

# WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

VOL. IV, No. 46

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1935.

Five Cents

## At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

It is very seldom that Nazi ministers offer us more truth than shoddy poetry in their political fulminations. One of these extremely rare instances is to be credited to the Nazi Minister Frick for his latest speech before Nazi functionaries gathered for the special occasion in Berlin. The Fascist Minister of Interior said in part: "Posterity will not judge us on the basis of the quantity of butter or meat or pork we shall have consumed, but rather on the basis of our heroic deeds."

Interesting indeed! What is Frick revealing here, What is he driving at? Stripped of all the theatrical nonsense about heroic acts, this remark is a confession that there is a woeful lack of such essentials as butter, meat and pork in Germany. We would be very much surprised if a rigorous system of rationing, a card system, were not instituted for butter, milk, eggs, meat, pork and other essentials in Hitler's hell before the winter is well on the way. Let the Nazis try to replace pork with their "Bible"—Hitler's "My Struggle". That would be a heroic deed, indeed! Tho the German people may have for the moment swallowed the tripe in this Nazi Bible, they still prefer a chance to digest just ordinary butter and pork to the "heroic acts" in the screeching of Goebbels, Goering, Frick, Rosenberg, and Der Fuehrer.

No one can exaggerate the seriousness of the economic complications in Germany, the tempo of worsening of conditions aggravated as a direct result of the Nazis' accession to power and their re-armament ventures as well as their other suicidal economic remedies.

THE ultra-opportunist line of the Comintern continues to blossom. The resulting weeds defy description and are the vilest travesty on the most elemental Leninist conceptions. In the pre-war days of social democracy, we, in the Socialist Party Left, used to pride ourselves that such dangerous reactionary employing class outfits, as the New York Citizens Union never indorsed or held "qualified" any of our standard bearers in election campaign. But what do we find now in the Communist Party of New York? The Daily Worker proud-

(Continued on Page 4)

## S.P. MILITANTS' STAND ON WAR AND ROAD TO POWER

(This is the second of two articles analyzing the main features of the "Draft for A Program for the Socialist Party of the United States" presented at the recent Socialist Call Institute.—Editor)

By WILL HERBERG

Curiously enough, the section on war is the most thoroughly unsatisfactory part of the whole Draft Program. I say, "curiously enough", because the attitude of the American Militants on "mixed war", labor advocacy of governmental sanctions and similar problems of current world politics, has been quite sound on the whole—in favorable contrast, it

### An Analysis of their Latest Program. -II

may be noted, to the European left Socialists of the Dan-Bauer-Zyromski tendency. But you could never guess that from the Draft Program! The few words on war are vague, general and utterly inadequate, and this on a question where the least unclarity is of the most serious consequence practically.

In the first place, no attempt whatever is made at a concrete Marxist analysis of the nature of war or of the types

of war characteristic of the present stage of capitalist development. And yet such an analysis is really indispensable. The Comintern justifies its dangerously false policy in regard to the "mixed war" by a cloud of references to the allegedly progressive character of such a war even on the imperialist side. How can the error of this position be understood and avoided without some grasp of the concrete nature of war, without

above all, a clear idea as to the basic distinction between progressive and reactionary wars, both of which are possible today? Furthermore, recent developments in the international situation (new world position of the Soviet Union, advance of Fascism, etc.) have brought with them essentially new types of war, necessarily unknown to either Marx or Lenin and therefore requiring really fundamental analysis. But nothing of the sort is to be found in the Draft Program! We are surely to presume that the Militants are well aware of these problems and have a definite answer to them but somehow they do not seem to have thought it fit to make their answer explicitly clear in a document which purports to be a draft program for the party!

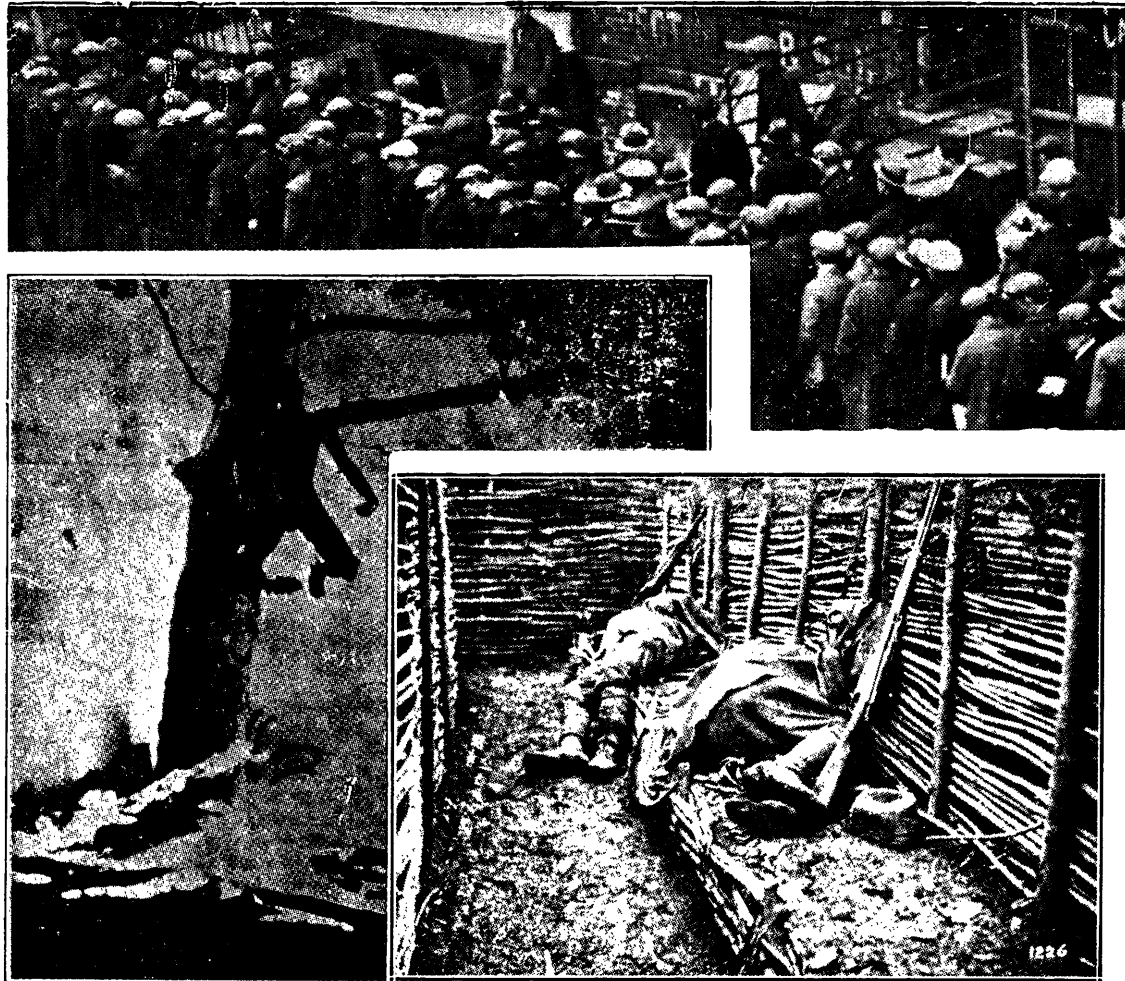
### IMPERIALIST WAR AND CIVIL WAR

The Draft Program contains a repudiation of the theory of national defense and this, of course, is all to the good. Unfortunately, however, the authors of the program did not deem it necessary to go into more detail. Zyromski and Dan also declare themselves against national defense in general and yet, in the very same resolution of theirs, they come out like the Comintern in favor of supporting French imperialism in a "mixed war". We know the attitude of some leading Militants on this question but why is there nothing in the program?

The central conceptions in the Marxist policy on war—revolutionary defeatism and the struggle to convert the imperialist war into civil war—find no place in the program. As a substitute for the former, apparently, the fine-sounding but essentially utopian slogan of "a general strike to paralyze the conduct of the war" is presented while the latter is replaced by the declaration that "it (the Socialist Party) will take advantage of the mass opposition to war to work for socialism and a workers and farmers government." It is surely obvious that the substitution is not one of words but of ideas, the replacement of revolutionary internationalist policy by vague phrases which promise a good deal but commit one to nothing. This studied avoidance of the traditional slogans of revolutionary Marxism is all the more strange in that the first (1932) Militant program, so vastly inferior to the present draft in almost all respects, did contain an explicit declaration "urging Socialist parties to turn imperialist war

(Continued on Page 3)

### THANKSGIVING 1935—BREADLINES, WAR PREPARATIONS, LYNCHINGS



## REVIEW OF THE WEEK

SANCTIONS AGAINST ITALY BEGIN; CONSERVATIVE LANDSLIDE MEANS INTENSIVE WAR PREPARATIONS; SOCIALIST "OLD GUARD" BEGINS DRIVE ON LEFTS.

THE struggle in the Socialist Party of New York has taken a sharp turn with the possibility of mass expulsions not at all excluded. The City Central Committee of New York, controlled by the "Old Guard", voted by 69 to 47 to reorganize the Socialist Party in a manner so that the Militant elements may be expelled.

The resolution charges that it was the Militants who have failed to comply with all the resolutions and peace agreements adopted by the various bodies. They further charge the Militants with being over-friendly with the Communists and of planning a united front with them. It is further charged, in this indictment of the Militants, that they actually constitute an organization within an organization, since they have their own headquarters and publish their own paper. Such "disruption" the "Old Guard" is out to end once and for all by swinging the axe.

A mass meeting of Militant Socialists held on November 17, voiced its bitter resentment against the heresy hunt against militant elements in the party and decided to prepare itself organizationally to resist every attempt to oust them from the Party.

Meeting simultaneously, the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of New York, went over the head of the National Executive Committee of the party by ordering the expulsion of five members from the Buffalo local, over whom a controversy had been raging.

### LABOR REPAYS TREASON OF MACDONALD

THE British parliamentary elections are over and the Tories have emerged victorious to a degree hardly expected even by them. Where competent observers estimated that Conservative strength would be cut down to a

majority of 120, it returns with a majority of 210.

The Labor Party pretends to be greatly surprised at the small gains it made.

Yet the surprise is really uncalled for. When Stanley Baldwin announced the desire of the Conservatives to take the issue of the Government's stand on Ethiopia to the people the Labor Party frantically fought it. It knew well that with the Labor Party in agreement with the Tories on the main questions at issue (sanctions, increased armaments, etc.) there was no earthly reason why the British masses should overturn the Tory Government.

Some interesting sidelights to this general election there were. Judging by the nature of the voting, interpreted as intensely patriotic and national, one would have expected a candidate such as Sir Stafford Cripps to be defeated. But that was hardly the case. Despite his leading the struggle against sanctions at the Labor Party Congress and also campaigning against sanctions, he was reelected with a huge majority.

Also it is important to note that British Labor has at last repaid its debt to the MacDonald clan. The younger MacDonald a former Cabinet member was defeated. Ramsay MacDonald himself paid for his treachery to Labor in 1931 by being defeated by Shinwell, the former Minister of Mines in his own Labor Cabinet. They went to the polls, forty thousand strong, to cast their ballots against MacDonald. He polled a measly 17,000. He says he is not thru politically, showing a strange likeness between an old politician and an old

fighter. The only way in which MacDonald can return to politics now is to eat out of the hand of the Conservatives—by running in a safe district in a by-election especially prepared for him, or by accepting a peerage.

The Communist Party is represented in Parliament by Comrade Gallacher, elected from Scotland. It is almost seven years since a communist voice was heard in that august body.

For international politics this Conservative landslide is expected to mean stiffened resistance against Italy and a more aggressive policy in the field of war preparations.

### LEAGUE SANCTIONS ON AGAINST ITALY

NOVEMBER 18 may go down as a significant date. It is the date on which 50 and some nations have pledged to bring various kinds of economic pressure to bear in the hope that Italian war plans would be thus strangled. That this marks also the beginning of all sorts of difficulties among the 50 is evident because Switzerland has absolutely no desire to apply sanctions. France is a few degrees less than lukewarm about the whole proposition, fearing to enrage its potential ally Mussolini but fearing even more to anger the British Lion who may decide to throw the Republic to Fascist dogs. Complaints of chiseling will be soon coming in from all directions.

In the meantime Italy is whistling to keep up its courage. Benito has told the world that he will answer sanctions with sanctions. In other words he will boycott the world. That's just talk, of course. In reality what he will try to do is to play one against the other and attempt to break thru the economic blockade. Italy sorely needs certain war materials and will go far to get them.

In a military sense, Italy appears to be quite nervous. There are reasons to be-

lieve that Mussolini is dissatisfied with the speed of the advance. The replacement of General De Bono by Badoglio is expected to speed up the conquering of Ethiopia.

### ON THE LABOR FRONT

JOHN BROPHY, director of the newly organized Committee for Industrial Unionism, announced last week his resignation from the A. F. of L. Committee for organizing Negro workers. Brophy stated that he found it a waste of time to sit on that committee since the A. F. of L. has shown not the slightest desire to carry out the decisions in reference to this question. Nor does it show any interest at all in the field organizing the Negro workers.

ALABAMA MINERS, on strike since September 23, have returned to work after the United Mine Workers succeeded in securing a partial victory. The agreement to be in force until April 1, 1937, calls for a 20c increase per day for workers; 4½c increase per ton for tonnage workers and a 5% increase for dead work. The settlement sent back to work 18,000 miners who had put up a glorious battle in which a number of miners were shot down by company thugs.

THE DRESS INDUSTRY in the City of New York is making intensive preparations for the forthcoming negotiations with the dress manufacturers. True to its past methods which has resulted in the building of a powerful union, the Joint Board is leaving nothing to chance. The organization is being put on a war basis and in case the manufacturers get balky a general strike in the industry will be declared immediately.

WAREHOUSE WORKERS of St. Louis, organized in Local No. 667 of the A. F. of L. are on strike. The demands of the strikers are: Wage increases; Seniority rights; Closed shop;

Elimination of speed-up and shortening of hours.

The strike is especially directed against the Kroger and Piggly-Wiggly Stores. Organized labor thruout the country is asked to refrain from patronizing these stores.

TOM MOONEY is making his final fight for liberty thru the Supreme Court of California Habeas corpus hearings were slated for the early part of this week. Frank P. Walsh is in charge of the defense.

LUIGI ANTONINI, Manager of Dress-makers Local 89 of the I.L.G.W.U. returned last week from Europe where he attended a conference which mapped plans for the struggle against fascism. Several thousand workers, mainly from the dress and knitgoods unions welcomed Antonini at the pier.

BROOKWOOD COLLEGE has added three nationally known trade unionists to its Board of Directors, according to Tucker P. Smith, director of the school. The three added are Emil Rieve, president of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers; Julius Hochman, vice president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; and Abraham Miller, a General Executive Board member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

RACE, is the name of a new quarterly magazine slated for appearance this week. It is a magazine for the discussion of Negro problems, sponsored by the "Conference On The Social and Economic Aspects Of The Race Question." The following authors are represented in the first issue: Francine Bradley, Franklin E. Frazier, Martha Gruening, Conrad Kamorowski, Alexander Lesser, Martin Maxon, Henry Lee Moon, George Streator, Betram D. Wolfe and Len Zinberg.



THE STRANGE CASE OF CONGRESSMAN MARCANTONIO

Adventures in Opportunism. I

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE
The Daily Worker of November 14th carries a question from a bewildered worker on the case of Congressman Marcantonio.

the warm esteem (emphasis mine—BDW) not only of the Daily Worker, but of hundreds of thousands of liberty-loving American people.

Of course, we do not blame the Daily Worker for printing the above. It is the duty of a workers' paper to tell the truth; it cannot convince, it cannot educate its readers otherwise.

NON-PARTISAN ACTION JUSTIFIED
The Daily Worker endorses Marcantonio as "a good fighter for the rights of the masses."

ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES
Certainly, this question from a wondering worker gave a golden opportunity to the Daily to explain the issues involved, to correct misapprehensions it may have sown, to explain some elementary "facts" that are:

zations, political organizations of one or another class. The need of the working class is not to choose "good" members from one of the other "boss" parties.

4. But, says the Daily Worker: "Progressive people exist in both Republican and Democratic parties. The coming Farmer-Labor Party will be built in the main from people who today are in the two old parties."

It is a disgrace that I should have to write these ABC's to the editors of the only revolutionary Daily. But yesterday, the Daily was exposing every one, misrepresenting every one, denouncing every one.

LEADERSHIP TO COME FROM THE RANKS
The leadership and control of a healthy farmer-labor party will have to come from the ranks, from the workers and farmers, and not from benevolent and misguided (when sincere) workers and farmers.

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S.P. MILITANTS ON WAR AND ROAD TO POWER

An Analysis of their Recently Published Program. - II

(Continued from Page 1)
into class war." How can this backward movement be explained? Here the Militants, in the last few years, come to the conclusion that the slogan is incorrect? Then why aren't we told so?

SILENCE ON PACIFISM
Unbelievable as it may seem, it is nevertheless a fact that there is not so much as a single word on pacifism and the League of Nations in the section on war policy.

These omissions, obscurities and generalities in place of clear Marxist slogans can hardly be the result of mere oversight or even of political immaturity.

Next Week:
ADVENTURES IN OPPORTUNISM. II. The Specter G-Man or How Daniel Webster Became a Communist.

is perhaps a little too sketchy and general but is certainly quite sound fundamentally. The U.S.S.R. is recognized as a "workers country, in which the basis for a socialist society is being built; the duty of its defense is plainly laid down; and the necessity of following 'development in the Soviet Union in order to profit by the experience of the workers on the road to socialism' is emphasized.

A glance at the paragraph on "Trade Unions" in the Draft Program yields the inescapable impression that, with the Militants, their deeds are frequently better than their words.

THE UNITED FRONT
Approximately the same can be said about the section on the united front. Again they do better in practise than

they do in their programs. The authors of the draft take their stand in favor of the united front in principle but then add: "A formal united front representative of different political groups would be a step backward."

This the Militants should know from their own experience. What made possible the highly successful united front movement on the past two May Days (1934 and 1935) if not "a formal united front representative of different political views?"

Again they do better in practise than

INTERNATIONALISM AND UNITY

The paragraphs on "Internationalism" and "Revolutionary Unity" both emphasize the "desirability of a single revolutionary party and a united revolutionary international. But here too the requisite clarity is not afforded the requisite explicit is mentioned as to the political basis for organic unity also some sort of indication is given indirectly.

Very little of any consequence is said about the Socialist and Labor International placed all emphasis on the negative aspects of the Militant program, on its errors and failings, for the criticism of shortcomings is the only real starting point of correction and improvement.

POSITIVE FACTORS

In the above paragraphs I have naturally placed all emphasis on the negative aspects of the Militant program, on its errors and failings, for the criticism of shortcomings is the only real starting point of correction and improvement.

The positive significance of the Draft Program is manifold. In the first place, as I pointed out towards the beginning of my remarks, its very formulation as

a comprehensive sketch of the Militant viewpoint is an achievement in itself. A good deal of the material, moreover, is quite sound and valuable. But the real political import of the document can best be grasped by comparing it as a whole with some authoritative exposition of the right wing viewpoint, such as Onal's "Socialism versus Bolshevism."

After careful examination of the three Militant programs, issued respectively in 1932, 1934 and 1935, I come to the conclusion that the present document represents a marked advance over its predecessors in almost every respect, but especially in the matter of the Militant program and on the attitude to the Soviet Union and the Communist movement.

For the "defense" of the proletarian dictatorship in the 1934 program is so hedged in by the hedge-posts of the "Marxian 'interpretations'" in the true Karlovich manner as to deprive the traditional form of all meaning and to stultify it completely.

For, taken all in all, the Draft Program remains within the vicious circle of centrism. On the state, on the road to power and on war, it still attempts to occupy a position that is sharply distinct from the Old Guard, liberal reformism but is not quite identical with the standpoint of revolutionary Socialism, that is, Communism.

French Radical Congress Gives Up Fight on Laval

By AUGUST THALHEIMER
The conference of the Radical Socialist Party held recently in Paris is being praised by the Right and the Left.

STAND BY LAVAL'S EMERGENCY DECREES
The main results of the Radical Socialist conference are the following:

The conference rejected the revocation of the emergency decrees issued by Laval. There was talk only of slight modifications to suit those participating in war, etc.—modifications which do not bring any material change in the program.

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scribes or ever did ascribe any practical significance to it. In addition, there were all sorts of resolutions against the feudalism—also of no practical import.

GIVE UP STRUGGLE AGAINST RIGHT
To sum up the attitude of the conference on the economic and social field: The Radical Socialist Party approves of the program of the financial and social policies of Laval and aims to continue them.

In reference to the "National Union", Guernut explained that the Laval government must not be overthrown before it is known what will replace it. And in the case of the fascist leagues, Deladier, the leader of the left wing, demanded that an ultimatum be sent to Laval asking him to dissolve the fascist leagues through an emergency decree by October 31st. This was rejected.

The most important result of the Radical Socialist conference was the giving up of the struggle against the emergency decrees of Laval, hence, the surrender of the actual struggle and defense of the working class against the tendency to continue to shift the burdens of the crisis on its shoulders.

Quotation Marks

"POUR LA PAIX"

FRANCE is notoriously a country where pacifist hoodwinking plays a greater part than anywhere else in the world. As a result of the terrible experiences of the imperialist war, the working masses have become imbued with a strong pacifist feeling of which the ruling bourgeoisie is making political use.

they have given up practically all criticism. Despite the decisions of the conference the CP and the SP are ready to support a Peoples Front government whose practical program would be decided in the main by the decisions of the CP and the SP in elections—but they act on the basis of a program which the reactionaries approve. The Communist as well as the Socialist press failed to criticize the imperialist character of the foreign policy as represented by Herriot as well as the completely inadequate proposals in regard to the Fascist Leagues.

The future of such a position of the CP and SP will be fatal to the future development of the struggle against fascism. The failure to organize extra-parliamentary mass activities against the emergency decrees of Laval, the failure to wage a struggle for the winning of the crisis at the expense of the owning class, will in the long run kill the anti-fascist movement and give an impetus to the social demagoguery of the fascists.

LESSER EVIL WILL BRING MORE DEFEATS
The policy of the French CP and SP represent a repetition of the policy of the lesser evil as practiced by the German Social Democracy under the regime of Brüning. The German Social De-

The Negro Masses and the Problem of Unionization

This article is reprinted from the November issue of "Negro Voice," official organ of the Harlem Section of the Communist Party (Opposition).

By GEORGE F. MILES
We are very sorry to say that the records of the recently closed fifty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor do not show a single decision to aid in breaking down that despicable practice of drawing the color line in the trade unions. But even had the convention endorsed one of the previously carried resolutions it would mean very little.

NEGRO AND CLOSED SHOP
It is because of the above considerations that we were amazed to read the following in a recent issue of Opportunity: "Once organized labor can legally restrict employment in American industry to its own membership, it becomes a super-government. With its inevitable accretion of membership, which will eventually include practically all workers, will come political power such as only monarchs have wielded. Government functionaries will become veritable marionettes and puppets to perform the will of their masters. The dictatorship of the proletariat will have come in its least unexpected form."

At the time agreed to all economic sacrifices imposed on the working class by Brüning, laboring under the illusion that it was thus defending the political rights of the masses. Hence not only the middle class but also a large section of the working class could not see the necessity of fighting for the Weimar Republic which was exacting sacrifices after sacrifice from them.

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Central Labor Union Did Have Principles

To say that the Central Trades and Labor Union of New York is a conservative organization will cause the lifting of eye-brows only in the sense that such a well-known fact need hardly be repeated. But to say and to prove that once upon a time our own Central Labor Union was not only a radical organization but that it had a very definite socialist program may indeed surprise a lot of people.

A POLICY OF EVASION
No—it is not a matter of oversight or political immaturity. It is plainly the result of a policy of conscientious evasion. But why should this be necessary? Why are the Militants well enough able to criticize the Comintern and the right wing Socialists for their grave errors on the war question and yet utterly unable to formulate a clear and concrete position for themselves? Can it be due to an attempt to "harmless" or "reconcilable" viewpoints through the simple expedient of dodging the question altogether?

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES
"We hold that the soil of every country is the social and common inheritance of the people in that country, and hence all should have free and equal access to the soil, without trouble to landlords or monopolists.

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# Negro Workers And the Unions

(Continued from Page 2)

ated in the excerpt will occur if the American Federation of Labor succeeds in winning a closed shop. This the author considered as a great threat against Negro labor. He sums up his attitude in the following words:

"Just as the strike is labor's final effective weapon in the class struggle, so strikebreaking is the only effective weapon that the Negro may employ in the intra-labor conflict to break down the proscription of race prejudice."

## WILL STRIKE-BREAKING CURE PREJUDICE?

We are of the opinion that the analysis and solution proposed here is not only harmful but positively dangerous. Is it not peculiar that in his great anxiety to see that justice is done to the Negro and his fear that the closed shop would be a menace, the author should adopt, lock stock and barrel, the attitude of the worst open shoppers in the country; of the very captains of industry and finance who have profited most thru continued division between black and white toilers. Should not Mr. Leon P. Miller, the author, hesitate before placing himself and the Negro people on the side of the exploiters of labor and against the 39 million working people (black and white) of the United States?

Mr. Miller, who appears to be so solicitous for the welfare of the Negro people poses the question: "Is the Negro Strike-Breaker Justified?" and answers that it is correct for the Negro to become the strikebreaker of America; that the Negroes, to cool the fires of resentment against discrimination by many unions, are justified in hiring themselves out as mercenary troops in the war of the employers against all unions, against all workers.

Is it so difficult to grasp that such tactics perpetuate the very condition against which they are directed? Is it not clear that such a policy, far from breaking "down the proscription of race prejudice", rather presents the danger of fanning this prejudice into most violent flames of race wars?

## THE REAL SOLUTION

The solution of the problem lies not along the road of converting the Negroes into a group of hired retainers for the American industrialists, but along the road of unflagging struggle to break down the barriers which now bar the way to unionism in so many unions. The cases cited above prove that it can be done.

There are in the trade unions a large and increasing number of progressive and forward looking workers who have fought and who are continuing the struggle for smashing the color line. If the Negro workers, in such industries as completely bar them today, were to be organized and begin the fight for admission into the union, it would be discovered very quickly that the fight resolves itself not into one of black workers against white but black and white workers against the trade union bureaucrats and their hangers-on.

Especially during this period in the trade union movement when the most venerable traditions of the past are being subjected to a highly critical test, is it necessary to raise in the most determined manner the cry for repudiating the historical mistreatment of the Negro by the American Federation of Labor unions. No one can deny that the issue of industrial unionism is an important one, especially for the mass production industries but it is equally necessary to point out especially to the many progressives that precisely in these important industries the unions will have to open wide their doors to the Negro workers. Company unionism has already secured far too strong a hold over many thousands of them. The progressives must therefore inscribe upon their banners in large letters the demand for the admission of Negroes into all unions without any restrictions whatever.

One and a half million Negro workers are awaiting the call for organization. It is up to the progressives in the trade unions and the clear thinkers among the Negro workers to work hand in hand for the solution of this most burning problem.

# "THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE"

Once more Southern white supremacy has been "saved" by the lynching of two Negro boys during the night of November 12, at Columbus, Texas. Ernest Collins, 15 years old and Benny Mitchell 16, were taken from the hands of the Sheriff and hung outside the town for the crime of "raping a white girl."

What is unique in the present outburst of lynch-law is the attitude of "The Law". The usual fancy tales about the most energetic steps being taken to run down the lynchers is completely missing. Instead the most sanguine and arrogant pronouncements of solidarity with the bestial lynchers are heard from the "representatives of Southern law and order". Statements have been made by County Attorney O. P. Moore and County Judge H. P. Hahn, which make it not unreasonable to believe that they themselves would have loved to participate—if indeed they did not.

The County Attorney, whose duty it is, according to law, to run down the lynchers declared:

"I DO NOT CALL THE CITIZENS WHO EXECUTED THE NEGROES A MOB. I CONSIDER THEIR ACTION AN EXPRESSION OF THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE."

And the County Judge before whom these lads would very likely have appeared to receive "justice" said:

"THE FACT THAT THE NEGROES WHO SO BRUTALLY MURDERED MISS KOLLMANN COULD NOT BE ADEQUATELY PUNISHED BY LAW BECAUSE OF THEIR AGES PREVENTS ME FROM CONDEMNING THOSE CITIZENS WHO METED JUSTICE TO THE RAVISHING MURDERERS LAST NIGHT."

Here are two examples typical of Southern Democracy for the Negro. Here are examples of Southern capitalist

justice which has made of the South a hell on earth for the Negro masses.

There are many people in these United States who recoil in horror from the oppression and torture visited upon Jews and Catholics in Fascist Germany. To these we must say that to make more effective their protests against policies and methods in Germany which remind us of the Spanish Inquisition of the middle ages, they must fight determinedly to clean their own house also.

Especially the statement of the two officials have dramatized a condition of terrorism which calls for the widest and broadest protests from every decent man and woman, from every worker and every trade union and labor organization. These pillars of Southern society, these government officials, who do not hesitate to shoot down southern textile workers or miners fighting against capitalist oppression, become the defenders and apologists, if not the actual leaders, of the lynch mobs.

"IT IS THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE", say the Moores and the Hahns. They lie! It is the echo of their own bestial desires and wishes that they hear from the mouths of their retainers and camp followers. LET THE REAL VOICE OF THE PEOPLE BE HEARD! PROTEST TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND TO THE GOVERNOR OF TEXAS AGAINST THESE CRIMINALS AND OPPRESSORS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE GARBED AS JUDGES AND PROSECUTING ATTORNEYS. DEMAND THRU YOUR TRADE UNION, LABOR OR OTHER ORGANIZATION THAT THESE HEROES OF ROPE AND FAGOT BE REMOVED FROM OFFICE!

RAISE YOUR VOICE IN PROTEST NOW! IT CAN NO LONGER HELP MITCHELL AND COLLINS BUT IT MAY SAVE FROM A SIMILAR FATE OTHER MITCHELLS AND OTHER COLLINS'.

## TRADE UNION NOTES

By GEORGE F. MILES

On October 25 the United Anthracite Miners of Pennsylvania breathed its last and with it died one more dual unionist venture which, beginning as a conservative led effort (some even suspected a link with coal interests, somewhere along the line) to oust Lewis from the Anthracite, involved also the members of the Communist and Workers Party.

The case of the members of the Communist Party was really pathetic. The last remains of the National Miners Union had just been interred and the bewildered Party members were being "enlightened" on why it was wrong to go back to the United Mine Workers before and why it is their revolutionary duty to do so now. In the midst of this campaign the new dual union was born and the Party members, hardly having warmed their frost-bitten ears in the U.M.W. were again outside with Maloney and Cappelini (whom Lewis had previously ousted from the District Presidency because of his relations with the employers.)

The writer remembers speaking in Wilkes Barre one night last winter and then listening to the vicious and slanderous tirade of a certain Comrade Nelson—the Section Organizer of the Communist Party—against members of the Communist Opposition who refused to split their union—the United Mine Workers.

I also remember, about the same time, news stories and even an editorial in the Daily Worker branding as scabs and scab herders such militant and tested fighters as Vratarich and Stanley—all because they refused to follow the Communist Party into new adventures and new defeats of dual unionism.

I remember spending many hours with a number of fine Lithuanian workers in the Anthracite who had blundered into the camp of Maloney. I confess, I failed to win them back. Where are they today? Driven from the mines! Probably disgusted with the labor movement and demoralized. Victims of dual unionism!

I remember that only about six months ago a number of Lovestoneites came as delegates from various organizations to a C.P.-controlled united front of some kind (I have forgotten which) and WERE REFUSED SEATS BECAUSE THEY WERE MEMBERS OF THE U.M.W.A.

Now that union is dead. The party members have slunk back, those that could, to the United Mine Workers. But Comrades like Nelson would resent any insinuation that they were wrong in what they did yesterday or that they changed their policy.

No! They are never wrong and they never change their policies. Its just the situation that changes or the other fellow that change his policies.

For instance, Gerjoy—Party whip in Local 22 I.L.G.W.U.—argues, while we are all waiting for Antonini to get off the boat, that the Party was absolutely correct in calling the administration of Local 22 all kinds of names before the last election. The Party is also correct in saying that Local 22 is now the most progressive local in the whole United States! You see, he says, they did not become progressive until after the last elections. How simple it all is to simple minds!

No, we prefer not to forget the past. The memory of the past will make it easier for us to fight against its repetition in the future. In passing we might also say that such books as Jack Hardy's Clothing Worker—published by International Publishers at this late day—helps to remember. It represents the worst dual unionist trash. The laudatory reviews of this junk in the Daily Worker increases suspicion. Also, the despicable, personal attack upon Jay Lovestone, by that loud-mouth Ben Gold, on the floor of the Joint Council, shows a degree of factional bias which is not going to help the C.P. to work together with other forces.

It is up to the Party members in the trade unions to mend their ways if they want their change of policy to be taken seriously.

## WHO CHANGED WHAT?

You cannot change the party line from the outside! says Gerjoy very emphatically to a group around him at the 14th street pier. A non-party comrade intervenes to ask Gerjoy—"And do you mean to say that you changed it from the inside?" To which there was no answer.

\* Needless to say we do not refer to Louis Nelson of the Knitgoods Workers Union, who is one of the leading comrades of the C.P.O.

a policy would have suited Green very well. When Muste announces that the Lewis-Hillman-Dubinsky opposition is more dangerous than the Green leadership because they mouthe progressive phrases, is he not helping to screen the Green clique from the wrath of the membership in the A. F. of L.?

Zimmerman did not say so, but such arguments do "serve that purpose" don't they? Though that was not Muste's intention, of course! of course!

## AT FIRST GLANCE

(Continued from Page 1)

ly proclaims on the front page (October 23rd) the fact that the Citizens Union has found Comrades Brodsky and Hutchins as "qualified" for election in the New York Aldermanic contest.

This is merely a feather in the wind. And it is high time that C.P. members should raise a storm about it. How come that now for the first time in the history of American Communism such a Wall Street racket as the Citizens Union can find communist candidates "qualified"? Certainly it was not on the question of looks or efficiency that this "qualified" label was handed out. If the members of the C.P. should scratch a bit beneath the surface, they would find something far more serious at fault in the party line than they have conceived to date.

And let no one, even for a fraction of a second, think that this is a weird accident or that the American CP is "exceptional" in its opportunism today. The French and German Communist Parties are far more significant and, therefore, their right wing, their opportunist, approach is even more grave in its consequences. The French CP is at the moment neglecting entirely all criticism of the Radical Socialist Party with which it is in the so-called People's Front. The latter party is a straight capitalist organization and is well represented in the Laval cabinet which is ruling more as an open dictatorship than any French cabinet since the war. In Germany, the CP is showing real signs of life—but primarily in agitation for convoking a national assembly and restoring the Weimar constitution.

SENATORS Norris and LaFollette have made it their business to jump rather quickly on the 1936 Roosevelt bandwagon. Senator Borah is having the toughest time of his life in a desperate effort to have the Republican Party take on a coat of progressive paint. Roosevelt appears to welcome the action of the A. F. of L. convention for an amendment to the Constitution making it possible for the Supreme Court to annihilate all social legislation. From this it appears that, except for a few churches and "medicine men" like Father Divine, all elements, which would naturally go into a "people's front" along the lines advocated by the Communist Party here and in other countries, find themselves securely and comfortably in the fold of the big capital.

Of course, the Communist Party leadership persists in distorting and making a caricature out of the very significant labor Party a peculiar, "exceptional", specifically American expression of the people's front. Far more historical import and substance are to be attributed to the Labor Party trend in the U. S. than to that of a shibboleth momentarily tossed about by the Comintern men on the flying trapeze.

"BRITANNIA rules the waves" they used to cry. "Britannia waves the rules" used to be a rejoinder. Events, moving at a lightning tempo, are now bringing on an entirely new situation as far as Great Britain is concerned. British imperialism is determined not only to reconquer its primacy on the sea but also to win mastery of the air. To achieve the first England will undoubtedly come to some secret arrangement with the U. S. as to Far Eastern affairs. To realize the second, Britain is losing no time in building the mightiest air armada. Its strained relations with Italy have served as the stimulus and excuse. For after all, Italy is no longer a mere vacation ground for fled British bankers or industrious English would-be ar-

# Books of the Age

by Bertram D. Wolfe

## THE AGRICULTURAL CRISIS. Joseph M. Goldstein.

(Reviewed by A. B.)

The author begins his book with a confession of cowardice, a statement of mental impotence. "I do not hypothesize; I propose nothing; I state the facts." He sings this in French on the title page of his book.

Dr. Goldstein drags thru an excess of statistics to show that agricultural productivity must increase. He condemns the curtailment policies of Roosevelt and gives the lie to his theory of the unproductivity of sub-marginal lands, which actually show a great increase in productivity due to improved methods of cultivation, and better transportation.

In the last two chapters he describes the failure of recent attempts to control agricultural production. It is interesting here, to point out what he does not, namely that even with state capitalist intervention, production cannot be controlled and attempts to do so become attempts to control the market for these products, thru tariffs, trade treaties, etc.

The contradictions arising from the back to the land movement are mentioned briefly. Men are thus withdrawn from the market for agricultural products because they live on their own produce. At the same time agricultural production is increased. On the other hand the restriction of production drives surplus farm labor to the cities where they add to the masses of unemployed and are used to beat down wages.

This is the content of the book. Too much space is taken to prove a well known fact, that the agricultural resources of the world are scarcely utilized. That their development cannot add

chaecologists. Seldom do we find frankness accompanying British imperialist drive. This time we must confess the traditional Lombard Street hypocrisy seems to have gone on a holiday. To cite a typical plea by one Collin Brooks, in a recent issue of the DAILY MAIL:

"We do not want the heads of our defense forces to cling to the shibboleths of 1870. A big navy Britain must have to defend her Empire lines of communications. . . But she needs far more desperately a big air force. The airplane can leap-frog the battleship. . . First in the air, first on the sea, must be the motto. And behind those new defences let the new Government give industry a chance to make the most of its recovery. . ." (Our emphasis).

No sooner said than done. Great Britain is now spending scores of millions on an invincible air armada to "threaten such deadly retaliation that no enemy air fleet will provoke that nemesis." Here are real British sanctions—the heavenly ones!

WISH TO BUY used Baby Grand Piano Must be in good condition. Will pay cash. Write to M. L. P. O. Box, 68, Station O. N. Y. C.

## KAUTSKY AND THE COMING WAR

Begin Reading in the Next Issue of

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Bertram D. Wolfe

vance under capitalism is plain tho the author prefers not to see it. The concrete aspects of the problem, farmers debts, ownership of farms, the antagonism between city and country, aren't even described. Dr. Goldstein is of the opinion that problems can be solved by description. The book serves indirectly to prove the unsolvability of those problems under capitalism, and the futility of the author's methods of approaching them.

## THE WAR OF THE COPPER KINGS. by C. B. Glasscock. Bobbs-Merrill. 314 pp. \$3.00.

The story of Butte and the copper country, of the men who ruined its vegetation, looted its resources, cornered its copper, corrupted its politics, deceived its people, and when there was nothing more to grab up, fell to looting each other. The true tale begins with lesser bandits who elected their chief as sheriff and under his protection held up coaches, robbed miners of their gold dust and snuffed out a few score lives. Then as Montana grows, out of the labor of its miners and the resources of its mountains grow the greater robber barons, Marcus Daly, George Hearst, Wm. A. Clark, F. A. Heinze, H. H. Rogers, Wm. Rockefeller. They buy judges and senators wholesale, fight with crooked politics, demagoguery, rival newspapers, dynamite, and stock manipulation, in battles that make the bandit sheriff look like a piker.

The tale is revealing, as every true tale of the robber barons who today make up "society" in America, is revealing. But the telling suffers somewhat from a pell-mell, higgledy-piggledy piling up of details in which picturesqueness is prized above significance, until one grows a trifle weary at the disorderly parade. What the book needs is deeper social penetration, an understanding of the system of which these incidents are but an expression, and some generalization to give the details meaning and perspective. In its present form it is an anecdotal, journalistic source book for future Marxist historians to utilize, rather than an adequate picture of its subject.

## Who Serves Green Unintentionally?

Under the sub-head "Lovestoneites Easy on Labor Fakery", the New Militant reports the speech of Charles S. Zimmerman at the meeting on the A. F. of L. Convention called by the Progressive Needle Trades Center. The New Militant is very angry that Zimmerman should have taken A. J. Muste to task for his leftist and sectarian analysis of the convention.

Their report goes on to say: "Was the attack then just an expression of solidarity with Green's union wrecking campaign in Minneapolis? No, we do not for a moment believe that was the intention, though the speech did serve that purpose."

So Zimmerman's speech served Green's purpose! Tho that was not the intention, of course! of course! Well, we'd like to ask you a couple of questions. When Muste insists that the real reactionaries in the A. F. of L. are Lewis, Hillman and their colleagues, is he perhaps serving the interests of Green? When Muste grieves that the left wing did not center all its fire against the opposition bloc, does it occur to you that such

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