

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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"FREE MOONEY AND BILLINGS," DEMAND WORKERS IN HUGE MASS PROTESTS

"FROM THE TOMB OF THE LIVING DEATH"

RALLY THRUOUT THE NATION

Hundreds Of Thousands Attend Trade-Union Protest Meets

From San Francisco to New York, the labor movement is holding mighty demonstrations on the twentieth anniversary of the vicious frame-up of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings. Railroaded on perjured evidence by a bitterly prejudiced jury, these two loyal members of the working class are still fighting for their freedom.

Under the auspices of the San Francisco Trades and Labor Council a meeting is being held there on July 26th. The California State Federation has endorsed this meeting and it will be attended by the members of all the affiliated trade unions. Other cities are holding similar meetings, which will further the cause of freeing labor's great martyrs.

In New York City, the Central Trades and Labor Council has for the first time taken the initiative in the Mooney-Billings Case. With the help of the ILGWU a huge meeting has been arranged in the Hippidrome to demand the freedom of the San Quentin prisoners. At a joint meeting of the ILGWU and the Central Trades, it was decided that Charles Zimmerman, manager of Local 22 and James Quinn, secretary of the Council would be in charge of all arrangements. A list of nationally prominent speakers, representing labor and sympathetic sections of public opinion, will participate.

In a statement calling upon all ILGWU locals to arrange Mooney meetings, if possible thru their City Centrals, the following estimate of the case was given:

"More than at any other period of its history, the cause of the liberation of Mooney and Billings requires now the cohesive and undivided support of all organized workers and of all friends of the labor movement. On this 20th anniversary of their incarceration, the voice of the organized world of labor should be heard in protest of the bloody injustice visited upon Tom Mooney and Warren Billings and their martyrdom for two decades in a California dungeon. It should be a demonstration against the forces of all-powerful reaction in California which have succeeded to this day against incontrovertible evidence of their innocence to keep them in jail, and should also serve as a rallying center to all their friends to keep up the fight for their freedom until it is won."



THOMAS J. MOONEY
MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOULDERS UNION
FOR 34 YEARS ON AUGUST 3, 1936

WARREN K. BILLINGS
PAST PRESIDENT OF THE BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS
UNION LOCAL 216, SAN FRANCISCO

From Mooney and Billings to All Workers

County Jail No. 1.
San Francisco, Calif.
July 16, 1936.

EDITOR,
WORKERS AGE.

Greetings of militant, proletarian solidarity from this tomb of the living dead on this 20th Anniversary of our imprisonment on a monstrous, capitalist-class frame-up, because of our loyalty, fidelity and aggressive devotion to the toilers.

May we say that on this 20th Anniversary the only hope of our ever being liberated from this master-class bastille is through the united efforts of a fighting labor movement?

We urge the readers of the Workers' Age to go forth and herald the world the message of our undying gratitude for the splendid support that we have received throughout the years from the militant elements of the working class, and we hope that they will stimulate a universal working-class protest and demand for our unconditional release and our restoration to the ranks of the working class.

On this 20th Anniversary, we hope that every worker will do some single service to signalize attention to the monstrous wrong that has been done to two innocent, militant working-class fighters. In token of this, we give you our solemn pledge and assurance that come what will, we shall keep the workers' flag flying to the end,

unsullied, regardless of whether it will be in here behind these drab prison walls or out there in the big struggle with you. We have given everything to date. We reserve nothing for ourselves for the future. In return, we not only ask but plead and urge, yes we implore, you to fight for our freedom because of its symbolic meaning to the struggle of which we are so inseparably a part. Fight for us as we fought for you. A militant fight for the freedom of Mooney and Billings is one of the greatest safeguards in preventing many other militant working-class fighters from being made the victims of similar, foul, frame-up conspiracies.

We cheer you on in your struggle for final and complete working class victory, through which only can we ever hope for real, justifiable vindication for the great wrong that has been done to us by our class enemy.

Again, from the depths of fighting, proletarian hearts, we send you our profound, heartfelt, thankful appreciation for your splendid efforts in our behalf, and more particularly so because of your determined efforts in the great working class struggle.

With our warmest comradesly greetings of proletarian solidarity, we are,

Fraternally yours in the fight,
(Signed) TOM MOONEY
WARREN K. BILLINGS

'Remarkable Man' Says Hochmann Of Mooney

The Workers Age is pleased to present the views of Brother Julius Hochmann on Tom Mooney as expressed during an interview with one of our correspondents. Brother Hochmann is General Manager of the Joint Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, and a member of the Steel Workers Organization Committee. He was just nominated for President of the Board of Aldermen on the Socialist Party ticket.

Q. I understand that you were one of the members of the General Executive Board who visited Mooney in San Francisco. Could you tell me a little about your reactions to the whole Mooney case, and especially how you found Tom after twenty years of imprisonment?

Hochmann: My visit to Mooney on the occasion of the meeting of our General Executive Board in San Francisco was an outstanding experience. Since I first attended the National Labor Mooney Congress held in Chicago away back in 1919, as a delegate, I had always wanted to meet Mooney, but never had the chance until our recent visit to the coast. I started from New York determined to pay Mooney a visit, and speculated on what kind of a person Mooney really is. I wondered how even a man like Mooney would bear up under twenty years of San Quentin, knowing, as practically the whole world knows today, that he was sent there and kept there through a frame-up by the vested interests of the Pacific coast.

I expected to find Mooney a bitter and disillusioned man—bitter not so much against the ruling class that placed him in San Quentin, but against the labor movement that has hardly done enough to get him out. I was most pleasantly surprised to find him

not only in good health but in good spirits—a most amiable and charming host—so that even the prison bars of the room where he received us were soon forgotten in the presence of this most remarkable personality in our movement.

All of us following the campaign conducted by Mooney for his freedom, have been impressed by his remarkable energy, and the great amount of work this man can do. But this is really only one side of his personality. He immediately impressed us with his executive ability. He has a lot of common sense and understanding—and what is more important—Mooney displayed an intimate knowledge and understanding of the social and economic problems of labor movement, not only of the United States but of the world. He ran off events and names and appropriate comments about everything that was touched on by any of us at the present. The moment any one of us was introduced, he knew his position—he knew his work—he knew his standing.

Q. Some of us have the notion that Mooney would tend towards a self-centeredness of his interests, being in that position—or at least, a kind of introspective brooding. Did you find anything resembling this?

Hochmann: No, far from it. This most amazing man has no interest in persons or personalities as such—not even himself. The real greatness of his fight, his twenty years of struggle, lies in the fact that to him, the battle is not for personal freedom, as an individual, but freedom for his class, the working-class. All the pleas for help that he has sent out to organized labor have always impressed upon us the necessity for such aid as part of our own general struggle for our rights. And because he is bound up in the wel-

fare of all the workers, Mooney has not fallen prey to morbid self-analysis.

Q. You mentioned past neglect on the part of the labor movement. That situation seems to be changing doesn't it?

Hochmann: Mooney, saturated with his labor ideals has been capable of holding out till now, when, I think, we are reaching the last stages of the fight to free him. There is a greater understanding today, an end to the indifference that prevailed among the workers of America on the question of Tom Mooney. Why, in the county jail where we saw Mooney, all the guards, even the elevator men, were in sympathy with Mooney. In saying goodbye to us, they all expressed the hope that he would soon be a free man. Such an awakening, part of the revival of our entire movement, will undoubtedly bring results.

I understand the plans are to re-appeal the case to the Supreme Court where the chances are great that Mooney will be acquitted. However, we on the outside must not merely rely on the courts to free Mooney. Now is the time for us to start a real mass movement, to stir up the entire country, to set the fires of indignation burning at this awful example of class injustice. Now, we must really work our heads off, and we can learn how to work from Mooney himself, to rally millions round the banner of "Free Tom Mooney."

Mooney-Billings After Two Decades

The following editorial is reprinted from Justice, organ of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, July 1, 1936. At the last meeting of the General Executive Board, held in San Francisco, Tom Mooney was appearing before the State Supreme Court of California and so had been temporarily transferred from San Quentin. It was at this time that the meeting referred to in the editorial, took place.

MOONEY AND BILLINGS—AFTER 20 YEARS

Tom Mooney told the General Executive Board of the ILGWU, which visited him and Warren Billings in a body in the county jail in San Francisco, that during the twenty years of his incarceration in San Quentin he has never been more thrilled and heartened than by that visit. It was, he said, the first time that an entire board of an international trade union had paid him such honor.

That Tom Mooney meant this could hardly have been doubted by those who spent that noon hour with him in the San Francisco jail. His rugged, frank face, and deeply set brown eyes, barely scarred by twenty years of martyrdom, fairly shone with contagious, penetrating hope. In that group of two-score men and women, his was by far the most confident, the most robust voice. When he spoke of freedom to come, one felt a granite-like faith in his tone. He condoned of labor. To Mooney labor means organized, coordinated labor of the trade union movement, part of which he has been all his life. His battle against the stone wall of California torism is reaching, after unbelievable twenty years of heartbreaking effort, a crucial stage. Never has the aid of the workers' movement been of greater urgency in the crusade to liberate Mooney and Billings than it is now. Justice, July 1, 1936.

CAMP ARTEMUS BREWSTER, NEW YORK
Fare from Grand Central \$1.05
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Improved sport facilities

Zimmerman Calls For Strong Mooney Drive

By CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN
Manager, Local 22, ILGWU

During the week of July 27, there will be mass meetings held throughout the country to commemorate the incarceration of two martyrs for the cause of labor—Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings. It is very significant that now, on the occasion of their 20th anniversary, there are many new forces within the labor ranks who joined in the struggle for the freedom and vindication of Mooney and Billings. They represent the struggle of the labor movement against the open shoppers of this country. The frame-up against them is symbolical of the fight of trade unionists for organization.

During all these years, Tom Mooney hasn't given up the struggle to vindicate himself. Now on the occasion of the 20th anniversary, we are seeing the renewed efforts on the part of the labor movement to obtain freedom for these two martyrs simultaneously with their renewed effort to organize the millions of workers in the unorganized industries.

I had occasion to meet Tom Mooney and Billings while in San Francisco a few weeks ago. It was the first time I met them and I was very pleasantly surprised. I knew from correspondence, as well as from the press, that Mooney is a great fighter. I knew that he is a persistent fighter, but I thought that in spite of his courage 20 years of incarceration might have had some effect on his spirit and his faith and confidence in the labor movement. To my amazement, I found Tom Mooney a fighter who is full of vigor, full of pep, full of optimism. One who hasn't lost one iota of confidence in the labor movement in spite of these many years in prison. I found that he is thoroughly acquainted with everything that is going on in the ranks of labor. He follows the political developments as well as the developments in the trade union field.

In discussing with him his struggle for his liberation, he takes it not as a personal matter but as a problem of the labor movement, which it is. From this short visit, I learned that it is no wonder that the traction interests of San Francisco were interested so much in having Tom Mooney behind bars. They succeeded to keep one of the most militant labor leaders behind the bars.



This picture was taken in the Frisco County Jail, while Mooney was being heard recently. Mooney and Billings are seated with their attorney Davis, while Sascha Zimmerman, manager of Local 22, is standing.

We must now, therefore, begin our final drive, mobilize the tire labor movement, get many new forces into the struggle, call mass meetings and demonstrations, begin raising funds for the defense, start a nation-wide campaign anew to the end that we may soon have Tom Mooney and Billings free and fight for the organization of the workers.

Shops Sign with N.Y. Toy Workers

First fruits of victory crowned the two week old strike of 700 stuffed toy workers organized the Doll and Toy Workers Union, Local 18230, A.F.L., as six manufacturers signed new contracts granting all the unions' demands. Half a dozen additional employers have signified their intention of signing within two days.

The shops which have capitulated are Max Baer, Realistic Novelty Co., Superior Fur Novelty, Famous Stuffed Animal Co., Broadway Toy Work and Zoo Products. They have granted a 20% blanket increase to all crafts. In addition the union has won a ban on cutting machines which have recently been introduced into the toy industry.

Three girl pickets were injured, one of them very seriously, when three policemen brought their clubs into action to break up a mass picket line in front of the Peerless Wig Company, 19th St. and Broadway. The wigworkers, who manufacture wigs for dolls, are also under the jurisdiction of the Doll and Toy Workers Union. 400 of them have been on strike for four weeks demanding an 18 minimum wage, a 40-hour week and the abolition of sweatshop conditions.

TOM MOONEY, HERO OF LABOR, SPEAKS

By JAY LOVESTONE

To meet Mooney, to chat with him, to exchange ideas and experiences with him, to get his attitude towards things as they are and as they should be, I consider the privilege of a revolutionist's lifetime.

My several visits with Tom in the County Jail of San Francisco, my all too few moments with him in the recess periods during his present court hearings for a writ of habeas corpus, I treasure for their inspiration and instruction—landmarks in more than twenty years of activity in the labor movement.

I didn't take more than a moment for me to feel as close to him as if I had known him for many years. It was more than a common cause and identical loyalties which bridged gaps in such lightning fashion. It was the man, the giant of courage and confidence, with black flashing eyes, shining with a vision of labor tomorrow and burning with determination, to fight for labor today.

Twenty years of continuous dungeon life have not broken his body or his spirit. The broad shoulders, the big heart, and the alert, keen mind convince you of that in a flash. This may surprise one—and rightly so. But frankly what was to me the most welcome surprise of all was Tom's mind, his intelligence, his keenness and variety of interest, the extent of his keeping up with the kaleidoscopic changes in the American and world labor movements, in the entire complicated international situation.

Labor's Finest

Yes, in some respects I had to change estimates quickly. I found Mooney to be even more than a symbol of what is finest and best in American labor's aspirations and struggles. I thought to myself as I looked at this hard-hitting, straight-shooting, militant leader of present day leaders, who talk so much about heroes of bourgeois struggles in the history of our country but forget the inspiring battles which have given us the figure of a Tom Mooney. I found in Tom a man of real substance as well. He is a veritable dynamo of energy, the guiding mind and hand in his own defense over two decades.

Indeed, it is a tribute to the American working class to have such sons as Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings! And what irony of fate, what a scathing indictment of that most costly of frauds, American democracy. What an ineradicable black mark against the United States as it is today and as it has been that California—world-famed as "God's own country"—should imprison, should doom to a living death, these two bravest of the brave amongst our many proletarian heroes!

It is my opinion that all American labor should not only take pride but should also rejoice in having fighters like Tom in its ranks. I marvelled particularly at the fact that 20 years citizenship in a California dungeon, did not embitter either Tom or Warren. Rather their determination has become utterly unbreakable. These fighters do not know what moaning means. They have not become egocentric. Despite two decades in prison, Tom and Warren have not looked inwardly, have not turned their attention as such, have always directed their attention and interests to the outside world, to the class struggle being waged outside, to the class conflict for participation in which they have been kept inside.

In talking with Tom, one is immediately impressed with his fine

WITH EUGENE V. DEBS ON THE "RED SPECIAL"



During the famous 1908 presidential campaign Tom and John Mooney, seated in front, of the right of the drum, were called the

"Jimmy Higginss" of the Red Special. Included in this picture are Eugene V. Debs, right below the "r" of Presidential, with a

sense of humor and modesty. Most vividly impressed upon my mind is the following remark of Tom, as I was asking him a question.

"Jay, what finesse I lack in the head, I most certainly make up for in the heart, which is thoroughly proletarian, through and through." Here are some of the most important questions we discussed to which Tom made replies:

For a United Labor Ticket

Q. Now, Tom, you know of course that our organization, the Communist Party (Opposition) has thought that it would be in the best interests of labor to have the various working class parties, trade unions, and other labor organizations, get together and set up a United Labor ticket with you as the standard bearer. We consider working class unity against the capitalist reaction, against the ruling class as a whole operating thru the Republican and Democratic Parties, as the burning need of the 1936 presidential campaign. Tell me frankly what do you think of our idea?

A. "I greatly admire your courage in making such a proposal. But on account of factional differences I doubt seriously if it will get the same favorable reception it should get from all quarters, because of these differences. The merits of the proposal will be lost sight of. I fear that the politicians in all of the other political parties will oppose it on general principles. I am not one of their very own. I refuse now as in the past to be made use of by any faction. But I will give my whole-hearted support and endorsement to any fight for such a united front and I will gladly lend my name to such a worthy purpose to promote working class solidarity. It should make me very happy to serve in such an honorable and exalted post. I wish you success in the undertaking. I have long ago urged this means of furthering our cause.

"If there is a genuine, whole-hearted desire on the part of all of these groups or even a great majority of them for such action, I shall be only too happy to be of service to the working class for such an honorable capacity. I have never hesitated, and never shall, to give the best there is in me for the cause which has kept me in prison for the past twenty years. However, I shall continue to hold myself aloof from factional ties in the hope of someday being able to be of still greater service to the working class as a possible means of serving as a rallying point for all workingclass groups.

But if there is any considerable unity among the various working class groups for such an action at this time, as I stated before, I am as eager anxious, and shall be happy to serve the working class and you may rest assured that it has been my great desire to have this very thing done, not only nationally, but state and locally. In fact, this one issue alone was largely responsible for the suspension of my monthly paper, thirteen years ago. I wrote an editorial myself in San Quentin advocating this very thing to be done in every election as a purely working class weapon of defense.

Need of Political Consciousness

"I hope that your proposition will be accepted by all of the respective working class groups in the same spirit in which you make it and that a genuine, wholesome response meets your proposal. "Never was there a greater reason for unity than at the present time. There could not possibly be a better issue than the Mooney case to serve as a rallying point. All that you say is true, I have never openly or politically antagonized any faction. I have been very sympathetic towards all groups. I have received the genuine, whole-hearted support of all the different working class organizations, both politically and economically.

Since these remarks were made to me, both the Socialist and Communist Parties have held their conventions and have nominated Thomas and Browder as their respective and competing candidates for President. Since I have had this discussion with Tom, quite a number of labor organizations throughout the country have endorsed the idea of Mooney heading a United Labor ticket as the symbol of working class militancy and unity.

Q. Well, Tom, would I be correct in saying that you are for the labor movement running its political prisoners as candidates for public office?

A. "Yes. This proposal is in line with an age old working class weapon to run persecuted and political prisoners as candidates for public office. I can cite the case of Andre Marty, elected to 218 public offices in the country of France, during the course of four years of incarceration on a twenty years' sentence for mutiny in the French navy on the Black Sea squadron that was ordered to fire upon the city of Odessa after the revolution. Marty organized the fleet against such an outrageous injustice and the entire rebellious

crew was arrested and some twenty of them were convicted."

A Class-Conscious Worker

Here Tom appeared to me fearless, defiant, wrapped in a smile of confidence. I could easily see why the employing class would put such a man on its eternal blacklist, why it would hate and fear him. It was obvious to me that Mooney wasn't the kind of a fellow given to high falutin' oratory. To cheap or slick lawyer talk. He's the kind of a fellow that says what he feels and thinks. As I was looking him over, I could not but think of him as the product of Ludlow, Calumet, Homestead, Danbury, Herrin, Nashua and such other struggles—all rolled into one.

Q. Now, Tom, you know that in some sections of particularly the radical labor movement, there's a general idea that you've been sort of never interested in the political struggles of the workers, that you've had sort of a strictly syndicalist approach to things, that you have been and still are a trade unionist pure and simple with no vision of the class struggle as a whole. What have you got to say about this? What's in this notion?

A. "Yes. I have been and will continue to be a devoted militant trade unionist. But I was also in the Socialist Party for years before I was framed up. I was with Gene Debs on the 'Red Special'. Debs toured the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific and returned, touching every major city of any importance in the United States above the Mason-Dixon line. He spoke in hundreds of smaller communities from five to thirty minutes on that tour of the 'Red Special'. He averaged eight speeches a day from the latter part of August to the second day of November. In every large city, the largest hall was required to pack in the audience. And there were always overflow meetings held outside and everyone of these meetings was held in large cities in the evening. Admission of at least 25c per person was charged. Reserved seats in some of the larger places were as high as 50c and 75c each. On top of this, collections were taken up—netting hundreds of dollars; and thousands of pieces of literature were sold in these meetings. This was when the standard of the American worker was, from the point of view of the daily wage, about half of what it is at the present time.

"If you look at the photograph of the 'Red Special'—the Socialist Presidential special train and the

crew that accompanied that train in the campaign of 1908 all over the country with Gene Debs as the standard bearer, you will see Tom Mooney as the "Jimmy Higgins" on that train."

"And here you have a photograph of the delegates to the International Socialist Congress in Copenhagen, Denmark, taken in September 1910. You will find me there."

Industrial Unionism

Q. I am sure, Tom, that you have been following the recent big events in the American Trade Union movement. I have in mind, for instance, the decision made by the last A.F.L. convention against membership in the National Civic Federation. I'm thinking about the great historical struggle for industrial unionism. As a veteran in the labor movement you must recall rather vividly bitter fights in the labor movement over these very questions years ago. Have you played any part in these struggles?

A. "Let me call your attention to two resolutions that I introduced to International Molders' Union Convention in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in September, 1912. Identical, parallel resolutions were introduced in the recent convention of the A. F. of L. at Atlantic City, N. J., by John Lewis. I have reference to resolutions that forced Matthew Woll out of the Civic Federation and caused John L. Lewis to resign from the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. because of his advocacy of industrial unions as against craft unions. I was a delegate to the International Molders' convention at Milwaukee in 1912."

Mooney has a very vivid memory for labor struggles. He was leader of the left-wing in the San Francisco Central Trades Council for years. In 1911 he was the candidate for sheriff on the Socialist Party ticket in San Francisco.

Q. As a labor leader with many years of experience in the political and trade union movement of the working class, what do you think we fellows outside should place the most emphasis on in our work?

A. "All of our friends in this country and throughout the world should be devoted and dedicated to the idea of actually winning the organized workers to our banner. Ten organized workers are a more effective potent force in the determination of things than a thousand unorganized. One hundred men organized in key positions can be more effective as fighters than a million unorganized."

Q. In this respect, let me fling another one at you Tom. You've heard lots about the United Front, I assume. How do you stand on that?

A. "I tried to make a broad United Front appeal to all working class organizations all through these twenty years in prison. And I hope in some small measure, the sacrifices that I have made, if they can be called so, will count in swinging a balance of power to the creation of a real effort in bringing some sort of understanding and unity among the workingclass groups in this country. I shall dedicate my life to that task. I've explained before the futility of dissipating our energies in attacking one another, instead of uniting on some common ground and fighting for the common general good of the working class.

"I have one concern and one only; the unity of all the working class elements to make a grand fight in defense of their rights and to ultimately establish their complete freedom as workers. I will sacrifice most anything to accomplish that end."

Q. Do you know, Comrade Mooney, that there are all kinds of (Continued on Page 7)

EUROPE TODAY

By LAMBDA

The Burial Of Sanctions Brings New Alliances

THE new Anglo-French rapprochement is being realized in the course of the burial of sanctions against Mussolini. The indictment made by the Negus, and the Italian whistling chorus accompanying it, were simply the ceremonies of the funeral. What comes now, after the burial of the League of Nations?

In "Oeuvre" Madame Tabouis gives the correct reply: "The League of Nations is now only a political gathering place for diplomats for the purpose of concluding real alliances." It was evidenced in Geneva as a result of the fiasco of the League of Nations in the Abyssinian conflict, as well as in the question of remilitarization of the Rhine, that not only is the League of Nations thru, but that the French system of alliances has also been severely shaken up. Hitler Germany continues its silence in so far as the British questionnaire goes; but in the meanwhile it builds its fortifications on the Rhineland with maximum speed. In a few months, these fortifications will be finished. The moment these fortresses are completed, the alliance between France and the Little Entente as well as the Franco-Soviet Pact will be of much less value. Small wonder, therefore, that the Little Entente is placing more sharply the question of what use is its alliance with France under these conditions. The Little Entente will, from now on, be driven closer to the side of the Soviet Union.

The questions of the greatest concern at the moment is, therefore, the building up of a new system of European alliances. Its concrete contour is not yet determined, but it is already clear that there is involved here not merely a reestablishment of the Stresa front or another old front. In the meanwhile, Italy has practically arrived at a military agreement with Germany. Poland has informed France that, in the event French troops will be moved to the German border to occupy German cities—as a result of the Hitler action of March 7th—then, she would have to march Polish troops to the border of the U. S. S. R. What significance, then, does the Franco-Polish alliance have under these circumstances?

In the coming weeks and months, we can expect the following to become new faits accomplis:

The occupation of Danzig by Hitler Germany as indicated in the article by the Nazi District leader, Foerster, and the restoration of the monarchy in Austria as intimated by Mussolini. There is no doubt that should the latter occur the Little Entente will be on the march.

The foundation on which the new system of alliances is to be built up is in constant motion.

Doriot Sets Up a Fascist Party

Of the greatest significance in the events of recent weeks in France appears to be the founding of a fascist party by Doriot. Its actual establishment took place on Sunday, the 29th of June, in the City Hall of St. Denis. Representatives of the press of the Right were invited and reported the speech of Doriot, lasting for several hours. Doriot has rebaptized his paper *Emancipation*, to be called *Emancipation Nationale* (National Emancipation). His speech developed all the fundamental theses of fascism. It was a vigorous indictment of communism and the Soviet Union. The class struggle he branded as an "out-of-date formula." The Soviet Union, instead of being a socialist state, has been turned into a bureaucratic and military capitalist state.

He made a strong plea against the "infernal" struggle of the proletariat against the other classes, against internationalism; he denounced the C.P. as a "foreign army" operating on French territory. Doriot pleaded for the "struggle for the independence of the working class". He declared himself in full opposition to the policies of the government in the last strike—policies which he said were forced on it by the Communists. He cited in this case particularly the 40-hour week. He thus founded a party, the People's Party (*Parti Populaire*).

Wherein is there special danger in this move by Doriot? It is not immediate. Momentarily the foundation of this People's Party is only of local significance. But it can become different. Doriot, as an ex-Communist, is in a position to contribute to the Fascist movement such elements of demagoguery which Colonel De La Rocque is incapable of bringing. The mere fact that Doriot hails from the left, out of the revolutionary camp of the working class, is of inestimable significance for the perspective of his movement. The speech of Doriot against the strike and against the 40-hour week is a straw in the wind indicating the tie-up between the Doriot outfit and certain sections of the employers. This makes it clear that Doriot will have the resources and possibilities for waging a national propaganda campaign.

Further illustrations of the political development in France are afforded in a number of citations from the expressions of Communist representatives in recent days. We cite: (Humanite, June 27th), Comrade Duclos, Secretary of the Party, writes: "The radicals are correct when they declare that they will not permit any attack on private property and that we communists are not considering any such proclamation. To that we add it is our common concern that today private property is being undermined only by the mighty economic dictatorship of the 200 families against whom we will struggle with all our might. . . . Civil war, which the French people do not want and which we communists condemn because we are concerned for the future of our country. . . ."

Giton, in an interview with a representative of Vanguard, Central Organ of the Communist Youth said: "Right straight to the top of the general staff there are officers of all categories, whose loyalty to the Republic and devotion to the security of the nation cannot be doubted, who are deeply grieved over the manoeuvres of those who are agents of the Leagues for civil war. . . ."

Giton speaks as if there were only "certain disturbing elements" who must be cast out of the army. Giton declares that Communists are also for discipline in the Army, and cites as model proof of this that in the Communist Party discipline prevails.

The left Radical sheet, "Oeuvre," correctly concludes its estimate of these expressions, with a triumphal question to the Right: Can one still doubt that the Communists will vote for war credits?

(Continued on Page 7)

LABOR AND FOREIGN POLICY

By WILL HERBERG

(We present below the first of a series of articles by Will Herberg on problems of proletarian foreign policy. In the course of these articles, the question of sanctions will be discussed in detail—Editor).

Within the last two years, questions of foreign policy have come rapidly to the fore as central issues confronting the working class movement. Italian fascism's adventure in Ethiopia, the Hitlerite war program in the West and the Japanese menace to the Soviet Union in the Far East have presented the world with a series of problems of the most vital import to the international labor movement. And yet it is precisely in this field labor is least prepared to grapple with the issues facing it; how ill prepared, the miserable fiasco in the Ethiopian crisis can testify only too well. Questions of foreign policy are, in general, among the most complex and difficult that we have to face—international alignments and the relation of forces change so rapidly, hidden interests appear in such deceptive guises and courses of action have such unexpected consequences. At the same time, there is very little critically evaluated experience upon which we can rely to find our way out of the maze of our present difficulties. The helpless floundering of all sections of the labor movement on the question of sanctions is a striking example of the confusion rampant in the ranks of the working class on matters of foreign policy.

It should be clear, therefore, that I am far from pretending that my remarks in these paragraphs in any sense provide a final and definitive answer to all the questions raised. It may be quite possible for Herbert Zam (American Socialist Monthly, July 1936) to discuss such matters with a cocksure and supercilious air as if he were the sole custodian of all ultimate wisdom, or for the editor of the Socialist Appeal (June 1936) to impute dark and sinister motives to our attempts to work out a satisfactory position. We, for our part, intend to proceed far less presumptuously but surely more soundly and responsibly. Our discussion here is to be taken primarily as an explanatory venture and of tentative conclusions. What I am primarily interested in is arriving at conceptions that will stand the test of critical examination in the light of Marxism and that therefore can lay some claim to soundness and validity. And I feel that, for the main conclusion developed in these paragraphs at least, such a claim can be made with a good show of reason.

Insofar as the international labor movement has become at all conscious of problems of foreign policy and has taken any action in this field, it has done so generally as an echo of current bourgeois sentiment. Here, as elsewhere, the working class has remained largely under the ideological influence of bourgeois liberalism, the pressure of which has made for opportunism, for pacifism on the one hand and outright chauvinism on the other, for the conversion of the labor movements of the various countries into mere appendages of "their own" ruling classes in ideology and policy, into hostile camps arrayed against each other along nationalistic lines. In the World War, the dominant leadership of each socialist or trade union group took its stand behind the bourgeois war machine, opportunism turning into the most repulsive form of "socialist" chauvinism. Exactly, the same spectacle, altho by no means in so gross a form, was displayed

only a few months ago when representatives of the socialist and trade union organizations of Europe met in London to discuss the situation created by Hitler's remilitarization of the Rhineland. As the New York Times correspondent pointed out somewhat derisively, the boasted internationalism of the socialist labor movement collapsed ignominiously under the stress of the crisis and each delegation took a stand that obviously reflected the views of the liberal bourgeoisie of its own land. A sickening demonstration of the corrupting effects of opportunism in undermining the very class foundations of the labor movement!

It is a reaction against such excesses of opportunism, that anarchistic or anarcho-syndicalistic moods begin to appear in the ranks of the working class. "Anarchism," Lenin has pointed out, "is often a kind of punishment for the opportunist sins of the working class movement. Anarchism and opportunism are two deformities, one complementary to the other." Its characteristic manifestations are well known—a doctrinaire refusal to "recognize" the state, its institutions and activities; political abstentionism and "nihilism"; a dogmatic and abstract radicalism that is, at bottom, essentially sentimental. It is easy to see how revolutionary workers, repelled and disgusted by the mad extravagances of opportunism, come to fall under the influence of an ultra-radical negativism that promises so much in its grand phrases but is so insipid and futile in its deeds.

A sound proletarian policy, reflecting the true interests of the working class, does not spring full-formed from the head of Marx. It arises gradually out of the experiences of the labor movement, critically evaluated in the light of Marxism; it is forged out of an unceasing struggle, both ideological and practical, against opportunism to the right and ultra-radicalism to the left. In the sphere of domestic politics, with which the working class has been so immediately concerned for many decades, general lines of a sound Marxist practice have been elaborated and have gained currency among the class conscious sections of the labor movement. But in matters of foreign policy, so extremely complicated and so relatively unfamiliar, it seems to me that a sound Marxist course has still to be worked out.

To be quite specific, it is my main contention that, in this country particularly, the crystallization of working class opinion on such questions of foreign policy has tended towards a polarization about two extremes, each complimentary to the other, in the sense of Lenin's remark quoted above. In revulsion against the official opportunism of the Socialist and Communist Internationals, revolutionary elements have tended to seek refuge in an empty and formal radicalism that will not stand up in the face of reality, however plausible it may sound in the abstract. It is not surprising that this should be the case with the Trotskyites, whose morbid sectarianism is notorious.

But it is also true of the left socialists, especially the Yipsels, and it was no less true of us, the C.P.O., in our first reactions. The fact is that attitudes, moods and approaches that would ordinarily be recognized as unsound and rejected as such in any other field, are still accepted and allowed to pass as thoroly Marxist and revolutionary where foreign policy is concerned.

By what criterion shall we judge the soundness of our policy, by what test do we measure its "correctness"? For us, surely, there are no sacred dogmas or unalterable principles standing above all criticism. Authority and tradition, the authority of a great thinker such as Marx, Engels, Lenin or Rosa Luxemburg, the tradition of the socialist labor movement precipitated from the experience of decades of struggle, may be very valuable guides if properly employed. But they must be applied concretely, with careful regard to time, place and circumstance. To tear a sentence from its practical context and convert it into an absolute dogma, is a grave sin against the spirit of Marxism and it becomes all the graver if it is Marx or Lenin who is thus mistreated.

In the last analysis, however, the ultimate test of the "correctness" of a policy is practice, the consequences of the policy in action. Every course we propose, every line of policy we follow, should be subjected to this test: Will it advance or will it retard the basic aims of the labor movement, the fundamental interests of the working class in its struggle for emancipation. The welfare of the revolution—we may paraphrase an old maxim—is the highest law!

In the field of foreign policy today, I believe, there are, so to speak, two fixed points amidst all else that is changing, two great and paramount considerations towards which all our efforts must be directed and by which all our policies and activities must be tested. They are: first, the class struggle against capitalism, the political struggle against the bourgeois regime, the emancipatory struggle against imperialism, the revolutionary struggle for the proletarian dictatorship; and, secondly, the defense of the Soviet Union against the diplomatic or military attacks of the bourgeois world. Any policy of course that, in its consequences, is found to come into conflict with either or both of these two aims thereby stands hopelessly condemned on the face of it, no matter how "correct" or "revolutionary" it may appear on the surface, for the very meaning of "correct" and "revolutionary" in our sense is the tendency to promote and advance these prime objectives!

* It is perhaps necessary to make explicit the position that between these two aims there can be no incompatibility or conflict; that, on the contrary, they form two aspects of the same organic whole. For the interests of the proletariat are at one internationally; the interests of the Soviet Union, as a proletarian state, are at bottom in complete harmony with the interests of the French or German proletariat—they are, however, differently expressed, on different planes, in different forms.

WORKERS AGE

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THE "THIRD DEGREE" TESTIMONY

On Saturday, July 22, 1916, a huge "preparedness" demonstration was held in San Francisco. During the course of the parade, a bomb was thrown—by whom it has never been determined, altho the handling of the case seems to indicate that agent provocateurs were guilty. Photographs and other evidence have long since proven that Tom Mooney was far from the scene of the crime. His whole record and philosophy further show that such an action was impossible for him.

But Tom Mooney was "guilty" of being a loyal son of the working-class, of having carried on a long campaign to organize the workers of the United Railroads, and for this the company had sworn to "get him." He was brought back from a short vacation, which had been planned some time before the bombing occurred, and immediately subjected to a severe grilling by Fickert, Brennan, and Bunner.

It is from the transcript of this third degree that we reprint these excerpts. In these lines Mooney's loyalty extends far beyond a mere abstract devotion—his answers indicate his innocence, his strength, and his understanding of how to fight war, how to organize the working class.

IN THE CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO, STATE OF CALIFORNIA HALL OF JUSTICE, POLICE COMMISSIONERS' ROOMS FRIDAY, JULY 28, 1916.

Present:

Charles M. Fickert, District Attorney; Edward A. Cunha, Assistant District Attorney; James Brennan, Assistant District Attorney; Stephen V. Bunner, Lieutenant of Police; Howard Vernon, Notary Public and Official Stenographer.

THOMAS J. MOONEY

MR. FICKERT: (To Mr. Mooney) In view of the telegram you sent the Chief today we thought probably you would want to make some statement.

A Now, Mr. Fickert, I would like to ask, which is no more than proper, has there been any charge placed against me as yet?

Q Well—
A (Int'g.) I have been arrested. Now, why am I arrested?

Q Arrested and charged with a certain—I think you are pretty well conversant with the facts that are out in the paper—that have been published in the newspapers.

A The papers and the facts are two different things.
MR. BRENNAN: (To Mr. Mooney) On a charge

of murder.
A Well, could I see the books where the charge is entered in the books?

O We will enter it in the books in plenty of time.

A Do you mean to tell me I have been charged?

MR. FICKERT: You are arrested for that purpose, which we have a perfect right to do, and the only thing is: You have made statements that you are innocent. Now, if you are, and you can show certain facts, we would be glad to know it. You may make a statement for your own protection, if you wish, in regard to the facts.

A Well, I want to know first if I am charged with a crime.

Q Yes.

A What crime am I charged with?

Q Charged with murder.

A With murder?

Q Yes. A Well, is there any warrant sworn to, any complaint?

MR. BRENNAN: No.

THE WITNESS: No complaint filed.

MR. FICKERT: Just charged on the books.

A Could I see the books that have that charge entered in?

Q Not necessarily, no. We don't have to put it in the books.

A Now listen, Mr. Fickert, I realize—

Q (Int'g.) No, we don't want to argue that proposition. Now, you have stated here that you are perfectly willing to come down—

A (Int'g.) I have come down for a purpose.

Q Yes. And so no injustice can be done you you can make a statement now if you feel like it. You are free to do so.

A When a man—as you say, I am charged with a crime?

Q Yes. A. Under those circumstances it is my right—it is the right of every individual similarly charged, and I sure am going to exercise those rights under the circumstances, because I realize the community is highly inflamed over the outrage.

MR. BRENNAN: Q What was the purpose of the telegram you sent? What was the reason for sending the telegram?

A I wanted them to know I had nothing to hide or conceal and was on my way here now.

Q How long have you known Billings?

A I want to have you give me my rights in this respect. I want counsel.

AT 4:00 A. M. IN THE DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S OFFICE



This picture was taken at 4 A. M. during the "third degree" grilling given him by the D.A.'s office. Mooney sits in the center, harassed by (reading left to right) Stephen (Frame-up) Bunner, Lieutenant of Police Captain of Detectives and Chief of Police of the Bomb Bureau; Chief of Police D. A. White, who, before holding

that office, had been with the Pacific Gas and Electric Co.; and District Attorney Fickert, chosen for that post by the United Railroads, arch-enemy of labor and particularly of Tom Mooney, who had been spending his last eight months attempting to organize the workers of that company.

MR. FICKERT: I thought you were coming down here and were—

A (Int'g.) I want counsel, Mr. Fickert. If you were in trouble tomorrow you would want counsel.

Q We thought you wanted to make—being perfectly innocent—we thought you wanted to make—

A (Int'g.) There is no doubt about my innocence, Mr. Fickert, and you know that better than anybody.

MR. BRENNAN: Q How long have you known Billings?

A I want counsel.

Q Let me ask you a couple of questions.

A Now, Mr. Brennan, I am going to insist on my rights in this matter.

MR. FICKERT: The charge made against you is an oral charge. There is no indictment against you. There is no complaint sworn to.

MR. BRENNAN: Of course, you realize too that if a man is an innocent man there is no harm that can come to him by disabusing our minds of certain circumstances that are, to say the least, very suspicious. You can clear that up if you want to.

A I know what the paper had today, and it was to inflame the mind of the public against me. They published certain things in regard to certain trials. All that was in the paper.

Q How long have you known Billings?

A I insist that I have the right to counsel. There is no fair minded, honest, liberty loving men that can deny me that right.

MR. FICKERT: We thought you wanted to make a statement.

A I do through the proper channels.

Q If you do make certain statements here it may prevent you from being formally charged.

A District Attorney Fickert—

Q (Int'g.) We have lots of people that come in here and are arrested by policemen, and sometimes they appear here without counsel and they make a statement that satisfies us as to their innocence and they are turned loose. We have had a number of men arrested here where mistakes have been made at different times, and if the man was innocent he was turned loose. Now, if you make any statement here we want the statement made freely, and voluntarily on your part. The statement must be a free and voluntary one from you.

MR. BRENNAN: There are some circumstances that can be cleared up. How long do you know Billings?

A Listen, Mr. Brennan,—Well, you don't intend to give us our rights?

Q You sent a telegram for the purpose of making the people believe you are an innocent man.

A To let you and Mr. Fickert and Chief of Police White know where I was.

Q You know we were right on your tail with five or six officers, right after you all the time. You knew you couldn't step ten feet without an officer being on top of you?

A Why did you put in the paper a state wide search—a nation wide search—

Q (Int'g.) You knew they were after you. They were ready to grab you any time you made a move. If the telegram you sent down here are not true, say so. If you are not an innocent man, say so. A. You know I am absolutely innocent. You know it. For seven long months, day and night, I labored trying to organize the United Railroads—the men. I dreamed and worked.

* * *

Q (Int'g.) Let me tell you something. One of the most dastardly crimes that has been committed in this country has been committed in the last ten day.

A I know that. The most fiendish crime, the most heinous crime.

Q Yes, and you are guilty of that crime. A. Is that so.

Q Yes.

A You know what you are doing when you say that.

Q We will show you very quickly. And you are the perpetrator and the head and soul and bristles of it.* You just write a letter down like that to get it published and try to get some consolation from the public. If the telegram is not true—(To Lt. Bunner) Where is the telegram?

LT. BUNNER: I will send for it. (Telegram produced).

MR. BRENNAN: (Cont'g.) Listen to this: "I consider this attempt to incriminate me in connection with the bomb outrage one of the most dastardly pieces of work ever attempted." In what way is the attempt to incriminate you a dastardly piece of work.

A Because I have got nothing to do with it and it is (Continued on Page 6)

* At this point the recordings have been deleted by the authorities. Mooney became infuriated at this open accusation and lunged at Brennan, shouting that he lied. The room, filled with twenty policemen, was in a temporary uproar, but, as Mooney says, "They never made that statement again, that night."

Mooney Edited Workers Magazine 'Revolt' - 1911

The leading role of Tom Mooney in the first ranks of the class-conscious workers can best be made clear, by the republication of one of Lenin's reports to the Second International, originally printed in "Revolt".

Mooney was the publisher and editor of this magazine, which was subtitled "The Voice of the Militant Worker." Among the contributors (the magazine first appeared May, 1911), were such outstanding workers in the international labor movement as: Karl Liebknecht, Eugene W. Debs, Mary E. Marcy, A. M. Lewis, W. English, Wal-ling, Jack London, C. H. Kerr, Frank Bohn, Lucien Saniel, and Big Bill Haywood.

The first prospectus, in the form of a leaflet, announced that: "REVOLT will support the efforts of the Socialist Party." "REVOLT will urge the Industrial Form of labor unions."

We are proud to reprint the following item (April 1912), showing the early connection Mooney had established with the most advanced sections of the international labor movement.

FROM THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU

Dear Comrades:

Underneath we are transmitting to you a copy of a report of Comrade Lenin and we beg you to communicate it to your press.

Fraternally yours,
CAMILLE HUYSMANS,
Secretary

Conference of Delegates of the Organization of the Social-Democratic Labor Party of Russia

The last few years have been for the Social-Democratic Labor Party of Russia, years of confusion and of disorganization. For three years the party has not been able to convene either a congress or a conference, and for two long years its Central Committee has not been working at all. The party still continues to exist, but in the form of scattered groups, leading an isolated life (through the absence of

a Central Committee) in all the towns of a certain importance.

For some time, under the influence of the awakening of the Russian proletariat, the party has begun to reform itself and quite recently, we have been able to convene a conference of the party (which has not been possible since 1908) at which the organizations of the two capitals, the districts of the northwest and of the south, of the Caucasus and of the industrial region of the center were represented—twenty organizations in all—acting in solidarity with the Commission on Organization which had convened this conference; that is to say, nearly all the organizations, mencheviks, or bolsheviks, existing in Russia at present.

In twenty-three meetings, the conference, which took upon itself the duties of leading organ of the party, examined and discussed all the questions entered in the agenda, some of which are of vital importance. Thus it gave a thorough and complete . . . entirely in agreement with the agendas of the conference of 1908 and of the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of 1910. It gave particular attention to the legislative elections for the Duma, which are to take place in a few months, and drew up, on this subject, an agenda in three parts, providing very thoroughly and completely for the many complications of our electoral agreements with other parties, and examined, in all its bearings the attitude and the action of the party during the next electoral campaign. Questions of famine, labor insurance, trade unions and strikes etc., were also discussed and solved.

The conference also examined the question of "liquidators." This current denies the illegal party, declares that it is already liquidated and that its reconstruction is

AT THE COPENHAGEN CONGRESS IN 1910



Included among the delegates to this meeting of the 2nd International are: 1. Tom Mooney; 2. John Mooney; 3. Legien, head of the German Trades Unions; 4. Vandervelde; 5. Kollantai; 6. Hillquit; 7. Luella Twining; 8. Turatti; 9. Scheidemann; 10. Stauning; 11. Huysmans; 12. Ferri; 13. Engdahl; 14. Karl Liebknecht; 15. Kautsky; 16. Lenin; 17. Big Bill Haywood; 18. Rosa Luxembourg; 19. Trotsky; 20. Jaures; 21. Victor Adler.

only a reactionary Utopia and states that the party can only be reformed as a legal party; nevertheless this current which has broken with the illegal party has to now not been able to constitute a legal party. The conference noted that the party has been fighting this current for four years, that the conference of 1908 and the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of 1910 pronounced against the liquidators, that in spite of all the efforts made, they continue to work along and to attack the party in the legal

press. The conference declared therefore that by their whole action, the liquidators grouped round the organs "Nachazaria" "Dielo Jizni" (in which we must now add "Jivoe Dielo") have placed themselves outside the Social-Democratic Labor Party of Russia. Lastly, a central committee and the editorship of the central organ of the Social-Democrats were elected. Moreover, as abroad we have many groups which are more or less Socialist, and which in many cases are entirely isolated from the Russian proletariat and

its Socialist action and consequently not at all responsible, the conference has declared that these groups can in no way represent the Social-Democratic Labor Party of Russia, that all communications with the Social-Democratic Labor Party of Russia must be made through the intermediary of the Central Committee, of which the following is the address: Mr. Vladimir Oulianoff, 4 Rue Marie Rose, Paris XIV. (For the Central Committee)

THE "THIRD" DEGREE

(Continued from Page 5)

a dirty, rotten, dastardly attempt to connect an innocent man with it.

A Lt. Bunner, I will frankly state I will do it freely and voluntarily when I get counsel. I am only a working man and there are many tricks in this game and I want my rights all safe guarded and I realize they cannot be safeguarded under these circumstances. I realize the seriousness of this charge that has been lodged against me. There is no provocation or justification for it, absolutely none, and you know it.

Q Then if there is absolutely none your conscience is clear.

A Absolutely.

Q There is no reason why you should fear—have any fear of being contradicted.

A I saw what was in the Examiner today.

Q Then you are fore-warned of what might be asked of you?

A I saw what was in the Examiner. I know why it was there and who put it there. I am going to have counsel.

MR. BRENNAN: Q. What was in the Examiner that came to your notice? A. The whole paper.

Q Give us just one idea of it, just one thing or one suggestion.

A All of it. All of my past. My trials at Martinez in connection with strikes and being tried for dynamite, which was not true, and all that stuff. It was to prejudice the minds of the people and inflame them, to make them believe I actually committed this dirty, dastardly crime. That is what it was done for.

A (Int'g) Now, listen, Mr. Brennan. I will tell you either may be trying to approach me or something like that to get some statement out of me, but I will tell you the truth, I had no occasion to think of these things, dates and time. For several solid months I lived and

slept and dreamed of organizing twenty-two hundred men of the United Railroads, and my wife was with me every minute of the time nearly. Saturday, the day after the strike was pulled, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday and Thursday—every day in this Hall of Records and cases of hand bills refusing to move on—I was here all the time. I was working on that thing. That was more than was done by the whole labor movement in nine solid years. It was my ambition to organize them. I am going to do it. I am continuing at the work and am not going to stop. I was down here four days last week hiring attorneys for these fellows, and so forth, that was up to Thursday. Friday and Saturday—All this thing was on my mind. I wasn't thinking of anything else. I never as much as went to the anti-preparedness meeting at Dreamland Rink. I am opposed to preparedness. I had a resolution adopted by the molders union, adopted against preparedness. I realize you can't do anything only through organization. I don't believe in individual action.

LT. BUNNER: Q. On Saturday, July 22nd, when was it first you heard of the explosion?

A When an officer came on top of the building and asked if I had a right to be there. I said I thought I did, I lived there. He asked me if the other boys had a right to be there. I said they worked in the building.

Q Do you know what officer it was?

A He showed his star.

Q What did he say about the explosion?

A He came to me and he said, "Who are you?" and "What right have you got on the building? Have you got a right on the building?" or some such remark as that. I said, "I live in the building. I think I have a right to be here." He said, "Have these other boys a right to be here?" pointing to the boys who were working there. I said, "They work here." He said, "Is there any way anybody can gain access to this building—any outsider?" I said, "Not that I know of. They have got to come through that one door." Then he went to the other building.

Q What time did he get on Eilers Building?

A I wouldn't remember the time exactly. As to the policeman—one of the boys that was in the building there—the kid—he said "What is it to you whether we have a right here?" "That is what right I have got." He flashed his star and he said, "They have been throwing bombs down off the buildings."

Q How did he come to mention the bomb?

A That is how he came to mention it. He mentioned it when the boy said, "What is it to you?" or some such remark as that.

LT. BUNNER: Q. Are you a Union Labor man?

A I am a member of the Molder's Union. I have been such for fourteen years in good standing.

Q Do you belong to the I.W.W.

A I belonged to them about three months about seven or eight years ago. Eight years ago.

DETECTIVE BURKE: Q. Here in this city?

A In this city.

MR. BRENNAN: Did you hear Emma Goldman?

A Did I hear her?

Q Speak?

A No, I wasn't at any of her meetings.

LT. BUNNER: Q. Do you know her?

A I have gone to her meetings in the past. I go to all meetings. I am not particularly narrow in any respect. I don't go to any one set of meetings or read any one set of literature. I read all papers and—

Q (Int'g) Have you been on speaking terms with Emma Goldman?

A I have met the woman at her meetings and been introduced to her casually, yes.

Q Do you believe in the doctrine taught by the I.W.W.

A No, if I did I would belong to it.

Q Do you believe in the teachings of Emma Goldman?

A No, I am a member of the Socialist Party. I have got a paid up card in it. When I believe in a thing I belong to it and live up to it. I belong to the American Federation of Labor. I am against preparedness. I don't believe in individual action. I believe in doing it in organization.

An Interview with Tom Mooney

(Continued from Page 3)

reports as to you being a member of one or another or a third political organization of labor? Would I embarrass you, if I asked you to clear this up for me?

A. "I am not a member of any political group. I have been a member and am a member of the International Molders Union continuously for 34 years."

Unity For Freedom!

Q. And what do you think we of the Communist Party (Opposition) should be doing to hasten to a successful conclusion the noble fight you and Warren have been making for your freedom? I am especially anxious to know what's to be done as we approach the twentieth anniversary of your imprisonment as victims of one of the most infamous frame-ups in the notorious, anti-labor history of what is paraded as American democracy.

A. "The Mooney case would certainly be activated if I had about one-half dozen men, scattered all over the United States, putting the same energy and initiative into the fight that you have been putting in. It is mighty fine to know that there are fellows like you on the outside trying to push into action the many elements that can be a force and factor in bringing about our liberation, if they will get into the harness and pull together."

"On the 26th day of July 1936 we will have completed twenty solid years in California's prisons, because of our loyalty, devotion and fidelity to the working class of this country. Would it not be possible for you to do everything humanly possible within your power to use that occasion to signalize attention to this case for the purpose of creating a fitting, worthwhile protest against this monstrous wrong? I urge you not to let this occasion pass without fittingly commemorating the sacrifice that has been in this fight by two militant workers and to seize this as a justification for an inspiring working class protest that cannot help but produce material results for both Billings and myself. Committees should be formed to bring about the necessary twentieth anniversary publicity, to memorialize our unjust imprisonment and protest against our continued incarceration. These committees should visit the local press and secure every possible publicity, either thru the news or editorial columns of their papers. Meetings should be called and prominent speakers should be asked to express their sentiments on this matter in the most vigorous possible manner."

Q. You know Tom, convinced of your entire innocence one feels in your presence a certain guilt—a guilt of not having done enough to help in your fight which is our fight, a guilt as part of the whole labor movement—which in my opinion has fallen down on the job rather shamefully in so far as you and Billings are concerned. I feel that we have made many mistakes. Tell me, haven't you ever felt—even for a moment—discouraged as a result of these mistakes on our part?

A. "What you say concerning the labor movement's faults in the Mooney-Billings case is too true. No one realizes that more than I do. And no one has labored harder, more consistently and persistently for a score of years to correct that. But in spite of my humble efforts I must confess that I feel in a measure that I have failed to do the things I would like to have done. There are so many things that could have been done

The Story of the Mooney-Billings Case

UP TO 1916

Mooney and Billings, both members of A. F. of L. unions, active in strikes as militants in the San Francisco district. Mooney tried and acquitted on charge of having unlawful possession of dynamite. Billings at the age of 19, convicted of carrying explosives on a street car, and sent to prison for two years. Martin Swanson, a Pinkerton detective, active in both cases.

JULY, 1916

Mooney and Billings active in organizing employees of United Railroads. Swanson, employed by United Railroads, shadows Mooney. Swanson attempts to bribe Billings to implicate Mooney in dynamiting electric towers.

JULY 22, 1916

Bomb explodes among spectators of Preparedness Day Parade, killing 10 and wounding 40 persons. Swanson and District Attorney Fickert direct investigation toward Mooney and Billings.

JULY 26-27, 1916

Mooney, Billings, Mrs. Mooney, Israel Weinberg, a taxi driver, and Edward Nolan, president-elect of Machinists' Lodge 68, arrested and charged with the crime.

SEPTEMBER, 1916

Billings tried, found guilty of murder in the first degree, and sentenced to life imprisonment. He appeals.

JANUARY—FEBRUARY, 1917

Mooney tried, convicted of murder in the first degree, and sentenced to hang. Motion for new trial denied. He appeals.

APRIL, 1917

Oxman, star witness, exposed as attempting to secure perjured testimony while Mooney's appeal is before State Supreme Court.

Trial judge requests Attorney-General to have case returned for re-trial. Attorney General consents and so recommends to State Supreme Court.

Nolan released after nine months in jail; never brought to trial.

MAY, 1917

Oxman brought back to San Francisco, tried for attempting to secure perjured testimony, and acquitted after District Attorney Fickert employs attorney for his defense. Also white-washed by Grand Jury which Fickert controls.

SUMMER, 1917

World-wide labor agitation with Mooney facing death culminates in demonstration before U. S. Embassy in Russia. President Wilson then forced to appoint Mediation Commission to investigate.

JULY, 1917

Mrs. Mooney tried and acquitted.

SEPTEMBER, 1917

Appellate Court affirms Billings' conviction. His appeal for a hearing by the Supreme Court denied.

OCTOBER, 1917

Weinberg tried and acquitted.

OCTOBER 30, 1917

Mooney asks Governor Stephens for pardon.

JANUARY, 1918

Wilson's Mediation Commission reports Mooney did not have a fair trial. The Commission says: "When Oxman was discredited, the verdict against Mooney was discredited." The President urges the governor to grant Mooney a new trial.

MARCH 1, 1918

California Supreme Court affirms Mooney's conviction, ruling it cannot review perjury revealed after the trial. It holds that the governor alone can remedy the alleged injustice.

SEPTEMBER—OCTOBER, 1918

J. B. Densmore, U. S. Director General of Employment, secretly investigate case, later exposing by a dictograph record frame-ups engineered by District Attorney Fickert.

NOVEMBER, 1918

Wilson sends two telegrams to the governor urging him to act in Mooney case. Governor commutes Mooney's sentence to life imprisonment.

FEBRUARY 7, 1921

John McDonald the second chief witness against Mooney confesses perjury.

1921-26

Mooney's attorneys and friends work quietly to amass evidence in support of pardon plea.

if some one was inclined to want to take the initiative and go after things in a dynamic way. From this I don't want you to get the idea that I am discouraged, for that I have never been. I shall keep the banner of the working class flying until the end, regardless of whether it is in here or out there with you on the firing line."

No Surrender!

It was now close to bed time—that is to Tom's having to be locked in, in his living tomb. As we shook hands and bade each other good-bye, I felt inscribed indelibly in every thought and feeling of mine the thrill of having met and learned to know one of the finest fighters and noblest figures in the ranks of the international labor movement. I left Tom with my determination strengthened manifold to do my all to help mobilize labor's ranks to fight for the speediest, complete freedom of Mooney and Billings. Were it not for the immeasurable loyalty and

devotion of these two militant union men to their class, to the proletariat, they would never have been sent to prison. They never would have been framed up. And today, they could go out of jail at a moment's notice, if only they were prepared to accept a parole. However, nothing has been further end nothing is further from the intentions and plans of Tom and Warren than this. In their twenty years of imprisonment, in their incessant struggle for their complete vindication, Mooney and Billings have fought not for themselves as individuals but for their class as a class—against all frame-ups and terror of the employing class.

As more lights were being dimmed, and I was on my way out, I turned to grasp warmly and firmly the hands of Tom and Warren and to say: So long comrades, hope to see you in New York soon. We need you, we want you and for the immeasurable loyalty and

OCTOBER 22, 1926 Pardon for Mooney refused by Governor Richardson.

DECEMBER 13, 1926

Mooney applies to Governor C. C. Young for pardon.

AUGUST 29, 1928

Frank P. Walsh, New York attorney, pleads with Young to review Mooney's petition. Young promises to do so.

Judge Griffin, who tried Mooney, all the ten living jurors and all persons connected with the prosecution, except District Attorney Fickert and his assistant, recommend Mooney's pardon.

FEBRUARY 25, 1929

Judge Griffin, in addressing a mass meeting in San Francisco on the 12th anniversary of his sentencing Mooney, says: "The Mooney case is one of the dirtiest jobs ever put over and I resent the fact that my court was used for such a contemptible piece of work."

1929

The State Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Labor, California Federation of Churches, the Archbishop of San Francisco, the Episcopal Bishop of California, Rabbi of Temple Sherith Israel, and many other organizations and leaders, back up the plea for the pardon of the men as innocent.

NOVEMBER 7, 1929

Billings applies for pardon to the Supreme Court of California in order to get his case also formally before the Governor. Under California law a man serving a second sentence must first get a recommendation from the Supreme Court before he can be pardoned.

NOVEMBER 21, 1929

Governor Young issues a statement that after studying these cases, he has "as yet been unable to reach any conclusion" and refers Mooney's case to the Advisory Pardon Board composed of state officials.

JULY 3, 1930

Supreme Court refuses to recommend Billings' pardon to the Governor, holding that if he and Mooney did not commit the crime they knew who did!

JULY 8, 1930

Governor Young, acting on recommendations of the Supreme Court and the Advisory Pardon Board, denies pardons to both men.

JULY—AUGUST, 1930

The Supreme Court reopens Billings' case, hears McDonald and other witnesses and examines Billings in prison.

DECEMBER 1, 1930

The Supreme Court for the second time, by a vote of six to one, Justice Langdon dissenting, refuses to recommend a pardon for Billings. Justice Langdon scores the majority report as indefensible.

FEBRUARY, 1931

Mooney submits his pardon plea to the new governor, James Rolph, Jr.

DECEMBER 1, 1931

Governor Rolph holds a public hearing on Mooney's plea, presented by his counsel, Frank P. Walsh and Mayor James J. Walker of New York, and Aaron Sapiro of the American Civil Liberties Union. The governor refers the plea for report to three advisers, former chief justice Matt I. Sullivan of the Supreme Court, Lewis F. Byington, former district attorney, and Daniel O'Brien, former chief of police and adviser in penology.

APRIL 22, 1932

Governor Rolph makes public the 25,000 word report of Judge Sullivan recommending that pardon be denied. He states his conviction that Mooney and Billings are guilty and denies the pardon.

1934

Hearings for writ of habeas corpus are held in the California Supreme Court and denied.

1935

The Supreme Court of the United States refuses to reverse the decision of the California courts, and Mooney takes his case back to the state.

1936

Hearings are held again by the State courts exposing the witnesses against Mooney as either perjurers or open tools of the public utilities. IT IS THE TWENTIETH YEAR MOONEY AND BILLINGS HAVE SPENT IN JAIL FOR A CRIME THEY DID NOT COMMIT. LABOR UNITES ITS FORCES IN NATION-WIDE PROTEST DEMONSTRATIONS ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE FRAME-UP. DEMANDING THE UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF MOONEY AND BILLINGS!

EUROPE TODAY

(Continued from Page 4)

Van Zeeland On Bruening's Path

In the programmatic declaration of the Belgian Premier, Van Zeeland, there are demands of special significance, indicating a move in the direction of the reduction of parliamentary rights and the strengthening of the executive arm of the government. Van Zeeland employs formulae which remind one of Bruening's days: "improvement" of the parliamentary regime; attempt at reform of the system "from within and peacefully" instead of "from without and by force." These proposals include: shortening of the sessions of Parliament; reduction of the number of representatives and Senators; if the budget is not completed by Parliament before February 1st, then the preceding budget is automatically extended for another year; no Parliamentary decisions are permissible without provisions for their being covered financially; the government is to resign only in the event of the rejection of the budget and a direct vote of lack of confidence; creation of a Council of State and Economic Council. All future laws must be solely within the "essential line of these reforms." Simultaneously, the position of the monarchy is to be strengthened. Everything is being prepared so that all of the prerequisites should be on hand where the king should, one fine day, when conditions are ripe, turn over full power to a fascist regime.

London, July 1, 1936.

Reaction Stalks Spain In Fascist Uprising

A monarchist uprising, backed by fascists and sections of the army, started in Spanish Morocco and has spread to Spain proper, partially thru the landing of the revolting colonial troops, but for the most part thru sympathetic action on the part of the Spanish generals, indicating a well-prepared plot.

The movement has hit virtually all the big cities except Madrid, and in the latter civil war is considered imminent. The People's Front government has called upon all to defend the republic, and has passed out arms to some workers. The Socialist Unions have helped in their arming and "red militiamen" have been created. The miners of the Asturias are reported as marching to Madrid to aid in its defense. Full arming of the workers and peasants and their independent organization alone can defeat fascism.

Three People's Front Cabinets have been created (as we go to press) since the revolt started—Friday, July 17. Quiroga's cabinet resigned almost immediately to be followed by Barrio, close friend of Azana. He reshuffled the

cabinet to place more generals in important posts, and then also resigned. The latest cabinet is headed by Jose Giral, former Minister of Marine, one of the "Left Republicans", who also added to the Generals, especially in the Ministry of the Interior.

Behind this uprising, long threatened and long expected lies the despairing frenzy of the bourgeoisie, plus their calculations that the straddling deadlock produced by the People's Front government has caused sufficient discontent to allow them to seize power. While much talk has been going on of "cleansing the army of fascists and monarchists" it becomes clear from this event that the purge was not very thoro, as it could not be under capitalism. If the rotted core is left, the worms have good food on which to grow fat.

Secondly, the fact that the revolt began in a colony is of great significance. For, in the course of shouting grandiloquent slogans of "democracy vs. fascism", the workers' parties overlooked the existence of capitalism, and its oppressive role towards colonial peoples. Thus the demands and issues of the oppressed natives, stimulated by the movement in Spain, had to find an outlet. Since the workers did not concern themselves with this, they turned to the fascists and monarchists, the forces of reaction and counter-revolution, for leadership.

MASS. FORMS A LABOR PARTY

Boston, Mass.—The Massachusetts Labor Party Conference held at the A. O. H. Hall, Worcester, Massachusetts, on Sunday, July 12, 1936, reeked of the criminally opportunist hash so sensationally dished out by the Ninth Convention of the C.P. held in June. The Communist Party was the driving force behind the Conference, and their political line, as exemplified by their election platform, was apparent in the resolutions proposed.

The Credentials Committee reported that forty-six delegates representing 24 trade unions were present. This covered the total trade union representation of the State of Massachusetts. Present as observers were fifteen delegates from political organizations, such as C.P., C.P.O., and S.P.; twenty visitors and forty-four observers from trade unions. Three delegates from the International Workers Order were seated.

To the surprise of the Communist Party delegates, unexpected opposition manifested itself to their proposals to invite the Townsend and Coughlin groups into the labor party set-up. Joseph Salerno and other delegates from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union and some delegates from Western Massachusetts Federal Unions bitterly fought the resolution sponsored by the C.P. delegates to invite the Townsend and Coughlin groups. That resolution was defeated. The resolution on the Labor Non-Partisan League was sponsored by the Communist Party delegates and was intended as a substitute for a resolution sponsored by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and was also defeated. This resolution proposed close cooperation with the Labor Non-Partisan League. Thus the C.P. delegates hoped to avoid direct endorsement of Roosevelt. A temporary executive committee of 27 was elected, headed by Joseph Salerno of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers as chairman, and Richard Crosscup of the Boston Federation of Teachers, as Secretary. The C.I.O. was endorsed, and plans were formulated for another conference to be held some time in September.

Canada Repeals "Section 98"

The "liberal" government of Mackenzie King has repealed the infamous "Section 98" of the Canadian Criminal Code, and added to Section 133 a short sentence which serves the same purpose as the repealed section.

Section 98 was originally a war-measure, allowing the police to authorize anyone to search anybody else's home, assumed guilty if a worker was seen near an illegal organization (i.e. the Communist Party), and forbade the importation of any book dealing with social revolution. This section had been fought for some time by the labor movement. That it is repealed now is probably due to the attempt of King to bolster labor support for his regime much in the same hypocritical fashion as Roosevelt does in America.

The new subsection, which eliminates the generalness of the previous law and clearly limits action to the workers, reads that: **Everyone shall be presumed to have a seditious intention who publishes, or circulates any writing, printing or document in which it is advocated, or who teaches or advocates, the use, without the authority of law, of force, as a means of accomplishing any governmental change within Canada.**

This is hailed by the Communist Party of Canada as a "victory of the progressive people of Canada!"

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KNITGOODS WORKERS PREPARE GENERAL STRIKE MACHINERY

Neither hot weather nor rain were obstacles to the thousands of knitgoods workers assembled at Amalgamated Temple on Tuesday evening, July 14th, preparing for a General Strike after the expiration of the present agreement in the industry on July 5th. More than 3,000 knitgoods workers jammed the hall, filling all available standing space, and it was necessary for the Union to engage two extra halls in the building to accommodate additional workers. Even the extra space did not prove sufficient and hundreds of workers were turned away due to the lack of available space.

Louis Nelson, the Managers of the Union, presented the plans of the Union for the period after the expiration of the agreement. He stated that the policy of the Union is to enter into negotiations with the employers and retain the status quo agreement until a new settlement is reached. Pending a settlement for the industry the workers were instructed by Manager Nelson that if their employers violate any of the terms of the present agreement they are to leave the mill immediately and to declare the particular shop on strike.

Manager Nelson stated further that the Metropolitan Knitted Textile Association, the organization of the employers, today represents only a few of the many hundreds of knitgoods manufacturers in the Metropolitan area. This association speaks with no authority and carries no weight in the industry, he said. To prove this, Manager Nelson pointed out that 85% of the knitgoods manufacturers who are at present in contractual relations with the union have signified their intentions of renewing the agreement and independent tentative settlements are being rapidly made.

Mr. Nelson stressed in his report that the Union was doing everything possible in its power to avoid a General Strike in the industry. He stated that the Union as a responsible organization, wishes to avoid unnecessary chaos and turmoil in the knitgoods industry and that it is the knitgoods manufacturers' policy of refusing to renew the present agreement and their attempts to provoke strikes that is responsible for cre-

ating the atmosphere of tension which exists in the industry.

The names of the General Strike Committee were read to the assembled knitgoods workers. It was reported that eight strike halls had already been engaged and that the Union is prepared to meet any emergency and any eventuality that the knitgoods manufacturers might thrust upon the Union. The report of the Manager and the plans for the eventuality of a strike were approved by the knitgoods workers at Amalgamated Temple.

Comrade Debus, Union Leader, Killed by Nazis

From Frankfurt-am-Main we have received a report that Comrade F. Debus was murdered in a prison of the Gestapo.

Eight days before Easter he was arrested. In the middle of May relatives received a report that F. Debus hung himself in his cell. Those who know him realize that this is a shameful lie of the Gestapo officials who have beaten him to death in order to compel him to talk.

By the middle of June, 1933 Debus had been arrested and kept as a prisoner for six months in the concentration camp at Sonnenburg. At that time he was arrested on the charge of his resistance to the attempts of the Nazis to "co-ordinate" a workers social insurance organization of which he was the director. At that time he was brutally mishandled. The Storm Troopers were reeking vengeance on him because in 1932, in defending himself from attacks, he beat back a whole band of Storm Troopers with a toy pistol.

The attempts of the Nazis to "enlighten" him in the concentration camp naturally aroused no hopes among the Hitler bandits. Comrade Debus was a supporter of the ultra-left course of the CP of Germany until Hitler's ascension to power. However, after the release

AFL Council Postpones Action on CIO Till Aug. 3rd

The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. retreated from its newly acquired custom of issuing ultimatums, and decided that the unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization would not be expelled or suspended—yet. Using Frey's now famous letter as the basis of their charges, the craft leaders will call the CIO unions to a special meeting on August 3rd where they will be "tried."

In a sense this represents the victory of those forces, such as Harrison of the Railway clerks, over Wharton and Hutcheson, the latter having stood for immediate suspension. The postponement of the trial until August third is not so much for any appearance of "legality" but in order that some sort of compromise may be reached, even tho that might mean the giving up of the struggle on the part of the crafts.

Lewis has not yet replied to this demand of the Executive Council, but it would seem that if the CIO refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the Council previously, it would not do so now. Wm. Green has invented a set of "rules" whereby the Council now has power to suspend unions "in case of an emergency"—and of course it is the Council that decides if this is a "case of emergency" a very crass violation of trade union democracy.

Deeply concerned, indeed dangerously so for the future of the labor movement, has been the Roosevelt administration, represented by strike-breaker McGrady. With the help of Tobin, who bears no love for the CIO but happens to be chairman of the Democratic Party Labor Committee, this postponement of action was reached. Roosevelt wants no split in the labor movement, especially when both factions support him.

from the concentration camp he worked closely with the CP of Germany (Opposition). In a large measure it was due to his activities after his release that there was established at an early date in the Frankfurt district close cooperation between the CP of Germany (Opposition), SP of Germany, and the Socialist Workers Party. As an old experienced trade unionist he worked most energetically in the building of illegal trade union cadres in the factories. The immediate cause of his last arrest at the hands of the Nazis was their dissatisfaction with the results of the factory elections in the district where Debus was working.

Upon his arrest he was assaulted most savagely and slugged to death because the Gestapo had hoped to secure from him the connections of the underground trade union cadres, but the Nazis did not succeed in their bestial efforts. Debus maintained his position and for his refusal to give up any connections or information he paid with his life.

Debus died at the age of 38 after being a member of the once powerful metal trades union for 19 years. At the age of 19 he had joined the political movement of labor.

We call upon the workers of the world to honor his inspiring memory.