

WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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SHOW DOWN NEARS IN DRESS STRIKE

MINERS SCOFF AT SPLIT TALK

Extend Jurisdiction To By-Products Workers; Autonomy Defeated

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The Convention of the United Mine Workers of America came to a close with a satisfactory settlement of what threatened to mar the whole spirit of the convention. The announcement of John L. Lewis, Kennedy and Murray refusing to accept the wage increase granted them by this convention over some protests, cleared the atmosphere considerably.

Once before in the course of the convention the common front presented against the attack of the craft unionists was shattered. This was in the discussion on district autonomy. The final roll call showed the fighters for autonomy defeated.

In the closing days of the convention Lewis finally silenced all wild rumors regarding secession. In unmistakable terms he let it be known that the U.M.W.A. has no intention of seceding and in fact would resist ouster by the A. F. of L. It was pointed out that a two-thirds vote is needed at an A. F. of L. convention to oust any union and that the industrial union forces control more than a third of the votes.

As if to throw a challenge into the very teeth of the craft unionists the convention decided to extend its jurisdiction to by-products workers, thus laying the basis for disputes with other craft internationalists. If left to decision of these workers involved there is no doubt but that they would flock to the U.M.W.A.

This convention was rich in content and the implications of its decisions are far reaching. The labor movement, even the country as a whole, felt the significance of this convention and gave it undivided attention.

THE DRESSMAKERS' STRIKE LEADERSHIP



Left to right: Standing—Philip Kapp, Secretary-Treasurer of the Dressmakers' Joint Board I.L.G.W.U.; Charles Zimmerman, Manager of Local 22; Samuel Perlmutter, Manager of Local 10; Max Cohen, Manager of Local 60. Sitting—Luigi Antonini, Manager of Local 89; David Dubinsky, President International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Julius Hochman, Manager of the Dressmakers' Joint Board.

Freeman Defeats Racketeers In Painters' Union Election

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Sam Freeman, progressive candidate for secretary of the District Council won out against the candidate of the gangsters and racketeers by defeating Robert Kellman in a bitterly fought election battle.

Despite gang repeaters whose votes are being challenged and in the face of a mobilization of Brooklyn's underworld, Freeman broke the tape about 125 votes ahead, out of a total of 1100 cast.

In the ranks of the painters there is great joy. At last they have succeeded in breaking the backbone of the racketeers who

ruled and ruined the District Council for many years. The painters of Brooklyn and the labor movement as a whole are to be congratulated on this defeat of gangsterism and victory for progressive unionism.

As we got to press we learn that the racketeers are taking their defeat very hard. The elections are being protested. An appeal to the G.E.B. has been made. All honest workers must be on guard.

FUR AGREEMENT IS RATIFIED

The proposed agreement in the fur industry was ratified at a mass meeting in Mecca Temple attended by about 3,000 workers. There was considerable criticism however over certain weaknesses in the agreement. The outstanding objection being the loss of the unemployment fund. Progressives in the meeting urged the acceptance of the agreement but criticized the failure to adequately prepare the workers for strike action. The progressives Yaker, Cooperman, Zechter and Zipkin spoke along these lines. The proposal of Gold that of the 10% increase secured for the workers 2% be set aside as an unemployment fund was not received with any great enthusiasm.

However a number of demands were won which constitute a distinct improvement in the conditions of the workers. Special concessions were won for aged workers; wage scales for female operators and hand-sewers were raised; only two partners are permitted to work in any shop and if that is

Conferences With Mayor Again Postponed; Union Promises Quick Action After Tuesday's Meet

NEW YORK, N. Y.—The conference between the union and the associations, arranged by Mayor LaGuardia, has been postponed to Tuesday (Feb. 11). Union leaders insist that negotiations have reached a show-down stage. Unless tomorrow's conference shows that an agreement is a certainty the impatient dressmakers will be called

upon to march out of the shops in general strike.

If the agreement is finally concluded on Tuesday it will be only because the union's strike machinery is now in perfect order and the response of the dressmakers leaves no doubt as to where they stand.

NEW YORK, N. Y.—105,000 dressmakers in New York and vicinity stand poised ready for the order from the union to paralyze the whole industry which is stalling, kidding, talking, but doing nothing to really come to an understanding with their union.

The mass meetings in Madison Square Garden and in many other halls, last Friday, was an adequate demonstration that the patience of these thousands was rapidly reaching the snapping point. The cheering and shouting for an immediate general strike left little doubt as to the wholeheartedness with which these masses stood behind their leaders in the negotiations with the manufacturers. President Dubinsky seemed quite right when he stated that in conversation with Mayor LaGuardia he could not guarantee that he could hold the workers in check very long. He did however grant the Mayor the one request that the general strike be not called until Wednesday (February 12).

The mass meeting in the Garden echoed and reechoed the indignation of the union leaders and the masses against the failure of the five associations to begin to negotiate for an agreement. For three months the union waited but the employers associations hoped to catch the union unawares and unprepared. Now with everything set for a general strike these associations become frantic and want to talk peace. But even now there is little more than mere talk. The splits and divisions within the various associations make it hardly possible that a strike can be avoided.

The workers massed in the Garden seemed to sense this situation when they voted for a general

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USSR HAS GOOD TRADE BALANCE

Decline of Exports And Imports Due To More Buying At Home

A decline in both exports and imports with the maintenance of a very favorable balance of trade was the record of Soviet Russia for 1935. The primary reason for the drop in exports was the almost complete lack of consumers goods in this year's trade balance. These articles which the Soviets had to dangle before the eyes of foreign capital in order to get much needed machinery and capital goods, are now being released in considerable quantities in Soviet Russia itself, thus hailing the rise in the living standards of the Russian workers and peasants. And of course, the reason it wasn't necessary to export most of these commodities is because of the strengthening of the base of industry and collective agriculture in the Soviet Union and the reduced need for foreign machinery. Surrounded by the cordon sanitaire of capitalism, Russia's aim is to approach the limit of self-sufficiency, and this naturally tends to decrease her imports. Since capitalism happens to be a profit-making system, there is less of Soviet production bought. A probable contributing factor is also the transition in Russia from the breathless building and sacrifice of the past few years to the increasing plenty of a Socialist economy.

DRIVE-TIME HALF GONE BUT ONLY \$2,000 HAVE BEEN RAISED

By JAY LOVESTONE

Half way over the line of time, half way thru the two months allotted for raising five thousand dollars to help the revolutionary fighters against Hitlerism and to build a bigger and better Workers Age!

How have we fared in this time? What has been happening to us in these weeks of the drive? And what have you, the readers and friends of the Workers Age, the members and sympathizers of the CPO, been doing all this time? We will answer these questions, at this midpoint of the drive, by giving you a report of our stewardship. Here it is:

(1) More than two thousand dollars, but less than half of the quota to be reached, has been given by you.

(2) This is welcome as an index of the nobility of your intention, as proof of your heart being in the right place.

(3) But, to tell the truth, it is far from enough. If, in the first half of the time set aside for the drive, less than half the money to

be raised was gotten, then, it will take far greater efforts to insure success in the windup weeks. Remember the first momentum has been spent.

(4) Theoretically, it is entirely possible for us to raise even more than the three thousand dollars still missing. This can be done if we can get a combination of the necessary proper factors. This means YOU plus—more effort, more response, more appeals to

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10 SCABS SENT TO HOSPITAL AS UNION GAS WORKERS STRIKE

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—With the strike in the Greenpoint coke plant of the Brooklyn Union Gas Company only about one week old 10 scabs have already been taken to the hospital because of overwork. Information trickling thru the cordon sanitaire which the company and the police have established around the plant, indicates that the 70 odd scabs remaining in the plant (out of 270 workers) are working on a 16 hour shift.

Workers dissatisfied with these impossible conditions have tried to leave the plant but were forcibly detained by police. Cots have been rigged up inside the plant and the scabs are forced also to eat inside the plant. Most of the men have not seen the outside of the plant since the strike broke. In the meantime picketing is proceeding daily and in good number considering the isolated location of the plant. Local 501 of the Brotherhood of Utility Employees is now beginning to approach other trade unions for financial assistance.

Hershkowitz, Toy Union Leader In Hospital; Slugged By Thugs

Julius Hershkowitz, executive committee member of the Doll & Toy Workers Union, Local 18230 A. F. of L., lies at the point of death at the Coney Island Hospital, after a brutal beating on Wednesday morning by thugs. On his way to work at about 7:15, Hershkowitz was knocked unconscious, dragged into a garage and his body mutilated. He was found by a detective several hours later, a bloody mass of flesh. Rushed to the Coney Island Hospital doctors found that his skull had been fractured and one ear practically torn off.



Julius Hershkowitz

Hershkowitz, the militant shop chairman in the Knickerbocker Toy Mfg. Co., had been threatened with bodily assault many times by Mr. Leo Weiss, the boss, because he refused to order the workers to work overtime without receiving the time and one-third demanded by the union. Hershkowitz had kept the Knickerbocker Co., toeing the mark, living up to its agreement with the union. Apart from threats made by Mr. Weiss he had been receiving anonymous telephone calls of a similar nature.

Recently the Knickerbocker Co. manufacturers of the "Mickey Mouse" toys, removed part of its machinery to an unknown city or town, believed to be beyond the limits of New York proper, in violation of its contract with the union. Hershkowitz was hot on the trail and was known to have discovered the whereabouts of the run-away department when he was assaulted.

While he hovers between life and death at the Coney Island Hospital, the Doll & Toy Workers Union has demanded of the Police Department that it make an immediate investigation of the assault. Union machinery has been set into motion to widely publicize the brutal methods of the doll and toy employers and to thwart the

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

Kroger Strikers In Staunch Fight

By JAMES CARTER

Throughout the nation workers employed in the stores of that mighty chain, the Kroger Grocery & Baking Co., are on strike to improve their economic lot and prevent the chain from destroying their unions. Workers employed as warehouse laborers and clerks are on strike in various towns and cities of Montana, Missouri, Illinois, Tennessee, etc. Prominent in these struggles is the Warehouse Employees Local Union 667, St. Louis, affiliated with the A. F. of L. Since Nov. 6th, 140 warehousemen and one foreman, members of the Local, employed in the Kroger Warehouse, have been out on strike. Their demands include: retention of the seniority clause in the agreement, against the company's demand for lengthening the work week from 44 to 48 hours, the elimination of the Dyer Speed-up System, and a raise in the hourly rate from 50 cents to 57 cents. This would bring the pay up to the same level as that paid in other warehouses of the city.

Prior to the expiration of the contract the corporation attempted to demoralize the union ranks by installing a spy system, by attempting to bribe workers with promises of a glorious future with the company (at \$7.15c per hour) if only they stay away from the wretched union. These efforts were calculated to create the nucleus of a scrub working force in preparation for the strike they saw coming. But this failed, and they developed new tactics in their fight.

When the strike broke on Nov. 6th, they promptly hired the notori-

ous Ahner Detective Agency (strike-breakers who wrecked the Boot & Shoe Workers Union locals in the mid-west). This action served to widely publicize the strike issues before the public, and insured the strikers of wide mass support since the notorious Ahner rats are hated amongst St. Louis workers who have encountered the thugs in many an industrial conflict.

Picket lines are being extended to all Kroger stores. The Warehouse Workers have issued a strike bulletin which has a circulation of over 50,000 copies. Supported by many Unions in St. Louis and vicinity, the strike hides well toward culminating in a victory for the workers.

War on Kroger is being extended widely. One striker writes: "Picket lines are now maintained in about 25 cities in Illinois. Even in Kansas trucks find it advisable not to unload in many cities. Financial help is coming in from brother locals all over the country. The Central Trades of St. Louis, East St. Louis, Collinsville, etc., have placed Kroger on the unfair list. The boycott is spreading rapidly. Bulletins are being distributed in the Eastern cities, Cleveland, Detroit, Pittsburgh, etc. The unemployed unions, American Workers Union and Workers Alliance of America are furnishing pickets. The Consumers League has made this strike its strike."

"There is a tragic aspect to this strike, the role played by the craft unions. The Clerks and Butchers have a clause that prevents them from going out on a sympathetic strike (the old rule of 'Divide and Conquer' used by the employers seems to be fostered by the craft unions). The Truck Drivers (Teamsters Union, Local 789, organized 100%), have an arbitration clause so they won't come out. These unions have given financial aid, however. But it is rumored that they are squawking because many are not working due to the boycott. This is also true of the butchers and clerks. Maybe the boycott can draw them out, one by one."

Have You Contributed To \$5,000 Drive?

On the LABOR FRONT

PROFITS: Magazine Steel reports that first nine companies to reveal 1930 financial condition showed an aggregate net profit of \$22,151,846. In 1934, nine companies had a deficit of \$14,147,710. Heavy gainers were U. S. Steel Corp., Bethlehem and Republic steel corporations.

FERMENT: Workers in company unions have established contact throughout the steel empire in order to decide matters concerning their conditions. Revolt against the fraud of company unionism flares from within. Steel workers say: "No A. F. of L. for us until it builds an industrial union in steel." Will the A. F. of L. seize the golden opportunity—or, will it abandon the slaves of steel? Meanwhile, at Chicago, Tom H. Gidder, president of Republic Steel Corp., keenly aware of the rising fires of discontent urged higher wages for steel workers, hoping that the bait of cheap promises will prove effective in extinguishing discontent.

Pekin General Strike Ends

The Pekin, Illinois, general strike, which resulted from a dispute between workers and owners of the American Distillery Co., has ended. The city's industries were completely paralyzed when William Schoenberg, A. F. of L. representative gave orders to quit. The move to oust the tear-gas police chief Donahue gains momentum. Strike at the distillery continues. No substantial gains have been reported since strike was called on A. F. of L. order.

Seamen Retain Funds

Attempt by lawyers for reactionary International Seamen's Union officials to swipe \$30,000 in treasury of the Sailor's Union of the west coast, was frustrated by Judge M. J. Roche. Harry Lunelberg, secretary-treasurer of the western sailors, wired I.S.U. officials asking they rescind their illegal expulsion order.

Gorman Makes Charges

Francis J. Gorman, president of the United Textile Workers Union, testifying before a House sub-committee, declared: "The people in this industry are in no playful mood. They are desperate." He charged that unemployment due to stretch-out and technological advance was increasing; union members were being fired; that the RFC was lending taxpayers' money to mills involved in labor disputes.

Brooklyn Utility Strike

The Brooklyn Union Gas Local No. 501 of the Brotherhood of Utility Employees pulled out about 190 out of 270 employees of the Brooklyn Union Gas Company's Greenpoint coke plant on strike, Monday, Feb. 3rd.

Service Employees Win

The Building Service Employees Union had no need to call its 20,000 members on the picket line because really owners agreed to the Union's demands. A three-year contract was signed with many gains for the workers: all workers to receive a \$2 weekly wage increase, a 48-hour week for elevator operators and other service help. Watchmen who will work 72 hours will receive a \$5 weekly increase. These increases granted minimum wage rates to \$22, \$24 and \$26 a week, depending on class of buildings. The Union has opened medical and legal departments for union members. Following Bambrick's virulent attack on Al Smith, the Evening Post attempted to discover the Brown Derby's company union of service employees. After diligent search it concluded the alleged organization was a ghost!

National Negro Congress What Is It To Be Like?

By EDWARD WELSH

Several months ago, an announcement was made and a call issued for a National Negro Congress to be held in Chicago on February 14, 15 and 16. At the time the call was issued considerable interest was manifested in certain quarters which seemed to indicate a keen desire among Negroes for something of this sort, together with a recognition of the possibility that the congress might produce certain positive values in the way of advancing the interests of the Negro people.

No one can question the need for or the timeliness of such a congress. The plight of the Negro masses in this country, particularly after seven years of the most serious crisis in the history of capitalism, has created the feeling among Negroes generally, and also among many other elements in society who hold a progressive point of view on this question, that something must be done to meet this grave problem. That there is a basis for such a congress is further indicated by the fact that, in the past few years, several small conferences, held under different auspices, have taken place in various parts of the country where attempts were made to grapple with certain phases of this very same problem. There is no doubt but that a national congress if properly organized and devoid of either self-seeking or partisan considerations, could produce an instrument to galvanize the broad masses of Negroes into action for their own defense and direct them towards beating back the growing forces of reaction.

In considering this important problem of developing such a movement, certain fundamentals must be borne in mind and should be the starting point.

Under the conditions of modern capitalism any movement, to be really progressive in its direction and really effective in its results must be basically a movement of labor, must be rooted primarily in the trade unions and mass organizations of the working class, with the support, of course, of all other elements who are willing to back up its program. This is as true of a National Negro Congress as it is true of the American League against War and Fascism or any other movement that is serious about its intentions. The moment that this basic fact is ignored or misunderstood, the movement faces grave dangers leading ultimately to sterility or worse.

Unfortunately, those who are responsible for calling the National Negro Congress have utterly disregarded these basic considerations with the result that the congress is well on its way towards becoming one of the newer models of all-class political monstrosities commonly referred to as "People's Front." Of course there are many who will consider it quite an achievement. Is this not bringing the decisions of the Seventh World Congress to the Negro masses? A "People's Front" in France! Why not a Negro "Peoples Front" in America?

Local sponsoring committees have been organized in over forty communities throughout the United States. An examination of the make-up of these committees will reveal some startling facts. In almost every instance, the sponsoring committees have a preponderance of Negro ministers. The remaining members consist of various types of petty bourgeois elements including business men, lawyers, college professors or their

wives, representatives of Republican clubs and other cheap and discredited politicians plus a host of other unimportant elements representing no one but themselves, interested only in finding a place in the sun for themselves, and with no objection, of course, to seeing their names in print. The composition of these committees seldom varies and is about the same everywhere. Not even in the most highly industrialized centers such as New York, Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburgh and the many other places where Negroes are employed by the tens of thousands in industry, or where Negroes are organized into trade unions or are seeking to be organized, do we find any genuine representation of these workers on any of these committees. If there are any, by chance, they are completely swamped under by "respectable" people. Many committees include as signers the names of some of the worst anti-union, anti-union elements among the Negroes. Considering this state of affairs it should surprise no one that Ham Fish, the vicious Red-baiter, has expressed his intentions of attending the congress for the purpose of attempting to utilize it to further the Borah-for-President campaign.

In New York City, which contains a Negro population of over 300,000, the composition of the sponsoring committee is hardly any better. With several thousand Negroes organized in the trade unions, with a Negro Labor Center established in Harlem embracing practically all of the important unions having Negro members, no one considered it important enough to approach these people on the matter of the sponsoring committee or the congress itself!

At a gathering in Harlem called for the purpose of organizing the sponsoring committee, the trade unionists were conspicuous by their absence. No one bothered to explain why. It was simply of no consequence to most, if not all, of those present. When the time arrived for the election of officers, it was none other than the Communist Party members that proposed and supported the nomination of a minister for the chairmanship of this committee! This would have gone through without much ado were it not for the presence of a representative of the Communist Party (Opposition) who criticized the way in which the whole thing was being organized and pointed to the need for winning over trade unionists for the congress, thereby broadening its labor base and proposed that, as chairman of the New York sponsoring committee, someone must be found who was much more closely identified with the organized labor movement. He further proposed that the sponsoring committee should promptly issue a call for a New York conference for the purpose of enlisting the aid and active support of as wide an array of organizations as possible behind the national congress. Although these proposals were adopted, they were conveniently forgotten afterwards. With the lone exception of substituting a trade unionist for the minister as the chairman of the committee, nothing was done to improve the situation in New York. No conference was called; little effort was made to draw in the trade unions until it was too late to do anything about the matter.

In Chicago, the very city in which the Congress is to be held, certain important Negro trade unionists have categorically refused to have anything to do with either the local sponsoring com-

HIGHER EDUCATION — SOUTHERN STYLE



This is a picture of the lynching of Rubin Stacy on July 19, 1935 at Fort Lauderdale, Fla. Notice the little white children in the picture gazing up at the handiwork of the mob.

mittee or the congress itself because of the prominent place given to notorious labor-haters and company unionists! Perhaps, had the approach been made directly to the trade unions first, such elements could have been eliminated. As a matter of fact, had there been as much effort and energy spent in contacting trade unions as was spent in contacting ministers and politicians, the congress as a whole would be on a much sounder footing.

The National Negro Congress, as at present constituted, promises to be a very narrow congress in spite of all the fanfare. As it now stands the congress will be entirely divorced from the labor movement, from the Negroes in trade unions and from all important working class organizations. It will be largely a gathering of the Negro middle class elements and the more unwholesome ones that, together with some communists and sympathizers. Already we are the way in which the whole thing was being organized and pointed to the need for winning over trade unionists for the congress, thereby broadening its labor base and proposed that, as chairman of the New York sponsoring committee, someone must be found who was much more closely identified with the organized labor movement. He further proposed that the sponsoring committee should promptly issue a call for a New York conference for the purpose of enlisting the aid and active support of as wide an array of organizations as possible behind the national congress. Although these proposals were adopted, they were conveniently forgotten afterwards. With the lone exception of substituting a trade unionist for the minister as the chairman of the committee, nothing was done to improve the situation in New York. No conference was called; little effort was made to draw in the trade unions until it was too late to do anything about the matter.

That such a state of affairs can exist today seems almost incredible. The C.P. has only to look at the American League Against War and Fascism as a good example of how not to build a broad movement. And why such contempt for the Negro working class? Who can afford to close their eyes and fail to recognize the great changes that are taking place in the ranks of the Negro toilers? Class lines are sharpening. Negro workers are beginning to appreciate the need for organization along economic lines. Anyone who has followed the recent developments in the labor movement must realize this. The tremendous growth of the trade unions has brought thousands of Negroes into the organized labor movement. Strikes have been conducted in which Negroes have played an important part. In the struggles of the unemployed all over the country for

Bible Thumbing Spies In Canada

Following hard on the heels of a relief strike which involved practically all of the workers in East York Township, (a suburb of Toronto) the temporarily defeated unemployed carried the struggle over to the elections. New Year's day found Arthur Williams, president of the 1600 strong East York Workers' Association, elected as Reeve. This was much too much for the liberal and conservative parties, so the Paul Pry's got busy and discovered that at the time of nomination, Williams, long unemployed, was maybe behind with his rent. Recent provincial sneak-thru-in-the-night amendments to the Ontario Elections Act forbids any nominee for municipal office who is not paid up to his landlord. Action has been taken in the courts to disqualify Comrade Williams on the grounds that he is "occupying office."

But the ruling class is not relying on this one weapon. As you may have heard, the king died. Memorial services were held throughout the Dominion. Reeve Williams officiated in East York. Among the audience was observed a big six footer. It was noticed that this one thumbed his bible with the best of them. He was prominent in the responses. He was as devout as could be. The religious end of the services over, Williams, as Reeve, commenced to speak. Into the one pocket went the bible. Out of another came a reporter's notebook. And our religious cop busied himself with taking notes of the Reeve's speech just in case there might be the suggestion of sedition in his remarks. And how little is required to make up a case for sedition was revealed in the famous trial of some years ago which resulted in a Finnish editor drawing down a sentence of six months for declaring that the late king "had a whooping cough and was wrapped in cotton wool."

Should Williams be unseated because he owes his landlord there is still the danger to reaction he may be re-elected. So six-foot bible-thumbing stools are sent a-sedition-hunting.

ing class movement and lend aid to its cause. Let no one think that the petty bourgeoisie as a class can supply leadership to any progressive movement today. Only when they become part of a movement which is working class in character and which is under the hegemony of the working class can these elements play a progressive role.

This is how the National Negro Congress stands today. As a result of the utterly false approach and orientation of its organizers, the congress as it is constituted, cannot possibly bring any good to the Negro people. At best, it will prove another elaborately arranged facade such as the American League Against War and Fascism or the score of other now forgotten "congresses" and "conferences" that made such a big stir in their day. At worst, it may become an actual menace, a serious obstacle in the way of a real movement in the future. There is only one way in which the situation can be saved. Postpone the congress a few months. Let us all get together now, in a united effort to rebuild and reconstruct the congress from top to bottom, providing it with a firm and active labor base and leadership and eliminating some of the more unsavory elements who are today sponsoring it. This is the only way out. It is up to those who are responsible for the congress to take it!

ONE MONTH LEFT TO RAISE REMAINING \$3,000 IN \$5,000 DRIVE

(Continued from Page 1)

your friends and shopmates in behalf of our common aims and cause.

(5) Practically, this can be turned into a certainty, into cold cash for meeting a living, urgent, burning need—if and when those who have pledged immediately make good their pledges and those who haven't pledged or paid instantly do the latter.

(6) And by the way, do any of our readers have any bright ideas as to how we can do better, how we can improve our ways and means of getting a more prompt and more generous response to our appeals? Do you know any workers or sympathizers to whom we should appeal directly? Have you any suggestions as to what we should do or not do? Send them on today. Pass on the tip in a hurry. We will more than appreciate it in a hurry and to the best of our ability.

DONATE TODAY! GET OTHERS TO DONATE TODAY!

See what some have done! What about you? What about others?

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes entries like M. C. \$1,000.85, Evelyn Lawrence \$10.00, Ida Albert \$3.99, etc.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes entries like Nora Gray \$6.00, Ben Lifshitz \$5.00, Ruth Summer \$1.00, M. Goodman \$2.50, etc.

BRADLEY'S CAFETERIA. SEASONABLE FOOD AT REASONABLE PRICES. 6th Ave. at 14th Street

PHILADELPHIA GEORGE F. MILES Editor, Workers Age speaks on ORGANIC UNITY VICE OR VIRTUE? SUNDAY Feb. 16, 8 P. M. at 329 Pine Street Phila., Pa. Auspices: Phila. Section CPO

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The Roosevelt Myth

A GREAT shortcoming of the historic convention of the United Mine Workers of America, just closed at Washington, was that its leaders tried to turn it into a Roosevelt rally. To our regret, they succeeded too much. We have seldom seen anywhere near as much enthusiasm for a Republican or Democratic politician in a labor gathering as we found at the convention of the U.M.W. of A. All the more significance is to be attached to this phenomenon in view of the fact that the miners' union is without question among the most progressive in the A. F. of L.

What is the basis of this Roosevelt myth? No doubt F. D. R. is convinced that in the interest of preserving and adding a modicum of stability to the capitalist system it is necessary to enact some social legislation. With equal certainty, it must be affirmed that on this account those other champions of capitalism who think that such stabilizers are as yet unnecessary in this country are today damning Roosevelt. Yet, does this mean that labor must therefore root and work for Roosevelt? Does this mean that the social legislation offered by Roosevelt is adequate even in the most limited palliative sense? Does this mean that even such unsatisfactory social legislation can be extracted from the boss class and its government without the actual or potential threat of mass pressure by labor? And above all does this mean that labor is confronted with a sort of Hobson's choice? Has labor no other alternative but to jump on the Roosevelt bandwagon?

We unhesitatingly answer all of these questions with a NO in capital letters. Let us, but briefly, look into the record of Roosevelt and his friends, from the labor point of view. The purchasing power of the workers has been declining while the rate of profit and the pile of dividends for the biggest fellows has been mounting. The pride of Roosevelt's social security program is the provision for old-age pensions. Precisely here we find the most painfully crass inadequacy. In the U. S. there are seven million people sixty-five years of age or more; but only one million of them are qualified for immediate old-age assistance under the provisions of the law. Regardless of all the hocus-pocus that may be franked via the Farley roads from Washington by sundry Capitol Hill solons, none can deny that the army of unemployed is still approximately eleven millions.

And as to the farmers, it would be best that we do not look upon the farming population as one grand homogenous mass of equals. It would be folly to deny that some farmers have been helped by the Roosevelt crop-curtailing measures. However, the great mass of farmers continue to face desperate, at best deplorable, conditions. Those who are so anxious to shower lavish praise on the President as a champion of social justice should contact the hundreds of thousands of tenant farmers and share-croppers whose conditions have been worsened during the present Administration.

Incidentally, it would not be out of place to debunk a bit the Roosevelt farm prosperity claims. The 1935 farm income, totalling about seven billion dollars, is about ten percent above that of 1934. In comparison with the averages of the 'twenties, this is pathetically low. Still, it would be nonsense to contend that there was anything near fair or even equal division of this income among the entire farm population. As everywhere else, the biggest fellows, who needed help least, grabbed the most. The rise in prices was caused only in part by the curtailment of production ordered by the White House. To a much greater extent is this price rise to be attributed to three successive crop failures. Unusual meteorological phenomena have been the greatest achievements of the Roosevelt administration in the rural areas!

Furthermore, it is necessary to look over the company Roosevelt keeps. Just now we are not concerned with the Astors and their type. As this time we desire to direct our attention to and fire upon the "great Democratic governors" who are regular with and loyal to Roosevelt. How have they treated labor?

We begin with the Empire State and its governor. The latter is energetically boosting a general finger-printing bill which, if enacted into law, would mean that every time a worker is arrested on the picket line and found loyal to his union, to the strike, his fingerprints would find their way into the files of the police department along side those of the ordinary criminal. Here is a most effective strike-breaking weapon—an instrument with which to terrorize all workers and to paralyze their desire and readiness to fight for tolerable conditions of work.

On to Indiana. The governor of this state has resorted more often to martial law than any other governor. The slightest sign of labor unrest, the first manifestation of active unionism, the first move by labor to assert itself in behalf of its most elementary interests is always greeted with martial law by this Indiana chief executive who is a loyal follower of Roosevelt and his New Deal.

As to the conduct of such stalwart Roosevelt Democratic governors as those running North and South Carolina, the less said the better. Ask the textile workers of these dark provinces of capitalist greed and lynchdom.

It would appear that by November 1936 labor cannot organize a mass national party of its own. But assuming that no effective labor party can be placed in the field in the next presidential elections, it does not mean that labor has nothing else to do but support Roosevelt as the lesser of two evils, as against the Republican dark horse or white hope. The Socialist and the Communist Parties can get together with hundreds of local unions throughout the country, under one banner, in the coming elections. The standard bearer of this united campaign, which will help considerably to prepare the ground for a labor party, should be a worker who is nationally and internationally renowned as an unflinching fighter for the cause of labor. Such a man is Tom Mooney. And such a united labor ticket is the best way of laying low the Roosevelt myth.

WANTED: A SIMPLE ANSWER

A Reply to Zam's Stand On Revolutionary Unification

By WILL HERBERG The article by Herbert Zam (Socialist Call, February 8, 1936), commenting on the appeal for revolutionary unity recently made by the C.P.O., is a very interesting one. One of its minor mysteries is the narrow and irritable spirit in which he deals with matters that require such calm and careful consideration. There are those, indeed, who would attribute his ruffled temper to extraneous factors. Be that as it may, it is to the political arguments, insofar as any are raised in the Call article, that we must turn our attention.

1. Our appeal represents a "sudden change" in policy, Zam complains, a change which is left unexplained. It is hard to take such a charge seriously. For our document itself includes a summary account of those forces that are creating the basis and possibility of revolutionary unity today whereas such a thing would have been utterly out of the question a short time ago—yes, even "two years ago"! Does the turn instituted by the seventh congress of the Comintern, do the quiet recent developments in socialist ranks, mean nothing at all to Comrade Zam? It is really unreasonable for him to date everything back two years just because he himself took a certain decisive step at that time!

Even more trifling is the allegation that our appeal pretends to ignore the moves towards organic unity made by "some of the most important labor organizations throughout the world," that we claim for ourselves all "credit" for the ideal! To this it might be answered that our proposal for revolutionary unity is not exactly the same thing as the unity program of the Norwegian Labor party, for example. Or we might call attention to the fact that our document does emphasize repeatedly the general striving for proletarian unity making itself felt throughout the world. But of what consequence would it all be in estimating the merit of our appeal?

2. "The brightness of the appeal is still further dimmed", Zam declares, by the fact that the basis we propose for unity is "virtually the same as that adopted by the seventh congress of the Communist International!" And this horrid charge he makes a great show of proving by means of parallel columns. But I am afraid we must remain unmoved by this awful indictment. Wherein, exactly, does the crime consist? Even the harshest critic will admit that many true and sensible things were said at the seventh congress, especially in Dimitroff's reports. Zam has repeatedly acknowledged this obvious fact. It is absolutely intolerable that a proposal should be condemned offhand simply and solely because it is "virtually the same" as something adopted at a Comintern congress—or, for that matter, at a congress of the L.S.I.! What is wrong with our proposals, Comrade Zam, outside of their damning resemblance to Dimitroff's "five points"—which, by the way, he can hardly be said to have invented?

3. With curious reticence, Zam

BELIEVE IT OR NOT

The full page picture in the Sunday Supplement to the Daily Worker of February 2, 1936, is none other than our comrade Minnie Lurye, member of Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U. and a member of the National Bureau of the Communist Party (Opposition).

neither approves nor disapproves our proposed basis of unity as such. Our proposals, he says, "on the face of them might look good enough" but somehow they are "not sufficient". Why? Because "the Lovestone group . . . fails to condemn in their appeal those policies of the Comintern which are most objectionable, at least to revolutionary socialists," that is, the crass opportunism of the C.I. on questions of war, struggle against fascism, coalition government, etc. This is an utterly unpardonable misrepresentation of fact! Against the new opportunism of the Comintern we have fought at least as hard as any revolutionary socialist Zam can mention—and perhaps with a little more clarity! As far as our appeal is concerned, there is its specific reference to the question of the most unmistakable terms: "The achievement of sound unity will, of course, necessarily imply the elimination of many obstacles now in the way, including . . . the new opportunism and the stultification of the forms of democratic centralism among the official communists." Is it possible to avoid using harsh terms in characterizing such methods as Comrade Zam resorts to in avoiding a discussion of the question of revolutionary unity?

4. But what is the political logic of Zam's insistence that our basis for unity is "not sufficient"? Does he want to exclude the official communists from the united party because of their "objectionable policies"? He more than implies as much. "Are the revolutionary socialists," he declares, "waging a tireless war against social patriotic and reformist policies in their own organizations only to permit their reintroduction thru the Comintern?" Yet, at the same time, he develops a conception of a socialist party which is not only diametrically opposed to such exclusiveness but goes beyond all limits in the other direction. Declares Zam

"If real unity is ever to be achieved, it can only be on the basis of the mutual toleration of majority and minority. If the revolutionists are in the majority, they will have to tolerate those who do not agree with the revolutionary point of view. If the revolutionists are in a minority, they will have to continue working for their views until they have won a majority by the processes of party democracy."

Thus a sacred and eternal principle is made out of what Marx and Engels repeatedly condemned as the worst disservice to the working class movement—the effort to establish an "all-inclusive" socialist party, embracing alike those who take the standpoint of the proletariat (revolutionists) and those who attempt to "adapt" the proletarian standpoint to bourgeois liberalism (reformists). Does Zam really propose to include both Marxists and anti-Marxists in the same party—and that party to remain a socialist party? Does he mean to imply that he would bind himself to carry out loyally the utterly unsocialist policies of a possible right wing leadership of the S.P., headed by Louis Waldman—provided only he is granted the right of agitating for his views within party channels? To commit oneself, as Zam does, to a so-called "all-inclusive" party in principle is virtually to surrender all prospects of ever achieving a genuinely revolutionary socialist party; it is surrender in advance to reformism!

In taking such an attitude, Zam retreats a long way from the high point previously reached by the Militants. For many Militant spokesmen have hitherto contended that "all-inclusiveness" is only a transitional stage towards a real revolutionary socialist party; in which reformism and anti-Marxism will find no acknowledged place. But Zam yields this advanced position. In the name of a metaphysical and utterly impossible conception of unity, he is ready to guarantee the reformists and anti-Marxists a permanent and secure place in his party!

The glaring contradiction in which Zam thus involves himself is here plainly revealed. On the one hand, he brands our proposed basis of unity as "not sufficient" because we do not provide for the exclusion of the official communists for their new opportunism. On the other hand, he is ready to throw the doors of his "united party" open to all and sundry, revolutionists and reformists, Marxists and anti-Marxists. All-inclusiveness towards the reformists; exclusiveness towards the official communists! Where is the political logic of such self-contradiction?

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AT FIRST GLANCE

By Jay Lovestone

IT is not often that British imperialist spokesmen surrender any right. Least of all would one expect them to give up the right to resort to hypocrisy in which they have been pastmasters for many decades. Hence, we find all the more surprising and refreshing the testimony just given to the Royal Commission on the Manufacture of and Trading in Arms by Sir Harry Duncan McGowan, chairman of the Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd. This world-renowned merchant of death talked straight from the shoulder when he said: "I have no objection at all to selling arms to both sides—I am not a purist in these things."

The armament kings of all countries are alike. Business is business. And there is no better business, these days, than the business of peddling cannons, machine guns and airplanes, poison gas and battleships! However, it would not be inappropriate, at this time, to draw some conclusions. The Du Ponts, the McGowans and others of their kind have been and will continue to be the first and loudest to demand legislation for imprisonment and even execution of any one who dares criticize or oppose the war plans of their governments. The Du Ponts, selling ammunition to Japan, have their agents on the job in the Nipponese empire demanding the enactment of such legislation to "safeguard the country against attack from without and within." These Delaware parasites lobby feverishly for such laws in the U. S. At the same time, this monster corporation sells the implements of destruction to both countries. This is patriotism plus.

But there is no point in getting morally indignant over this. That is precisely the basis of all private "enterprises". Its consequences—social, economic and political—are as disastrous, if not as glaring, in all other walks of life. The thing to do is not to monkey with morals in a vacuum, not to put faith in governments owned privately by the very class in which these princes of death are dominant, but rather to work unceasingly for the abolition of the entire capitalist system and for its replacement by a socialist society.

WHEN it came to cash and friends, we always felt that Morgan knew his onions. It is in this light that one must accept his glowing tribute to Senator Nye and his Munitions Inquiry Committee, at the conclusion of its sessions. Warmly grasping Nye's hands, Morgan beamed and boasted: "I have had a fine time; I would not have missed this investigation for the world." You said it Mr. Morgan! You and your pals in parasitism have had a jolly good time with the Senate Committee—and at our expense! Let the New York Times of February sixth tell us why:

"Mr. Morgan left knowing that he had won the friendship of every member of the committee. Mr. Nye and his committee colleagues joined in saying that nothing to the discredit of Mr. Morgan or his banking house had been developed in the more than two weeks of investigation of the wartime operations of the house." Well, done, senators! The future (we mean your future, your own personal future) will tell, Morgan's memory doesn't always betray him. But we might pose one disconcerting question to Nye and his committee colleagues: Why haven't you taken any steps to investigate the collateral offered by Mr. Morgan while he was extracting loans in the U. S. for the so-called Allied countries?

These paragraphs lead us to the suspicion that the narrow, sectarian methods of the "third period" have not disappeared without a trace. More than a trace is

self has entered the field of manufacturing and investment. Just the opposite is the truth. The government has been increasingly active as a manufacturer and investor because private industry has broken down. Again, were it not for the tremendous filip the government, thru its own operations on a capitalist basis thru its huge subsidies to bankers and bosses, has been giving to private enterprise, the degree and extent of general capitalist recovery would have been even much smaller. We know of nothing that has done as much as the New Deal to stimulate, even if only for a short time, the revival of private capitalist industry, the partial and extremely limited stabilization of capitalism as a socio-economic system in the U. S.

For the moment, due to the recent upward trend, many of the big boys in industrial and financial circles are so drunk with confidence that they feel they need no more stimulants for the revival of their profits and dividends. Yet, we are sure that should any of the big railroads or other corporations which have been getting huge loans at a song from Washington be denied some subsidy because of Roosevelt's latest order, they will howl to the heavens that the government is interfering with "legitimate private enterprise" and with "the natural processes of economic revival."

A Farmer-Labor Party By July--Or Else

In the Daily Worker of February 1, 1936, there is a most important declaration by Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, dealing with the Farmer-Labor party in the coming elections. The general political questions raised in this statement will be discussed upon another occasion. Here we want merely to call attention to a dangerous attitude coming to expression in the declaration and to urge that it be corrected before it does irreparable harm.

Declares Comrade Browder: "Of course it is still necessary to warn against the premature declaration that a narrow initiative committee is already the Farmer-Labor party, before those organizations which are necessary are brought into the movement. But the main danger which must be emphasized is the fatalistic attitude which waits for the Farmer-Labor party to be born out of the thin air. It will not come into existence unless it is organized. Committees must be set up in all organizations. These must be brought together in a representative conference and elect an executive committee which will act in their name and call a local Farmer-Labor party convention."

"In building the Farmer-Labor party we shall always strive to have united front agreements with the Socialists. . . . But where the local Socialist movement lags behind, they will be brought in much quicker when they actually see a Farmer-Labor party movement going ahead and taking solid form. The daily vacillations of the leaders of the 'Militants' cannot be the guiding line of any working class politics. . . ."

"The problem of the moment, nationally, is to secure united initiative by a group of the most influential Farmer-Labor forces. They should proceed to set up an authoritative Provisional Committee with the task of gathering all forces together and of uniting them in a great national convention . . . not later than the beginning of July. . . ."

These paragraphs lead us to the suspicion that the narrow, sectarian methods of the "third period" have not disappeared without a trace. More than a trace is

TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

THE agreement in the fur industry was endorsed by several thousand furriers in Mecca Temple, and that is as it should be. The agreement, tho not including everything that the union listed, nevertheless has got some very important clauses which will undoubtedly work out favorably for the mass of the furriers. Among these we would list the 10% increase, extension of the period of division of work, jacking up certain of the underpaid groups such as female operators and hand sewers, etc.

But having said that we have by no means exhausted the subject. We note that there was considerable criticism of the leadership at the ratification meeting, and this also is as it should be. The loss of the unemployment insurance fund was an important consideration in the discussion of the agreement and many workers rose to deal with the painful subject. The progressives put the matter very well. They said that the failure of the union to prepare for a strike may have had an effect upon the employers, tending to stiffen their resistance, to demand their pound of flesh. They reminded Gold that it was after weeks of agitation by the progressives that the leadership finally undertook certain half-hearted gestures in the direction of strike preparations, thus creating the general impression that some understanding had already been reached.

Another interesting sidelight to the furriers' situation is the reaction of the Communist Party press. We carefully went thru the reports of the ratification meetings and the question of the unemployment fund is not even mentioned. Nor is it mentioned that there were any questions at all of a critical nature raised at the meeting. We were under the impression that the C.P. press has been trying to avoid the "fabrication" of reports to suit its own political desires. Apparently the furriers' situation is one case in which it relapsed into the old disease.

SPEAKING of "finted" reports brings me to the bitterly contested election now going on in District Council No. 18 of the Brotherhood of Painters. As against Robert Kellman, a well known associate of gangsters and racketeers, the Progressive Group placed Sam Freeman to run for Secretary of the District Council. The latter won his spurs precisely in the struggle to cleanse the union of racketeers and gangsters. Many is the time, in the course of the last number of years, that we expected to hear of Freeman being maimed or "worse" for his heroic fight against great odds. This has won for him the admiration and trust

be possible for him to organize a Labor party against the will of the S.P., wherever the latter has any connections in the labor movement? And does it not occur to him that, if the "leaders of the Militants" exhibit such "daily vacillations" and hesitation as he alleges, the trade unions or other labor organizations are not likely to be committed to the Labor party idea with any greater firmness and determination?

There is something fundamentally wrong in such methods and the sooner the leaders of the C.P. come to realize it, the better! Today they swear that they no longer want a "Labor party from below," a mere paper auxiliary of the C.P. But the methods they employ will lead precisely to that sort of fiasco! It is not yet too late to mend

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL NEWS

Jay Lovestone lectures on the Soviet Union Today on Friday, Feb. 14, 8:30 P. M. at the New Workers School, 51 W. 14 St. Bertram D. Wolfe lectures on another phase of his topic Marxism, Literature And Art, on Friday Feb. 14, 7:00 P. M., at the New Workers School.

Jim Cork's lecture course on Dialectical Materialism given every Tuesday night at 8:00 P. M. is based on August Thalheimer's book Introduction To Dialectical Materialism just published by Covici-Friede.

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of wide sections of the painters. That the "Rank and File Group" recognized this seemed clear from their action in withdrawing their candidate Bresinger, who had not the ghost of a chance of election, and endorsing Sam Freeman.

But having taken one very sensible step the "Rank and File Group" now quickly took several very idiotic steps to balance it. In the Daily Worker of February 6 appears a statement of the "Brooklyn Painters Rank and File Protective Association". After any number of apologies for supporting Freeman the statement goes on to say: "in our opinion, he (Freeman) has not come out so clearly and sharply against the 'machine' and at present we want him to take a much more definite stand against them."

We consider this statement as highly slanderous. However, Freeman needs no defense against those charges. Painters know that Freeman fought against the "machine" when these giant killers deserted the organization to set up their own little but pure organization.

In order to show how slanderous is the charge of the "Rank and File" we turn to the New York Post of February 6 (the same day as their statement appeared) and find an item captioned: "RACKETEER ISSUE IN PAINTERS' POLL". And a subhead reads: Candidate for Secretary-Treasurer in Brooklyn Council Makes Charges". We quote one paragraph:

"Mr. Freeman, whose candidacy has been endorsed by locals No. 645, 778, and 921 (probably 971 is meant), today charged that Brooklyn union painters have been ruled by 'betraying officials, gangsters and racketeers.'"

This is an example of the type of campaign that Freeman has been conducting for years and not since the Alteration Painters were told to alter their policy and go back to the Brotherhood.

Incidentally, we might suggest that the above quotation would be much more in place if it were directed to Brother Weinstein. Certain united fronts with Zausner, that he engaged in, as a leader of the "Rank and File", still remain to be explained.

THE Daily Worker of February 5, writes: "Thus far, we have not received a single article discussing trade union problems. Have the active trade union comrades no trade union problems to discuss? . . ."

We might suggest that if the leadership would permit more discussion on the changes of line perhaps the membership would be in a position to discuss intelligently.

In the International Labor Movement

PEOPLE'S FRONT--ITALIAN STYLE

By LEO

The activities of the Communist Party of Italy assume particular significance in view of the Ethiopian conflict. The war has brought the fascist regime many difficulties and is undermining its foundations. The working masses of Italy are sacrificing and suffering heavily as a result of this imperialist war. The Italian communists are faced with a great historical task, with a situation which calls for momentous achievements and opens up great possibilities.

The Communist Party of Italy is pursuing a policy which prevents it from becoming the revolutionary vanguard of the working class. This policy is a direct result of the opportunist course of the Communist International.

The latest issue of "Stato Operaio" (No. 11-12, November-December 1935) contains a report on a recent session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy. The report indicates that the resolutions of the C.P. of Italy are even more crassly opportunist than those adopted by the leadership of the Communist Party conference in Brussels.

"DOWN WITH MUSSOLINI!"
The leaders of the C.P. are quite consistent and have attempted to carry out the People's Front policy to its logical conclusion. Their speeches show what happens when the C.P. in fascist countries agitates for the restoration of bourgeois democracy, when its orientation is towards an alliance with capitalist parties against fascism, when it attempts to do constructive work within fascist mass organizations instead of working for their complete destruction.

M. Garlandi, the main reporter at the conference, said the following in his statement entitled "Our Party and Its Present Tasks":
"Down with Mussolini! At the proper time this slogan can become the rallying point for all classes, for a section of the bourgeoisie and even for a section of the fascists. The removal of Mussolini may appear too radical in the eyes of many bourgeois elements today, it may become the only possible, the best costly, the most suitable slogan of tomorrow."

"Down with Mussolini! This slogan may mean a change of government within the fascist regime; it may mean the establishment of a fascist military dictatorship. Shall we couple the demand for the removal of Mussolini with that of peace? Yes, we do correctly maintain that we are opposed to any subsequent government which fails to solve the urgent problems of the masses. . . . Our present slogans are: Stop the African war! Down with those responsible for war! Down with Mussolini! We accept these demands not only because they are in the interests of the masses but because THESE SLOGANS MAY BECOME THE SLOGANS OF A SECTION OF THE RULING BOURGEOISIE AND OF THE LEADING FASCIST GROUPS." (Emphasis mine).

WHAT IS TO REPLACE FASCISM?
Garlandi's ideas were further developed by C. Roncoli in his speech on "The Symptoms of the Political Crisis and our Tasks". He said among other things:

"It is absurd . . . to believe that the revolution starts with its last act (seizure of power by the proletariat, establishment of a soviet dictatorship). It is equally absurd to maintain that the revolution

starts with the next-to-the-last act (People's uprising, People's Front government). . . . I believe that as far as Italy is concerned all facts and all information indicate that Mussolini and his government will be replaced by another bourgeois government. This will be neither a People's government nor a 'democratic' government. It will be a reactionary monarchy, a form of fascist regime. Even this won't occur unless we and the masses understand the situation correctly and participate actively. I don't believe this is an immediate perspective; nor is it too far away . . . WE MUST SUPPORT AND BRING ABOUT EVERY ACTION UNDERTAKEN TO REMOVE MUSSOLINI. As far as the 'thereafter' is concerned, we have but one duty, namely, to guard jealously the independence of our party which because of its endeavor to bring about the proletarian revolution and to establish soviet power is in all cases opposed to all bourgeois parties and all bourgeois governments." (Emphasis mine).

SEEKING BOURGEOIS ALLIES

The search for capitalist allies in the fight against fascism has led the Italian communists to play with similar illusions to those of the right wing Social-Democrats who have for years been waiting for the Reichswehr to overthrow Hitler. Garlandi and Roncoli want the C.P. to support a military conspiracy or a palace revolution against Mussolini. The bourgeois press of France and England reports all sorts of rumors about a palace revolution in Italy. The alleged rivals of Mussolini are the Italian Crown Prince, the Fascist Balbo, and General Badoglio, now in command of the African war. This is probably the information that Roncoli referred to. It is for this reason that the leaders of the C.P. believe that the next stage in the class struggle in Italy is the removal of Mussolini, not the fascist regime, thru the royal family, thru an officers' clique, or thru personal rivals of Mussolini such as Balbo. They believe that the proletariat is to "support and favor" such action.

The Garlandi and Roncoli are certainly consistent. The People's Front policy means to seek allies among the bourgeoisie. But in Italy there are very few bourgeois elements that wish to see the fascist dictatorship replaced by a bourgeois democracy. Garlandi and Roncoli therefore place the slogan for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in the background and in order "to come to an agreement . . . with a section of the ruling bourgeoisie" and if possible they are propagating the slogan of the reform of the fascist regime, the slogan of "Down with Mussolini" which is directed not against the fascist dictatorship as such but against its leading representatives. The demand for the reform of fascism is at the same time the logical consequence of the tactics pursued in the fascist mass organizations, i.e., the attempt to win these over instead of completely destroying them.

TAIL END POLITICS

It is common knowledge that the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship will be preceded by sharp clashes in the camp of the ruling class which will manifest themselves in the disintegration of the dictatorship and in all probability in bitter class struggles of its leading representatives. How can communists take advantage of this

situation? Only by organizing mass activities supported by the workers and the toiling population against the fascist dictatorship. The more class actions there are and the more the working class acts independently the worse for the fascist dictatorship and the sharper the antagonisms in the camp of fascism. The Communist Party will not be able to arouse successfully the working masses if it dooms them to be the tail-end of one of the fascist cliques fighting for control of the state. It is the duty of the CP of Italy to dispel such illusions and not to foster them because it is precisely these illusions that are holding the masses from a struggle against fascism.

It is true that Lenin often said that the road to the revolution is not a straight road; but he by no means meant to imply that this road leads to the clique fights in the camp of the enemy. If the Bolsheviks had followed the advice of the leaders of the CP of Italy, they would not have steered towards the revolutionary overthrow of Czarism in the winter of 1916-17 when the Czarist regime was in an advanced state of decay. They would have supported the slogans of "Down with Rasputin!" and later on demanded the abdication of Nicholas II in favor of some other Grand Duke in order to find a point of agreement with "sections of the ruling bourgeoisie" and "leading Czarist groups" who were actually advancing these slogans and organizing conspiracies of discontented nobles, bourgeois politicians and military officers. Should the German Communists have endorsed the plans of Roehm, Schleicher or Papen before June 30, 1934?

FIGHT IS AGAINST REGIME

The danger of the proposed policy of Garlandi and Roncoli is not mitigated by the assurance that Communists will bitterly oppose a reactionary monarchy which would replace Mussolini. The fact remains that the leaders of the C.P. of Italy are today fostering such a reactionary combination, that they are attempting to popularize it among the masses—no reservations can explain this way.

Under what circumstances would a palace revolution against Mussolini be undertaken? The ruling class would instigate a palace revolution in a crisis as the only means of saving the fascist dictatorship from the proletarian revolution. Such an attempt must be denounced by the working class parties before it breaks out. By no means are Communists permitted to agitate for such a policy. Such an attempt to save the fascist dictatorship will succeed only if the leaders of the C.P. misunderstand the situation and apply the incorrect tactics. If, however, the Communist Party pursues correct tactics the chances are that not only Mussolini but the entire fascist regime will go to the devil.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

Lovestone begins his articles on Europe and America; Herberg has the first of several articles on Roosevelt and the Liberty League; Saul Held takes a whack at "God" (Meaning Father Divine) and Labor. Also many other features and articles.

THE TALMADGE CONFERENCE A HARBINGER OF FASCISM

(With this issue we begin a series of notes and comments on current political developments on the home front by "Politicus," a close observer of the political scene. For the present, they will appear every other issue.—Editor)

By POLITICUS

It is curious to note what scant attention the press in general has paid to the Talmadge "Grass Roots" gathering held recently (January 29) at Macon, Georgia. True enough, as a "convention" it was a complete washout; not nearly as many as expected were actually present at its sessions and they represented practically nobody. Nor was it particularly distinguished by breadth or profundity of political thought, to put it mildly. Nevertheless, it really was a most significant affair—for it confronted us, in a vague and indefinite sort of way, with a picture of what American fascism is going to look like if we ever allow it to develop far enough.

A Strange Aggregation

The sponsors and keynotes of the "convention" certainly form a strange aggregation, a sort of political zoo. Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith, titular head of the remnants of the Huey Long "Share-the-Wealth" movement, as distinct from the Long machine in Louisiana, was there rubbing shoulders with John Henry Kirby, Texas oil and lumber man, head of the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution, to whom even the income tax is still a frightful heresy. Thomas L. Dixon, infamous as the author of "The Klansman" (screened as "The Birth of A Nation"), apostle of the KKK, shared the platform with gentlemen who boasted an understanding with Al Smith. And all followed the lead of His Chained-Chain-Excelsior, Gene Talmadge of Georgia! Gobbling up their fascist oratory was a motley crew of Southern crackers, tenant farmers and state office-holders!

But there is political method in all this political madness. The whole weird jumble has its own inner logic and that logic is—fascism! The Macon "convention" was shot thru with fascist sentiment, as so acute an observer as F. Raymond Daniell was quick to see; more than that, it presented in an unmistakable manner some of the classic features of fascism in its peculiar American form.

Fascism on the American Model

In the first place, it was largely a plebiana gathering, mainly lower-class in character—and rebellious at that! Share-croppers, tenant farmers, the submerged element in the small towns, those for whom the New Deal had done so little in the past, these were the ones who filled the half-empty auditorium and cheered themselves hoarse at the backwoods oratory of the rabble-rousers on the platform. Those who understand that fascism is, in its composition, essentially a movement of the demoralized lower middle classes, will appreciate the significance of this fact.

The exaltation of the "white Christian Protestant" as the savior of the earth and the savior of the nation, recurring in the speeches at the "convention" like a set theme, is unmistakably the American equivalent of the Aryan racialism and nationalism of the Nazis. "Protestant" means Methodist or Baptist, of course, and all indications go to show that Fundamentalism will contribute its bit in molding the ideology of American fascism, that the "Bible Belt" will be a veritable hotbed of home-grown Nazism. The "Grass Roots" get-together

was avowedly anti-labor, anti-socialist and anti-Marxist, in the most poisonous sort of way. "Save the country from communism, from the teachings of Karl Marx," was the pet rave of the platform rangers at Macon. What labor can expect from these worthies may be gauged not merely from His Concentration-Camp Excellency's record but even more plainly from the nature of his chief indictment against the New Deal, which he charged with the awful crime of enacting "laws where they could tell the manufacturers, storekeepers, hotels and shops what to pay their labor and how many hours they could work!" In a fine frenzy of heroism, Mr. Dixon proclaimed his right "as a free man" to "sleep in the open, wear rags and starve to death rather than submit to the regimentation of the New Deal." Of course, capitalist private property was not merely affirmed as the foundation of civilization and defended against all invasions; it was even expressly sanctified by Mr. Kirby who proved from the New Testament (!) and the Constitution that the accumulation of wealth was blessed by both divine and human law.

Reviving the Ku Klux Klan

Needless to say, the "convention" was bitterly, even savagely, anti-Negro, anti-Jew, anti-foreigner, reviving all the malodorous hatreds of the KKK of the twenties. In a violent harangue, one speaker appealed to his hearers to save the country from subversion by Negroes and government officials "with unpronounceable names." Yells to keep the "dad-gummed foreigners" out of the nation's capital resounded thru the hall. It is hardly necessary to call attention to that filthy sheet, the Georgia Woman's World, distributed at the meeting with the blessings of its sponsors who met protests with the remark that "such things are not to be condemned in Dixieland." These are the people who are Al Smith's pals today!

In its very fine nature, fascism requires a reactionary tradition to which it can look back and from which it can draw its polluted inspiration. The German Nazis have their murky medievalism and their wild Teutonic frenzy to fall back on. By a sort of fatal instinct, the American fascists in the bud have already hit upon their reactionary tradition—the Confederacy. Over the Macon talk-fest hung the Stars and Bars. One enthusiastic and bewhiskered old gentleman shouted to the world that his father had "killed a sight of Yankees" and that he only "wish't he'd killed some more."

The Old South, the South of chattel slavery and fake aristocracy, was lauded to the skies. And why not—is there anything more reactionary in the American tradition than the civilization of the pre-Civil War South?

In its general program and ideology, the Georgia gathering remained vague and indefinite, contenting itself with a crazy quilt of assorted shreds and tatters—even more hazy and disordered than is usual with fascism. The guiding principle in the formation of the platform seems to have been simply sheer opposition to the New Deal and all its works, proceeding according to the rule of contraries. But of course this tells nothing for the future—if the movement develops, an appropriate program will emerge soon enough.

In the Service of Big Capital

It was a plebian movement that Talmadge tried to start at Macon. (Continued on Page 7)

BOOKS OF THE AGE

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

AT THE SIGN OF THE HEM-LOCK. By Walter Ludwig.

Walter Ludwig, Director of Pioneer Youth of America, has written a story for boys and girls based on Shays' Rebellion. "Riviera's mural of Daniel Shays," he writes us, "had a good deal of influence on my doing the research and writing for this job."

The juvenile hero of this stirring tale for young Americans is Danny Shays, son of the heroic captain who is the central character of the story. The Young Sons of Liberty, boys of Danny's age, play an active part in carrying messages, reconnoitering, propagandizing among General Lincoln's troops, and securing supplies. The story is historically accurate (the first account of Daniel Shays in fiction or history of which this can be said) and as interesting a juvenile adventure story as any of the "Liberty Boys" or "Young Glory" series with which we were regaled in our youth. It marks a milepost in the use of American traditions to instill in our youth a new conception of patriotism as loyalty to the interests of the great mass of Americans, the workers and farmers. Walter Ludwig and Pioneer Youth, are to be congratulated.

It is at present procurable from that organization in paper-bound mimeographed form at 10c a copy, but is shortly to be published in cloth and print.

FAREWELL TO POVERTY. by Maurice Parmelee. John Wiley & Sons, 1935. XVI—489 pp. \$3.50.

Reviewed by MAC STUART
This book does not, as the title indicates, offer a short-term plan, compatible with capitalism, for banishing poverty. On the contrary, it is a fair attempt to analyze capitalism, reveal its irreconcilable and insoluble contradictions, and to indicate the proletarian revolutionary path as a solution of the general economic and social problems of society.

It is worth remarking that such views as these are presented in a volume which is intended as a textbook for colleges and universities. However, it would seem to be hoping against hope that university officers, conscious of their rectitude and hire, would distribute in courses like Social Problems or Government, a book which yields a destructive and often trenchant analysis of the capitalist order. Such rejection, the author may take as sincere flattery.

From our side, however, the book cannot escape without some serious criticism. It must be said, in the first place, that whatever effective criticism Dr. Parmelee deals out to the capitalist order, was first developed and applied by Marx and his followers. Yet in the numerous sections dealing with capitalist economics there is not even a footnote reference to Marx's "Capital," from which the author has borrowed so extensively. The best introduction to the criticism of capitalism would be the introduction to its best critics.

Dr. Parmelee swallows uncritically the marginal productivity theory of wages and the subjective theory of value.

We come now to Dr. Parmelee's conception of the state: the acid test of all political theory. Our author offers us an alloy of "democratic" fallacies and revolutionary theory, an alloy of borrowed analyses, and native illusions. The result must be, and is, a loose and paradoxical attitude on the question of taking power.

Dr. Parmelee rightly criticizes "gradualism," the "evolutionary"

theory of growing into a socialist state under capitalism, as an absurdity. But must the capitalist state be destroyed, or can it be seized by the workers legally? To this question, Parmelee sometimes answers yes to the first half where he is quoting revolutionary theory, and sometimes he answers yes to the second half, when he is quoting himself, but never does he say no to either.

To propose, as Parmelee does, the abolition of private inheritance and the assumption of their ownership by the state as a possible road to socialism, is gradualism itself, in its most vulgar form. This serves to conceal the fact that the state is the political instrument of the ruling class. It is an absurdity to imagine that the Socialist state can be created without first smashing the state forms of capitalism.

With all these criticisms, "Farewell to Poverty" is not to be dismissed as negligible. It may use the Marxian approach loosely, without grasping its fundamental doctrines. It may contain minor as well as major contradictions. These are serious flaws. But it is well written, well documented and incisively directed against capitalism and fascism. That is a great deal, both for a professor and for the general non-Marxist reader.

RIVALRIES IN ETHIOPIA. by Elizabeth P. MacCallum, Published by World Peace Foundation, 64 pages.

Reviewed by "ECONOMIST"
A useful brochure coming from liberal sources. It is "long" on facts and figures but "short" on interpretation and conclusion. The author has performed a necessary task in gathering together, within the confines of a small pamphlet, the most pertinent facts for an understanding of the Ethiopian crisis. She has shown how the Italian fascist economy is completely dependent on an outside food supply; how the balance of trade is decidedly on the unfavorable side; and how the public debt is steadily increasing. Italy's whole economy is forcing her to seek colonial expansion to provide for imports of raw materials and food and for exports of finished products. From these facts, the author moves on to a short sketch of the political history of the relationship of Ethiopia to the big European countries. She starts from about 1880, when the penetration of imperialism into Africa was in full swing, up until the present scene of imperialist entanglements in Ethiopia. This history is most revealing in indicating the treacherous nature of the English imperialist position. In 1925, she was quite willing to permit the decimation of Ethiopian independence by Italian spheres of influence in return for a Lake Tana dam connected by a motor road to the west into the Sudan (British territory). Today she has reversed her general position (although still not adverse to the partition of Ethiopia) by taking an anti-Italian position because of the greater imperialist threat from Italy in Africa as well as due to European considerations. There are other aspects of the political side that are dealt with in commendable fashion. But, as a whole, the author's reliance upon the League of Nations, in addition to a very wishy washy attitude towards an interpretation of the events, vitiate a good deal of the very valuable reference material that the book contains.

HAVE YOU GIVEN TO \$5,000 FUND?

LOSING THEIR CHAINS by James Sand

Samuel Gompers—After 1900

THE new century started Gompers off on a course of increasing the membership of the federation on a craft-basis, winning immediate demands for the thus organized workers of America, fighting the Wobblies without answering them with organization of the unskilled on an industrial scale, and finally selling-out to the imperialists during the war and becoming the spear-head of the anti-Soviet attack by the American ruling-class. He led a hectic existence, busy as a bee and fussy as a wet hen. Even Marxists must agree that formally he was a Real-politiker of no mean ability, and that he was a strong opponent if not a profound one. When he departed this capitalist pale, in 1924, honors and hosannas were heaped upon him. The little Jewish boy had become a great American by having no scientific theory of labor, no understanding of the inherent contradictions of capitalism, and surrendering the class-consciousness he had inherited as a young man of thirty. For the class-struggle he substituted "Mutualism" of interests of capitalist and worker, for dialectical materialism he had substituted nationalistic jingoism.

The movement for the eight-hour day which had begun in the National Labor Union came to a head in the early years of this century.

Talmadge Confab

(Continued from Page 6)

a movement of "overlaid cotton farmers", but it was a plebian movement in the service of big business. This is plain enough from the program adopted but even plainer from Talmadge's record. F. Raymond Daniell notes that the governor has "kept the support of his rustic followers and has won to his cause business men who have found that his championship of the forgotten man is less costly than Mr. Roosevelt's." "He won the hearts of the textile manufacturers," Mr. Daniell adds significantly, "by using state militia to help them break strikes," the great textile general strike, in particular. This Georgia "people's friend" is in favor of sharing wealth, of course—but by charity rather than by statute!

Governor Talmadge's talents and possibilities as the handyman of big capital are evidently being recognized by those who count. The fact that John Henry Kirby was a co-sponsor of the Macon "convention" is significant enough. As I have already indicated, John Henry Kirby is a wealthy oil and lumber magnate, the head of the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution, an outfit of big business interests closely associated with the American Liberty League. It looks very much as if some of our big shots are just aching to play the Hugenberg to Talmadge's Hitler!

A Presage of the Future Menace

It is hard to figure out the prospects of the Talmadge movement. There are indications aplenty that for the present, at least, it is largely something conjured up by the Georgia governor to serve his immediate political aims, to give him something to operate with in the anti-Roosevelt camp. But, be that as it may, it shows how easily the slumbering forces of fascism, hidden in the depths of American society, may be aroused to life. It gives us some idea of the course, form and character of the fascist danger in this country.

Gompers' stand on it was paradoxical. He agreed that it must be fought for, but only through trade-union channels, not through legislation. But even in the skilled crafts the federation was not then strong enough to fight for, achieve, and retain an eight-hour day solely through its own action. It needed legislative sanction—or industrial unionism. Gompers was forced, then, to let legislation and political action in through the back door after he had forced it out the front. Boycotts were carried on extensively, and the fight against labor injunctions was forcefully carried on. Sam, however, feared the law-courts and judges as only a petty-bourgeois mind can. In the famous Burk Stove case, when a jail sentence seemed imminent, he backed down, and from "Gena Debs' lips" there fell the reproof: "Gompers went on sniveling in his sleeve like an old lady caught begging by the constable."

Louis Adamic, whose fiction is far superior to his knowledge of labor history, thinks that the McNamara case marks the beginning of the end of Gompers' militancy. For the A. F. of L. to have been mixed up in direct action and propaganda by the deed was too much for Sam, but his militancy was already on the wane by the time that happened. Militancy and pure and simple trade-unionism do not go together.

In 1905 the Industrial Workers of the World was organized in Chicago to organize the unskilled and the semi-skilled. It soon came to dabble in dual unionism, however, instead of fighting for the inclusion in the A. F. of L. of the industries and crafts not organized there. By 1912 the Wobblies had 100,000 members and Gompers was exceedingly uneasy. But they contained the seeds of their own dissolution despite the great contribution of militancy and emotional fervor which they made. Instead of capitalizing on the need for organizing the unorganized that the Wobblies had made so manifest, Gompers stood still, and won out. It was not any far-sighted genius on his part that accomplished this, but rather the state of capitalist development in America which permitted craft-unionism to continue successfully. Of the Wobblies Gompers wrote in 1917 to Secretary of War Baker, defending their constitutional rights but denying to them the status that they needed in order to have those rights recognized by the ruling-class.

"It is not necessary to tell you that the American Federation of Labor and the I.W.W. movement have nothing in common in policies or methods. The I.W.W. is destructive in method and in ideal. It seeks to make property holding unprofitable. On the other hand the American Federation of Labor seeks to organize for constructive betterment. The I.W.W. has done everything it could to discredit and minimize the value and effectiveness of the trade union movement. It is plain that the American Federation of Labor has neither sympathy nor approval for the methods of the I.W.W., but on the other hand we hold that these are constitutional fundamental rights that cannot be denied any citizen or group of citizens under a free government by law."

This, it is easy to see, did not help the Wobblies one iota in their fight against the raids by the patrioteers, "Citizens Committees," and "Loyalty Leagues." In no way.

HAVE YOU GIVEN TO \$5,000 FUND?

long time Gompers was out-loyalizing the Loyalty Leagues.

America's entrance into the imperialist war proved Gompers' complete undoing. He threw the federation behind war preparations, basked in the sunshine of high wages which the capitalist and industrialists were able to pay the workers for their billion-dollar profits amassed from the dance of death by the soldiery. It was Debs who uttered the working-class protest against the war and went to prison for it. Not a finger did Gompers lift in his behalf. By that time (June 1918) Gompers was a welcome visitor at the White House and the labor member of the war councils. In 1897 he had

"In all countries it has always been and is today that workers are required to bear the brunt of battle and to sacrifice their lives upon the field. It therefore is more essential to them than to all others that international disputes should be settled by arbitration instead of by force of arms; their lives and the interests of those dependent upon them are sacrificed by wars; the burdens of war are borne by the worker, the evils growing out of the passions excited by war all have the trend to oppress the laborers."

This is somewhat illiterate and far from a Marxist stand on imperialism, but even so it is proletarian compared to his statements that we were in the imperialist war "to make the world safe for democracy," and that we were fighting against "German agrardom, militarism, and Kaiserism." Sam was enthroned in the councils of the all-highest, had dinner with the potentates of steel, iron, and finance, and was considered a great man by the bourgeoisie. It was the complete eclipse of all that even he stood for.

The war formally over, Gompers went to Versailles as Woodrow Wilson's labor representative and contributed a definition of the principles affecting the status of labor to the Treaty of Versailles, and had a hand in setting up the International Labor Office of the League of Nations. On the continent and in Europe he gained more laurels from the bourgeoisie, but even the class-collaborationists in the Socialist movement were leery of him. The Bolsheviks he detested, and in collaboration with William English Walling he wrote a book called *Out of Their Own Mouths*, a Revelation and Indictment of Sovietism. In the name of bourgeois democracy he accused the Soviets of treason to the working-class, and defended Kerenky.

"The all important thing that the Americans know about Russia," he wrote, "is that in every sense the Soviet government and the philosophy back of it are absolute in their denial and repudiation of democracy. This is the principle that has been at stake in all the history of the contest between freedom and slavery, self-government and autocratic government, light and darkness. . . . It was the issue when the first man in answer to a spark that had been lighted in his soul, struck the first blow against imperial rule. It is the issue over which the agonies of the world have rolled. It is an issue on which Americans cannot be deceived and from which they will not be budged."

The ideal of recognizing the Bolsheviks threw Gompers into a panic.

(To be continued)

Do The Jews Control The United States?

By SAUL HELD

Early in the "New Deal's" history the American Chamber of Commerce held one of its numerous meetings in its own capitol—Washington. The occasion was marked by a vigorous blast upon Roosevelt's expenditure of millions for relief purposes. That is not the road to recovery stormed the hard-boiled bankers; give us the money for industry and we will provide jobs. A pro-Roosevelt supporter attempted to apologize for Roosevelt's "recovery" palliatives by designating the program as a "gentle revolution." Several pot-bellies, highly infuriated, shouted out—"What we need is a gentle revolution!"

* * *

As the economic crisis shows few signs of disappearing in response to the incantations of Capitalism's medicine men, "sunshine" economists, politicians, bankers and industrialists, a grave problem confronts them. How to explain the economic crisis and absolve themselves from responsibility for its continued reign.

First Hoover with his prophecies of "prosperity around the corner" and relief only to the banks and industrialists, then Roosevelt with his "planned economy" with its accompanying pretence of freedom for labor, as a solution. Perhaps, Roosevelt will again occupy the White House riding in on the demagogic plea that the bankers scuttled his ship and he desires a new mandate from the people to defeat the bankers. But the crisis will continue . . . and some Republican posing "budget-balancing" etc., will succeed him. The crisis grinds on and all the time-worn political programs of reaction will be inadequate for wet-blanketing the anger of the masses. What then?

The answer of the bourgeoisie will be a fascist program. Amongst its essentials will be the incitation of race conflict and a hatred against the foreign-born. The white worker will be told: "You haven't a job because the god damn nigger has it." The native American workers will be told, "The lousy foreigners and reds have all the jobs." And perhaps, too, for good measure, "We cannot have prosperity because the Jews control all the business, the banks, all the money."

Scores of incipient fascist groups are already hastily spreading the poison, the ideological basis, for popular infatuation with these explanations for the crisis. Scores of printing presses, not Nazi inspired and financed, but wholly native products, are turning out newspapers, pamphlets and books. All obviously well-financed they are to be found everywhere—the South, Massachusetts, Michigan, Illinois,

Ohio, the Southwest, and in New York City itself.

The labor movement must combat these poisons now. The material on the survey of the Jews which appears in the february issue of Fortune magazine furnishes some excellent material for a counter-offensive.

1. **How many Jews?** There are today in the United States about 4,500,000 Jews, who constitute only one-thirty-second of our total population of 130,000,000. The overwhelming majority of the Jewish population are workers.

2. **Banking & Business.** In 1933 there were nineteen banking firms in the New York Clearing House, with 420 directors. Only 30 of these were Jews. There is not one Jew among the directors of the most powerful of the banking houses such as, the National City Bank, Guaranty Trust, Bankers' Trust or the New York Trust. There are practically no Jewish employes of any kind in the largest commercial banks, though many customers are Jews.

In the investment field the Jews are an equally negligible power. The houses: Kuhn, Loeb and Company, Speyer and Company; J. & W. Seligman; Ledenburg, Thalmann and Company; and Lehman Brothers. On March 31 of last year, 19.87 percent of all outstanding loans were made by the House of Morgan; 11.71 by the National City Company; 8.45 by Chase, Hariman, Forbes; 6.65 by Guaranty Trust; 6.18 by Bancamerica-Blaire; 4.23 by Lee Higginson and only 2.88 percent by Kuhn, Loeb. But many of the Jewish houses have many non-Jews in their executive leadership.

And if the Jews have but a small place in finance, they have even a smaller place in industry. Almost entirely absent in automobile production, steel, rubber, coal, shipping and transportation. In addition says Fortune, on the basis of statistical proof:

"To this may be annexed other important areas which Jews have rarely penetrated, such as light and power and telephone and telegraph and engineering in general and heavy machinery and lumber and dairy products. In brief, Jews are so far from controlling the most characteristic of present-day American activities, that they are hardly represented in them at all."

In the light industries Jews have small representation and here primarily in the field of distribution rather than production.

3. **And Press Control?** How much of Jewish control is there in the moulding of public opinion? There are only four important Jewish newspaper chains in America. The Ochs interests own The New York Times and The Chat-

Stilson Defense Calls for Funds

The Committee of Lithuanian workers organizations and individuals handling the defense of J. V. Stilson (Butkus) has just issued an appeal for funds to continue their efforts to secure Stilson's release.

The case in question is one which should interest every worker and working class organization.

In 1917, when Stilson was Secretary of the Lithuanian Socialist Federation, federal agents raided the premises of "Kova" (Struggle), the official organ of the Federation, then published in Philadelphia, and found anti-war leaflets. Stilson was arrested and accused of writing these leaflets. The trial resulted in a verdict of guilty and a stiff sentence. Stilson refused to serve and for 18 years lived an "underground" existence in constant fear of arrest. But he continued his work in the labor movement and contributed many articles to labor newspapers under the name of E. Butkus. He was arrested on December 21 of last year and was imprisoned on the old charge.

The appeal of the committee calls upon all workers "to come to the aid of Comrade Stilson and help secure his freedom. We have secured the best legal talent who are now working for release. But financial aid is necessary to carry on the legal fight."

All contributions should be sent to the Secretary of the Committee: K. Steponavicius, 264 Jersey Ave., Cliffside, N. J.

tanooga Times; J. David Stern owns The New York Post, The Philadelphia Record and The Camden (New Jersey) Courier and Post; Paul Bloch owns The Newark Star-Eagle, The Toledo Blade and Times and The Duluth News Tribune; Emanuel P. Adler owns several papers. But all four of these chains do not reach even one-half of Hearst's daily circulation. Nor can they be compared with such chains as Patterson-McCormick or Scripps-Howard.

In the magazine and publication business the Jews have even less control. Of the two great radio networks, Columbia and National, only the former is under Jewish control.

In agriculture Jewish influence is

Central Trades Spike Fingerprinting Bills

Charles S. Zimmerman lashed out against the Bills in the State Legislature requiring fingerprinting and photographing of workers, at the Central Trades & Labor Council's meeting this week, unmasking the anti-labor character of those bills that would delegate authority to municipal, state and federal agencies to handle fingerprinting. Referring to the bills introduced by Senator Buckley and Assemblyman Cariello, modelled upon the recommendations of Gov. Lehman, as setting a "dangerous precedent," he proceeded to analyze the provisions of the bills.

The Governor's first recommendation extends the requirement for finger printing from persons charged with felonies and certain misdemeanors to persons charged with any crime—disorderly conduct, being a vagrant, or a disorderly person! This will make it possible to finger print unemployed workers, workers active in strikes and on the picket line. The second recommendation restricts the return of finger prints in event of acquittals to those cases in which there has been no previous record of conviction for crime, vagrancy or disorderly conduct.

If these bills are enacted into the law, the employers will receive free of charge the finest detective and black-listing system ever devised by industry.

Employers' control of local and other police officials has always been a grave menace to labor; but under these new bills the police are empowered to arrest all persons found in any building or vehicle in which dangerous weapons are found. Labor history is replete with instances of the planting of weapons to implicate labor leaders and workers in certain criminal acts. This provision will make possible a system of frame-up unparalleled in American labor history. A recommendation incorporated

so inconsequential that even the anti-semites rarely mention it. Of a total farm population of 30,500,000 only 80,000 are Jews.

In the theatre world and in the professions the Jews have less control than is popularly imagined.

in Senator Buckley's bill removes the necessity for corroboration of the testimony of an accomplice of the defendant as a condition to conviction. More frame-up is invited. Labor spies and other employer agents are always ready to supply fraudulent confessions.

The Governor further recommended a constitutional amendment permitting the District Attorney to proceed by mere information instead of by indictment by a grand jury, on consent of the accused. But of course the accused may not generally be aware of the rights he will be called upon to surrender!

These bills are designed to convert the mighty and efficient police apparatus into strike-breaking, union-smashing agencies. All the more sinister do these bills become in the light of the fact that they follow in the wake of the Department of Justice's nation-wide campaign to have everyone (workers) finger printed.

Under the cover of an "anti-crime" smoke screen, state and federal authorities are plotting to strangle labor with all the scientific resources at their command, at the bidding of the employers. Labor must be aroused to thwart this attack!

Heartening in this connection was the unanimous stand of the New York Central Trades & Labor Council against all finger printing legislation. Andrews, New York's Secretary Of Labor, has followed the Governor in recommending delegation of finger printing and photographing of workers to police departments.

**August Thalheimer's
INTRODUCTION TO
DIALECTICAL
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Show Down Nears In Dressmaker's Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

strike with rousing cheers. Zimmerman scored the employers who, like the Liberty League, seek the "liberty" to exploit, chisel and browbeat the workers. Julius Hochman aroused great enthusiasm when he told the workers that the bosses will pay for the general strike in terms of better conditions for the workers. President Dubinsky brought the house down when he said: "We appreciate the ef-

forts of Mayor LaGuardia, but we must now turn to a stronger power even than the Mayor—to the organized dressmakers."

In the meantime there is feverish activity in every department of the union. Everywhere things have been placed on a war footing and the most detailed preparations for the strike have been made. There is a general belief that the strike, if it comes, will break on Thursday morning.

INTRODUCTION TO DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

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