more than enough to convict of slavery and abortive reconstruction (to which last he does not him. Yet Debs added more fuel to his own pyre, but it made the red attach enough significance), but is of revolution brighter, by pledging his fidelity to Lenin and his fola growing phenomenon among lowers, amidst thundering applause whites as well as blacks in recent

"Here in this assemblage I hear our hearts beat responsive to the Bolsheviki of Russia Yes, those heroic men and women, those un conquerable comrades, who have by their sacrifice added fresh lustie to the international movement. Those Russian comrades, who have made greater sacrifices, who have suffered more, who have shed more heroic blood than any like men or number of men or women anywhere else on earth, they have laid the foundation of the first real Democracy that ever drew the breath of life on God's footstool"

Woodrow Wilson sat in the White House and ground his teeth Debs was undermining his war to end all peace. actual struggle of reverses and

They arrested him, and he was tried for violation of the Espionage victimizations, and of the victories Act The only witness against him was the stenographer. No full text that have established a tradition of the speech, which was extemporaneous, was available; but Debs incorporated in organization which quietly said that he was willing to accept the young stenographer's seem to have sunk stable roots into statement of what he said because that was what he meant anyway Southern soil and laid a real basis The youngster left the stand in tears, and 'Gene turned to him and for the creating of a true "New said, "Don't worry. I know you had to do it, and I want to say that you did it like a gentleman," Which made the poor boy weep more for the first real hero he had ever met. Debs decided to plead his own case before the jury, despite the

eminence and ability of his counsel He had things he wanted to tell were stricken with grief. The fresh breath of real life and sympathy them himself But he never really pleaded his cause; he tried to con- they had known was being given back to a world which had spurned vert the jury and the audience to socialism "It is because I happen to be in this minority that I stand in your presence today, charged with

(Continued from previous issue)

In 1908 the S.P. put on its most ambitious campaign with Debs | crime," he told the twelve men good and true. "War does not come by chance. War is not the result of accident. There is a definite cause CROPPERS. By Howard Kester. heading it They chartered a train which came to be known as the for war, especially a modern war. The war that began in Europe can "Red Special," and Debs went racing around the country with his readily be accounted for "Finally, he ended his address to the jury brother Theodore, making speeches and arousing tremendous interest | with the statement that it was nor he that was on trial; it was a whole The picture of these two lanky men trying to sleep in short Pullmans social system. As he sat down, an agent from the Department of

But 'Gene Debs was not through yet He was going to make this capitalist farce a field day for socialism. They found him guilty and Penitentiary at Moundsville. Before sentence was passed, Debs was Four years later, his optimism vindicated itself. In a campaign accorded an opportunity to address the court Looking squarely at the Socialism." Originally a Minister, where capitalistic parties were split three ways, Teddy Roosevelt run- judge, his head erect, his tall, lanky form (he was well over six feet) moving in rhythm to his words, he spoke like the revolutionary socialbyteman Mountebank" from Princeton as the Democrat, Debs polled 1st he had become. "This order of things cannot always endure," he 901,062 votes, more than double the 1908 figure 'Gene said it was the told the representative of law and order 'I have registered my protest most strenuous campaign of his life. But the strain was beginning to against it. I recognize the feebleness of my effort, but, fortunately, I help establish a bit of social justice tell, and Debs was beginning to age. He refused to run in 1916, when am not alone. There are multiplied thousands of others who, like he was sixty-one and not in the best of health. Without him on the myself, have come to realize that before we may truly enjoy the blessings of civilized life, we must reorganize society upon a mutual and cooperative basis; and to this end we have organized a great economic and political movement that spread over the face of the earth" But imperialist war that has ever been made. It stirred the country, and An appeal was made to the Supreme Court. By a unanimous

decision they upheld the sentence. The decision was written and read

They hustled him off to Moundsville secretly lest the train be stopped by anti-war, pro-Debs demonstrations at every important junction He took it all calmly, all in stride for the revolution Morris Hillquit says he acted like an early Christian martyr That is wrong how right he was

For publication he gave these last words to a war-maddened world "I enter the prison a flaming revolutionist—my head erect, my spirit untamed, and my soul unconquerable" But pi'son bioke Debs' physique He was old when he entered, sixty-tour When he left at sixty-six, he was very near death. He came out of Atlanta, to which he was shortly after transferred (again secretly and under heavy guard) very weary, very ill, and not the revolutionist that he had

The story of his prison experience he tells in the only full-length work he ever wrote, "Walls and Bars" He refused to countenance anything but an unconditional pardon, and announced that "the flies will carry me through that keyhole piece by piece before I shall ever confess sorrow or penitence for standing like a man, and by my constitutional rights as an American citizen."

There has never been a more influential prisoner in any American prison He had the same effect on the "criminals" who met him as he had on the unincarcerated When he left Moundsville for Atlanta, the inside prison wall was a wailing wall for the inmates he left behind From Atlanta in 1920 he ran as the SP. candidate for president And what a campaign it was! He had been nominated by the party in a hall where the centre of attraction was his picture in prison garb banked on all sides by red roses The nominating hall was in an uproar from the time his name was first mentioned Lenin raised hell with the American Communists who had split off the year before for not supporting his candidacy Lenin thought him, and rightly, one of the really great proletarian figures of the century.

U. S Convict No. 9653 became a household phrase. Mothers who had lost their sons to enhance Woodrow Wilson's historical position and fill the coffers of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation finally discovered what he meant. He polled nearly a million votes in the Haiding landslide Once Wilson was out of the way, the coast was clear for the unconditional pardon The man who had defeated him for the presidency granted it on Christmas Day, 1921 The inmates of Atlanta it shortly before.

(To be continued in next issue)

a thin, meatless soup—a somewhat would be just the reverse.

SOVIET RUSSIA. By Vera Miche-

Policy Assn 1936. 46 pages. 25c. Reviewed by Ellen Ward This is the third edition of a pamphlet on the Soviet Union

which first appeared in 1933.

It is a useful manual of facts ers of the old regime, and here and presented in very lucid form, outlining the structure and function of the Soviet State, the Communist navin imagines to be purely slavic Party and the Artels.

or Russian may be found in normal

tire story, however, from begin- ance in 1932-33. ning to the end is obviously so The treatise carries only a bare the U.S. with the Communist biased that instead of creating minimum of interpretative com- Party, American section of the pointed out that it is still possi- because they do not have presentanti-soviet propaganda which it ment and the capitalist bias scat- Communist International.

and she told that in "Escape from the Soviets." This second book is in the average unprejudiced reader marks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the lateral tered usefulness of the compilation.

The concluding section of the study analyzes Soviet diplomacy les Dean. New York, Foreign and its relation to world revolu-

End Confusion

(Continued from Page 4) to the American but to the whole international communist movement. It is in this spirit that the CPO (US), as a section of the It describes the election of International Communist Opposimen or women of any other ethnic Soviets, class relations, individual tion, transmits fraternal greetings group. Given a set of similar cir- liberty, the Soviet industrial sys- and best wishes to your convencumstances their reactions would tem, economic planning, problems tion. We hope you will seize the of labor and management, the opportunity for aiding clarity, for The months she spent in prison agrarian revolution, the New Econ- overcoming opportunist errors as are given in great detail and paint- omic Policy, the drive for collec- well as the remnants of ultra-lefted with intense bitterness. The en- tivization and the peasant resist- ist sectarianism, and for hastening the unification of the CPO of

St. Louis, Mo | which is leading towards disaster On Friday March 20, Lovestone

"Europe in Ferment". With penetrating clarity Lovestone analyzed the internal conditions in Germany, France, Austria and Czechoslovakia and the transfer to sharpen class demarcation instead of the class-blurring Peoples Front. He pointed out the need for united political action by the CP and CP in the 1936 electric strength. effect of the mechanical transfer- the SP and CP in the 1936 elecence of the dangerous Peoples tion with a real labor figure, Tom Front policy and its flourishing Mooney, for president, to serve as opportunism upon the working a rallying point for the labor class movements abroad. He em- movement to whom Mooney reprephasized constantly the need for sents working class persecution clarity within the Communist In- personified. ternational and a correction of the line established at the Seventh World Congress. Showing that the C.I has made an effort to ell- Smith, fifty-five, resigned as truminate the crassest opportunist ant. officer rather than arrest the

Lovestone explained the needs spoke at the Hibernian Hall on of fighting for industrial union-18m and the formation of a Labor Party based on the trade unions

CONSHOHOCKEN, Pa -- Perry tendencies as manifested in the parents of children who, he de-CP. of Czechoslovakia, Lovestone clares, stay away from school only ble for the C.I. to change its path able clothes

Knitgoods Union Confidently Faces Severe Attacks of the Employers

By LOUIS NELSON (Manager, Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union)

The economic situation in the knitgoods industry nationally is grave. In New York unemployment has increased considerably both in open shops and in Union shops. There are two basic reasons for this condition The recent trend further deepening the economic cusis, changes of styles in women's apparel.

Economic Crisis

When there is a sharpening of the economic crisis with a resultant increase in unemployment it is immediately felt in the knit-goods industry. The knitted outerwear industry produces essentially a luxury commodity dependent for its sale upon the part of the purchasing power of the consumer that is over and above that which is needed for absolute necessities Increased unemployment with the consequent decrease. in purchasing powr brings the knitgoods industry practical to a standstill.

The recent demand for woven cloth women's suits rather than knitted garments is another important cause of the present situation in the knitgoods industry While it is undoubtedly true that this change of style has brought increased work to the ladies cloak industry nevertheless for the knitgoods industry it has meant unemployment to thousands of knitgoods workers

The knitgoods employers, with the active assistance of the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce, have attempted to utilize this situation to accomplish their aims, namely, to force the union to grant concessions and ultimately to smash us Their propaganda claims that our union is responsible for the industrial crisis Their charges are the same that have been used by capital against organized labor from time immemorial, ie closed shop, high wages, short hours, are the causes of unemployment and crisis Their cry to the union workers 18, "give us forty hours instead of thirty-five, lower your minimums, work overtime without extra pay, then there will be work

Employer Offensive

The employers counted upon the long period of unemployment in the knitgoods industry as a factor that would cause the knitgoods workers to lend a ready ear to their cries. They hoped that unemployment would be on their side and that because of it they would be able to force the knitgoods workers to submit to their demands. But the gentlemen of the Chamber of Commerce and the mill owners miscalculated They completely underestimated the positive effect that two and one-half years of the Joint Council Knitgoods They did not reckon that this per-10d of unionism has taught the knitgoods workers the value of their collective strength. They did not include in their estimation that

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the organized knitgoods workers | ment expires in July, 1936. are consciously aware of the difference in conditions in the union shop of today and the sweatshop of yesterday, the difference between boss control of conditions and union control.

The knitgoods workers answered the employers arguments by pointing to the open shops where workers are forced to work forty-five fifty and fifty-five hours per week and showed conclusively that even in these shops where the employer is absolute master, there is no work. They pointed to the large open-shop plants that have gone bankrupt despite long hours and low wages to prove that the general economic conditions are responsible for the conditions in the industry The organized knitgoods workers of the Joint Council refused to be misled by the employers and have remained loyal to their union.

Factory Removals

Failing in this manouver, the employers resorted to a new ruse They began a campaign of threatening the knitgoods workers with removal. This campaign received idditional stimulus when the emplovers received cards mailed by the Chamber of Commerce of cities and towns out of New York promising them a low-priced labor market A typical example of this bartering in labor is a post card sent to the knitgoods manufacturers from Mount Airy, North Caro lina, advertising its low-priced labor market. "Girls on piece work earn 60c per day, women on piece work earn \$1.00 per day, men on piece work earn \$1.25 per day."

It is the desire of the manufacturers to obtain labor at these miserable rates of pay, and the illusion that they can establish similar conditions in New York that cause the employers to wage their removal campaign with

But the organized knitgoods workers have also seen through this strategy of the employers They have learned that the New York knitgoods manufacturer cannot exist far away from the New

No Concessions

Despite the unfavorable conditions, our union has not yielded to a single demand of the employ-We have held steadfast to the gains won by the knitgoods workers in the last two and a half years. The loyalty, self sacrifice and devotion of the knitgoods workers, new recruits to unionism, is an inspiration to the entire trade union movement. These workers, without trade union tradition, have been able to repel all of the attacks of the employers despite the trying times. They did not yield one inch of their conditions in the shops. They have maintained their Workers Union has accomplished morale and are now preparing and mobilizing to extend and improve their conditions when the agree-

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Masses Support Progressives

Leading their fight and pointing the way is the Progressive Administration of the Joint Council. Step by step the policy of the progressives has led to the establish ment of one knitgoods worker With every step toward unification more and more knitgoods workers became aware of the correctness of our policy and joined in the support of the Progressives Today the overwhelm ing majority of the knitgoods workers stand solidly behind the progressive leadership of the Joint Council. Complete unity has not yet been achieved There still iemain the leaders of the former "Industrial" union and some misled followers who still fight our progressive policies and leader-They still approach union problems in the same old sectar-ian manner of the dual union Their opposition is based solely upon narrow, factional interests They refuse to see the problems in the light of the interests of the knitgoods workers as a whole but approach them purely from their group considerations As a result their "issues and differences" have no real basis and May Day parade. then accusations stand unprover However, we progressives whose historical role is to unify the trade union movement on a militant class-conscious program, will continue to strive for the unification of all militant and honest forces within the ranks of the knitgoods

THIS IS WHY THEY MOVE

MOUNT AIRY, NORTH CAROLINA

has a very low priced labor market.

Girls on piece work earn 60¢ per day " \$1.00 " " \$1.25

Population, 8500 people; 10,000 more in surrounding few miles. Experienced hosi ery and underwear operators available. Wonderful opportunity for any manufacturing business.

Copy of a post card mailed to knitgoods manufacturers in this area

can Federation of Labor in the knitgoods industry and we will, with equal patience and determination, work for the establishment of unity within our union.

A Progressive Force

Faced with a difficult industrial situation, conducting many strikes under extremely difficult conditions, our Joint Council still finds time to devote itself to the needs of the general labor movement. We have given active support to the anti-fascist fighters in Europe. We cational department. are a leading participant in the fight for social legislation. We are concerned with the movement for independent political action for the workers and have endorsed the Tom Mooney For President Campaign. May Day, 1936, will find us among the leaders for a united

Our progressive leadership believes that the trade union is more than the economic weapon of the workers. It must become the force that will awaken the social consciousness of the workers. The union must be the defender of the workers in the problems they are workers It took us years to es-I facing away from the shop. Our

tablish one union within the Amer- union has established a sick and relief fund to which our membership can appeal for aid without the stigma of charity that accompanies public relief The union must provide for cultural, recreational, and educational opportunities for its membership. The Joint Council has established an educational department that offers activities to workers that will provide them with the means for physical mental development. Many hundreds of our workers are participating in the activities of the union edu-

Here To Stay

It is this approach to trade unionism that has caused our union to become an important factor to each of our members personally and to our membership collectively. That is why we are confident that even though the struggle ahead will be more difficult than ever before, we will be victorious. The Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union has laid a permanent foundation among the knitgoods workers. It is here to stay The employers will fail in their attempts to smash this defense bulwark of the knitgoods

Knitgoods Workers!

WHEN THE BROOKLYN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE ATTACKS YOUR UNION BY ORGANIZING COMPANY UNIONS

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