

Workers  
of all  
Countries,  
Unite!

# WORKERS' MARCH

For  
Communist Unity  
in the  
Revolutionary  
Class Struggle!

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## UNITE FORCES OF LABOR ON MAY DAY

### Appeal of the Communist Party (Maj. Group)

### Nazis Biggest Party in Reich As Result of Diet Voting

Fascists Make Huge Progress In Five States; Prussia Socialist-Center Block Defeated; Fascist-Center Coalition Likely; Grave Menace To Labor

Berlin, Germany.

The National-Socialist German Workers party, the Nazis, emerged tremendously victorious, the first political party in the Reich, as a result of the five Diet elections that took place on April 24, 1932. The Social-democrats suffered an almost annihilating defeat as did the "middle" parties, except the Center, so that the various coalition governments in Prussia (a Socialist-Center-Democratic block), in Anhalt and very likely in Hamburg, Wurttemberg and Bavaria will not be able to maintain themselves. The Communist vote represented a uniform loss as against the Reichstag elections of 1930 and the March 13 Reichs-Presidential elections, but a slight gain as compared with the April 10 run-offs. The last Diet elections in Prussia were held on May 31, 1928.

With about 22,402,000 votes cast in Prussia, the Nazis received 8,008,000 (1928: 3,451,619); the Social-Democrats, 4,675,000 (5,453,000); the Center, 3,374,000 (2,745,000); the Nationalists, 1,625,000 (3,263,000); the Communists, 2,820,000 (2,229,000); the State party (Democrats), 332,000 (827,000); the Peoples party, 331,000 (1,598,000); the Economic party, 191,000 (829,000); the Christian Social party, 255,000; and miscellaneous parties, over 1,000,000. The Prussian Diet will therefore have the following composition: Nazis, 162 (1928: 7); Social-Democrats, 93 (137); Center, 67 (71); Communists, 57 (48); Nationalists, 31 (82); State party, 2 (21); Peoples party, 7 (40); Christian Social party, 2 (-); German Hanover party, 1 (-).

In the Reichstag elections of 1930, the Communist Party obtained 3,210,000 votes in Prussia; in the March 13 elections, 3,490,000; on April 10, 2,600,000. The Diet vote of 2,820,000 is therefore slightly more than the April 10 figure but less than both the 1930 and March 13 totals. The Nazis, on the contrary, received about 6,000,000 votes in Prussia on March 13; 7,500,000, on April 10; and 8,008,000 on April 24, a steady increase.

In Hamburg, both the Social-democrats and States party, which form the present coalition, gained slightly while the Communists lost about 50,000 votes and nine seats. Yet, the present coalition is uncertain. The Nazis gained about 50%.

In Wurttemberg, the Fascists won a sweeping triumph, nearly tripling their vote. They will be the largest party in the next Diet. The old coalition of the Center, Democrat and Peoples parties will almost certainly be turned out.

In Bavaria, the Bavarian Peoples party (equivalent to the Center) topped the poll, although the Nazis gained 384,000 votes. Here the Communists were able to raise their Diet representation from 3 to 8. The old coalition of Bavarian Peoples party and Nationalists will very likely collapse.

In Anhalt the Nazis again headed the list, with a huge increase in votes. Here too the old Socialist-Democratic coalition will be turned out.

The tremendous gains of the Hitlerites in all five states, but especially in Prussia, mark a new stage in the political history of post-war Germany. Prussia is unquestionably the political keystone of Germany; it has been the stronghold of Social-democracy since the 1918 revolution and the experimental field for its many varieties of reformism. Now this stronghold is practically taken by Nazis.

The Socialist-Center-Democrat coalition in Prussia is now impossible, since all these parties together only command a minority. On the other hand, a straight Fascist government (Nazis and Nationalists) is also impossible. The probability therefore is for a Fascist-Center coalition in Prussia, with the Fascists in lead. But this will certainly not be compatible with the Bruening-Socialist regime in the Reich, so that a realignment of political forces in the Reich,

(Continued on page 2)

### May Day

MAY DAY is a living historical element of the international proletarian class struggle and therefore it has faithfully reflected all the phases, all the factors of the class struggle. From an external viewpoint it seems to be the same monotonous repetition of the same speeches and articles, of the same demands and resolutions. And those whose glance cannot penetrate beneath the meaningless surface of things and grasp their essence may believe that, thru constant repetition, the celebration of May Day has lost its entire significance, that it has become an "empty demonstration." But under the apparently similar external circumstances May Day reveals within itself the constantly changing pulse of the proletarian struggle! It is part of the life of the labor movement, therefore changes with it, and reflects in its spiritual content, in its sentiment, in its tenseness, the changing situation of the class struggle.

ROSA LUXEMBURG

### 3 MINERS SHOT IN OHIO FIELD

CADIZ, Ohio.—Three more striking miners in the East Ohio bituminous field were shot by State troopers sent into the region to smash the strike.

The shooting took place at the (Continued on Page 2)

### 500 JAILED AS SESSION OF INDIA NATIONAL CONGRESS IS BANNED

Mrs. Naidu Arrested On Way; 50,000 Nationalists Are In Indian Jails; Red Shirts Convention Decides Against Gandhi Non-Resistance Course

NEW DELHI.—About 500 people were arrested here on April 24 as a result of the government's attempt to suppress the holding of this year's session of the All-India National Congress, which has been declared illegal. All of the important nationalist leaders are now in jail. Armored cars patrol the city.

Approximately 50,000 Indian nationalists have been jailed since the resumption of the government's campaign of repression. So many nationalist fighters are being arrested and so rapidly, that there is literally no room in prison for them. In this situation, the "non-political prisoners" (that is, the actual criminals) are being released to make room for the fighters for their country's freedom!

BOMBAY.—On her way to open the outlawed 1932 session of the National Congress, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, president of the congress, was arrested by government troops and sentenced to

CAPITALISM is in the throes of a world crisis. Unemployment, starvation and misery abound in the capitalist countries. The wealthy flaunt their riches, squander the millions wrung out of the sweat and toil of the masses, idling their profligate, parasitic lives in sumptuous luxury, while hunger, acute suffering and the agonizing pain of privation are the common lot of man.

The capitalists rule with an iron hand, determined that the workers and farmers shall bear the burden of the crisis.

The order of the day is more exploitation, more robbery, more enslavement of the toiling and producing masses.

A reign of economic frightfulness is being carried out with a ruthlessness and unconcern of the welfare of the masses unprecedented in history.

Wage-cuts, speed-up, long hours, heavy, direct taxation, curtailment of social legislation benefits, follow in rapid succession and are repeated with a savage vengeance.

The workers and farmers, the toilers everywhere, groan under the heavy, ever-mounting burdensome load of capitalism.

Every attempt on the part of the masses to ease their burden, to improve their conditions, to get some relief from starvation and misery, is met with brutal bloody suppression. The capitalist governments act with vigor and speed in the protection of capitalism.

In the countries where capitalist conditions are giving rise to a revolutionary crisis, where the

danger of a rising revolutionary proletariat in the vanguard of the masses threatens a social revolution, a proletarian ascendancy to power, Fascism blooms into being to consolidate the capitalist forces and to wipe out ruthlessly the Communist Party, to destroy the labor unions and to crush the rising tide of working class revolt. This was the historic role of Mussolini and his Black-Shirts in Italy. It is the coming role of the Hitler and his Nazi Brown-Shirts in Germany.

The imperialist world is at loggerheads. The rivalry of the imperialist powers for the domination of world markets, for spheres of influence and for colonies, is turning the earth crimson with the blood of millions.

It makes imperative the maintenance of huge war-machines. It keeps the world in continual turmoil and war. It is now preparing the masses for another world war, for a huge, gory cataclysm of destruction and horror.

The United States, the richest capitalist country in the world, is no exception to the general conditions prevailing in the capitalist countries. Over 10 million are unemployed. Mass starvation, hopelessness and want are everywhere.

No relief is provided. The help meted out as charity thru private sources reeks with corruption and does not begin to meet the needs of the people. It demoralizes and degenerates the masses and raises to an ideal, beggary at the feet of the wealthy.

Wage-cuts, speed-up, intensive exploitation, direct hold-up taxation of the (Cont. on page 3)



### Rolph Refuses Mooney Pardon; Only Labor Can Free Him

California Governor Rejects Appeal Because Of Tom Mooney's Militancy; Labor Movement Must Unite Forces To Force Open Prison Doors!

### May Day

MAY DAY for the Russian worker has always been a day of peculiar significance. It came to us laden with the great traditions of the emancipation struggle of the European proletariat. It came to us as the sign of our backwardness but also as the sign of our future. It came to us as a call to take our place in the international army of Socialism. The advanced Russian workers well understood the meaning of May Day. No such grandiose and public demonstrations were possible as, for example, in Germany and France and England. But then also our May Days did not degenerate into meaningless routine and formalism as was only too often the case in Europe. For our May Day signified the unbreakable determination of the proletariat, together with the elements of the revolutionary democracy, to overthrow the accursed system of Czarism, to clear the way of the antiquated rubbish of feudalism, and to march forward to the Socialist future.

V. I. LENIN

### SAVAGE TERM FOR MARINE WORKERS

NEW YORK CITY.—Savage sentences were passed upon the three marine workers recently convicted on framed-up charges of attempting to (Continued on Page 2)

### Workers! Celebrate MAY DAY!

The Communist Party (Majority Group) calls upon all workers in New York to celebrate May Day as follows:

Come to the May Day celebration, April 30, 8 P. M. at New Harlem Casino, 116th St., and Lenox Avenue. Speakers, Concert, Dancing.

### JAPAN'S MINISTER BARES WAR AIM

TOKYO.—A frank and open declaration of Japanese imperialist policy in the Far East was made by General Sado Araki, Minister of War, here on April 21.

Japan, he said, was determined to keep its hold upon Manchuria and develop it into a "land of peace and plenty" (for Japanese imperialism). "No attention need be paid" to the League, he assured his audience. "A certain power (i.e., the U.S.A.) is (Continued on Page 2)

### EMERGENCY BUREAU JOBS TO BE CUT IN HALF WITHIN MONTH

Buro Budget Will Be Slashed By \$750,000 On May 1st; Charity Relief Collapses; Police Attack Crowd Of 3,000 Before New York City Hall

New York City million and a quarter people are starving or on the very verge of starvation in New York City, the city and state governments are doing nothing. Government relief is denied and reliance is urged upon demoralizing charity agencies, which moreover, have broken down are making public their impotence.

Now is the time for the whole labor movement, for all workers, employed and unemployed, for all friends of labor, to unite to demand that no curtailment of any existing relief take place, that the home relief bureaus be reopened, that immediate cash relief be extended by the government to the unemployed, without any discrimination as to sex, nationality or race, and that all workers of the Emergency Work and Relief Bureau be reinstated. The millions of dollars (\$196,000,000) appropriated by the city for interest to bankers on loans can very well be appropriated, in this grave emergency, for unemployment relief. The \$231,000,000 building program, recently suspended by the Board of Estimate, must also be

resumed. The situation is critical as never before. Labor must unite now to save millions from starvation!

NEW YORK CITY.—Fifteen unemployed workers were injured and six arrested as policemen attacked a demonstration of 3,000 jobless before City Hall on April 21.

The demonstration had been called by the Unemployed Council of New York in connection with the appearance of a delegation of jobless before the Board of Estimate.

The demonstration was quite orderly until about 300 policemen tried to disperse it. The unemployed resisted and the police attack followed.

BARCELONA.—More than 100,000 Catalonians, many dressed in national costume, paraded here on April 24, demanding that the Catalan autonomy statute be passed without change by the Cortes. The crowd assembled before the Generalidad Building and Colonel Macia, leader of the reformist autonomists, greeted them declaring: "We must defend the statute at all costs! If it is not passed, God help Spain and us!"

In the Cortes the prevailing sentiment is against granting any sort of self-determination rights; the Socialists are in the front ranks urging the maintenance of national oppression in Catalonia. The syndicalists of Catalonia, on the other hand, are for complete separation from Spain.

## MAY DAY Celebration, April 30th 1932, 8 P. M., Speakers-Dancing, New Harlem Casino, 116 St., Lenox Av.



For A United Labor Front!

UNITY AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT!

Letter Of The C.P.-Majority Group

The letter below states the position of the Communist Party (Majority Group) on the problems of the struggle against unemployment.

April 2, 1932.

New York A. F. of L. Trade Union Committee For Unemployment Insurance, 799 Broadway, Room 336, New York City

Attention: L. Weinstock, Sec'y Dear Comrade:

I have read with very great interest the resolution demanding Government Unemployment Insurance, which is being sent out as a referendum to the local unions of the American Federation of Labor through the initiative of a number of A. F. of L. unions. I consider this move a very good one. I am of the opinion that a tremendous movement can be organized in the A. F. of L. unions for Government Unemployment Insurance.

The need for such insurance is very great at the present time. Unemployment is hitting the membership of the A. F. of L. unions very hard. In addition, I think the movement in the A. F. of L. unions should be tied up, if possible, with a general movement for unemployment insurance and relief, representing other working class forces and organizations.

The question of unemployment insurance is a question that is not confined only to the membership of the American Federation of Labor but to the working class as a whole.

The Communist Party U. S. A. (Majority Group) is of the opinion that steps should be taken to have the A. F. of L. local unions take the initiative in developing the movement for unemployment insurance into a mighty general working class movement. To accomplish this the movement must include all working class organizations, trade unions, political parties, fraternal organizations, clubs, groups, etc. irrespective of their political objectives provided they agree upon the program of unemployment insurance.

The Communist Party U. S. A. (Majority Group), therefore, suggests that a Conference of all working class organizations be called for bringing about a united front of working class forces and organizations for unemployment insurance. The Communist Party U. S. A. (Majority Group) is ready to cooperate and do everything in its power for achieving this end. Please let me hear from you regarding the attitude of your organization to the proposal of the Communist Party U. S. A. (Majority Group).

Fraternally yours,

BEN GITLOW Secretary.

COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A. (Majority Group)

D.A.R. ASKS ALIEN DEPORTATION

Doak Urges Suppression Of Militancy In Labor; U.S.S.R. Attacked

WASHINGTON.—A picture of the most unrelieved reaction was presented by the national congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution meeting here on April 21.

A resolution calling upon President Hoover to proclaim the existence of an emergency situation and to deport all unemployed foreign-born workers, was passed unanimously. The congress also called for a reduction of quotas to 10% of the 1924 act.

Secretary of Labor Doak, who spoke at the congress, found himself at a furious attack upon all signs of militancy in the American labor movement and upon all signs of progress in the country at large. He assured the D. A. R. that the Immigration Bureau of the Labor Department would "do its duty" in representing the struggle of labor.

Other resolutions denouncing opposition to the military training camps, urging increases in army and navy, opposing the recognition of the Soviet Union, endorsing American imperialism and so on were adopted.

And these wretches stirring the caldron of reaction have the unutterable impudence to call themselves "Daughters of the American Revolution!" A shameless libel upon the American Revolution! They are the direct historical descendants not of the leaders of the Revolution but of the royalist Tories, the reactionaries of those days. Not only the radicals among the Revolutionary "fathers," Tom Paine, Sam Adams, Thomas Jefferson and the rest, but even the conservatives like Washington, Madison and Hamilton (that "alien"! ) would have turned away in loathing from the D. A. R. of today!

BOROUGH PARK YOUTH CLUB ON MAY DAY

Brooklyn, New York.

The Borough Park Workers Youth Club was formed at the crisis in the Communist and left wing movements. During the two years existence of our club, we can record tremendous progress in face of unusual difficulties, such as attacks from the "loyalist club" and the Freiheit against our existence. We managed to maintain our existence. The maintenance of our headquarters and current expenses in face of the depression are not a small matter. Only the determination and persistence and activities of our members made possible our existence and the prospects for the future are still better.

Our club has lived up to its aims and principles as a non-partisan working class organization. Every one in our club, members as well as sympathizers, could express their opinions freely without fear of being abused and certainly not expulsion. The club carried on many activities of a social, sport and educational character. We must record that the help extended to us by the Communist Party (Majority Group) is especially responsible for our successful lectures and discussions for it is this organization which supplied us with most of the speakers.

Of course we can point to many shortcomings particularly in the field of sports. The leading members of our club fully realize this shortcoming and steps have already been taken to overcome them. Our club is fully aware of the important role the Workers Age is playing in the present crisis in the Communist and left wing movements. We, therefore, greet the Workers Age on May Day and we pledge ourselves to help carry on the struggle to a successful conclusion.

The Executive Committee, Borough Park Workers Youth Club

Tom Mooney's Appeal to Labor

We publish below the statement of Tom Mooney, issued thru the Tom Mooney Moulders Defense Committee, upon the rejection by Governor Rolph of the appeal for a pardon.

The denial of my pardon in the face of indisputable proofs of my innocence is a perfect vindication of the whole rotten frame-up system. The capitalist conspirators tried by the foulest perjuries, to do me to death on the gallows. They failed to hang me because the demonstration of the revolutionary army of workers of Russia in 1917 called the attention of the entire world to this monstrous frame-up. Having failed to lynch me legally, they decreed that I must die in prison. Why? Because I was an incorruptible and militant trade unionist, always alert and ever active in the interests of the working class. Because of this I incurred the undying enmity of the labor-hating public utilities interests of the state and their allies, the corrupt officialdom of the American Federation of Labor.

Governor Rolph and his advisors did not base their findings on the

facts of my frame-up but merely carried out the bidding of their masters, men represented individually by persons like Herbert Fleishacker, Harry Chandler, Robert Dollar, Frederick Koster, William Crocker, and collectively by the Chamber of Commerce. What chance did I have of receiving a fair and impartial hearing from the representative of an unprincipled bunch of pirates as ever scuttled a ship? None whatsoever. The cards were "stacked" and the dice loaded against me. It is not Mooney and Billings in prison. The capitalist dictatorship holds us there because they fear the effect of our release on the working class.

This decision proves the utter impossibility of any militant worker ever securing justice at the hands of capitalist-controlled courts, governors and other politicians. Does this decision settle the Mooney case? Not by a long shot. The fight for my freedom must and will go on. I have grown old in prison before my time, but my head is erect, by back unbent, my spirit untamed. They have

forced me to the wall. Fight I must, and fight I will.

I am ready and willing to give my life to the cause of the toilers of the world regardless of race, creed, color or nationality. This decision, in the face of world-wide protest against my brutal frame-up, is an insolent and sinister challenge hurled by a doomed capitalist system into the teeth of the entire working class.

"I call upon the united militant and revolutionary working class of the entire world to accept this challenge. They must close ranks and raise louder than ever the demand that the plunderbund of California let go their victim.

They must fight not only for my freedom, but for the abolition of the capitalist system. It is the only thing that will prevent in the future the framing up of workers for loyalty to their class. They must also demand that the framed-up Scottboro boys do not die, and defend the Harlan miners and all political prisoners. With millions of aroused and determined workers and sympathizers rallying to my defense, we will yet smash this frame-up and the whole vicious system.

May Day Greetings

On Its First Anniversary FREDERICK DOUGLASS INTERRACIAL CLUB Greetings THE WORKERS AGE on May Day

A Group AMALGAM CLOTHING WORKERS UNION Members Greetings THE WORKERS AGE on May Day

RODEMER CULTURE CENTER Greetings THE WORKERS AGE on May Day

BORO PARK WORKERS YOUTH CLUB Greetings THE WORKERS AGE on May Day

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA (C.P.-Majority Group) H. LONG, Secretary Greetings THE WORKERS AGE on May Day

THE YOUTH UNIT (C.P.-Majority Group) Greetings THE WORKERS AGE on May Day

HARLEM-BRONX UNIT (C.P.-Majority Group) Greetings THE WORKERS AGE on May Day

THE BROOKLYN UNIT (C.P.-Majority Group) Greetings THE WORKERS AGE on May Day

Greetings to the WORKERS AGE from A FRIEND

MAY DAY GREETINGS BROOKLYN UNIT Jim Cork S. Kass I. Steinberg R. Macklin. F. Makel. Ben Lifshitz. I. Zimmerman. B. D. Wolfe. J. Spear. Rose Fisher. Alex. Bail.

DOWNTOWN UNIT Nellie Edwards Jack Roberts. E. S. Susie Wallace E. L. Anna Schwartz. Sarah Rose Oscar Signer Mania Bell L. Cohen. I. Stenzer L. Kun. Kate Gitlow

Pearl Halpern George Halpern Rose Prepstein. Chas. S. Zimmerman. M. S. HARLEM-BRONX

L. Hirschman. H. Weinger. H. Kaplan. Sarah Gross S. Messin. H. Linoff. S. Nehama. Goldman G. Goldman. M. Chipka. L. Oguz. Helen Taublieb Mary Shanes L. and E. Becker. I. Titus. L. Lerner. J. Holtsman.

BORO PARK WORKERS YOUTH CLUB I. Broder. S. Atkinson J. Broder. A. G. F. Broder L. Gottlieb Leo & Sylvia. B. Sorkin. Reva Weissman. J. Kaufman. M. Yablon.

MAY DAY WAGE L. Becker \$12.00 B. D. Wolfe 6.50 Jim Cork 8.00 Anna Schwartz 2.00 Lillian Gottlieb 2.00 Mania Bell 1.00 Lou Kun 5.00 M. Miller 5.00 Geo. Halpern 3.00 Sam Cohen 5.00 Edw. Wright 3.00 I. Steinberg 5.00 J. Roberts 5.00 B. L. 4.00 Kate Gitlow 1.00 Harry Linoff 5.00 L. Lerner 7.00 Rose Fisher 5.00 M. Yablon 2.00 Barney Herman 1.50 M. S. 2.00 M. Lurye 3.00

The following excerpt from the Wall Street Journal throws a devastating light upon the "American standard of living in Fall River, Massachusetts, which, since the last strikes of a few years ago, is a veritable paradise for exploiters, operating on the "American," i.e., the open-shop plan.

Rates as low as ten cents and even in one case five cents an hour, and hundreds of girls with weekly earnings under \$7, are revealed in an investigation of wages paid in certain Fall River manufacturing establishments. Relative to this investigation made by the minimum wage commission of the Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries, Commissioner Edwin S. Smith states:

"In 19 plants covered by the survey, the outstanding finding was not only the low wages earned by the great majority of the employes but also the fact that so few are paid a wage that could fairly be called adequate. In a group of five plants, only five employes earned more than \$15 a week. Of the 1,616 employes in 13 plants in the women's apparel group, 71% earned less than \$10 a week and 97% earned less than \$15 a week. "The average hourly earning rate was calculated for both piece and time workers in certain shops where the working time was recorded by time clocks. "Commissioner Smith states that practically all of these shops have started business in Fall River since the beginning of the depression. Others are taking root in New Bedford, Lowell, Lawrence and elsewhere. They have come from New York and other points under the double lure of cheap rentals in discontinued textile mills and a surplus of unemployed female labor, mostly young unskilled girls.

MORE OUT OF WORK SAYS A. F. OF L.

Report Shows 1932 Spring Increase Less Than Usual Rise

WASHINGTON.—"March has not brought the usual Spring seasonal gain in employment," declares the report compiled by the American Federation of Labor, according to William Green, president.

Unemployment during the first part of March decreased only 0.4% from February, as compared with 0.9% during the same period last year and 2% in 1929. The A. F. of L. report estimates about 8,000,000 out of work—an underestimation by at least 2,000,000.

Weighted percentages of union members unemployed in all trades, according to the report, show 23.1% in January 1932, as compared with 19.8% in January 1931; 23% in February 1932, to 19% in February 1931, and 22.6% in March 1932, to 18.1% in March 1931.

In the building trades the figures are: March 1932: 63%, March 1931: 52% in the printing trades: March 1932: 17%, March 1931: 11% in the metal trades: March 1932: 36%, March 1931: 27%.

THREE MINERS SHOT IN OHIO FIELD

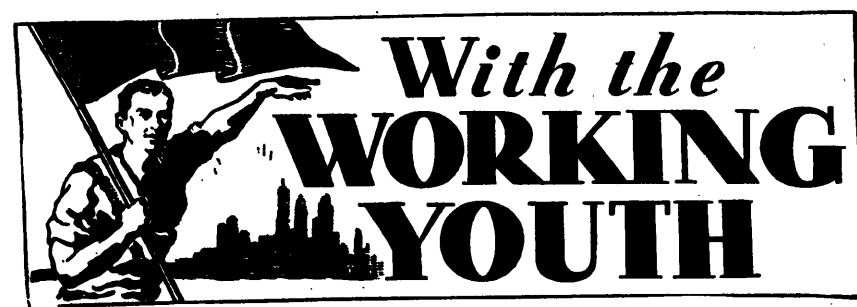
(Continued from page 1) Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company's Somers mine where attempts have been made to resume operations with scabs under military protection. Approximately 400 strikers marched to the mine on the morning of April 17 to pull out the scabs. They were met by the State troopers who ordered the workers to disperse and then opened fire. The first volley could not stop the determined miners and a second murderous volley was needed to force a retreat. It was here that the three workers were shot and many otherwise hurt.

AN INCREDIBLE CASE!

Berlin, Germany. The incredible ideological confusion that has spread far and wide in the ranks of the members and sympathizers of the Communist Party of Germany is illustrated by the scandalous story of what happened in Dreieichensstein, a suburb of Offenbach.

After the defeat of the March 13 elections, the members of the Dreieichensstein local of the C.P.G. decided unanimously that in the run-off elections of April 10 they would either vote for Hitler or else abstain from voting altogether! But under no circumstances would they vote for Thaelmann!

The net result was that the Communist Opposition was left the only organization in the city to fight for Thaelmann!



MAY DAY AND "CHILD HEALTH DAY"

"... The Communists still maintain May 1 as Labor Day. Hereafter May 1 will be known as Child Health Day. The object is to create sentiment for year-around protection of the health of children... At the same time May 1 no longer will be known as either strike day or Communist Labor Day." — Report of Executive Council to 1928 Convention of the A. F. of L.

More than a "Child Health Day" is needed to preserve the health and save the lives of the millions of working class children. The gravity of the situation is clearly shown in the figures issued by the Conference on Child Health and Protection. (These figures were published before they could take account of the effects of the crisis.)

Of the 45,000,000 children in this country: 6,000,000 are improperly nourished; 1,000,000 have defective speech; 1,000,000 have weak or damaged hearts; 670,000 present behavior problems; 450,000 are mentally retarded; 382,000 are tubercular; 342,000 have impaired hearing; 300,000 are crippled; 18,000 are totally deaf; 50,000 are partially blind; and 14,000 are wholly blind.

But even more significant than these figures is the admission that at least 80% of the deficient are not receiving the necessary attention, the experience shows that these deficiencies can be prevented or remedied to a high degree by proper attention.

Tuberculosis and the Poor

It has been definitely proved that tuberculosis results directly from poor living and working conditions. New York newspapers reported:

"Dr. Greef (hospital commissioner of New York) attributed the recent large increase in tuberculosis patients directly to the unemployment situation. He expressed the conviction that continued hard times thru the winter would cause a tremendous increase in the number of such patients. "The tuberculosis death rate in the age group 15-19 is 18% higher for the workers than for the country as a whole."

Injuries and Accidents

On top of all these miseries we have still another affliction—injuries and deaths resulting from accidents. This may be sub-divided into two parts—accidents amongst child laborers and casualties resulting from motor vehicles. Altho the information regarding injuries amongst child laborers is scant, we cite the following as a representative sample. A study in three industrial states of Massachusetts, New Jersey and Wisconsin reveal 7,478 reported industrial accidents among children in a twelve-month period of which there were: 38 deaths, 920 cases of partial disablement for life, 6,520 temporary disablements!

What a terrible toll for only three states! How much more awful must be the toll for the whole nation! From Walter King's presidential address at the 1927 Congress of the National Safety Council, we learn:

"Approximately 7,000 children were killed in automobile accidents last year and 140,000 boys and girls were injured by motor vehicles. Practically all of these youngsters were between five and fifteen years of age. The deplorable

able fact is that practically all of these accidents might have been prevented. We feel almost horrified at the ignorance or indifference which permits it."

And what is being done by the state and federal governments to prevent or to aid the victims of the boss-greed? The 1925 International Year Book of Child Care and Protection sums up, without any intention of irony, the activities of the government in child welfare:

"The function of the federal government in child welfare has been confined mainly to research."

After two and one-half years of crisis, the wishes still remain on the pages of the report. As far as the children go, they have even been deprived of many of the bare necessities of life. Today, more millions of children are undernourished. Thousands are reported fainting in school, and whatever little relief is offered to the school-children is wrung from the workers, the teachers in the public schools. Child labor has been increased amongst the adult workers. And now it is reported that even the meagre relief offered by Charity is being threatened with suspension.

Insulting "Free Advice"

From the free "advice" given by public officials, one would think that most sickness is due to the neglect of the parent—which really means the mother. What an outrage!—to expect the already overburdened working class mother to become a doctor, a hygienist, a preventer of disease. What impudence!—to ask the starving unemployed to give their children "three good meals a day served at regular hours." And can the working mother leave the shop? What hypocrisy!—to advise that the children "play out of doors in the sunshine at least three hours daily." Play where? In the gutters? In the streets? To be killed by motor vehicles? Do you want the newsboys to play in the subway? Do you expect the messenger boy and bootblack to play at his job? Do you think the child worker can use the machines as toys?

What shamelessness!—to admonish those who live in the crowded slums. "Keep them away from sick people." Should the children be placed on the street? Should they take the park benches as their beds? Or are subway seats perhaps more comfortable? What insolence to suggest to the parents of the full or part time child workers! "Let them sleep from 11 to 12 hours at night, with a nap during the day." Take this advice, children! Don't listen to the foreman! Don't mind the roaring machines! Forget the gears and the belts! Take a nap! Sleep on your job!

May Day and the Workers Children

Hundreds of millions of dollars are spent annually on war and war preparations. But only a very small sum—50¢ per person—is spent every year on the public care of health. Yet the government has the brazen effrontery to proclaim May First as Child Health Day. Yet in a real sense May Day is Child Health Day since only the united struggle of the proletariat for which May Day is the symbol—can overthrow that brutal and murderous system of capitalism and establish a free system of life in which the welfare and health of the children will really be the first care of society!

Our Demands

On May Day we must raise with united energies our demands for at least the minimum protection of the lives and the health of the working class children. We must demand: 1. The abolition of all child labor and the government maintenance of the children previously employed. 2. The free feeding and clothing of all workers children by the government thru the schools. 3. The free and systematic and regular medical care and attention of workers children in the schools. 4. The establishment of modern and extensive health clinics in the schools for workers children. 5. The establishment of an extensive system of playgrounds for workers children, in the administration of which the children and the parents shall participate thru their organizations.

FINAL FORUM OF SEASON JAY LOVESTONE Editor, "Workers Age" WILL LECTURE ON The Future of Communism In America SUNDAY, MAY 8th 1932, 8 P. M. NEW WORKERS SCHOOL FORUM 228 SECOND AVENUE, CORNER 14TH STREET ADMISSION—25 CENTS REGISTER NOW For Special Summer Term of the New Workers School

FASCIST TRIUMPH IN DIET VOTE

(Continued from Page 1)

with new Reichstag elections, are not improbable.

For the working class the Nazi victory is a dreadful menace. Fascist control of Prussia is a step towards the seizure of power in the Reich; it means, in the immediate future, the suppression of the labor movement of the "free" trade unions, of the workers parties (the Social-democratic and Communist), and of all other workers organizations. The Social-democratic party's tactics of coalition and "toleration" have shown themselves capable only of destroying its own organization and of opening the way for the triumph of Fascism. The Communist Party, on the other hand, true to its left sectarian tactics, its failure to concentrate its political struggle upon the burning issues of the Hunger Regime and Fascism, has hitherto proved itself unable to win the masses of the toilers under its leadership. The situation is desperate: the only way out is an immediate change of tactics on the part of the Communist Party, and the consequent reunification of the revolutionary movement. On such a basis the unity of labor against Fascism and capitalism is possible and realizable. It is not yet too late!

Nazis Gain Big In Austria

VIENNA.—Big gains on the part of the National Socialist (Fascist) party were the result in the elections to the Vienna Diet and two other provincial Diets held on April 24. The Pan-German and Farmer parties, as well as the Heimwehr, were practically wiped out and the Christian Social party greatly weakened, the Nazis winning the most decisive elements.

The new Vienna Diet will consist of 66 Socialists, 19 Clericals, and 15 Hitlerites.

SAVAGE TERMS HIT MARINE WORKERS

(Continued from Page 1)

bomb some East River piers, by Judge William Allen, in the Court of General Sessions, on April 26. They had been convicted several weeks before.

Jack Soderberg, secretary of the Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union, received a sentence of from 12 1/2 to 25 years. Thomas Bunker and William Trajer, active members of the union, received sentences of between 6 to 25 years. Upon being sentenced, Soderberg flung back these words: "I came here expecting very little justice. A working man has very little chance of justice."

The three militant marine workers and union organizers were arrested several months ago and were charged with dynamiting, as a move on the part of the companies to prevent the organization of the tidewater boatmen. They were treated very brutally by the police and convicted after a trial that really proved their innocence.

The Marine Workers Defense Committee, 80 East 10 Street, which has conducted the defense of these workers hitherto, will continue the struggle for their release. All workers are urged to contribute to it as liberally as possible.



# THEIR MAY DAY AND OURS by Gregory Zinoviev

The article below was written by Gregory Zinoviev on May 1, 1915 in the Sozialdemokrat, No. 41. At that time Lenin and Zinoviev were living together in exile, attempting to counteract the chauvinist poison of the official Social-democratic leaders and to gather the really revolutionary, internationalist elements for a struggle against the war and for Socialism.

In the year 1914 the world proletariat approached the celebration of May Day for the twenty-fifth time. In 1915 this May Day celebration of the workers was transformed into a May Day celebration of the bourgeoisie. It is difficult, it is bitter, to say this. But it must be said in order to appreciate the full seriousness of the situation and to find a way out.

Before us lies the central organ of the German Social-democracy in which we read a small official notice:

### THE FIRST OF MAY

"The plenipotentiary central bodies call upon all organizations not to celebrate the First of May this year by laying down work, in

view of the extraordinary situation. In view of this also, newspapers will appear on the First of May. The May Day contributions will be paid as usual. Wherever meeting halls can be found it will be desirable to have membership meetings in the evening. A special May Day number will not appear this year."

This short, dry notice will be more instructive for the future historians of our days as to the condition of Socialism, as to the condition of the International during the war, than dozens of pacificatory articles and pamphlets by Kautsky.

Again do the German patriotic "Socialists" assume the doubtful honor of initiative in betraying the international banner of labor. But it is not necessary to be a prophet to foretell that they will not remain alone, that the patriotic "Socialists" of France, of England, and so on, will soon follow them. And the May Day celebration of labor, the celebration of Socialist hopes, the celebra-

## Our May Day Is Surely Coming!

tion of struggle against the regime of capitalist enslavement, against impoverishment and inhuman chauvinism—will disappear this year.

This is May Day transformed this year into a holiday of the bourgeoisie. The war has lasted eight months. The bourgeoisie have not called off any of their holidays in this period. The religious holidays, the holidays of prejudice and ignorance and superstition, are being celebrated most eagerly. Religious propaganda has grown extraordinarily strong thru its partnership with the war. Militant clericalism has raised its head. Bourgeoisie and reactionaries carry out their work without hindrance in the ranks of the soldiers, in the ranks of the "civil" population, desperate, collapsing under the burdens of the war. But the Socialist workers must "voluntarily" give up their May Day demonstration!

The degree to which the workers respond to the idea of May Day has

always served as the barometer of their Socialist consciousness, of their internationalism, of their readiness for sacrifice, of their eagerness to struggle against capitalism. This year the barometer has fallen to zero—at least as far as the heads of Social-democracy are concerned. The Socialists have become "Socialist" chauvinists!

The sad picture that faces us on May First, 1915, will serve as the best illustration in answering the question: to whom is the war of use? There is no doubt that among the objective tasks of the war from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie there is this one also: to decapitate the rapidly growing labor movement, to destroy the Socialist organizations of the working class and to obliterate the "Red menace" threatening the bourgeoisie of the most advanced countries. The First of May, 1915, will bring the bourgeoisie the glad tidings that, to a certain extent, at least now, at least temporarily, they have suc-

ceeded in achieving this objective of theirs.

The representatives of the bourgeoisie were overcome with foreboding, with physical fear, as the First May Day celebration of the proletariat in 1890 approached. On the other hand, the best representatives of the proletariat were filled with joy, filled with the vital consciousness of victory. Friedrich Engels waited tense for the first manifestation of the power of labor. In 1890 he wrote to his friend, Sorge, that participation in the celebration of May Day constituted a tremendous spiritual revolution for the English proletariat. And now, twenty five years later, the strongest Social-democratic party in the world calls upon the workers, in the name of the bourgeois idea of class-peace to give up the celebration of May Day! This is a symbol! This is the climax of the degradation of the Socialist banner on the part of the chauvinist "Socialists."

Is it not then a holiday for the bourgeoisie?

A reactionary writer recently compared the situation of the official international Social-democracy during the war with the situation in the camp of the... Catholic Church! The latter is also an international organization. But the war destroyed its international connections and forced the good Catholics of France to shoot at the equally good Catholics of Austria, just as it has forced the German Socialists to shoot at the French Socialists.

In the mouth of a reactionary this parallel carries a certain poisonous truth. But the chauvinist Socialists are doing their best to degrade the labor movement even more deeply. So far the clergy have not demanded that their holidays be eliminated; indeed, during the Christmas days of 1914-1915, the soldiers of both sides, upon their own responsibility and initiative, concluded a temporary armistice!

On May First, 1915, the bourgeoisie of all countries revented themselves upon the labor movement. The abrogation of the May Day demonstrations on the part of the official Social-democracy is worth many military victories to the bourgeoisie. It signifies the triumph of the bourgeois idea...

But who laughs last, laughs best. Can anyone imagine that the vanguard of the workers will continue much longer to bear the yoke of chauvinist "Socialism" and to quietly suffer the degradation to which the labor movement has been subjected by the opportunists, in alliance with the bourgeoisie? Will not the reading of the circular on the abrogation of May Day arouse among the best elements of the workers a murmur of indignation? Will it not cause them to clench their fists and to curse those who have brought the Socialist International to this shame?

Today is your holiday, Messrs. Bourgeoisie! But our holiday is coming thru the lessons of the war, millions and more than millions of workers will learn to hate your entire despicable regime of violence, of venality, of slavery and of blood. They will realize that, if they are to give up their lives, it must be for our cause, for the cause of Socialism, in the civil war against the bourgeoisie and their governments. They will realize that only in revolutionary Socialism have they a trustworthy champion of their interests. And who can tell if the spiritual composure of the Messrs. Bourgeoisie will be as great on the First of May 1916 as on the First of May, 1915?

## The Background of the Irish Crisis

# British Imperialism in Ireland

by Fenian

(Continued from the last issue) This buying-out process has released a certain proportion of Irish capital for investment elsewhere, and new investment in farming is taking place. The Free State government is taking active measures to rationalize agriculture and turn it into a profitable large-scale industry. Ownership of the big grazing ranches was transferred to large farmers under the Land Act of 1923, and hundreds of small farms have been sold up for non-payment of annuities. The number of separate holdings of less than 30 acres fell from 400,000 in 1911 to 292,000 in 1926; and today a quarter of the total number of occupiers hold three-quarters of the agricultural land. The government's policy continues to squeeze out the small farmer. Centralized selling and credit agencies, including the co-operative creameries, and legislation controlling the grading of products and the standardization of cattle, operate in the interests of the large farmer and lead to the consolidation of capitalist agriculture.

British Capital in Ireland Ireland is not, and never has been, to any great extent a field for the investment of British industrial capital. According to McGilligan's statement at the Imperial Conference of 1930, Irish capital in British industry was estimated at ninety million pounds, and British capital in Irish industry at only half that amount. The importance of Ireland for British imperialism lies in its strategic position in the exploitation of agriculture, and in its food supplies, which become vital in time of war. Thus, in four generations of nationalist struggle, the Irish bourgeoisie won from the British ruling class certain concessions in regard to the land, which were essential for the development of capitalist agriculture, and (in 1922) tariff autonomy; but it did not win political or economic independence. British interests still exploit Irish peasants thru the land annuities and thru the exchange of the products of advanced industry for those of backward agriculture. Ireland is still a naval base under imperialist control, and Ulster is still a stronghold of British interests.

Classes and Parties in Ireland At the time of the Fenian Rising Marx said that the Irish needed (1) Self-government and independence from England. (2) An agrarian revolution. (3) Protective tariffs against England. (Letter to Engels, November 30, 1867).

Which class interests today can carry thru the struggle for independence and the completion of the agrarian revolution? In the Free State as well as in Ulster the big capitalists are essentially interested in maintaining the British alliance. The government party, Cumann nan Gaedheal, (This article was written before the recent accession of the Fianna Fail party to power in the Free State—Editor), openly upholds the Treaty threatening return to a dictatorship if any party pledged to repudiate the Treaty comes into power. Thru the lowering of wages and lengthening of hours in State enterprises, it has led the attack on the conditions of the working class, while by its support of the land annuities it continues the exploitation of working farmers in the interest of the bondholders. Fianna Fail, the party to which, under DeValera's leadership, the majority of Sinn Fein went over in 1927 (at the time of the split on the question of entrance into the Dail), represents the smaller (and native) groups, which are mainly independent of direct English connections. In the present economic depression, this section is hard hit by the competition of large-scale British enterprise, and

seeks to use the state machine to ease its own position. For this reason Fianna Fail proposes not to release the small farmers from the burden of the land annuities, but to collect the annuities for revenue purposes in Ireland. For the same reason it looks for assistance to American capital. In the course of the struggle to win land for the peasants and to expropriate the owning class, this section, like native capitalism in all subject countries will hesitate, vacillate and ultimately ally itself with imperialism.

The Irish Labor party has accepted the partition of Ireland and the Free State settlement, and is working to secure government office within the framework devised for the protection of imperialist interests. It had close connections with the former British T.U.C. and Labor party.

The petty bourgeoisie in Ireland, as in every other country, is divided in its class allegiance. Economic pressure is continually forcing small owners, shopkeepers and farmers into the ranks of the proletariat; but their resistance to this process takes the form not of organizing a mass movement against capitalist exploitation, but of trying to secure for themselves the position of independent exploiters. The remnants of Sinn Fein, who, under the leadership of Mary MacSwiney, refuse to co-operate in the Dail; the groups which support the republican journal *An Poblacht*; the left-wing nationalists, many of them members of the I.R.A. (Irish Republican Army), who carry on the terrorist tradition of the old physical force parties; all of these, together with some of the intellectuals of the Gaelic revival movement maintain the old anti-English nationalism, whose aim was to establish a separate state in Ireland. Within these groups, and particularly within the I.R.A., there are workers and working farmers who have accepted a petty bourgeois leadership. In order to keep their support in the present economic position, which is leading to a sharp differentiation of class interests among the agricultural population, the petty bourgeois republican leaders are being compelled to adopt a more definite standpoint on social and industrial questions. But the petty bourgeoisie, because of the uncertainty of its own position in the class struggle, cannot lead a mass movement. The fact that the republicans in Ireland have no clear political program but concentrate on conspiratorial organization and terrorist activities, reflects this fundamental uncertainty.

Thus, altho the growing discontent of the petty bourgeoisie makes them potential supporters of real revolutionary struggle, it is clear that none of the bourgeois or petty bourgeois parties in Ireland today can lead the masses of the people forward to the completion of the agrarian revolution and the winning of national unity and independence. This leadership can only come from the revolutionary party of the working class, which, by its very nature, is in opposition to all those interests that are holding back the struggle; the class which is essentially anti-imperialist. Under this leadership all the forces which are fighting British imperialism and its Irish allies will be drawn together, and the differences of race and religion, which have served to maintain the power of capitalism and to hamper the struggle for national independence, will give place to the division of class against class. Industrial workers and working farmers, who have fought in the long history of Irish

struggles on behalf of the bourgeoisie class, will themselves seize power and set up a workers and peasants republic.

But victory cannot be secured without real mass organization, both of the town workers and of the working farmers. The pressure of increasing exploitation unites the most militant of the organized workers with the unorganized and the unemployed, and brings them into closer association with the poor farmers, thus drawing together the ranks from which, under the leadership of a revolutionary proletarian party, the new fighting forces will emerge.

### An Arithmetic Lesson

Hoover grandly offers to accept a wage-cut of \$74,999 out of \$75,000 and become a dollar-a-year man. Naturally! He didn't take the job for its salary anyhow. Hoover is a multimillionaire.

A little arithmetic would be instructive. Let us assume his annual income is \$20,000,000. A reduction of \$75,000 out of \$20,000,000 is 3/8 of 1% of his annual income in order to initiate a new nation-wide wage-cutting campaign. The proposed cuts will be of 10%, 20%, 30% or more. They would cut the wage bill of Mr. Hoover's companies by millions and tens of millions, which will flow back into the pockets of Hoover and the gentlemen whose president he is.

The old shell game once more: "Cast thy cuts upon the nation and they shall come back to thee an hundred-fold."

## Eugene Debs on May Day!

The paragraphs below are from an impassioned speech of Eugene Victor Debs, great American Socialist leader, in the days after the Russian revolution of 1905.

Socialist greeting this day to all our fellow workers, the god-like souls in Russia marching grimly, sublimely into the jaws of hell with the song of the Revolution in their death rattle, to the Orient, the Occident and all the isles of the sea.

Vive la Revolution! The most heroic word in all languages is Revolution. It thrills and vibrates, cheers and inspires. Tyrants and time-savers fear it, but the oppressed hail it with joy.

The throne trembles when this throbbing word is lisped but to the hovel it is food for the famishing and hope for the victims of despair.

Let us glorify today the revolutions of the past and hail the greater revolution yet to come before emancipation shall make all the days of the year May Days of peace and plenty for the sons and daughters of toil. . . . In the words of Mark Twain: "The ever memorable and blessed revolution which swept a thousand years of villainy away in one swift tidal wave of blood—won a settlement of that hoary debt in the proportion of half a drop of blood for each hoghead that had been pressed by slow tortures out of the people in the weary stretch of ten centuries of wrong and shame and misery, the like of which was not to be mated but in hell.

There were two reigns of terror if we would but remember it and consider it. The one brought murder in hot passion, the other in heartless cold blood; the one lasted mere months, the other, a thousand years; the one inflicted death on ten thousand persons, the other upon a hun-

## Unite the Forces of Labor on May Day!

(Continued from Page 1)

masses, robbing them of their very necessities, prevail in the land of plenty, the land of the Mellons, the Morgans the Rockefellers, the kings of finance and industry.

Workers fighting against wage-cuts are shot down. Unemployed begging for jobs and bread are mowed down by machine-gun fire.

Negro workers and farmers are discriminated against jim-crowed and lynched. Mooney and Billings languish in prison. The Scottsboro Negro boys face execution. The jails are full of workers. Kentucky, Ohio, the South are today the outposts of the American iron heel, of the bloody rule of American capitalism! Tomorrow it will be the East, the West and other centers.

May Day 1932, calls upon the Workers, it calls upon the Farmers, it calls upon the exploited and oppressed masses everywhere to grasp the significance of their present situation, to understand the importance of the historic events taking place today, to draw inspiration for organizing the might and gaining the intelligence to free themselves from the engulfing nightmare of capitalism.

In one country in the world, the masses do not suffer the privations, do not have the conditions which prevail in the capitalist countries. That country is the Soviet Union, where the workers and farmers rule. It is the country of proletarian revolution where the building of socialism heralds a new life, a new era, for the producing masses.

Hail the Soviet Union! Three cheers for its successful march toward socialism! Let us take the inspiration from the achievements of the workers there to build up our working class organiza-

tions to strengthen the revolutionary movement, so that capitalism shall be destroyed and socialism established.

The capitalist world looks with vengeful eyes upon the Soviet Union and is preparing for war against the workers fatherland.

May Day 1932 calls upon the workers to be prepared to fight the imperialist war moves against the Soviet Union and to defend the Soviet Union with all their resources and power.

In China, war rages. Japan heads the imperialist powers in preparing the Eastern front of attack against the Soviet Union.

May Day 1932 calls upon the workers to fight against the war in China, for the removal of all the military and naval forces in China of all the imperialist powers, for the freedom of China and for the full support to the revolutionary workers and peasants of China in their struggle against imperialism.

Germany is the pivot of the world situation. It holds the center of the stage for the labor movement. The advent to power of Fascism in Germany threatens to bring about either world war or, what is more certain, war against the Soviet Union. It heralds the crushing of the labor movement in Germany. It will usher in a reign of reaction thruout the world of unprecedented proportions.

The treachery of the trade union leaders and social democracy has paved the way for Fascism in Germany. The crisis in the Communist world movement, the wrong policies and tactics of the movement, especially the policy pursued in Germany, have divided the forces of the proletariat and weakened the front against Fascism. The situation demands Com-

## The Lessons of the Dress Strike Left Wing in the Dress Strike

by Chas S. Zimmerman

(Concluded from last issue)

When we look at the outcome of the strike from this viewpoint, and this is the only way to look at it, then we can see that the conclusion that it was a complete failure.

President Schlesinger and General-Manager Hochman are trying to explain this outcome of the strike by saying that the economic crisis is responsible. Let us examine this excuse, whether it is wholly the cause. It is true that there is not much work in the shops and that this fact prevented the workers from fighting for better prices in the shops. But is the cause for this only the crisis? I say, no! It is the policy and strategy of the International leadership that is largely responsible. Had they not tried to get rid of the strike but had they instead concentrated on stopping off more shops in New York, had they carried the strike to Bronx, Brooklyn, Brownsville, where large shops of

sixty and eighty machines were working full force, had they made provisions for carrying on strike activities also out-of-town, the flow of work to these seal shops would have been checked and the union shops would have had more work. The union would also have gained organizationally. It would therefore have been possible to enforce conditions in the shops, and the agreement with the schedule would not have remained a mere scrap of paper as it is today.

The Settlement Our position toward the settlement we stated very definitely at the shop chairmen's meeting and also to the strikers. Our position was to point out the real causes for the failure of the strike, i.e., the policy and tactics pursued by the International leadership, but, at the same time, to tell the workers that, in view of the fact that the spirit of the strike had been broken, it was useless to continue to stay out on strike and expect to win anything under the circumstances.

There was no other way for the workers but to go back under this agreement and continue the fight in the shops as well as to become active in the Union and carry on the fight against the policies of the reactionary leadership of the International and the Joint Board. Any one who would call on the workers to continue to stay out and tell them that thereby they would be able to get anything, would, in view of the circumstances, be deceiving them. It would only cause more demoralization and more chaos.

The supporters of the International in Local 22, i.e. the Club, are now trying their utmost to shield those responsible for this defeat. That the strike was a failure, they admit. But instead of placing the responsibility where it properly belongs, namely upon the policies and tactics of the reactionary leadership of the International, they are making their attack against Local 22. They think that in this way they will shield the International leadership from responsibility and perpetuate their reactionary policies in the Union. The workers must know that, just as they are fighting against the bosses in the shop to get a little improvement in their conditions, so will they have to fight against the reactionary leadership of the Union and their supporters in the Club, if they want to build up a strong Union.

The Lessons of the Strike From this strike, the workers can learn the lesson that neither the class-collaboration policies of the International officialdom nor the sectarian policies of the dual-unionists of the Industrial Union, can be successful in the struggle for better conditions and in the building of a strong Union. Nor will pessimism and indifference on the part of the workers help the situation.

The leaders of the Industrial Union must learn their lesson from this strike and realize that the masses cannot be won by engaging constantly in splitting maneuvers and in dividing the ranks of the workers. If they are capable of learning anything, they must realize that the issue of the Union in the trade is still a burning issue. Unity in the ranks of the workers, one union in the trade, would instill a new hope, a new enthusiasm among the workers. They tried to get the workers to come to them and have not succeeded. They must therefore give up their sectarian policy now. They must give up the Industrial Union and their supporters where the masses are, and there unite

with all left-wing and progressive elements and, on the basis of a constructive militant program, help build a strong Union.

The problems of the dressmakers today are manifold. We must continue to fight for conditions in the shops. The industry is still largely unorganized; we must therefore build up a rank and file organization department that will carry on a drive against the open shops on a large scale. We must carry on the fight to abolish the separate kingdoms, i.e., the separate locals with their separate treasuries and managars. We must begin a fight to stamp out racketeering that has invaded the industry, etc.

The workers must get out of their passivity. They must realize that they are the Union and, by becoming active and supporting those who are fighting for a constructive militant program in the Union, will be able to defeat the policies of the reactionary leadership in the Union; to defeat the policy of the sectarian dual-unionism and to build up a strong union in the trade that will be capable of fighting for and defending the interests of the workers.

## THE SPLIT IN DUTCH SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

Amsterdam, Holland

The thirty-seventh congress of the Dutch Social-democratic Workers party was held on Easter Sunday, March 27) in Harlem. The party chairman, Oudgeest, was absent and the congress was opened with a speech by Vliegen. From the very beginning the crusade against the left wing of the party, which had recently assumed independent fractional form with its own papers, etc., was launched. In reply to Vliegen, Schmidt, former executive member, spoke, attacking the policies of the right wing leadership and defending the position of the lefts. The policies of the party leadership, he declared, contradicted the decisions of the Vienna Congress of the Socialist International! The opposition would remain in the party if it were allowed to issue its own paper, etc.; otherwise not. There was a very lively and extensive discussion, nearly 70 speakers participating. After midnight came the decision. Five of the 11 points in the political resolution were unanimously adopted. The other six points, which touched questions of current party policy and relations between leadership and opposition, were adopted by a vote of 1599 to 400. Since the lefts refused to subordinate themselves to this decision, the split became unavoidable.

The opposition delegates thereupon withdrew to a separate conference and formed the Independent Social-democratic party of Holland. The leaders of the split and of this new party are: Edo Finnumen, former secretary of the International Trade Union Federation (Amsterdam International), and secretary of the International Transport Workers Federation, P. J. Schmidt, and A. Stenhuis, former head of the Dutch Federation of Labor.

LONDON.—Great Britain's tariff will be increased on April 25 from 10% to an average of 20%, with rates on semi-luxuries and luxuries going up to 30%. A tariff of 33 1/3% will be placed on some iron and steel manufactures for the next three months at least.

These tariffs have been placed by the Import Duties Advisory Committee which has been empowered by Parliament to raise tariff rates within certain limits. They are largely aimed at the U. S. A.

# J. LOVESTONE LECTURES SUNDAY, MAY 8th, 1932, 8 P.M. "Future of Communism", 228 2nd Ave.



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## Present and Future of American Labor

# The Economic Crisis and the Labor Movement

by Jay Lovestone

We publish below the second of the series of articles by Jay Lovestone on "Present and Future of American Labor." The third and fourth articles will be entitled: "Some Problems and Tasks Confronting the American Working Class," and "Towards Working Class Unity!" respectively.

Let us consider briefly the trade union movement historically—its organization, structure, development, and role in the present economic crisis. We see the unions fall into four general categories: The American Federation of Labor, the conservative independent trade unions like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Railway Brotherhoods, the I. W. W., and the newly created "Red" unions, since the close of 1928, led by the Communist Party.

The American Federation of Labor, the Railway Brotherhoods, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, in ideology, are essentially alike. The I. W. W., a specific expression of American syndicalism, no longer has any mass influence. The new unions recently created by the official Communist Party are dual, competing unions, reminiscent of those once built by Daniel De Leon in his still-born "Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance."

All the Communist groups agree in their opposition to the general conservative policies of American trade unionism which accepts the capitalist order for the present and future. Among the Communists there are sharp differences, today, over trade union tactics and strategy. The policy of dual unionism, deserting the conservative unions, splitting them and forming pure, virginal, revolutionary organizations, instead of working from within to transform the existing craft bodies into militant industrial unions is the strategy now pursued by the official Communist Party. This new policy of organizing competing unions marks a sharp break with the traditional revolutionary policy formulated by Lenin and pursued by the Communist International until the close of 1928. To quote Lenin:

"The Communist must join such unions in all countries in order to make of them efficient and conscious organs of struggle for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of Communism. . . . Any voluntary withdrawal from the economic movement, every artificial attempt to organize special unions . . . threatens to isolate the most advanced and most conscious workers from the masses who are on the road to Communism. It threatens to hand over these masses to the opportunist leaders, thus playing into the hands of the bourgeoisie. . . ."

"Communists must on no account leave the ranks of the reactionary Federation of Labor. On the contrary, they should go into the old trade unions in order to revolutionize them."

It is for defending this trade union policy of Lenin and for opposing the splitting of established trade unions that the majority of the old leaders and founders of the American Communist Party were expelled from the official ranks by the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The expelled Communist Party of the United States (Majority Group) still pursues the Leninist trade union policy, working effectively in the American Federation of Labor, especially in the Anthracite coal fields, the needle trades and the textile industry.

When the official Communist Party today allows its members and followers to join an A. F. of L. union its plan is not to rebuild and transform this conservative organization but merely to lure some workers, split them away as quickly as possible, and then set up a new pure, so-called revolutionary, dual union. Lenin roundly condemned such policies when he said:

"To refuse to work in them! To invent new workingmen's unions! This unpardonable blunder results in the Communists rendering the greatest service to the bourgeoisie."

### THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT

What will be the effect of the present crisis on the Labor movement, first in its relation to the capitalist system as such; second, its bearing on the employing class; and, finally, its influence on the development of a working class movement itself?

American capitalism will emerge from this crisis generally weakened. Its course will be feverish and spasmodic, intermittently shaken by recurring crises of increasing frequency, acuteness and duration, bringing in their wake a mounting army of permanently unemployed.

employed, dispossessed, pauperized and discarded.

As American capitalism loses its vitality, the economic basis of the labor aristocracy likewise shrinks. Wall Street capitalism will have less with which to corrupt and tempt any section of the working class. This factor, coupled with the elimination of skill lines, thru the extension of large-scale production and rationalization, will reduce the gap between skilled and unskilled, between the labor aristocracy and the great mass of workers, and will thus weld the working class into a more homogeneous class of society.

As the capitalist system is confronted with a growing unity and strength of the workers and its own disruption and increasing instability, it will be compelled to seek equilibrium in some form of State capitalism. More and more, the government, controlled by a small coterie of big bankers, will supervise and operate certain vital industries. Thus organized, the American ruling class will be able to fight more effectively in its battle for profits, in the world market and on its home front against the workers. The government, more and more, will openly play the role of strike-breaker.

How will the workers react to this new situation? The class struggle, thru the objective logic of the situation itself, will assume a sharper character and greater dimensions. The clashing of the proletariat on all fronts with the strike-breaking government will transform the class conflict more and more into an open political struggle.

The working class will grow in numbers as well as in homogeneity for it will absorb great numbers of the dispossessed farmers, ruined merchants, and small manufacturers in the cities, jobless professionals, and other members of the middle class. The industrialization process, leveling the skill lines, will also draw into the ranks of the workers new laboring forces—Negroes from the land, women and children.

A tremendous radicalization force for the American labor movement is the simultaneous growth of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and capitalist decay in the United States. Unemployed by the millions, broken, hungry, despairing in the United States, they see in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics no unemployment, shortened hours, rising living standards and hope on every front. The influence of the Soviet Union on the American labor movement, regardless of the opposition from the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and regardless of the present weakness and divisions of the American Communist movement, is bound to grow.

While it is admitted that there is no nation-wide radicalization in the ranks of labor today, it cannot be denied that the objective basis for such radicalization is now being laid by the economic crisis. An embittered resistance of the workers to the bosses taking away the gains won thru years of hard struggle will be one of the outstanding consequences of the present crisis. Strikes will increase in number and duration. The labor struggles will become increasingly political in character. The mounting disillusionment with American prosperity will spur the workers to more determined militancy.

These experiences of the workers will hasten the building of a mass political party, a genuine Labor party, to champion the most elementary interests of the workers as a class in the parliamentary campaigns and in the general political life of the country. Such a labor party would have as its units working-class organizations, trade unions, cultural associations, benefit societies, sport groups, and not an individual membership. This is the form—membership by organization and block—which the Labor party has taken in England and elsewhere. Such a Labor party would, at the outset, probably have a confused program, lacking clarity in its policies, tactically inadequate from the proletarian revolutionary viewpoint, but it would still mark a distinct forward step for the American working class. Politically it would mean the declaration of independence by the American working class from the big parties of capital.

Clearly, under these conditions the prospects for a mass Communist Party in the United States are encouraging despite the fact that the official Communist Party is now rent to pieces by splits and factions and is for the moment pursuing a false, sectarian, tactical course. The mighty social forces generated by the economic crisis are stronger than the stupidities of individuals or the mistakes of groups of individuals. These economic forces will prove decisive in correcting the official Communist line, in restoring the Communist Party to political sanity, vigor, unity and growth.

## BOOKS

**BREAKDOWN, The Collapse of Traditional Civilization,** by Robert Briffault. Brentano's, New York City.

This is one of the noteworthy books of the time. In fact it is so good that, with the exception of the left wing press, it is sure to go unhonored. For it is the most powerful and scathing denunciation of the pretensions of capitalist "civilization" that has yet come out of the ranks of the radical intellectuals. The author is an anthropologist of great note. His masterpiece, "The Mothers," a work of monumental scholarship, created a sensation upon its appearance some years ago. Defending the matriarchal theory of social origins, it sent some "respectable" anthropologists scurrying away, especially the defenders of Westermarck, that shining apostle of bourgeois smugness and cant. It is of especially great interest and value to students of historical materialism.

Briffault's weakness in economics (he believes exploitation takes place in exchange!), his continual tendency to foreshorten history and to minimize transformations within the general scheme of class society, an occasional idealistic inversion, some dubious constructions and forced analogies are very minor flaws in a work on the whole closely reasoned, thoroughly sound in its conclusions and eloquently written. Briffault has one of the finest of English styles! The rotten decay setting in all along the social and cultural fabric of capitalism is sharply etched; the shams of the ideological defenses—democracy, individualism, liberalism—are exposed, the destruction of "traditional" civilization is called for, and Russia is pointed to as the prototype of the new society. Such a bare outline of the thought sequence hardly gives an indication of the thoroughness and eloquence of the execution. Briffault thoroughly explodes the idea that:

"... a civilization founded upon the traditional arrangement of ruling and exploited classes can be gradually transformed from an unjust arrangement into a just one by the concern felt by privileged classes for justice, for the good of the people." He points out that: "Social injustice notwithstanding all legal fictions to the contrary, can be effectively put down only by its victims" and that: "... the structure of traditional civilization cannot be effectively ameliorated by means of French pastry and folk dances, but only by destroying it."

Especially devastating is his pillorying of the liberals. The whole timid, vacillating tribe from philosopher Dewey down to the economic planners can here see their unlovely countenances "frozen for all eternity." To abolish class power is outside the scope of liberal thought. Let their epitaph be, says Briffault that: "... they have defrayed the social progress which they have in appearance promoted, they have preserved the abuses which they have professedly opposed."

Noteworthy also is the author's defense of Soviet Union so refreshingly free from the "approval-with-reservation" attitude—Russia is good, but—it would be better, if. . . . The old philistine objections, dictatorship, liberty, etc., are no obstacles to a trenchant mind able to get to bedrock. We are witnessing the agony of a dying world but its death-throes are likewise the birth pangs of a new. The choice between the two is inevitable on the part of thinking beings. And to those above-the-battle impartialists, the author answers in what is one of the most eloquent passages in the book:

"By no withdrawal into detached spheres can the choice be evaded. In the controversial subterfuges and sophistries of current intellectual confusion, insistence is often laid on detachment, on that non-committal impartiality attitude of academicism. In particular, and which supposes itself, or professes to be objective. Thought which departs from that attitude is, according to current criticism, tainted with bias and propaganda. But that professed objective detachment is the merest delusion. No thought exists except on the "remise of definite values. Thought can only differ from thought according to the values on which it builds. At a time when the gulf which divides the values of a dying from those of a rising world is abyssal and unbridgeable, no product of the mind, no art, no judgment, no science can contrive not to take sides. No behavior even can. . . ."

Briffault has taken sides. Thereby he joins the increasing number of fellow travelers among the intellectuals. JIM CORK.

**Money Talks**  
Representative Randolph Parkins has proposed to meet the government deficit by making Congressmen pay \$50 a page for speeches published in the Congressional Record. It has been suggested that with cheaper rates for night sessions, 10-word speeches for Scotchmen, Couzens able to talk books-full on his millions, Borah having to pay the hat when he feels another speech is coming on, the thing might have its advantages. Of course, poor men couldn't afford the luxury of speaking their mind but poor men can't get into Congress at present anyhow. If Cal Coolidge got into Congress he'd draw his full salary unless they charged him for clearing his throat. As to Ham Fish, he'd be bankrupt in no time.



## YOUR PAY

Here's one time we favor a wage-cut  
As you plant, as you sow,  
As you glean, as you mow,  
As you toil night and day  
Tell me, folk, what's your pay?

Run the loom, turn the wheel,  
Mine the coal, forge the steel,  
Fill up high plenty's horn.  
Full of wine, full of corn.

Where's your bread? Where's your wine?  
Where's your cloth woven fine?  
Where's your health? Where's your board?  
Where's your gun? Where's your sword?

All's your work, yet for you  
What remains as your due?  
This alone for your pains  
Yours to keep—heavy chains!

Chains that bind, clanking sound!  
Body chained, spirit bound!  
Babes are chained on natal day—  
That oh, folk, is your pay!

—George Herwegh

We're Not Afraid  
"There are no rich men in America now," confides Charlie Schwab. Proof? "All men are afraid to look at their ledgers to see if they are worth anything or not." There are a hundred million Americans who are not afraid to look at their ledgers at all, Mr. Schwab.

A Blind Alley  
"The Senate has been investigating Wall Street for ten days and all they have found out is that the street is located in the sharp end of New York City, that not only the traders but the street itself is short and that neither end don't lead anywhere. Yours, Will Rogers.

Big Increase  
Hoorary! Statistics show a big increase at last. Autos may be going down, steel may be going down, carloadings may drop, but the corner is turned. No less an expert than New York's Police Commissioner Mulrooney spreads the tidings. Murders have risen 16% over 1930. Holdups have gone up by 25%. Jailings have climbed 77%. "Happy days are here again."

Medicine During the Depression  
Doctor: "Take this three times a day after meals."  
Patient: "Did you say three times a day, Doc, or after meals?"

The "Little Man"  
The "little man" that Franklin D. Roosevelt is pleading for these days is none other than Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Our Busy Mayor  
When the Mayor tried to see the Mayor of New York he wasn't in. But a few minutes later some boy scouts arrived.  
Police Chief: "What's your business?"  
Boy Scout leader: "We have some animal footprints to show the Mayor?"  
Police Chief: "Pass right thru. He's waiting for you?"  
Moral: It's better to be an animal's footprint than a jobless human being.

Problem in Philosophy  
Thomas W. Lamont, banker and Morgan partner, was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society at its annual session. We have a mathematical problem for the members of the Society to work out: How many millions equal one philosopher?

The Jobless As Morons  
If you're out of a job you're feeble-minded. Dr. Leon F. Whitney, (Boys Scout leader) and Secretary of the Eugenic Society, says so. There are 6,000,000 feeble-minded in the United States, only 60,000 in institutions. The rest are those "borderline cases, composed of persons who are able to get along independently in times of prosperity, but who are the first to appear as applicants for public charity in times of adversity. The greater part of our charity goes to bolster up this group." Thus Professor Conklin hales the depression as "killing off the unfit." and Whitney tells us the jobless are feeble-minded. We can only answer that the proletariat in power will have no use for such heartless, brainless, syphocant apologetics masquerading as social science, and then Dr. Whitney will find himself out of a job and discover that he too is feeble-minded by his own criterion.

The Question of Loyalty  
President Butler of Columbia declares that the duty of a campus paper is loyalty to the college. This raises the old question as to the nature of loyalty: Is it blind acceptance of every stinking abuse without criticism or question, or is it a determination to make a given institution into a decent place worthy of loyalty. The master class seeks to incite as patriotism the slogan: "Our country, right or wrong." The working class answers: "Whenever we see anything wrong about our country, we'll fight like hell to make it right." And by the way, the worst thing about our country is that it isn't ours at all. —B. D. W.

### THE TWELFTH HOUR OF THE OLD ORDER

MAY DAY, especially this year, is a fitting occasion for the workers to combine a close-up with a bird's eye view of the capitalist order. What does such an accurate observation disclose? Written large on the face of world capitalism, from London to Melbourne, from Tokyo to New York, from Stockholm to Johannesburg, is the word FAILURE. Shattered idols, rampant starvation amidst plenty, crass cynicism, brutality against the masses, wrecked "rescue endeavors," decay in science and culture, an all-pervading hopelessness—this is the panorama of capitalist civilization marching downward and outward before us.

Let us turn to the close-up of five-sixths of the world, the world ruled and ruined by the employing class. When Ivar Kreuger died, the "thinking elements" of the international bourgeoisie went into rapturous eulogies. No less distinguished a bourgeois beacon than the "London Economist" enlightened us that he was a man "who for once seemed to combine with the profits of private enterprise a real contribution to the welfare of nations"; he was "a great force for good in the world." How humiliating it must be for the more "decent" defenders of the capitalist faith to find so mighty an idol shattered and brought into bold relief as a superman in the realm of fraud and swindle! But what else can we expect from a system based on exploitation? And it is precisely this sort of superman that capitalism will breed on a large scale when it turns to open Fascist dictatorship against workers.

Then let us turn the searchlight on Massachusetts, the home of Coolidge, of Sacco and Vanzetti. In this one of our original thirteen colonies we find "wage-rates as low as 10c and even . . . 5c an hour, and hundreds of girls with weekly earnings under \$5 . . ." Indeed, ragged individualism run amuck—in the face of the much-vaunted American efficiency and prosperity! Soon Hoover will write us another Thanksgiving message!

And now California. What insolence and reckless cynicism our ruling class did display in its flat refusal to release Mooney and Billings after sixteen years of living death in the dungeon of San Quentin! This brutality of the biggest business interests in "God's own country" doesn't even find it necessary to hide behind any pretense or disguise. Governor Rolph didn't dare touch the question of Mooney's guilt or innocence but plainly said that the courts were right in convicting him and openly announced that he would continue the life imprisonment because Mooney has been a militant labor fighter and has now become a symbol of working class resistance to the exploiting and parasitic class of property owners. The workers cannot look upon this savagery of our oppressors merely as an act of despair. We must take Governor Rolph's decision as a warning and understand it as a challenge which we should immediately prepare to accept.

Really the cynicism of the American ruling class defies imagination. In New York its politics reek with so much corruption that it is even too revolting for certain conservative politicians. Lincoln Steffens' "Shame of the Cities" would blush scarlet before the Seabury revelations. Yet, so much brass does Tammany Hall possess that one of its messenger boy judges (Judge Ford) comes along with a decision against the Seabury exposures and declares that: "Its (New York City's) government is . . . honest . . . Those who charge otherwise are ignorant of conditions here . . . Sweetness and light, happiness and contentment, decency and morality . . . New York City—God bless her!"

May Day 1932 should be a day not only for active manifestation of working class solidarity but for proletarian inventory-taking. As the warclouds grow denser and blacker in the Far East, as Japanese imperialism presses on in its war plans against the Soviet Union, the working masses of all countries must realize in thought and deed the historic significance of the present moment in world history. As a social system capitalism has outlived its usefulness. What more scathing indictment of the present order and what more decisive proof of our contention can be offered than the proposal of many of the leading bourgeois thinkers and scientists to declare a "moratorium on research." How socially worthwhile can a system be when its bywords are "moratorium," "standstill," "bankruptcy," "starvation," "unemployment," and "war." From the most sacred cloisters of bourgeois science and philosophy, we hear the ever-louder wail that "science has discovered more facts than man is prepared to assimilate," "that there should be a complete cessation of all scientific activity for a period of years," that "too much knowledge confuses us," and that "research has not only confused us but that in some manner it is directly responsible for present maladjustments." (G. Edward Pendray, "New York Herald-Tribune," April 24, 1932). These are death-bed prayers, a longing to go backward in moments of extreme anguish and acute agony in order to live over again and thus live on.

Inspired by the victorious Soviet workers and farmers, oppressed and exploited by the bourgeoisie thruout the capitalist world, the working class of all countries should on, May Day 1932, take stock and become aroused to prepare itself, to organize itself, to fulfill its historic mission. Only in the militant fight against the intolerable working and living conditions, only in a united struggle for better wages, decent conditions, shorter hours, unemployment relief and insurance, stronger and more effective unions, only under the inspiration and leadership of a revolutionary proletarian party, a Communist Party rooted in the soil and reality of the country, can the working class in the United States and elsewhere march forward and learn to fulfill its great historic mission—the overthrow of the old decaying capitalist order and the building of a new, a socialist, a classless society, a society free from exploitation, misery, and war.

## May Day Celebration

Auspices:  
**Communist Party, Majority Group**

SATURDAY EVE. APRIL 30TH

SPEAKERS:  
**BENJ. GITLOW—National Secretary**  
**EDWARD WELSH—Negro Organizer**  
**MINNIE LURYE—Youth Secretary**

MUSICAL PROGRAM  
**REBECCA DAVIDSON—Pianist, and Others**  
**ANDRE CIBULSKY—Singer**

DANCING MUSIC BY KID TAYLOR'S ORCHESTRA  
**NEW HARLEM CASINO**  
116th Street and Lenox Avenue

ADMISSION 55 CENTS

## MASS EXPROPRIATIONS IN MISSISSIPPI

About one-quarter of all land privately owned in the State of Mississippi has been sold in the last few weeks for delinquent taxes, the reports of the sheriffs of the various counties indicate.

Nearly every county in the State is hard hit. The report show that 36,669 farms, or 16.2% of the acreage of the State, went on the auction block, while 12% of the city property was forfeited for non-payment of 1931 taxes. The State already possesses 15,000 to 40,000 forfeited acres in each county.

Twenty-five percent of the land of the State sold on the auction block because the owners were so bankrupt that they could not even pay taxes. This shows what happens to small property owners under capitalism, especially in crises—they are driven to self-destruction as property owners and their property swallowed up by the big capitalists. Every year hundreds of thousands, sometimes millions of farmers, are expropriated of their land and driven to the city to go to try to get work in factories or else to hire themselves out as farm laborers, sometimes on their own land. This is the "sanctity of property" under capitalism, when it is the property of the poor working farmer that is concerned.