

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 5, No. 14.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, APRIL 4, 1936

5 Cents a Copy

## Britain Maneuvers to Aid 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, 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 anti-trust 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.

## PROVOCATIONS IN FAR EAST

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 Manchukuoan forces with increased vigor.

Japanese forces have been deliberately invading Soviet territory along the Manchukuoan 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 Manchukuoan 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?

## 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)

## Half Million Vote Against 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 dissatisfaction 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 'brow 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

BADAJOS, 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.)

# Mooney Unearths New Evidence at Hearings

San Francisco, Cal.—The Sunshine 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 charges.

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 previously, that he had "delegated" Oxman to write to Rigall because Fickert and he were going out of town, he left to his conscience to reconcile.

When he discussed the charge that he had tampered with the jury, a charge levelled by Denton, brother-in-law of MacNevin who was foreman of the jury, he denied that there was a corrupt connection between Fickert and MacNevin. In this he ran counter to the evidence of not only Denton, but also Zindars.

On the first day of the hearings George W. Grimmer, a labor spy for many years, delivered sensational testimony exonerating Mooney of any guilt in the bombing. He told how in 1916 he was hired by Patrick Calhoun, president of the United Railroads, and instructed to join the carmen's union and "holler strike from the houseposts." "We want to force a 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, now head of the Central Labor Council.

## RED SCARE IN TAMPA TRIAL

In obedience to his instructions, Grimmer shadowed Mooney for a few days, but then became nervous about the assignment. "Do you want to frame them?" he asked McCants. "Of course not," replied McCants sarcastically, "Nobody likes to hear the word 'frame.' We just want you to be at the same place where Mooney is, at the same time, if anything happens." Grimmer stepped off the job, receiving \$15 for his work and being told that he could never expect another job.

On the day of the explosion he happened to be in San Francisco and heard the blast. "I guess that is going to be pinned on Mooney," he remarked to a conductor and an inspector of a California street car line with whom he was then in conversation. About a week later, he was approached by a number of thugs and told, "You've been throwing up your guts about this case. The best thing that you can do is to beat it." Scared, Grimmer left town.

Four years later he met an old friend, Joseph Daugherty, also a labor spy, and asked him whether he knew anything about the Mooney case. Grimmer said, "Who do you think pulled that stunt at

## 10,000 Dressmakers Cheer As Mooney Masque Draws First Prize

NEW YORK.—First prize—a trip to the Soviet Union—awarded at the annual dance of Dressmakers Union Local 22 of the I.L.G. W.U. on Saturday March 28, went to Jack Broder who was masqued as Tom Mooney.

The announcement of the award by a committee consisting of actors, literary critics and union leaders, resulted in a great ovation from the 10,000 dressmakers assembled at the dance.

Charles Zimmerman, manager of the union, remarked that the ovation for the award showed the deep sympathy which the masses of workers always have shown for Tom Mooney's tireless, 20 year old struggle for freedom. It was a demonstration for Mooney's liberation.

## Courts Rehearsing Wagner Act Ruling

The Wagner Labor Disputes Act was declared unconstitutional for the second time in its career, this time by a Federal Court Judge in Chicago. There will be a series of appeals and counter-appeals until the bedraggled document reaches the Supreme Court. And, as the Herald-Tribune prophesies, "who is there left who doubts the nature of the decision?"

The Labor Disputes Act was introduced at a time when the drift away from the New Deal was beginning in certain sections of the employing class. Simultaneously, important sections of the trade union movement, were beginning to lose faith in the notorious "section 7a", and in the government as an organizing force for the labor movement.

## FISH AND BORAH GET VITO'S OK

Representative Vito Marcantonio, of "Daily Worker" fame, has come out for the candidacy of Hamilton Fish Jr. as a delegate to the Republican National Convention. It was learned here this week.

Mr. Fish is one of two candidates for delegates in the Fifteenth Congressional District, taking in most of the West Side of Manhattan. He is pledged to Senator William E. Borah of Idaho and is opposed to the regular Republican organization nominees.

Mr. Marcantonio in a letter to a number of voters in the district said: "My Colleague, Hon. Hamilton Fish Jr., is a candidate for delegate to the Republican National Convention from the Fifteenth Congressional District. He has served in Congress for sixteen years AND HAS STOOD FOR SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL JUSTICE AND A SQUARE DEAL FOR LABOR and small business interest."

"As a liberal Republican and AS A SUPPORTER OF SENATOR BORAH FOR THE REPUBLICAN NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT, I take this opportunity to endorse Congressman Fish's candidacy for delegate from your district and urge you and all your friends to vote for him . . . in the Republican primaries on April 2, 1936."

## On the LABOR FRONT

The second National Convention of the Workers Alliance will be 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 607 was expelled from the International. The local was extremely militant, and also its attitude towards the International was in some cases slightly "ultra", the suspension of its charter is undoubtedly a blow to progressivism in the trade union movement.

**Hosiery Union To Meet**  
The American Federation of Hosiery Workers, of the U.T.W., has announced plans for a big drive on the Southern front. The date of the union's annual convention has been advanced from the summer to April 20 in order to lay the plans to bring unionization early to the Southern mills.

**Runaway Halted!**  
Clinton, Massachusetts is one of "those open-shop towns". The Chamber of Commerce spends its time inviting firms from N. Y. and other large unionized cities to come up and be free of "labor troubles". But the extreme pessimism that hit the labor movement concerning the organization of these towns is being completely dispelled by such work as that of A. F. of L. organizer Harry Evans. He has established his office in the town and reports indicative of the place with demands to be enrolled in their respective unions. Good work, Evans!

**Building Crafts Reunite**  
Word comes from Green's office that a single Building Trades Dept has been set up, ending a jurisdictional dispute of long standing between the various crafts in the department. Altho the early part of the conference showed much discontent at the proposals, the solution of the problem was achieved.

**Mutiny Charge Fails**  
The rank and file of the International Seamen's Union protested against the new wages agreement by striking on two liners in New York. The strike did not succeed, the ships sailing on time with full crews, supplied by the I.S.U. It was in connection with these sporadic strikes that Roper, Sec. of Commerce tried to pin a charge of "mutiny" on the sailors. The crassness of this move and its reactionary implications were so obvious that the proposal failed to get further than the President's cabinet.

Under the guise of its having abrogated the right of free contract, since employers are forced (?) to negotiate with the "unit" chosen by the majority of workers, the law has been declared unconstitutional. Secondly, it is maintained that manufacture is not commerce, and since only commerce falls under federal, i.e. interstate jurisdiction, the law is under ban. With these aspects of the decision, the workers have only one interest. Implied in the first section is an open-shop decision, a court ruling which if continued can only mean that a closed shop is an abrogation of the freedom of contract. It is not the death (or proposed killing) of the Wagner Bill that is to be lamented; it was an anti-labor bill from start to finish,

# FORCES MAKING FOR REVOLUTION IN SPAIN By BERT WOLFE

*The following article is the first of a short series to be written by Comrades Wolfe and Herberg on the present situation in Spain. The introductory article published in this issue was written by Comrade 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 once more how fruitful is the Marxist method for analyzing and interpreting history on the wing.*—Editor.

## Peculiarities of Spanish Development

Spain, more even than most lands, refuses to yield her secrets to abstract analysis conceived in terms of the generalities common to all modern European countries. The present events and perspectives can be understood only if the peculiarities of Spanish development are kept in mind.

1. Spain is a land of prolonged feudal decay and arrested capitalist development. One of the most backward lands of Europe, it was nevertheless the first country to lay the foundations of modern capitalism. Having gotten off to an early start, the Hispanic peninsula did not maintain its lead, 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 a decentralized economy and the retardation of capitalist development. The most industrialized sections of the Spanish peninsula, Catalonia and Portugal, far from supporting centralization, have actually been separatist. It is a fitting symbol of this bureaucratic military-feudal centralization that its axis is not Barcelona, center of Spanish trade and industry on the Mediterranean, nor Lisbon, center of Iberian trade and industry on the Atlantic, but Madrid in Castille (the land of the castles) which, in the words of the poet Margall, "can never see the sea."

3. Again and again this political center has proved itself the throttle of national development. It is not an instrument of the bourgeoisie against feudalism and for national unity. It is an instrument of a decaying but tenacious latifundist feudalism against the nascent bourgeoisie and against economic unity. It is unstable and easily overturned. Then Spain resolves itself into dissimilar local economies. Napoleon found this nerve center lifeless. He smote it with his mailed fist and it fell apart. But to his astonishment as the center collapsed, Spain suddenly manifested life in all its parts. Their energies had been released by the removal of the dead weight of centralized bureaucracy, and his Spanish campaign proved the beginning of the end for Napoleon.

4. "Imperial" Spain lost its last overseas colony in 1898 when in the modern world imperialism was just beginning! The revenue from its ill-administered colonies had elevated the monarchy into a relative independence from capital-

ism. The loss of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, symbolized the last stage in three centuries of "inglorious decay" and in the realm of thought, the profound disturbance expressed itself in the movement of the Generacion de '98. The monarchy lost its visible means of support, and the Moroccan disasters of the '20's completed the process, causing the monarchy to collapse.

**A Rachitic Ruling Class**  
4. The Spanish possessing classes have long been afflicted with a constitutional weakness, a sort of anemia, rendering them capable of vigorous social or political action. What else can be expected of a decayed aristocracy and a stunted bourgeoisie? That is why Spanish politics has about it an astonishing air of unreality. . . . Its party labels, codes, constitutional devices and prescriptions, are shadows of the institutions of other European lands. The political unreality of its institutions is a reflex of the economic unreality of its centralism. This explains the astonishing "lyricism" of Spanish politics and such peculiar institutions as *rotativismo*, a system whereby under the monarchy two groups of politicians, one calling itself "liberal" and the other "conservative," and neither with a real party behind it, succeeded each other by agreement, alternating at rhythmic intervals as if governed by tidal forces or sun spots or some other "natural," non-social determinant. It explains, too, the light-hearted use of resounding phrases with no concern for content, which enabled Spain politicians to write into the Republican constitution, "Spain is a workers' republic of all classes." This helps, too, along with the general backwardness of economy and class-parliamentarism, to explain the anti-parliamentarism of so large a section of the Spanish proletariat.

**The Role of the Army**  
5. As appropriate to such a political structure, the army plays an exceptionally important role and the officers' corps has an exceptionally high political specific gravity. The special interests of the semi-independent bureaucracy reach their high point in the special interests of the military caste. Hence all previous revolutions began in the army. Even the Republic of 1931 was preceded by the *Jaca* military uprising of 1929. The division among the officers' corps in that uprising was interesting. On one side the engineers, the bicycle corps, the miners and sappers, the artillery, the air force; on the other the command of the infantry, cavalry, the bulk of the army. On the one side, the advanced technique, the younger sons of the bourgeoisie, in revolt; on the other, the traditionally military arms, the younger sons of the landowner aristocracy, loyal to the monarchy. In such peculiar forms do class forces break through in a "classless" bureaucratic-military machine.

**The Church**  
6. As befits a land of arrested development and prolonged feudal decay, the clergy also represents a bureaucratic force of great importance with strongly marked special interests. The clergy was weakened by the fall of the monarchy, traded and compromised with the compromising bourgeoisie, but set into play its marvelous forces of organization and propaganda to restore the rule of the landowners. It provided the ideological banners and organized forces for the recent coup d'etat in the form of the Lerroux-Gil Robles government. The new government has been called fascist. But it should rather be called clerical-military-fascist with clergy and military predominating over elements of fascism in its make-

up. 7. The labor movement, too, shows peculiarities in its development. Of these we have space only for one. Generally, when they say "red and yellow" in Spain they are not thinking of Communist and Socialist but of Anarcho-Syndicalist and Socialist unions. Communism is thus far a relatively negligible force. Until recently the Socialist movement was the reflex in the working class of petty bourgeois liberal ideology and the anarcho-syndicalism of petty bourgeois radicalism.

**The Birth of the Republic**  
The events of 1929-36 have their antecedents in the feverish growth of Spanish industry during the World War. As the solitary neutral country in Southern Europe 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 and proletariat and a sudden impetus for the bourgeoisie to free itself from moldering feudal fetters. With the end of the war, the balloon of Spanish industry collapsed and a fantastic post-war crisis shook the ancient structure to its depth. Strike waves, peasant insurrections, movements of the bourgeoisie, unrest in the army, a catastrophe in Morocco—the throne tottered.

From 1923 to 1929 the Spanish old regime sought to solve its insoluble problems by the time-honored device of a military dictatorship. It is the fashion in journalistic circles to call all personal dictatorship fascism but the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera was no such thing. It had no petty bourgeois or proletarian mass base. It had no extra-legal armed bands to bring it to power. It employed no social demagoguery. It was, in fact, with certain modifications, only one more of the long chain of military dictatorships traditional with Spain throughout the 19th century. The dictatorship smashed the syndicalist unions but it accepted the cooperation of the leaders of the Socialist Unions. It lowered the level of wages. It crushed the peasant movements. It granted monopolies to bourgeois-feudal favorites. It tried public works, high tariffs to protect an unprofitable industry and economic nationalism on the basis of nationalized poverty. It enlarged the only public possession which Spain could boast: the public debt which was increased by one-third. But essentially the dictatorship solved none of the problems it was created to meet.

**The Fall of Primo de Rivera**  
While Spanish economy tottered through the storms of internal crisis it was overwhelmed by the whirlwind of the world-wide crisis in 1929. The peseta dropped to new lows; the cost of living skyrocketed to new highs. The year 1929 opened with an insurrection in the army. Followed a strike wave, student demonstrations and peasant movements. In January 1930 the military dictatorship collapsed without as much as an uprising. The air went out of a punctured balloon. Alfonso tried to save his skin by treachery to his dictator, but it was too late.

The new government that succeeded Primo de Rivera permitted a couple of months of free press and speech and municipal elections in April 1931. The petty bourgeois Republicans, supported by the workers and peasants, much to their own astonishment swept every city in Spain except four, and the majority of the towns and villages as well. The anarcho-syndicalists "abstained" officially, but the masses of their organized members voted Republican. The Communists, thanks to their sec-



The hated Civil Guard sets up machine guns in the streets

tarian isolation, did not feel the mood of the masses and did not even present candidates. The petty bourgeois and socialist Republicans were but making a time-honored opposition gesture. But Republicans swept the country and the monarchy ran away. Alfonso fled in such precipitate haste that he forgot to take with him a tin box already packed containing three million dollars in cash. However he had been farsighted enough to invest 60% of his fortune in securities abroad and to transfer \$1,500,000 to a bank in London and sink \$700,000 into a chateau in Fontainebleau.

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

"The 14th in the morning when we saw that the people had taken the streets, there was nothing we could do (no *tuvimos mas remedio*) but to go to the city hall and the parliamentary building and raise the Republican banner."

Such was the "revolution" that gave birth to the Republic of 1931!

## Character of the Spanish Republic

Marx once (1854) wrote of a Spanish revolution: "One of the characteristics of the revolution consists of the fact that the people, at the very moment when it is preparing to take a big step forward, falls under the power of the illusions of the past, and all the forces and all the influence it has conquered at the cost of such sacrifices, pass into the hands of people who appear as the representatives of an earlier epoch."

So it was once more. The masses turned trustingly to the leaders that had been officially tolerated and consecrated by decades of shadow opposition under King Alfonso. Out of them a fantastic government was patched up. Republican illusions seemed inexhaustible. They appeal to Sanchez Guerra but he declared for the monarchy. To Melguides Alvarez, but he did the same! To the exiled monarchist Alba! And as a fourth attempt they selected a second-rate minister of the monarchy, the Andalusian landowner, Alcala Zamora. To their relief he accepted and became the first President of the Spanish Republic!

**The Abortive of a Revolution**  
The aims of the new government might be summed up in the slogan: "As you were." The social-economic revolution had scarce begun but the government declared that the revolution was over. It sought to change things as little as possible, to avoid strikes, to pre-

vent the peasants from seizing the land, and it kept the old bureaucratic-military war apparatus intact. More than that, the energetic Azana as Minister of War, sought to modernize the army. The hated Guardia Civil was not dissolved—it was strengthened. And to it was added another division of pretorian guards, the Guardia de Asalto—shock troop guards. The Director of Public Safety under the monarchy, Galarza, and the Director of the Civil Guard, Sanjurjo, were not removed until Sanjurjo actually attempted a monarchist coup d'etat!

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 black imprint "Republica Espanola" over the stamp—not for nothing are the Spaniards known as the "Scotch of Southern Europe!" Then, at last, a new stamp appeared amid general anticipation. It bore the face of a nineteenth century Republican and the stirring revolutionary motto: "Fomentar el arbol!"—Plant a tree! A small detail, but eloquently symbolic!

## The Conflict of Parties

The masses exhausted their illusions more rapidly than the Republican politicians, and they looked to each party and tendency in turn for guidance and light on their problems. They offered their confidence to the Socialists, but that then timid party with a popular majority refused to take more than a minority in the cabinet. On Prieto was wished the declining peseta and the bankrupt treasury. His popularity continued to fall with the continued fall of the peseta. Thus the history of Hilerding and Snowden repeated itself. To Largo Caballero, head of the Socialist trade unions, was given the Ministry of Labor. His task was to force arbitration and suppress strikes. Justice went to De Los Rios who had to watch for the execution of the property laws and land laws (the suppression of the peasant movements) and guard the ticklish relations between Church and State. The socialist ministers acted as buffers between the new government and the masses and socialist prestige was dissipated faster than that of the Republic as a whole.

Great sections of the masses turned to the anarcho-syndicalists for leadership. But they were answered with purely negative slogans. In the face of elections, the anarcho-syndicalists advised boycott. But refusal to develop a party of the proletariat tended to tie syndicalized workers and

(Continued on Page 6)

WORKERS AGE

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

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

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

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

Vol. V. Saturday, April 4, 1936. No. 14

End That Confusion and Division

IT IS in the friendliest of spirit and solely in the interest of our common aims and goal that we address ourselves to the comrades of the Communist Party in preparation for their national convention.

Much has happened since the fateful Sixth National Convention of our Party in March 1929. At the moment we do not choose to comment on the swing to the ultra-left, on the wave of expulsions, on the wiping out of party democracy thru the so-called enlightenment campaign, on the unheard-of over-riding of the will of the overwhelming majority of the membership which followed this convention.

Let no comrade in the Communist Party whether he or she be a rank and file 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."

We are firmly convinced that these disagreements can be overcome thru a thorough party discussion, on the basis of the application of democratic centralism party discussion, on the basis of the application of communist principles.

But one thing is certain. The present situation in the Comintern is most unsatisfactory. The Seventh Congress was compelled to recognize the total bankruptcy of the ultra-left line prepared by the Sixth Congress and adopted by the Tenth Plenum.

The recent corrections of some of the ultra-left errors in the Comintern are surely welcome. However, they are most inadequate. The source of these grave errors which were a travesty of communist tactics and bordered on a break with communist principles is not to be found in the stupidities or carelessness of some individual party leader or even the Central Committee as a whole.

WHERE DO TAXES COME FROM?

By M. S. MAUTNER
There has always been a struggle between the small property owner and the big bourgeoisie as to who shall shoulder the burden of taxation.

Why has the question arisen again in so sharp a manner? It is not true, of course, that the only opposition to the New Deal's tax program comes from the bankers, who are supposed to be "suffering" under Roosevelt's "radical" program.

Table with 2 columns: Tax Category and Amount. Includes Alcoholic beverage taxes (\$410,000,000), Tobacco Taxes (\$460,000,000), and Manufacturer's Excises (\$340,000,000).

This totals to \$1,200,000,000, every cent of which is paid, not by the large brewers and distillers, or by tobacco princes, or other industrialists, but is passed on to the consumer in the form of higher prices.

of the Comintern itself. That this is so, is further confirmed by the very declaration of the Comintern's representative, Comrade Gottwald, in his correction of these outrageous errors.

This failure to drop completely, to correct openly, the wrong line laid down by the Seventh Congress in regard to bourgeois democracy, the defense of small nations, etc. is leading to a state of confusion worse confounded in the various parties.

tax reports reached the treasury. The report also informs us that excess profits taxes amounted to a little more than 2 1/2 million dollars, while the capital stock tax amounted to 80 millions.

The great hope of the "little man" was of course, the income tax. The fact that the Raszkos and Mellons and Morgans are being called up for evasions on huge amounts, must be beginning to dim his enthusiasm for this part of the populist-agrarian program.

Finally, tax assessments, in addition to all the above taxes, are paid to city and state governments. The Supreme Court recently decided that as far as a railroad was concerned, taxes could not be collected on the 1929 valuation.

The struggle of the petty-bourgeoisie against direct property taxation and indirect payment in the 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.

Certain alleviations can be achieved for the middle class thru a labor government based on an alliance of forces. For example, not merely steeper grades on income taxes (it is interesting to note that the Penna Supreme Court declared this unconstitutional), but trade union control of the employers' books to eliminate cheating, etc.

It is this confusion, it is this continued division in the ranks of the official communist movement that is costly not only to the Comintern itself but to the labor movement, to the proletariat as a whole.

We are of the firmest conviction and belief that by approaching your tasks and problems in such a spirit, in this manner, you will be rendering a service not only to the People's Front line leads. All

AT FIRST GLANCE

By Jay Lovestone

IT SEEMS that the Rhodanel controversy has completely submerged the Italo-Ethiopian war. This may be true in so far as the press reports go, in so far as the headlines would color and influence the thinking and problems of the great mass of unconscious and semi-conscious readers.

We have in mind the spirit of unrest, the mood of revolt, the urge for freedom from all imperialist domination encouraged by the heroic resistance of the Ethiopians to Italy's war machine.

It is true that so far "the Great French Democracy, that cradle of the world's democratic rights and liberties," has succeeded in ruthlessly crushing the insurrection in Syria. But scarcely has this success been registered when the French imperialist brigands were confronted with a serious threat to their rule of blood and iron in the Tunis protectorate.

And if this war continues for any length of time, we will undoubtedly see such a spirit of rebellion grip the other colonial peoples of Africa.

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 omnisciously enough, reported favorably by the Senate, drives through to final enactment into law.

It starts off on the wrong foot by ruling that "compensation shall not be payable for partial disability due to silicosis or other dust disease." Going further astray, it fixes an arbitrary maximum instead of paying as the need lasts.

To obtain the meager medical treatment afforded by this bill, the victim must not "falsely represent in writing that he has not previously been disabled from the disease."

DELIBERATE belouding and outright falsification of issues, are not new methods in American politics. In this respect at least it would appear that the present election campaign will excel all preceding ones.

The Republican Party, being the "outs," will naturally take the lead in drumming up fraudulent issues against the Democrats. Two campaign slogans of the G. O. P. which will receive most money, men, and attention will be "fight against dictatorship" and "keep government out of business."

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 on city-owned lines were voted unanimously by the Assembly

TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

WE REFERRED last week to an editorial in the March Federationist (official organ of the A. F. of L.) in which an appeal is made for "charity toward each other" and "appreciation of each others points of view."

W. B. Gravatt, secretary of Aluminum Workers Local 18356, is an enthusiastic supporter of industrial unionism, and he doesn't care who knows it.

What industrial unionism means for the aluminum workers in and around Kensington, Pa. The officialdom of the A. F. of L. was engaged David Williams, A. F. of L. organizer appointed by William Green to direct the affairs of the National Council of Aluminum Workers, promptly sent a letter to Gravatt declaring, "ONE MORE ARTICLE LIKE YOU HAVE PLACED IN THE PRESENT ISSUE OF THE ALUMINUM WORKER WILL MEAN YOUR LAST AS AN OFFICER OF THE UNION AT NEW KENSINGTON"

As a result of what Williams himself referred to as his "ultimatum" Gravatt has resigned from his position. It appears to us that these are hardly the proper tactics to assure the unity of the trade union movement or its growth in the basic industries

THE "Journal of Electrical Workers" (March 1936) lays down what we presume it considers as a very effective barrage against John L. Lewis, in the form of an editorial entitled "John L. Lewis's Contribution"

The above will give you an idea of the perfectly calm and objective manner in which the whole editorial is written. And now, if you promise to hold on to your hat and not to scream, we'll take you for a loop-the-loop. Here goes: "DOES LABOR WANT A MORE CENTRALIZED FORM OF UNION GOVERNMENT? Democracy is unwieldy, but it is also stable, and it resists reaction. A more centralized form—we will not call it autocracy, because we will not believe that even Mr. Lewis's ambition would carry him this far—might make for more mobility of action, but WHAT EFFECT WOULD LABOR'S DESERTION OF DEMOCRATIC IDEALS, HAVE UPON THE NATION IN GENERAL? WOULD IT HASTEN OR NOT THE COMING

to discriminate against alien tars. The insidious germ of post-office censorship is contained in the Dobbins bill which provides for the punishment of any person who sends "any obscene, lewd, or lascivious, or any filthy book, pamphlet, picture . . ." through the mails.

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 privities.

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, according to the provisions of a resolution introduced into the Board of Aldermen by Mr. Keegan.

One might think that for purely factual reasons Green would proceed to do something now that the CIO is raising hell about the steel industry, but the facts prove otherwise. Look over the most recent releases of the A. F. of L. and you will note that the steel organization drive is conspicuous by its absence. To make doubly sure you might take a look at the latest number of the "Unaffiliated Journal" (March 12) there is not a single item on the campaign.

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 ones. 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?

ago 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 not remind this rag about the millions given to its friend the banker Dawes. Not a single word was uttered by the Chicago Tribune against the peril to rugged individualism when the Federal government intervened, entered this broken banking business, and gave away several tens of millions to this arch-individualist.

In the same sense we must rip the veil of lies off the mouths of the highly-paid ranters against government spending. Had it not been for the huge government expenditures in recent years, the nightest banks would have been drowned in a sea of unused and unusable cash. It is not the "general public" which has been pouring money into New Deal enterprises. It is the big banks which have the money to invest and are able to take advantage of tax-exempt government bonds. Seven of the biggest banks in New York and Chicago have invested from 30 to 58% of their deposits in government securities. Obviously, the distinction between "government in business" and "business in government" is getting ever thinner.

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 omnisciously enough, reported favorably by the Senate, drives through to final enactment into law.

Taking aim at "foreign agitators," the United States Senate Committee on Immigration has amended the Coolidge-Kerr measure to make it mandatory for the Commissioner of Immigration to deport any alien convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude. It will probably be reported out within a few weeks despite labor's express disapproval.

A Copeland bill, reported out by the Senate Commerce Committee, not only would give the shipping interests a "little hand," but would also keep foreign born sailors off subsidized freighters. Within three years after passage of this bill, passenger vessels too would have

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

In the International Labor Movement

Spanish Revolution In The Making

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

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 communists were also briefly offered the confidence of the 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 surprise. In the elections of 1931 it did not participate. When the great strike waves began involving virtually the entire proletariat of Spain under the leadership of two big federations of labor (U.G.T. and C.N.T.), each with a membership of a million out of a total proletariat of about three million, the communists were engaged in playing with the attempt at forming memberless unions of their own.

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 Trotskyism—"Chang-Kai-Shek", "Anglo-Russian Unity Committee", "socialism in one country", "Thermidor".

The opposition Communist party under the leadership of Joaquin Maurin also proved unequal to the task. It developed great strength in Catalonia but no real national influence.

Gradually, in the face of all these conflicting forces and inadequate leaderships, the masses began to develop one overwhelming conviction—that unity was necessary if they were to accomplish anything.

The Insurrection of October 1934

An incomplete revolution either goes forward or slides backward. It cannot stand still. Division in the ranks of the workers, incompetence or worse in every tendency professing to offer leadership, disillumination with the republic and the socialist ministers for not making good on the promissory notes of the revolution, all these had their inevitable effect.

But the experiences of Germany and Austria had made their impression on the Spanish working class. A left swing began in the Socialist Party. The Young Socialist League prepared to leave the Second International.

Meanwhile, the anti-republican majority took rapid strides towards dictatorship. In the first nine months of 1934 there were twenty-four police censorship "denunciations" of El Socialista.

The opposition Communist party under the leadership of Joaquin Maurin also proved unequal to the task. It developed great strength in Catalonia but no real national influence.

Gradually, in the face of all these conflicting forces and inadequate leaderships, the masses began to develop one overwhelming conviction—that unity was necessary if they were to accomplish anything.

The October Revolution

The immediate occasion of the general strike was the fall of the Samper government and the formation of a coalition of the right under the premiership of Lerroux, with three clerical-fascists under the lead of Gil Robles in the cabinet.

The response of the proletariat and peasantry was overwhelming, but the revolution suffered from unclear aims ("save the republic" or "proletarian dictatorship"?).

The defeat of the October insurrection left the Gil Robles' clerical-fascist group as the strongest element in the new Lerroux government, but the unanimity and heroism of the mass struggle compelled the preservation of Republican trappings.

The same may be said for the remainder of the play. Always Gow and Greenwood appear on the verge of surrendering to their base motives, but always they catch themselves in time.

Have You Contributed To \$5,000 Drive?

"Love On The Dole"

IF 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 say this advisedly. I realize that in point of construction the play overreaches itself.

PROGRESSIVES 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 distributed among A.C.W. members signed by the Amalgamated Progressive Circle and the Amalgamated Rank and File Committee.

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 scales, on the basis of \$1.00 per hour to be applied nationally.
2. Classification system to be applied nationally.
3. Strict enforcement of 36 hour week.
4. Adherence to the rights of membership guaranteed in the constitution of the union.

CENTRAL TRADES IN GARDEN MEETING AGAINST FASCISM

The Committee for the Relief and Liberation of Victims of Persecution in Europe, organized recently by the Labor Chest of the American Federation of Labor, and the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York, has completed preparations for a gigantic All-Star Benefit at the Madison Square Garden on Sunday evening, May 3rd.

Prompted by a determination to provide substantial funds for the thousands of victims of persecution in Europe, the committee has scaled its prices in a manner which will provide upwards of 50,000 dollars.

Frank Gilmore of Actors Equity and Ralph Whitehead of the American Actors Union have proffered their support and the support of their artist membership.

FERRERO-SALLITO ARRANGE CONCERT

The Ferrero-Sallitto defense committee, desperately attempting to save these two Italian workers from deportation to Mussolini's dungeons has arranged a concert and dance to raise the necessary funds.

BOOKS of the AGE

REVOLT AMONG THE SHARE-CROPPERS. By Howard Kester. Covici-Friede. 98 pages. 50c.

Reviewed by Bertram D. Wolfe

Howard Kester is one of that little band of revolutionary socialists who has helped to redeem the good name of his party in the Southern United States where for some time it had been sullied by the incredible shame of "Lily-White Socialism."

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 scales, on the basis of \$1.00 per hour to be applied nationally.
2. Classification system to be applied nationally.
3. Strict enforcement of 36 hour week.
4. Adherence to the rights of membership guaranteed in the constitution of the union.

"When the landlord tells him to plant cotton and furnishes him with no other seed he is powerless to do anything but plant cotton."

He demonstrates that sharecropping is not merely the heritage of slavery and abortive reconstruction (to which last he does not attach enough significance), but is a growing phenomenon among whites as well as blacks in recent decades largely because of the growth of concentration in agriculture and growth of domination by banks and mortgage companies.

Having established the facts of increasing misery, Kester tells the dramatic story of the sharecropper's revolt, of the unity of black and white cemented in the midst of actual struggle of reverses and victimizations, and of the victories that have established a tradition incorporated in organization which seem to have sunk stable roots into Southern soil and laid a real basis for the creating of a true "New South."

WE SOVIET WOMEN. By Tatiana Tchernavin. New York, E. P. Dutton, 1936. \$2.50.

Reviewed by Ellen Ward

It appears that Tatiana Tchernavin had only one story to tell and she told that in "Escape from the Soviets." This second book is a thin, meatless soup—a somewhat unappetizing dish, attempting to stretch the original work into a sequel.

The book itself is a misnomer. It might have been called anything else, since it deals as much with women and children as does with women. It contains a series of thumb-nail sketches of Soviet officials, their wives, their children, G.P.U. agents, writers, free-lancers of the old regime, and here and there, a worker and peasant.

The traits that Madame Tchernavin imagines to be purely slavie or Russian may be found in normal men or women of any other ethnic group. Given a set of similar circumstances their reactions would be identical.

The months she spent in prison are given in great detail and painted with intense bitterness. The entire story, however, from beginning to the end is obviously so biased that instead of creating anti-soviet propaganda which it

LOSING THEIR CHAINS by James Sand

Eugene Victor Debs

(Continued from previous issue)

In 1908 the S.P. put on its most ambitious campaign with Debs heading it. They chartered a train which came to be known as the "Red Special," and Debs went racing around the country with his brother Theodore, making speeches and arousing tremendous interest. The picture of these two lanky men trying to sleep in short Pullmans has its humor, and Debs did not fail to remark upon it.

Four years later, his optimism vindicated itself. In a campaign where capitalistic parties were split three ways, Teddy Roosevelt running as Bull Moose candidate with Taft as Republican and the "Presbyterian Mountebank" from Princeton as the Democrat, Debs polled 901,062 votes, more than double the 1908 figure.

He was then the living symbol of proletarianism in the American labor movement. But his name had not yet become the household word that it now is. That waited upon the entrance of America into the imperialist war in 1917.

On June 16th 1918, at a tremendous open-air meeting at Canton, Ohio, Eugene Victor Debs put himself irrevocably on record as opposed to all wars, as opposed to capitalism, and as a comrade of the Russian Bolsheviks.

And how he did let go in the Canton speech! With Federal agents placed all through the gathering and a government stenographer to take down what he said, "Gene Debs announced that he was opposed to the present form of government in this country."

"Here in this assemblage I hear our hearts beat responsive to the Bolsheviks of Russia. Yes, those heroic men and women, those unconquerable comrades, who have by their sacrifice added fresh lustre to the international movement."

They arrested him, and he was tried for violation of the Espionage Act. The only witness against him was the stenographer. No full text of the speech, which was extemporaneous, was available; but Debs quietly said that he was willing to accept the young stenographer's statement of what he said because that was what he meant anyway.

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 them himself. But he never really pleaded his cause; he tried to convert the jury and the audience to socialism.

was calculated to do, the reaction in the average unprejudiced reader would be just the reverse.

SOVIET RUSSIA. By Vera Michels Dean. New York, Foreign 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 presented in very lucid form, outlining the structure and function of the Soviet State, the Communist Party and the Ariels.

It describes the election of Soviets, class relations, individual liberty, the Soviet industrial system, economic planning, problems of labor and management, the agrarian revolution, the New Economic Policy, the drive for collectivization and the peasant resistance in 1932-33.

The treatise carries only a bare minimum of interpretative comment and the capitalist bias scat-

terred in several parenthetical remarks does not detract from the usefulness of the compilation.

The concluding section of the study analyzes Soviet diplomacy and its relation to world revolution.

End Confusion

(Continued from Page 4) to the American but to the whole international communist movement. It is in this spirit that the CPO (U.S.), as a section of the International Communist Opposition, transmits fraternal greetings and best wishes to your convention.

We hope you will seize the opportunity for aiding clarity, for overcoming opportunist errors as well as the remnants of ultra-leftist sectarianism, and for hastening the unification of the CPO of the U.S. with the Communist Party, American section of the Communist International.

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 for war, especially a modern war. The war that began in Europe can readily be accounted for."

But Eugene Debs was not through yet. He was going to make this capitalist farce a field day for socialism. They found him guilty and the judge sentenced him to ten years at the West Virginia State Penitentiary at Moundsville.

An appeal was made to the Supreme Court. By a unanimous decision they upheld the sentence. The decision was written and read by Oliver Wendell Holmes. It is one of the most reactionary decisions that the Supreme Court has ever handed down.

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.

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.

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 Harding landslide.

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 them himself. But he never really pleaded his cause; he tried to convert the jury and the audience to socialism.

(To be continued in next issue)

Lovestone Urges Industrial Unionism

On Friday March 20, Lovestone spoke at the Hibernian Hall on "Europe in Ferment".

With penetrating clarity Lovestone analyzed the internal conditions in Germany, France, Austria and Czechoslovakia and the effect of the mechanical transferring of the dangerous Peoples Front policy and its flourishing opportunism upon the working class movements abroad.

CONSHOCKEN, Pa.—Perry Smith, fifty-five, resigned as trustee, officer rather than arrest the parents of children who, he declares, stay away from school only because they do not have presentable clothes.

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 enthusiasm 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 sympathizers, by the readers of the Workers Age, by every member of the CPO—regardless 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 you either know or really don't have to be told what we are after and what you are going to do.

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

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

# 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 crisis, 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 knitgoods 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 power 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, i.e. closed shop, high wages, short hours, are the causes of unemployment and crisis. They cry to the union workers is, "give us forty hours instead of thirty-five, lower your minimums, work overtime without extra pay, then there will be work for all."

### 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 Workers Union has accomplished. They did not reckon that this period of unionism has taught the knitgoods workers the value of their collective strength. They did not include in their estimation that

the organized knitgoods workers 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 maneuver, the employers resorted to a new ruse. They began a campaign of threatening the knitgoods workers with removal. This campaign received additional stimulus when the employers 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 baiting in labor is a post card sent to the knitgoods manufacturers from Mount Airy, North Carolina, 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 such energy.

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 York market.

### No Concessions

Despite the unfavorable conditions, our union has not yielded to a single demand of the employer. 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 morale and are now preparing and mobilizing to extend and improve their conditions when the agree-

ment expires in July, 1936.

### 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 establishment of one knitgoods worker's union. 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 overwhelming majority of the knitgoods workers stand solidly behind the progressive leadership of the Joint Council. Complete unity has not yet been achieved. There still remain the leaders of the former "Industrial" union and some misled followers who still fight our progressive policies and leadership. They still approach union problems in the same old sectarian manner of the dual union days. 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 their accusations stand unproven. 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 workers. It took us years to es-

## THIS IS WHY THEY MOVE

MOUNT AIRY, NORTH CAROLINA

has a very low priced labor market.

Girls on piece work earn 60¢ per day

Women " " " " \$1.00 " "

Men " " " " \$1.25 " "

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

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

establish one union within the American 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 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 May Day parade.

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 facing away from the shop. Our

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 educational department.

### 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 workers.

# Knitgoods Workers!

WHEN THE BROOKLYN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE ATTACKS YOUR UNION BY ORGANIZING COMPANY UNIONS AND THE MANUFACTURERS STAGE A RUN AWAY TO BREAK THE UNION AGREEMENT AND THE UNION FIGHTS BACK TO PROTECT YOUR INTERESTS

Look to WORKERS AGE as Your Ally!

Take Advantage of our National SPRING SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE MARCH 1st to MAY 1st

Which will bring Workers Age to your home at

\$1.50 for 52 Weeks

or

\$1.00 for 26 Weeks

as well as our

COMBINATION OFFERS

which include

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

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

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

Name . . . . .  
Address . . . . .  
City . . . . . State . . . . .

## PATRONIZE THE CANTON CAFETERIA

46 GRAHAM AVENUE  
Corner Cook St.

The only 100% union house in the neighborhood

PURE FOOD  
MODERATE PRICES

"WHERE KNITGOODS WORKERS MEET"

## BRADLEY'S CAFETERIA

SEASONABLE  
FOOD  
AT  
REASONABLE  
PRICES

6th Ave. at 14th Street