

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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CIO Leads In Organization

Company Union Men Bolt to CIO; Auto Union Challenges GM

While leaders of the American Federation of Labor are concocting new schemes to frustrate the efforts of the Committee for Industrial Organization to organize the mass production industries, the CIO is proceeding with vigor and energy to accomplish the latter.

The flat glass workers continue their strike with active CIO support and in close cooperation with the auto workers union which is affected by the shortage of glass for auto manufacture. The auto union also has made detailed plans for a concerted drive especially against General Motors.

At the same time the steel drive is not being allowed to lag. Phil Murray announced that his Steel Workers Organizing Committee has already recruited about 130,000 members and that they have just begun to organize. At the same time the CIO has done remarkable work in undermining the system of company unionism.

Addressing a session of company union representatives in Pittsburgh Phil Murray said "The system is created, controlled and dominated by the steel companies to prevent the healthy development of trade unionism in the steel plants."

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POUM Ousted From Catalan Cabinet; Japan Rumored Behind Chinese Crisis



Struggling against the bitter cold that has set in, as well as against the Fascists, these workers' militiamen make their way up the snow covered slopes of the Guadarrama Mountains, north of Madrid.

Blum Begs Support Of Big Capital; Pledges No "Radicalism"

The Workers Party of Marxist Unity (POUM) was ousted from the Catalonian government, because of its insistence upon a revolutionary policy. This move is the culmination of weeks of provocative actions against the POUM, carried out by the United Socialist Party affiliated with the Communist International. The POUM quickly issued a statement attacking the Communist Party for "this disloyal maneuver." It found strength in the fact that now it was the only source of a real revolutionary policy, of an independent proletarian line.

"Altho it is eliminated (from the gov't), its militiamen cannot be eliminated from the front of battle. In a word our party cannot be removed from the political life of Catalonia and Spain, where it now represents the revolutionary vanguard—so much so indeed that it has become converted into a real revolutionary party," the statement reads.

Nothing else motivates communist policy but the belief that its defense of the Soviet Union and the successful struggle against fascism can best be conducted through the people's front. However high this motivation may be, it reaches corresponding depths of falseness. In its present form of activity, it is positively dangerous to the prosecution of the Spanish revolution.

Whether this forced split in the defense council is merely a prelude to the suppression of the POUM remains to be seen.

While Franco still batters hopelessly against the proud defenses of Madrid, growing rumours of an Anglo-Italian pact complicate the tricky maneuvers of neutrality. The pact is supposed to constitute a mutual guarantee for the maintenance of the status quo in the Western Mediterranean. This means that Italy would not take over the Balearic Islands, and would join Britain in preventing

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Business Groups To Work In "Harmony" With F.D.R.

Manufacturers Association Drops Fight Against New Deal; Unemployed Census For "Scientific" Relief Asked; Berry's Meet Boycotted

American capitalism summarized the experience of the recent presidential elections, and made a sharp turn in "social" policy, both at the convention of the National Association of Manufacturers and at Berry's Council of Industrial Progress. Of course, the first, held in New York, was far more important since it was attended by big industry, and was not as artificial as the government sponsored confab run by the intensely disliked Major.

All newspapers have already noted the great difference between this year's conference of the N. A. of M., where harmony was the keynote, and those previous conferences where the anti-New Deal elements of big capital were given a rostrum. Stressed by every speaker, especially the keynoter, Colby Chester, president of the association and head of General Foods, was industry's responsibility towards the unemployed, towards the "consumer", and in its relationship with government and labor. The clearest indication of the cause for this new concern for human welfare, was given by Wright: "There should be no permanent unemployed class in this country, altho such a class with vested rights and interests (sic), is assuming definite shape. Such a class of unemployed is a menace to any state." The gentlemen who

own the industries of this country are beginning to realize that Roosevelt's program is their surest salvation. The Democratic sweep in the elections signified the triumph of new policies for the ruling class. And the National Association curbed, limited, and "conservatized" these policies—but realized that these principles were the only effective ones in the present situation.

Towards this end, the meeting proposed a national census of the unemployed, in order to put unemployment relief on a scientific "pay as you go" basis. Encouragement was given to the steps taken by steel, rubber and other industries to begin propaganda for the wonders they had created, to win public sympathy in the face of the forthcoming unionization drives. General statements, approving certain social policies of the Administration, including the Federal Social Security Act, but always with certain criticisms and reservations. As the Herald Tribune (December 13) remarked: "The speakers' roll of the convention was a roster of the Almanach De Gotha of business—big this time in its conception of social and national responsibilities as well as the volume of its products and vast sums of invested capital. Not so long ago, perhaps as recently as just before the Presidential election, some of the expressions applauded from the convention floor would have been deemed socialistic. Now they were recognized as accurate and appreciative adjustments of

LABOR FORCES MAYOR'S RETREAT

BOWING to protests from organized labor, Mayor La Guardia was forced to rescind an order for office equipment given to the strike-bound Remington-Rand Company. Charles Zimmerman, head of Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U. was the first to raise the question sharply, sending a telegram to the Mayor. Julius Hochman also protested in the name of the I.L.G.W.U. Joint Board.

views required by a changing world."

Meeting at the same time, in Washington, was the Council for Industrial Progress, long ago doomed to failure. It is quite likely that the administration knew that it would be a failure, that none of the really important industries would attend. The question of prestige, of inner-politics in playing ball with Berry as the head of the Labor Non-Partisan League, and perhaps of using this council as the medium to push industry along the lines laid down by the administration, played a role in going ahead with the meeting.

Its major achievement seems to have been the shedding of a few

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Ryan Splits Dock Union

Joseph P. Ryan's answer to Harry Bridges' arrival on the East Coast and plea for strike solidarity was to discharge him as organizer of the I.L.A. for the Pacific Coast. Bridges replied that "if to break strikes was the way to stay on the payroll, I'm glad to be off. I was elected and not appointed to my position in the Maritime Federation, and the workers there will say what happens to me, not Ryan."

In an attempt to further split the maritime workers moves for a solid front against the shipping owners, Ryan announced that he would set up his own federation, as approved by the A. F. of L.

A sharp fight took place in the New York City Central Trades and Labor Council over the issue of the seamen's strike. The progressive forces led by Charles Zimmerman of Local 22 strongly opposed Ryan's stand on the strike, and Ryan's forces nearly provoked a fist-fight. Ryan railroaded his motion thru and declared the meeting adjourned, as usual. Zimmerman had previously spoken at a Madison Square Garden rally with Bridges and Curran, contributing \$500 to the strike.

OUR NEW HEADQUARTERS

At last we have moved to larger, more centrally located, steam-heated headquarters located at
131 West 33rd Street
New York City

At this address are now located the Rivera Murals, New Workers School, Communist Party (Opposition) and Workers Age.

Coal Operators Ask Forty-Hour Week

Soft coal operators have notified John L. Lewis that when negotiations for renewal of a contract begin they will insist on a return to the 40 hour week without any increases in the wages of the miners. The present agreement calls for a 35 hour week.

The agreement with the bituminous operators expires on March 31 and negotiations between the United Mine Workers and the coal operators starts on February 17.

The possibilities for the employers securing this concession are extremely slim. The issue is probably raised for bargaining purposes since the miners will undoubtedly demand improvements in present conditions.

Announcement of a two dollar per capita assessment was made by the Union Mine Workers to prepare a million dollar "war chest" to prepare for a possible coal strike and to aid the C.I.O.

CATHOLICISM-AN ALLY OF FASCISM

By SAUL HELD

NO student of international affairs today fails to accord to Catholicism the most penetrating study and estimation, for, today, Catholicism has become one of the major agencies, not only for the world-wide dissemination of fascist ideology but, also, as in Spain, armed carriers of the fascist plague.

Desperately the Vatican waxes Hitler in Germany; eagerly it assumes the job of espionage and agitation for Mussolini's foreign office; frantically it attempts, in the United States, to sell itself to Wall Street as the bulwark against Communism.

Vatican and Capitalism

Superficial, indeed, is the participant in the labor movement who concludes that because of the early experiences of Catholicism in Italy and Germany, or even present frictions in the first, and stormy battles in the latter, Catholicism is an uncompromising enemy of fascism, an ally of the labor movement. Such deluded persons know nothing of the incredible adaptability of the "crack regiments of Christ"; they are unaware of the Vatican's very recent triumph in forcing Hitler to compromise in his war on their institutions; or of their several years of active partnership with Mussolini. Muddled laborites tend to forget what the Mother Church never forgets for a split second: its existence is dependent upon the survival of capitalism.

As idiotic as it is untruthful is the attempt of the official Communists to picture the Church in Spain as an ally or neutral in the Spanish class war. Super-efficient suicide was Earl Browder's plea to Mgr. Sheen of Catholic University for free speech, and his cowardly implication that Catholicism was an historically progressive force by harking back to the first three centuries of its existence (thereby escaping the embarrassment of the Spanish Inquisition, the drenching of three continents in blood for centuries, or today. . .). Even conservative charlatans have not dared to impute love of free speech to Catholicism!

On September 1, 1936 the New Masses carried an editorial panegyric exalting Michael Williams, editor of the Catholic Commonwealth, as an anti-fascist. This is the same Williams who wrote in his book *The Catholic Church in Action*: "The leaders of the new religion of revolutionary materialism, popularly known as Marxism-Communism, of which the dominating center is in Moscow, and which is organized almost as strictly and logically as Catholicism itself, recognizes in the reawakened and militant energies of the worldwide Catholic Church, the chief and irreconcilable, if not unconquerable, enemy of its own equally extensive program of world unity among mankind."

Since this was written in 1935 by the foremost "liberal" lay Catholic propagandist in the nation, it is safe to assume that he has only a passing snicker for the professed unity of the People's Front tactics of the Communists. In a sense the joke is on Mike for

he doesn't know that the Communists consider the matter not as a clever maneuver, but as principles of Communism. While the frills of subtlety may be lost on him, he refuses to be duped—not even by self-duped Communists. He has too much class-consciousness. Father Coughlin simply howls with glee at the above mentioned Communist stupidity. Social Justice of Dec. 14th carried this little poem:

THE POPULAR FRONT

*The Communist has shaved his beard,
"No longer will my name be feared,"
He says, "I have a better stant;
I work now through the 'Popular Front.'"*

*In Youth and Labor movements, he
Inserts himself industriously;
He hears and sees and speaks no evil,
But bores in like a busy bee.*

*But leave the Front and look behind—
There Red reality you'll find:
The slaves of Russia, bound in chains,
The ruin and bloodshed that is Spain's.*

My purpose in these articles is to present some evidence of the collusion between Catholicism and Fascism in Europe, evidence of Catholicism as a fascist force in America, so as to set forth in sharp relief the new political role of Catholicism.

Swastika and Cross

In Nazi Germany there is an irreconcilable conflict between Catholicism and Fascism. In the present situation however, three factors must be constantly borne in mind: first, the Church has proven itself too powerful to be crushed, at least as far as the immediate future is concerned; secondly, the fascist categorical imperative of a united nation for war on Communism, internally and externally, finds an over-anxious enthusiast in the Church. And thirdly, the Church exerts enormous pressure against Hitler's onslaughts enraging Catholic farmers who refuse to deliver produce, "hoard", or increase production. Hitler was forced to publicly call a halt to further aggressions. There will be no cessation of conflict, but wily-milly Hitler will be forced by his war juggernaut, trembling on foundations of sand, to compromise with this unwelcome ally.

The recent eulogistic editorials in the New York Times, Post, and in the Jewish and liberal press on the defiance of Hitler by Catholicism deliberately distorted the meaning of the recent pastoral letters issued in Germany, thereby creating a totally false picture. What was eliminated by judicious quotation and commentary was the following (I quote two sections of the pastoral letter of August 30th read in all Catholic churches):

"Communism and Bolshevism seek, with satanic drive and tenacity, to push forward from East and West against Germany, as the heart of Europe. . . German solidarity, therefore, ought not to be weakened by religious division and struggle. Rather should the present tension be eased, religious peace established, so that our na-

** The press reports Hitler as warning Nazi officials against continuing the offensive against the Christian church.*

HOW DEMOCRACY HALTS FASCISM

THAT powerful weapon against fascism, the People's Front Government of France, banned a regional congress of the Croix de Feu, in Alsace.

So De La Roque held a "dinner" instead—lasting all day, attended by 3,000, and in which "after dinner-speaking" (i.e. political discussion) played a major role.

And while the People's Front Government found this quite in keeping with its "defense of democracy", a heavy force of the Garde Mobile arrested Communist demonstrators outside the hall, who were shouting "Down With La Roque!"

tional power of resistance be strengthened and steered so that later not only a Europe cleansed of Bolshevism, but a whole saved civilized world may offer thanks.

"If Spain fell to Bolshevism, the destiny of Europe would be finally settled, but the issue would be grave. Who runs can read what would be the duty of our people and Fatherland. May our Fuehrer with God's help succeed in solving this heavy task, undismayed and with the fullest co-operation of all citizens! Not struggle against the Catholic Church, but peace and concord with it, in order to deal effectively with Bolshevism. . ."

Let the poor Sons of Israel who read the press of the wealthy, gutless ones, ponder on Catholicism's readiness to wage war with Hitler on Bolshevism, and the inevitable corollary—more war on the German Jewry, "the agents of Moscow!"

As the Nazi death-machine speeds closer to the brink of war it will establish closer, more amicable ties with the Vatican. The evidence is already in the realm of the factual: On Dec. 2nd, the Reich Youth Administration admitted that the Catholic youth organizations could remain providing they concerned themselves solely with their own religion. Equally significant was the statement of Reich youth leader, Baldur von Schirach: "I have no intention of erecting pagan altars in German forests or introducing to Germany's youth any sort of Wotan cult. On the contrary, let every one serve that religious conviction which he can justify before his conscience."

Eloquent testimony indeed as to the power of Catholicism in Germany. Even mortal enemies will declare a truce in order to wage war on a common foe. Note how speedily the Pope's tirades against Bolshevism follow on the last echo of Hitler's ravings.

POUM Ousted From Catalan Cabinet

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Germany from taking over what is now Spanish Morocco.

In China, Chiang Kai-shek remains a prisoner of Marshal Chang, preventing the besieging of Sian-fu. Again the Soviet diplomats made a grievous error, when, in disassociating themselves from the Chinese Communist Party, they announced that "the unity of the Chinese people can be achieved thru the Nanking government" (i.e. thru and not against Chiang Kai-shek).

Both England and the United States are worried about the possible implications of the young

Attention!

Due to unforeseen difficulties the article by Sam Adams announced last week is not being published in this issue.—The Editor.

Blackshirts and Black Robes

It is related in the life of St. Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Order of Jesuits, that he nearly killed a Moor on one occasion because the Moor said that the Blessed Virgin had other children besides Jesus. But times change and the "priests of the bloody faith" spur on the Moors (infidels, eternally consigned to Hell in Catholic theology) to the slaughter of tens of thousands of Catholics in Spain. During the conquest of Ethiopia by Mussolini the Vatican applauded fascism's civilizing mission in the extermination of armies which contained thousands of followers of the coptic rite, the African version of Catholicism. And lest we forget the generic background of this holy Catholic practice, the ex-Jesuit priest, Boyd Barrett, long ago informed us in his book, *White Peter Sleeps*, that during the World War "Priests were authorized to fight gun in hand, in the trenches. French priests in particular took their places side by side with other poilus and shot and bombed and bayoneted their fellow-men. They fought as they claimed not for the glory of their religion alone but also for the love of their country."

Nowadays one occasionally sights a spark of friction between the Vatican and Mussolini but it is hurriedly extinguished. Together Mussolini and the Vatican pack have learned of the precariousness of keeping the lid clamped down upon Vesuvius. Compromise and cooperation were imperative for mutual survival.

Wherever Mussolini weaves his network of intrigue for blackest reaction there will you find the black-robed inquisitors in the front ranks. Italy's war on Britain in the lands bordering the Mediterranean has enlisted the Vatican as an adjunct to its foreign office. Writing from Jerusalem, July 8th, 1936, to *The Nation*, Albert Viton, revealed in this connection:

"For the last two years Italy has been making extensive preparations in the Arab world for the inevitable struggle for power. A huge net of Italian schools extends from Tripoli to the border of Turkey from the Mediterranean to the Arabian Sea; it has been woven by Mussolini's agents, OFTEN IN COOPERATION WITH THE VATICAN. Their pupils are taught that Mussolini is the savior of the world, and their ideas cannot be distinguished from those of the Italian fascist youth whose uniforms they wear. Every year a few thousand boys are taken to Italy for two months military training. The innumerable Italian hospitals in Egypt, Palestine, Syria and especially the one in Amman, the capital of Trans-Jordania, are active centers of propaganda."

"EVEN THE VATICAN HAS HARNESSED ITSELF TO MUSSOLINI'S WAR CHARIOT. The Pope's Italian representatives here have been so faithful to the Palaz-

Marshal's reputed demands for a war against Japan and unity with Soviet Russia. The New York Tribune and Times, authoritative mouthpieces of American imperialism, find that while Nanking's rule has not been of the best (i.e. leaning too much towards Japan) still Chang is not to be trusted.

The complete unmasking of the people's front government of France was consummated this week by Finance Minister Auriol's appeal for the support of French capital for military funds promising, in return, no radical measures. P. J. Philip, comments, (N. Y. Times, December 20th), on the total collapse of the demands of the Socialists and Communists for "making the rich pay": "It is all very well when one is on the opposition bench to declare that the rich must pay and, if not, a capital levy will be resorted to. Things look different from behind the desk of the Finance Minister. . ."

Frisco Labor Prepares For Mooney Drive

Officially appointed delegates from the San Francisco Labor Council, the Alameda County Labor Council, the San Francisco Building Trades Council and 53 representatives from 37 local labor unions met December 6th, for the purpose of following up mandates laid down at the recent conventions of the California State Federation of Labor and of the American Federation of Labor with regard to the fight for freedom being waged by the internationally famous labor prisoners, Tom Mooney and Warren Billings.

The resolution with regard to Mooney and Billings adopted by the California State Federation at its recent Sacramento Convention requested all local unions in California "to immediately form in their respective communities, Mooney-Billings defense committees to raise necessary funds and receive donations to this cause, all of which are to be transmitted to the stewardship of the San Francisco Labor Council."

A resolution calling upon the Executive Council of the California State Federation of Labor to call upon the International Unions throughout the country for financial support was unanimously adopted. This resolution was in conformity with the action taken at the A. F. of L. Convention at Tampa.

zo Chigi that an open split has developed between the Italian dignitaries and the French missionaries who watch with misgiving this subservience of the church to the state. In the Holy City, for example, the Italian Patriarch has threatened with ex-communication every Catholic daring to enter the Y.M.C.A. because in his opinion it is a Protestant missionary organization, and an English propaganda institution to boot. But this edict does not prevent the French head of the local Franciscan College from continuing to be, secretly of course, on the best terms with the Y.M.C.A. EVEN MORE GLARING HAS BEEN THE CONFLICT AT AMMAN, WHERE LA RAUX, THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS, OPENLY ACCUSED THE PAPAL REPRESENTATIVE, GINI, OF BEING AN AGENT OF MUSSOLINI'S FOREIGN OFFICE AND OF CARRYING ON PRO-ITALIAN PROPAGANDA IN SCHOOLS." (our emphasis).

For the Vatican these tasks are labors of love. Aware that Italian fascism sits on a tinder-box at home, it is a matter of self-preservation that urges it to support Mussolini. So the Vatican stakes all in its support. There is also that alluring picture of an Italian triumph and the Arabic-speaking peoples (and others) becoming "converts" to Catholicism. With the Vatican's stranglehold on Spain broken, with Peter's Pence and other sums from Germany no longer flowing into Rome, with the waning of the Mother Church's power elsewhere — what better prospect than a possible recouping of lost fortunes with Mussolini! Toward England the Vatican nurtures an old, deep-going hatred that cries for revenge.

This is the first in a series of articles on the Catholic Church.

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Classes every Tuesday at 8 p.m.
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Hamilton, Ontario

The 1936 Elections Break of Negroes With GOP Is Factor in F.D.R. Victory

By JAY LOVESTONE

IN the last election we witnessed a breaking down of the bases of previous party alignments. It is true, the forces operating for political realignment have been at work for some years. Yet, this process had not reached so significantly high a point until the Roosevelt-Landon contest.

Forcefully indicative of this breaking down of old bases of voting support is the marked shift of the Negro vote from the G.O.P.—"the party of Lincoln"—to the party of Roosevelt, but yesterday only the party of slavery to millions of Negroes. This switch of allegiance was manifested in the North and in the South. In the latter tier of states, the turn was comparatively feebly registered because of specific Southern reasons.

Bourbons Needed Negro Vote

In general the new Negro voting position was occasioned both in the North and in the South by the fear of these poor masses that a victory for Landon would spell the end of even meagre relief possibilities. However, it is my opinion that in the South there are additional reasons to be noted. At the Philadelphia convention, the Democratic Party decided to drop the two-thirds rule for nomination and to appoint state delegates to future quadrennial conclaves not on the basis of total population but rather on the basis of total party strength secured at the polls. Given this decision the Southern Bourbons (white, of course) find themselves in a new position. They can no longer dominate the conventions thru virtual veto power in the choice of Democratic Party standard-bearers.

At the same time, they desire and plan to wield maximum influence in the party upper circles and lower ranks. Therefore, there is but one road open to them. This is: raise the total popular Democratic vote to the highest levels. In the South, this means to allow and, perforce of circumstances and self-interest, even encourage the Negroes to vote—for the Democratic Party.

With the Lincoln myth evermore threadbare, this is an increasingly less difficult task. Here we must also not disregard the fact that in the twelve Southern states—the great "historic stronghold of states' rights" the federal government supplied 91.8% of the direct relief and "the states themselves furnished only 8.2% of the relief funds from their own resources."

Farley and his bosses approached the Negro vote possibilities with wide open eyes. Months before the elections, Congressman Arthur Mitchell of Illinois—the first Democratic Negro member of the House—delivered an address which the Congressional Record noted "was greeted with prolonged applause, with all Democrats standing" (my emphasis). What did Mitchell say that brought the Southern Congressmen to their feet in cheering for a Negro? In part he declared:

"For more than fifty years my people have been almost solidly registered in the Republican Party. It is only during the past four or five years that Negroes have found that the Democratic Party is a safe place to live and vote. . . I have just done some work for the National Democratic Party. I have been busy compiling statistics to be used in this campaign, and I find that in 23 states, where we expect to wage a campaign for Negro votes, where Negroes are permitted to vote, and where their votes are counted, we have more than 2,400,000 Negroes who can vote in this election.

"We expect to wage a campaign and to show the Republican Party that has abused the Negroes more than it has abused this country, that we stand politically emancipated, and we are going to give the Democratic Party and the

The 1936 Elections



Guess Who

great President that I love so dearly the largest vote that any Negro group has ever given a President of the United States."

Democrats Win Negroes

Mitchell was neither bluffing nor dabbling in rosy prophecies, as can be seen from the election results. In the December 1936 issue of *Opportunity*, Mr. Earl Brown makes some timely revelations about "How the Negro voted in the Presidential Election." Here we are told:

"It was predicted that the Negroes would vote more than ever before in the recent election. They did. It is estimated that approximately 2,000,000 of them went to the polls on Election Day. . .

"Equally as important as the size of the Negro vote is the fact that for the first time since the passage of the Fifteenth amendment the majority of the colored people voted for a Democratic Presidential candidate. . . The increased political activity of the Negro in the South during the last three years and particularly during the campaign is probably the most important political movement among the Negroes since the Reconstruction period. . . More Negroes voted in that section this year than since Reconstruction. In Memphis nearly fifty percent of the Negro voters voted for Roosevelt; in Durham and Raleigh over four thousand colored voters went to the polls and most of them supported Roosevelt. In South Carolina, it is alleged that a few liberal white people urged some Negroes to vote. . . Meantime, there has been little or no opposition to the Negroes' political activities in Dixie by the whites. . .

"If certain good political portents are discernible in the South, they are even more so in the North, for it is in this section that the race definitely broke away from the shackles of single-partyism on Election Day."

"Danger"—For Capitalism

Of the seventeen Negroes elected to state assemblies in nine states, twelve are Democrats. Five of the latter are in the erstwhile rock-ribbed Republican Pennsylvania. In New York the Negroes voted Democratic four to one.

Let no one think that the solid South is now solidly for the Negroes exercising their right of franchise. But the edifice of reaction is much weakened at its

foundation, thanks in no small measure, to some consequences (not always sought or welcomed) of the New Deal. Anticipating a bitterly fought election and preparing for a smashing victory, Farley saw to it that the Negro press with a circulation of 298,000 was lined up for Roosevelt. Supporting Landon were papers with a circulation of but 81,000. Here was a New Deal in more ways than one—for some editors.

Of course, there are tremendous potentialities involved in this new trend amongst the Negro masses. In our present discussion, however, we are concerned only with the facts of the phenomenon, its why and wherefore rather than its probable consequences and possible import—socially and politically.

Farmers Shift to FDR

Another indication of the break down of old bases for party alignments is the steady and hardening of support amongst the farmers for the Democratic Party. Here we have a rude shaking up of erstwhile Republican fortresses. Basically, this shift is rooted in the changed position of agriculture in American economy. In the immediate sense, there can be no doubt that the vast subsidies given to the rural sector by the New Deal have brought ringing support of Roosevelt by the farm voters.

But few words are necessary in underscoring the importance of the giant government machine as a factor in bringing on a Roosevelt avalanche. Whether it be WPA or PWA, it spelled the same in warming effect on people who dread hunger and cold—especially on those who have tasted both and who have been somewhat relieved by government checks.

G.O.P. Blunders

Finally, a primary factor making for the Roosevelt sweep was the very strategy, the very leadership of the Republican Party. Republican mistakes made very many Democratic votes. Only the most politically purblind could fail to see that the Republican strategy should have been to utilize the 1936 elections as a sort of organization campaign to prepare the ground for a 1940 victory. Operating on the illusion that there was a real chance of winning in 1936, Hamilton played a desperate game, flirting with the scum of American politics and thus instigating a major debacle instantly as well as going a long way to ruin the chances of the Republican Party in 1940.

It is the total failure of the open (Continued on Page 6)

"Black Chauvinism"

BY STEPHEN CUNNINGHAM

Carter Godwin Woodson is an able writer on the Negro question. His latest volume is most effective in its assemblage of French, English, and American authorities. The index is shop-made; many of the pages carry incorrect citations.

That Africa is a land without history is the common belief of American school children. The specific drive to retard the Negro reaches into every school and college. The American system does not want the Negro freed. Pride in ancestry would go far in arousing the Negro from his lethargy. Meanwhile American churches and schools are sending missionaries to Africa. With the exception of a few Negro missionaries like Max Yergan, most of these Bible-packers are salesmen. In Liberia, the American protectorate, the entire church and diplomatic service is in the employ of the Firestone rubber interests.

Dr. Woodson very frequently accuses white writers of racial bias—there is little doubt of it in this field. "If they (the whites) do not find 'white' men on the ground they search for some tradition or legend to give that race credit for all progress in Africa." (Page 47, footnote). But he proceeds to dig up his own non-essential narrowness: ". . . The Negro is a born worker. . . The Africans brought to America did not have to be made to work as did the unprofitable white indentured servants and untractable Indians who could not live up to the tempo set by the exploiters of the New World. . ." (Page 174).

Better Slaves?

There is no reason why forced labor should have appealed to the Indians. America was their land, and all Indian civilization was not backward. The much maligned poor whites had probably been worn out before they were shipped here. English capitalism exploited white Englishmen in the same manner that America exploited the blacks. Marx cites the opinion of 19th Century English liberals: ". . . The system. . . is one of unmitigated slavery, socially, morally, physically, spiritually. . . We declaim against the Virginia and Carolina cotton planters. Is their black-market, their lash, and their barter of human flesh more detestable than this slow sacrifice of humanity which takes place in order that veils and collars may be fabricated for the benefit of capitalists?" (Capital, Page 246, Vol. I, E. & C. Paul, translation. Everyman's Library).

The weakness of many American Negro scholars is revealed in their tendency to deride exploited white slaves, instead of striving to make common cause with them. The explanation of this basic class error among the present generation of Negro intellectuals can be explained by a casual perusal of Dr. Woodson's appended "Important Events and Dates in Negro History": November 26, Andrew C. Carnegie, Philanthropist, Born 1835!

The tendency to indulge in Black Chauvinism creeps out again, for Dr. Woodson is a Stark Young and Claude Bowers reversed in ebony. The dreaming white Southerners have counted far too many glories in the old South, while Dr. Woodson rants rhapsodically over the transplanted Africans. ". . . Brought into a new country the Negroes. . . never developed toward vulcanism as have done the European settlers who have come in this country as a result of social and political upheavals in which they have participated. While the latter came seeking an asylum from wrongs which they have suffered they have readily afflicted others with the evils from which they tried to escape. The Negroes, on the other hand, have never resorted to force except in self-defense or self-preservation from evils which their uprisings were intended to correct. In freedom the Negro has still lived up to this ideal of being a law-abiding citizen. He did not throw bombs; he did not start riots; he does not engage in lynchings; he has never assassinated a high public functionary or tried to overthrow the government." (Page 168).

(Continued on Page 6)

THE LAND OF PLENTY

This woodcut, by Lucienne Bloch was one of the outstanding prints in the American Artists Congress Exhibit. One hundred prints were exhibited simultaneously in thirty cities during December. The theme of the show was "America: 1936".

"The Land of Plenty", is the title of this cut. In the midst of luxuriant corn fields and the latest phases of rural electrification is a sharecropper and his family wandering aimlessly — ragged and hungry.



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'LEFT' FASCISTS AND THE COMINTERN

By WILL HERBERG

DEVELOPMENTS in the world communist movement in the last three years have been so rapid and spectacular—changes so startling, transformations so complete and yet so suddenly executed—that our capacity for surprise seems just about exhausted, leaving us in a sort of permanent state of political shell-shock. Yet there is now taking place before our very eyes a shift in the policy of the Communist International in the struggle against fascism so far-reaching in its implications and consequences that even the coalition-socialism of the People's Front pales into insignificance beside it.

In the October 24 issue (vol. 16, no. 48) of the International Press Correspondence, official bulletin of the Communist International, there are two documents that lay down in most precise form the fundamental nature of this new departure: (1) an article by Walter ("For the Reconciliation of the German People") elaborating the political line of the recent manifesto of the central committee of the Communist Party of Germany, and (2) a resolution of the central committee of the Communist Party of Italy, headed: "Reconciliation of and Unity Among the Italian People." Both declarations have the merit of plain speaking and no evasion, and between them they provide a clear picture of the new approach in all its aspects.

1. The anti-fascist struggle in Germany and Italy is not directed against capitalism in its last and most decadent and hence its most barbarous and ruthless form, not against the reactionary bourgeoisie of monopolist finance-capital, not even against fascism as the open but indirect dictatorship of this bourgeoisie, but against—the "three thousand millionaires who rule Germany", the "upper ten thousand", the "armament profiteers", etc.—and this not in an agitational appeal or leaflet but in a fundamental political declaration of the Communist Party!

2. In this struggle, it is absolutely necessary to unite the people of all classes; above all it is necessary to effect the reconciliation of fascists and anti-fascists, to halt the conflict between the two and to replace hostility by a new relation of "confident cooperation".

"The Communist Party of Germany replies . . . by calling for the RECONCILIATION OF THE ANTI-FASCIST AND THE NATIONAL-SOCIALIST (i.e., Nazi, W.H.) MASSES . . . The vital interests of the German people demand that the non-National-Socialists offer a brotherly hand to the National Socialist masses in order that, instead of hatred, there should be confident cooperation in the fight for peace, freedom and well-being."

And: "At the present moment, the policy of the party (C.P.I.) can be summed up in the following words: RECONCILIATION AND UNITY OF THE ITALIAN PEOPLE, OF THE FASCISTS AND NON-FASCISTS. . ." (Emphasis here and in other quotations from the original.)

3. In order to effect this unity and cement this alliance of fascists and anti-fascists, it is necessary to "adopt as our own" the original program of fascism, to popularize it and to make it the basis of the anti-fascist struggle—and this is entirely possible because the original fascist program is really quite progressive in character.

"In order to facilitate the fraternization of all Italians, in order to

unite all efforts for freedom in the country, the C.P. of Italy DECLARES THAT IT ADOPTS AS ITS OWN THE FASCIST PROGRAM OF 1919, WHICH IS A PROGRAM OF FREEDOM, AND IS DETERMINED TO FIGHT FOR IT."

"The appeal of the Communist Party of Germany calls upon the German people to keep together. TO TAKE THE NATIONAL-SOCIALIST LEADERS AT THEIR WORD, to enforce the realization of those former demands of the National Socialist Party which are in the interests of the people."

4. The rank and file of the fascist movement, so far from being the backward, demoralized, ideologically corrupted and politically debauched elements hitherto alleged, are really fine, upstanding, progressive fellows.

"How different the course of the coming crisis will be if all the anti-reactionary, freedom-loving, progressive forces work fraternally together. . . if anti-fascist and National-Socialist toilers fight shoulder to shoulder together for the demands of the people."

5. Even the lower officialdom of the fascist organizations can be looked to as allies of the anti-fascist movement; they must, under certain circumstances, be supported by the anti-fascists.

"Many anti-fascists still regard the minor National Socialist officials as 'little Hitlers'. . . Of course, there are many corrupt elements, many Storm-Troopers and Nazi officials who yesterday fought against us with weapons in hand; but they are against the employers, who insist on being masters in their factory, they are against the privileges of the rich, against the old reactionaries, they want the old social demands of the National Socialist Party to be carried out."

And: "The party (C.P.I.) sets all communists and points out to all politically advanced elements the following tasks: (a) . . . TO SUPPORT those fascist leaders who are striving to take on the defence of the general or partial interests of the masses of the people. . . ; TO JOIN THESE LEADERS in order to push them in the direction of independent action of the masses. . ."

6. It is quite possible to convert the fascist "unions" and other fascist mass organizations into effective instruments of the proletarian class struggle. The fascist "unions" can be utilized by the workers to extort gains from the employers and they must, therefore, be regarded as essentially genuine working class organizations, presumably to be consolidated and strengthened. By direct implication, the effort to build up a free trade union movement underground to be abandoned as futile and unnecessary.

"THE FASCIST TRADE UNIONS CAN BE AN INSTRUMENT IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE EMPLOYERS. . . THEREFORE THEY MUST BE REGARDED AS THE TRADE UNIONS OF THE WORKERS IN THE PRESENT SITUATION IN ITALY."

And: "The fascist trade unions can, even under the totalitarian fascist regime, enable the masses to win considerable victories, to change the relations of power in their favor and later render possible a development of the whole labor movement."

"It is becoming more and more clear to the anti-fascists that it is possible to get the masses of the workers to act unilaterally only if their demands are put forward legally in the Labor Front. . ."

POUM PRESSES FOR LAND COLLECTIVES

This article is reprinted from the Nov. 25 issue of THE SPANISH REVOLUTION, English bulletin of the Workers Party of Marxist Unity (POUM).

LAST Sunday, November 15th, an important gathering took place in Barcelona. This was a meeting called by the P.O.U.M. (Workers Party of Marxist Unity) to discuss the land question and to lay the foundation for a new agrarian program. The slogans which are to be pressed by our party and solutions to various problems were under discussion. In the face of present developments in the social and economic life of Catalonia, it is vitally necessary to adopt a definite line of action with regard to our agrarian policy. The meeting was well attended and included delegations from over fifty different villages. The debate turned largely upon the social question of the distribution of the land.

After a prolonged study, the Agrarian Commission of our party has adopted a program for the solution of the land question. The report as finally approved, contained the following points:

1. All land property should be nationalized.
2. Socialization should be in the hands of the Peasant Unions, through their general organization.
3. The socialist land should be distributed for cultivation according to the needs of the peasants who have been working it.
4. The present small proprietors should continue to work the land which they have been cultivating, no peasant, however, being allowed to hold more land than he and his family can till.
5. The peasants should own the fruits of their labors, the only intermediaries between the producer and the consumer being the Unions and the Cooperatives.
6. The collectivization of the land should be encouraged and technical and economic assistance provided.
7. Realizing that education plays an important part in achieving collective cultivation we urge the creation of model farms which should be provided with modern technical equipment in order to demonstrate the superiority of scientific cooperation over individual cultivation.

Every healthy political instinct, every decent sentiment in the class conscious worker, rises in revolt against this whole monstrous construction. And this naturally makes calm, critical analysis almost impossible. Yet such analysis is essential if we are ever to get at the root of the canker that is gnawing away at the very vitals of the world communist movement. In subsequent articles I intend to subject the new orientation of the Communist International to just such a sober critical examination with the double object of demonstrating its utter falsity and the great inherent dangers as well as of indicating clearly its broader implications in the general strategical scheme of the Communist International today.

Importance of Land Problem Finally, the reconstruction of the agrarian secretariat of the P.O.U.M., was carried out, representatives being appointed from the following districts: Lerida, Tarragona, Girona, City of Barcelona, Barcelona District, Levante, and Aragon. Comrade Armengol was appointed permanent secretary.

During the course of the afternoon, the above-mentioned commission held its first meeting, and expressed points of view with regard to its future action.

We do not have to insist on the importance of the land problem to the future of our revolution. The solution of this problem must preserve the alliance between the workers and the peasants, without which the revolution would be lost. We are not among those who are confused by the vacillations, the disorders and the mistakes that characterize the present situation,

and always accompany a period of deep social change such as we now are living through. But it is the duty of a revolutionary party to return all its forces toward directing the spontaneous action of the masses; we must direct this action to concrete achievements which satisfy the aspirations of the people. We must strengthen the new social order and save it from the dangers which threaten it.

We do not vacillate in proclaiming that it would lead to catastrophe to continue the state of affairs now prevailing in a good part of the Catalan country-side. Under the policy of forced collectivization, practiced by some irresponsible terrorist groups, the confidence of the peasants is undermined. This will end in their refusal to sow and cultivate; it will end in hostility toward the new order on the part of a very important section of the population, which is now struggling with us against fascism and demonstrating unquestioned sympathy for the workers revolution.

Against Forced Collectivization In short this policy of forced collectivization of land is counter-revolutionary, because it destroys the indispensable alliance between workers and peasants, undermining the foundations of our economy, threatening the country with hunger and misery, and creating a social atmosphere quite contrary to the cause which we defend. This state of affairs must be ended. It is a question of honor for the workers organizations to see that this is done. The progress of the revolution and the needs of the struggle demand it. We have stated that without exception it will be necessary to respect the work of the small cultivators, and we cannot consent to let our solemn promise be converted into a passing word.

Therefore, a clear and definite agrarian policy is necessary. With this conviction, our party has taken an important step, presenting in its recent agrarian conference the basis of an intelligent policy, capable of solving the present agrarian situation. It is the duty of all our militants, especially in the agricultural regions, to turn their careful attention to this problem, working untiringly, propagating the program of the P.O.U.M. among the peasants and putting themselves on their side defending them against counter-revolutionaries.

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DAILY PAPER NOW ISSUED BY POUM

Despite severe restrictive measures against the POUM, because of its revolutionary, anti-people's front policy, it has just begun to publish a daily paper, "The Red Fighter" a periodical started as an organ of the POUM militia fighting on the Alcarria front, has been converted into a daily paper. It has already reached a circulation of 35,000 primarily among the militia at the front.

The leadership of the POUM is also strengthening its forces in Madrid with the sending of Gorkin and Andrade from Barcelona. A shock battalion has been organized by the POUM in Madrid. This battalion is led by Mica Eschebehere whose husband was killed while at the head of a motorized column during fighting on the Sigüenza front.

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U.S. Steel-Labor Lays Siege To the Fortress of Reaction

By JOSEPH BROWN

HUNDREDS of thousands of steel workers throughout the great steel centers are beginning to sense, once again, their powers of organization. After years of mounting discontent and a bitter hatred toward the many betrayals, the steel labor giant is rearing its head in response to the campaign of the Committee for Industrial Organization. Twice betrayed and sabotaged by the craft unions and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in 1919 and in 1934, the steel workers are regaining their confidence of old under the healthy leadership of the progressive, industrial union forces. Rid of the shackles of craft unionism and having cast off the spineless leaders of the crafts, the land of steel reverberates with the slowly rising tide of organized labor. The steel workers are responding to a call heard so many times but never yet successful in its objective—the unionization of the steel industry. And, once again, the organization drive in steel is being met by the steady, powerful resistance of the backbone of American capitalism—the Steel Trust!

Big For Sympathy

The giant amongst giants has begun its insidious campaign of propaganda to win the "public" to its side. The first step in a deliberately planned strategy of warfare against the union forces smacks of the "velvet glove" policy to be followed in the later stages of the struggle and the needs of the struggle demand it. We have stated that without exception it will be necessary to respect the work of the small cultivators, and we cannot consent to let our solemn promise be converted into a passing word.

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Philip Murray, head of the Steel welcomed to a steel town, where Workers Organizing Committee, is he addresses the workers

U. S. Steel is getting still angrier. Its latest outpouring from the steel hacks appears as a full page advertisement in the Evening Post (12-3-36), embellished with pretty little pictures of the industry. "Progress Reared On The Triumphs Of Steel" and "U. S. Steel Symbolizes Our Twentieth Century Civilization" are the pretentious and misleading titles covering a seven column spread. Phrases that hide the plain heart-rending facts about one of the most exploited sections of the country. The industry employs men who have sweated and toiled in fire and heat, who have worked with dangerous molten iron and boiling terrifying cauldrons, under conditions that wear out a man's body and soul. These are the workers who have given us progress and have received soft-soaping baloney in return. U. S. Steel, a symbol? Yes, of horrors, of exploitation, of the huge juggernaut of monopoly capitalism riding rough-shod over their human materials!

The advertisement expands on the theme of "progress" and "symbols" by referring to its "great" labor conditions with high wage levels and high standards of living. What, however, are the actual facts and not the manufactured statistics of the steel magnates? During the fearful depression years, annual wages declined to \$300 in many steel towns while the big steel presidents like Taylor of U. S. Steel averaged over \$200,000 annually from 1927 to 1932, and Grace of Bethlehem coined his million a year. While the steel workers were living on the microscopic crumbs of U. S. Steel's handouts, the steel bosses were maintaining their tremendous and completely unjustified salaries. Even during the so-called prosperity period while production was steadily advancing, employment dropped. From 1926 to 1928 employment decreased 9.1% while payrolls declined 7.3%. With the advent of the depression, wage scales and employment took to the toboggan slide—wages dropping 40% and employment being practically nil when the industry operated at from 18 to 20% capacity. Yet the salaries to Taylor, Schwab, Grace and the other fat boys of steel remained at their skyscraper levels!

"Welfare" Program Not content with passing off the humbug of high wages and employment opportunities, the steel advertisement proceeds to offer its welfare record in caring for and housing the steel workers. It speaks of safety devices, company

houses, insurance schemes, profit sharing plans and other such snares and delusions. But why, in spite of its so-called leadership in the field of safety devices, do steel workers have to pay anywhere from 30 to 100% higher insurance rates? Why is the mortality rate so high in the industry? How explain the plain heart-rending facts about a blast furnace poured 400 tons of molten iron in its crew and 21 workers were killed? Steel workers, furthermore, still face all sorts of heat exposure, hot mill scuffs, pneumonia as a common cause for death, carbon monoxide poisoning, and untold numbers of accidents that have made the steel industry the most terrifying of the entire industrial structure.

The other features of the "welfare program" of the U. S. Steel consisting of company houses, insurance schemes, relief dues during the depression, etc., reveal the most vicious system of "industrial feudalism" that grips the steel towns. Not to mention the notorious spy-systems that characterize all these towns and mills.

In this advertisement, they try to show how generous and humanitarian they are but U. S. Steel let the cat out of the bag on this score a number of years ago in the following report: "The U. S. Steel Corporation is not an eleemosynary institution. All its activities for the good of the worker, apart from considerations of humanity, have been amply justified by plain business reasons—they paid eventually. The men who direct the policy of the corporation have never lost sight of the fact that the first object of any company is to make money for its stockholders." Thus, the welfare record has acted as an anti-union measure and has fitted into the profit-making objective of the corporation.

Unionization Is The Answer

One of the curious aspects of the advertisement is the proud reference to U. S. Steel's war record in helping old Uncle Sam to victory against the Kaiser boys. This old tripe is still being served after the welter of committees of investigation exposing the war profits of the steel companies as reasons for U. S. entrance into the war. But the denouement of the entire advertisement comes with the following: "The Corporation has successfully carried out an experiment in popular ownership, the sharing of a giant indus-

TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

"SUSPENDED last summer by the Executive Council of the Federation the action of the Council was ratified by the convention by a vote of 21,679 to 2043. The suspended unions were not represented at the convention. Suspension of the C.I.O. unions rather than expulsion leaves the Executive Council free to continue efforts to heal the breach."

This quotation is taken from the December issue of the "Railway Clerk," official organ of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. It assumes importance because it probably reflects the opinion of Grand President George M. Harrison, a vice-president of the A. F. of L. and a member of the standing peace committee in the federation.

Since there are quite a number of very well-meaning people who really believed that the action of the convention left the door open for peace it is not out of place to ask a very pertinent question now: What has the A. F. of L. done to achieve peace since the A. F. of L. convention adjourned? It has done absolutely nothing! Not even the slightest effort has been made to contact the C.I.O. for the purpose of resuming conversations. We are not among those who believe that to achieve peace all that is needed is for all concerned to put their feet under one table. But we are justified in addressing ourselves to all and sundry peace convivers and ask them—What now?

Why don't we see them boil with indignation against a palpable peace fraud perpetrated upon them by the die-hard leaders of the A. F. of L. It is difficult to believe that members of the executive council, and important leaders of national organizations who have been thru the mill in the labor movement, were so naive as to take seriously even for a moment, the hypocritical cries for peace and harmony which emanated from Bill Green. We fear that naive workers in the unions will be very much surprised to discover that what they believed to be an olive branch in the hands of the members of the executive council committee is really a big stick; what they mistook for honeyed words of peace are in reality a declaration of war.

Harmony Without Unity We looked forward with interest to receiving the current issue of the "Machinists Journal"—happy hunting ground of Arthur O. Wharton and John P. Frey of the Metal Trades Council. Here at last we were to get the opinions of the A. F. of L. convention in Tampa. But imagine our surprise to find that the December issue says not one word on the whole struggle in the labor movement. To president Wharton even the issue no longer exists. Who should branch in the hands of the members of the executive council committee is really a big stick; what they mistook for honeyed words of peace are in reality a declaration of war.

Propose Referendum Remembering the few and cautious words in the "Railway Clerk" we were pleasantly surprised to discover a rather outspoken position in the December 12 issue of "The Union Leader", Chicago organ of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electrical Railway workers. The surprise is due to the fact that the president of this organization is William D. Mahon, who was elected fifteenth vice-president of the A. F. of L. at the Atlantic City Convention, in a contest against Charles Howard of the Typographical Union, now secretary of the C.I.O.

"Our leaders may emerge from the Tampa convention", says this article, "proudly claiming to have upheld the law, but they will have retarded the progress of the workers."

"We are confronted with an unusual and serious emergency. Let it be solved by an unusual, yet thoroughly democratic method. Let us try by its workers and the man in the street, instead of vesting control in a relatively few men who would be less likely to have the welfare of the employee at heart". Thus, the steel worker owns steel, the CIO is superfluous, and unionization is a myth. To such blarney, the steel workers are answering with organization and with a renewal of the spirit that saw over 365,000 steel workers answer the strike call of September 22, 1919!

This stirring story of the "men of steel" will be continued in coming articles.

HARLAN MINERS' FREEDOM ASKED

New York City.—Forty-five of forty-seven living jurors in the famous Everts battle cases in Kentucky have now petitioned Gov. A. B. Chandler to free before Christmas the four Harlan-county union miners serving life for alleged conspiracy to kill three coal company mine-guards.

Three labor organizations with a total membership exceeding 175,000 lately appealed to Governor Chandler to pardon the prisoners. The joint board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union pointed out in a resolution that Chandler "was elected as a friend of labor, and should be anxious to wipe out this dark stain on the name of his state."

Labor Forces WPA Hiring

A series of conferences between Roosevelt and Congressional leaders, held this week, made it clear that the unemployed will be treated harshly as regards appropriations. The conferences resulted in a public declaration that "no new taxes would be levied, and the budget will be balanced".

In New York City, fifteen thousand workers will be dropped from WPA rolls (7% of the present total). Up to December 17th, 11,500 had already been dropped, and the reinstatement of about 1,000 forced by pressure of unemployed and WPA labor organizations, will hardly compensate for the daily dismissal of 1,000 now going on.

The American Labor Party protested indignantly against the present layoffs in a telegram to Harry Hopkins, the WPA administrator. "Any arbitrary axe-swinging" on the rolls was condemned as a "violation of the will of the people in the last election", and a "menace to recovery."

Five thousand WPA workers and unemployed, marching under the banners of their various organizations held a mass demonstration on December 12th, protesting the layoffs. When reinstatements were consequently made, a false statement was issued by Somervell, local WPA administrator, that the Workers Alliance, Teachers Union, and City Projects Council had agreed, to seal the bargain, that no further stay-in strikes would be held. All involved organizations immediately denied the existence of such an agreement.

Negro Vote Shifts To Democrats

(Continued from Page 3)

and camouflaged agents and organs of the G.O.P. to comprehend or even to see at all the six factors making for the Roosevelt victory that is in no small way responsible for the size of the Republican defeat and the character of the Democratic victory. In the light of the workings of the forces so far traced in this series, it is not hard to understand the peaks of Roosevelt popularity, the

These items are reprinted from the Generalidad of Catalonia, English Edition.

What today is our position in the Spanish civil war? Can the government rationally and seriously hope to win?

What part of Spanish territory under rebel domination and how many inhabitants are included in these regions? The fascists possess 17 provinces, covering an area of 61,700 square miles and including six million inhabitants. The Government holds 15 provinces, with an area of 57,100 square miles and 7,500,000 inhabitants. The Government has a smaller extent of territory, but greater man power.

To form a complete idea of the situation, other factors of the greatest importance must be borne in mind, all of them in the government's favor.

In order to control a province, it is not sufficient to capture the capital by force of arms. There are fifteen other provinces besides the Balearic Islands where the fascists have established their rule in the capital, while fighting continued throughout the neighboring countryside. The greater part of the provinces of Madrid, Granada, Huesca, Teruel, Saragossa, and Oviedo are controlled by the government. Malaga also is almost entirely in our hands.

In the province of Oviedo the position of the territory in possession of the troops came from Galicia to help Arando is of slight importance.

The island of Menorca remains

loyal to the Government. The governmental columns in the Basque country are advancing on Aleva. In Palencia the district north of the railway from La Robla to Calmaseda is in the Government's hands. The northern zone of the province of Burgos has remained loyal since the beginning of the rebellion, and some advances have been made in it. The eastern portion of the Toledo province is very strongly defended by popular troops.

From this examination it is evident that the victory of the rebels is far from being a certainty, even in the improbable case of the fall of Madrid. If Franco captured Madrid, the possession of it would be more in the nature of a serious obstacle than a blessing to him. The rebels would have to find food for a million more mouths.

The Government has transferred the Bank of Spain to Valencia. There is not an ounce of gold left in Madrid. The 70 million pounds sterling of gold which approximately make up the Bank of Spain gold reserves, are in the hands of the Government and constitute the most powerful weapon against which Franco has to fight.

The rebels occupy the poorest provinces of Spain; the Government owns the industrial centers and in general those parts which are agriculturally the richest. How can the economic system of the rebels function without gold and without the export of products? Their exportable products are limited to sherry, and fruits from the Canary Islands and part of Andalusia. The truly rich provinces—Catalonia, Lecante, the Basque country, Almeria, Malaga, Ciudad Real, etc.—are in the hands of the Government and we can affirm without fear of overstatement that 80% of Spanish exportation is controlled by the Government of the Republic.

Besides all this the Government had a considerably superior number of combatants. It must not be forgotten that the Spanish people are not fighting against the Spanish army, but against Moors and Legionnaires—mercenary troops which have to be paid.

Where do the rebel generals get

FROM THE SPANISH WORKERS PRESS

the 16 million monthly pesetas which Spanish Morocco costs the Spanish state and from where do they get the 250 million pesetas which they need every month in order to keep up the war and the economic life in the regions under fascist domination?

Obviously, the gifts offered by the Spanish capitalists are not sufficient to cover these expenses. On the other hand, the Spanish Government has more than ample means for winning the war.

In this well founded hope the Spanish people will continue their struggle for liberty with a courage and enthusiasm even greater, if necessary, than that which they have shown heretofore.

LA BATALLA (P.O.U.M.)

"What we have now to see is if the big democratic powers of Europe will change their positions. We must watch to see if the revolutionary workers' movement in these countries will be able to force their respective governments and dominant classes to abandon the 'neutrality' policy, the policy which is indirectly lending support to the Spanish counter-revolution.

"At the present moment, Europe is living on top of a volcano. The atmosphere is tense, with the feeling of war. The only way out which is left in this crucial moment is for the working class of the world to seize political power and thus prevent the bourgeoisie of all countries from dragging us headlong into an imperialist war. For the war would be imperialist even for those countries who would limit their activities to the defence of their colonial interests.

"The international working class movement must help our revolution, sending us arms and men and overthrowing the 'neutrality' attitude towards Spain of their governments, which has done nothing but allow underhand help to be sent to Franco and his fascists."

November 21, 1936.

CIO Leads In Organization

(Continued from Page 1)

His challenge that "The company unions must be put out of business" was enthusiastically received by the company union delegates present. A resolution was adopted condemning the company union plan as a "farce" and establishing a new organization called the "CIO Representatives Council." The following declaration of principles was adopted:

1. A national industrial union for all steel workers.

2. Employee representatives to help sign up workers into the SWOC.

3. Employee representatives to enlighten the workers on the real nature of company unions.

4. CIO supporters among employee representatives to remain inside of company unions to continue their work for genuine unionism.

The conference also went on record for the following demands: 1) \$5 minimum for labor and an increase of \$1.24 a day for all getting more than \$5 now; 2) Five day, thirty hour week; 3) One or two weeks vacation with pay depending on length of service; 4) Time and a half for overtime, double time for work on Sunday and holidays.

The meeting was attended by 250 employee representatives from 42 plants. Elmer J. Maloy was elected president of the CIO Representatives Council, Paul Fraser of Farrell, Pa. became secretary, John Kane of Dusquesne, assistant secretary and William Hart of Blawnox, treasurer.

In closing the conference Murray declared that the attitude of the steel companies made it almost a certainty that the workers would have to resort to strike action to win recognition and improvements.

"Black Chauvinism"

(Continued from Page 3)

Shades of Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, and Crispus Attucks! White "vulcanism" and black "vulcanism" develop from deep-seated causes.

"For several reasons the demands for Negroes especially greatly increased toward the end of the seventeenth century, leaving that of other laborers about normal. The Indian . . . was not an efficient laborer. The . . . convicts from European prisons, who were permitted to leave their confinement on the condition of serving . . . were not sufficient . . . Negroes who were then being captured in large numbers in the tribal wars FOMENTED BY EUROPEANS AND ASIATICS could be more easily obtained." (Page 258) (emphasis mine—S. C.)

Why try to rate black slaves above or below white and red slaves. Why ignore the class basis of the English prison labor? (Is not the same think true of the South today? Are not Negro prisoners thrown in jail on petty charges and forced to "work out" their sentences with some plantation? Why does Dr. Woodson refuse to mention clearly that ancient Africa and present day Liberians and Ethiopians, until very recently, traded in slaves?)

Dr. Woodson has not evaluated correctly, world slavery. Slavery has taken different forms, depending upon the economic situation to which slavery was joined. In certain situations, the Greek slaves led modest lives. The same is true at one point in American history of the lot of Negro slaves. Dr. Woodson is accurate in pointing out that free Negroes voted in Tennessee and North Carolina until 1834 (page 265). In 1835, Rumanian serfs advanced a degree in freedom. (Capital I, 235.)

Marx is advanced in his evaluation of the American situation. ". . . As soon, however, as peoples among which production still takes the lower form of slave labor, serf labor, and the like, are attracted within the domain of the world market which is dominated by the capitalist method of production . . . the civilized horrors of overwork are grafted on to the barbaric horrors of slavery, serfdom, etc. In the Southern States of the American Union, Negro slavery had a moderate and patriarchal character so long as production was mainly carried on for the satisfaction of the immediate needs of the slave owners. But in proportion as the export of cotton grew to be a vital interest of the slave states, overwork became a factor in calculated and calculating system, so that . . . it was considered 'good business' to use up the Negroes' lives in seven years. . . . The same thing has happened in the Danubian Principalities (Rumania) in the case of serf labor." (Capital I, 236.)

The Church

In spite of the improper alignment of economics with religion, Dr. Woodward has contributed a stern reflection on the church. However, he has not ventured closer to reality than to say in a footnote (page 391): "The most striking thing in the appeal of the Negro radical element is that Communism offers everything which the church does not offer. Communism is intended to save humanity. If humanity can be saved the churches will be unnecessary. There are some preachers who concede this is true, but nevertheless doubt that Communism will save humanity as it claims that it will." But the preachers are wrong!

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Business OK's FDR's Policy

(Continued from Page 1)

tears for the "little man" and proposing a new NRA which would protect him. At the same time, the major function of the council was to propose the final abolition of the anti-trust laws.

Big Business refused to accept this convention. Altho at the meeting of the N. A. of M., a National Economic Council similar to the Berry group was proposed, these forces will not go into the Council for Industrial Progress. First, Berry is disliked because of his labor connections. Apparently the association is too much reminded of "section 7a" by his presence. More fundamental however is the fact that the proposals of "co-operation" tendered by industry, are on the basis of maintenance of business' independence from government "co-ordination." Thus, the traditions of business-controlled government as opposed to state-capitalism, are superficially continued, altho of course the reality

Finally, Berry's conference had aspects of a political gathering ballyhooing the New Deal and indulging in its demagogy, whereas the National Association of Manufacturers' were content to lay down the line of the "new capitalism."