

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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FRANCE THREATENS LEAGUE BOLT AS HITLER DEMANDS ANTI-SOVIET BLOC

Tenant Farmers Are in Danger Of Massacres

Members of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, in an effort to bring some measure of justice to the workers on the cotton plantations of Northeastern Arkansas, are now taking a vote on a proposal to call every one out on strike thruout the entire area.

The mass eviction of union families continues from many plantations with no let up in sight. Relief from all governmental sources is effectively blocked. State relief administrators at Little Rock, Arkansas, of the various agencies set up to provide for people, flatly refuse to carry out orders from Washington. The full control of the plantation interests extends to the very doots of the capital. Planters and Peace Officers have sent guarded threats that they are prepared to prevent the union relief committee from distributing food and clothing contributed by sympathizers and supporters of the sharecroppers cause.

They refuse to deal with the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, and threaten widespread mob violence. Reports from reliable sources, union and non-union, indicate that bands of outlaws are being formed to wipe out the union. Continued threats to stage another "Elaine Massacre" (massacre of Negroes, Elaine, Arkansas—1924) are being made by the planters. This time they plan the murder of white as well as black union men.

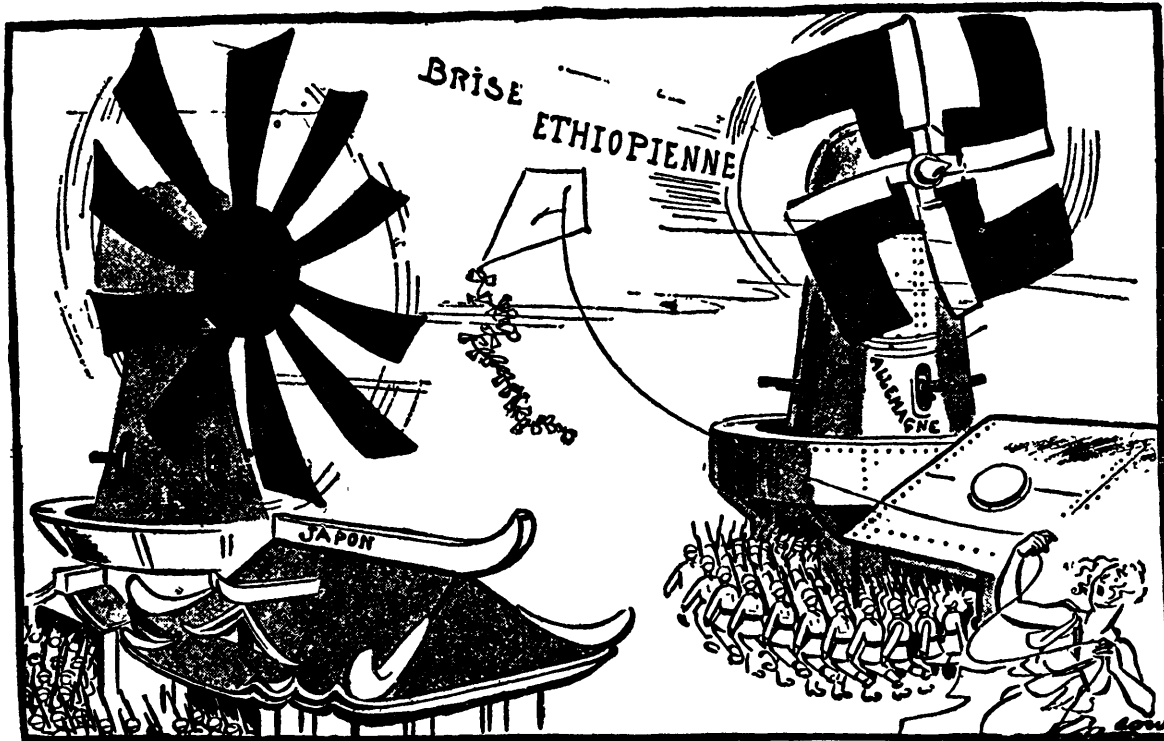
The demands of the union are as follows: Just and adequate settlement at end of season, legal rates of interest on advances made sharecroppers and tenants, wages of \$1.00 per 10 hour day with 15c per hour overtime for all work done by day laborers, and a written guarantee binding owners not to interfere with union organization or to discriminate against union members.

PARAGUAY GOES FASCIST

Paraguay has become the first republic on the western hemisphere to go fascist. The government of Colonel Rafael Franco, chaco war hero, who took power by a military coup on February 17, finally made it clear that it is taking the fascist states of Europe as a model. Declaring the authority of the state as supreme and as being one and indivisible with the liberating revolution of February, Colonel Franco has ordered in true fascist style, the dissolution of all political, trade union and other organizations not sanctioned or organized by the state.

Neighboring states have withheld recognition so far, altho Colonel Franco is making a desperate bid for support especially for rec-

"IT'S AN ILL WIND . . ."



Japan and Germany utilize the Ethiopian situation for their own imperialist aims

Painters Resist Split Plans of Burocrats

The first round in the battle within the Brotherhood of Painters is over and the decision has gone to District Councils No. 9 and 18 and against the officialdom of the Brotherhood.

In the case of the New York District Council the Brotherhood was engaged at the election of the militant Weinstein to replace Zausner who had worked hand in glove with the burocrats. Under the excuse of some constitutional provision the officials took steps to oust the Council officials. This was frustrated by a resort to the courts, in which the Brotherhood officials were enjoined from lifting the charter of the organization.

Hearings in this case have been postponed until next week.

The case of the Brooklyn District Council is even more glaring. In the midst of a strike to enforce the agreement which had never been complied with while the racketeers were running the organization, a number of strikes were called by the District Council and a militant fight was put up.

In the midst of this struggle and even while the State Department of Conciliation had stepped in to bring about a conference between the employers and the union, the General Executive Board sent in third vice-president MacIntyre to do a job on the Brooklyn Council. Refusing to inform the District

Council what his instructions were MacIntyre arranged for a conference with the employers over the head of the District Council and over the protest of Sam Freeman, the newly elected progressive secretary of the Council. Having arranged this conference he appointed a committee of two to go along with him—Sam Freeman, the secretary of the Council and Ross, the chairman of the Council. They had to comply.

It was at this conference with the employers that MacIntyre insisted on an immediate settlement and offered to delete from the previous agreement every guarantee for the union. Freeman and Ross were especially indignant at his striking out the 50% clause (50% of the union members on any job must be hired directly thru the union). After making this proposal he told Freeman and Ross that this was their instruction from the G. E. B. and they will either take it or have their charter lifted.

Freeman told MacIntyre that the Council will not be a party to such a betrayal and that if MacIntyre signs the agreement for the Council (as he threatened to do) he might as well buy overalls for the members of the G. E. B. because Brooklyn painters will not work under such a contract.

At this writing, MacIntyre has called off the conference for signing the agreement and the Painters Unions, according to Freeman, are prepared for every eventuality. The locals and the membership are lined up solidly behind Freeman and Ross in their fight for conditions for the Brooklyn Painters.

ARMY MENACES AZANA GOV'T

The real rulers of Spain have demonstrated that the Azana government, the bourgeois republic, the Leftist coalition, is not only not a bulwark against their reign but an instrument to be used most effectively for the time being against their enemies, the supporters of the government, the Socialist and Communist Parties.

The democratic republic is witnessing the dictation of policy against the revolutionary movement by the Army (staunch supporters of Spanish fascism) to the Azana government. The Minister of War, General Diego Masquelet, under instructions of the army informed Premier Manuel Azana that unless the peasants and workers abandon the seizure of estates and churches and attacks on the fascist organizations, martial law would be proclaimed in swift retaliation. Azana is reported to have delivered this ultimatum to Largo Caballero, Socialist leader, demanding immediate compliance.

The masses had interpreted the election victory of the "People's Front" as a signal for intensified extra-parliamentary action—land confiscation and anti-church activities.

An early smash-up of the Azana government looms as the Communist and Socialist parties declare that their parliamentary activity will not divert them from their basic objective—"class strife in the streets". If they maintain this policy resolutely, organize armed forces, convert parliament into a rostrum for proclaiming the necessity of a proletarian dictatorship, victory will crown their policy.

A new crisis in the affairs of Europe, indeed the entire world, was precipitated by Germany in its reply to the invitation of the League of Nations Council for Germany's participation in the deliberations on its remilitarization of the Rhineland. In his note to Joseph A. Avenol, Secretary General of the League of Nations, Foreign Minister Constantin von Neurath of Germany drew attention to a "fundamental consideration" as the only basis upon which Germany would accept the League bid.

"The German Government's action, which has been the occasion of the summoning of the Council by the Belgian and French Governments, does not consist merely in restoration of German sovereignty, to the Rhineland zone, but also is bound up with comprehensive and concrete proposals for new guarantees of European peace."

The strategy of German diplomacy in attempting to counterpose a discussion of an anti-Soviet bloc as against the proposed consideration of its guilt in violating the Locarno Treaty, has heightened the alarm in France at this new "rebuff to the Western powers." French Foreign Minister Plandin interpreted Germany's note as adding insult to injury—"I came to London to have recorded a violation of the Locarno Treaty. I shall not agree to discuss anything else than that and, if necessary, I shall leave London and even the Council."

British Cabinet Crisis

The arrogant stand of Germany is widening the rift in the British Cabinet between the pro-French and pro-German forces. It appears that Mr. Anthony Eden attempted to placate Germany by having the League extend an invitation to it to participate in the League's deliberations. Seizing the advantage Germany sets conditions for its acceptance that would nullify the fundamental purpose of the League.

(Continued on Page 6)

VICTORY ENDS SERVICE STRIKE

The Building Service Union has just announced the conclusion of an agreement with the employers ending a two weeks strike in New York. According to this statement the employers agree to take back all strikers. This was one of the points around which negotiations were broken off before. In addition wages and hours are immediately to be arbitrated and to be considered annually from now on.

The union claims the settlement is a great victory. One demand, however, which the union placed very high on its list does not appear in the settlement at all: recognition of the union. In addition the employers reserve the right to refuse employment to those arrested during the strike. These must go to an arbitrator for final decision.

Knitgoods Joint Council Backs Mooney for Pres.

The Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union has gone on record urging upon Tom Mooney to accept the nomination for the presidency on a united labor ticket for the elections in 1936. The proposal was also approved by a large membership meeting.

The following letter was dispatched to Tom Mooney. Brooklyn, March 13, 1936 Dear Brother Mooney: The Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, with a membership of 9,000 knitgoods workers, as one of the progressive forces in the trade union movement, realizes the necessity for creating a movement for the independent political action of the American working class. Traditionally, unlike the European workers, the American working class has been bound hand and foot to the political parties of big capital, the Republican and Democratic parties. The subjection of American labor to the politics of capital has resulted in the political demands and interests of the working class being completely ignored and the strength of the working class being utilized by one party or another for the benefit of sections of the capitalist class. The ruling class, through its political agents, the Republican and Democratic parties, is taking increasingly more stringent meas-

LOUIS ADDISON BAUM



movement This makes it increasingly important for the progressives in the labor movement to take some definite action for the establishment of a party for and by the working class—a Labor Party. This party, as we visualize it, must be based primarily upon the trade unions, admitting all working class organizations on a federated basis. Unfortunately, the present condition in the labor movement, politically divided, cannot provide the necessary stimulus around which all sections of the labor movement could gather for the formation of a broad, all-inclusive, working class party. What is necessary is a person symbolic of the American labor movement, revered and respected by the entire labor movement, to take the initiative to launch a campaign that will lay the basis for independent working class political action. It is our opinion that you, Tom Mooney, are this person. In you is symbolized the struggle of the American workers for economic and political freedom. You stand as a living symbol of the frame-up politics of the capitalist parties. In the eyes of the American workers you belong to the labor movement in its entirety, not to any section or fraction of the movement. That is why our Union has gone on record endorsing a "Tom Mooney For President" campaign. We feel that such a campaign would release the pent-up desires of the American workers for independent political action and would serve as the necessary stimulus for the formation of a nationwide party of labor. We call upon you to accept the nomination of our Union and other unions for the presidential candidate of labor in the 1936 elections. Should you accept, your candidacy would be a clarion call to labor. Every worker, both organized and unorgan-

On the LABOR FRONT

Laundry Wages Plunge
Prior to the Minimum Wage decision of the Court of Appeals laundry wages hovered, on the average, in the vicinity of \$10 to \$13 per week per employee. Since the decision a 60-hour work week has been prevalent with a minimum wage of \$4 and a maximum of \$7 per week.

LOUIS A. BAUM LABOR VETERAN DIES SUDDENLY

Louis A. Baum, active member of the Communist Party (Opposition) and the Workers Alliance of America, died in New York on March 4 at the age of 67. Comrade Baum is survived by his wife Eva Baum and his son Burnett LeRoy-Baum both of whom are members of the C.P.O.

Where Does Green Stand?
Protests by organized WPA workers against WPA dismissals, and Victor Ridder's attacks upon all organizations of relief and WPA workers, were seized upon by the administrator to further his anti-campaign directed against labor organization. Calling for all anti-labor forces to initiate a counter-attack a meeting was held in Yorkville—home of the American fascists William Green endorsed the meeting as did the American Legion.

More Farm Tenants
Census figures indicate about 43% of the farms in 38 states are now operated by tenants, compared with 25% in 1930. In Iowa alone the number of tenants increased more than 8% from 1930 to 1935. Nearly 50% of Iowa's 222,000 farms are now tenant operated. The figures for Iowa also showed heavier concentration on land less suitable for tenancy.

WPA Aids Sweatshops
It is surprising to note the extreme ease with which the New Dealers can find funds to finance the sweatshops while throwing millions back on "private charity" as the FERA and WPA is throttled. Aside from the donations via the "vocational education" moneybag to southern sweatshops, a new sweatshop angel, the WPA, has been discovered showering gold.

On the political field he became active quite early. Becoming first interested in the utopias of Edward Bellamy he soon passed over into activity in the movement itself. As early as 1885 Luella and Albert Parsons (the latter one of the Haymarket martyrs) won the interest of the youthful Baum and he became a follower of Johan Most. With the anarchist movement waning after the Haymarket tragedy, Baum joined the Socialist Labor Party and remained a member until 1906 when he went over to the youthful Socialist Party.

He remained a member of the S.P. for 13 years and was the Bronx Executive Secretary for a good many years. During that time he became one of the best known speakers and lecturers in New York. When the left wing developed in the Socialist Party after the Russian Revolution, Baum was in it, working and building what was later to become the Communist Party. To the foundation convention of the Communist Party in 1919 he came as a delegate from the Bronx. One of the mementos which he cherished highly is a picture, taken during the course of the convention, showing him seated with his son Burnett on his knee, among the comrades whom he esteemed—Jay Lovestone, Rose Pastor Stokes and many other delegates from New York.

Until 1933 he remained a member of the Communist Party. He was then expelled for expressing some disagreements with the line of the Party and went over with a whole group of comrades, to the Communist Party (Opposition), where he remained until his death.

Until January of this year Comrade Baum was an X-ray technician at Metropolitan Hospital and an active organizer and leading figure in the P.W.A. Workers Association. At the time of his death he was secretary of Local No. 5 of the Workers Alliance of America.

The Communist Party (Opposition) expressed its deep grief at having lost an able and loyal working class fighter, a veteran of 51 years standing in the revolutionary movement.

Have You Contributed To \$5,000 Drive?
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WHO IS BOILING STONES IN BUTTER?

Aboard a train going west I ran into a "friend," a very old friend. In a jiffy we exchanged greetings and soon got down to "business."

"Say, I have been watching the Communists work and what is more I have been reading the Workers Age. It's a pretty good paper, but you Communists will never get anywhere in the United States. This country isn't Russia. Why, despite all your tears and pleas and heart-rending appeals you haven't been able to raise even a paltry few thousand dollars in nearly two months. You are wasting a lot of sauce, trying to boil stones in butter."

This was the "success" talk gotten off to me by a boy who has "made good"—according to all capitalist standards.

Well, needless to say, before much time elapsed, I gave him a little to think about and a big headache to carry home with him. Are we boiling stones in butter? Are we wasting a lot of good sauce? Not in the least. We would be the last ones in the world to deny the difficulties in the way of building a sound mass communist movement in the Wall Street Empire. Far be it from us to hide the fact that we are having a rather tough time raising a few thousand dollars, raising a sum that is only pin money for the "successful" for the bourgeoisie. So what?

We know difficulties, but we know how to overcome them. We know hardships, but we know how to beat them. We were not born or raised on Easy Street. Look at our comrades in Germany—fearless fighters against the blackest monstrosity that ever scourged humanity. Look at our movement in the U. S., beginning as half a handful and growing into a recognized positive constructive force in the American labor movement. Look at our Workers Age, starting on a scratch, appearing irregularly, and then blossoming out in an eight-page regular weekly serving scoop after scoop on multi-millionaire dailies with many hundreds of reporters and correspondents throughout the world.

This is no empty-boasting. We are far, very far, from satisfied with ourselves or our work. That's why we have been trying our darnedest to do better and better, to find the ways and means with which to carry on our fight here, there and everywhere else more effectively and more vigorously.

That's what we are aiming at in our FIVE THOUSAND DOLLAR DRIVE. To date our aim hasn't been exactly perfect, to say the least. Now and then we have hit the bull's eye. Now and then we have made a score. Frankly, we must improve our marksmanship. Honestly, we must hurry up our efforts and bring to an end the money drive. We insist on this so that we may begin some very important new work and continue and improve some equally significant old jobs.

And who is the "we"? It's you, it's all of us. In this drive every penny counts. Can we stir you to give the fund a lift? Need we tell you that we do not feel ourselves especially happy in (week after week, column after column, appeal after appeal, plea after plea) expressing our troubles in type? If you are faint-hearted or skeptical, it only means that we will have to pound away harder and harder until we smash your lethargy to smithereens and turn you into real fighters, into real helpers in our common cause against our common enemy. Your silence to-date (if you have so far kept your hands glued in your pockets) can't discourage us. It only incurs the spending of energy that should be invested in other efforts. What this means you know. . . .

Yes, we are not the ones who are boiling stones in butter. We are not the ones who are wasting

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WHAT'S WHAT ABOUT THE NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

By EDWARD K. WELSH

The National Negro Congress, recently held in Chicago, can now be estimated on the basis of its work also it must be stated at the outset that certain objections raised before the Congress by the Socialist Party and the Communist Party (Opposition), and resented bitterly by the Daily Worker, proved themselves only too true.

Who Is Who?
The credentials committee reported 763 registered delegates representing a total of 551 organizations. The civic groups and societies had by far the largest representation, numbering three times as many as the trade unions, according to a report by James Allen published in the Daily Worker of Feb. 23. Others included church and religious organizations, fraternal societies, trade unions, a farm organization, youth and women's organizations, newspapers, educational and professional groups, political groups and parties. Of the latter, Allen explains in the "Daily Worker": "Official delegates were designated by the Governor of Pennsylvania, Governor Olson of Minnesota, and the Mayor of St. Louis." (We wonder how the Negroes who are uncrowded and those who have tasted of police brutality in St. Louis feel about this!)

Allen gives us further insight on the real character of the congress when he states: "The delegation from Westchester, N. Y., (of all places)—EKW was perhaps the most representative of all. . . . they (the Negro community) sent 25 delegates, representing practically every institution and organization FROM THE LOCAL TENNIS CLUB TO THE BIGGEST CHURCH" (emphasis mine-EKW).

Since when do communists look upon tennis clubs and big churches as being of such important historical significance in the struggle for social and economic advancement as to hold them up as examples of the sort of representation that is most desirable at a congress that sets before itself the task of formulating a program for the Negro masses? The church is essentially a reactionary institution—and usually the bigger the church the more reactionary it becomes. It can be of some significance only to the degree that it is ready to support a genuine working class program.

The disgraceful manner in which the congress was fashioned, its composition and its estrangement from the organized labor movement led to the creation of all sorts of rumors, doubts and suspicions concerning the ends to be accomplished. Accusations were hurled against it as being merely another communist conclave. A place on the program for the opening session had been reserved for the presentation of Mayor Kelly of Chicago, by Robert S. Abbott, editor of the Chicago Defender. Inasmuch as the Mayor was sunning himself in Florida, he had sent Judge Barker of the Circuit Court in his place. Just as he was about to speak, the Judge left, stating that his "sister became suddenly ill." and Abbott was "suddenly called away." The red scare had been raised.

In his opening remarks Charles W. Burton, lawyer, civic worker, chairman of the Chicago sponsoring committee and of the congress, took pains to remind the assembled delegates that they were the "guests of the city and state" and declared a ban on the sale and distribution of "objectionable" literature on the floor of the congress.

No Party Control
Likewise others felt that the Republican and Democratic parties also had their agents operating both inside the sponsoring committees as well as in the hall of the congress. The presence of certain well known ward-healers from those parties helped to lend credence to these fears.

The tension thereby created and the feeling of uncertainty which seemed to enshroud the congress at its very first session, made it necessary for John P. Davis, National Secretary of the congress, to attempt to put everyone at ease by officially announcing that the congress was not controlled by any political party.

The congress opened with speeches by L.J. Tasfaye Zaphiro, Ethiopian diplomat, John P. Davis, J. W. Ford of the Communist Party, and others. A Phillip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Chairman of the national sponsoring committee did not attend the congress but sent a message which was read by the chairman of the session. Discussing the plight of the Negro masses and pointing out that "practically 99 per cent of these people will never be heard by selling their labor power in the labor market from day to day." Randolph outlined the issues that must be dealt with by the congress, making a vigorous appeal for industrial unionism and urged the support of a "Farmer-Labor political organization."

After the main reports had been given, the congress finally got down to work and divided itself into sub-sections where the problems of the various groups were discussed.

What Happened To Labor Party?
All reports coming from the congress seemed to indicate strong sentiment for the labor party. The question arose in practically every sub-session. Randolph had proposed it in his message. Ford in his report dwelt at length on the question of the labor party and ended by urging the congress to take a position on it. Finally a resolution calling for the endorsement of a labor party was passed without dissent in the trade union section. But then something happened and the resolution never saw the light of day. The petty bourgeois politicians of various stripes immediately got busy and succeeded in having the labor party resolution killed in the general resolutions committee. It never came to the floor of the congress for action. No mention of it was made in the report of the resolutions committee and no minority report was given. The whole matter was dropped. Not satisfied with this victory, and as a safeguard for the future the following resolution was presented and unanimously approved. "This congress is not AND NEVER WILL BE dominated by any political faction or party." This spelled death to the labor party resolution and also signified an attempt to forestall any favorable action for a labor party by a future congress. Where were the trade unions during all of this? Where were the Communist Party members who might have given leadership at this point? What happened to those who applauded Randolph's proposal for a labor party, and Ford's? The Daily Worker attempts to explain it away by saying that because "unanimous endorsement probably could not be obtained and that certain elements would withdraw and others hesitate to adhere to the congress in the future, the trade union section withdrew its resolution." Who were these "certain elements" that threatened to withdraw? They were not the workers—for the workers, you report, passed the resolution "without dissent." If

there was hesitancy and doubt on this question in the ranks of the workers present, it would have been correct to postpone action on the matter and to patiently explain and educate the workers until they are won for the labor party position. But this was not the case—the workers were for it! It is obvious, then, that the "certain elements" were not of the working class. Why was this not reported to the congress? If for no other reason than for the sake of clarity the issue should have been brought to the floor of the congress and discussed. But there was no leadership. It had completely capitulated before the self-seeking politicians among the petty bourgeoisie.

Church and Business Dominate
Allen lets us in on something else; "over in a nook of the floor in the back of the trade unionists, a handful of business men discussed their specific problems." What these problems were or what these gentlemen decided Allen didn't dare mention. He also withheld information concerning the Church groups. He does tell us that "church and religious organizations . . . sent over 75 delegates, practically all ministers. But it is worthy to note that although ministers participated actively in the proceedings of the congress, this was one national gathering which the religious bodies as such did not dominate. Each general session started with an invocation and closed with a blessing." But, Comrade Allen, domination is not

always measured by numbers. It is oftentimes determined by what a particular group is able to achieve. Now let's see now far the business men and ministers were able to influence the decisions of the congress.

The Business Resolution
After coming out of their huddle the Negro business men presented the following resolution. "The delegates to the National Negro Congress in convention assembled realize the present deplorable condition of the twelve million Negro citizens of America and as a result of a thorough study and minute scientific, fact-finding study into the general economic and business conditions in which the Negro citizens of color have been forced, and whereas,

"The development of sound and thriving Negro business IS MOST INDISPENSIBLE TO THE GENERAL ELEVATION OF THE NEGRO'S SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SECURITY, (be it therefore)

"Resolved: That all Negroes consider it THEIR INESCAPABLE DUTY TO SUPPORT NEGRO BUSINESS by their patronage and

"That Negro leaders should consider it their special duty to set the example of patronizing Negro business themselves, and

"That the business and civic leaders of all Negro communities inaugurate a systematic program of education among the Negro population to the necessity of supporting Negro business enter-

THE DAILY WORKER DID NOT PRINT THIS LETTER

The following letter by Sidney Jonas, C.P.O. field organizer now located in Detroit was sent to the Daily Worker but was not printed

Clarence Hathaway, Editor of The Daily Worker, Member of Polburo of The Communist Party.

Dear Comrade Hathaway: In the Sunday Worker of February 16th there is a big headline, "City of St. Louis Sends Official Delegate to The National Negro Congress," the story reading, "Chicago, Ill., Feb. 15—Further evidence of the great national scope of the great National Negro Congress which opened its three-day sessions here yesterday at the Eighth Regiment Armory here arrived with the formal announcement THAT THE CITY AND THE MAYOR OF ST. LOUIS WILL BE OFFICIALLY REPRESENTED AT THE CONGRESS AND ITS PROCEEDINGS.

Mayor Bernard F. Wackman has authorized the Assistant City Council of St. Louis, Attorney David M. Grant, to represent him and the city government, Mr. John P. Davis, secretary of the Negro Congress sponsoring committee announced today. There are 100,000 Negroes in St. Louis."

From an article in the Daily Worker by James Ford I have learned that the National Negro Congress was supposed to be a united front of all elements who are fighting in the interest of the oppressed Negro masses. So I wonder what Mayor Dickman has to do with this kind of a movement because I know that since Mayor Dickman's administration has taken office, no change has been made in the general discrimination against Negro people of St. Louis, especially when it comes to relief.

Those who do receive relief get much less than the white workers. If they dare to protest, it is Mayor Dickman and the City Council of St. Louis who claim that the Com-

munist organize race riots and that's why they break up demonstrations and arrest pickets near the relief offices who are demanding equal relief for the Negroes. Is this the way your partner in the Negro Congress, Mayor Dickman, is fighting for 100,000 Negroes in the city of St. Louis?

I remember that not so long ago in the Daily Worker there was a report of an unemployed demonstration which took place in the city of St. Louis to demand the continuation of the relief. From this demonstration there was a delegation sent to Mayor Dickman. On the steps of his City Hall an order came from inside to smash the demonstration and it was carried out. The police who were very vicious with everybody especially picked on the Negro workers, smashing heads, arresting them, and throwing them into jail.

The Negro Congress is supposed to fight for the right of the workers to organize in trade unions. If you, Comrade Hathaway, would read your own Daily Worker, you would know that Mayor Dickman and his City Council are working together and giving protection to the A. A. Ahner Industrial Detective Agency which is one of the worst scab agencies in the United States. In their efforts to smash the International Ladies Garment Workers Union local that conducted a strike for many months in the Forest City Dress Manufacturing Co., hundreds of arrests were made by Mayor Dickman's police. And do you know the "fine role" Dickman played during the Gas House Workers strike? Just read your own Daily. How about the present strike of the workers in the Kroger Warehouse? Do you know about the terror your friend, Mayor Dickman, has been conducting against these strikers for having the audacity to insist that they have the right to a union?

You say that you are for a Labor Party. Why do you, in this

prizes. . . . "Just "a handful of business men" in equal proportion to their importance in Negro social life, were able to foist upon the congress a resolution expressing their own selfish class interests against the interests of millions of black toilers whom they too help to exploit. They wound up their resolution by tipping their hats to "consumers and producers co-operatives" and concluded with a meaningless gesture regarding Negro employers hiring only union labor. MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY VOTED FOR THIS RESOLUTION and it was adopted by the congress!

"Have Faith In the Lord!" Let's see what the ministers have cooked up, for the problem of the Negro church is a very pressing one in view of the trend of thousands of Negro workers away from the church in search of a more militant leadership and for organization along economic lines. The Holy Fathers presented the congress with the following resolution:

"We recommend that under Divine Leadership and through the various activities of the church, the Negro has received his greatest inspiration in his marvelous progress and advancements. We still feel that the Negro church is the most potent agency to be used in the further progress and advancement of our people. We, therefore, recommend that the Negro shall

(Continued on Page 6)

munists organize race riots and that's why they break up demonstrations and arrest pickets near the relief offices who are demanding equal relief for the Negroes. Is this the way your partner in the Negro Congress, Mayor Dickman, is fighting for 100,000 Negroes in the city of St. Louis?

I remember that not so long ago in the Daily Worker there was a report of an unemployed demonstration which took place in the city of St. Louis to demand the continuation of the relief. From this demonstration there was a delegation sent to Mayor Dickman. On the steps of his City Hall an order came from inside to smash the demonstration and it was carried out. The police who were very vicious with everybody especially picked on the Negro workers, smashing heads, arresting them, and throwing them into jail.

The Negro Congress is supposed to fight for the right of the workers to organize in trade unions. If you, Comrade Hathaway, would read your own Daily Worker, you would know that Mayor Dickman and his City Council are working together and giving protection to the A. A. Ahner Industrial Detective Agency which is one of the worst scab agencies in the United States. In their efforts to smash the International Ladies Garment Workers Union local that conducted a strike for many months in the Forest City Dress Manufacturing Co., hundreds of arrests were made by Mayor Dickman's police. And do you know the "fine role" Dickman played during the Gas House Workers strike? Just read your own Daily. How about the present strike of the workers in the Kroger Warehouse? Do you know about the terror your friend, Mayor Dickman, has been conducting against these strikers for having the audacity to insist that they have the right to a union?

You say that you are for a Labor Party. Why do you, in this

This Negro Congress will serve as a lesson to the organized labor movement that, when Browder and you are talking about the Peoples' Front, you really mean uniting revolutionary-minded workers with bourgeois politicians of the old parties to try out certain schemes to win away some of their followers, but the only result of this scheming is that you stop a genuine fight against the bourgeois politicians and strengthen their hold on the masses by their claim that they are working with all people and that they are not only leaders of the capitalist class but also of the workers.

I hope you will find a place to print this in your paper and also reply to it.

Comradely yours, SIDNEY JONAS

WORKERS AGE

Organ of the National Committee, Communist Party U. S. A. (Opposition)...

Vol. V. Saturday, March 21, 1936 No. 12.

Crocodile Tears and Clenched Fists

TWO recent events in our ever-tumultuous political arena illustrate its surface topsy-turviness...

Great days! The anti-reactionaries seem to have gone cuckoo, the superficial observer might say on the basis of the jettisons of the Wall Street editors...

But what's all the excitement about? Why are the apologists for America's "Black Hundreds" so ruffled at some of their telegrams being taken away or glanced at by some hick senators?

To prepare the election, to advance the policies for which the Roosevelt forces stand, some steps have been proposed and taken to inflame moral and political and, in a very, very small measure in some cases, even financial losses on these elements most bitterly opposed to the F. D. R. program...

It is as clear as broadest daylight that Roosevelt and his aides, at the moment appearing as fighters for the rights of the workers in the industrial towns, are as little concerned with the welfare of the masses as are the Republican unrepentant reactionaries who are against the Van Nuys Bill...

This entire tragedy-comedy has, however, a very important lesson for labor. Both acts in the tragic farce, in the hypocritical maneuvering, reveal the basic hostility of the Republican and Democratic Parties to the cause of labor...

These two incidents are significantly revealing. They indicate the burning need of the masses for a political party of their own, free from and opposed to the domination of the boss class.

No better time could be found for preparing for the foundation of such a party of labor than a tense election campaign of the kind in which we now find ourselves.

WHAT NEXT IN EUROPE?

LECTURE BY LUDWIG LORE Foreign Commentator "New York Post" Sunday, March 22, 1936 at 8:30 P. M. Irving Plaza, 15th St. & Irving Place

ADMISSION 25c QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION NEW WORKERS SCHOOL FORUM

INSIDE STORY OF TVA DECISION

By POLITICUS

As the days go by and sober second thoughts replace first impressions, the Supreme Court decision on the TVA becomes "curious and curiouser," as Alice would say. When it was first announced, there were innocent souls aplenty, and some not so innocent, who cried out in great glee "Ah, the Supreme Court has vindicated itself! In the face of the TVA decision, who can now attribute a reactionary social bias, or an unworthy political motive to the Supreme Court? Who can now urge that its power of judicial review be restricted or abolished? Hasn't it just validated what Norman Thomas himself regards as 'the one outstanding act of the administration that socialists applaud, and that not by a bare majority but almost unanimously?'"

A Deep Mystery

There is something very odd about the whole business, as may be gathered from the queer way in which the court divided. A minority group of preferred stockholders in the Alabama Power Company had come before the Supreme Court to protest the sale to TVA of some of the company's transmission lines around Wilson Dam at Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River. Four justices (Brandeis, Cardozo, Stone and Roberts), the so-called "liberal" block, held that the stockholders had no case because they had suffered no ascertainable damage. But the other five justices insisted that they did have a right to sue and so the case finally came before the court. Then these "liberals" were joined by four others to decide, by an eight to one vote, that the contract under question was valid and constitutional. In essence, the majority opinion was that the Federal government, under the Constitution, could build the Wilson Dam and that, having built the dam legally, it had the power to dispose of the electrical energy generated by it, and for this purpose the purchase of transmission lines might be necessary. The court specifically narrowed down the whole question to this one point—the legality of that particular sale of those particular transmission lines at Wilson Dam. Chief Justice Hughes made it perfectly clear that no judgment was being passed on the constitutionality of the TVA as such or on the legality of any other dams or activities in the Tennessee Valley. The door was thus deliberately left open to similar suits in the future and to decisions of quite another character.

Now this in itself is something of a mystery, for, in the past, the Supreme Court has hardly been notable for reluctance in passing on the broad constitutional issues of the cases before it. It seized upon the Schechter case to throw out the entire NRA and upon the Hoosac Mills tax case to invalidate the entire AAA but somehow it found that, in the Wilson Dam contract, the whole TVA idea was not involved. In the NRA and AAA cases the court took in all the territory in sight, but in the TVA case it narrowed the field down to the smallest possible scope. Why?

Here's How

Devout believers in the infinite wisdom and divine inspiration of the Supreme Court may be rather hard put to it to figure this out, but there are some less golly souls, wretches steeped in scepticism and infidelity, who have their own ideas as to how it all came about. Apparently they listen to all sorts of rumors and put two and two together with the same nonchalance about Supreme Court justices as they would about just ordinary mortal men. And here is what they say: For weeks the court was deadlocked—the judges deliberated sixty days over the suit. Once the court had admitted the case before it, the four "liberals" were all for validating the TVA along broad lines; middle class liberals in this country have long favored some sort of public "control" of public utilities. Of course they argued on the high plane of constitutional principles but it is hinted that the vast storm of protest raised in Congress, in the press and among the people at large over the voiding of the AAA and NRA had something to do with it. Furthermore, it was felt to be somewhat difficult to issue an edict of unconstitutionality against nature; after all the dams were there and water was flowing over them. As against these four "liberals", there was a group of an equal number dead set against the TVA on general principles. One justice remained undecided; who it was nobody knows, but there are some shrewd guesses hinting at Chief Justice Hughes. At any rate, the conflict raged as acrimoniously as is compatible with judicial composure. It is not hard to visualize the finished diplomacy of Justice Hughes at work, striving to smooth over difficulties and to save appearances before the public. In this he was materially aided by the government which itself sought to narrow down the case to one contract rather than to risk the invalidation of the whole enterprise. The hint was taken and, if the justices could not agree on the issue itself, they could at least agree on the next best thing—to dodge the issue altogether and confine their ruling to the narrowest possible limits. By this bold stroke of "judicial statesmanship," many birds would be killed with one stone: what would look like a "liberal", pro-New Deal verdict would be rendered; the prestige of the court would be saved from another 6-3 or 5-4 decision; the wide-spread movement to curb the judicial power would be temporarily slowed down; and, after everything was said and done, the court would still reserve the right and the

power to get back at the TVA under more auspicious circumstances!

But where does that leave us? And why all the hubbub in New Deal circles? And why such idiotic flights into sheer moonshine as the idea of the New York Post columnist, Jay Franklin, that, whereas "Roosevelt bruised the bankers... the Supreme Court has really given them the works" (February 26, 1936)? The plain fact is that nothing is changed. The arbitrary power of the Supreme Court still remains. Its reactionary bias still remains. It may find a little clearer trimming rather useful in clearing the rough corners but it still retains in its dead hand an absolute and uncontrolled veto power over all legislation!

As Founding Fathers Saw It

Speaking of the Supreme Court, it is interesting to note how realistic the Founding Fathers were in estimating this "peculiar institution" and how aptly their judgment falls in with the events of last century of our history. Declared Hamilton in one of the most famous of the Federalist papers: "In a monarchy, the judiciary is an excellent barrier to the despotism of the prince; in a republic, it is no less an excellent barrier to the encroachments and excesses of the representative bodies."

And Jefferson came to the conclusion, after a rich lifetime of experience, that: "It is a misnomer to call a government republican in which a branch of the supreme power is independent of the nation... The great object of my fear is the Federal judiciary... It is a very dangerous doctrine to consider the judges as the ultimate arbiters of all constitutional questions. It is one which would place us under the despotism of an oligarchy."

Hamilton, the reactionary monarchist, welcomed the Supreme Court as a bulwark against democracy; Jefferson, the liberal democrat, feared it for the same reason. But both were at one as to its function in our social system!

Non-Russian Jews Permitted To Settle in Biro-Bidjan

The U.S.S.R. has opened its doors wide to non-Russian Jews, a statement by the American Committee for the Settlement of Jews in Birobidjan reveals.

The agreement, characterized by William W. Cohen, president of the committee, as "the most favorable any government has ever made for the settlement of Jews in its territory," provides for the establishment of 1,000 families of non-Russian Jews during the first year. These settlers will be given housing, jobs, medical care, transportation from the Russian border, education for their children, and freedom to use the Yiddish language both for cultural pursuit and official business.

The contract was signed during August, 1935 in Moscow.

Some of the provisions of the agreement as disclosed by Mr. Cohen are as follows:

- 1) The U.S.S.R. will pay all the expenses involved in travelling from the Russian border. 2) Each family will be allowed to choose its occupation.

HAVE YOU GIVEN TO \$5,000 FUND?

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AT FIRST GLANCE

By Jay Lovestone

THE re-militarization of the Rhineland by the Nazi government marks the end of an epoch. It marks the end of a series of moves by the Hitler regime in breaking down the Versailles set-up without incurring immediate armed struggle, without bringing on instant war among the imperialist powers.

There are still two steps Hitler must take before German imperialism shall have upset all the Versailles arrangements. These are: the taking back of Alsace-Lorraine and the lost colonies, particularly the African possessions. But for Germany to attempt either of these moves would mean instant war. For such consequences German imperialism is not yet quite ready. However, not even the most purblind can now fail to see that regardless of all disclaimers and peace-prating by the Fascist Reich, sooner rather than later, the German capitalist class will make precisely such demands and seek to enforce them at the point of the bayonet.

That is why we hold that the re-militarization of the Rhineland is a move far more pregnant with dire consequences for the peace of the world than any other of the many treaty violations of which the Nazi gang has been guilty. We raise no so-called moral questions here. The Versailles pact was and remains an imperialist robber arrangement. But the German working masses, like the working classes of all other countries, can rid themselves of imperialist shackles and robbery only by revolution at the point of the bayonet.

But sometimes we wonder how long this game can be played or how long it will be played by comrades who insist, to the point of shrieking, that they are the hope of the revolutionary socialist movement in this country. We raise this question to our comrades in the "Militant" group of the Socialist party because of the appalling inadequacy of the relief accorded them. How serious this is for the Democrats, can be grasped when one takes note of the fact that there are today 24,000,000 people on relief.

But one tremendous asset remains almost intact for the Democratic party. This is the confusion, chaos and stupid leadership weighing down the Republican outfit. If the Republican ship sinks in the coming stormy election months, it will be rather because of this weight than because of Farley's efficiency or Democratic popularity.

WITH THE LAWMAKERS

By LEE MASON

The Byrne-Killgrew amendment to the New York State Unemployment Insurance Law is up before Governor Lehman for his signature, the Assembly having concurred with the Senate this week in passing the measure unanimously and without debate. The milk-and-water bill was backed by the State Federation of Labor.

Under the terms of this amendment non-manual workers making \$2,000 a year, as against the original allowance of \$2,500, will be entitled to unemployment benefits; a person will be insured if he has put in ninety consecutive days of work in 1937; and every boss employing four or more workers will have to contribute to the fund. The first payments will be made in 1938.

To give the devil his due, it must be said that the bill embodies several important safeguards for the workers. For instance, no one may be blacklisted for refusing to work in a place which requires joining a company union. One may also turn down a job if that job entails strikebreaking.

Taking its cue from local Chambers of Commerce, the United States Senate passed the Sheppard bill which provides \$80,000,000 for the erection of national guard armories. The Senate sneaked it thru without any great-to-do, under a unanimous consent procedure. As if it were not bad enough to build headquarters for potential strikebreakers, the measure permits applicants for money to raid emergency relief funds. Another provision waives the necessity of a Congressional appropriation for a building costing more than \$20,000 if that building is an armory. The bill is now before the House.

The Roosevelt machine has even begun to fumble in its use of relief as a vote-snatching instrument. Any number of people can be found through the country who are nursing a fat grudge against

TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

It seems as if I was not alone in protesting against a certain cartoon, leveled against John L. Lewis and the Committee for Industrial Organization, which appeared a couple of weeks ago in the Chicago Federationist, official organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor. I see recorded in the minutes of the C. F. of L. meeting of March 1, the following: "Delegate of Fur Workers No. 45 reported that he was instructed to voice the criticism of his local union as well as protest against a cartoon appearing in the last issue of the Federation News regarding President Lewis of the United Miners and Industrial Unionism. (I am not responsible for the garbled sentence—GFM)"

"Delegate Topp of the Bakers and Delegate of the Technical and Research Employees reported they were instructed to make similar protests." These protests, and others not made on the floor of the meeting, must have had a sobering effect upon the C. F. of L. for we notice that during the same meeting a communication from the CIO dated Feb. 25 answering William Green, is read, ordered printed in Federation News and the delegates instructed to raise it in their locals.

The International Association of Machinists is going in for amalgamation in a big way. The current issue of the Machinists Journal carries the agreement arrived at between the I. A. of M. and the Federation of Metal and Allied Unions, as well as the one with the Transport Workers Union. There are also reports, unsubstantiated it is true, that the I. A. of M. is negotiating with the Brotherhood of Utility Employees. If the latter report is true it will be interesting to see how this will affect the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers which has been negotiating with this group. It must be said right now that in the case of both metal workers and transport workers the conditions for amalgamation are extremely liberal. If it were not generally known that Wharton's policies are determined mainly by the strategy of his struggle against

ahead, are the vicious Tydings-McCormack "Incitement to Disaffection" and Kramer-Russell Sedition bills. The former gag measure has already passed the Senate, while the latter has been reported favorably to the House by a twelve to eleven vote. Jumping to the Hearstian whip, the State Senate almost unanimously voted for the McNaboe bill requiring the display of American flags in public school classrooms. Only two legislators dissented. The Howard bill to provide for State regulation of fee-charging employment agencies drew heavy fire from the private interests at a Senate committee hearing. Labor leaders, headed by George F. Meany, president of the State Federation of Labor, urged the enactment of the bill as a means of eliminating gyp agencies and abuses. A Senate committee had the gall to report out the Scharfswald bill calling for the destruction of compensation for silicosis victims. The few sops thrown labor hardly make up for what is taken away. Representatives of truck and bus operating companies protested vociferously against the provisions of the Berg bill which would limit the time that a driver may be required to spend at his wheel to ten consecutive hours. They made themselves felt at a Senate committee hearing.

The case is being handled for the operators by Frederick H. Wood who, it will be recalled, fought on the side of the government in the gold clause case and against the government in the Schechter poultry case on the basis of which the NRA was killed.

The "Rank and File Group" in Paterson, which it must be remembered is part of the present administration, is now distributing a leaflet entitled "VOTE NO." It refers to a proposed contract with the manufacturers which has become a scandal in Paterson for many weeks past. Says this leaflet: "Soon the membership of the Plain Goods Dept. will be called upon to vote on the contract. This document was negotiated between a few union officials and some manufacturers. It never had the endorsement of the Joint Executive Board nor of the Plain Goods Locals. THE RANK AND FILE IS DEFINITELY AGAINST THIS CONTRACT. The scab newspapers, in order to fool the workers into voting for it LIED when they said that the Rank and File favors this slave contract." Slave contract is right, but how does it come that at this late date the "Rank and File Group" should have to issue leaflets making clear its stand on the contract? Apparently its opposition was not so generally known. Would the comrades please tell us exactly who are these "few union officials" who negotiated this slave contract? These questions are in order because the writer knows that many a fight (verbal) occurred over this contract between the progressives and the "Rank and File" with the latter SUPPORTING THE CONTRACT. This is one reason among many that made cooperation with the "Rank and File Group" so difficult. We are glad to see that they have changed their mind.

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In the International Labor Movement

Fascism and 'Democratic' Monarchy

We print below a discussion by our international correspondent on the attitude of the labor and revolutionary movement to the British monarchy. The dangerous attitude expressed by Peri in the Paris "Humanite" is especially noticeable now when the international position of British Imperialism leads the "democracy loving" Edward VIII to place himself and his government on the side of fascist Germany and against "democratic" France. We have not yet seen the reaction of the French communist press to the latest events but we are sure that Comrade Peri must be singing quite a different song today.—Editor.

On the occasion of the death of King George V of England the bourgeois press acclaimed the British monarchy as a stronghold of democracy. The British Labor Party, the leading party of the Second International, renewed its pledge of allegiance to the new monarch. Even the Communists were affected by this torrent of words. In an article in "Humanite" of January 22nd G. Peri, after pointing out correctly that the deceased George V was most reactionary, goes on to say:

"The reactionaries and fascists of France wrongly point to the British monarchy as a justification of their plans for a coup d'etat. The devotion of the British people to the monarchy is an expression of its devotion to democracy, to parliamentary and constitutional law.

"Justly or unjustly the people look upon the monarchy as a bulwark against fascism which the people of Great Britain hate instinctively."

In Geneva, Litvinoff joined in offering his condolences to the British people at a session of the Council of the League of Nations. In doing so he merely carried out his duty as the diplomatic representative of the Soviet Union. G. Peri, however, writing in a leading organ of the Communist International, evades the question whether it is correct or incorrect to come out for the British monarchy and thereby injures his Communist integrity.

"Anti-Fascist Monarchs"

The attitude of Peri is quite characteristic of the uncritical position which the C.P. has taken on bourgeois democracy and bourgeois democratic illusions as a result of its People's Front affiliation. There is no doubt that the English masses have rejected fascism. It is equally certain, however, that in a serious crisis the hope that the British monarchy would act as a bulwark against fascism would be blasted just as was the hope of the German Social Democrats who hated fascism and relied on Hindenburg to save them from Hitler.

The fact that the British monarchy is today allied with bour-

geois democracy is no proof that the monarchy is a democratic institution. It indicates rather that bourgeois democracy in England has within it reactionary elements. And this in a country which is the classic home of bourgeois democracy. The role of the British monarchy can be understood only if we remember that bourgeois democracy is only one form of bourgeois rule, in this case the rule of the imperialist British bourgeoisie wielding power over a huge colonial empire.

Roots of Popularity

The history of the British monarchy testifies to this. The popularity of the British monarchs with the masses is of relatively recent origin. Incidentally, Peri overlooks the fact that the most advanced sections of the British working class are by no means loyal monarchists. It is true that the reign of the Stuarts of whom one was beheaded and another exiled is long past; so is the reign of the first kings of the Hanover dynasty who never gained the love of the British masses. The British monarchy became "popular" with the reign of Queen Victoria. Bourgeois historians ascribe it to the fact that Queen Victoria's private life was modeled on that of the English bourgeoisie while George IV (1820-30) for example led a very loose life. This is a rather superficial observation. The British monarchy really became popular as soon as the revolutionary movement of the British workers, the Chartist movement, which had been preceded by democratic movements of the petty bourgeoisie, was beaten back. The increase in popularity of the British monarchy since the middle of the 19th century was not the result of the personal characteristics of Queen Victoria but rather of the prevailing development of British capitalism and class relations in England. The English bourgeoisie had succeeded in defeating the revolutionary movement of the working class. The favorable economic position of British capital, that of being first in the exploitation of an immense colonial empire led to the rise of a

THE NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

(Continued from Page 3)

continue to hold faith and confidence in God and the Church, as set forth in the life example and teachings of Jesus.

"We further recommend that the Christian families of the country shall give more attention to the home training of the youth, with special emphasis upon their social, moral, and spiritual obligations.

THE POWER OF THE GOSPEL IS SUPREMELY NEEDED IN A TIME LIKE THIS. We sense a new imperative facing the church for greater consideration and challenging incentives for saving the youth for the church."

AGAIN, MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY VOTED FOR THIS RESOLUTION and it was adopted by the congress.

Is this how the Communist Party views the church? Is this the only answer the congress could give to the Negro masses seeking light? Where were the trade unions? Where were the Communist party representatives that such resolutions were able to pass unchallenged? Must the Communist Party swallow all this filth in order to appear respectable? Is this the price the working class is to be asked to pay for the sake of the "People's Front"? No, Comrade Allen, perhaps the ministers did not comminate the congress—nor the business men, nor the Communist Party, nor the trade unions, or any other single group. But an anti-working class bloc, consisting of the ministers, the business men, the racketeering politicians and their ilk did succeed in forcing through not only the defeat of the only progressive working class resolutions, but also succeeded in bludgeoning the few trade unionists and the party members that were present, and the congress as a whole into endorsing resolutions supporting the church and Negro business as aids in the solution of the problems of the Negro masses

"Golden" Unity

The bourgeois press has pointed out the close relationship between the monarchy of England and the British empire on many occasions. There is a grain of truth in these assertions. It is incorrect, of course, to say as does the bourgeois press that the British crown is the only factor that links the British Empire, the only bond between the mother country and its more or less politically independent dominions. This is an infantile view. The British crown is the symbol of more solid bonds that unite the Empire, namely, the investments of British capital in the dominions and colonies, the power of London, and secondly, the armed power of British imperialism particularly its fleet which keeps the oppressed colonial peoples in check and lends power and military prestige to those formally independent dominions such as Australia, South Africa, etc. that participated more or less in the exploitation of these colonies and are limited in their right to arm. Should the Canadian bourgeoisie decide to entrust its fate to Wall Street and the U. S. Army rather than to London and the British fleet, the authority of the British monarchy would be of no avail even to the U. S. is not governed by a crowned monarch.

One thing is true: an empire in which a handful of capitalist parasites oppress hundreds of millions of colonial slaves, in which they exercise a brutal dictatorship over the colonies as compared with the democratic rights enjoyed by the people of the mother country and some of the dominions, in which the Indian people comprising 300 million are denied the most elementary political rights—such an empire is best symbolized by a feudal monarchy. The British monarchy, then, is not a democratic institution; it is rather an embodiment of the reactionary character of British bourgeois democracy, guilty of the brutal oppression of innumerable colonies.

Allies of Fascism

As long as British capitalism is in a position to utilize parliamentary democratic forms for its rule, so long the British monarchy will guard constitutional rights. These rights have in the past not prevented British monarchs, most recently George V, from utilizing their personal influence behind the scenes for a reactionary policy. Thus George V together with the directorate of the Bank of England in 1931 sponsored the formation of the so-called "National Government." Should, however, the progressive decline of capitalism lead to a parliamentary crisis in

ing class nature that attempted to go beyond this and adopted others that would cause some of the organizations that make little or no pretence at liberalism to shudder. This is the logic of the "People's Front" policy. These are the results of unpunished horse trading and compromises which ultimately lead to an anti-working class position. This is a policy that must be repudiated by all class-conscious workers and by all members of the Communist Party.

France Threatens To Leave League

(Continued from Page 1)

League deliberations. Eden would now attempt to calm the infuriated France.

A section of the British cabinet is determined to forget about Germany's violation of the treaty and bring Germany back into the League fold—on Germany's terms, to "rebuild European peace on a new basis." Solving the antagonism between France and Germany by a united front against the Soviet Union, in which, Great Britain would retain its position of arbiter of Europe. Stanley Baldwin heads this Cabinet group and is supported by Lord Rothmere, publisher; Clement R. Attlee, leader of the Labor Opposition. Ramsay MacDonald and Sir John Simon are reported as favoring Germany, too.

In the opposition camp with Mr. Eden are Neville Chamberlain; Walter Runciman, President of the Board of Trade and others

Labor Party Anti-Soviet?

The Laborite Daily Herald finds Germany's "suggestion is not in itself unreasonable". It ascribed Germany's belligerency as due to a faulty translation of the text of the German note! Doubtless the leadership of the Labor Party will hear from its membership on this support to the pro-Fascist war-dogs of Britain

Litvinoff Adamant

Maxim Litvinoff, Soviet Foreign Commissar, declared he would refuse to grant Germany admission into the League if the Soviet Government was alone in taking this position. Roumania and Belgium were equally emphatic.

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BOOKS of the LOSING THEIR CHAINS by James Sand Eugene Victor Debs

THE PROBLEM OF THE FAR EAST, by Sobei Mogi and H. Vere Redman Lippincott. 348 pp. \$2.00.

EASTERN INDUSTRIALIZATION AND ITS EFFECT ON THE WEST, by G. E. Hubbard. Oxford University Press. 395 pp. \$7.00.

Reviewed by BERT WOLFE

Of the two focal centers of the coming world war the most significant at present is the Far East. Hence a number of studies are appearing throwing much needed light on that region so little known to us Westerners. The two works mentioned above are to be recommended heartily for that purpose.

The Hubbard book is one of those solid, factual and calmly imperialist studies in the series being put out by the Royal Institute of International Affairs. One is moved to admire the cold objective that takes British imperialism for granted, regards its foundations as unshakable or at least unsubject to critical examination, and proceeds to examine its secondary effects without hypocrisy, without apology, and so far as that limitation of viewpoint will permit, without distortion. American imperialism is too new, American apologetics too shameless, American conscience too raw, the American professorate too frightened or too dabbittized, and American liberalism too confused, to permit our university studies to attain such Olympian detachment and objectivity.

One example will suffice "Economic improvement," writes Hubbard, commenting on the death rate and living standards of the Indian masses, "results in keeping alive larger numbers, rather than in raising the standard of life" (p. 292) We doubt if a nerve quivered or even an eyebrow was raised as the author paused perhaps to consider the human implication of that statement.

The work was motivated by a desire on the part of the Royal Institute to examine the effect of the industrialization of Japan and India upon the economic structure of Great Britain. It is a thorough, competent, factual study, illuminating the latest phase of Anglo-Japanese competition in textiles and other fields. Its statistical material serves also to illuminate the vexed problem of Indian industrialization which occasioned such a bitter controversy at the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International. At the time, the controversy was intended not so much to examine the subject discussed as to annihilate the reputation of the foremost Marxist commentator on India, Comrade Roy. The writer of this review acknowledges with shame that he participated in that discussion innocently and in good faith, without even an inkling of its real objectives.

The facts here presented demonstrate that England is putting all sorts of fetters upon India's industrial development, such as limitations on its protective tariffs, imposition of internal excise taxes to offset tariffs and destroy their possible protective effects, imperial preference, etc. Nevertheless, India continues slowly but inexorably to industrialize in certain fields, notably textiles, cruder forms of iron and steel manufactures, and certain minor branches. Two critical moments gave great impetus to that movement. During the World War, England needed steel and munitions factories in the Far East. Today, England must encourage India's textile industry on the textile market, already lost to Lancashire goes to Japan. Most of the industrialization goes on under the aegis of British capital thus providing a much needed capital

ENIN, in "A Letter to American Workers" in 1918, called Eugene Victor Debs "one of the most beloved leaders of the American proletariat." That is an understatement. He was the most beloved leader. An inmate of Atlanta who had been lectured to by Debs on his personal habits told the deputy warden "Gene Debs is the only Christ I know anything about." Anyone who calls forth such deep emotional response from those who knew him inevitably becomes an object of rationalistic hyperbole. Eugene Victor Debs has been credited with ideas and views on socialist theory and practice which he never had and many of which he was incapable of understanding. He has been vastly over-rated, to the substantial detriment of his actual qualities. Debs was good enough as he was without trying to make him out a Lenin. And the recognition of his shortcomings will serve the labor movement he loved, much more than any wishful thinking on what proletarians would have liked him to be.

The foundation-stone of his life was love for living beings. Insofar as it affects the labor movement this is known as humanitarian socialism. It has close kinship with Christian socialism and most of the shortcomings of that contradictory labor theory, for indiscriminate love and the class struggle go ill together. And Debs' mistakes always resolved themselves into errors of temperament and emotion. But the love was so boundless (the last Christian, someone called him that it was often right by sheer fulsome-ness.

His road lay through Americanism, Jeffersonian democracy, "unitarian" unionism (when first he enunciated the principle of "one big union" he did not realize it was industrial unionism), social democracy, humanitarian revolutionism, revolutionary socialism, and debilitated proletarianism caused by his, last illness.

Born in Terre Haute, Indiana, in 1855, his early years are eminently "respectable." Until fourteen he attended the common schools and lived the life of the Middle West during the Civil War and Reconstruction. His mother he adored and his father was early his criterion of intellectual ideas, teaching him to love Victor Hugo. The family was not well off, and 'Gene left school in 1879 and began to work in the shops of the Terre Haute and Indianapolis Railroad (now part of the Pennsy system). In a year he had become a fireman on a switch engine at the munificent salary of \$1.00 a night. He loved the railroad, and he came to love railroaders. He would have remained there much longer if his mother had not dissuaded him, fearing injury. He became a grocery clerk.

The parlor-room literary set found in every up-and-coming town in America at this date attracted Debs and he became something of a literary rotdarian. His taste in literature was never to be very good, and it was pretty low then. James Whitcomb Riley was the great poet of the era, and a good friend of 'Gene's. In fact, Riley wrote some lines about him that have been bruited about the socialist movement and carried into popular estimates of him.

And there's Gene Debs—a man 'at stands And jest holds out in his two hands As warm a heart as ever beat Betwixt here and the judgment seat!

This is poor, but the subject was so good that years later—in his imprisonment in Atlanta—every poet worth his salt wrote lines in protest against his imprisonment, the best known of which are William Ellery Leonard's. Upton Sinclair published them in a little volume entitled "Debs and the Poets."

But the antimacassar seventies did not get him. He wanted to help the men on the roads, and he was going to. When the Terre Haute branch of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen was formed, 'Gene was chosen as secretary. Into the work he threw himself with that ardor and devotion that always marked what he did. In 1878 he was chosen assistant editor of the "Locomotive Firemen's Magazine." Thus began a journalistic career which was to influence the history of the nation and make two occupants of the White House twist and squirm and wish "that Debs man" had never been born.

Meanwhile Debs' desire to be an orator led him to practice speaking, and he developed a mellifluous voice and a platform manner that became the envy of capitalists. He developed the power to rouse the laitharge and surcharge them with enthusiasm. That power was to make him the greatest labor organizer that America has ever seen. "We want Debs" became a common cry at railroad meetings. By classic standards, his oratorical appeal was always homespun, but when you are talking to men in overalls, homespun is like dynamite.

But the B.L.F. proved a disappointment to Debs' ideas on industrial harmony. The whole "brotherhood" movement was only a form of craft unionism. Meanwhile, he was being further disillusioned, this time with American politics. In 1879 he was elected city clerk of Terre Haute, and in 1885, as the candidate of the Democratic party, he was elected to the State legislature of Indiana. His experience there embittered him. To his brother, Theodore (who all his life was his

export market for Britain. Yet Indian capital is increasing, and what is more important from the standpoint of changing class relations, the Indian working class is increasing with still greater rapidity. Thus does imperialism, willy-nilly, prepare its own grave-digger.

The work is supplied with a series of conclusions by Professor T. E. Gregory. These are far less sound and objective than the book itself. Without regard for the facts adduced, he seeks to convince himself that imperialism still has the qualities of capitalism's youth, that the industrialization of Japan and the Orient generally will, to be sure, cause certain "dislocations" in the West, but in the man will provide a fresh boundless market for British goods, as did once the continent of Europe at the begin-

ning of its industrialization. In short the professor-economist is engaging in a performance of gently whistling to keep the Empire's courage up. But his wistful song takes up only nine pages out of nearly four hundred, so let the Professor have his little fling. As the Commissar in Squaring the Circle said: "It won't hurt the revolution!"

The book by Mogi and Redman is even more valuable. It is a factual study of Modern Japan and Modern China, their history and tradition, their politics and economic and social structure, their relations with each other and the Soviet Union. It is a veritable treasure mine of information, and in the main a reliable interpretation. Both books are of the greatest value to students of the Far East and international affairs

right-hand man), he said, "I am through with that business forever." But his belief in parliamentary democracy remained with him for long years, and he lost it for a decade only to return to it again as an old man. One would like to be able to affirm that Debs saw through parliamentary democracy this early (as has falsely been implied), but the affirmation will not hold water.

As grand secretary-treasurer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, a position to which he quickly rose, Debs had been getting \$4,000 a year. But he found in it only petty squabbling with the engineers' brotherhood and constant splitting tactics. He decided to give it up and form a unified organization of all railroad workers. He resigned the B.L.F. job and announced the formation of the American Railway Union on June 20th 1893 and set his salary at \$75 a month. It turned out that most of the time he got no salary, and ultimately he assumed personal responsibility for the great load of debt that the A.R.U. amassed in the Pullman strike of 1894

This was something revivifying to American labor,—a man who had no use for money or glory. Even then Powderly was being thrown out of the Knights of Labor for his megalomania and his love of lucre. Debs announced why he was flaunting all the ideals of the bourgeoisie and the mauve decade by giving up a good job

"I do this," said 'Gene, "because it pleases me, and there is nothing I would not do, so far as human effort goes, to advance any movement designed to reach and rescue perishing humanity. I have a heart for others and that is why I am in this work. When I see suffering about me, I myself suffer, and so when I put forth my efforts to relieve others I am simply working for myself. I do not consider that I have made any sacrifice whatsoever; no man does unless he violates his own conscience."

Debs is here still in the wilderness. He had no idea of where he was going. Instinctive love for mankind is leading him. Of industrial unionism in the railroads, he later said: "It has been my life's desire to unify the railroad employees and to eliminate the aristocracy in labor which unfortunately exists and organize the workers so all will be on an equality." But egalitarianism is Jeffersonian when it is not hitched to a class theory. And Debs' conduct soon showed its Jeffersonian basis.

The A.R.U. started 'Gene Debs off on a career as hectic as it was noteworthy. Few men in the world labor movement have been able to work hard so consistently and show its physical effects so little as Debs. The hardy Alsatian stock from which he sprang was to stand him in good stead through the next thirty-three years. The only extended physical rest he was to know came during his two imprisonments.

In April of 1894 the membership of the A.R.U. was 100,000. Gompers was scared, and the A. F. of L. secretly marveled at Debs' abilities. Then a spontaneous strike for higher wages and better conditions broke out on the Great Northern and 'Gene threw himself into the fight. He took on a capitalist and a bourgeois politician in one ring and licked the pants off both of them. Jim Hill, that pryer on the public lands, owned the Great Northern, and tried to buy Debs off. What was his surprise when he found in Debs a labor leader who didn't give a damn about money or prestige. And Debs told it to him in a way that made the old double-dealer's ears burn. Big-hearted Jim appealed to Governor Knute Nelson of Minnesota (St. Paul was the strike headquarters) to stop this "un-American" proletarian. The governor called 'Gene to his office, and in the sacred precincts of the state capitol got this for a reply.

"I have never in my life worn the collar of a plutocrat, nor jumped like a jack when he pulled the string as you have for Mr. Hill. Now, Governor, I know something about railroads, and you may, with my consent, take the B. line and go to hell."

Confidentially, Nelson expressed his admiration for Debs. Hill conceded the demands of the workers. It was one of the most glorious victories the American working class had as yet won.

When Debs got back to Terre Haute, he found a parade forming (they had nearly mobbed him with joy at St. Paul) and they made him lead it. Once again he made the speech of an humanitarian.

"My glory, my friends," said 'Gene, "mids the admiring, worshipful looks of thousands of workers, "consists in the gladness which I know will be brought into the little cottage homes of the humble among the hills of the West. I can almost see the looks of gratitude on the faces of those men's wives and little children. In all my life, I have never felt so highly honored as I did when leaving St. Paul on my way home."

Children threw flowers in his path. With the quick insight of the young they understood love and responded to it. Grown workers reacted hardly less emotionally to his presence.

(To be continued in next issue)

United Shoe Elects Officers

BOSTON, Mass.—The election campaign for general officers and Executive Board members of the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union, is now in full swing. Three candidates are making the run for General Organizer—Israel Zimmerman, the present General Organizer, William Mahan of Lynn and William Mackesy of Lynn. Mackesy was General Organizer before Zimmerman, while Mahan was General Organizer of the National Shoe Workers Union which merged into the United. Zimmerman has the support of all progressive forces in the industry and is expected to win out without any great difficulty.

The opposing candidates are at-

tempting to utilize the extremely bad economic situation in the industry for the purpose of curbing the support of the disgruntled. However, the shoe workers see thru this trick and will not be misled into supporting either Mahan or Mackesy.

The center of the whole campaign, as far as Zimmerman is concerned, is amalgamation of all shoe workers unions into the A. F. of L. Zimmerman's running mate for General Secretary-Treasurer is James Mitchell of Lynn, now the secretary of the Lynn District Council Elections are to be held on Tuesday, March 17.

Detroit Auto Progressives Present Action Program

This statement on important developments in the trade union movement was discussed and adopted at the last meeting of The Progressive Trade Unionist Club Monday, February 17th.

"Detroit leads in recovery" was the newspaper headline here as well as in other cities. How the recovery? To recover from the depression automobile employers have improved their plants by installing \$93,000,000 worth of new equipment, have speeded up production by 32% and got rid of 60,000 workers in the process. They have encouraged small dual unions and are making an art of company unionism. To avoid genuine union organization and to create competition among workers in different cities the big companies have moved plants from one city to another (for example, departments of Toledo Chevrolet to Saginaw). The same vicious fight against organized labor is going on in other industries in this territory. The goal of the auto manufacturers is complete elimination of the bonafide unions in order to raise their profits to even greater heights than pre-depression levels as is proved by the rise in net profits in the auto industry.

General Motors profits increased from \$94,769,131 to \$167,226,000 in the last year. For the same period Chrysler profits soared to \$34,925,819 as compared with \$9,534,837 in 1934. During this time wages went down 7%.

These small profits were left after the payment of the bonus (\$5,000,000 for General Motors), offered as a sop to auto workers to discourage union organization!

Yes, Detroit is leading in recovery—for the bosses!

To meet the above conditions we might have expected that our general staff, the Executive Council of the A F of L would have realized the necessity of the A F. of L. adapting itself to modern mass production industry and given us a form of organization through which we should be able to fight the Wall Street-controlled auto industry of Detroit. But no—realizing that the growth of industrial unionism threatened the existence of the narrow craft unions, they cling to the old craft form of organization (thus workers in one shop belonging to different unions), are still placing their confidence in government labor boards, and are rejecting militant action by the workers.

The Executive Council of the A. F. of L., especially in the latest decisions at its January meeting, declared war on forward looking industrial union forces by ordering:

1. Dissolution of "The Committee for Industrial Organization," which is carrying on educational propaganda for organizing workers in mass production industries into industrial unions and it is composed of eight powerful International Unions.

2. Jurisdiction over auto parts plants workers given to the Machinists Union.

3. The Radio Workers Union denied an industrial union charter and ordered to go into the Electrical Workers Union.

4. Truckdrivers in Brewery Workers Union to go into the Teamsters Union, this move supporting the drive of the Teamsters Union which is cutting wages in some cities to force brewery truckdrivers into the Teamsters, and thus helping the bosses smash the Brewery Workers Union!

These decisions, if carried out, will bring tragic results. The United Automobile Workers Union will be destroyed and all sentiment for organization among the auto workers stopped. The strong Brewery Workers Union will be smashed. They will encourage dual unionism, bringing disastrous results (Motor Products strike). Our trade union movement cannot survive such ruinous policies. We

must resist these decisions

The "Progressive Trade Unionist Club" of Detroit is, at the present, fighting for the following:

1. Support of the "Committee for Industrial Organization" within the A F of L. We ask every progressive trade unionist to rally more support by introducing resolutions in their unions backing the movement for industrial unionism. *But we go further.*

2. A Labor Party—because the employers fight us not only in the shops through their company unions and associations but also on the political field through their Republican and Democratic Parties. We believe the political policy of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor adopted in the last elections (endorsing candidates for Common Council who were representatives of the real estate sharks, bankers, and auto manufacturers) was wrong. Right after the elections the Common Council voted against labor's interest in turning down the Chandler Park low-cost housing project, denying employment to thousands of Bldg. Trades workers! This action should be a real lesson to organized labor not to have confidence in old party politicians. Such "friends of labor" as former Mayor Murphy (for

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whose candidature for governor our leaders are preparing organized labor's support) should be opposed by labor because he is a representative of a party controlled by the bosses.

Further we are for a Labor Party initiated in and based on the trade unions, such as the Chicago and Cook County Labor Party, and not the so-called Farmer Labor Party initiated by disgruntled old party politicians along with self-appointed leaders for labor.

3. We are at all times for democratic elections of officers (Dillon's appointment as Pres of UAW by Green over protest of convention last Sept.), freedom of discussion on all subjects related to trade unionism. Only when the members of the unions are being given responsibility will then organizations grow.

4. The AFL to take the initiative in organizing all unemployed.

5. Against all kinds of dual unions whether started by reactionary job-seekers or those well-

GOOD TURNOUT IN DETROIT FOR LOVESTONE MEETINGS

On Tuesday, March 10th, Lovestone spoke on "Europe in Ferment" to a crowded house at the New Workers School, 9105 Hamilton, recently acquired headquarters of the C.P.O. in Detroit. He covered one by one the major powers of Europe, their present manoeuvres in preparation for impending war, the role of the different sections of the international working class. Again and again he stressed the necessity of the adoption of a correct line by the Communist International as the only hope for the workers to turn the deep world crisis to their own advantage. With documentary evidence he showed beyond any doubt the pitfalls into which the CP of France is being plunged by the application of the People's Front line.

Much clarification of these and other issues was brought out in discussion, particularly of that very complex and little understood phenomenon, the "People's Front." Lovestone, in answer to a question, explained to a confused C.P. member the difference between genuine American revolutionary traditions and their caricature, by the CP.

"Resolved, That Permanent Economic Security for the American Worker Can Be Achieved Without Revolution," was the subject of a debate here on Sunday, March 8 between I. Paul Taylor, local ex-Socialist and Jay Lovestone, as the latter commenced his mid-western tour. The meeting held under the auspices of the Detroit Open Forum attracted about 300 people.

meaning but impatient trade unionists who are trying to find an easy way out from hard problems

In opening for the affirmative, Taylor presented a very much garbled idea of evolution, omitting all reference to the life and death struggles accompanying the process and implying that all will be well without human effort. He spoke of revolution as being definitely opposed to evolution.

Lovestone pointed out that we are dealing with conscious human beings possessing a mind rather than the jellyfish of which Taylor had spoken as illustrating the evolutionary process. Further, the revolution is that point in the process at which a decision is made, and is in no way in opposition to evolution itself, but is rather a part of it. He then outlined in clear fashion the application of this principle to the workers struggle leading to the conclusion that in order to achieve the classless society the workers must first of all smash the state apparatus of the capitalist class and take power themselves.

Taylor then discarded his beautiful "story of creation" involving the birds and fishes and got down to business. He accused Communists in general and Lovestone in particular of making set speeches, returning for a moment to the animal kingdom to tell a story about Jonah and the whale. He then told how a co-operative galoshes factory in Sweden had put nearly all the trustified galoshes factories out of business. Lovestone answered him in devastating fashion pointing out how in recent strikes in that country the workers had been beaten and clubbed by the policy of the Social Democratic Government. When he asked the audience what they thought of the idea of setting up co-operative auto factories to compete with Henry Ford there was a roar of laughter. Again Lovestone formulated the general strategy necessary for the attainment of power by the workers, replying to the charge of a set speech that he was prepared to reiterate his stand as often as was necessary to convince his recipients. The best Taylor could do in his final remarks was to point to the split in the radical groups, incorrectly stating that the C.P.O. and the Workers Party had merged in the past year. He did what he could with a position which is becoming more and more impossible to defend and Lovestone had no difficulty in completely defeating an utterly false argument and in offering the only solution in its place—the Communist one.

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