

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 6, No. 9.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1937.

5 Cents a Copy

Farm Tenancy Reforms Urged

Inadequate Program Hit By Representative Of Tenant Farmers Union

A Federal program for the alleviation of farm-tenancy was urged in a special congressional message by President Roosevelt this week.

The program, at present very sketchy, represents a partial effort to meet the grave economic situation in which half of the agricultural population of the United States is either actually in the status of tenancy or becoming so. It is proposed to extend long-term credit to present tenant-farmers in order that they may become owners; financial aid to present owner-farmers in order to prevent them from slipping into tenancy; improvement of the leasing system; shifting small farmers to good lands and retirement of unsuitable lands; aid to share-croppers and farm laborers to increase their standards of living.

This is far from the program of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union which demands nationalization of the land, and federal technical aid in connection with federal leasing. It should be pointed out that the program outlined by Roosevelt does not and cannot hit the very crux of the situation—the planter-control of the economic life of the tenant farmers and croppers thru a system of virtual peonage (i.e. constant debt). So long as this system exists, the money granted by the federal government to the tenants and croppers will be greedily swallowed by the planters. The real guarantee against this is, of course, the fighting organization of the agriculturalists involved—the SFTU.

The program presented was evolved by a committee on which sat a representative of the Union W. L. Blackstone. He pointed out that: "Our experience has been such that we cannot believe the Department of Agriculture will be able in the near future to remove itself from domination by the rich and large land owning class of farmers and their political pressure lobbies."

The role of the county agricultural agent, often paid in part by the Chambers of Commerce of the Farm Federation Bureau, was a symbol of such domination, he declared.

Extension of the Social Security Act and the Wagner Labor Relations Act to include agricultural labor, was also proposed by Blackstone.

Further, in opposing the SFTU's nationalization program to the majority report, which he characterized as the "small homestead philosophy," Blackstone showed that the program was no real solution for the problems of Southern agriculture.

CITY PRESS "OVERLOOKS" HAVAS DISPATCH ON POUM

For some reason unknown to us, the metropolitan press has seen fit not to use the following Havas dispatch from Barcelona. Upon inquiring, we were told that it was merely "overlooked" by chance.

From the contents of the dispatch which we reprint in its entirety, it is clear that the P.O.U.M. continues to enjoy tremendous confidence among vast masses of revolutionary workers, despite the slander campaign launched against it by the Comintern Party, and in spite of the legal terror instituted against it by the Catalonian government for factional reasons.

The P.O.U.M. has consistently worked for the unification of both trade union federations as an essential prerequisite for working-class unity in order to insure victory over the fascist forces at the front and behind the lines.

"Barcelona, Spain, Feb. 12—(NY News-Havas)—Spanish General Motors employes, aroused by the fall of Malaga, took the lead here tonight in a sweeping effort to unite the ranks of labor behind the loyalist armies.

"They decided to give an hour a day to military training exercises and to put in as much overtime as necessary to improve the quality of their products. They also donated 200,000 pesetas to the Defense Department, and addressed a Manifesto to workers throughout Catalonia to follow their example.

"Hands in the Ford plant sponsored a plan to merge the Socialist and Anarcho-Syndicalist labor unions with a view to abolishing internal dissension.

"With this aim in mind, leftists representing many shades of opinion held a big rally and pledged themselves to avoid slandering each other and to refrain from all acts which might cause discord within the anti-fascist front.

"The only factor marring this session was that Communists and Socialists refused to attend because the Workers' Party for Marxist Unification, which has Trotskyist tendencies, was a participant."

Hosiery Union Backs C.I.O.

Give \$50,000; Plan New Organization Drive In Southern Mills

WASHINGTON (UNS)—The American Federation of Hosiery Workers by convention action voted an outright donation of \$50,000 to the organization funds of the Committee for Industrial Organization in accordance with a recommendation by President Emil Rieve.

President Rieve told the convention that labor in the great basic industries must be organized before a really powerful labor movement can be built up in this country.

"The C.I.O. has demonstrated its ability to organize workers in key industries such as steel, rubber, and autos and it is up to all organized workers who believe in the sort of labor movement that the C.I.O. stands for to give more than lip service to the effort the C.I.O. is now making," Rieve said.

"The hosiery workers have realized for years that it will be necessary to organize textiles in the south before the comparatively smaller group of hosiery workers can be unionized. It is a foregone conclusion, I believe, that as soon as the new unions in steel and autos are on their feet, a real drive must be launched to organize the vast army of exploited and poverty-ridden southern textile workers."

"Frankly, the hosiery workers believe that they will get back in increased organization over a period of years all the money they will put into the C.I.O. drive today. The new industrial union set-up is proving so popular with the mass of American workers that I believe we shall be able to speed up organization of wage earners in this country on a wide scale."

The hosiery workers are pressing for passage of the National Textile Act which has been reintroduced in Congress by Representative Henry Ellenbogen. This bill as drafted would make possible the 35-hour work week and graded minimum wages in the various branches of textiles and hosiery. Machinery

Miners Act To Oust Green

Declare Him Traitor To Labor; Parleys With Operators Open

The United Mine Workers characterized the activities of Frey and Green during the recent auto workers strike against General Motors as doing "everything in their power to assist General Motors in their effort to divide, destroy, and render impotent the United Automobile Workers." It was further stated by the International Policy committee of the UMWA that "the tactics and statements of President Green and John P. Frey amount to treason and a betrayal of labor, its principles and its ideals."

In view of this justified condemnation, the committee instructed the "International Officials to take such steps as are necessary to have William Green expelled from membership in the United Mine Workers of America."

A conference of 100 delegates of the United Mine Workers was opened on February 15th to discuss demands to be presented at the forthcoming negotiations with the operators for a new agreement. The present agreement expires March 31st. The coal operators, egged on by steel interests, have declared their intention of fighting the union's demands. However the first preliminary skirmish, which came in the "captive" mines over the question of collecting an additional union assessment for the strike fund, resulted in a union victory.

It is expected that the demands will include the thirty hour week and a 15% hourly pay rise for the miners.

would be set up under the law to curb the "stretch out" (speed-up) in textiles.

Strong support for a drive to amend the Federal Constitution was voted by the hosiery convention.

Madrid Offensive Belies French And British Propaganda

Great Britain Inaugurates Tremendous Military Expansion Program Of Billion and A Half Pounds; Chinese C. P. Moves To Right

An astonished labor world "learned" this week from the great democratic powers that the Madrid defense was cracking before everybody's eyes, and that the main task was to prepare machinery for the working out of "peace terms."

One day after this, General Miaja was placed in command of all operations on the Madrid front, the defending army was tightened, altho not on revolutionary class lines, and the Loyalist army broke thru to capture more mileage and beat back the

the threat to Madrid's communications with the eastern coast! In a statement, Miaja characterized the military situation around Madrid as "grave but not desperate." Since the siege of Madrid, begun last October, the armed workers have been under fire and now are the well-trained veterans of an eight months civil war.

The cynical brazenness of the financial powers of Great Britain and the shamefully subservient representatives of people's front France had a real motive in this attempt to delude the world about the imminence of the fall of Madrid. The monstrous effects of Nazi and Italian aid to Franco has not yet turned the tide in the favor of reaction. The international bourgeoisie, whose class interests do not suffer their own ranks to be divided by issues of race, creed, or political affiliation, fear that in a long war the workers and peasants may yet make an end to capitalism in Spain and thereby end, once and for all, the question of who, Hitler, Mussolini, Baldwin or Blum, is to get those precious mining deposits in Spain. And in the face of this issue, imperialist deals uniting fascist and so-called democratic countries, are on the order of the day.

In the meantime, the gentlemen slaughterers of the Spanish workers and peasants continue their tacit aid to Franco by discussing in pronunciamiento and counter-pronunciamiento neutrality.

Great Britain, which is always so busy making the world peaceful, announced a five year armament program totalling one and one-half billion pounds (the same amount in dollars yearly). Of this it is estimated that six hundred millions will be devoted to the navy, defender of the far-flung imperialist domains of British-finance-capital. Since the government program was made public the rate of rise in the shares of munitions firms has been one-hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds per hour!

The practical application of the people's front policy in China seems to be reaching fruition according to dispatches appearing in N. Y. Times, this week. The proposed liquidation of the Soviet areas and the Red Army has already been discussed in these pages. Latest news reveals that even the name of the C.P. may be changed to "United Front Party"—that is unity of everybody against Japanese Imperialism. It is hardly expected that the "slight" given to American and English Imperialism, by ignoring their existence, will particularly peeve these powers.



General Miaja

Phila. C.I.O. Holds Meet

A significant meeting of the Philadelphia Council for Industrial Organization was held on Thursday, February 11, 1937, at Mercantile Hall, at Broad and Master Streets.

Martin Cassidy of the United Radio and Electrical Workers Union was appointed full-time organizer for the C.I.O. Council in Philadelphia.

An Executive Committee for the Council to serve for the next six months was approved and a Constitution and By-Laws for the Council was proposed and discussed.

William Leader, President of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers Union in Philadelphia, in his capacity of chairman of the Executive Committee presided at the meeting. In his preliminary remarks, Leader stated that the Philadelphia Council of the C.I.O. had been set up with the approval of John L. Lewis and the National Committee for Industrial Organization in order to coordinate the Philadelphia labor movement and place it on a more effective basis.

(Continued on Page 6)

When Auto Workers Sit Down

THE BATTLE OF FLINT

By STUART MEEFFAN

If the Detroit section of the Auto Front enjoyed surface quiet (nothing was even remotely quiet actually), Flint had several very dramatic days, which will never be forgotten either by its workers or the rest of the American Labor movement. While the purpose of this article is to show the effect of these events on the sit-downers a little introduction is necessary.

In the first place Flint is a completely G.M. town. Its population of 150,000 people lives almost entirely thru the operation of the huge Chevrolet, Buick & Fisher Body Plants. The DuPonts went into the business of building workers homes in Flint very thoroly. The proletarian nature of the town is outwardly expressed in the poor drab homes in the town itself, the tiny subsistence farms on its outskirts, and the lack of a fairly well to do middle class neighborhood.

When the workers in Fisher Plants 1 and 2 sat down, the effect was as if another Peasants Revolt had broken out. At first the local officials were stunned and did nothing. Then they became enraged. Never having dreamed that they could be defied in what they considered their own home, they could not conceive what kind of resistance they were to encounter. G.M. threw Flint's tiny police force into action against the "impudent upstarts" in Fisher No. 2. Considering the workers lack of preparation, a wonderful job was done at the now historic battle of "Bulls Run" in Flint on Jan. 11th, 1937. The police retired drenched and beaten. This writer has listened to two accounts by eye-witnesses of this fight with one deep regret—that they were not recorded, as they were masterpieces fit for the archives of the class struggle.

The National Guard was immediately brought into town. The effect on the sit-downers was terrific. They began to view the fight as one between the workers as a whole and the rest of the world—if necessary. Government became to them not an instrument above and impartial to all the people but something to be considered favorably if in agreement with their wishes, but to be fought if taking an opposite view. This concept was worked out finally to its logical conclusion in that magnificent telegram sent by the sit-downers of Fisher No. 2 to Governor Murphy in the latter days of the strike. I quote in part:

"Unarmed as we are the introduction of the militia, sheriff, or police with murderous weapons will mean a blood bath of unarmed workers. "The police of the city of Flint belong to General Motors. "The sheriff of Genesee county belongs to General Motors. "The judges of Genesee county belong to General Motors. "Only yesterday the judge who issued this injunction said of you, 'to hell with Governor Murphy.' It remains to be seen whether the Governor of the state also belongs to General Motors."

Murphy never in his life has had the issue put so squarely up to him. The sit-downers immediately got busy and barricaded the plants in very complete fashion. Bullet proof steel barred the windows of Fisher No. 2 with holes left of sufficient

size to allow hose nozzles to be inserted from the inside. Tons of rocks were moved in front of the entrance doors. All workers were armed with such cudgels and black jacks as could be fashioned out of pieces of stock. Picketing and patrolling on the inside became a serious duty. A workers army was being forged, and a workers leadership developed.

In Fisher No. 1 where there had been no trouble, the workers took charge of the street (the main highway entering Flint from the South), while those in the plant dug in for a long siege. The double cross by G.M. in the first stages of negotiations at Lansing with the withdrawal of strikers from plants in other cities served to tighten up matters still more. The Flint sit-downers realized that upon them alone was the burden of holding G.M. at bay. They sat a little tighter.

Then on Feb. 1st the union made a daring and risky move. It pulled the huge Chevrolet Plant. In Plant No. 9 where some of the most experienced union men in Flint were located it was expected the Company would mass its big army of imported gun thugs, stool pigeons, and company guards, naturally expecting trouble in such a strong quarter. The union men were to sit down nevertheless and give this mob as great a fight as possible, thereby permitting men in other plants located all together in a group, to sit down with more chance of success. The strategy worked. The workers in No. 9 unarmed except for stock, withstood tear gas, vomiting gas, revolvers and clubs for half an hour. They were finally driven out, but the battle was won.

Hundreds of union men were sitting down in plant No. 4. While the fight was on, the Womens Emergency Brigade marched up and down outside Plant No. 9 and, when the tear gas began to fly, did a wonderful job of breaking all the lower windows of the plant, allowing fresh air to get to the battling workers inside. Some idea of what it was like inside can be gained from the fact that almost everyone of the 500 or 600 people on the outside were affected by the tear gas, including this writer. This display of heroism by these workers in Plant No. 9 was the turning point of the strike. G.M. was helpless in the face of such militancy on the part of its workers.

Many were badly injured in this struggle. The thugs seemed whipped from that time on. Some of us patrolling Plant No. 4 were informed by sit-downers that at least 100 thugs were still in the old hospital in the back part of the plant. We located them, but could do nothing from the outside. There were many among them armed. We waited in agony. At mere threats from the sit-downers inside they vacated. They had had enough. Even good wages could not make up for their lack of spirit. They attempted a feeble attack from Plant No. 8 which immediately adjourned Plant No. 4 but an interchange of hose play between them and the sit-downers resulted in disaster for them. Under protection of the National Guard which had now surrounded the whole area of the Chevrolet Plants and Fisher

No. 2 they slipped away.

The Chevrolet sit-downers proceeded to barricade themselves in as though to stay till doomsday. They could be a bit more confident now with a force of several hundred men who had been thru the fire already that day. However, they prepared to take no chances. For the time being at least we felt we could breathe more freely. Reinforcements poured in from Detroit and other auto towns, and relieved many of us who had been on the scene all day. Tired but cheerful we left for home. Though we could not have said so then, we had just witnessed the battle that won the strike.

MARTIAL LAW IN ANDERSON

By MARY HEATON VORSE (U.A.W.U. Release)

ANDERSON, Ind., Feb. 16—As the details of the Friday night Feb. 12 shooting pile up, it becomes more and more evident that the workers were led into a trap. As a result of this shooting two men, John Rose, union auto worker from Flint, Mich., and Heaton Vorse, Federated Press reporter and labor research man, lie seriously wounded in the hospital. Seven others suffered minor gunshot wounds, all union men.

This is Heaton Vorse's story as he lay in the hospital waiting for an operation:

"We were sitting quietly at auto union headquarters in Anderson when a fellow rushed in who had been beaten up. He was not badly hurt but he cried to us hysterically to hurry up as other workers were being beaten at the Gold Band tavern."

"This worker, it may be noted, has not yet been identified, nor has he been seen again around union headquarters. Vorse continues:

"The union men piled into cars and drove to the tavern which is in the low part of town. We had hardly crossed the road before the shooting began. The union men were unarmed and taken by surprise and hurried to get out of there. The shots continued. I heard someone yelling: 'Get that fellow that's running!'"

"I was dropped in my tracks and lay there a couple of minutes before they picked me up and rushed into the hospital. We hadn't been threatening and the only wrecking in the tavern was done by the proprietor himself. He fired right thru the glass as this testifies," pointing to a glass burn on his forehead.

The boys claim that not only were they fired at as soon as they got out, by the proprietor, but a man was waiting for them in the road with a gun. The shots came too fast for one gun to have fired them all, they say. It was after Vorse and Rose were carried away that the boys threw bricks and otherwise injured the tavern. There were no shots fired on the union side.

Victor Reuther, United Automobile Workers representative in Anderson, where two General Motors feeder plants are located, said, after investigation:

"The blame for the Friday night shooting of union men rests on General Motors and its agents, to handicap the union in reaping the benefits of the strike victory. The affair was simply a continuation of the company reign of terror rampant for the past two months in which scores of union men have been beaten up. Not a single company man or non-union employee has been harmed. These attacks have come from meetings of G.M. foremen and supervisors on company property.

"We insist that Gov. Townsend issue a written order permitting us freedom of action in carrying out our organization campaign, hold union meetings and enjoy our civil rights, and that the vigilante leaders be prosecuted."

Workers from auto centers in

TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

GOVERNOR Hoffman who, it will be recalled, almost created a national scandal by his frantic attempts to frustrate "the forces of law and order in New Jersey" on behalf of the late Bruno Hauptmann, now steps forth as the agent of New Jersey's jittery open shoppers to condemn as "shameful and regrettable" the conduct of Michigan's Governor Frank Murphy during the recent sit-down strikes in the auto industry. In the same breath the Governor also warns the Committee for Industrial Organization against bucking "the forces of law and order in New Jersey" by resorting to sit-down strikes and that he would call into action all the forces at his command—presumably the armed forces—to oust such sit-downers from the factories.

Lacking as we are in knowledge of the intricacies and vagaries of bourgeois laws which stand constant guard over the minutest property rights of our ruling classes, it is not our task to submit a legal brief. But we must state that the Governor of New Jersey was in one hell of a hurry to pronounce judgement over this issue. The fact of the matter is that no one has yet rendered any decision on the legality or illegality of the sit-down as a strike instrument. Sit-downs have been resorted to on a number of occasions but it never reached the stage of a ruling from the courts on the issue itself. This was the case also in the recent auto strikes. Judge Gadola issued a temporary injunction ordering the strikers to vacate the factories but he specifically stated that he was not passing on the question of the sit-down strikes themselves. This was to have been argued in subsequent hearings.

What such a decision is likely to be is not hard to guess. The courts have always been the most loyal servants of the ruling class. It will be their task to strike down any instrument in labor's hands which may tend to strengthen labor in its present determined drive for human conditions in the industries and for some semblance of social security legislation. Witness the outbursts of rage and indignation when the Michigan authorities ruled that the strikers were eligible for relief because the criterion was need. Hunger always has fought on the side of the employers, against the workers.

But court decisions have never stopped labor's march forward for long. Trade unionists should recall that the strikers were organized for relief because the criterion was need. Hunger always has fought on the side of the employers, against the workers.

Why the haste? Two reasons present themselves for considerations and either or both are probable and plausible. First: New Jersey is known as an open shop haven, a safe port for shops running away from the unionized centers in Pennsylvania and New York. The weakness of the trade union movement has always been a point of particular pride of the Chambers of Commerce throughout the state and a talking point for attracting new firms. The dangers of unionization are too great for this particular state, there is too much to lose. Hence the speed and vigor with which Governor Hoffman, an arch-reactionary of fascist inclinations and connections, is preparing to crack down on unionism.

The second reason concerns Gov-

ernor Hoffman because in New Jersey "trespass is still regarded as a violation of the law." The gentlemen of the judiciary will remain signally unconvinced when they read that "there is no more sacred property right in the world than the right of a man in his job."

But if labor finds the sit-down useful no court order can stop it. It may perhaps mean bitter struggles—Governor Hoffman promises that—trials, convictions, but to these things labor is no stranger. The sharp and bloody struggles in American labor history bear that out.

And one last thought on the use of troops against striking workers: the press reports that as contingents of the National Guard started out of Flint, Michigan, they broke into song—they sang "Solidarity Forever", labor's battle hymn which always rings out when the industrial slaves revolt against their masters.

There is a lesson in this incident which labor must not forget.

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL Hamilton Branch Classes every Tuesday at 8 p.m. at I.O.F. Hall Main and Ferguson Avenue Hamilton, Ontario

Underneath the quiet a terrible tension holds the town.

SOVIET AGRICULTURE

By KATHLEEN BARNES (Reprinted in part from The Far Eastern Survey, Feb. 17, 1937.)

The main form of agriculture adopted throughout the Soviet Union is the collective farm, in which the joining of the resources of individual peasants has removed the technical handicaps suffered by small-scale agriculture. The history of this collectivization is well known. It is sufficient here to state that in 1936 over 90% of all the peasant households throughout the Soviet Union had been collectivized. Individual peasant cultivation accounted for only 2% of the area under cultivation in 1936, and in 1935 the collective farms contributed 80% of the total grain production of the country. A decree towards the end of last year, moreover, cut many thousands of acres from the state farms and has added them to the collectives, as the latter have shown the technical skill to make profitable use of them. The sovkhozes or state farms have been the other type of socialized agriculture in operation and have played the leading role in the scientific development of crop and livestock production. It is possible that they are now in the process of being reduced to experimental stations or scientific breeding farms and that the great bulk of agricultural production is to come from the collectives.

An inseparable part of the kolkhoz development has been the setting up of machine tractor stations which service the collective farms with mechanical and technical help. This year, it is expected, will see every collective farm in the country so serviced. At the end of 1936, there were 5,000 of these stations giving mechanical aid to 91,000,000 of the 115,000,000 hectares of sown area of the collectives.

Cooperative Use of Machinery Largely through the medium of the machine tractor stations a huge army of machines have poured out over the countryside. Tractors, combines, trucks, picking, planting and cultivating machines of all kinds are transforming the agricultural processes. This mechanization has necessitated, of course, the development of a new type of labor power, one which is trained to handle machines, and considerable stress has been laid by the Soviets on the growth of this type of agricultural personnel. Endless figures are given showing the rapid increase in the numbers of machines, the high records established for individual machine production, increase in average work performed by machine, etc. The following table gives some indication of the extent and the tempo at which mechanization is being applied to some of the agricultural processes:

MECHANIZATION OF GRAIN AGRICULTURAL WORK IN ALL KOLKHOZES (as percentage of total in each case) 1933 1934 1935 Ploughing for spring sowing 22.8 31.0 40.1 Spring Sowing 7.7 10.1 16.7 Harvesting of grain and sunflowers 10.1 14.1 22.0 Ploughing for winter sowing 28.7 43.9 55.7 Winter sowing 6.9 14.0 20.4 Fall ploughing for spring sowing 23.4 34.5 47.4

It is a safe assumption that this trend will continue, and already it has radically changed the nature of Soviet agricultural economy. The old wooden plow of the Russian muzhik is now a museum piece.

Electrification of agriculture may also be classified as a form of mechanization. As large-scale collectivized agriculture has developed, the use to which electric power could be put has increased greatly. The capacity of agricultural electric stations was 10,000 kilowatts at the end of 1924 as compared with 135,000 in 1935, and the number of kilowatt hours used in agriculture has increased from 33.8 million in 1928 to 257.3 in 1935. The nature of the use to which this power is put has also greatly changed. In 1928 most of it went for lighting purposes—only about 20 to 25% being used for production. Since then, however, it has been used more and more in processes such as irrigation, heating, ventilation, milking, grinding, threshing, even ploughing. The latter is still in an experimental stage, as is the heating of the ground by electricity, rain-making, etc. The most general use of electric power is in threshing grain, next comes stock raising, and the third is its use in machine tractor stations and repair shops.

Irrigation is one of the most obvious methods by which otherwise arid regions are made fertile. This is especially widely used in Central Asia. Networks of irrigation canals are also being developed in drought areas. Other measures against drought include planting of trees to act as windbreaks against the dry winds from the south, snow preservation, sprinkling, underground watering, increased cultivation of crops, shields for the grain, drought prevention by the use of binding fodder crops to retain top soil, etc. In certain regions

such as the Far East draining has been introduced to reclaim marshy land.

Increasing Use of Fertilizers

The use of fertilizers is increasing, both animal and chemical. Indications of this may be seen in the official statistics. Animal fertilizer spread on the kolkhoz fields amounted to 81,832,000 tons in 1933 and about 135,689,000 tons in 1935. In 1934, 726,100 tons of hypophosphates were used on the farms of the Commissariat of Agriculture, while in 1935 the figure had risen to 1,111,800 tons. A recent editorial in Pravda, however, complains that the use of fertilizers has not sufficient system or order, that the norms of chemicalization are obviously old and that the agricultural workers are forced to be guided by their own experience. Crop rotation and the use of fallow land is also being developed. What seems a wise trend is the awareness on the part of the agronomic specialists that it is impossible to make general decisions concerning scientific procedure and that the needs and conditions of each separate district and farm must be considered individually.

In the field of livestock development, progress has been complicated by the catastrophic results of the too speedy collectivization, when peasants opposed to collectivization slaughtered their animals and the size of the herds shrank alarmingly. Great efforts are being made to recoup losses and the latest figures, for June 1st of each year, show the following picture:

(in millions) 1933 1934 1935 1936 Horses 16.6 15.7 15.9 16.6 Large horned cattle 38.4 43.4 49.2 56.5 Cows 19.6 19.5 20.1 22.1 Sheep and goats 50.2 51.9 61.1 73.3 Pigs 12.1 17.4 22.5 30.4

Scientific Livestock Breeding

One measure taken in respect to livestock which has been of great value in making the collective farmers more satisfied is the provision made in 1934 by which each collective farmer may own individually a certain amount of stock. A cow for every member of a collective farm has become a slogan and this year it is expected will see the complete realization of this aim. Each collective has been encouraged to have a livestock farm section and improvement of the stock has received great stress. It is now forbidden to slaughter pedigreed males, and males of the first and second generation of crossed pedigree stock, and the use of artificial insemination is being promoted. From this method astonishing results have been reported, especially in the case of sheep. The number of ewes which can be serviced in one season by one ram has increased from 40-50 to 2,000-2,500. Preservative methods are being worked out so that this artificial insemination may be accomplished even when the transportation necessary involves considerable delay. In some districts the process is already in wide use; in one region 851,000 ewes were impregnated last year by the artificial method. The value of this technique in improving and increasing the herds is obvious.

Early last year, at a conference of livestock breeders it was pointed out that while some progress is recorded in herd increase still one department is lagging. Sheep and goats were not increasing fast enough, only 61,000,000 being recorded at that time as compared with 115,000,000 in 1916. It was urged that particular attention be paid to this department. Certain measures, moreover, were decreed in March 1936 to improve the quality of wool. Fine wool sheep are to be crossed with the coarse wool herds, and all stock breeders taking part in these measures are to have reductions in the amount of meat and wool which they contract to supply the government.

Good Financial Risks

Another important aspect of agriculture as a whole is the financial aid rendered by the banks to collective farms and farmers. Long-term credits are given them, and sometimes the loans are even crossed off the books. Credits offered are usually in connection with some particular project which the government is anxious to promote, such as the purchase of livestock. Banks also give the farms other help, such as collecting debts, keeping their books, etc. Last year it was reported that there had been a great increase in the deposits made by the collective farms, and that the total deposits exceeded their obligations to the banks. The collectives are said to be excellent financial risks as their record has shown that they are very rarely overdue in the payment of loans. The resources of the farms were reported as of January 1, 1935 as consisting 83.8% of their own resources. Another item of interest is the use of tax exemption or reduction of agricultural payments to the government in areas where the Soviets are particularly anxious to promote development, such as in the Far Eastern and East Siberian Regions.

Labor Must Demand Supreme Court Curb

By GEORGE F. MILES

THE storm around the Supreme Court, brewing ever since it methodically began to massacre the attempts of the New Deal to carry out its mild reform program, has at last broken with Roosevelt's plan to purge the court.

Running true to the best tradition of the judiciary the Roosevelt proposal hides its true meaning in a maze of legal verbiage. The proposal points to the appalling confusion in the federal district courts in which conflicting interpretations of federal legislation are rendered, scores the long delays and, turning to the Supreme Court, the President proposes to retire those past 70 or failing to secure their resignation to add to the court an additional member. The total not to exceed 15.

F. D. Against Courts

Nowhere in his proposal does the President even hint that his proposals aim at curbing or limiting the powers of this body which has always served as the best defender of the interests of the propertied classes. In fact the President stated quite openly that with the acceptance of his proposal "we may be relieved of the necessity of considering any fundamental changes in the powers of the courts."

Keeping this statement in mind, the President's opposition to the various proposals in Congress on this topic becomes clear. Roosevelt is opposed to the bills granting to Congress the right to override a Supreme Court veto, making the Supreme Court's veto power dependent upon a two-thirds vote of the Court or, by amendment, to give Congress the necessary power to legislate on problems of industry and agriculture.

The President's proposals, by rejuvenating and "liberalizing" the Supreme Court, would save its face and return it to popular respect, while these bills pending in Congress tend to strike at the very heart of the judicial oligarchy by stripping it of decisive powers and by changing completely its relationship to Congress. In this sense, despite the hysterical cries of the moneyed interests, Roosevelt tends to short-circuit the legitimate movement for curbing the court by amendment, before it becomes too dangerous or too strong to be easily side-tracked.

This it is important to remember when the labor movement begins to mobilize its ranks on this issue. Under no circumstances must we be scared into an uncritical and unconditional acceptance of the President's proposals by the determined and nationwide drive launched against them by the reactionaries.

False Cries

The arguments of the reactionaries in defense of the Supreme Court ring false especially when the attempt is made to incite plebeian opposition against Roosevelt's proposal. "The plans of the President," says John Spargo, former socialist, "menace the liberties and rights of all of us for the independence of the judiciary from control by the executive is the cornerstone of the constitutional system by which those liberties and rights are secured. As in every other impairment, or attempt at impairment, of the independence of the judiciary, it is the poorest and humblest who are most menaced. Our Constitution and our constitutional system are of greatest importance and value to the lowly, the poor and the friendless."

The poor, the lowly and the friendless know that the Supreme

Court has done everything it could to keep them friendless, lowly and in their condition of poverty; that this court has uniformly opposed every act to regulate wages and conditions, to curb the labor of children and ease the oppressive exploitation of women in industry; that the Court has served capitalism in the manner of a levee, damming the waters of social progress.

The poorest and the humblest are not panicked by the cry of dictatorship. They realize that they have been suffering from a judicial dictatorship of reactionary judges doing the bidding of their moneyed masters.

Sacred Traditions

And last, that great soul-stirring appeal to the constitution and to tradition. Progressive labor answers that social progress creates its own precedents and builds its own traditions. Besides even tradition can be mustered to serve the cause of change. The original Supreme Court had six members, in 1801 it was reduced to five, in 1807 increased to 7, in 1837 to 9, in 1863 to 10, reduced to seven in 1866 and increased to nine in 1869. Where is the traditional objection to now increasing the number to 15?

Social progress has ways of creating its own justification. The reform bill of 1832 in Great Britain which struck at the heart of the feudal aristocracy was passed by the House of Lords only after King William IV threatened to swamp that body if it failed to approve it. The House of Lords lost its veto power in a like manner when Asquith induced King George V to make a similar threat.

Labor's Stand

Altho at the moment the loudest noise is being made by corporation defenders of the Supreme Court, the main body of the American press stands opposed to President Roosevelt's proposals and conservative Democrats are making common cause with reactionary Republicans in defense of the judicial dictatorship, yet it is safe to assume that Roosevelt will substantially have his way in the House and the Senate.

The various agencies of the government are just getting under way in this campaign. Secretary Wallace will be called on to show that the Grange does not speak for the mass of American farmers, President Roosevelt himself will soon take to the radio and his persuasive speeches will appeal to the poor and the huddled masses more than the dry as dust arguments about constitutionalism and tradition. Then also the labor movement is beginning to get active. John L. Lewis and the Committee for Industrial Organization for which he speaks, have placed themselves squarely behind the President's proposals. Also the A. F. of L. backs Roosevelt's plan. The mass pressure brought to bear by the labor movement is an additional force making for the adoption of the new plan.

However, labor is not taking an uncritical stand toward Roosevelt's purging plan. Many powerful labor organizations have approved the plan but they also insist that history has proved that no reform of the Supreme Court can take the place of a constitutional amendment. It becomes the duty of labor to stress the latter even while energetically supporting the reform proposal; it becomes the duty of labor to secure from the administration some pledge or commitment to a constitutional amendment and legislation favorable to labor in recognition of its services in the struggle against the court dictatorship.

WORKERS AGE

Organ of the National Committee, Communist Party U. S. A. (Opposition). 131 West 33rd St., New York, N. Y. Published every Saturday by the Workers Age Publishing Association. Subscription Rates: \$1.00 per year; \$75 for six months; 5c a copy. Canada \$1.50 per year; Foreign \$2.00 per year.

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

Vol. 6, No. 9. Saturday, February 27, 1937.

The Rise and Fall Of "Jefe Maximo"

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE
In this issue, Bertram D. Wolfe, whose book "Portrait of Mexico" is already off the press and available, continues a series of articles on present-day Mexico with an account of the rise of Plutarco Elias Calles to the position of Mexico's JEFE MAXIMO or big Boss, and the story of his break with President Cardenas, and fall from power. Next week he will describe the "People's Front" Government of Lazaro Cardenas.—EDITOR.

I HAVE proved," said President Obregon in 1924 when handing over his office to Calles, "that the presidential palace is not necessarily the ante-chamber to the cemetery." Towards the close of President Calles's administration, they had the Constitution amended so that "no reelection" was modified to read "no reelection until an intervening term has elapsed." That made Obregon eligible for a constitutional return to the presidency. Was this the beginning of a new Diaz self-perpetuating regime, people asked, or were Obregon and Calles planning to alternate indefinitely in office? The usual uprising was easily suppressed but General Obregon never reentered the national palace as president. On the eve of his inauguration in the course of a great banquet celebration, a young cartoonist, Jose Toral, fanatical Catholic, approached him to "draw his caricature" and then put a bullet through his brain. From then on, Plutarco Elias Calles became the undisputed "Strong Man" of Mexico.

The next four presidents of Mexico were Calles appointees. First he had Congress select Portes Gil for a term of a year as provisional president pending a new election. Then he arranged for the "election" of Ortiz Rubio. At the end of two and a half years in office the latter got into a quarrel with one of Calles's favorites, the Governor of Morelos, whereupon the Jefe Maximo called in the reporters and informed them that the President was resigning because of "ill health"—leaving it to the press to inform the president! The rest of his legal term was filled out by the Calles banker, Abelardo L. Rodriguez, and he was succeeded in office on December 1, 1934, by Lazaro Cardenas, the last Calles appointee and present President—and ruler—of Mexico.

The Last of the Caudillos
 When that election took place, Calles had dominated Mexico continuously for more than a decade. He was, erroneously I believe, regarded as Mexico's greatest military man after Obregon: as a general he had never won an important battle. But a strong man he was, beyond a shadow of a doubt. His strength lay in his wealth, in the vested interests he had built up about his person, in his ruthlessness, his organizing ability, his hard-boiled realism and financial genius. Above all, it lay in the fact that with Obregon dead he was the last of the great caudillos produced by the stormy and epic years of revolution. The rest had died violent deaths: Zapata and Villa and Carranza in treacherous ambush, Obregon by an assassin's bullet, innumerable lesser generals in unsuccessful rebellions. Those who had not died had knuckled under, become part of the Calles machine, or gone into voluntary or involuntary exile. On his shoulders was the mantle of the Revolution; he was the inheritor and hitherto the faithful continuator of the Obregon pattern of rule. He had even improved upon

the pattern, invented the ultimate refinement in demagogic devices: a smashing blow at the defeated but ever-provocative Church every time he was engaged in any particularly nefarious acquisition or delivery to American interests of Mexico's wealth. It created much noise and smoke: thunder of ex-communications and smoke of hell-fire: it led to feeble and sporadic rebellions of backward peasants under the leadership of militant clerics: it was the cheapest way to cover up a dubious action, re-consolidate popular support and retain the mantle of revolutionary.

The rule of Calles seemed destined to last indefinitely. Without ceasing to be a reality, he was already becoming a legend. In his palace in Cuernavaca he held court and from there directed the affairs of the nation. To him came presidents and generals, deputies and governors, industrialists and bankers and foreign agents and diplomats. The particular man in the presidential palace had become a mere elongation of his shadow. Calles had made him, named his cabinet and dictated his policies and prescribed his share of the spoils of power, and if he should quarrel with the least of the "Strong Man's" friends or thwart the most insignificant of his wishes, Calles had shown that he could unmake him again. The "Political Party," now that he had reduced all so-called parties to one, was another elongated shadow of the Jefe. He had created it: all his appointees and government employees had to belong to it and contribute from their earnings to its maintenance. Through it he named governors, senators, deputies; personally made out in advance the lists of those who were going to be elected. After his fall, men were to compare this to Porfirianism: but while he was in power it was the living incarnation of the Revolution and democratic institutions. Now that Cardenas has continued the same practices, the "renovated" Partido Nacional Revolucionario, the same apparatus with a new Jefe is still the incarnation of "revolutionary" procedure. In Mexico press and politicians are ever blind to the defects of the present in power and voluble to the point of nausea about the crimes of his immediate predecessor, while the one that that predecessor denounced and overthrew is already on the road to "rehabilitation."

Cardenas Gets Call
 The "Strong Man" had become more than a dictator: he had become the savior of his people and the ideals of the Revolution. In every emergency they turned to him for counsel, for orders, for direct assumption of leadership. In 1929 during the rebellion of Topete, Manzo and Escobar, Calles returned from his "retirement" to become Minister of War. In 1931 Ortiz Rubio's cabinet resigned and once more the Strong Man took the war ministry. When the peso dropped and silver hit the toboggan, he became head of the Bank of Mexico. Something was always calling Calles out of retirement! The country could never get along without him.

Then the Strong Man made a slight error: he chose the wrong man to occupy the presidential palace. He rightly felt that it was time to install a younger man in the presidency, and he selected one of his faithful and undistinguished subordinates. Lazaro Cardenas was the first president of a new generation. He was only fifteen when Madero initiated the Revolution of 1910. At eighteen he left his job

as printer and village jailkeeper to "take the field" against Madero's assassin, Victoriano Huerta. He saw service under General Obregon, fought against Villa and Zapata, joined the revolt against Carranza, and carried out with efficiency and probity a number of military and political tasks during the Obregon and Calles regimes. At the end of 1933, when he received the unanimous nomination of the Calles-bossed convention of the Partido Nacional Revolucionario, he was only thirty-eight years of age. As all other parties such as the Laborista and the Agrarista had long been merged into the National Revolutionary and the only truly independent organization was the weak and semi-legal Communist Party, his nomination was tantamount to election. Lazaro Cardenas had always been a faithful and unexceptionable subordinate, yet there was something in his presidential campaign that should have made the Old Man suspicious. With his election assured and automatic he made an electoral tour unprecedented in the history of Mexico: he covered 27,000 kilometers in plane, train, ship and on horseback, reaching innumerable remote villages that had never seen a presidential or even a gubernatorial nominee. It was all very well to put up a pretense of a contest, but the candidate was overdoing it: he acted as if he were determined to see every peasant in the Republic!

Building for the Future
 "What do you want?" he asked everywhere.
 "Some land. A dam. A school. A street."
 The President-to-be made a note of it. "I will attend to it personally."
 Calles became a little uneasy. He surrounded the newest creature of his will with a strong cabinet of picked agents. He even put his son Rodolfo there as Minister of Communications. But the cabinet rarely saw the President. After his election as before it, Cardenas kept trotting around the country: arranging for local leaders in the villages to make simple requests; promising to fulfill them, keeping his promises, going back in person to inaugurate the little strip of road, the one-room school-house, the well or tiny dam asked for and promised; building up the local leaders who had made the request; building up a rural political machine and building up the shadow-

(Continued on Page 5)

SPANISH Y.C.L. RENOUNCES ITS PRINCIPLES FOR 'UNITY'

(Reprinted from the English Press Release, Generalidad de Catalunya)

A National Congress of Socialist Youth, which was formed from the amalgamation of the Spanish Socialist and Communist youth organizations, recently met in Valencia, and a program was formulated for the socialist youth of Spain.

The aim of the new organization, as stated by Santiago Carrillo, is the immediate organization of "a new Spain, a Spain that will be respected in the concert of nations. We want a strong democracy of the popular classes.

"We appeal for the collaboration of the Catholic Youth," he continued, "whose spirit and belief we do not combat. Our organization is not socialist or communist, but an independent organization. . . . We want the unity of all youth, not on a Marxist or Communist basis, but on a basis of mutual coincidence, such as the war against fascism and the defence of civilization. We fight for a democratic

A Note On Fascism In Russia Of 1917

By WILL HERBERG
 IN THE Workers Age of August 1, 1933, I wrote an article dealing with the nature of fascism; in this article, the following conclusions were emphasized as fundamental:

"Fascism arises on the background of a profound social and political crisis, in which the old methods of government break down, in which millions of workers, farmers and lower middle class people are driven into ferment and movement, in which revolt is rife, in which parliamentary democracy is discredited, in which the ruling classes can no longer rule as of old. Note that the general objective conditions in which fascism arises and triumphs are the same as those for a working class revolution; it is the vital factor of the revolutionary energy of the proletariat and the relation of class forces that decides which course events take."

Continuing this line of argument, I attempted to draw a contrast between the course of events in Russia in 1917 and the developments in Italy in 1932 and Germany in 1932-33, indicating the general similarity of objective situation and tracing the difference of outcome to the part played by the proletariat and its relation to the "middle elements".

"For fascism to triumph, the working class movement must somehow have failed not only in building up effectively its own revolutionary class action but also, and as a consequence, in inspiring the masses of the farmers and the lower middle classes with burning confidence in itself with the belief that their salvation lies with the workers. Otherwise the course of events moves towards proletarian revolution, and fascism is altogether out of the question. In Russia, in October 1917, the masses of the workers rallied around their revolutionary party, the Bolsheviks, in the full vigor of battle and confidence in the future; they proved themselves the only live force in a collapsing society and were thus able to swing the peasantry to their side and on to victory.

"Two newspapers were then appearing, the Little Gazette and the Living Word, militant, even insolent, audacious, talented. . . . cloaking themselves in socialism, but with an undercurrent of passionate nationalism. At first, they flattered Kerensky, tempting him to become a revolutionary dictator. Later, they denounced him roundly and urged Admiral Kolchak as 'Russia's savior.' A kind of Russian 'Hitlerism' was trying to make its way, a demagogical, thoroely false and adventurous 'national socialism' (p. 425).

Here is the "missing ingredient"! Here is the evidence of an authentic Russian fascism in 1917! Lewis Corey is, therefore, perfectly correct when, in his review of Chernov's book in the New Republic of February 17, 1937, he writes:

"Russia was broken in pieces. The Bolsheviks took power and proceeded to put the pieces together to form a new, socialist pattern. The only alternative to the Bolsheviks, as appears from Chernov's own analysis, was a sort of Russian fascism. . . . If the Bolshevik conquest of power had not come, 'Hitlerism' might have seized power because of the breakdown of all government authority, the wreckage of the country and the desperation of the people."

It seems to me that this aspect of the Russian revolution deserves thoro study, primarily for the light it is certain to throw on the nature and roots of fascism.

In Italy, the political and organizational impotence shown by the workers organizations in the episode of the seizure of the factories and the sharp defeat suffered as a result, disgusted and alienated the petty bourgeoisie and gave impetus to the fascist movement. In Germany, the disastrous divisions in the labor movement, the reformist capitulation policy of the social democracy and the suicidal sectarianism of the Communist Party, had the same effect: the working class was itself demoralized and rendered passive, and the lower middle class elements were driven away into the open arms of fascism."

At that time, this analysis was vigorously, even bitterly challenged from various directions. For one thing, it was maintained that, if my contentions had any sort of validity, there should have been some signs of a fascist movement in Russia in 1917, insignificant perhaps but there nevertheless. To such objections the only answer then possible was that the germs of fascism were inherent in the situation, were there potentially.

Today, however, it is possible to go further. In his recently published work on "The Great Russian Revolution," Victor Chernov calls attention to a feature of the Russian political situation in 1917 that has hitherto remained almost completely unknown. He refers to:

" . . . the skillful and demagogic paper, the Living Word, which called itself national and socialist. The paper was well financed. It preached dictatorship, and ever dictatorship. It championed a purely Russian Hitlerism ten years before the latter appeared in Germany. Cleverly speculating on the ignorance and irritation of the lower classes of the capital (Petrograd), especially the 'infidel' petty bourgeoisie', the paper sold like hot cakes, and stimulated strong discontent with everyone and everything" (p. 340).

"Two newspapers were then appearing, the Little Gazette and the Living Word, militant, even insolent, audacious, talented. . . . cloaking themselves in socialism, but with an undercurrent of passionate nationalism. At first, they flattered Kerensky, tempting him to become a revolutionary dictator. Later, they denounced him roundly and urged Admiral Kolchak as 'Russia's savior.' A kind of Russian 'Hitlerism' was trying to make its way, a demagogical, thoroely false and adventurous 'national socialism' (p. 425).

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"HEROIC CHINA"

a review

By JIM CORK

This pamphlet* is the official Comintern version of the role played by the C.P. in the development of the revolutionary movement in China through all its stages. That it exhibits the psychology of the faithful and abounds in attempts at whitewashing and face-saving, goes without saying. Nevertheless, in spite of the desires of the author, the errors of the Chinese C.P. and the Comintern, especially in the disastrous defeat of 1925-28, become quite clear. The exact character of these errors consisted not so much in the theoretic posing of the problem, but rather in the inability to realize in practice essentially correct theoretical directives.

The C.I. was substantially correct in posing the general tasks which the Chinese revolution faced as follows:

"1. To free the country from the yoke of international imperialism, to win complete economic and political independence.

"2. To solve the agrarian problem, in a revolutionary manner, abolish landlordism and all other feudal survivals in the social system, and secure the revolutionary unification of the country.

"3. To overthrow the reactionary militarist-bureaucratic power and to establish the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.

"All these fundamental tasks of the Chinese revolution are inseparably connected with each other, and not one of them can be fulfilled unless the other tasks of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution are simultaneously fulfilled. But these tasks can be fulfilled only if the hegemony of the proletariat is strongly established in the revolution. Only when the Chinese proletariat achieves the leadership of the vast masses of the toilers in town and country, overcomes the resistance of the national bourgeoisie and paralyzes its influence over the masses, will the complete victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution become possible. . . . this victory opens the prospects of the Chinese revolution growing into a socialist revolution."

In the attempt to realize these tasks, it was correct for the C.P. to join the broad national revolutionary bloc formed in the early stage of the struggle against imperialism. What was necessary was to maintain at all costs the organizational and agitational independence of the C.P. within that bloc, to seek to extend its influence, and consolidate its position throuout the country in conscious preparation for that decisive moment when the inevitable break with the national bourgeoisie would come over the perspective of the further course of the revolution. The author quotes to prove that the C.I. was quite conscious of this basic need in strategy: "—While supporting the Kuomintang in all campaigns in the national revolutionary front as long as that party pursues an objectively correct policy, the Communist Party must not merge with it and must not during these campaigns, furl its own banner."

The quotation is quite legitimate but it must be added, as the author himself indicates that it was passed by the E.C.C.I. in January, 1923, when the influence of Lenin was still felt. When the decisive moment approached in 1926-27 when the ability to carry out these correct directives were to be tested in practical action, they were violated. The C.P. allowed itself to become a tail to the Kuomintang, it submitted to at-

* *Heroic China*, by P. Miif. Workers Library Publishers.

tacks on its freedom of independent organization and agitation, out of fear of disrupting the broad national revolutionary bloc. Even the author admits that the C.P. agreed, in the interests of "national harmony," to submit to restriction of the right to strike, on a demand of the Kuomintang leaders. At the very moment when Chiang Kai-shek was preparing his counter-revolutionary coup the C.P. was objectively helping him out by agreeing to disarm itself.

In this connection, our author, believe it or not, actually admits the basic error (p. 42) but only for the C.P. of China, and not for the C.I., not for Stalin. Its old scapegoat method, a r. d. o. s. violence to the actual facts. The leaders of the Comintern at the time, Bukharin as well as Stalin were just as responsible for the errors as the C.P. of China.

For instance on April 4, 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek had already begun to show his hand, Bukharin, at a meeting of Moscow functionaries, said: "The Kuomintang is a cross between party and soviets," and Stalin, at the same meeting said: "The Kuomintang is a sort of revolutionary Parliament with its praesidium the central committee." Such an evaluation of the Kuomintang at the time when the bourgeoisie was preparing, thru it, to drown the revolutionary movement in blood, explains how the disastrous errors were made possible. As a matter of fact, our author proves more than he intended to in this direction when he

means of stimulating agricultural production and stabilizing the countryside. Thus he laid aside for a moment the mantle of Revolution, and Cardenas, waiting his chance, seized it. It was the lever needed to rise from the presidency to actual power.

Within a few days Cardenas rallied great sections of the labor and peasant movements around him, smashed Morones and the Crom, formed a new labor movement with a new labor lieutenant at its head out of the pieces of the old, and then with swiftness and energy that impressed the bandwagon boys, he removed Callista governors, senators, deputies,

MEXICO'S STRONG MAN

(Continued from Page 4)

presidency into substance. Meanwhile the presidential palace remained vacant: affairs of state continued to be transacted as before by the Strong Man from his palace in Cuernavaca.

The uneasiness of Calles continued to grow. He wheeled one of his biggest guns into action: he gave orders to his governors to sharpen to the utmost the war with the Church. His governors closed churches and inaugurated "Socialist Education." Armed bands of "Red Shirts" appeared in the Capital itself under the direction of Garrido Canabal, former Callista Governor of Tabasco, noted anti-clerical, now Minister of Agriculture. Soon there would be a new revolt of Cristeros, clericalized peasants fighting for Mexico to be governed by "Christ, the King." Then Cardenas would have to call the Strong Man into the War Department as Portes Gil, Ortiz Rubio and Rodriguez had done before him, and all would be well. But the President seemed not to notice what was being brewed: mestizo with Tarascan blood in his veins, he possessed the stoical uncommunicativeness of the Tarascan: silently and undeviatingly he continued his expeditions around the countryside.

Exit Calles
 For six months the mute struggle, the maneuvering for position, continued: then Calles gave the President the opening he had been waiting for. The Jefe Maximo who had been bossing the country in the name of the Revolution, who had been wielding the power based on the pattern invented by Obregon, abandoned one of his two pillars. In a statement to the press he denounced the "marathon of strikes" that was sweeping the country, demanded greater economic peace and progress, declared that the land distribution had gone far enough, that the communal lands were unproductive and economically inefficient, that it was time to consider ways and

quotes Stalin as follows: (p. 43) ". . . The national bourgeoisie has deserted to the camp of the counter-revolution and has lost contact with the broad masses of the people. . . . Is it not clear that only a correct policy could have led to such results? . . ." (my emphasis—J. C.)

This was the evaluation of the situation after the Kuomintang had succeeded in its coup and had driven the CP underground. On p. 42, our author says the C.P. of China made a fundamental error. On p. 43, Stalin says the policy was correct, and in doing so seeks to whitewash a disastrous course!

The pamphlet winds up with a defense of the new People's Front tactic as applied to China by the C.I. Only those who disregard completely the lessons to be drawn from the tragic defeat of 1925-28, can support blindly the new line. The People's Front tactic as applied to China, is the quinquessence in crassest form of the same basic error made in '25-28—viz.: the blunting of the independent class leadership of the revolutionary elements. The offer to liquidate the independent class base of the Soviets and the Red Army, to give up the class struggle against the bourgeoisie and landlords, to make alliance with "friendly" imperialist powers, to invite Chiang Kai-shek back again to lead a new broad-revolutionary bloc; all in the interests of a fight against Japan which is isolated as practically the sole enemy of the Chinese Revolution—all these which collectively constitute the content of the People's Front tactic—can only guarantee in advance another defeat of the Chinese revolution.

means of stimulating agricultural production and stabilizing the countryside. Thus he laid aside for a moment the mantle of Revolution, and Cardenas, waiting his chance, seized it. It was the lever needed to rise from the presidency to actual power.

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POUM DEFENDED IN LABOR PARTY MEET

On Friday evening, February 12th, two hundred members and friends of the American Labor Party (2nd Assembly District, Bronx) came to hear Professor Pedro Fernandez of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

The speaker commenced by saying that he found it difficult to begin because he didn't know what the audience wanted to hear. However he took a chance by making a vicious broadside attack against the Workers Party of Marxist Unity (P.O.U.M.). He evidently didn't know how to close either since his final remarks were devoted to another slanderous attack on the P.O.U.M. Sandwiched in between were the usual apologies for the people's front policies.

In the discussion period, one of the C.P.O. comrades present took the floor in defense of the P.O.U.M. He pointed out that the P.O.U.M. could not possibly be "an agent of fascism" while thousands of its members fought against Franco's mercenaries in the front line trenches. Furthermore they couldn't

Catalonian Minister Hits Democracies

In an English press release of the Generalitat de Catalunya, dated January 25th, Garcia Oliver, the new Minister of Justice, expresses the resentment of the anti-fascist forces of Spain against the "great democracies":

"Germany and Italy have given us one blow," he states, "but we did not expect anything better of them. World democracy, betraying its professions of liberty for the people, has given us another blow." This comes from an official of the government now satisfactorily conforming with the reformist desires of the Catalonian section of the C.I.—quite "shocking" to those who consider it pro-fascist propaganda to expose the international solidarity of the bourgeoisie ranging from fascist Germany and Italy thru democratic England and people's front France.

At the same time the Minister of Justice made very clear the basis of support being given to those who oppose the proletarian revolution in Spain—lack of faith in the revolution itself! To quote from the release:

"He pointed out that at the present moment it was not possible to realize either the socialist or anarchist programs. The proletariat could not see the final triumph of its ideals while capitalism still reigned in most other countries."

generals and cabinet ministers in so clean a sweep that experienced politicians who had been expectantly waiting for the lighting to strike him ran for cover cheering and shouting: "Viva Cardenas, Viva la Revolucion!" Calles hesitated in bewilderment before this unexpected melting away of his forces, and while he hesitated, was lost. When, too late, he began to speculate on the possibilities of a rebellion, Cardenas acted again with an energy worthy of Mexico's Strong Man, and without troubling about Constitutionalism or legal warrant, simply picked up a few of his closet friends such as Morones and Leon, put them on an airplane under police escort, and deposited them in the United States. He had already reached an understanding with the American Government, and no demurrer was made about their being dumped over the border. The Strong Man of Mexico was finished: a new Strong Man had taken his place.

When capitalists want cheaper labor they play up every conceivable racial and religious difference. The nerve-wrecking fact is, however, that workers who lack class consciousness are as vicious in their stupidity as the bosses. In this modern machine-age a Negro, Italian, Swede, Mexican, Cuban, Southern White, or French-Canadian will develop with proper coaching into a skilled worker. A power machine is made of metal, without eyes and a sense of color, race, or religion. It will act when guided without giving a whoop for the sex, age, or creed of the operator.

BOOKS OF THE AGE

THE NEGRO LABOR UNIONIST OF NEW YORK. By Charles Lionel Franklin. Columbia University Press. \$3.25. 415 pages, including index and appendices. (1936).
 Reviewed by George Streater
 Books by Negroes on the trade union situation are frequently marred by insufficient basic training in trade union matters. Universities themselves are frequently "haywire", and one whose training is gained strictly in universities is in danger of idealistic approaches to economic and social problems. This is true of Mr. Franklin's book, although that is not sufficient reason for slurring this valuable study.
 There are several valuable contributions in this book. A Marxist will profit from its study of trade union "alibis" on the Negro question, just as a non-Marxist will, in a manner similar to Mr. Franklin, strive to interpret these things in terms of likes and dislikes, good and bad. But there is a lot of good and bad in the situation of racial prejudice, which is Mr. Franklin's reason for undertaking this work.
 On the side of the good, Mr. Franklin pays due respect to "local unions of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union," and well might he. On the side of the bad, he notes many childish remarks, one made by a local official of a powerful international union who insisted that Negroes could not learn how to become cutters in a shirt factory! This remark will likely haunt this official one of these days: shirt manufacturers are already in the process of breaking-in poverty stricken Southerners, white and black, in the art of shirt and suit making. In this class also one can find an official of a house-decorating union who argues that Negroes do not know how to lay carpets, and that Park Avenue will refuse to employ them, if they do learn! One can find many similar reasons for using exclamations points.
 When capitalists want cheaper labor they play up every conceivable racial and religious difference. The nerve-wrecking fact is, however, that workers who lack class consciousness are as vicious in their stupidity as the bosses. In this modern machine-age a Negro, Italian, Swede, Mexican, Cuban, Southern White, or French-Canadian will develop with proper coaching into a skilled worker. A power machine is made of metal, without eyes and a sense of color, race, or religion. It will act when guided without giving a whoop for the sex, age, or creed of the operator.
 Of course Negroes can be trained to be skilled workers! The fact that they are "not wanted in industry" proceeds from two angles, both highly materialistic. 1. Business men are always angling for a labor surplus. 2. Negroes are a threat to white workers, when, and only when, white workers think with their hair and complexions, dreaming that they can save enough money under the system to retire and hire a colored maid.
 To overcome prejudice calls for realism on this part of communists and socialists. It is not enough to fight these plaguing problems by deferring a courageous stand until AFTER the revolution. It is equally stupid to believe the problem has been solved by appointing Negro "alibis" to window-dressing positions. Mr. Franklin's book pounds with evidence of this sort of adjustment. To elect to "leadership" a "gutless" Negro whose job is to play a role in a tragic-comedy will not only defeat the Negro workers, it will in the end weaken the solidarity of the working class. Why defeat the working class by reducing unions to impotent business-deals? Ask Bill Green. He is an expert in that sort of thing.

Steel Drive Gains Shown

Clinton S. Golden, Northwest Regional Director of the SWOC spoke to a meeting of Philadelphia trade unionists which was held at the Hotel Lorraine on February 4, 1937.

Golden reported that over 150,000 steel workers have already affiliated to the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers Union during the seven months of the drive. He pointed out that the drive is an inspiration to workers in other industries as well. Aluminum and Copper have come to the SWOC for help. A committee of shoe lace workers walked over 300 miles to Pittsburgh for organizational assistance. The growth of the Union has resulted in the organization of the "captive" mines controlled by such powerful corporations as U. S. Steel, Bethlehem Steel, Ludlow Steel, and Weirton Steel. Even company union delegates have in most cases come over solidly to the Union.

The greatest care has been taken that no worker lose his job because of union activity. Carefully guarded files are maintained at the

Phila. C.I.O. Holds Meet

(Continued from Page 1)

"There are 80,000 to 90,000 dues-paying union men behind the C.I.O. Council in Philadelphia," he said. "Our purpose is not to split the labor movement but to strengthen it by organizing the 500,000 unorganized workers in Philadelphia." Leader further stated that charters will be issued by the Council to all affiliated local bodies.

E. J. Lever, Field Representative of the C.I.O. for the Philadelphia district and S.W.O.C. Organizer for the Atlantic Coast District, offered a resolution of congratulations to John L. Lewis and the C.I.O. for the magnificent victory of the United Auto Workers in the General Motors Strike. After the adoption of the resolution, Lever reported on the activities of the steel organization campaign in his district. After three months of organization in the Atlantic Coast District, there is not one important mill in which the SWOC is not active. Disston Sons of Philadelphia unorganized for the ninety years of its existence now has 1500 of its 2000 workers in the Union. Lancaster Steel Works is completely organized. Lukens Steel, Roebing Steel and Wire, U. S. Wire and Steel, are some of the others in which a majority of the workers are already organized and functioning openly for the first time. Lever added that not only steel workers came to the SWOC to be organized but workers in the auto, paper bag, oil burner and refrigerator, textile, sugar refining, and public utility fields.

Martin Cassidy, the new organizer for the Philadelphia Council pointed out the necessity of carrying on the work of organizing the mass production industries and the unorganized of all trades. "We are writing another page in American Labor History," he said, "and I think it will be an outstanding one. There are workers here to be organized: all we have to do is direct them into the proper channels."

Other speakers included Charles Goff of the Exide Battery Workers Union; Albert Wells of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Robert van Gelder of the Industrial Union of Marine and Ship-Builders; Fred McCall, United Radio and Electrical Workers Union and William Pollock of the Upholstery Workers Union.

ON THE LABOR FRONT

● **NEGOTIATIONS** between representatives of the United Auto Workers and General Motors got under way last Tuesday. Discussed were matters relating to control of speed-up, wage rates, method of settling disputes in the future, etc. No agreements have yet been reported.

● **JUDGE GADOLA**, still riding his high horse, talks of contempt of court and insists that leaders of the auto strikers against whom an injunction had been issued prior to the auto settlement, must appear

SWOC office in Pittsburgh, and utmost precaution is used all around. In most cases, the Union functions underground until it has signed up over 50% of the workers in a mill after which it can claim protection from the National Labor Relations Board. As a result, only about 100 workers have been discharged thus far.

Golden indicated that for the first time in the history of the industry, the Iron and Steel Institute is on the defensive. In most of the large mills collective bargaining is in force even though there is no signed contract with the Union. Even The Wall Street Journal has lately been poking fun at the steel barons. It was pointed out that the SWOC has put the Institute's publicity men to shame as well as having out-manoeuvred the steel trust. However, where production of a mill is tied up by the Union, the mill orders are filed as a matter of courtesy and mutual defense by one of its competitors.

There will probably be a strike of steel workers this year, probably in the spring. In any case, definite plans have been made for the future. Efforts will be made to organize at least 51% of the workers of each mill. When the majority of the mills have been so organized, a convention of steel workers representing all the organized mills will be called in order to formulate demands for the entire industry. Once formulated, these demands will be presented to the Iron and Steel Institute. If no settlement can be reached, there will be a general strike.

In regard to the A. F. of L. Golden had the following to say: "Other sections of the labor movement are calling us names which is a regrettable thing. However, we're so busy organizing the mass-production industries that we haven't the time to answer these charges now."

before the court in Flint before he will vacate their cases.

● **ANDERSON, IND.**, is still under martial law and 17 auto unionists are held incommunicado. A court order permitting union attorneys to consult the jailed workers was not honored by the military authorities.

● **JOHN L. LEWIS**, fresh from the recent victory in the auto industry, has fired the first gun on his own front by outlining the case for the miners in the negotiations now proceeding in New York with the representatives of the mine operators. The conference aims to replace the agreement which expires on March 31.

Lewis made the following demands for the miners: Six hour day, five day week as against the present 35 hour week; wage increases from \$5.50 to \$6.00 in the North, and from \$5.10 to \$5.60 in the South; time and a half for overtime, double time for Sunday or holiday work; a minimum of 200 days employment per year; two weeks vacation with pay; elimination of inequitable differentials.

● **DUAL UNIONS** in the auto industry may be set up by the A. F. of L. John P. Frey of the Metal Trades Council has promised Cleveland craft unionists to send organizers to compete with the United Auto Workers.

● **HOSIERY WORKERS**, in Reading numbering 12,000 threaten a sympathy strike unless the five months bitterly fought strike in the Berkshire Knitting Mills is settled soon.

● **STEEL WORKERS** are increasingly insistent in their demands for wage increases. A demand for a \$1 a day increase has been made for the 12,000 employees of Jones & Laughlin at Aliquippa. 8,000 employees of the National Tube Corporation (U. S. Steel) of Lorain, Ohio, asked for an 80c per day increase and a daily minimum of \$5.12.

● **RUBBER WORKERS**, led by the United Rubber Workers Union, are holding seven Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company service stations in Chicago, via the sit-down method.

Los Angeles branches of the Goodyear and Firestone factories announced slight increases affecting some 3,000 workers.

California Labor Bodies Assist Mooney Campaign

The California State Federation of Labor recently adopted a Resolution on the Tom Mooney frame-up and sent a letter to National and International Unions, Central Labor Bodies, and State Federations throughout the nation requesting financial assistance in the case. A generous response is necessary to prosecute the case thoroughly to its final successful conclusion. The San Francisco Labor Council has donated \$250.00 to the appeal fund, and similar responses are hoped for from labor bodies in other parts of the country. The San Francisco Labor Council is handling the stewardship of the Mooney-Billings Appeal Fund.

Adopted by the San Francisco Labor Council, the Alameda County Central Labor Council, countless local unions and federations in the San Francisco Bay Area, the A. F. of L. Mooney-Billings Committee, the California People's Legislative Conference, various professional, fraternal and church groups is a Resolution calling upon the California Legislature to pass the Mooney pardon bill as follows:

WHEREAS, Tom Mooney has been incarcerated in San Quentin Prison for twenty years, the victim of a vicious anti-union frame-up, conceived and effected by certain unprincipled special interests in California; and

WHEREAS, It has long been known and fully proved that Tom Mooney is innocent of the crime for which he was convicted, and that he was railroaded to prison by means of perjured testimony known to and, in fact, contrived at by the District Attorney who prosecuted the case, and that evidence favorable to Mooney was wilfully suppressed by the District Attorney; and,

WHEREAS, Tom Mooney was denied every semblance of a fair and impartial trial and was convicted not for the crime he was alleged to have committed but because of his active, militant work in the labor movement and organizing the unorganized; and

WHEREAS, Three Presidential Commissions studied the case and published conclusions that Tom Mooney was denied a fair trial and convicted by means of perjured testimony; and

WHEREAS, All persons and groups interested in seeing justice done in this country believe that the frightful wrong inflicted upon Tom Mooney must be remedied,

and the State of California wipe the black mark of the Mooney case from its record; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the SAN FRANCISCO LABOR COUNCIL call upon the Legislature of the State of California to immediately pass the measure now before it calling for a full and complete pardon for Tom Mooney, and the SAN FRANCISCO LABOR COUNCIL hereby calls upon the Legislature of the State of California to grant said full and complete pardon to Tom Mooney immediately; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a Committee from the SAN FRANCISCO LABOR COUNCIL be appointed to immediately call upon all the Assemblymen and Senators from this area and request that they vote in favor of said Tom Mooney pardon; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the representative of the SAN FRANCISCO LABOR COUNCIL at Sacramento be instructed to and that he work in furtherance of the passage of said Tom Mooney pardon.

Joint Slate In Local 22

At meetings held on Saturday, February 13, the members of the Progressive and Left Groups of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., enthusiastically endorsed the proposal for the co-operation of the two groups in the coming Local elections with a joint slate and on the basis of a common program.

This important step comes as the culmination of a year and a half of collaboration between the two groups in the work of the Union. When preparations began for the renewal of the collective agreement in the fall of 1935, including the possibility of a general strike, the two groups took measures to overcome the dissension in the ranks of the Union and to establish a solid front in the struggle against the employers. This unity grew closer as time went on so that, when vacancies occurred on the Executive Board, they were filled with members of the Left Group, thus marking the beginning of this group's representation in the administration. Now, after these many months of collaboration, it is but natural that this healthy relationship should result in an agreement to build a united administration for the Union.

The program that forms the basis for this united front deals thoroly with the pressing problems facing the dressmakers in the industry, in the Union and in the general labor movement. It will be made public in the press in a few days.

The understanding reached between the two groups for a united administration is being warmly greeted by the masses of the dressmakers as another big step forward in the unification of all the forces in the Union. The dressmakers understand that this unification will result in greater effectiveness of the Union in enforcing the collective agreement and in the day-to-day struggle for improved conditions in the shops.

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