

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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4 Scottsboro Boys Freed

Plan Appeals On Terms Of Five Others Still In Southern Jails

After six and one-half years of imprisonment by the Southern ruling class, four of the nine Scottsboro boys, framed for alleged rape, won their freedom this week. These four, Eugene Williams, Roy Wright, Olen Montgomery and Willie Roberson, imprisoned in early adolescence, are laying plans to enter trades. Montgomery taught himself to read and write while in jail.

Of the remaining five victims

Progs Gain In Fur Election

Win Two Council Seats B. Baraz Gets 42% Of Ballots

On Wednesday and Thursday, July 14 and 15, there took place the regular annual election of officers in the New York furriers union. Altogether 4,958 votes were cast, about a thousand less than last year, altho the union has grown in the meanwhile, so that it now includes about 13,000 workers in its ranks.

The progressives in the New York furriers union put up three candidates in the elections—Benjamin Baraz, for business agent, as well as Lena Greenberg and Joe Farber, for the Joint Council. The latter two were endorsed on the administration (Communist Party) slate but not the former. The progressives therefore went into the elections in a direct clash with the administration on the candidacy of Baraz for business agent.

Negotiations with the administration were greatly prolonged in the hope of reaching some agreement to avoid a conflict, but in vain. As a result there was hardly more than a day left for a campaign; only one leaflet setting forth the progressive program could be issued and that on the day before the elections. Nevertheless, Benjamin Baraz received 2,079 votes, or 42% of the total! The year before Baraz had gotten 35% so that, in the course of one year, a gain of 7% had been registered by the progressive candidate in the face of all difficulties.

Lena Greenberg and Joe Farber, the two progressive candidates endorsed by the administration, received 2,900 and 2,600 respectively. The administration slate was broken at one point when Fishkoff was elected business agent by a vote of 2,859 in the place of Schwartz, who had received the administration's support.

The splendid vote received by Baraz is a sign both of the widespread discontent in the New York furriers union with the Gold-Potash administration as well as of the tremendous possibilities that exist for the building up of a strong progressive movement.

JAIL CNT MEN IN SPAIN

ON July 13, the United Press announced the following: "Juan Navarro, leader of the P.O.U.M., . . . was reported to have been assassinated in Barcelona. The report said that forty-four members of the C.N.T. (National Labor Federation) and the F.A.I. (anarchists) have been arrested."

From Paris we learn that moves are already under way in Madrid to implicate Caballero, Araquistain and other left socialists and leaders of the U.G.T. in some alleged treason or espionage "plot" and thus launch a crusade of persecution against the left and revolutionary elements in the ranks of the Socialist Party as well.

of the Southern Bourbons lynch frenzy, one, Clarence Norris, has been sentenced to death, another, Charles Weems, to seventy-five years imprisonment; Andrew Wright, to ninety-nine years; and Ozzie Powell, to twenty years for "assault."

It is expected that the appeals on these sentences, now being prepared, will be shortly set into motion. The victory achieved in freeing four should serve to give new vigor to the campaign for the freedom of the rest.

The arrival of the freed boys was marked by the welcome of over two thousand Negroes representing the elation of the Negro masses at this blow at race oppression.

Nye "Liberal" Assails NLRB

North Dakota Senator In Collusion With Little Steel Magnates

A sensation was created in labor and liberal circles last week when Gerald K. Nye, North Dakota Senator, issued a violent blast against the National Labor Relations Board, denouncing it as "biased," under the domination of the C.I.O. and "unfit" to act as "referee" in disputes between capital and labor.

Within a few days came the surprising revelation that the supposedly liberal Senator Nye made his vicious declaration after conferences with a Washington public relations counsel so closely associated with Republic Steel that he was the unofficial host of the now famous Tom Girdler "luncheon party" when that spokesman for "Little Steel" last visited Washington.

It now appears that, before copies of Nye's assault on the N.L.R.B. were distributed in Congressional circles, identical copies were given out to newspaper correspondents in downtown Washington from the publicity headquarters of Sam Jones, the notorious public relations counsel who guided Girdler about Washington recently. And what is more to the point, Senator Nye admits that he at least "talked the matter over" with the friends of "Little Steel" before assailing the N.L.R.B.

Mine, Steel Unions Hit New Deal Policy

U.M.W.A. Executive Board Approves S.W.O.C. Strike Report Condemning Government Indifference To Workers Rights

Two big unions affiliated with the C.I.O. last week severely criticized the labor policy of the Roosevelt administration in connection with the strike movement in the steel industry. Acting on a report of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee submitted to it, the general board of the United Mine Workers of America strongly supplemented the criticism levelled by the S.W.O.C. against the administration for its indifference to the violation of the rights of the steel workers and of failure to act against infractions of the law on the part of the steel companies.

The resolution of the mine workers union protests against the "complete lackadaisical and unconcerned attitude on the part of the national and state authorities with the flagrant and wanton violations of the civil rights of the steel workers by the state and local authorities and officials of the steel companies." It condemns "the anti-labor practises and policies of the local officials and state officials who have so gladly cooperated with Tom Girdler and Eugene Grace in an attempt to break the steel strikes." Governor Martin L. Davey of Ohio is particularly accused of sending the National Guard into the strike areas of Ohio "for the express purpose of breaking the strike."

The main paragraphs in the report of the S.W.O.C. follow:

"On May 25, 1937, the Steel Workers Organizing Committee called a strike of its members at the plants of the Republic Steel Corporation, the Inland Steel Corporation and the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company. This strike was called because the heads of these corporations announced they had agreed among themselves not to enter into any written agreement with the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in regard to wages, hours or other working conditions.

"The heads of these corporations flatly rejected the proposed written agreement submitted by the S.W.O.C., which was similar in form to the contract signed by the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation and 268 other steel producing and steel fabricating plants.

"A few weeks later, for the same reason, the S.W.O.C. was forced to call a strike at the plant of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation at Johnstown, Pa.

"The refusal on the part of these corporations to enter into written wage agreements constitutes an open and flagrant violation of the National Labor Relations Act. The refusal stamps the leaders of these corporations as the most reactionary and vicious industrialists in this country. They represent the last stand of the reactionaries in their attempt to defeat the right of labor to organize into independent labor organizations.

"Thruout the period of the strike, there has been conducted a vicious program of propaganda in the newspapers, thru the news and the report of columnists, attacking the Committee for Industrial Organization and the S.W.O.C. This propaganda has been to the effect that the steel workers on strike engaged in wholesale violence. The record, however, discloses the following:

"Seventeen steel workers have been cruelly and wantonly murdered. Not a single person has, as yet, been brought to account for the murder of these steel workers. All of these steel workers who have been murdered were shot when they were completely defenseless and doing nothing but attempting to exercise their right of peaceful picketing.

"The report of the Senate Committee on Civil Liberties, recently made public, sustains this record.

"Not a single steel worker engaged in the strike has, as yet, been convicted of any serious offense. Only a few fines have been imposed for minor incidents.

"In each of the steel areas where the strike has been in effect, local authorities acting in complete collusion with the officials of the steel corporations and the National Guard, have violated State and national laws and have infringed in the most flagrant manner upon the civil liberties of the steel workers.

"Steel strikers by the hundreds have been thrown into the jails

TRUTH ABOUT POUM FRAME-UP

Socialist Committee Issues Preliminary Report

All Non-CP Government Forces Oppose POUM Persecution

(We present below a most enlightening account by Fenner Brockway, secretary of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, of the internal political situation in Spain and of the crusade of frame-up and destruction launched by the Spanish C.P. against the P.O.U.M. Fenner Brockway has just returned from Spain where he, together with a commission of French socialists, investigated the situation. This article first appeared in the *New Leader* (London) of July 16, 1937.—THE EDITOR.)

IT will be impossible in this article to give a tenth part of the mass of important facts which the French delegation and I have obtained in Spain. We shall shortly publish a report. In order to include as much as possible I will be concrete and objective.

It is literally true to say that we met no one in Spain outside the Communist Party who believed that the P.O.U.M. leaders have been guilty of acting as fascist agents, or that the P.O.U.M. as an organization has been directed to assist the fascists.

We discussed the matter with members of the government, lead-

By Fenner Brockway

ers of the various working class organisations, newspaper men of all nationalities, besides many Spanish workers met casually in trains in the street, in cafes. Not one of them outside the Communist Party believed the communist charges against the P.O.U.M.

It should be clearly understood by the whole working class movement that the suppression of the P.O.U.M. is the work of the communist-controlled police force, and that the Communist Party is almost exclusively responsible.

It has concentrated on capturing control of the police and is applying in Spain the methods of the O.G.P.U. in Russia. When foreign socialists are arrested, a Communist Party member of the same nationality is present at the examination and, if the arrested person is a known opponent of communist policy, all the chances are that he will go to prison.

The communist control of the police is most absolute in Madrid. It was this Madrid police which "discovered" the alleged fascist plot of Andres Nin, the P.O.U.M. leader. It was under their direction that the five leading officials of the P.O.U.M.—Nin, Gorkin, Andrade, Bonnet, and Esquador—were rushed to Madrid after being arrested. When we got to Valencia we found that cabinet ministers were not

Letter "Implicating" Nin Exposed As Frame-Up

clear as to why they had been taken to Madrid, nor were they familiar with the details of the charges. The Minister of Interior had to go to Madrid to inquire as to the actual circumstances.

We gathered some extraordinary facts about the letter alleged to have been found in the Chilean Embassy and which is supposed to implicate Nin as an agent of Franco.

When the government press department, communist-controlled, issued the letter to the foreign press (it has never been published in Spain), he explained that it was not being issued officially. The foreign journalists, other than the communists, then decided unanimously that they would not touch it. The only newspaper men who sent it out were the Communist representatives of the *Daily Worker*, *L'Humanite*, *Pravda*, etc., and the Spanish Press Agency, also communist-controlled. When some of the British papers printed the Spanish Press Agency report, their representatives in Spain sent protests.

We found great doubt about the communist policy against P.O.U.M. (Continued on Page 2)

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THE DEFEAT OF COURT REFORM

THE final defeat of the President's court reform plan, expressed in the Senate decision to refer back to committee, undoubtedly constitutes a turning-point in current political history. For, whatever be the form it has taken, it marks a major victory for the reactionary forces that have been gathering for months, inside and outside the Democratic party, ready for an assault upon the New Deal program all along the line.

As we have pointed out more than once in these columns, the Roosevelt court reform plan could not by any stretch of the imagination be regarded as a panacea for our present social ills; it was not even a very radical attack upon the intolerable judicial usurpation of the Supreme Court. But however that may be, the political fates willed that it should become the dividing line between New Deal liberals, on the one hand, and a loose block of Republican and old-line Democratic reactionaries, on the other. Nor is it altogether accidental that the issue should have become so central: the Supreme Court is the very holy of holies of the capitalist political structure of this country and to lay a finger upon it, be the gesture ever so gentle and well-meant, must necessarily be taken as a dire threat by the entrenched powers of economic privilege. And so the earlier friction within the Democratic party broke out into open and bitter war, with the Republicans standing on the side-lines gleefully watching the success of their allies in the camp of the enemy.

To understand what has actually happened, we must remember that, in this period of the decay of the two-party system, neither of the two old parties is really a party in the proper sense of the term; both are, in fact, coalitions of unofficial groups, based on economic interest or social tendency, frequently transcending rigid party lines. In the court fight, a realignment of factions has taken place, uniting the conservatives groups, apparently as a majority, against the President. In European parliamentary politics, this would have led to the resignation of the cabinet and general elections; what it leads to under the American system, we see before our eyes.

The defeat of the court bill, registering the triumph of the conservative block, will very probably become the signal for a veritable tidal wave of reaction under which little indeed of New Deal liberalism will survive. Everything will be endangered—labor legislation, relief, wage-hour laws, farm bills, housing—every reform and concession, no matter how modest, no matter how limited or inadequate. The way will be opened for "amending" the Wagner Act along the lines of Senator Vandenberg, for passing all sorts of restrictive legislation so as to hamper and confine trade union action. The reactionaries know it and are already whetting their axes for the slaughter. And the judicial autocracy of the Supreme Court remains intact, even strengthened.

And Roosevelt—what will he do in this crisis? Will he stand by his program and appeal to the people over the heads of the congressional die-hards or will he go along with the reactionary stream in order to preserve the unity of his party? To say for certain is impossible but there are signs aplenty foreshadowing "one of those periodic shifts to the right which the President has made from time to time," as Thomas L. Stokes describes it in the New York World-Telegram of July 20. The sudden reappearance of Vice-President Garner as "mediator" is a sinister omen. Obviously, the worst is yet to come!

For American labor, the situation is full of instructive lessons. Is it not utter folly to place sole reliance upon so weak a reed as the New Deal administration, as some sections of the labor movement are still doing? Is it not clear that the time was never more urgent for labor to build up a powerful, independent political party of its own so as to enable it to intervene effectively in its own interests in the deep cross-currents of American politics?

German Communists Jailed In Spain

(We publish below a significant report from the June 30, 1937 issue of the Manchester Guardian, organ of British liberalism. It is unnecessary to indicate that the term "Trotskyist" is incorrectly used in this report since the P.O.U.M. is definitely non-Trotskyist.—THE EDITOR.)

Six German emigres have been arrested in Catalonia and are accused of high treason against the Spanish Revolution. They are Hans Sittig and his wife, Ewald Koenig and his wife, Karl Keidenreich and Walter Schwarz. They were members of the "Opposition" within the Communist Party (German) and have been associated with the P.O.U.M., a Spanish organization with "Trotskyist" sympathies.

A severe persecution of the P.O.U.M. has been going on for some time. It is instigated by the Communists and is part of the world-wide attack on "Trotskyism" that is directed from Moscow.

Walter Schwarz and Karl Keidenreich fought in the ranks of the Spanish militia against the rebels. All six of them have devoted themselves entirely to the revolutionary cause. That they in particular, or the P.O.U.M. in general, have connived with Franco is out of the question. They are the victims of the sectarian persecution of "Trotskyism" which goes on all over the world.

FENNER BROCKWAY REPORTS ON SPAIN

(Continued from Page 1)

In the mind of members of the government, I am able to say definitely that the arrests of the P.O.U.M. leaders in Barcelona took place against the wishes of all the non-Communist members of the Catalan government in office.

The President, Senor Companys, and the liberal, peasant, C.N.T. (syndicalist) and U.G.T. (socialist) members of the government sent a protest immediately to the Valencia government. The fact that Senor Vidiella, U.G.T. member of the government, and usually a supporter of the communist line, joined in this protest is especially significant.

The protest was taken to Valencia by Senor Miravieles, liberal head of the Catalan propaganda department. He reported to the central government that, in the view of the Catalan government, the document alleged to implicate Nin as a fascist spy was a fraud.

It was also clear to us that the non-Communist members of the Valencia government are disturbed about the length to which the communists have gone. We had interviews with the Foreign Minister and the Minister of Justice and telephone communication with the Minister of the Interior whilst he was making his inquiries in Madrid. Cabinet Ministers speak carefully, but they said enough to indicate that they did not identify themselves with the communist allegations against the P.O.U.M.

I give one or two illustrations. The communists are denouncing the whole P.O.U.M. organization as a fascist instrument and its leaders as fascist spies. They are demanding death penalties.

The Foreign Minister, Senor Giral, made it clear to me that the government as a whole does not charge the P.O.U.M. with being a fascist organization or as acting as an agent of the fascists.

He stated that the charges will be limited to two matters: (a) that fascists spies have worked their way into the P.O.U.M. (as, indeed, they have worked their way into all the organizations), and (b) that the P.O.U.M. helped to incite the Barcelona "rising" and encouraged the workers not to surrender their arms.

The Minister of Justice, when interviewed by the French delegation, did not hide his view that the communist-directed police had gone too far. I wish I were at liberty to quote his actual words.

When the Catalan government sent its protest to Valencia, the

central government replied that the document alleged to implicate Nin as a spy did not necessarily refer to Nin at all.

The view of the Minister of the Interior was sufficiently demonstrated by the assurances he gave that the Spanish communists were demanding that the P.O.U.M. leaders should be tried by special tribunals and that death sentences should be imposed. Indeed, there were rumors that Nin had already been shot. The Minister gave us these important promises:—

- (1) He personally vouched that the P.O.U.M. leaders were alive.
- (2) They would immediately be removed from the control of the Madrid police and transferred to Valencia.
- (3) The lawyer for their defense would be informed within a few days of the exact charges against them.
- (4) The trial would be in public.
- (5) The trial would be before a people's tribunal and not by a special or military tribunal.

After these promises had been given verbally the Minister of Justice put them in writing. The written version is less satisfactory only in one respect. The promise regarding the court before which the charges will be made is not so definite. The French delegation, which remained in Spain after I left, was hoping to clear up this matter.

I will give one other fact which shows how the communist-directed police have acted without the authority of the government. Among the arrested is Col. Rovira, commander of the Twenty-ninth Division. Representatives of the soldiers belonging to this Division met and telegraphed to Senor Prieto, the War Minister, asking for an explanation.

I have had Prieto's reply telegram in my hand. It states that the arrest of Col. Rovira was made without his authority or knowledge and that no one in the Ministry of War was aware of it.

He promised immediate investigation. One can imagine the indignation which the War Minister must have felt when the commander of a division at the front was arrested without consultation with him. In Valencia I met a deputation from the Twenty-ninth Division which had been sent by the men at the front to protest to the government.

(concluded next week)

By Lambda

EUROPE TODAY

Shameful Capitulation of French SP and CP To Radical-Socialists

London, June 30, 1937.

THE core of the Chautemps Government's fiscal and economic program is a new devaluation of the franc by taking it off the gold standard. In addition, there will be higher taxation, higher railroad-rates, higher stamp-duties, etc. All this is connected with a new treasury bond issue of close to 15 billions of francs, and credit inflation. The promise of the government that it will not touch any of the social reforms is an empty phrase under the circumstances. The reforms may remain unchanged on paper but they become utterly void of meaning. The new devaluation is at the expense of current wages since a new and prodigious rise in the general cost of living will shortly set in. This is equivalent to an outright liquidation of all gains won by the working class in the June strikes of last year.

The practical significance of the role to be played by the Chautemps Government is just such a liquidation of the workers' gains and with it, in a wider sense, also the liquidation of the People's Front itself. The Chautemps Government is regarded by the Right—and justifiably so—merely as a transition to another government which will have even more pronounced reactionary features. And to pave the way for it, the Chautemps Government is expected to discredit the People's Front in the eyes of the masses even further, hack away its foundations and make it ready for scrapping.

Both the S.F.I.O. and the C.P.F. are lending their support to these developments which are a counterpart of what Germany experienced under the Brüning Government. The S.F.I.O. attempts to divert the discontent of the masses by waging a sham feud with the Senate. The C.P.F. "undauntedly" keeps mouthing its slogans about the determination of carrying out the People's Front program while, in truth, it is helping to carry out its liquidation.

The left-wing of the S.F.I.O. loudly calls for withdrawal of the Cabinet Ministers and a "People's Front for militant struggle" without, however, ceasing to follow the lead of the right-wing and the C.P.F. and without noticing that a "People's Front for militant struggle" is as rational a concept as a wooden piece of iron.

According to C.P. analysis the People's Front was supposed to be "something quite different" from the shop-union reformist coalition-policy of old. It was supposed to be a coalition in which the working class holds supreme power and leads the bourgeoisie. After a year of People's Front government we find the dyed-in-the-wool and avowed representatives of the big bourgeoisie, the Chautemps and Bonnets, taking over the leadership and putting through a program which suits the bourgeoisie, on a pretext of emergency measures, and fully authorized by the People's Front majority. The facts have thus loudly refuted the misconception that a People's Front policy is something different from the well-known reformist coalition policy which has failed every time.

SPAIN AND THE TWO INTERNATIONALS

The particulars about the negotiations between the Second and the Third International have become known in the meantime. The essence of the whole matter amounts to a resolution, on which both sides agreed without any argument, that nothing whatsoever shall be done in the Spanish crisis. One has to grant the Second International that it is justified in its claim that there is little difference whether this doing-nothing-whatsoever is to be accomplished unitedly or separately. Since the C.I. toying the People's Front line in the one European country where it is still strong, in France, supports the Spanish policy of the French bourgeoisie which is hand in glove with that of England, how should any one expect that its demands for international action be taken seriously anywhere? International action can only be the product of multiple national actions; and anything times naught, according to all rules of arithmetic, yield no more than naught.

Significant Cross-Currents In American Politics

By JAY LOVESTONE

SIGNIFICANT political changes are in the making. Traditional party lines are crumbling and are beginning to mean less than little. This holds true for the political organizations of the workers as well as for those of the bourgeoisie. The social and economic consequences of the structural changes developing in American economy over a period of years and the results of mighty pressure of international factors are now coming into sharp relief.

A Tense Atmosphere

It is in this atmosphere and for these reasons that the death of even so conservative a mediocrity as Senator Robinson of Arkansas helps bring on rapid and wide spread reverberations. Under such circumstances, Roosevelt's recent Congressional picnic at the Jefferson Islands Club assumes serious import. It is in this situation that the fight over the President's anaemic proposals generates such high political blood-pressure and such low thoughts. Why, even the Daily Worker has been compelled to cry out against "body-snatching, Tory style" because the opponents of court reorganization have jumped on the death of the reactionary proponent of Roosevelt's court measure as an occasion for demanding the dropping of the whole idea. It is rather interesting that not a word does this official communist organ have to utter about Robinson's tie-up with the flogging of sharecroppers in his own "democratic, peaceful, happy and prosperous Arkansas."

Class lines are hardening; class realignments are in the making; the old political set-up of the two-party system can no longer function smoothly, can no longer reflect accurately the interests of the dominant forces in the capitalist ruling class. Thanks to the recent economic crisis, great sections of the middle class and the working class have become more articulate, are wanting and demanding more and are organizing to get it. Much of this new mood was vaguely, inadequately and in a distorted form reflected in the last presidential elections. In no small measure does the emergence of a new American labor movement, the C.I.O., express this new attitude of self-assertion and a desire to assume more power on the part of the workers, particularly those of the basic industries and those hitherto unorganized.

New lines of division are turning into deep grooves of discord and dissension in the ranks of the owning class. More and more does Roosevelt appear not as the leader of even a heterogeneous party—the Democratic party with its political menagerie or veritable Noah's ark—but rather as the leader of a new school of political policy. Today, the President is playing far more the role of leader of mild American liberalism than as the dominating figure in the Farley-coordinated Democratic party that smashed Hoover and crushed Landon. The issues dividing the ranks of the dominant class in American society are taking on real clarity and greater sharpness.

The Respective Positions

The President and his followers are convinced that, in order to preserve the capitalist system with its parliamentary democracy in the United States, it is imperative for the topmost bankers and business men to make certain relatively small concessions to substantial layers of the farming population, urban middle class folks, and the wage-earning masses. Roosevelt

and his school are further of the opinion that adequate steps in this direction can generally be taken only by the federal government and must be taken speedily. The opponents of this course, whether they be good-standing Southern Democrats or rock-ribbed Republicans from the eastern tier of states, deny that the stability and continuity of the present economic system demand such measures of so many of them. Some even go further and raise a howl against the adoption of the most inadequate social legislation and half-hearted labor laws on the ground that they endanger the present socio-economic system as a whole.

It is over questions of this nature that Washington is now excited. It is cross-currents of this sort that will be evidenced in the coming mayoralty campaign in New York City. For this reason more than any other is the labor issue—commonly called the C.I.O.—today causing much more havoc in the ruling conglomeration bearing the name Democratic party (really a coalition party in the European sense) than in the staid and today smaller and, therefore, less heterogeneous, Republican party. Had class relations in the United States already reached the level of clarity and sharpness that they have long ago attained in the principal European countries, the Democratic party would today be several distinct parties. So would the Republican outfit.

The Court Controversy

Here are the roots of America's constitutional crisis, now mature, but still far from mature. This is the basic import of the conflict over the "modernization" of the American government structure, over the "renovation" of the Supreme Court. In American class relations, the latter represents a sort of "keeper of the king's conscience"—with the institution of private property, for a diminishing proportion of the population, being king in our "great, happy and prosperous democracy." That is why so many Republicans and Democrats, who for years paraded as liberals, are so enraged when even a hint is dropped about changing or diminishing the terrific power of the high court. These pharisaic horror mongers like Wheeler, Shustead and Nye are terrified that even the slightest change in the Supreme Court structure would tend to weaken the private property structure. Under one cover or another, these "liberal" gentlemen are playing the game of the most outspoken reactionaries, of the biggest business interests. When we say this we do not for a moment believe in the President's court proposal as an effective means of reducing the power of the judiciary which is the most servile agency of big capital in this country. Here we are merely emphasizing that even the most inadequate attempt to touch the sacrosanct sanctum of capitalist rule arouses indescribable horror amongst many who hail themselves as liberals.

It is essential to separate the wheat from the chaff in this conflict. It is not merely a conflict over the court measures. The latter is only part of the whole struggle out of which new political realignments will come and out of which new political parties will be born. Five generations ago the rising American bourgeoisie formed Committees of Correspondence. These were, historically speaking, revolutionary agencies. Today, the big bourgeoisie in this country, together with sectors of the middle class which they have been able to befriend, are forming the Citizens National Committee—a pair of

They Seem To Be Getting Along!

EARNINGS FOR FIRST QUARTER OF 1937 AND 1936 ENDING MARCH 31, FOR SELECTED CORPORATIONS

	Quarterly Net Income		%
	1937	1936	
American Telephone & Telegraph Co. & subsidiaries	\$43,435,751	\$34,442,957	26
Du Pont de Nemours & Co. (E. I.)	16,013,346	14,713,782	9
General Electric Co.	11,626,408	7,086,830	64
Inland Steel Corp.	5,008,774	1,934,632	159
Otis Elevator Co.	1,306,993	422,491	209
Procter & Gamble Co.	8,198,490	4,010,510	104
Shell Union Oil Co.	3,674,479	1,681,984	118
Standard Oil Co. of Calif.	7,889,489	2,952,958	167
Underwood Elliott Fisher Co.	1,405,432	828,661	70
Union Carbide & Carbon Corp.	9,947,712	7,502,393	33
*Union Oil Co. of California	2,200,000	400,000	450
*United Fruit	3,396,000	2,650,000	28
U. S. Gypsum Co.	1,411,622	436,617	232
U. S. Steel Corp.	28,561,533	3,376,304	746
Westinghouse Air Brake Co.	2,639,354	513,613	414
Westinghouse Elec. & Mfg. Co.	5,341,512	3,732,454	43
Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co.	4,886,019	1,897,299	158

FARM TENANTS INCREASE NEW SURVEY SHOWS

The problem of farm tenancy in the United States is briefly but incisively discussed in an interesting pamphlet, "Farmers Without Land," by Rupert B. Vance, just published by the Public Affairs Committee.

Contrary to the usual opinion, tenancy has not decreased. Mr. Vance points out. The apparent decline in the ratio of farm tenancy is wholly illusory, as a matter of fact. Despite a slight drop—from 42.4% to 42.1%—in the percentage of farm tenancy for the country as a whole, the ratio of tenancy actually increased between 1930 and 1935 in every state of the North and West with the exception of New Mexico. Only in the South has there been a decline in the ratio of tenancy and even here there was an actual increase in the number of tenants. The decrease in ratio seems to be due entirely to a sharp rise in ownership among the "poor whites" who opened up small farms in rough upland areas of poor soil.

More than a fourth of the new farms are located in the Appalachian counties of West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee where many unemployed miners returned to farms that had previously been given up as unproductive. A slight decline occurred in the number of Negro tenants but this was more than counterbalanced in the South alone, by the increase in the number of white tenants. At present, no less than two-thirds of the South's two million tenant farmers and sharecroppers are whites, the descendants of the small owners and frontiersmen of pre-Civil War days.

Incomes of farm tenants, particularly in the South, are incredibly low. The tenant families of the

Southern plantations have an average net income of \$309, or \$73 per person for a year's work. Sharecroppers receive \$312 per family, or \$71 per person, while wage hands obtain an average annual income of only \$180 a family.

"Tenant housing is the poorest in the nation, often consisting of two or three-room unpainted shacks with but one thickness of boards. Their customary clothing of patched overalls or faded gingham dresses show that tenants, black and white, get very little of the finished products of the cotton they grow. Their basic diet—fat, cornbread, molasses, and sweet potatoes—has been publicized . . . in a study of the basic causes of pellagra. . . . Women struggle with wash tubs, flat irons heated before open fire-places, "tote" wood and water, work longer in the fields, and bear more children than any other women in America."

The terrific cost of tenancy in social and economic terms is sometimes hard to picture. Soil erosion has been found to vary directly with the insecurity of the farm operator. Naturally, few tenants exhibit interest in maintaining their farms or restoring soil depletion, since they themselves would receive only incidental benefits from such improvements. Similarly, tenants have done little toward developing community contacts. Many rural schools are disorganized by wholesale changes in pupils around moving time. Tenants are, of course, at a great disadvantage as compared with owners in participating in community affairs. Yet where they have attempted to organize in order to improve their conditions, they have been met with violence and violations of their civil rights.

cratic groups in the south as well as everywhere else."

Labor's Big Job

Of course, labor must watch these developments keenly and utilize these divisions in the ranks of the ruling class for its own welfare and interests. But labor will begin in folly and end in disaster if it does anything more than make use of these divisions, if it bases its whole policy on these divisions. Even the most liberal among the old-party ranks and spokesmen cannot be trusted in a struggle by labor for its rights. It is a Roosevelt Democratic party governor in Ohio who has been helping Republican Steel terrorize workers. The liberal Democratic Governor Murphy of Michigan is playing with the idea of signing a vicious anti-labor bill and at the same time hailing it as a blessing.

The year 1940 will be a crucial year. The months before it will decide whether the next presidential year will see political realignments in the United States matured to the point of taking on an organized expression in the form of new parties. For the sake of self-defense, in the interest of improving its conditions and elevating its status, labor must in the coming months strike out for ever more independent action—political as well as industrial. Local labor parties and state labor parties participating actively and independently in the coming municipal and congressional campaign will help lots in this sense. It is only thru such independent labor action that the working class can defend and enhance its own interests and take steps towards assuming its rightful place in society.

TRADE UNION NOTES

by George F. Miles

The Situation In The Auto Union

CULMINATING a period of inner-union warfare the two contending forces in the United Automobile Workers gathered in national caucus to map their battle lines for the coming convention which is only a month away. South Bend and Toledo—these were the centers of attention. In the former gathered some 800 local union leaders to pledge their support to the progressive leadership and policies of President Homer Martin and the General Executive Board; in the latter city congregated the so-called radicals, grouped around first vice president Wyndham Mortimer and second vice president Ed Hall—both of whom had pursued a policy of bitter hostility to President Martin and his supporters in the organization.

The bitterness between these contending forces was indicated by the overwhelming refusal of the South Bend meeting to give a hearing to a committee bearing a message from the Toledo caucus. Walter Reuther, heading the Toledo committee had flatly refused to inform the South Bend steering committee of the nature of the proposal he desired to make and insisted on addressing the gathering. After this had been refused by the meeting itself, Reuther finally consented to place his proposals in writing. The suspicions of the workers present proved to be more than justified for the "peace" offer turned out to be the oft-repeated formula of the status quo, with some slight variation, in which the Toledo caucus retains its present positions despite the fact that it is being widely repudiated throughout the organization.

What is the basis for this present division? It has been said that Mortimer never took well his defeat for the presidency at the hands of Martin and sought to utilize every opening for building his support for a new bid. Whatever truth there may be to this argument, the fact still remains that far more important problems of union policy are here at stake. To understand the present division one must discuss the differences in policy which underlie it.

It is a secret to no one that the forces around Wyndham Mortimer came almost exclusively from the members of the Communist and alleged members of the Socialist Party and their camp followers, with but a thin layer of "outside" following. These people, warmed by the comforting knowledge of their own purity, have appointed themselves as watchdogs to guard against the automobile workers being sold down the river by the "reactionary" Homer Martin and his administration. Every move of Mortimer was therefore hailed by his supporters as radical and good, every act of Martin as reactionary and bad.

When the United Auto Workers Union found it necessary a few months ago to discipline some organizers—supporters of Mortimer—for unauthorized strikes which kept the union in constant turmoil and endangered its very existence, the friends of Mortimer immediately set up a terrific howl charging

"capitulation to the red scare" and "a move to the right" on the part of the leadership. The Daily Worker of April 7, 1937 took a hand and gave a lead to the Mortimer forces in the following words:

"Press reports seem to indicate that this is the result of yielding to pressure from reactionaries and capitulation to the red scare. The press is also speculating (meaning the Daily Worker—G.E.M.) on whether or not the changes signify that attempts are afoot in circles of the international office for a campaign of fence-building in preparation for the coming national convention and also whether the whole move indicates a move to the right on the part of sections of the leadership."

This quotation is of more than passing importance, not only because the Daily Worker takes under its warm protecting wing the Mortimer forces and gives them carte blanche on their policies but also because it indicates that the Daily Worker as well as the Mortimer forces judge every development in the industry and in the union from the standpoint of its effect on their narrow group interests and not from the viewpoint of the interests of the union as a whole.

With this in mind we begin to appreciate the attitude of the Mortimer forces to such problems as the Chrysler evacuation, the Chrysler settlement, the unauthorized strikes, the need for stabilization of the union and the development of a constructive leadership. The Mortimer supporters refuse to see that in a union which, like Topsy, "just grew up," with a leadership not yet too strong and with breathtaking speed, the burning need is to rapidly build a firm and stable base. To leave the organization in a constant state of efferescence is to doom it to rapid destruction. They therefore resisted all stabilizing attempts of President Martin and the General Executive Board; supported and initiated unauthorized strikes, slyly believing that thereby they also discredit the national administration by forcing it into a position of curbing the militancy of the membership; conducted an underhand campaign against evacuating the Chrysler plants after the union leadership had agreed to do so and branded the ultimate settlement in Chrysler as a sell-out; and finally sought by means of a head-on collision policy with the national administration, to capture the Flint organization as a base of operation against the Martin administration.

But they had counted without the mass of the membership. Instinctively the workers felt the need for saving their organization from a course which threatened destruction. The loud cries of "Red-baiting" did not fool the membership for a minute. Nor did they believe the blanket denials of participating in any unauthorized sit-downs. They knew better from their own experiences in the shops and from their contacts with President Martin and his representatives in the field.

Faced with a shriveling base of support and the danger of being wiped out completely the Mortimer forces suddenly shifted their fighting front. Strangely enough the Communist (July 1937), official organ of the Communist Party, is also forced to note the "changed



This picture of Mooney, Billings and Charles S. Zimmerman was taken last year at the Frisco County Jail on the occasion of the visit of Zimmerman and other leading trade unionists to Mooney in the twentieth year of his imprisonment.

Huge Mass Meeting Demands Immediate Mooney Freedom

A huge mass meeting protesting the frame-up of Mooney and Billings, and marking their twenty-first year of imprisonment for a crime they did not commit, was

held in San Francisco on July 25.

* * *

Widespread protests from labor organizations and friends of Tom Mooney have forced the restoration of his rights in San Quentin prison, and especially gained him the diet necessary to his health. The circulation of reports to the effect that he was "completely satisfied" with conditions there were simply tricks of the prison officials and politicians out to save their skin, after word of the inhuman treatment accorded Tom Mooney had gotten out.

MEXICO CITY (MLN)—The CTM (Confederation of Mexican Workers) has sent messages to President Roosevelt and to the local authorities of the State of California urging the immediate release of Tom Mooney, the 21st anniversary of whose imprisonment will fall on July 27th. In a message to the Mooney-Billings Committee in San Francisco, the CTM also proclaimed the solidarity of Mexican labor with the international movement to secure the release of these two prisoners who have spent more than 20 years in prison for a crime they never committed. Numerous meetings are being planned in Mexico City and throughout the rest of the country in support of Mooney's long fight for freedom.

"On occasion we see developments which give rise to great uneasiness, when comrades rush into snap judgments on big questions of trade union policy, consider that the trade union leaders have been mistaken or have unnecessarily compromised the workers demands, and from this conclusion pass immediately into a head-on collision with those leaders and those workers who follow them. There were dangerous moments of this sort in the Detroit district in connection with the Chrysler strike. We gave unstinted recognition to the work of our party forces in that strike. They did excellent work. But we must speak openly of some mistakes. We must speak openly of this as a lesson, as a lesson to the entire party to avoid such dangers. We are a fully responsible party and our subdivisions and fractions do not independently take any actions which threaten to change our whole national relationship with a great and growing mass movement. As it happens in this particular instance, some comrades were entirely in error in thinking they saw intolerable compromises and wrong methods in the settlement of the Chrysler strike. There was no situation of that kind."

In the light of the above sweeping admissions of what communist party leaders like William Weinstone had stubbornly denied three months ago, what becomes of the Daily Worker cries of red baiting and yielding to reaction leveled at the responsible union leaders when they sought to curb the very criminal policies which the Communist belatedly berates?

But union policies must be judged less on the basis of paper admissions and more on concrete deeds. The paper admissions constitute a sad recognition of a policy that failed. What is to take its place? A "unity and peace" campaign! A campaign in which the same aims are retained, the same weapons used but the strategy is somewhat more circuitous. This becomes clear from the program and slate drafted by the Toledo caucus.

Next week Comrade Miles will discuss and contrast the two programs brought forth by the South Bend and Toledo caucuses.

ALP Blasts Lehman Act

The American Labor Party, thru its secretary Alex Rose, "deplored the action of Governor Lehman in joining the foes of the President's court reform program."

Arguing against the situation wherein millions of workers must depend on the whim of one man's vote, the American Labor Party declared that it would continue to give its whole-hearted support to the proposals for judicial change.

David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U., and Luigi Antonini, State Chairman of the A.L.P., also sent telegrams of protest to Lehman, condemning his public letter, and expressing belief that Senator Wagner "will see fit to treat your appeal in the same manner that you responded to Roosevelt's need for support at this crucial moment."

Unions Hit New Deal

(Continued from Page 1)

without any charges being presented, held incommunicado for several days and have been released only after signing statements that they would not sue the officials for false arrest. Homes have been broken into by those officials without warrants. Men have been assaulted, beaten, and shot by local authorities.

"The National Guard in Ohio was dispatched by Governor Davey to each of the strike areas in Ohio for the express purpose of breaking the strike. The National Guard in each of these localities participated in all of the activities of the local authorities in intimidating and coercing the strikers into returning to work thru fear of arrest and being held in jail, assaults and beatings.

"The Federal Government thru-out this entire situation has not displayed the slightest interest in protecting the rights of the steel workers on strike, which have been so flagrantly violated.

"Violations of the national statutes, such as the National Firearms Act, by the steel corporations have produced no activity on the part of the national officials. On the contrary, purported attempts on the part of some of the strike pickets to delay the introduction into the plants of food for strikebreakers thru the use of the mails, has produced extraordinary activity on the part of the Federal Government in securing indictments against the strike pickets."

"That Notorious Traitor"

In the current issue (nos. 3-4) of the Internationale, published by the Communist Party of Germany, there appears an interesting item under the fearful caption: "Brandler-Radek." From this we will quote merely one sentence:

"It is becoming ever clearer that Radek's entire role, in the international labor movement as well as in the Soviet Union, was that of a cynical, cunning, notorious destroyer and traitor. And this leads us to ask ourselves whether it is a mere accident that Radek, so to speak, stood at the cradle of Brandlerism in Germany."

Now, there is a profound thought for you! But why does the Internationale stop there? In the name of Stalinist vigilance, we demand that it make an end to suspicious reticence and go further. Thus:

Is it a mere accident that this notorious traitor, Radek, was sent by Lenin to Germany in the fall of 1918? Is it a mere accident that, at the third congress of the Com-

munist International, Lenin joined with Radek and Trotsky, both notorious traitors, in defending a common tactical line and even expressly referred to Radek as a model in discussing the united front? Is it a mere accident that, among those who sent this notorious traitor, Radek, to Germany on one official mission after another was a certain Stalin? Is it a mere accident that not a single one of the present members of the central committee of the Communist Party of Germany exposed this notorious traitor and sent him before a party court or a revolutionary tribunal—was such neglect mere stupidity or treasonable collusion? And is it a mere accident that that notorious traitor and enemy of the people, Bukharin, was the chief author of the program of the Communist International?

Of course not. Sad to say, the Internationale has been criminally remiss in its duty of mercilessly exposing far-flung connections of this person, Radek!

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