

JUNE, 1936



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B. K. GEBERT



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ANNA ROCHESTER



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# Review of the Month

*Browder's Reports on Election Struggle, Farmer-Labor Party, Fight for Peace—Bolshevik Greetings to IX Convention of the C.P.—Defeat Reaction's Plans in 1936—No Presidential Farmer-Labor Ticket but More Intensive Work for a Farmer-Labor Party—Borah on the Republican Party—Extreme Capitalist Reaction Rallies to the Republican Party—The Struggle for Control of Congress—Coughlin's Strategy—For a Bloc of Farmer-Labor Congressmen—Underestimating Republican Danger and Overestimating Roosevelt's Reforms—A Policy That Pushes Masses to Republicans and Roosevelt—Thomas and Tyler—Labor's Non-Partisan League and the Farmer-Labor Movement—The Chicago National Conference—Can Communists and Socialists Consult and Cooperate in Election Struggle?—Five Conclusions for Communists and Socialists—Japanese War Makers Blame Soviet Union and United States—Imperialist Rivalries in Pacific and Fascist War Aggressors—War Makers Abroad and at Home—Isolation, Neutrality and the Struggle for Peace—Congressional Opposition to War Budget—Against Armaments on Basis of Peace Policy—Win Masses for Fight for Peace.*

THE decisions of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. (*Daily Worker*, May 16), which met on May 9-10, participated in by District Organizers and leading Party workers from various parts of the country, are of the utmost importance. Embodied in the reports of Comrade Browder, and unanimously adopted by the Political Bureau and all participants, these decisions are now before the Party membership for thorough discussion and consideration, in preparation for final action by the Ninth National Party Convention, scheduled to be held on June 24-28, in New York City.

Comrade Browder's reports dealt with two main questions: (1) the struggle for peace; (2) the elections of 1936, the Farmer-Labor Party and the tasks of the Communist Party. In these reports we have a summing-up of the experiences and results of the struggle for the united front against capitalist reaction, war, and fascism as it developed up to the present time: an analysis of the

present situation; and an outline of policy and tactics in the coming crucial period.

The Party organizations should spare no efforts to enable the membership to discuss these reports and to draw from them all practical conclusions for its daily work among the masses. Only in this way will this last month of pre-Convention discussion be utilized best. In addition, all measures should be taken to invite to these discussions the broadest circles of non-party workers and toilers, especially Socialists and members of the trade unions.

For a broad and thorough discussion of Comrade Browder's reports!

Bolshevik greetings to the Ninth National Convention of the Communist Party!

\* \* \*

**I**N outlining the immediate tasks of the Communist Party, Comrade Browder summed them up as follows:

1. Mobilize and organize the masses to combat capitalist reaction, fascism and war, and work for the defeat of the Republican-Liberty League-Hearst combination in the elections of 1936.

2. Press forward with the struggle for the Farmer-Labor Party as the only effective barrier to reaction and fascism. The evident impossibility of securing at this time a sufficiently broad basis for a Farmer-Labor presidential ticket in 1936 makes it even more imperative than heretofore to fight for the organization of the Farmer-Labor Party in the localities, by states and also nationally. In united action of the Communist Party with the Socialist Party, for which we must strive most energetically, it is possible to win broad sections of toilers for the realization of this program, including large numbers of those who have committed themselves to the support of Roosevelt as against the Republican-Liberty League-Hearst combination in 1936.

3. Build and strengthen the Communist Party, broaden and solidify its contacts with the masses, especially with the organized labor movement.

Here, in a nutshell, are our most immediate and important tasks, the fulfilment of which will demand the utmost flexibility in tactics with the most firm devotion to our revolutionary program and principles.

We say that the struggle against capitalist reaction, which carries the menace of fascism, demands that in the national elections of 1936 the designs of the Republican-Liberty League-Hearst combination must be defeated. This is imperatively demanded by the most vital interests of the working class and all toilers in this country. Can there

be any doubt about that? Can there still be any doubt of the fact that extreme capitalist reaction, the force from which comes today the chief menace of incipient fascism, is rallying around the Republican Party and its allies from the camps of Hearst and the Liberty League?

Even Borah, who while fighting the national machine of the Republican Party yet is not interested in fully exposing the party as such, finds it necessary to say:

"The Republican organization and the men who are making every effort to seize control of the Cleveland convention, the oil companies, the utility magnates, the du Ponts, the Browns of Ohio, the Edges of New Jersey, the Hilleses of New York, believe in the (monopolistic) system and are its defenders." (*New York Times*, May 10.)

Borah could say much more than that if he were not himself seeking the presidential nomination of the Republican Party. He could say, what is by now plainly evident, that the most reactionary and fascist-minded monopolies, speaking through the dominant forces of the Republican Party, through the Liberty League and Hearst, are rallying around the Republican Party as their chief, though not the only, instrument for promoting capitalist reaction in this country, especially by securing control of the government in 1936. It is through the Republican Party that these forces seek to put in the president's office a tool fully subservient to their criminal designs, be it Landon, Vandenberg, or some "dark horse". It is through the Republican Party that these reactionary and fascist-minded forces seek control of the House and a strengthening of their power in the Senate. Who can deny that?

Accepting more or less as inevitable the fact that the renomination of Roosevelt by the Democratic Party cannot be prevented, extreme capitalist reaction has not given up the Democratic Party altogether. Not at all. While the final election plans of the Liberty League Democrats on the presidential question are not yet known (whether they will openly split away from the Democratic Party and support the Republicans or will try to knife Roosevelt from within), it is already clear that *the Morgan-du Pont gang is seeking to utilize also the Democratic Party to strengthen reactionary control in the House, in the Senate, and in the state and local governments.* There is today sufficient reactionary domination in various sections of the Democratic Party organization to enable the Morgan-du Pont gang to score important successes through the instrumentality also of the Democratic Party.

From this follows that all opponents of capitalist reaction and of the menace of fascism in the United States must seek to defeat the election designs of the Republican-Liberty League-Hearst com-



bination in 1936. This means, first, to defeat the designs of this reactionary combination, for the office of President which it seeks to capture through the Republican Party and, secondly, to defeat similarly its designs upon securing control of Congress as well as state and local governments, which it seeks to capture (or retain) through *both* parties—Republican and Democratic.

On the question of Congress, there is still another factor to be considered: Coughlin. The latter, and the National Union for Social Justice, are following the tactic of concentrating upon the Congressional elections. Just the other day, at a rally in Cleveland, Coughlin restated the position:

“We are not interested in Presidents who do not make laws. We are interested only in the lawmakers.” (*New York Times*, May 11.)

Coughlin seeks control of Congress through the instrumentality of the Republican and Democratic Parties. And regardless of what his mass following may believe it is working for, Coughlin control means control for reaction.

How can these designs of reaction be defeated? It is clear that the first condition for a successful struggle against the offensive of reaction generally (which is a much bigger job than the one of defeating its plans in the 1936 elections), as well as for the defeat of the reactionary plans in the elections (which is a crucial stage in the fight against the menace of fascism in this country)—the first condition for this struggle is the maximum unity of action of all the genuine opponents of reaction and fascism, especially the unity of independent political action of the working class, the toiling farmers, the Negro people, and the middle classes. For this unity of action, which can be fully realized only in a Farmer-Labor Party, the Communist Party is fighting with all the resources at its command.

\* \* \*

**N**ORMAN THOMAS is evidently still unconvinced of the magnitude of the danger that a Republican-Liberty League-Hearst victory in 1936 will bring to the people. He says:

“I do not think that the immediate danger of Republican victory is anything like as great as some of my friends imagine. . . . A Republican candidate will be no Hitler.” (*Socialist Call*, May 9.)

We could agree with Thomas that a Republican-Liberty League-Hearst victory in 1936 will not mean the *outright* establishment of a fascist regime in the United States. This is true for many reasons, internal and external, into which we cannot go at present. But that does not settle the argument. For the main point at issue now is: will a Republican-Liberty League-Hearst victory in 1936 accelerate

or retard the growth of the fascist menace in this country? To which there can be only one answer: such a victory will immeasurably accelerate the growth of fascism, threatening to bring nearer the day of its victory.

Norman Thomas still refuses to learn from experience. Experience shows that, in this period, capitalist reaction invariably carries with it the seeds of fascism. Capitalist reaction (the piecemeal destruction of the civil rights and standards of the masses) paves the way and opens the road to fascism. Considering this incontestable fact, and additionally the fact that the Hearsts, many of the dominant Liberty Leaguers, and above all the Morgan-du Pont gang which backs this reactionary combination, do want a Hitler in the United States (see disclosures of the LaFollette Sub-Committee), it is incomprehensible how Thomas can fail to see that the Republican-Liberty League-Hearst combination carries the menace of fascism.

The necessary criticism of Labor's Non-Partisan League and of its policy of blanket endorsement of Roosevelt ("Roosevelt will do it for us") cannot, in our opinion, be made by means of playing down or denying the dangers of the Republican-Liberty League-Hearst combination. First, because, as we have shown, such criticism rests upon false premises: the Republican Party & Co. do carry the menace of fascism. Second, to the extent that such criticism is effective among the masses, it is more likely to help the Republicans than to help Socialism.

Consequently, the Socialist Party has to join hands with the Communist Party in mobilizing the widest masses of toilers in struggle against the offensive of reaction on all fronts and for the defeat of the main fortress of reaction (Republican Party-Liberty League-Hearst) in 1936.

Equally important is a *correct* struggle against Roosevelt. The main error of Labor's Non-Partisan League is not its insistence upon the grave dangers of a Republican-Liberty League-Hearst victory. On the contrary, this is one of its few merits. This insistence upon the dangers of reaction reflects, not fully and not correctly, the rising resentment of the toiling masses against the offensive of reaction and the mass hatred of fascism. To attack this insistence of Labor's Non-Partisan League is to do a great disservice to the cause of struggle against fascism.

The chief error of the leaders of Labor's Non-Partisan League is its policy of *depending upon Roosevelt*, the policy of *subordinating* labor to Roosevelt, the policy of separating labor from its allies, the tendency of *sacrificing* the organization of the unorganized and the organization of the Farmer-Labor Party because Roosevelt might feel "embarrassed" by such activities. These are the dangers to be

exposed and combated, and not the insistence upon defeating the Republican-Liberty League-Hearst combination.

Again, these costly errors will not be combated by telling the workers that, "If reform is the way out, better stick to the Roosevelt Administration". (Norman Thomas, *Socialist Call*, May 9.)

It is a very peculiar sort of position that Norman Thomas takes, as Comrade Browder has shown in his report. Thomas wants to carry on a Socialist campaign. Good. But how does he propose to do it? And remember that a Socialist campaign means a campaign among the masses, not alone among those who are already convinced of the need of socialism. What is Thomas' message to those masses who are still wavering between the Republicans and Roosevelt? To them the message is that the Republicans are not as dangerous as they are painted. And what would be the effect of that? To push these wavering masses, of whom there are still many, back into the arms of the Republicans. Clearly, Socialism will not gain by that.

Now, what is Thomas' message to those large masses who are still wavering between Roosevelt and the parties to the Left of Roosevelt (Farmer-Labor, Socialist, Communist)? To them the message is that if all you want in this campaign is reform, an immediate improvement in your conditions (a job, relief, higher incomes, civil rights, etc.), if this is all you are ready to fight for in 1936, "better stick to the Roosevelt Administration". And what would be the effect of that? To push these wavering masses definitely into the camp of Roosevelt, to push them even further into the camp of Roosevelt that Labor's Non-Partisan League is proposing. And who gains by that? Clearly, not Socialism.

So, what sort of a Socialist campaign will this be when all it does is to push the masses to the Republicans and to Roosevelt? The answer is: it will be anything in the world but a Socialist campaign.

\* \* \*

**N**OR do we think that Gus Tyler, the "Left", improves matters for the Socialist Party. According to him the chief danger of fascism comes from Roosevelt. If this discovery should ever be accepted by masses of American toilers (which, we are sure, will not happen), they will conclude that the danger of fascism in this country is largely imaginary and therefore go ahead and vote in the old "traditional" way—Republican and Democrat. And who will gain by that? Capitalism and, most likely, extreme capitalist reaction—the Republican-Liberty League-Hearst outfit.

No, that is no policy for a working class party. A party of the working class must base its policies upon a true objective analysis of the relation of forces in the country and internationally. This is

what the Communist Party is doing. It proceeds from the incontestable fact that extreme capitalist reaction (Morgan-du Pont gang) is rallying around the Republican-Liberty League-Hearst combination, from which the chief menace of fascism is coming. It proceeds further from the fact that Roosevelt cannot be depended upon to check reaction because, while seeking to curb somewhat the most glaring abuses of some of the most reactionary monopolists, he seeks to strengthen capitalism and to defend the selfish interests of other groups of big capitalists. That is why he continually retreats before the offensive of his Right opponents and conciliates them at the expense of the masses. The Communist Party therefore concludes that the only way to check and eventually defeat reaction (not only in the elections, though this is crucial) is to build the Farmer-Labor Party—the coalition of the working class and all toilers, the true enemies of reaction and fascism—the people's front which alone will effectively fight reaction and fascism and thus prepare the conditions for the socialist revolution and socialism.

From this it is seen that Roosevelt is neither the chief menace of fascism (Tyler), nor the best possible (under capitalism) instrument for immediately improving the conditions of the working people (Thomas). The chief menace of fascism is the Republican-Liberty League-Hearst combination. And the best instrument for fighting reaction and for improving the immediate conditions of the masses is the Farmer-Labor Party.

This fundamental idea the Communist Party is carrying into the momentous election struggle that is already on the way. We propose to the Socialist Party, as advised by Comrade Browder, jointly to consult on policy and jointly fight for it. We hope that this will receive the consideration it merits at the National Convention of the Socialist Party which is taking place during the week-end of May 23.

\* \* \*

**T**HE Communists do not propose, of course, to close their eyes to the fact that a presidential Farmer-Labor ticket in 1936 is no longer possible. It is no longer possible because the trade union movement, excepting the reactionaries, has thrown its support to the policy of supporting Roosevelt; because the Socialist Party did not join hands in the past months with the Communist Party in prosecuting the campaign for the Farmer-Labor Party which alone might have prevented the mass crystallization around the blanket endorsement of Roosevelt. While the possibilities for such mass crystallization were in evidence months ago, only a Farmer-Labor Party could have succeeded in rallying to itself these masses and many more.

Yet a fact is a fact. And from this certain conclusions must be drawn. The Communist Party has drawn these conclusions (see Browder report) and proposes to consult with the Socialist Party on the question.

One conclusion is that, *now more than before*, the Communist and Socialist Parties must work together in the election struggle and in the promotion of the fight for the Farmer-Labor Party. Both parties must consult systematically and collaborate in the great task of mobilizing the masses against capitalist reaction and of helping to insure the defeat of the Republican-Liberty League-Hearst combination in the 1936 elections.

This means the development of correct policies and tactics—a second conclusion—in the further struggle for the Farmer-Labor Party, the struggle for local and state Farmer-Labor Parties—especially for the winning of local governments in one-industry towns, and the election of Farmer-Labor representatives into state legislatures and into Congress. *The fight for local Farmer-Labor governments (in the steel, automobile and rubber localities) and for Farmer-Labor representatives into state legislatures and Congress becomes now a major task in the fight against the offensive of reaction precisely because there will be no presidential ticket of the Farmer-Labor Party.*

A third conclusion is that the Communist and Socialist Parties must consult on and work together in securing united action between the Farmer-Labor forces and the forces of Labor's Non-Partisan League on all those issues where united action is possible. Such united action, in our opinion, is possible in the task of exposing the dangers of the Republican-Liberty League-Hearst outfit and of arousing and mobilizing the masses *in daily economic and political struggle* against capitalist reaction. We cannot agree to a policy of reducing the struggle against reaction merely to a one-day election act on November 7. Such united action is possible in the crucial task of fighting for Farmer-Labor local governments and representatives to state legislatures and to Congress. Such united action between the Farmer-Labor forces and the forces of Labor's Non-Partisan League is possible also on laying already the political and organizational base for a *national* Farmer-Labor Party, even though there will be no presidential candidate in 1936.

A fourth conclusion, negative in form but positive in content, is for the Socialist and Communist Parties to consult on and work jointly for combating, among the masses, some of the most dangerous tendencies among some of the leaders of Labor's Non-Partisan League. Such tendencies, as can already be seen, are the fear "to embarrass" Roosevelt by actually undertaking to organize the un-

organized in the steel, auto, and rubber industries; the tendency completely to subordinate labor to Roosevelt; to sacrifice the Farmer-Labor movement and to keep labor separated and isolated from its allies among the toiling farmers, middle classes, and Negroes. The methods and policies to be pursued in this work should be worked out jointly by the Communist and Socialist Parties and jointly pursued by Socialists and Communists among the masses and their organizations.

It is greatly to be desired that the beginnings of such joint consultation and action be demonstrated already at the National Conference called by the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party for May 30 and 31, in Chicago. As stated in the Call, the aims of this Conference are:

“(a) Aid in the formation of local and state Farmer-Labor Parties. (b) Preparation for active participation as a national force in furthering the election of local, state and congressional candidates (because of circumstances that have developed, the question of a third party Presidential ticket for 1936 will not be considered). (c) The unification of labor, farmer and progressive groups for the building of a national Farmer-Labor Party this year.”

This is a practical program of immediate action, one that is both necessary and possible of realization. The joint consultations and actions of the Communist and Socialist Parties can contribute immensely toward the success of this program. On the basis of such a program it should be possible for this National Conference effectively to approach the forces of Labor's Non-Partisan League, especially as these forces become organized democratically, as promised by the leaders of the League, for joint action on many issues incorporated in the Call. Such joint actions will be of tremendous value for the united and independent struggle against reaction by labor and its allies and for the further promotion of the Farmer-Labor Party movement.

A fifth conclusion: to begin to orientate for the eventuality of a joint Socialist and Communist presidential ticket in 1936. While there may still be differences of opinion as to whether the moment for such eventuality has already arrived, there can be no doubt of the need of already *facing the eventuality* and of beginning to orientate accordingly. Things may still happen to influence events. But one thing is certain already: a joint presidential ticket would be a most powerful force for holding together, for consolidating and for broadening those large forces among the masses that are already convinced of the truth that only a Farmer-Labor Party can function as an effective barrier to fascism and reaction. And if between now and election time no other and broader instrumentality emerges for

accomplishing these aims, an instrumentality that includes both parties, then a joint Communist Party-Socialist Party presidential ticket will become an absolute necessity. In all events, such a joint ticket would be a most powerful force for strengthening and broadening the united front.

With this understanding, following from the reports of Comrade Browder, the Communist Party prepared itself and the masses surrounding it for the Ninth National Convention of the C.P.U.S.A. With this understanding the Communists enter the already unfolding election struggle among the masses, leaving at the same time nothing undone for waging the presidential campaign on our own Communist Party ticket, should this remain the only alternative.

\* \* \*

**I**F you believe the Japanese Ministers for the Army and Navy, it is not the Japanese fascist-military clique that is responsible for the acute war danger in the Far East and on the Pacific generally, but . . . the Soviet Union. Also the United States. This is in line with another contention of the same clique that China is responsible for the Japanese seizure of Manchuria and for the war that Japan continues to carry on further to dismember and subjugate China.

There would seem to be no limit to the brazen audacity of the Japanese war incendiaries, as can be seen from some of their more recent utterances. Hugh Byas reports to *The New York Times* (May 13) from Tokyo as follows:

“Explaining in a secret Diet session yesterday the reasons causing Japan’s armament expenditures to rise, Admiral Osami Nagano, the Navy Minister, pleaded the United States naval expansion policy as a cause compelling the Japanese navy to follow suit. Count General Juichi Terauchi, the War Minister, alleged that Russia’s preparations were aggressive.”

Everybody knows that Japan *directly threatens* the borders of the Soviet Union. Everybody knows further that Japan repeatedly refuses to accept the Soviet Union’s offer for a non-aggression pact, thus clearly exposing its aggressive designs. In the same session of the Diet:

“Count Terauchi admitted that the Japanese Army had rejected Russia’s non-aggression pact proposal, but said such a pact was not valuable.” (*Ibid.*)

Yet the same Terauchi has the unmitigated gall to argue that, “because” the Soviet Union strengthens its military forces to defend its land from Japan’s aggression, “Japan finds it necessary to strengthen its forces in Manchukuo”. (*Ibid.*)

And what about the United States? It is well known that the

American bourgeoisie has its own imperialist ambitions and interests in China and in the Pacific generally. It is to use the "Open Door" policy as a means of penetrating and conquering China for American imperialism, thus coming into the sharpest collision with Japan and England. The struggle for naval power is a struggle for domination in China and on the Pacific.

This is, of course, basic for a correct understanding of the imperialist rivalries in the Far East. But it is not enough for a correct struggle for peace at the present time. Both Japan and the United States (to leave England aside for the moment) are fighting for imperialist interests in the Pacific, yet with this important distinction: the United States does not favor war at the present time; it is not prepared for it and would not gain by it. The American bourgeoisie therefore prefers the status quo. It is interested in maintaining peace for the present.

It is different with Japanese imperialism. Japan is against the status quo. It has already been waging war for several years to destroy the status quo, and is preparing for a bigger war. The fascist-military clique of Japan is trying to become the supreme master in Asia. It is seizing one part of China after the other; is creeping towards the colonial possessions of Great Britain (India); it has designs on the Philippines and Australia; it is preparing for the decisive struggle to establish its hegemony in the Pacific. And all the time, it is directly threatening the frontiers of the Soviet Union.

Nor is this all. We must also take serious account of the role of Hitler fascism in this situation. Again, it is well known that Hitler fascism is the chief war incendiary in Europe. Hitler openly and brazenly threatens the frontiers of the Soviet Union while preparing to attack some of the smaller countries in Europe and also France. Because of that, Hitler is building up an alliance with the Japanese fascist military clique. As a result, we have the following central fact of the present world situation: *hand in hand with German fascism, and directly threatening the frontiers of the Soviet Union, the Japanese military clique is also preparing war against the United States and Great Britain.*

One must not for a moment lose sight of the imperialist nature of the Far Eastern policies of the American bourgeoisie, and to combat them; *especially the defense of China.* Yet this struggle can and will be effective only if we take proper account of another fact, the fact that it is the Japanese military clique, in collaboration with Hitler fascism, that is preparing for war—for war also against the United States. It is the Japanese military clique that has invaded China and is dismembering it. It is this clique that the Chinese people are fighting to drive out of China and whose struggles we must



support by all means. It is, again, the Japanese military clique, in collaboration with Hitler, that is stretching out its hands towards the Philippines and is preparing for war against the United States. It is doing all this while continually and directly threatening the frontiers of the Soviet Union.

It is clear, therefore, that the increasing armament expenditures in Japan cannot be blamed upon the United States (imperialist as its policies are), let alone upon the Soviet Union—the only country in the world consistently and genuinely fighting for peace. Japan's increased expenditures for armaments result from the war activities and war preparations of the Japanese military clique, the allies of Hitler fascism.

At this point a question might be raised. Aren't there in the United States warmongering and war-provoking reactionaries that are just as much to blame as the Japanese military clique? To which the answer is: *of course there are*. Hearst, the Liberty League crowd, and the whole reactionary outfit that is rallying to the Republican Party—these are the warmongering and war-provoking elements in the United States. And what is the special characteristic of these warmongers? It is that they are supporters of Hitler, and of Japan and of Mussolini. Hearst & Co., the boosters of Landon, for the Republican nomination, are also boosters of Hitler for Germany and of Hitlerism for the United States. The same reactionary and semi-fascist gang is boosting Mussolini's "civilizing" mission in Ethiopia. These are at the same time, and naturally, the inciters of murderous chauvinism and the promoters of armaments for war. It is no secret that these very circles of extreme capitalist reaction—the Hearsts, du Ponts, Morgans—are seeking to place this country on the side of the fascist and war-provoking forces in all parts of the world.

From this follows the Communist policy of struggle for peace. It is a policy which demands that, in each country, the peace struggling masses must direct their blows against the direct instigators of war on the international arena (Hitler fascism, the Japanese military clique, Mussolini) and against those forces within the country which help them directly and indirectly (the Hearsts, the Liberty League, the Republican Party). Only in this way can a successful fight be carried on to curb the fascist instigators of war, at home and abroad, a fight that is at the same time aimed at the offensive of capitalist reaction and against the menace of fascism in the U.S.

In view of this, it is clear that the struggle against the armament policies of the Roosevelt Administration (over a billion dollars for 1936-37) must be carried on with redoubled energy. It is no accident that the only thing practically for which Hearst finds it possible to

praise the Roosevelt Administration and the only measure which Hearst supports without qualification is the armament budget. Not only Hearst, but the whole Morgan-du Pont clique stands squarely behind Roosevelt in his policies of increasing armaments. The trick of these warmongers and reactionaries is relatively simple. On the one hand, they support the fascist aggressors everywhere, thus directly helping to sharpen the war danger in all parts of the world. Simultaneously they exert all their power, which is very great, to prevent the United States from collaborating with the peace forces of the world to curb the fascist aggressors. And, on the other hand, they exploit the sharpening world situation and the growing war danger, which they themselves are helping to bring about, in order to have the United States engage in large-scale armaments.

This was clearly demonstrated in the recent struggle over the "neutrality" legislation. Seeking to give expression to the status quo position of the American bourgeoisie, Roosevelt proposed a "neutrality" measure which (typical of Roosevelt policies generally) tried to satisfy both his own tendency, weak and hesitant, to collaborate with other peace forces for the maintenance of peace and the tendency of the Hearsts and du Ponts, which is to help the warmongers or, at least, to do nothing which might hamper the fascist aggressors in any way. What was the result? The pressure of the warmongers was largely successful. The "neutrality" position finally adopted did very little to hamper Mussolini's war aggression in Ethiopia. It encouraged Hitler to proceed with his war plans (America's neutrality was at the time praised very highly in the German fascist press). It also gave comfort to the Japanese military clique. It paralyzed this country as a force for peace. Having achieved these results, the warmongers found the road clear for pushing forth their demands for more and more armaments by the United States as "the only means" of protecting this country in a war-mad world. And Roosevelt, whose own tendencies go in the direction of world collaboration for the curbing of the fascist aggressors, capitulated before the pressure of the warmongers and the munition manufacturers, and naturally fell in with their program of increased armaments.

The peace movements of this country must draw all the conclusions from these costly experiences. The chief conclusion to be drawn is *the need of a peace policy*. "Neutrality" (we do not speak of the Hearst brand which is merely a cover for helping directly the fascist aggressors), the "neutrality" of the Roosevelt Administration, far from protecting this country and keeping it out of war, has the direct effect of encouraging and emboldening the fascist aggressors everywhere. It encourages extreme reaction in the United States and gives them the opportunity they so desire of calling for

(and getting) more and larger armaments. Pointing to the failure of the League of Nations to curb the aggressors, a failure which they themselves have helped to bring about, the Hearst, du Ponts & Co., have redoubled their attacks upon the idea of collective security and upon all collective efforts of the peace forces of the world to curb the fascist aggressors. It is from this basis that the reactionaries in the United States press forward for increased armaments and war preparations.

What is the answer of the opponents of such armaments and war preparations? That answer cannot be confined merely to opposing the armament and war budgets, although this is basic. *We must oppose the armament and war budget on the basis of a peace policy as proposed by the Communist Party.* We are against the war and armament budget and we must demand that the American government pursue an active policy of peace. This means, first, no assistance of any kind to the fascist aggressors—Hitler fascism, the Japanese military clique, Mussolini. No supplies of any sort, economic or financial, must be allowed to come from this country to the fascist aggressors to help them prepare for war, carry on war or consolidate their war conquests (Ethiopia). Secondly, this means active collaboration of the American government with the peace forces of the world for the maintenance of peace—the Soviet Union, France, etc. Only from this basis, from the basis of an active peace policy, can an effective and correct struggle be carried on against armaments and war preparations.

*Keep America out of war by keeping war out of the world!*

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The opposition of a group of Congressmen to the armament and war budget (Marcantonio, Boileau, Luckey, etc.), deserves all possible support. The same is true of the opposition in the Senate led by Senator Nye. But something very important was missing from this opposition. It is the struggle for a peace policy.

These Representatives and Senators were fully correct in characterizing the armament budget as a war budget. They were equally correct in insisting, as some of them did, that these war funds should be utilized for relief purposes—relief to the unemployed and to the farmers. But there was a vital weakness in their fight: they had no positive peace policy to propose. From this followed a whole series of weaknesses which were bound to vitiate the effectiveness of the fight against the armament budget. Surely it is not for the peace forces of this country to deny or overlook the acute danger of war—a world war—which results from the aggression of the Hitlers,

Mussolinis, and the Japanese military clique. Surely it is not for the peace forces to fail to point to the Hearsts and du Ponts as the supporters of these fascist aggressors in this country. This being the case, the first question is how can these war forces be kept in check, how can they be curbed, how can peace be maintained in the world in order that peace may be preserved for the United States. It is on this, the most important, question that the warmongers and armament advocates must be challenged *first*. And this the opposition in Congress to the war budget did not do. Having failed to fight for a peace policy, for a policy of active collaboration with the peace forces of the world for the curbing of the fascist aggressors, the opposition in Congress failed to create the only possible basis at the present time for a correct and successful fight against the war budget.

Why did not the opposition challenge the isolation demagoguery of the Hearsts and Coughlins? Why did not the opposition show that under this demagoguery lies an active policy of supporting the war aggressors everywhere? Had they done so, the opposition would have been able more effectively to unmask the reactionary and war-making character of the armament budget. But this is not all. The opposition also had to show how the timid and hesitant policies of Roosevelt—pleasing Hearst and the peace forces—were in practice giving encouragement to the war-makers at home and abroad. In other words, the opposition to the armament budget had to carry on a fight for a policy of peace as against the war policies of the Hearsts and du Ponts, in the first instance, and also against the shifting, slippery and inconsistent peace tendencies of the Roosevelt Administration, and from this basis speak and vote against the war budget coupled with proposals for such a peace policy.

Remember the masses outside of the Congress halls. Remember that in the last analysis it is the working class, the toiling farmers, the middle classes and the Negro people that have to be won to the fight against armaments and war budgets. And how will they be won? Not by merely negative opposition to armaments in the face of mounting fascist aggression and the growing menace of a new world war. As long as the peace forces confine themselves merely to negative opposition, the danger is great that the Hearsts and Coughlins, operating with their isolation demagoguery, will succeed in befuddling the masses into supporting armaments and war preparations. Therefore we say: fight against armaments and war preparations on the basis of struggle to curb the fascist war-makers everywhere. Fight against armaments and war preparations hand in hand with the struggle for a peace policy—a policy of collaborating with all peace forces of the world to maintain peace, to keep America out of war by keeping war out of the world.

A. B.

# The Steel Workers Give Their Mandate for Organization

By B. K. GEBERT

*(Author's note: As this article is written, the Convention is still in session. The major question, the proposal of the Committee for Industrial Organization, is still to be acted upon.)\**

THE Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers (A.A.) is one of the oldest trade unions, having been organized in 1876, ten years before the American Federation of Labor came into existence. At its first annual convention, held in Columbus, Ohio, in 1877, it had 111 lodges, with a membership of 3,755. Sixty years later, it is holding its convention in Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania, and according to official figures it has 122 lodges, with a claimed membership of 9,795, its actual membership, however, being between four and five thousand; that is, about 1 per cent of the 400,000 steel workers! This is by no means an indication that the steel workers do not want to be organized. On the contrary, there is a growing demand on their part for organization. They want to be organized into one union, an industrial union that will take in all workers employed in and around the steel mills. Technically the A.A. is an industrial union. It claims jurisdiction over the whole steel industry, but all of the craft unions of the A. F. of L. likewise claim their "pound of flesh" from the steel worker.

In view of this situation the basic problem confronting the A.A. is the organization of the unorganized. How did the leadership of the A.A. meet this problem at the convention? Mike Tighe, the 78-year-old president of the A.A., in his lengthy report submitted to the convention, declared that in 1935, under his and the International Board leadership, 84 lodges were disbanded. Among them there are 20 lodges expelled for the crime of demanding organization of the industry. Examining the expelled and disbanded lodges, one can see clearly that practically all of them were the largest steel mills in the country; of the United States Steel Corporation, the National Steel Corporation, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, etc. While 84

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\* The action of the Convention on the C.I.O. proposal is given at the end of the article.—Ed.

lodges were disbanded or expelled, in one year, only four new lodges were organized, and the organization of these lodges cannot be credited to the work of the International Board. This is the record of the Mike Tighe and Louis Leonard leadership of the A.A.

The organization of the steel workers was discussed at the recent conventions of the A. F. of L. (San Francisco and Atlantic City), and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. was instructed by the San Francisco Convention two years ago, "That the Executive Council shall at the earliest practical date inaugurate, manage, promote and conduct a campaign of organization in the iron and steel industries". Yet after two years the Executive Council has done absolutely nothing to execute the will and decision of the organized trade union movement of the country.

William Green attempted to excuse the lack of organizational drives in the steel industry at the Atlantic City Convention by saying that "it was impossible to secure full and complete cooperation from the officers and members" of the A.A. There is no question about the fact that there is much truth in it. But that does not answer the question. As matters stand now, it is clear that neither the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. nor the International Board of the A.A. is really concerned with the problem of organizing the steel industry. As a matter of fact, Mike Tighe, on the eve of the Convention, declared in an interview with the press: "*You cannot fight a two-billion diversified corporation.*" In plain English, it simply means that you cannot organize the steel workers and conduct a struggle against the United States Steel Corporation; it means that Mike Tighe is admitting publicly and openly that he is bankrupt so far as the organization of the steel industry is concerned.

The Committee for Industrial Organization made a proposal to the Convention that it would assist the organization of the steel workers. Its proposal reads in part:

"The unions making up the C.I.O. will pledge financial and organizational aid to an early joint campaign to organize the steel industry, on the same two conditions that we have already proposed to President Green. That is to say:

"1. We require assurance that all steel workers will have the right to remain united in one industrial union. As applied to the joint campaign now proposed, this means that the industrial jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Association must be respected, and the members organized must be protected against future division because of jurisdictional claims of craft unions.

"2. Leadership of the campaign must be such as to inspire confidence of success, and unions contributing to the campaign should be represented in its direction. We propose that a joint committee be established, on which the Amalgamated Association will be represented, as well as the C.I.O. and other unions willing to contribute

to a joint campaign. This joint committee would select a responsible and energetic person, in whom all members of the Committee would have confidence, to direct the actual organizing work.

"... At the same time, however, we would expect the Convention to clear the way for the campaign by action that will give the organizing committee a reasonably free hand in regard to taking in independent and company unions as a body, keeping initiation and dues low enough to meet requirements of a mass campaign, and in other similar respects."

In addition, the proposal contains an offer to raise the sum of half a million dollars from the unions which make up the C.I.O., as well as offering the services of trained organizers for the campaign to organize the steel industry. At the Convention of the A.A., which consists of 78 delegates representing 52 lodges, and seven additional delegates, the International Executive Board having this offer before them and the motion of the progressive forces, elected a committee of five to meet with the C.I.O. and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to discuss the question of organizing the steel industry. As a result, William Green, for the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., in a telegram to the Convention, repeats only the promise to undertake the organizational drive, without any concrete proposals as to how to go about it, and with one very definite restriction upon the drive, namely, that the steel industry is to be organized into craft unions. Concretely, Mr. Green states that in the organizational drive, *"proper respect for the jurisdictional rights of all national and international unions will be observed in the execution of an organizing campaign."*

In practice it means, not as William Z. Foster who was successful in organizing the steel industry in 1918, said: *"Organization into industrial unions on the basis of one shop, one industry, one union, means bread and butter, life or death to the workers in these basic mass production industries,"* but to separate the workers into a dozen or more craft unions, dividing them, making them ineffective in facing the biggest monopoly corporations in the country. Such an attitude on the part of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. means practical submission of the workers to the control of the steel magnates, to continue the unbearable conditions of the decisive and most important section of the American working class.

The progressive forces at the Convention are uniting to fight for the adoption of the following program at the Convention:

That this Convention accept in principle the offer of the C.I.O. and that a committee of 12 be elected to confer immediately with the C.I.O. for the purpose of working out and carrying through proper plans for an organization drive to bring all steel workers into the Amalgamated Association, and that the following

proposals be recommended by this Convention for consideration by the proposed joint committee in working out these plans—

1. That the charters issued to new mills be open for the admission of new members without any, or with a small initiation fee; where old charters already exist, these to be likewise opened.

2. That headquarters for the organizing drive be opened immediately in every steel center—Pittsburgh, Chicago, Youngstown, McKeesport, Gary, Baltimore, Birmingham, Weirton, Buffalo, etc.—so that these headquarters can serve as a central organization point for activities in the surrounding areas.

3. That in addition to setting up our joint committees with the C.I.O., we invite all other international unions to join in backing the drive and be represented on the top committee, provided they work for the same objectives, of helping us establish the Amalgamated as an industrial union in every mill in the country.

4. That regional conferences of central labor unions and local unions be called in the above-named centers, to set up regional committees and draw the whole labor movement into the work of the drive.

5. That literature be issued at once in various languages, appealing to the steel workers to join the Amalgamated at once.

6. That special literature be issued for independent and company union consumption, and that special provision be made for bringing whole company and independent unions into our union as a body.

7. That in order to assure the unorganized steel workers, we are offering them membership in an industrial union, the first work of the joint committee to be a national radio broadcast or a series of them, in which industrial union leaders will speak and appeal to the steel workers to join and explain the benefits of the organization we are offering them. The radio as an effective medium should be used as much as possible in the preparatory work of the drive.

8. That the first literature published give guarantees to the unorganized workers that the Amalgamated Association is an industrial union, and correct any wrong ideas which the employers may have sponsored concerning our Amalgamated Association.

9. That these activities begin at once in order to take advantage of the favorable opportunities existing today in the mills as a result of this action of our Convention.

This is the only program that can be accepted. It is the only program which, if accepted, can be used as the basis for an organizational drive in the steel industry. Regardless of the outcome of the Convention, this program will receive the support of a large number of steel workers, and will be the beacon light in the struggle for the organization of the industry.



In discussing the organizational drive in the steel industry, comrades must take into consideration primarily the growing discontent and revolt within the company unions. The company unions which have been devised to prevent struggles in the steel industry, to divert the efforts of the steel workers to organize into trade unions, are becoming an instrument of expression on the part of a large number of workers elected as company union representatives. Just recently a number of Carnegie Illinois Steel Corporation Company Union representatives brought forward as an immediate demand the 40-hour week, vacations with pay, and a 15 per cent increase in wages. In posing such demands the workers in the company unions (in front of their superintendents and bosses) describe the conditions under which the steel workers work and live:

"The increase in earnings, gentlemen, I mean corporation's earnings, for whoever heard of a laborer's earnings? Incidentally, I averaged not over \$50 per month in the year 1935. I also have earning cards for a few of my fellow workers; while increase in earnings in 1935 over the previous year ran as high as 679 per cent in the instance of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, of which Eugene Grace is President. In other words, they run up to more than a 100 per cent increase, while in some cases the best showing since the depression were made by some of these corporations in 1935. The organization headed by Ernest T. Weir, of Pittsburgh, the National Steel Corporation, reported a net profit nearly twice that of 1934, when he became really energetic against the present administration. For the year 1935, the National Steel Corporation showed a record net profit of \$11,136,451, which is equivalent to \$5.16 a share, and compares with a net profit of \$6,050,721 in 1934, or equivalent to \$2.80 a share. Thus, Mr. Weir, while vigorous for the opposition to the administration (meaning Roosevelt), was practically doubling his company's earnings in 1935. These earnings of \$11,136,451 might be compared with a profit of \$1,662,919 in 1932, at the depths of the depression or with \$2,812,406 the following year, the first of the present administration. Such is the improvement in the National Steel's earnings during the period when Mr. Weir fought his famous fight on Section 7a of the N.R.A., helping to crumble the ambitious structure.

"The management will probably cite the necessity for efficiency in order to compete with other industries of a like nature, but recent disclosures by officials of the various concerns show that prices of product were maintained at a fairly equal rate and that enormous salaries and bonuses were paid to the higher executives while common laborers and the skilled workers who actually operated the wheels of industry and produced the finished material were neglected, side-tracked or dismissed to make room for additional machinery which had been purchased with the enormous profits (as also disclosed in recent investigations) received from the sale of material produced by the sweat and toil of staunch and loyal workers.

"Figures quoted recently show that for February the physical output of industry was 95 per cent of the 1932-33 figure. But . . .

only 83 per cent as many were employed in producing the output and this 83 per cent only paid 72 per cent in wages. The worker has good reason to be fearful of his job. Some twelve millions are still idle. Economic security means freedom from job worries, and until some method is devised for stabilization of employment further progress in safety plans and safety standards will be slow in industrial activities. We should interest ourselves in unemployment plans proposed and direct much of our activities toward elevating *humanity* in the steel industry even though it cuts down profits, bonuses and big salaries as well as the elimination of many of the experts, as alleged who should and could be replaced by men already on the payroll.

"Penalization, if it continues, will, I believe, in time cause many employees to hide minor or major injuries, if possible, rather than report them, as the fear of losing time for trying to do their work to the best of their ability or capacity, when their natural slowness of thought or action may be the principal offender, will tend to make them conceal same. Thus we are defeating the very features of safety which we have so strongly tried to build up."

As a result of the pressure on the company unions and the fear of organization in the steel industry into trade unions, the steel corporations began to grant a few slight concessions to the workers. The United States Steel Corporation announced that they would slightly increase wages. The Carnegie Illinois Steel Corporation announced vacations with pay for all workers employed over five years. These slight concessions will not satisfy the steel workers. They will stimulate further struggles and organization. The wages of the steel workers are extremely low. According to official figures of the United States Department of Labor, the weekly earnings in March, 1935, averaged \$22.06 in blast furnaces; \$25.84 in open hearth furnaces; and \$24.63 in electric furnaces. This can by no means give us the picture of the wages of the workers. Even the Department of Labor statistics had to admit that in the Pittsburgh district 25.2 per cent of the workers *earn under \$16 per week*.

At the same time the profits of the steel corporations are constantly growing. The net profits of 127 steel corporations in 1935 were \$62,961,961, as compared with 1934, which showed a net loss of \$14,703,536. Here we see clearly that out of sweat and blood, out of increased murderous speed-up, the lengthening of work-hours in many places to 12 hours, and the re-establishment in a number of steel mills of the seven-day week, the steel magnates are reaping huge profits, while the workers are receiving starvation wages. But the domination of the steel magnates over the workers in the steel mills does not end in the steel mills. The steel corporations are actually dominating the entire life of the steel towns. They are openly controlling municipalities, schools, newspapers; in short, in a number of steel centers we have industrial-feudal relations. These conditions are even admitted by such publications as

*Fortune*, which describes the domination of the Steel Corporation in the following words:

"It is charged with depressing wages and lengthening the hours of labor, with spying upon its workmen both inside the plants and in their homes, with debauching unions, corrupting union leaders, and, with imperturbable aplomb, grinding down its workers day and night . . . constantly menacing labor organizations. Above all, the Corporation is attacked for suppressing any measure of democracy, not only in its plants but in the communities which it dominates; for denying free speech and the right of assembly to its employes; for intimidating workmen who are dissatisfied with their working conditions; for preventing, in a thousand devious ways, that free expression of political belief that is a fundamental part of the American tradition." (*Fortune*, May, 1936.)

The attitude of the outstanding steel magnates and their spokesmen can be seen clearly from some of the statements and actions made by them, which we are listing below:

*Charlie Schwab*: "If a workman sticks up his head, hit it!"

*Ernest Weir*: "It may be necessary to shoot a few strikers."

*Eugene Grace*: "If 95 per cent of my men belonged to a union, I would not recognize them as union men or as members of the union."

*Mayor Jim Crawford*: "Jesus Christ himself could not speak in Duquesne for the A. F. of L."

*The Duquesne Times*: "There are plenty of vacant trees, and hemp can easily be procured."

*Elebert H. Gary*: "We should do better for a man like Mussolini here, too."

*Charlie Schwab*: "I had a feeling this damned company belonged to me."

*Lamont Hughes*: "The employee representation plan isn't a 'company union'—it isn't a union at all."

*R. B. Mellon*: "You could not run a coal mine without machine guns."

*Tom Moses*: "We will not deal with self-appointed representatives of our men."

*Carnegie Steel salesman*: "You know how we handled the Amalgamated back in 1933? We had 'spotters' at all of their meetings."

*H. C. Frick*: "If it takes even my life itself, I will fight this thing to the bitter end. I will never recognize the union, never, never."

*Jay Gould*: "I can hire half the American working class to fight the other half."

*Jones and Laughlin attorney in 1933*: "The N.R.A. elections in

the captive mines are as far from electing the United Mine Workers for representatives as choosing the King of England."

*Frick superintendent talking to a union man:* "Frick will never recognize your union. When it does it won't run under the name of Frick."

During the Nye Munitions Investigation it was revealed that the Federal Laboratories of Pittsburgh were selling large amounts of gas bombs, machine guns, revolvers, etc., to the steel corporations in preparation for any possible activities on the part of the steel workers. Among the customers of the Federal Laboratories were Carnegie, Republic, and Illinois Steel, and the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company. The same people who are preparing for civil war against the steel workers are the people who subsidize and lead the infamous American Liberty League, an outstanding leader of which is Weir, president of the National Steel Corporation, whose income for the year 1935 was \$11,136,452.

The steel workers have gone through many struggles. It is sufficient to recollect such struggles as the Homestead Steel Strike in 1892, in which the armed strikers defeated the Pinkertons in their attempt to land and crush the strike; or the strike struggle of 1919 led by William Z. Foster, the only man who was successful in leading the organization of the steel industry. In the recent period, likewise, a number of strikes took place locally.

How does the leadership of the A.A. analyze the strikes? Here let me quote the industrial vice president, Joseph K. Gaither, who analyzed the Canton, Ohio, strike as follows:

"In the latter part of May a message was received from President Green of the A. F. of L. that the steel workers needed advice. When I reached Canton I met with a committee from the Central Labor Union. After looking into the situation we found that the federal local that was the first one to strike did not get sanction from the A. F. of L. and the other lodge struck also without any sanction. It was reported that from five to seven hundred men did not get back."

And this was one of the outstanding strikes of the steel workers in 1935. Can the steel workers trust their future to the hands of such leaders? It is quite obvious that they cannot. The outstanding task confronting the steel workers today is to build the A.A., to make it an instrument in the hands of the workers in the struggle to improve their conditions and by doing so prepare for the coming elections in the union, which will take place in September. There can be no two ways about it. The building of the A.A. is the next immediate step which is combined with the struggle of eliminating from the leadership all those who stand in the way of

building the union, of organizing the steel industry. The progressive forces at the Convention are fully alert to this task. Their task now is to organize their forces to achieve that objective. Even the official organ of the A.A. characterizes the present Convention in the following words:

“This one question [organization of the steel industry and adoption of the C.I.O. proposals] which has been precipitated, literally, upon the floor of the Convention has overshadowed other important questions and issues which are contained in the Program of Business and which closely and vitally affect the welfare of both organized and unorganized iron and steel workers throughout the country.”

The task of the Communists is to give full support to the organizational drive. The Communists are already giving assistance to organizing the lodges of the A.A. Mike Tighe, in his report to the Convention, demanded the exclusion from the union of Communists and all those who support Communists. In spite of his plea, the Convention inserted no clause against the Communists in their Constitution. In the effort to organize the steel industry, we must clearly understand that this task cannot depend solely upon the Communists, but that the tasks of the Communists are to involve in the organizational drive every force in the labor movement that is willing to give its support to organize the steel industry. Pressure must be brought to bear upon the Central Labor Unions, the State Federations of Labor, the International Unions, the Committee for Industrial Organization, etc., to achieve this task. The problem of the organization of the steel industry is the problem of the American labor movement as a whole. The American labor movement can be as strong as its weakest link, and the weakest link is the steel industry.

To carry on effectively a struggle against fascism, against war, against reaction, for the preservation of the civil rights of the people, the American labor movement must organize the steel industry. We cannot talk effectively of organizing the Farmer-Labor Party without organizing the steel industry. At the same time the movement for a Farmer-Labor Party will help stimulate the organizational drive of the steel industry. All efforts must be bent in that direction. The steel workers have registered and demonstrated their readiness to be organized. They can only do it effectively, however, with the maximum support of the entire labor movement.

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The Convention adopted the following resolution brought in by the committee of five appointed by the Convention, which in essence is a definite support for industrial unionism. While it does

not formally accept the C.I.O. offer, it is nevertheless a practical approval of this offer in the light of the known stand of the A. F. of L. Council. This proposal was accepted by a vote of 53 to 31. The more progressive elements, while having no objections to these proposals and believing that if these decisions would be loyally carried through, they could lay the basis for a successful drive, voted against it as insufficient, their original proposals going much further. The resolution reads:

We, your committee, authorized by this Convention, have given all possible consideration to proposals submitted to us and beg leave to submit the following recommendation to this convention:

We propose that it be the sense of this Convention to proceed with a plan of organization of the steel industry under the following provisions:

First, that the campaign be promoted under the jurisdictional and charter rights of the Amalgamated Association.

Second, that we seek the cooperation of all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Such cooperation to consist of:

1. Any and all rights or claims of jurisdiction in the steel industry be permanently waived by any and all interested organizations, in favor of the Amalgamated Association.

2. Contributions, trained organizers, and where possible donations of funds.

3. We propose that organizations meeting the requirements of Nos. 1 and 2 be requested to participate on a joint committee. Said committee to have authority to plan and conduct the organization campaign in conformity with the constitution and charter rights of the Amalgamated Association.

4. We further recommend that this Convention authorize and instruct the executive board of the Amalgamated Association to clear the way to meet the requirements of the campaign as in their judgement is necessary. This to mean all problems relative to dues, initiation fees, per capita tax and any other emergencies which may arise except charter and jurisdictional rights.

5. We further stipulate that it must be understood that existing and future contracts between the sub-lodges, the Amalgamated Association, and manufacturers must be respected.

L. W. MILLER, Chairman

JAMES SHALCROSS

SAMUEL PERRY

JOHN THIES

WARD WOLLCOTT

Votes: yes, 53; against, 31.

# Palestine—Land of Anti-Imperialist Struggle

By PAUL NOVICK

## I

PALESTINE is situated on the Suez Canal, along the "lifeline of the [British] Empire". It is the only section of Arabistan (outside of Syria held by the French) facing the Mediterranean Sea. It is situated along the land route to India. It possesses the harbor of Haifa where the pipeline for Mossul oil, in Iraq (Mesopotamia), terminates. In short, Palestine is a most valuable strategic position. For years German, French, Italian and tsarist imperialism were maneuvering for the possession of this position, operating with "religion", "traditions", "culture", etc. The tiny country of Palestine (one-fifth the size of New York State) is dotted with churches, missions, convents, monasteries, foundations, and what-not, created by the various imperialist systems. There are German colonies in Palestine; the inhabitants, of course, were not told that Palestine is needed for the proposed Berlin-Baghdad line but that like good Christians they ought to settle in the land of Jesus Christ. The ex-Kaiser made systematic pilgrimages to Palestine—of course, for the sole purpose of visiting the Sepulchre of Christ. . . . There is a cluster of Greek Orthodox Russian churches on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem established by the tsarist "Mother Church", as well as a number of Russian monasteries and other religious institutions scattered over Palestine. Naturally, this was done because of the religious fervor of the tsarist court and not because of the struggle of tsarist imperialism for the possession of the Dardanelles. . . .

If one were to believe the promise given to the Arabs in behalf of His Majesty's government on October 24, 1915, by the high commissioner for Egypt, Sir Hen McMahon, one would think that the military efforts of Great Britain to conquer Palestine were due to its desire to secure independence for the Arabs. If one were to believe the proclamations showered on the Arab population by British airplanes in 1915-17, these efforts were due solely to the desire of the British General Staff to "preserve the edicts of the Holy Moslem religion from being altered" and to "liberate all Arabs". Since, however, Great Britain needed Palestine for its own imperialistic interests, it so happened that as soon as the legions of General Allenby

marched into Jerusalem, London was confronted with the necessity of safeguarding Palestine for the Empire. Hence the cynical and tricky document, the Balfour Declaration, issued on November 2, 1917, which was heralded by the leadership of Zionism as the Magna Charta of the Jewish people.

The Balfour Declaration, which is at the base of the racial struggles in Palestine, is worth citing. It reads as follows:

“His Majesty’s government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country.”

The British government promised to turn Palestine into a Jewish national home regardless of its Arab majority, at the same time promising to safeguard the civil rights of this very majority, implying that the Arabs be given some sort of self-government. (At present, there are in Palestine over 900,000 Mohammedan Arabs, over 100,000 Christians, some of them Arabs, and 375,000 Jews.) Consequently, when Zionists object to a Legislative Council for Palestine, the British government points to the latter part of the Declaration. When Arabs object to an *appointed* Legislative Council, basing their claims on article 22 of the League of Nations mandate, which provides that communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire are to be recognized “provisionally” as independent nations, the British government, holding the League of Nations “mandate” over Palestine, points to the first part of the declaration. When Zionists state that because of this first part Palestine is to become “as Jewish as England is English” (statement by the president of the World Zionist organization, Dr. Ch. Weitzman), the British government turns around and declares that it “would draw attention to the fact that the terms of the Declaration referred to do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a home should be founded *in Palestine*” (Churchill’s *White Paper*, June, 1922, p. 18).

Ever since 1917 the tricky Balfour Declaration has been used in the dual game the British Colonial Office has been playing between the Arabs and the Zionists. Zionism represents a force necessary for Great Britain to counteract the aspirations of the Arab majority for independence. It is an instrument to prevent the coming into being of an independent Arabistan, including Syria, which would represent a force powerful enough to challenge British rule in the Near East. Great Britain, therefore, is fanning the flames of



religious and tribal hatred throughout the peninsula. It keeps the territory split into a dozen "kingdoms" (the upkeep for most of the "kings" being supplied by the Colonial Office in London), while on the strategically most valuable stretch of land facing the inflammable waters of the Mediterranean Sea, British imperialism is using Zionism. It quite openly looks upon the Zionist Halutzim (pioneers) as an *armed force for the imperial cause*. Because it is now, in addition, engaged in a life-and-death struggle with Italian imperialism, Britain needs this force more than ever.

Mr. Augur, well informed authority on British imperialist policy, stated the case of the Colonial Office in London quite bluntly in a correspondence in *The New York Times* of January 19, 1936:

"Tension between Great Britain and Italy in the Mediterranean has produced results which will endure. Among these will be the enhanced *importance of Palestine in the structure of the British Empire*—an importance which may equal that of any one of the great dominions.

"... The *air force*, even more than the navy, *needs solidly established bases*. The safety of an air base depends upon its being situated in territory that is completely dominated and that contains a friendly population. These conditions cannot be found in Egypt. In that part of the world *they exist only in Palestine*.

"Britain governs the country and the Jewish population represents an element which can supply a guarantee of safety for the establishments of the air force. *In the sea of the native population of Arabia the Palestinian Jews stand isolated, an outpost of Europe, and, if rightly handled, an element of strength for the empire*.

"... Already the possibility is seen that the Jewish population will provide the *physical force* sufficient not only for its own protection but also for the defense of the Palestinian citadel against any foreseeable attack from outside. Military experts say a *Jewish militia of 50,000 men may be a reality tomorrow*." (Emphasis mine—P.N.)

From the words of Mr. Augur it is quite clear that *British imperialism is not asleep in Palestine* if "a Jewish militia of 50,000 men may be a reality tomorrow". Naturally, this would not have been possible without the active assistance of Zionist leadership—*including the leadership of Labor Zionism, which is the leading force in the world Zionist movement*.

## II

By "using" imperialism, Zionism became a pawn in a bloody imperialist game in which the lives of hundreds of thousands of Jews are at stake while simultaneously acquiring imperialist ambitions of its own.

Since Palestine is a small, poor and relatively settled country, with considerable stretches of swamps, sand dunes, and barren hills,

Zionist leaders have been eyeing Transjordan and other parts of Arabistan as territory for extending the "National Home" so that it would accommodate the millions of Jews necessary for the "Jewish state" they are aspiring to. But such dreams necessitate the *status quo of British domination in the Near East*. The policy of Zionism therefore became closely tied to the chariot of British imperialism, so that Zionist offices in Poland and other countries have essentially become recruiting stations for the "Jewish militia" Mr. Augur is speaking of, to make Palestine the haven for British bombers. . . .

The real leader of Zionism, the "Socialist" David Ben Gurion, expressed the imperialist aspirations of the Zionist leadership in his speech at the Nineteenth Zionist World Congress held in Lucerne, Switzerland, on August 20-27, 1935. He stated:

"The borders of Palestine do not extend from Dan to Beersheba, but from at least 250 kilometers farther south. The Red Sea has played a great part in Jewish history. During Solomon's time the first effort to create a Jewish fleet was made, but not with a Jewish personnel. We must not let ourselves be dominated by present-day conditions, but must hold to the historic line. Our economic structure, husbandry as well as industry, which is principally based on the home market in Erez Israel [the Land of Israel] must seek a connection with the great hinterland of Palestine, with Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Persia, perhaps even with India. We must be independent of the artificial route of the Suez Canal. We must find our own way toward all the Asiatic countries." (*Kongresszeitung*, official organ of the Zionist Congress, No. 3, p. 4.)

The honorary chairman of the Zionist organization of the United States, Mr. Louis Lipsky, member of the Zionist Actions Committee, amplified Mr. Ben Gurion's statement upon his return from the Lucerne Congress. In an interview published in the *Jewish Morning Journal* of October 3, 1935, Lipsky stated:

"Jabotinsky boasts that he wants a bigger Erez Israel. He wants an Erez Israel on both sides of the Jordan. But the labor party (Histadruth) through its wonderful leader, Ben Gurion, made it clear that Transjordan is not sufficient, we must also have the neighboring countries for millions of Jews. But whereas Jabotinsky loves to operate with exclamations the labor party wants to secure it all through actual upbuilding."

Vladimir Jabotinsky is the leader of the brown-shirted Revisionists, the Jewish fascists, brought up inside the Zionist movement and until recently part of it. For years he has been advocating that Transjordan be annexed to Palestine as part of a "bigger Erez Israel". Now, according to Mr. Ben Gurion (as well as Mr. Lipsky), Zionist aspirations surpass those of the Revisionist fascists in their imperialist scope. But the prerequisite for such aspirations is, again, *the continuance of British rule throughout the Near East, including*

*Egypt*. It is because of this that Mr. Ben Gurion stated at the Congress that any opinion not to cooperate with the British government "is an act of treachery against the aspirations and the redemption of the Jewish people." (*Kongresszeitung*, No. 5, p. 9.)

Lord Melchett, head of the powerful British chemical trust, who has heavily invested in the Palestine potash concession (Dead Sea) and who is therefore the proper person to head the Zionist British Agency in Great Britain, was forced in these turbulent days to use still more open language. In a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* he advocated the outright annexation of Palestine for the reason that the "imperial solution of the Palestine problem would provide the British Empire with a healthy and intelligent population in the Near East, always ready in the case of necessity to take up arms in an imperial cause". Lord Melchett added that what Singapore is to the British Empire in the Far East, Palestine could and should become in the Near East.

Dr. J. L. Magnes, head of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, who in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* took issue with Lord Melchett, remarked: "This poses the question very neatly." \* The real question, however, is: How are the Arabs to consider the utterances of the Ben Gurions and the Melchetts who have the effrontery to speak in the name of the Jewish people?

It is because Zionism has become an organic part of British imperialism in the Near East that it is rightfully looked upon by the Arab masses as the agency of British imperialism. It is because Zionists who count but several hundred thousand adherents among the Jews throughout the world have put themselves up as the representatives of the Jewish people that the Arabs are misled to believe that all Jews are Zionists and agents of British imperialism. That is why it is so easy for the *provocateurs of British imperialism* in cooperation with its *Arab* servants from among the feudalists and the clergy to use the Jews as the scapegoat whenever the struggle for Arab independence rises high.

British imperialism finds itself in a precarious position in the countries of the Near East. In Egypt, to the south of Palestine, the Arabs have forced Great Britain to restore to the country the constitution of 1923. This, of course, is merely a beginning of the struggle for the independence of Egypt. In Syria, to the north of Palestine, the Arabs have forced French imperialism, through general strikes and bloody combat, to relinquish some of its prerogatives. It is clear that the Arabs in Palestine (which is considered Southern

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\* The Magnes letter with Melchett's quotations was reprinted in the *Philadelphia Jewish World*, Dec. 17, 1935.

Syria) must be filled with unrest and that the general strikes taking place there are part of the anti-imperialist struggle of the over ten million Arabs of Arabistan. No matter what Zionist leaders may be saying, British imperialism certainly recognizes the character of this struggle. The results in Egypt and Syria are striking fear into the Colonial Office in London. The maneuvers of Italian imperialism among the Arabs, the conquest of Ethiopia, make British imperialism increasingly fearful of its hold in the Near East and particularly in Palestine. It is therefore again maneuvering with promises to create a federation of Arab states (promising, of course, Palestine as part of this federation). It is at the same time fomenting race struggles in Palestine in order to prove that neither the Arabs nor the Jews can hold the country and that British force must be maintained for the sake of "peace and order".

The policy of building a state with the aid of imperialist force led the Zionist leadership to introduce into Palestine racial aggression reminiscent of similar aggression in a certain country in Central Europe.

There is the policy of displacing the Arab tenant farmer after the land is bought from the Effendi (landlord). A variety of denials and innumerable excuses are forwarded by Zionists when this subject is mentioned. But, by a fateful coincidence there appeared on April 14 (two days before the recent outbreaks) an article in the New York *pro-Zionist* organ of the Socialist Party Old Guard, the *Jewish Daily Forward*, which, *in a most shocking manner*, substantiated the accusation against the Zionist leadership. This paper which was most conspicuous (of course!) in the recent Hearstian crusade against the Communists because of what happened in Palestine, printed on that date an article by one of its most prominent contributors abroad, Dr. Max Weinreich (head of the Wilno, Poland, Jewish Scientific Institute) dealing with Arab-Jewish relations. Dr. Weinreich gives the contents of a conversation in Tel Aviv (Palestine), which he visited recently. A leader of Labor Zionism complained that his children are brought up in the Zionist schools with a hatred towards Arabs. Dr. Weinreich continues:

"One of those who conversed with me was a tall young man with burning eyes. He had been a *shomer* (watchman, guard) for many years. During long years, night in and night out, the gun was his closest friend. He had lived among the Arabs, he spoke their language, he knew them to a nicety. He does not believe that it is possible to have peaceful relations with them.

"Last week,' he told me, 'we had to make sure of a piece of Jewish land. Do you understand what this means? Several years ago a large piece of land not far from Haifa was bought from an Arabian Effendi (noble landlord). The Effendi did not work on the land himself. *Poor Arab tenants sat on that land.* First they had

paid rent to the Effendi, then they began to pay rent to the new owners, the Jews. For them nothing had changed. But now came the moment when, according to the laws of Palestine, the new owner had actually to take over the land, else he would lose his property right. For this reason the tenants had to be driven off.

"I and a comrade of mine," the shomer told me, "stood in a hidden place *with guns trained*, waiting to intervene in case resistance was offered. But there was no resistance. *They moved off like sheep, and they remained lying with their poor belongings in the open field*, beyond the purchased piece of land. Fortunately, we did not have to make use of our guns. But what are the feelings of the Arabs when they leave this land? The Effendi is dissatisfied because he sold his land eight years ago. Had he kept it until this year he would have received for the land quite a different price. But *the tenants did not get anything from the Effendi at that time* and now they remain stripped, naked, although their feeling (which is the feeling of all peasants in all countries) tells them that the land on which they lived was their own." (My emphasis—P.N.)

Dr. Weinreich touched upon a *bleeding wound* of Palestine—the displacement of Arab tenant farmers through the aggressive policy of Zionist leaders. This, in a country where the *agrarian question* is on the order of the day! And there is another bleeding wound—the policy of "conquering labor" (which goes hand in hand with the policy of "conquering the soil").

The Left Poale Zion writer, M. Erem, takes issue with the leaders of Labor Zionism (or of the Histadruth, the Palestine Hebrew trade unions) on their slogan: "Buy Jewish." He states:

"If it (the slogan) is to serve mere purposes of declamation, then we must consider it as the *babblings of provocateurs* (even if its authors do not intend that) since it aggravates the already tense atmosphere of national hatred in Palestine, a hatred which may wreak its initial vengeance on the Jewish community. . . .

"Only the blind and naive can make themselves believe that the Arab market will not react, sooner or later, against this 'noble' slogan. The danger appears ever greater because this reaction will not limit itself to the economic field, but will most definitely have its repercussions in the political alignments in the country. What will happen then? It is not difficult to foresee. Our very existence is charged with explosives, which need but a spark to ignite." (*Proletarische Gedank*, Nov. 15-Dec. 1, 1935.)

The testimony of such pro-Zionist writers will suffice to illustrate the criminal racial policies of Zionist leadership in Palestine. As a result, the air is charged with race hatred. Jewish "national" manufacturing establishments are picketed by leaders of Labor Zionism themselves (Katzenelson, Rubashov, according to the statement of the aforementioned organ of the Left Poale Zion) to bring about the discharge of Arab workers employed there. Unions are maintained along *racial* lines, the leadership of the Histadruth fearing

that the acceptance of Arab workers as members would “legalize” Arab labor in establishments of “national” Jewish capital. The picketing, the slogan “Buy Jewish”, and the displacement of Arab peasants, lead to bloody racial struggles daily. All of which is basically the result of an adventurous policy, of a colonization conducted in a relatively settled colonial country where the peasants are faced with a struggle against feudalism, a struggle for land.

Zionist leadership must adhere to its criminal policies if it is to go on with the adventure of establishing a “Jewish state”. Zionism is forced to oppose, as it does, any attempt on the part of Great Britain to placate the Arabs with some sort, however crippled, of self-government for Palestine. All factions of Zionism *without exception* came out against any parliament whatever for Palestine (until such time when the Arab population finds itself in a minority). Any attempt of Great Britain to placate the Arab masses by some sort of legislation to protect in the slightest the tenant farmer is met with violent opposition by the Zionist leadership. The following excerpt from the official report submitted by the Zionist Executive Committee to the Sixteenth World Zionist Congress held in Zurich in 1929 openly exposes the Zionist leadership as an enemy of the tenant farmer. It reads (English edition, p. 15):

“A most important agricultural enactment, and *one which is bound to affect the whole policy of Zionist agricultural colonization*, is the law promulgated in 1928 for the *protection of tenants* in the event of the land cultivated by them being sold by the *landowner*. The Zionist Executive submitted certain observations with regard to this law, and these received *due attention from the government*.”  
(My emphasis—P.N.)

An open official admission that a law protecting the tenants is “*bound to affect the whole policy of Zionist agricultural colonization*”! Is any further proof necessary to condemn the Zionist policy towards the peasants? Is it, then, any wonder that the Palestinian air, thickly charged as it is with explosives as a result both of British imperialist policies and policies of Zionism, did explode?

The racial activities of the Zionist leadership played into the hands of Arab reactionaries, feudalists, of Arab servants of British imperialism. They played into the hands of the Revisionists and of the chauvinist ruffians Tel Aviv (all-Jewish city of Palestine) is now openly complaining about. They played into the hands of Nazism, which is attempting to fish in troubled water, inciting Arabs against Jews, notwithstanding the fact that Zionist leadership became the instrument of Nazi export in the Near East.

This brings us to another “glorious” chapter of Zionist policy which (because of limited space) we can touch upon only in passing.

Zionism, because it builds on persecution of Jews in all lands outside of Palestine (since without such persecution as a driving force any considerable emigration into a poor and settled imperialist colony would be unthinkable), in point of fact negotiates and compromises with the persecutors of the Jews. This has become *traditional* in Zionism. In 1903, immediately after the massacre of Kishinev (at that time, Russia) Dr. Theodor Herzl, father of Political Zionism, went to see the Tsar's Minister of Interior, Von Plehve, who was guilty of the massacre, to secure his assistance for the cause of Zionism. In 1921, Vladimir Jabotinsky, at that time a spokesman for the World Zionist Executive Committee, concluded a pact with the pogrom leader in the Ukraine, Simeon Petlura. In line with this tradition Zionist leadership in 1933 concluded the infamous *Transfer Agreement* with Nazi Germany whereby some rich German Jews could transfer part of their wealth to Palestine, in the form of German goods. Simple as this may sound, the Transfer Agreement which in the course of the three years, 1933, '34 and '35, was made use of by a comparatively insignificant group of rich German Jews (2,640, according to a statement by Berl Locker, leader of Labor Zionism), actually was turned into an instrument to flood Palestine and the entire Near East with Nazi goods, both "transferred" wealth and outright export, thus breaking the anti-Nazi boycott Jews all over the world are conducting. Documents published some time ago (reprinted in the *Morning Freiheit*, December 17, 1935) show how the Zionist in charge of the Transfer succeeded in obtaining from Berlin the agency for distributing German goods in Egypt, Iraq, and other countries of the Near East, to the detriment of Belgium and similar countries the Jews are trying to enlist in the struggle against Hitler Germany. This (Transfer) phase of Zionist policies is another example showing how *the interests of Zionism run counter to the interests of the Jewish people*. But it is an irony of fate (and something quite natural) that the Nazis who in Germany are repaying Zionism by allowing it to function organizationally and to issue literature and newspapers, are conducting in Palestine itself anti-Zionist and anti-Jewish agitation in order to win the Arabs for the machinations of Nazi imperialism.

Zionist leadership has played into the hands of Nazi agitators. Primarily, however, it played into the hands of Great Britain at a moment when the latter needed racial blood-letting for its own purposes.

What now?

Eighteen Jews and twelve Arabs were killed during the disturbances in the middle of April. Nearly two hundred were wounded. The majority, or all of them—innocent people, toilers. They were

provoked, used as instruments to bolster up British rule. What should be done to prevent such race struggles from recurring? There were race struggles in 1920, 1921, 1929, and now again. What is to be done to do away with such struggles?

*These are the questions to be answered now.*

Great Britain wants to go on as it has since 1917, playing Arab against Jew. The Zionist leaders quite openly admit they will go on supporting British imperialism and will continue their dangerous policies. The Zionist organization of the U.S.A. has featured most prominently on its official page in *The Day* of May 8 the speech delivered by Lord Tweedsmuir, governor-general of Canada, at the opening of the United Zion Appeal in Montreal. The governor-general referred to the Balfour Declaration and to the "honorable obligations of the English people" to establish the Jewish National Home. Immediately, however, he got down from these lofty heights to *Realpolitik*.

"Palestine," he stated, "holds the key to the strategical position on the great route between the East and West. The war in Ethiopia has caused most of us to reflect upon the safeguarding of that high-road. To have a strong and contented Palestine will be, in the future, of incalculable value to the British Empire. From this point of view Zionism has never been more important than at this moment to Great Britain."

Zionist leadership is obviously in full agreement with His Majesty's representative, the governor-general. A cable by the Zionist propaganda agency, Palcor, stated on May 11 that David Ben Gurion, in a speech delivered in Tel Aviv, had on that day declared: "The Jewish people are strongly in favor of working with the government." Zionist leadership has the effrontery to speak in the name of the Jewish people, promising cooperation with British imperialism. *For Palestine it spells more than racial struggles.* For the Jews who are brought over by Zionism from Poland, Rumania, and Germany *with the promise of a home, refuge, safety*, it means living on a volcano, becoming cannon fodder for British imperial interests. Because reckless Zionist leaders like Ben Gurion continue to speak in their name, the danger becomes ever greater.

Both Jewish and Arab toilers are against a policy of racial struggles and bloodshed. For centuries they have lived in peace. They belong to the same (Semitic) race and have common interests as toilers which dictate a struggle against imperialism and its Zionist and Arab servants. It, therefore, becomes clear that at the present juncture, the Communist Party of Palestine is called upon to play a leading role in uniting the toilers of both nationalities on a program of national and social liberation.



What is the line of the Communist Party of Palestine? Basically, it cannot be any different in Palestine than it is in other countries, particularly colonial. Everywhere it works for the unity of all toilers in a struggle against all oppressors. Because Palestine represents a colonial country fighting for independence, the Communists are, and must be, active in building a people's anti-imperialist front in the struggle for national liberation, which is a *revolutionary* struggle, even though the majority of the elements participating in such front are not (and cannot be in a colonial country) predominantly proletarian. It is a struggle *against* imperialism.

The policy of the Communist Party of Palestine was lucidly stated in the speech of the Palestinian delegate, Comrade Hadyar, at the Seventh World Congress in Moscow last August. He declared:

"The Arab masses are filled with a burning hatred towards the Arab capitalists, feudalists, towards the Zionist bourgeoisie, who has taken upon itself the gendarme role of imperialist oppression. The struggle against the Zionist bourgeoisie is something which can be directly understood by almost all the oppressed social strata of the Arab people. This struggle is taking place daily, and is basically an anti-imperialist struggle. By supporting this struggle we must lead, extend and direct it along the proper channels—*towards the struggle against the main enemy, against imperialism.*

"We hate the Jewish Zionist bourgeoisie, but we extend a fraternal hand to the Jewish toilers for a joint struggle against imperialism, against Zionism, against the bitterest enemies of the Arab and Jewish peoples in Palestine. The Communist Party is building the Arab national people's front against imperialism and against Zionism. It actively works among the Jewish toiling masses in order to liberate them from the influence of the counter-revolutionary party of the Jewish Zionist capitalists, in order to draw the toiling Jews into the national emancipation struggle of the Arab masses. The Jewish national minority in Palestine is faced with great perspectives when the national emancipation movement under the hegemony of the proletariat will be victorious. *Our task is to show and convince the Jewish toilers that their class and national interests are linked up with the victory of the national liberation movement of the Arab masses and the democratic transformation of the social system in Palestine. We must work particularly to form the united front between the Arab and Jewish workers.*"

A clear-cut Communist line. The unity of Arab and Jewish toilers for national and social liberation. In executing this correct line, in conditions of illegality, with its leaders thrown into the medieval jails, Palestinian Communists in October, 1935, committed a mistake, issuing a leaflet wherein *Zionist* policy was identified with *Jewish* policy, thereby unfortunately creating the impression that the dastardly acts committed by Zionist leadership are the fault of all Jews. This mistake was immediately rectified by another leaflet pointing out that it is not a case of Arabs *versus* Jews but a case of

Arab and Jewish toilers against British imperialism and its Zionist agents. Enemies of Communism in the U.S.A. seized upon the first leaflet, not because it veered from the correct line of the Communist Party, but in order to cover up the dastardly policy of Zionism, which, hand in glove with British imperialism, provoked the present situation.

The recent Red hysteria in New York, joined in by Hearst, proved that. It was raised in connection with a Communist leaflet issued in Tel Aviv *calling upon Jewish and Arab youth to unite* in the struggle against British imperialism, Zionist aggression, and against Arab feudalists. The leaflet (fully reprinted in the *Daily Worker* of May 13) opened its appeal as follows:

“Comrades:

“A revolutionary wave is engulfing the country. This is a link in the chain of the upsurge in all Arabian lands which is striving to smash the yoke of imperialism. For Zionism is reaping what it has sown during years of attacks against the Arabian masses on the land: driving the Arabian *fellaheen* (peasants) from the land, the conquest of work and land, supporting and cooperating with British imperialism for the suppression of the struggle of the Arabian masses for national liberation. The murder near Tul kerm—the responsibility for which lies only on those who perpetrated the act—was transformed into a source of incitement and murderous attacks against the Arabian inhabitants in general by the Zionist press and in the Zionist youth circles. The cup has overflowed and a revolutionary wave has broken out.”

After reviewing the strike struggles, the demonstrations, and other struggles of the Arab masses for independence, the leaflet appeals to the Arab and Jewish youth to unite. It particularly appeals to the Jewish youth to form a bloc “in the ranks of the Zionists which will serve as a point of support for the Arabian revolutionary movement, as a basis of *co-operation between the Arab and the Jewish youth*”. The leaflet, which in several places emphasizes that the struggle must be conducted against the *Arab feudalists* as well, winds up with the following slogans: “Long live the revolt of the Arabian masses! Down with imperialism, Zionism, and Arabian feudalists! *Fight against race propaganda and murder!* Long live the national and social liberation of the Arab lands!” (My emphasis—P.N.)

The struggle against the Arab feudalists, alongside with the struggle against imperialism and Zionism, links the fight for national liberation with the fight for social demands, the fight of the peasants for land. This social feature of the struggle of the Arab masses is simultaneously a struggle against Zionism as well, since Zionist leadership obtains most of the land bought for colonization purposes from the landlords (up to 90 per cent, according to the statement of the Zionist authority, Dr. Arthur Rupin, made before the Shaw

Investigation Committee in 1929), displacing the peasants by throwing a pittance at them or *by force of arms*, as seen above.

But it was that correct leaflet which hurt Zionist leaders and their newly acquired ally, William Randolph Hearst, more than that incorrect leaflet, since by calling upon Arab and Jewish toilers to unite, the Communist Party strikes at the roots of racialism which is feeding Zionism and is made use of by British imperialism. *Zionist leadership does not want such unity!*

During the Zionist chauvinist hysteria of October-December, 1935, the Jewish Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. proposed to the various Jewish leaders the following *minimum program* for ending racial bloodshed in Palestine. This minimum program printed in the *Morning Freiheit*, December 15, 1935, put forward the following eight points:

1. All workers, regardless of race and nationality, shall be *accepted into the unions* of the Histadruth.
2. Likewise, all agricultural workers. *Arab tenant farmers should be organized together with Jewish tenant farmers* in one body.
3. The Zionist leaders must declare that they are for a truly *democratic parliament* in Palestine which should safeguard the full equality and *all rights for the Jewish minority* and its national development.
4. Struggle *against British imperialism*, for a free Palestine.
5. Free immigration under conditions 1 and 2. (At present *there is no free immigration*, since immigration is a monopoly of the Zionist organization which selects the immigrants along Zionist lines; only the immigration of Jewish capitalists is free.)
6. No land shall be bought without the *previous consent* of the peasants working the land.
7. The rule of the church (Mohammedan, Christian, Jewish) to be abolished.
8. The shameful *transfer-agreement* with the Nazi government, which has turned Zionism into an agency for Nazi export for the entire Near East, to be cancelled.

None of the Zionist leaders, or any other Jewish leaders claiming to represent Jewish mass interests, made any answer to this proposal. *They did not formulate any program of their own. They have no program other than that which links them with British imperialism and holds them to a policy of racial discrimination*, racial unionism, the displacement of Arab tenant farmers, etc. It is the task of the Communist Parties of Palestine, the United States, and other countries where masses of Jews live to combat the dangerous influence of chauvinism and Zionist adventurism, which is harmful

to the population of Palestine, as well as to the Jewish people outside of Palestine.

The interests of the Jewish people, as of all persecuted peoples, lie with the forces *fighting* imperialism, reaction, fascism, race hatred; with the forces forging the *united front and the people's front*. The example of the Soviet Union where the national problem was solved *because of the correct Bolshevik, Leninist-Stalinist line*: the solution of the Jewish problem there, the complete abolition of anti-Semitism and discrimination, the upbuilding of Jewish culture, national in form and socialist in content, the establishing of five national Jewish districts in the Ukraine and the Crimea, and the building of the Jewish Soviet Autonomy of Biro-Bidjan, are convincing proof for ever wider circles among the Jewish people that the Communist line is the *correct line* which alone can bring about solidarity among the toilers of all races and nationalities and achieve their national and social liberation. The Jewish question, *which must be answered*, can only be *aggravated* by Zionism. Ever wider circles of Jews realize it. Anti-Semitism, discrimination against Jews must be combated by *all* toilers and *all* other progressive elements in the countries where Jews live—and *will continue to live*. Zionism *diverts* the attention from this struggle, separates Jews from non-Jews, thereby assisting anti-Semitism. *The forces of the Jewish masses alone are not sufficient* for a successful struggle against anti-Semitism. The fight against Jewish oppression must be the fight of non-Jews as well, just as the fight for Negro liberation must be the fight of all white progressive elements as well.

The anti-imperialist struggle in Palestine is developing. In spite of the tragic racial riots the anti-imperialist character of the Palestinian unrest is clearly visible. The Arabs conduct strikes, refuse to pay taxes. The Palcor news agency was forced to state on May 5 that Arab leaders declare they are not fighting the Jews but that the independence of Palestine is their main object. No doubt, tremendous pressure from below, particularly from the youth movement, is forcing the present Arab leadership to come out in such clear-cut, anti-imperialist manner. This anti-imperialist struggle which is part of a struggle embracing all Arabs, as well as the peoples in most colonial countries throughout the world, must be supported. The united front and the people's front of all nationalities must be forged. The masses must be on guard against provocation and betrayal. Anyone who stands in the way of the anti-imperialist and agrarian struggle, who sides with imperialism, can expect no consideration in or outside of Palestine.

Zionist followers, most of whom are sincerely looking for a solution to the Jewish problem, burning with a desire to help the

Jews who are being persecuted and pogromized in Germany, Poland, Rumania, and other capitalist countries, must realize that the slogan "Back to Palestine" is a reactionary slogan and that the tiny, poor imperialist colony in the Near East will not provide for even an insignificant minority of these Jews without conflicting with the interests of the local population. The cry of "free immigration" on the part of Zionist leaders is a demagogic cry, since nobody demands free immigration into small poor and settled countries. Such a slogan merely diverts from the campaign that countries like the United States, Canada, Argentina, South Africa, etc., should let down the bars for refugees from Germany, for Polish Jews, etc. This campaign which would really bring some relief (as far as this could be attained in capitalist countries) is harmed by the demagogic slogan of Zionist leadership for "free immigration" to—Palestine (of all countries!). Palestine has its own problem which is first and foremost the problem of driving out imperialism, a problem which is world-wide. Progressive elements among Zionist followers must realize they ought to support this anti-imperialist struggle, just as they must support the struggle of the Chinese, Indian, Cuban and other peoples in their fight against imperialism.

[*Note:* More about Palestine, Zionism and the Jewish question can be found in the two pamphlets issued by the Jewish Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, *Zionism Today* (10 cents) and *Palestine: The Communist Position* (5 cents), both by Paul Novick, to be obtained at all Workers' Bookshops.—*Ed.*]

# Finance Capital and Fascist Trends in the United States

By ANNA ROCHESTER

AN exchange of letters between R. R. M. Carpenter, brother-in-law of Pierre S. du Pont, and John J. Raskob, director of General Motors, in March, 1934, preceded the birth of the American Liberty League. Copies found in the du Pont files and made public by the Senate Committee investigating the munitions business tell us the true purpose of the League to defend capitalism.

Carpenter wrote that he was greatly disturbed by the refusal of workers to take on various short bits of work. "Relief" had made them intolerably independent. Something must be done about it. Raskob agreed. He wrote in the course of his reply to Carpenter:

"You haven't much to do and I know of no one that could better take the lead in trying to induce the du Pont and General Motors groups, followed by other big industries, to definitely organize to protect society from the suffering which it is bound to endure if we allow communistic elements to lead the people to believe that all business men are crooks, not to be trusted, and that no one should be allowed to get rich.

"There should be some very definite organization that would come out openly with some plan for educating the people to the value of encouraging people to work; encouraging people to get rich; showing the fallacy of communism in its efforts to tear down our capital structure, etc." (*New York Times*, December 21, 1934.)

When the du Ponts' league was launched five months later, it took the Liberty Bell as its symbol and defense of the Constitution as its stated purpose. It disclaimed partisan intention but immediately opened fire on Roosevelt measures. Now the Senate Committee Investigating Lobbying Activities ("Black Committee") has shown how the American Liberty League has set up a network of ties with certain other organizations. Recent hearings before the LaFollette Committee (another sub-committee of the Senate) on "violations of the right of free speech and assembly and undue interference with the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively", have given wide publicity to the brutal and underhand methods by which big corporations are trying to destroy labor organization.

Reactionary groups fighting labor unions and promoting the in-

terests of the capitalist class are nothing new in American life. What difference marks the American Liberty League, the Crusaders, and a dozen other organizations as being today expressions of fascist trends?

Basic to our analysis is a correct understanding of fascism as a political form adopted by finance capital in its effort to meet the general crisis of capitalism. "Fascism is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital." (E.C.C.I., *Theses of the Thirteenth Plenum*, December, 1933.) It uses the state in its revealed dictatorship form, as a class bulwark against economic decline. It destroys the last vestige of bourgeois democracy in order to crush the increasing vigor of working class struggle.

Fascism is peculiar to the post-war period of the general capitalist crisis, but it is not an inevitable stage through which all capitalist nations must pass. Fascist trends do inevitably appear, as finance capital musters its forces against the weakening of its own economic position and the rising class consciousness of the workers. Fascist trends are opposed by the working class movement and its allies, defending the remnants of bourgeois democracy. The immediate outcome is determined by the relative strength of the opposing forces in understanding and setting forth the issues, in building united and effective organization, and in winning allies among the farmers and the city petty capitalists, professionals and salaried workers. To recognize the fascist trends in their early stages is of primary importance for the working class.

Since fascism is by definition a political reaction by finance capital to crisis in its affairs so serious that the stability of the capitalist system is threatened, fascist trends can appear only at a certain stage in development. Their form is, of course, determined in each country by the prevailing political and social tradition in which the economic structure is encrusted. In the United States, the soil for rapid growth of fascist trends has been fertilized by mob violence against Negroes and radicals, by anti-Bolshevist hysteria of the "professional patriots", and by a long record of anti-labor activity including company unions, spies, yellow dog contracts, and fomenting of race antagonism. When capitalism was on the upgrade such elements in American life were already important. As soon as finance capital feels that its structure is seriously threatened, they become weapons ready to hand for widespread aggressive class war against the workers. They are shaping a main phase of fascist trends. The special political form, now developing along with this industrial terror, is a demagogic appeal to the Constitution as the bulwark of capitalist rights. At the same time in the name of the

Constitution, they attack, with increasing virulence, the civil rights which the toilers of America have gained through struggle.

A "national emergency" threatening the financial structure of American capitalism developed from the depth of the economic crisis in 1932-33. When the sharp decline in production and trade and the rise in bank failures led to a nation-wide suspension of banking and stock trading, the capitalists' fears for their economic structure approached panic quality. By March 4, 1933, when Roosevelt was inaugurated, the saving of capitalism had stepped into the front rank as a political issue. The danger came primarily from economic crisis, but it was recognized that such unprecedented mass unemployment brought possibilities of rapidly developing political threats from the working class.

The problem of "recovery" technique was confused by the conflicting interests of various elements within the capitalist class. So the Roosevelt program attempted to do something to help every kind of capitalist interest and for a while his program held general support. But this could be only temporary. As soon as profits had definitely turned upward, a cleavage appeared between the more or less "liberal" forces within capitalism and the reactionary forces which are peculiarly characteristic of finance capital. Organized attacks from the Right were directed against the New Deal and these reactionary anti-Roosevelt forces are at present the most important fascist trends in the United States.

#### "RIGHT" OPPOSITION TO ROOSEVELT

From the many current issues, two points may be selected to illustrate the close kinship to fascism in the Right opposition.

Mass unemployment is recognized by the capitalists as a most important and vexatious problem. No capitalist group has really come to grips with it, for the very good reason that it is essentially related to the present stage of capitalist development and this they cannot afford to admit. But Roosevelt has made repeated gestures toward helping the unemployed: public works, federal aid to state relief, and work relief at semi-starvation wages. Some of the public works have actually involved hydroelectric projects that threaten the monopoly profits of certain private utilities. All such expenditures have roused the wrath of the reactionaries. These gentlemen also bring an array of arguments against the feeble Social Security Act—not because it is totally inadequate to meet the problems of the unemployed masses, but because it lays, they say, an outrageous burden upon industry and public funds. Most of the critics from the Right dare not say openly that the unemployed should be allowed to starve. Instead, they blast the New Deal taxation policies



(mild as they are!) and its attempts at regulating some of the most obvious excesses of high finance. Such hampering of capitalists' freedom, they argue, prevents the investment of new capital and expansion of industry and thereby prevents re-employment.

No immediate revolutionary crisis has yet been in the offing—but all capitalist groups keep an eye on the increasing class consciousness of the workers. They all agree that something must be done about it to prevent future trouble for themselves. Roosevelt attacked the problem by attempting to extend the principle of collective bargaining, with genuine unions held back from militant struggle by conservative, docile leadership. Much of his demagogy was concerned with promises of higher wages, shorter hours and fair mediation for grievances. Even before the N.R.A. was thrown out by the Supreme Court, the hollowness of its promises had been revealed to large sections of the working class. But the N.R.A. did lead to a growth in union membership and did check slightly the downward trend of real wages.

From the first, however, General Motors maneuvered to undermine its effectiveness in the auto industry. Ford refused outright to come under a code. Weirton Steel took the lead in the steel industry and U. S. Steel subsidiaries and others followed in aggressively defying the principles of the National Industrial Recovery Act. Large corporations in other industries took up the fight. It is a long story, familiar to readers of our Party press (see also *Labor Fact Book II and III*) and permanently important as evidence on these Right opponents of Roosevelt. They are determined to fight labor unions with every possible weapon.

In emphasizing their ultra-reactionary methods which already express certain phases of a terrorist dictatorship against the workers, we must guard against delusions about the "liberalism" of Roosevelt. His administration has also broken important strikes. It has failed to support any thorough investigation of labor spies and of violent tactics used against strikers. But the Roosevelt technique places chief reliance for checking workers' militancy on conferences with the William Greens and the Joseph P. Ryans of the A. F. of L. Roosevelt has taken definite steps toward compulsory arbitration in labor disputes; he has set up forced labor camps; and he has obtained from Congress the largest military and naval appropriations ever granted in a year of "peace". These moves are akin to fascism and must be remembered when we consider the conciliatory gestures to the working class which are an important part of the Roosevelt demagogy. And yet we believe that the most immediately dangerous fascist trends in the United States are found among the Right critics of the Roosevelt New Deal. These gentle-

men at the Right are violently hostile to working class organization and address their demagoguery to the middle class groups and to the most backward elements among the workers.

Who are these gentlemen at the Right and what are their special points of attack?

#### AMERICAN LIBERTY LEAGUE

Take first the American Liberty League which has become the most aggressively active of all the semi-fascist organizations. We scarcely need to repeat that the "liberty" with which this league is concerned is liberty of property rights for the one per cent of the population that owns at least 59 per cent of the wealth. The du Pont family and their business associates in E. I. du Pont de Nemours and General Motors contributed more than one-third of the \$483,175 raised by the League in gifts and loans during 1935. (*New Republic*, January 22, 1936.)

Even if they were the only finance capitalists active in the Liberty League their interest in it would have given the League major importance. For the du Ponts are one of the half dozen wealthiest families in the United States. Their firm had prospered, enjoying for many years a privileged position in supplying war explosives. But although they had profited in the War of 1812 and in the four years of Civil War, it was their stupendous profits in the World War that laid the foundations for their present industrial power. They now control by minority stock holdings not only these two large corporations but also U. S. Rubber Co. and banks and newspapers in the state of Delaware. They have most friendly relations with the War and Navy departments. They dominate their home state and keep at least one senator in the United States Congress. In General Motors, the du Ponts work closely with Morgan. They have friendly relations and some important common interests with the great British monopoly, Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd.

But, as a matter of fact, the du Pont group are far from being the only representatives of finance capital actively interested in the American Liberty League. Ernest T. Weir of National Steel (and Weirton Steel), together with relatives and business associates, put in \$35,000. J. Howard Pew of Sun Oil Co., and his group, put in \$30,000. (*New Republic*, January 22, 1936.)

Large amounts were reported also from George M. Moffett, president of Corn Products Refining Co.; H. B. Rust, chairman of the (Mellon-controlled) Koppers Co.; Howard Heinz, president of the Heinz canning concern and director of Pennsylvania Railroad and Mellon National Bank; not to mention mere directors

(or vice-presidents) like Thomas L. Chadbourne, of Otis Elevator, Curtiss-Wright, and Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit; William R. Coe, of Virginian Railway and Brooklyn Union Gas; S. T. Crapo, of Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago and Pere Marquette Railway; Joseph E. Widener, of Baltimore & Ohio and Reading railroads and two large Philadelphia banks.

The national executive committee includes some of those mentioned above and Sewell L. Avery, chairman of Montgomery Ward, director of U. S. Steel, Pullman, Armour, Nash Motors, etc., and the *Chicago Daily News*; Colby M. Chester, president of General Foods and director of Central Hanover Bank & Trust Co. and Lehigh Valley Railroad; John W. Davis, one of the chief Morgan lawyers, director of Mutual Life Insurance Co., Guaranty Trust Co., American Telephone & Telegraph, and U. S. Rubber; Mills B. Lane, a Savannah banker with local business interests and director of the large Bibb Manufacturing Co.; Grayson M-P Murphy, director of Guaranty Trust Co., Anaconda Copper, Bethlehem Steel, and Goodyear; Frank C. Rand, chairman of International Shoe Co. and director of one of the chief New York Central subsidiaries; A. A. Sprague, a director of the largest Chicago bank (Continental Illinois) and of International Harvester, Wilson & Co., Goodrich Rubber, and two railroads.

To round out the picture, we list a few of the more important members of the Advisory Council:

Edwin M. Allen, president Mathieson Alkali Works, director American Austrian Magnesite Corp. (a Mellon interest).

William C. Breed, New York lawyer, director Agfa AnSCO Corp., affiliated with German chemical trust.

John A. Bush, president Brown Shoe Co.

William Butterworth, chairman Deere & Co., chairman Moline National Bank, director Illinois Bell Telephone Co.

Dwight F. Davis, Secretary of War under Coolidge.

Raoul E. Desvernine, counsel for U. S. Steel Corp.

R. R. Deupree, president Procter & Gamble Co.

Crawford H. Ellis, vice-president United Fruit, vice-president Whitney National Bank, New Orleans.

Elton Hoyt, 2nd, of Cleveland, partner Pickands Mather & Co. and director St. Louis, Chicago & New York Railroad.

Clive T. Jaffray, president Minneapolis, St. Paul & Sault Ste. Marie Railroad, president First Bank Stock Corp., director Northwestern Life Insurance Co., director American Radiator Co.

Arthur Curtiss James, railroad magnate and director First National Bank, N. Y.

Patrick Henry Joyce, chairman executive committee and president Chicago Great Western Railroad Co.

Cornelius F. Kelley, president Anaconda Copper Mining Co.

E. W. Kemmerer, Princeton University, financial advisor to several semi-colonial countries.

Alvan Macauley, president Packard Motor Car Co.

Thomas N. McCarter, president Public Service Corp. of N. J., chairman Fidelity Union Trust Co., Newark, director Chase National Bank.

Mrs. William C. Potter, wife of chairman of Guaranty Trust.

Herbert L. Pratt, chairman Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., Inc.

David A. Reed, a Mellon lawyer, former U. S. Senator, director Union Trust Co., Pittsburgh, and Mellon National Bank.

Hal E. Roach, movie producer.

George E. Roosevelt, distant relative of the President, extensive real estate interests in New York, Philadelphia, and several southern cities.

Elihu Root, Jr., director American Smelting & Refining.

Benjamin Rush, president Insurance Co. of North America, trustee, Penn Mutual Life Insurance Co., director, Fidelity Philadelphia Trust Co.

Ralph Martin Shaw, law partner of Silas Strawn and general counsel Chicago Great Western Railroad Co., counsel Pullman Co., counsel and director Union Stock Yard & Transit.

With this array of Big Business officials supporting the Liberty League and dominating its committees, we scarcely need to labor the point that it is an organ of finance capital which draws in its 23,400 members as a mass base for political effectiveness. It is in no sense an organ of the petty bourgeoisie.

Its immediate program, as announced at the luxurious Washington dinner last December, was summarized as follows by the *Wall Street Journal* (December 2, 1935):

"An immediate end to treasury deficits, only moderate appropriations for direct relief, greatly reduced public works, elimination of inequalities in revenue laws, rejection of inflationary currency proposals and measures of extending political control over the banking system, withdrawal of government competition with private business, repeal of the 'death sentence' of the Public Utility Act, further study of Social Security Act, revision of A.A.A. and other agricultural laws, return to Congress of veto power over trade treaties, overhauling and possible abolition of agencies created without specific authority of law."

#### OTHER ORGANIZATIONS HAVING DU PONT SUPPORT

The Crusaders is an organization created originally to fight the prohibition amendment. It has been continued with aims similar to

the broad aims of the American Liberty League. But the Crusaders do not clearly distinguish between general purposes and immediate program. Their eight stated purposes include the following:

"1. To 'preserve, protect and defend' the Constitution of the United States and a truly representative form of government. . . .

"4. To resist any so-called 'planned economy' which involves complete control of industry by government and regimentation of the American people.

"5. To stand firm against any drift or drive toward fascism, communism or socialism.

"6. To fight for sound national credit, the first requisite of which is confidence in our money—and assurance of a balanced budget.

"7. To insist that government enterprise stimulate and not supplant private enterprise."

The organization is controlled by a national executive committee and a national advisory council. Among the committee members and contributors (on whom information was brought out by the Black Committee) we find some of the leading lights of the Liberty League, including Lammot du Pont, Irene du Pont, Howard Heinz, George M. Moffett, J. Howard Pew, E. T. Weir, Sewell Avery, John W. Davis, Alfred P. Sloan, Jr. (president General Motors), Prof. Kemmerer and Elton Hoyt, 2nd. Other first-rank capitalists in the Crusaders include the following:

Ralph A. Bard, director Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass, American Shipbuilding, Chicago Corp.

James F. Bell, chairman General Mills, director American Telephone & Telegraph.

Francis H. Brownell, chairman American Smelting & Refining.

E. R. Crawford, president McKeesport Tin Plate Co.

Percy H. Johnston, chairman Chemical Bank & Trust Co.

Fred I. Kent, vice-president Bankers Trust Co.

F. A. Merrick, president and director Westinghouse Electric & Mfg. Co.

Paul Moore, director American Can.

E. L. Ryerson, Jr., director Inland Steel, American Brake Shoe & Foundry, Northern Trust Co. (Chicago).

Alden P. Swift, vice-president Swift & Co.

Edward G. Seubert, president Standard Oil Co. (Indiana), director First National Bank of Chicago.

James P. Warburg, director Bank of the Manhattan Co.

Edwin Webster, vice-chairman Stone & Webster, Inc.

William Woodward, honorary chairman Central Hanover Bank & Trust Co.

Fred G. Clark, national commander, claims that the mission of

the Crusaders is not to "educate the people" but to "clarify public opinion". For this purpose he had free radio time on the Columbia network for five months. The Crusaders offers one important supplement to the Liberty League: it has built up local organizations with "battalion commanders" in the principal cities of 19 states. They watch and report on local political candidates and representatives, and *they aim at building up a mass following of 1,500,000.*

Much smaller and less ambitious is another organization shown by the Black Committee as having received support from leaders of the American Liberty League. The Sentinels of the Republic has been fighting Communism since 1922 and their policy has included opposition to child labor laws and all progressive industrial legislation. The organization was started by the late Louis A. Coolidge, treasurer of the United Shoe Machinery Corp., and has had the backing of other important Massachusetts capitalists. In recent years its chief support has come from the Pitcairn family of Philadelphia who contributed \$103,000 during the second half of 1935. Its Philadelphia supporters giving \$1,000 each include two Morgan partners, E. T. Stotesbury and Horatio G. Lloyd.

On the executive committee we find fairly wide representation from the South and West, including T. P. Heffelfinger of Minneapolis, Chambers Kellar, general counsel for Hearst's Homestake Mining Co. at Lead, South Dakota, and John H. Kirby, with various interests in Houston, Texas. We shall return to Kirby and Hearst. Wall Street circles are directly represented by General Harbord, chairman Radio Corp., director of Bankers Trust Co., and member of executive committee of Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway and New York Life Insurance Co.; and by Joseph H. Choate, Jr., trustee of Mutual Life Insurance Co. and Bank of New York & Trust Co. Last, but not least, we find here again J. Howard Pew, the ubiquitous "patriot".

Anti-Semitism was revealed by the Black Committee to be a strong interest of certain leaders of the Sentinels. Because of it Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., has now withdrawn his support, according to an A.P. dispatch in *The New York Times* of April 26, 1935. This may also have been the reason why a proposed merger between the Sentinels and the American Liberty League fell through, since the three du Pont brothers, Pierre, Irene and Lamot, had a Jewish grandmother, although they do not quite relish outside reminders of that fact. According to a statement by a Sentinels official before the Black Committee, the Sentinels and the Liberty League are not now cooperating.

John H. Kirby, Texas magnate on the executive committee of the Sentinels, is chairman of the Southern Committee to Uphold

the Constitution which sponsored the southern Democratic convention at Macon, Georgia, on January 29, 1936. This convention was rigged to endorse Governor Talmadge as anti-Roosevelt candidate for the Democratic nomination. It was backed financially by John J. Raskob and Pierre S. du Pont, who gave each \$5,000, and by three other du Ponts and Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., who among them gave \$4,050. Scattering small amounts of \$500 or less were gathered in from other northern corporation officials, including \$100 from John F. Neylan, general counsel for Hearst papers and director of National City Bank.

Du Pont support of Talmadge throws further light on the du Pont definition of liberty, for Talmadge is the Georgia governor who set up concentration camps in which were herded men and women textile strikers in September, 1934.

Another du Pont-Liberty League project which was shown up by the Black Committee is the Farmers Independence Council organized in April, 1935, by Stanley F. Morse, then "agricultural consultant" on the payroll of the Liberty League. Large contributors included again Lamont du Pont, Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., and J. Howard Pew, and at least four representatives of Chicago packing interests. A large Kansas livestock man was made president and the Black Committee tried vainly to uncover any actual rank and file support among "dirt farmers".

It is especially true of these newer organizations that they function behind a veil of demagoguery. They are trying to put over measures sought by the finance capitalists as a means of consolidating their power. To accomplish this they need mass support which can be obtained only by concealing their true purposes and offering a plausible but deliberately distorted interpretation of the evils which weigh upon the American people today. This is one characteristic of fascist reaction. So in Germany Hitler made false promises of national "socialism" to conceal his service to the German chemical trust and the great Ruhr industrialists. In the United States—which is less advanced politically—"liberty" is the demagogic watchword, appealing to the farmers and the city middle class and the backward elements among the workers to do battle against the "tyranny" of socialism. American finance capitalists have in the past openly supported Mussolini. They welcomed the Nazi regime as a bulwark against the spread of Communism. They are expert in using labor spies and frame-ups against working class leaders and organizations. The insincerity of their appeal to "liberty" is obvious to us. It is a major task of the Communist movement and all progressive elements in the United States to uncover this demagoguery—among the workers, farmers, and city middle class groups.

## OLDER CAPITALIST ORGANIZATIONS

Running parallel with these blatantly demagogic and propaganda bodies are great numbers of older capitalist organizations set up openly to represent various aspects of the capitalists' class interests. Outstanding in their hostility to the workers have been such bodies as the United States Chamber of Commerce, National Association of Manufacturers, National Founders Association, National Metal Trades Association, and others too numerous to list which are important in their special fields. Some operate on a national scale, some are state or local bodies. Some represent only one industry. Other organizations, relatively inactive in labor matters, have carried on lobbying and propaganda on such matters as taxation, ship subsidies and regulation of corporations, while a third group have served as vehicles for the "patriots" more or less directly related to some special economic interest. These older bodies have in the past functioned openly for their respective reactionary ends. Many of them are ripe for fascist work; all bear closest watching by workers and liberals.

Take by way of illustration the extremely important Chamber of Commerce of the United States, one of the most comprehensive business organizations in the country. The Chamber of Commerce is concerned primarily with general business conditions, including manufacturing, domestic trade, transportation and world markets. It is led by a board of 54 men drawn from officials of banks, insurance companies, and non-banking corporations. Both large and second-sized corporations are represented and in recent years the discussions at annual meetings have reflected this diversity of economic interest within the capitalist class. According to *Business Week* (April 18, 1936) a referendum vote of Chamber of Commerce membership on New Deal policies went 98 per cent against the administration. Affiliated with the national body are state and local bodies. The committee of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York includes leading Wall Street men.

In the winter of 1934-35, just before the opening of the 74th Congress, the national Chamber of Commerce distributed a pamphlet, *Combating Subversive Activities in the United States*. This recommended several measures embodied in federal bills which still await final action by Congress: a federal sedition law; denial of use of the mails to organizations advocating "subversive doctrines"; immigration laws refusing entrance to any person whose country will not take him back if he is deported; refusal of citizenship to persons who believe in or advocate "violent overthrow" of the government; federal laws prohibiting attempts to incite disaffection among armed forces of the United States; and a special agency within



the Department of Justice to investigate "subversive activities".

Cooperating in this campaign have been 14 national organizations including the American Legion, National Civic Federation, Order of Elks, Kiwanis International, Military Order of the World War, United States Patriotic Society and United States Flag Association. Bills aimed at ruling off the ballot any such political group as the Communist Party or militant Socialists were introduced in 19 states and actually passed in four during the 1935 legislative sessions.

The Chamber continues its fascist propaganda through a monthly bulletin entitled *Safeguards Against Subversive Activities*. The most active members of the committee on subversive activities are reported to be men outside the ranks of leading financial groups, but the committee includes James A. Farrell, formerly president and in 1935 still a director of U. S. Steel Corp.; Walter C. Teagle, president of Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey); and Silas H. Strawn, Chicago lawyer closely identified with certain Morgan interests.

#### HEARST AND COUGHLIN

Standing somewhat apart from all these organizations, both old and new, are the most dangerous fascist demagogues in the country, Hearst and his friend Father Coughlin. We have noted among the supporters of the Sentinels of the Republic and the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution lawyers identified with Hearst interests. But Hearst seems to have no important propaganda alliance with other capitalists except possibly in the Committee for the Nation. He reaches the masses directly through his newspapers and his own small but growing radio chain. He is certainly close to Father Coughlin but how much active cooperation this involves with others who may be backing Coughlin also is not so clear.

Coughlin reaches the masses through his nation-wide radio broadcasts. In addition he has built up a so-called National Union for Social Justice which claims a following of six million. Coughlin's build-up in Detroit was largely brought about by Hearst's *Detroit Times*.

Hearst is himself a finance capitalist. His great inherited wealth is invested in several different types of business, chiefly mining, ranch land, city real estate and publishing. He has direct representation in the National City Bank and in the Giannini banks on the Pacific Coast. The Morgan firm was, and the Mills family interests (including Ogden L. Mills) still are, associated with Hearst in Peruvian copper (Cerro de Pasco Corp.). He is also associated with other interests, including indirect Morgan links, in the National City Bank.

Hearst's name does not appear among the members of the Committee for the Nation. His relations to this organization—and others—might well have been investigated by the Black Committee. De-

valuation of the dollar—for which the Committee for the Nation agitates—is of direct profit to owners of gold and silver mines. Hearst's Homestake Mining Co. produces gold; Cerro de Pasco has large silver output along with its copper. No other important mine owners appear on the Committee, although it includes at least one man (Le Blanc) who is said to be a silver broker. Hearst papers have steadily supported the Committee's proposals for inflation, and it is no secret that Father Coughlin cooperates closely both with the Committee and with Hearst. It is of special interest to find on the Committee for the Nation Vincent Bendix, official of companies controlled by General Motors, while the chairman, James H. Rand, Jr., is active on two companies (Marine Midland Corp. and Remington Rand) more or less in the Morgan sphere of influence.

Hearst's entire career has been built on the grossest type of underhand scheming and unrestrained exploitation combined with extreme demagoguery. His methods have long foreshadowed the fascist technique. Since 1934—and possibly longer—Hearst has been in closest touch with the Nazi leaders, and the power of his papers has been more sharply and persistently directed against the working class movement and the Soviet Union. Father Coughlin has wavered in alternately supporting and opposing Roosevelt, but he never wavers in his hostility to Communism.

#### ONE PURPOSE BEHIND THE CONFUSION

As yet the obvious fascist trends are confused. Such clashes of interest as that which sets those who want inflation apart from the "sound money" groups will doubtless continue but they will not prevent an increasing consolidation of forces against the workers as the class struggle develops to new stages.

Also confused as yet is the relation of conflicting labor policies to the line-up of economic groups within the capitalist class. We can list, for example, a dozen finance capitalists who were actively supporting Roosevelt in 1935. These include A. P. Giannini, California banker and friend of Hearst; Walter P. Chrysler and his two chief executives; P. A. S. Franklin and Basil Harris of International Mercantile Marine; and two Morgan partners, S. Parker Gilbert and R. C. Leffingwell. Roosevelt has retained his widest support from secondary capitalist interests and the middle and upper groups of farmers. But he has been so clearly aiming at *capitalist* recovery and he has succeeded so well in placing the burden of the crisis on the workers and the poorest farmers that finance capitalists can support him without violating their class interest. The situation is not yet crystallized with such sharpness that all the members of a banking firm or all the executives of a large corporation must be united as

pro-Roosevelt or anti-Roosevelt. But the weight of finance capital has been thrown chiefly with the Right opponents of Roosevelt.

In this country as elsewhere the roots of fascist trends are intertwined with Big Business. Practically, as we have shown, the principal fascist groups are under the leadership of finance capitalists. Morgan, Rockefeller, Mellon do not appear personally in these organizations—their publicity men advise against it—but men closely identified with them are pouring out thousands of dollars and guiding mass propaganda and organization in the spirit of fascism. Underlying this fact is the crisis which has overtaken the system controlled by finance capital and which has created problems that finance capital has been still unable to solve. They have pushed up their profits but their economic world is still out of joint and they cannot put the 15,000,000 jobless back to work. Small business had long been losing ground and showing distrust of finance capital. Now the new “middle class” of salaried workers have learned in the crisis that their position also is unstable. Workers pushed down to a lower standard of living are learning that in the Soviet Union the working class is steadily gaining. Only against the background of these basic facts can we understand the fascist trends in the United States.

The brigands who control the American highways of business cannot afford to let their victims see what is happening to them. They would have to give up their game entirely if workers and their potential allies joined forces to clear them out. So they try to keep the petty capitalists and related groups looking back toward the “liberty” of a past which capitalism is essentially unable to restore. But the initiative and guidance comes from the finance capitalist rulers. And they are seeking, through fascist propaganda and organization, to keep their victims divided and to mobilize the more backward among them as a force against the workers.

Fascism is *not* inevitable, as we have pointed out. It can be blocked by speedy, effective action on the part of all anti-fascist forces. Already in France the People's Front has achieved a significant victory against the menace of fascism.

Here in the United States the forces of the working class and their allies, in the process of constructing an inclusive anti-fascist people's front, are arrayed against the most powerful representatives of finance capital. The situation becomes more urgent month by month. We have no time to lose. We see some progress in building the united front between Socialists and Communists—but not enough. We see definite progress toward building a national Farmer-Labor Party—but the task calls for multiplied efforts. It is by hastening the growth of a strong, national, anti-fascist Farmer-Labor Party that the fascist trends in the United States can be halted.

# New Party Organizational Forms Prove Their Value

By I. AMTER

A RECENT review of the reorganization of the Party, particularly in relation to branches in the Assembly Districts, and to industrial units, reinforces many ideas expressed in the article on the question in the May issue of *The Communist*.

We must re-emphasize that the main task of the Party is the building of *shop units in the basic industries*. This is a task that must be kept before every street unit, branch, and industrial unit of the Party. The necessity of underscoring this idea is apparent from the check-up that has been made of the work of the new units in the New York District. Branches have been formed upon a larger basis than street units for the purpose of coping with all the questions that arise in the neighborhoods. However, practically in every neighborhood there is a factory or large shop. This has been completely lost sight of by the branches which are struggling to deal with the questions confronting them in their everyday work.

Certain questions, however, must be dealt with very sharply:

1. The size of the branches. Because of the lack of attention to the formation of the branches by the Section Committees, cases have been noted in which branches started out with a membership of up to 120. Obviously, no Section Committee can handle a branch of this size, know the personal activities of every member and his personal inclinations and qualifications as a basis for developing him. True, there are trade unions with memberships of thousands. However, only hundreds show up at the meetings. Reactionary trade union leaders are not interested in the size of the meetings. They are not aroused if many members drop out. However, the Communist Party is concerned about *every one* of its members, interested in his regular attendance, and in his development. The possibilities of the growth of the branches are very great. Therefore, it is necessary, as laid down by the Central Committee, that the membership of a branch shall not exceed 75.

2. There are still misunderstandings as to the function of groups and group captains. In many branches groups were formed on the basis of activity or interest. Obviously, when branches have territories that extend over a large area, it is impossible for captains to mobilize their groups, bring them to meetings and check up on their activities. The group system has a definite significance and must be

built on the basis of comrades living in a certain locality, under the guidance of a captain who watches their activities and controls their attendance. On the other hand, there should be committees in the branches made up of fractions in various organizations and various fields of activity, so that the work may be coordinated.

3. It has been found that the educational work in the branches is still of a very general character. In certain branches there is generally better educational work, and even classes and circles have been organized. However, because of the continued isolation of the branches from the organizations in the neighborhoods, this education is of a very general character and is not concretized to meet the problems confronting the branches in the neighborhoods. This is due, in the main, to the fact that the branches do not yet know their territory. On the contrary, they are still groping about to find out the locality and character of the organizations in the community and to establish contact with them. Where his contact is a live, active one, the educational work is on a much more concrete basis.

4. As a result of this still disorganized condition in the branches—although some branches have already improved their work—there is a tremendous *fluctuation* in the membership. An examination of the branches thus far established in the New York District reveals the danger that, due to the failure to establish the group system, to promote the check-up on the activities of the membership, and to make the branch meetings interesting and constructive, there may be a fluctuation of more than a thousand members during a three-month period. In fact, the check-up shows that the attendance at branch meetings ranged from 50 to 80 per cent, in some cases dropping even below this figure. This is a very dangerous situation.

The main questions confronting the branches, therefore, are the establishment of proper leadership, the building of the group system, the exercise of constant attention by the Section Committee, the education of the membership, the building of the united front in the neighborhoods on the basis of concrete problems confronting the branches and workers, the building up of a mass circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*, and the issuance of leaflets.

In a word, it can be stated that because of the manner in which the branches were formed, the big problems confronting them—even such questions as the establishment of headquarters, the raising of funds to maintain the headquarters, and the holding of affairs to cover expenses—the *main orientation still remains an inner one*. This cannot but result in a tremendous turnover in membership. Although the recruiting has been in the main very large, nevertheless, the branches are not able to hold the new members because the branch activities do not carry the worker along who joins the Party

as a result of struggle. Unless an immediate turn to work among the masses is brought about, the branches will not have fulfilled the purpose for which they were formed. We reiterate, however, that one of the main concerns and tasks of the branch is to establish contact with workers in big shops and establish shop nuclei in these shops. The branches have already proved their potential efficacy. Our task now is to give them the proper orientation and energize them.

#### WHAT THE INDUSTRIAL UNITS HAVE SHOWN THUS FAR

On the other hand, the industrial units show clearly that the Central Committee was correct in establishing them. We need not repeat the various kinds of industrial units that have been and can be formed, namely, a unit in a trade union local; a unit comprising the comrades in various locals of the same union; a unit composed of both organized and unorganized Party members (that is, into the trade unions), in the same industry. Obviously, the tasks of these units are somewhat different, although they all have in common the task of building the union, of strengthening the progressive groups, and of establishing the Party leadership in the union and the shops.

A recent conference of representatives of the industrial units showed the following:

1. Recruiting has in the main been intensified; although some of these units have been in existence only a few weeks, the recruiting has been tremendously increased. For instance, one unit, established less than three months ago, increased its membership from 16 to 36. A unit in the hatters' union, which has been stagnant for years, recruited 14 members in two months. As a result of the building service strike, two units of 33 members have been established in one section within a few weeks. In a local of the painters' union, in a few months, the unit grew from 23 to 48 members.

2. Attendance, which can only be compared with the general check-up of Party members who formerly belonged to street units and are now in the industrial units, shows a vast improvement. In some of the industrial units the attendance is now up to 95 per cent. In addition, the fraction meetings have a like attendance, which has brought about a great improvement in the work of the fractions.

3. The turnover, likewise, has been almost completely stopped.

4. The united front, especially in connection with May Day and with building the local Farmer-Labor Party, has been broadened.

However, very serious shortcomings exist in the industrial units. While these units are growing, there is no orientation toward building *shop nuclei in important shops*. There is no concentration upon selecting workers in important shops and assigning comrades to reach these workers and draw them into the Party.

While the industrial units have been able to activate the comrades in the unions and increase our influence, thereby showing an *increasing trade union consciousness*, their ability to show the face of the Party and to manifest the consciousness of being part of the whole Party has not grown in the same measure. At the conference it was brought out that in a certain industrial unit the comrades "do not feel that they are part of the Party". They felt that they were the *Party in themselves*, conducting their work in the trade union, but that they did not have to bring forward *all the issues* concretely placed before the working class of our Party. For instance, the comrades could not understand why they should be called upon to participate in a demonstration at the German Consulate. This, they declared, does not concern them, since their only task, in their minds, was to work in the trade union. This tendency is an expression of *economism*, and must be combated. This can only be done through systematic education in the industrial units, and through discussing current issues and linking up the work in the union with the general work of the Party.

There is also an inclination in local unions where Communists are in control or have considerable influence not to carry on any educational work. This was implied in the report of a comrade who stated that anything the Communists raise in the trade unions passes without any opposition. The comrades, therefore, did not systematically raise questions in the trade union in order to educate the workers and to draw them closer to the Party and into the Party. They took it for granted that the workers were already sufficiently educated and that no further measures had to be taken in order to draw them into the Party. Such an attitude can lead to very serious consequences. This is to be particularly noted in the case of a union where, as a result of the united front between the rank-and-file group led by Communists, and group led by a Lovestoneite, against gangsters in the union, the Lovestoneite was elected secretary. But, he has not carried out any of the pledges made before election. Unless we carry on political clarification within the union and force him to keep his pledges, not he alone will be criticized for his failure, but the rank-and-file group in which Communists are in the lead, will also bear the same—nay, the *main*, responsibility. Therefore, political clarification must be brought about. This can be done only if it is initiated in the industrial units.

How necessary this is was shown in the conference by the fact that only two comrades raised one of the cardinal questions before the Party and the working class—the question of organizing and mobilizing the youth. The young people are not well organized, even in a city like New York. In the industries reported on there is a

large number of youth. Yet there was no approach to this question as a basic question of the whole working class. Only once was the question of organizing the women raised. Though there are tens of thousands of women workers in the industries, no special form of approach or of organization was even mentioned. And the most vital question was that of the Negroes. Only one Negro comrade reported, since she works in a W.P.A. unit composed of Negroes. In the City of New York only 16,000 Negroes are organized into the trade unions. Yet, there is practically no industry in which there are no Negroes. The question of how to win the Negroes, by raising the question in the unions and carrying on a real campaign against the prejudices that exist among the white workers against organizing the Negroes, was not even broached.

But above all, three points stand out sharply from the whole discussion: (1) As already stated, *the failure to orientate towards the organization of shop nuclei*; (2) *the failure to bring forward the face of the Party through the Daily Worker, Sunday Worker, leaflets, and bulletins*; (3) *the failure to orientate towards struggle, towards the organization of the unorganized and the carrying on of the battle for better conditions.*

These are serious shortcomings in the industrial units which, though very young, have already proved their right to existence in the Party, but which must be given the correct orientation if they are to serve the purpose for which the Party has established them. The united front is the main tactic of struggle. The work that has been done by an industrial unit of teachers in Harlem, in the Negro center, shows clearly that results can be obtained. Through concentrating upon the schools and utilizing to the full the report of Mayor LaGuardia's commission on the conditions in the Harlem schools, and through the establishment of a broad committee embracing even members of Mayor LaGuardia's commission, the work of the unit has resulted in placing at the top of the list the building of two new schools in Harlem, something that has not taken place during a period of more than thirty years.

In general, it can be stated that the establishment of branches and industrial units was correct. They still show serious shortcomings as do all new units of the Party. We must strengthen the leadership by paying far more attention to these units, since they already embrace about half of the membership of the New York District. The Party can grow, fluctuation can be stemmed, a new leadership can be developed, and the Party can move ahead with gigantic strides towards building itself up into a mass Party in districts that are adapted to these forms of organization—provided attention is paid by the Section leadership to these units of the Party.



# Canadian Capitalism Reshapes Its Line

By TIM BUCK

THE dominant characteristic of the political scene in Canada is the combination of liberal propaganda and ruthless economics by which the new government is striving to win through to a more secure degree of "recovery" for Canadian business.

It is illustrative of the development of capitalist politics in this country that a Liberal government introduces such a policy as an alternative to the so-called New Deal policy of stingy reforms proposed by R. B. Bennett, ex-Prime Minister and now leader of the Conservative Party. Bennett, a multi-millionaire, dyed-in-the-wool reactionary imperialist, notorious for his demand that all agitation and agitators be "crushed under the iron heel of ruthlessness" and for his belligerent championship of all forms of reaction, came forward in January, 1935, in the guise of a Canadian F. D. Roosevelt. So close was the analogy, in fact, that it was quite generally hinted that his brother-in-law and protégé, Herridge, Canada's representative at Washington, had both inspired the change of policy and contributed heavily to its elaboration.

Bennett's somersault enabled him to appropriate practically all the thunder of the Liberals on the field of social reform; but it could not wipe out the memory of his record and his heartless iron-heel policy toward the working class and poverty-stricken farmers. The Liberals therefore calmly left the main task of condemning existing conditions to the Conservatives, avowing that things were much worse than Bennett admitted, held Bennett's policies responsible, and limited themselves to the most general statements as to what a Liberal government would do in the matter of social reform, if elected.

By focusing the attention of the working class and, to a large extent, agrarian voters on the record of the Bennett government and the real threat of developing fascist tendencies, Mackenzie King and the Liberals succeeded in attracting enough dissatisfied and discontented voters to swing the majority from Conservatives to Liberals. The victory was anything but a triumph; the Liberals received only about 45 per cent of the votes cast, while 25 per cent of the votes were cast against both capitalist parties, provoking one

of the leading Liberal dailies of the country to comment that the result of the election was "not a victory, but a warning".

Established in office with a large majority, the King government is carrying through a carefully worked out policy aimed at salvaging capitalist economy in Canada at the expense of the common people. The reform legislation introduced by Bennett (contributory unemployment insurance, the eight-hour-day bill, the marketing act, etc.) was quietly, but decisively, disposed of by referring it to the Supreme Court of Canada for judgment as to whether or not it contravenes the British North American Act. The Canada-U. S. trade agreement, which had been under discussion for some time, was consummated by granting the U. S. government several concessions which Bennett, a veritable high priest of high tariff, had refused to yield; and an agreement was consummated with Japan in much the same way.

Against the textile barons who met these measures by closing mills, the King government inveighed with all the virtuous displeasure of outraged righteousness. A government commission was set up to investigate and the Prime Minister threatened that, if necessary, the government would operate the mills itself. The seemingly carefree and generous policy of advancing loans to provincial governments as and when required, which had been followed by the "conservative" Bennett government, was checked by the decision that further loans will be advanced only on condition that the province submits to a measure of Dominion control of its finances. The relief camps which, besides being a curse to their inmates, a blot on civilization, and a standing indictment of the economic system which must put its young men in compounds in paupers' uniforms to work for five dollars per month, have proved very expensive, are to be closed, while relief standards in general are being cut to the bone.

The policy of the King government is naturally welcomed by practically all sections of great capital. Bank presidents in their annual reports, the financial journals, and even sections of industry which, because of tariff interests, are traditionally conservative, greet the measures of the King government enthusiastically. Mackenzie King, on his part, misses no opportunity of elaborating upon the fact that, whereas under Bennett Canada was rapidly drifting into one-man government with blank check legislation granting the Prime Minister almost unlimited authority for "the maintenance of peace, order, and good government", now, under the present King government, "Parliament is supreme". Commissions are appointed; enquiries are carried through, and, to all intents and purposes, democracy is enjoying a new lease of life.

The unfortunate thing for the hungry workers is that the economic results are even worse than were the results of Bennett's policy of one-man government, blank check legislation, truculent browbeating of opposition in Parliament, and "iron-heeled" repression of the working class movement. Wages are still going down, the cost of living continues upward, there is no appreciable increase in employment, but the King government is democratically cutting relief expenditures down to an estimated expenditure of fifty million dollars per year, where Bennett, dictatorially, disbursed a hundred million.

#### BUSINESS HESITATES

The years 1934-35 were, in general, years of "improving business". The upward tendency was particularly marked in 1935 and caused some illusory hopes of complete recovery. The volume of production increased. Hydro-electrical power, newsprint, nickel, and gold production reached new all-time highs. Prices rose, and interest and dividends made a recovery from the veritable slough into which they had slid in 1932-33. Interest and dividend payments in 1935 were the second highest of any year in the history of Canada. They were higher than either in 1928 or '29, and the trend is still upward. Payments for December, 1935, were higher than for any previous month in the history of Canada; payments for March, 1936, were 50 per cent above those of March, 1935; and the story is to be repeated in April. To a superficial observer of the financial pages of the daily papers it looks almost as though Canada has turned the corner.

But the rising curve of production, the physical volume of business and profits, produced no appreciable amelioration of the mass unemployment. The aggregate number on relief in February this year was 1,310,423, which is an eighth of the population. In a survey published some weeks ago, the Canadian Welfare Council declared: "The unemployment and unemployed relief problem has not lost but increased in seriousness in the past twelve months." Recently, the more serious bourgeois economists and financial commentators have confessed concern at the significance of this fact, in view of the definite slowing up of improvement. One of the most authoritative financial commentators, F. B. Housser, remarked on this tendency, on March 28, 1936, in the following terms:

"The Dominion Bureau of Statistics, despite a heroic effort to make its returns look bright to a superficial observer, could not hide the fact that business in Canada has been going backward since the middle of February."

It would be altogether wrong to suggest that the bourgeoisie

expects business improvements to stop entirely, but the recent slowing up has reminded business leaders rather unpleasantly that their dream of balancing accounts has not yet been fulfilled. This worries them. Their concern is well expressed by R. B. Bennett, now leader of the opposition. The haunting fear that some day Canada may be unable to meet her obligations seems to torture him. He never tires of warning big business and the government of these obligations, as for example, the following outburst in the House of Commons on March 23:

"We know that this very year we have to pay in the United States \$2,000,000 for every day of the year except Sunday."

Six hundred and twenty million dollars is a lot of value to extract from the working people of a small population like that of Canada, especially when to that is added all the surplus that goes with rent, interest, and profit payments within the country. The bourgeoisie naturally have no objection to the process; but the process itself is about at the limit of its possibilities at the present time, unless big fortunes and incomes are to be more heavily taxed; hence their concern. Canada's governmental debts have grown from \$1,122,855 in 1914 to \$6,954,239 at the present time. Eighteen per cent of the national income goes to taxes; but government expenditures, which total a little over a billion per year, have exceeded receipts for taxation by 50 per cent every year since 1930. J. R. Lamb, President of the Bank of Toronto, warned the shareholders at the eightieth annual meeting during February that reduction of interest rates on the public debt to a flat three per cent would effect a saving equal to less than half the annual deficit.

#### THE PARASITES CRY FOR "ECONOMY"

This growth of government debts in Canada is not a result of deliberate policy. On the contrary, it has every banker and all the financial journals worried. Thus, the *Financial Post* of January 11 declares:

"There is an urgent need for a simple, efficient control of the tremendous burden of taxation, partly unnecessary, imposed by Mr. Bennett's 'free for all, everybody welcome, strangers invited' dole system."

C. H. Carlisle, President of the Dominion Bank and one of the leading financiers of the country, enlivened his report to the sixty-fifth annual meeting of the shareholders by lugubriously totting up all the money that investors in Canadian industries would be receiving but for taxes and lack of dividends. He concluded with the following insistent demand for a reduction in the cost of unemployment relief:

"The whole problem of relief must be attacked anew and attacked from the point of view of absolute national necessities and not from the point of view of party politics or votes. If this is not done, the whole fabric of society is going to be in danger. . . .

"We cannot maintain everyone on relief on a scale of comfort. The vast masses of the people, if kept on a scale of even spare comfort, are not sufficiently inclined to get out and vigorously hunt for work and accept work when it is offered. . . . The whole system [of relief] has to be revised and it has to be done in a thoroughgoing, determined and practical way. We have witnessed enough already to be sure that, on the scale on which this is done at present, the machine of civilization [sic.] just won't work; it is being overwhelmed by debts which now appal and which will soon absolutely destroy."

Most of the leading capitalists have now fallen into line and accepted the unpleasant conclusion that prosperity of the good old-fashioned, boisterous kind is not coming back. The *Financial Post*, unquestionably the most authoritative financial journal published in Canada, has been running a series of articles entitled "Canada in the Next Five Years". Among the contributors are all the leading ideologists of the Canadian bourgeoisie, including leading bankers, trust magnates, industrialists, and university governors. It is significant that most of them name unemployment as the major problem for the next five years. A large number of them place unemployment and governmental expenditures as the main evils, and several place these two in juxtaposition; but there are few indeed who now suggest that mass unemployment is a temporary phenomenon. One or two of them, if it is true, still insist that it is all the fault of the unemployed, as for example, Mr. Carlisle, quoted above and Sir E. W. Beatty, President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, who states in his contribution to the series:

"It is not a platitude to say that the cure for unemployment is for men and women to go to work."

It should not be imagined that Beatty's attitude reflects stupidity. He is one of the clearest-headed of all the sharp fortune-builders at the top of Canadian economic and political affairs. His words struck the keynote of capitalist policy.

Capitalist politicians of both parties have been prompt to take the cue. There is no longer any serious suggestion of grappling with the problem of unemployment in a basic way, and no thought of providing adequate relief. Governmental policy is now obviously, and among themselves almost avowedly, one of reducing relief standards so as to clear the way for a new series of wage cuts. Just how long they intend to cut relief is a moot question, but an idea can be gathered from the following excerpts from the official notice of a current relief cut in Pembroke, Ontario, published in the press:

"3. All deserted families are to be cut off relief March 1, 1936, and advised to secure sufficient from their fathers or husbands. No 'Grass Widows' will receive relief while her husband remains at liberty."

"13. Single persons who marry and apply for relief will not be granted same until they have been married at least one year and a half."

"14. Single persons will not be granted relief unless they are physically or mentally incapacitated; in such cases arrangements will be made to transfer them to an institution."

"15. The following food allowances are effective after February, 1935:

<i>Number in Family</i>	<i>Monthly Food Allowance</i>
Man and Wife (2).....	\$ 8.67
Man, Wife and 1 Child (3).....	10.83
Man, Wife and 6 Children (8).....	18.42

"The maximum monthly food allowance shall be..... \$18.42"

"17. All relief recipients who are unable to work for their relief shall receive 10 per cent less than those that work."

"20. Relief recipients who are not satisfied with the relief distribution after publication of this notice and who create any disturbance whatsoever will be cut off relief entirely."

In explanation of the above, it should be noted that clause 17 does not apply only to men who are unwilling to work. Inasmuch as no public works are in progress in the locality, there is very little work available for relief recipients; so the net effect of this clause is that most of the relief recipients receive 10 per cent less than the published rates. The effect of these things was brought to public notice very clearly by Miss Agnes McPhail, M. P., in the House of Commons, when she quoted from a letter addressed to herself by a widow who finds herself disqualified from pension benefits because her four children have all reached the age of sixteen and are employed. Their wages are: \$3.00, \$1.50, \$1.00, and \$1.00 per week respectively, making a total weekly income of only \$6.50 for the maintenance of a family of five.

The honorable Norman Rogers, Federal Minister of Labor, let the cat out of the bag in the House of Commons on March 30, when he declared (in emphasizing the prohibitory cost of providing employment for those among Canada's unemployed who are heads of families):

"It is not conceivable that this or any other country could continue a policy of that kind without adopting, with all its implications, the policy of socialism."

It is clear that the Liberal government, speaking through the mouth of its Minister of Labor, is hastening to assure the Carlisles, et al, of their complete agreement.

## PARTY NAMES VS. CLASS INTERESTS

Out of the apparent confusion and contradictions of Liberal and Conservative party policies, the swing of an important section of financial opinion toward support of Mackenzie King and the thoroughgoing manner in which the present government is combining formal democratic procedure with economic reaction, two objective features of capitalist policy emerge.

It becomes clear that the decisive majority of the Canadian bourgeoisie was not convinced that class relationships had reached the stage in Canada that called for, or even justified, Bennett's policies. They appreciated his class loyalty and his brutal attacks upon the Communist Party, but his blatant advocacy of reaction, his too frank use of violent repressive measures, his bellicose threats against anything which smacked of opposition to the profit system, did not reflect the real situation as they saw it. It was not even clever demagogy. His public assertion that the trek of the Relief Camp Strikers from Vancouver toward Ottawa was part of a Communist plot to kidnap him and seize governmental power, was too ludicrous, even for those who disliked King's penchant for the forms of democracy. The Canadian bourgeoisie sensed, perhaps instinctively, that R. B. Bennett, in his overweening ambition to carry through his policy, was arousing wide opposition and prematurely narrowing and weakening the basis of capitalist politics by sharpening class lines and resentments in accord with his own interests and conceptions.

With a definite orientation toward Britain's imperialist war policy and a keen appreciation of the widespread anti-war sentiment in Canada, the more thoughtful section of the Canadian bourgeoisie prefer a policy that will achieve its ends with the maximum masking of its class character. This is not to suggest that there are no elements of incipient fascist tendencies in capitalist policy; on the contrary, it is a general tendency. What it signifies is unwillingness to commit the government or to shed the democratic mask. Furthermore, Bennett's policy was extremely expensive. The penurious hearts of Canada's multi-millionaire financiers writhed at the adventurous policy of heavy government spending which was a necessary concomitant of Bennett's general policy. Blatant reaction was too expensive at such a price if it could possibly be dispensed with, especially when no mass base or organization of fascism had been established.

Mackenzie King offered them a policy conceived and elaborated as the antithesis of Bennett's. Fascist tendencies and organizations are now developing without such obvious support from the government. His government is receiving increasing support from the leaders of

big capital, not only because it promises to cut expenditures tremendously and make further wage-cuts possible, but because King offers a possibility of partially blurring over the sharp line of class interest and policy that Bennett had so clearly brought out, although, it should be noted, King has refused to implement his pledge to repeal section 98. Most decisive of all is that, regardless of the degree to which King is successful in maintaining Liberal illusions, his policy commends itself as the only one that offers the possibility of carrying the majority of Canadians along with the war policy which, in the final analysis, is the basis of all capitalist politics in Canada.

#### CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY A WAR POLICY

There is an enormous amount of lip-service to the ideal of peace in Canadian politics, as a concession to the strong and widespread sentiments of the masses. But behind the phrases, the policy of Canadian capitalism develops stage by stage with the policy of British imperialism. There is nothing mechanical or compulsory about this. Leaving aside for the moment all the conflicting and contradictory interpretations that can be applied to the Statute of Westminster and its effect upon the British North America Act, the fact is obvious that life itself has solved the problem of Canada's status by presenting the rulers of Canada with specific alternatives on the field of foreign affairs.

True to the traditions of British foreign policy, the rulers of Canada have neither tried to secure a clear-cut and understandable declaration of Canadian status nor to formulate their own foreign policy in terms that would limit their freedom of action.

One factor which makes this necessary, of course, is aside from diplomatic tradition entirely. Canada is a "British Dominion", a nation of the British Commonwealth, but she is also an American nation. Bound to Britain by a million threads, not the least of which is the fact that the British market absorbs two-fifths of all her exports, Canada is also contiguous to, and deeply influenced by, the United States. Strategically, in both military and naval sense, Canada is a part of North America. Economically and geographically the separation between Canada and the United States is purely artificial: a fact clearly illustrated by the information that the U. S. government is now negotiating for an agreement under which Canada will agree to construction of a military highway from the United States border across Alberta to Alaska. It requires no stretch of imagination to visualize the significance of Canada's North Pacific ports in the event of war on the Pacific. If the United States were involved in such a war, and it is inconceivable that she could stay out of it,



Canada's ports—and this applies to either Pacific or Atlantic—would have to be in the hands of an ally of the United States—or in the hands of the United States herself.

This explains some of the twists and turns in Canadian policy which, despite these things, remains essentially integrated with the foreign policy of Britain. For example, on May 7, 1935, Canadian papers gave careful publicity to the fact that certain doubts of Mr. R. B. Bennett as to imperial policy had been "satisfied by an assurance from Sir John Simon that England would sign no naval treaty with Japan without the participation of the United States". Lest any reader should assume from this that the role of the Canadian Prime Minister was that of an American, an outsider, or mere half-partner, it is as well to refer to the statement of J. H. Thomas in the British House of Commons on March 9 that the Dominions "are parties to every step taken by the [British] government", or to the news item in *The New York Times* of March 22 in which it was reported that the Dominions would be signatories to the new Naval Treaty. In this connection, Mr. Cahan, ex-Secretary of State, interrupted the Prime Minister, who was explaining again that Canada is not directly involved, to ask if the report was correct. The Prime Minister (Mackenzie King) replied:

"As I was leaving my office, I learned that a despatch had come from London with respect to the naval treaty to which the Hon. gentleman has referred. It has just been deciphered and I have not thus far had an opportunity of acquainting myself with the particulars of it."

Next day (March 24), the Prime Minister submitted a prepared statement on the subject, which concluded with the following words:

"It is expected that the treaty will be signed by the High Commissioner on behalf of Canada, and, as soon as the text arrives, a copy will be laid on the table."

This is perhaps the clearest indication of the integration of Canadian with British foreign policy. It is the logical continuation of the policy implied in the words of Hugh Guthrie, Minister of Justice, in the last government. In reply to the question: "Why must we tie ourselves to British imperialist policy?", he made the following statement on behalf of the government:

"We boast that we are a nation, but we are still part and parcel of the British Empire—we are part of the British Commonwealth of Nations . . . now, suppose we proclaimed to the world our neutrality; would it avail us anything if Great Britain should become involved in a foreign war? The moment war was declared, notwithstanding our neutrality, our commerce at sea would be liable to immediate destruction; our shores could be invaded and our seaports bombarded

by enemy ships, notwithstanding our proclamation to the world that we were neutral."

Thus, while the Canadian bourgeoisie would not go to war against the United States, they are so committed to British foreign policy that the words of the late Sir Wilfred Laurier: "When Britain is at war we are at war also", still strike the keynote of their policy. British wars have been extremely profitable to the Canadian bourgeoisie. International Nickel made \$27,000,000 profit last year; the armament boom in England is reflected in increased exports for Canada, and the Canadian bourgeoisie consider themselves involved anyway. They are determined, therefore, to be in it on the ground floor; and King's policy offers them more promise of securing at least the appearance of consent of the people than Bennett's could.

#### NEED OF THE COMMON PEOPLE'S UNITY

The task of the revolutionary movement in Canada is clearly that of uniting all the forces of the common people for joint struggle against the war preparations and to force the present government definitely to align itself with the forces fighting for peace.

The concrete basis exists for such unification. A million of the four million electors who voted in the federal elections voted for a change. The support given to Social Credit, no less than that given to the "Reconstruction Party" and the C. C. F.,\* reflects the growing desire for escape from the present impasse and the increasing readiness of the farmers and working people to accept new policies, new methods, and new leadership in their effort to find a way out. In the urgent economic needs of the workers, farmers, and lower middle-class people there is a wide common ground upon which unity is possible in immediate struggles, despite the deep differences which today divide our movement.

In the slogan of unity in a broad Farmer-Labor Party we express the real need and the growing desire of millions of people of Canada. There are difficulties to be overcome, prejudice and opposition to break down, but the workers are prepared to struggle, the common people as a whole want unity, sentiment in Canada is strongly against war, and the King government—for the time being—is forced to grant us a breathing spell for further legal activity. Our world is waiting to be won.

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\* Cooperative Commonwealth Federation.—*Ed.*

# Build the National Negro Congress Movement

By JAMES W. FORD

OUR last articles on the National Negro Congress\* have shown how the movement among Negroes is becoming rapidly a positive force for struggle against reaction and war; and for a more united struggle for Negro liberation, as compared with the American Negro Labor Congress, the Congress of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, and other conventions of the Negro people.

The National Negro Congress also recorded progress made by Communists and the many delegates who supported our program, in the increasing work we are carrying on in the various organizations of the Negro people. Our modest successes are, however, just beginnings. We must now undertake to profit, from our experiences, mistakes, shortcomings, and successes, by showing what changes are necessary in our methods of work in building the Negro Congress.

The Congress has shown in life itself how by overcoming sectarian methods of work we can extend our influence—by developing this phase of the people's front against fascism and war to a much higher level—and help to organize still further the movement for Negro liberation already started by the American Negro Labor Congress, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, and the International Labor Defense. The Congress has also shown how this can be extended, by co-ordinating our various activities and those of other organizations of the Negro people through the National Negro Congress united front program.

We must be very critical of our past work so that we may the more easily make the change. It is necessary for the Party membership, particularly the Negro members, to see the need and possibility of strengthening our influence in the existing Negro organizations by joining them where possible and becoming useful members, so that we may exert our leadership in the organizations.

The changed situation requires a broad united front of all the people against fascism and war. We can today unite people on a minimum number of anti-capitalist issues, and on the preservation of democratic rights in such a way that the greatest number of people will be brought together in common struggle.

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\* *The Communist* for April and May.

The coming election struggle, with the threat of the most reactionary Republican-Liberty-League-Hearst clique against the rights of the people and the fight of the Ethiopian people to drive out the fascist invaders from their country, offer issues for rallying the Negro people to struggle. The National Negro Congress, if it is to have any standing among the Negro people, and we must do all we can to see that it does, will have to be active in these struggles. The task is going to become more difficult. The ruling class is not going to stand idly by and allow us to work freely in the organizations of the Negroes. Already there are signs that obstacles are being placed in the way of leaders in certain organizations.

#### THE REACTIONARY ATTACKS UPON THE NEGRO PEOPLE ARE INCREASING

The fight for unity by leaders in the Universal Negro Improvement Association, with friends of the Negro people and particularly with Communists, is being met by attacks from reactionary would-be leaders, backed by politicians of the two old parties. In some cases in Harlem we can discern the hand of the police department skillfully instigating provocations to disrupt the united front actions of the U.N.I.A.

These attacks on the part of old party political machines are taking place because of fear of the movements for independent political action which are taking form in a number of Negro communities. These movements, if well organized, will be able to lead the struggle for improving the lot of unemployed Negroes; for fighting discrimination; and for forcing better housing, hospitalization, school and recreational facilities, and concessions to the general demands of the Negroes.

The viciousness of the attacks of the Liberty Leaguers and reactionary forces in the country against the Negro people can be seen in the campaign of Governor Talmadge in the State of Georgia. A copy of the *Georgia Woman's World*, edited in Atlanta, has just reached my hands. Presumably attacking Roosevelt for advocating social equality, the publication carries on a blood-curdling anti-Negro campaign in its columns. The contents of this copy show to what depths the reactionary Liberty Leaguers and their friends will stoop to stir up a lynch frenzy against the Negro people. It carries a large picture of Mrs. Roosevelt being escorted by two Negro students of the Howard University R.O.T.C., and labels this "social equality". Another picture, showing President Roosevelt receiving a delegation of Negro Masons, is labelled "Are we headed for Social Equality?" The paper is filled from cover to

cover with attacks upon the Negro people and is aimed at dividing still more the ranks of the Negro and white toilers.

An editorial, "Social Equality By Force", warns against a so-called civilization of mulattoes. It states: "If the Negroes [with a small *n*] of the South after they were freed and took control had possessed wealth in the same degree as the white people, the South today would be a mulatto civilization. Not because the white would have desired it, but because the Negroes would have possessed power to enforce social equality.

*"Such civilization of mulattoes is not impossible nor improbable in the not distant future if the policies of the present administration in Washington continue."*

It may be recalled that Mussolini a few years back, in an article dealing with the Negroes in the U.S., made a similar statement.

Such are the appeals of the ultra-reactionary Liberty-League-Hearst-Talmadge clique to the basest passions in order to develop the near-fascist program of the Republican Party.

CAN THE NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS BE NEUTRAL  
TO THE ATTACKS OF THE OLD PARTY  
POLITICAL MACHINES?

Although the Congress resolutions decided against participation on a partisan basis in politics, nevertheless, in the face of this situation, the National Negro Congress cannot be neutral in politics. The vital interests of the Negro people are so much involved that the Congress is faced with the need of applying the test of its program of minimum demands to every party and every candidate, and determining which candidates and which parties are enemies of its program. The Congress can declare to the Negro population that "we do not support any candidate, but we give you their records". Such simple participation in politics will not endanger the broadest unity of the Congress, but, on the contrary, will render valuable and necessary service and thereby cement unity and make the Congress stronger as a fighter for Negro rights.

It must be made clear, however, that we Communists, together with all sincere and militant forces, must take the lead in developing the struggle against all capitalist attacks on the Negro people.

Where is the basic work of Communists at the present moment? Our most important task is to lead the masses in struggle for their immediate needs, economic, political, and social. In the course of these struggles we are to bring forward the program of the Party on the Negro question, preparing for the struggle to eliminate national oppression and for complete equality, the destruction of the

plantation system in the South, the right of self-determination in the Black Belt. We must revive the best traditions of the Negro people and honor their highest aspirations, their national feelings, and desire for cultural expression.

But to be able to do this effectively it is necessary to give the greatest attention to immediate needs. Such struggles as we state above can be carried on only by developing the broadest united front around immediate needs: equal rights, etc. This has always been our objective. It is here that we differ most from our Socialist friends. We are alert to the daily specific problems facing the Negroes as an oppressed people. To fail in alertness in this regard leads to the abandonment of the Negro masses to the wolves of capitalism. We do not contrapose immediate issues to the revolutionary objective; in our revolutionary outlook we are concerned daily, hourly, with the miserable life of the whole of the Negro people.

We Communists stand one hundred per cent for the general advancement of the Negro people, against all forms of discrimination, against fascism and war, for equal rights, and on all issues in line with the interests of the toiling masses for advancing the fight against capital.

But to be with the people, and this especially applies to the Negro Communists, we must be among them, *in their organizations*, maintaining contact with their life, feelings, and moods. At this point it would be advisable to recommend rereading an article in *The Communist* for February, 1935: "The United Front in the Field of Negro Work".

In that article we show how to appeal to the various organizations for united action, how to deal with various groups and individuals, how to handle church people, and, finally, we list a number of organizations in which it is possible to work.

On how to work in these organizations in a non-sectarian manner and in a manner that will make it possible for us to render service and advance the struggle for Negro liberation, we stated:

"We do not aim to destroy their organizations, but to develop and broaden the struggle for the release of these boys (Scottsboro boys). . . . Therefore, when we are members of these organizations we must be the best fighters against discrimination . . . we must be informed. . . . We must be painstaking in our explanations. We must utilize our successes . . . to show how gains can be made through struggle. We must be sensible and human in our contacts with these workers and be careful never to assume an attitude of superiority as many of our comrades do. We must learn the rules of how meetings are conducted and be able to conduct ourselves in such a manner as to gain the respect and confidence of the members. . . . *We do not have to bring our whole program into the organization the first time.*"

Following 1929 and up to 1932 we found it necessary to wage a struggle against people and organizations who attacked us on all sides. It was impossible to get any form of co-operation with the various organizations on issues that faced the Negro people.

NEW POLICIES OF REFORMIST ORGANIZATIONS  
FAVORABLE FOR UNITED ACTION

We all recall, for example, that just before the election campaign in 1932 the *Crisis*, official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, took a sudden interest in Communism, organized a symposium on Communism which was participated in by seven Negro editors. And while these gentlemen admitted the relentless struggle of the Communists for the immediate interests of the Negro people, yet most of them openly stated their opposition to Communism. But today there is an entirely different situation. We are not received with open arms everywhere now; but we must register such important developments as the united front with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the League for Industrial Democracy, the American Civil Liberties Union, the International Labor Defense, and other organizations, for defense of the Scottsboro boys.

In the past, the work of the N.A.A.C.P. in the economic field was incidental to its civil liberty program. But we note now certain very definite changes in the policy regarding labor were made at its St. Louis Convention last year.

It recognized "the Negro as a landless proletariat in the country and as a propertyless wage-earner in the city, a reservoir of cheap labor . . . more easily exploited than white labor".

The N.A.A.C.P. Convention had under consideration the setting up by its branches, in strategic industrial and agricultural centers, councils whose function should be:

1. To conduct classes in workers' education designed to create among Negroes a knowledge of their present role in industry and a realization of their identity of interests with white labor;
2. To foster the building of a labor movement which will unite all labor, white and black, skilled and unskilled, industrial and agricultural.
3. To lay the basis for united action between white and black workers for securing passage of adequate legislation on immediate problems, such as old age pensions, unemployment and sick insurance, widows' and orphans' pensions, child and female labor, lynching, discrimination and jim-crowism.
4. To serve as a force against every manifestation and form of racial chauvinism in the labor movement, and to attempt to

break down discrimination on the job and in pay, and jim-crowism in local and national trade union bodies.

Indeed, this is a far departure from the previous activities of N.A.A.C.P. and certainly offers opportunity for common action with the Congress, as well as the possibility for Communists to work in local branches for the furtherance of this program.

In like manner certain progressive steps can be noted in the Workers' Councils of the Urban League, under the directorship of Mr. Lester B. Granger. The Workers' Councils of the National Urban League, with branches in more than 32 industrial centers throughout the country, numbering many thousands of members, have as their basic program:

“ . . . to acquaint Negro workers with the economic nature of their problems, with the essential unity of white and Negro workers' interests, and with the history, technique and necessity of collective workers' action; and to establish understanding and intelligent co-operation among workers of both races, within and without the ranks of organized labor.”

The possibility for united action among organizations of Negro people, I believe, is clear. We have had excellent experiences, not only here, but also in the Universal Negro Improvement Association. The U.N.I.A. is of great value in the National Negro Congress movement because of its international outlook. The threat of German fascism to provoke a new world war and do what Italian fascism has done in Ethiopia to the whole of Africa demands that *the National Negro Congress should immediately consider the calling of an International Congress of Negroes to mobilize the Negroes internationally to defend Ethiopia, to fight against recognition of the fascist imperialist claim to domination over the Ethiopian people.*

From these observations may follow our tactic in the National Negro Congress, making of it a vehicle for developing the liberation struggle of the Negro people. This struggle has been in the making for a long time in various organizations of the Negro people. It has been given its most vigorous spring in the Left-wing organizations, such as the American Negro Labor Congress and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights.

#### THE LEFT-WING NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS IN RETROSPECT

The American Negro Labor Congress, which was organized in Chicago in October, 1925, began to champion the rights of 12,000,000 Negroes in the United States and “to lead the struggles of the Negro workers and farmers against terrorism, lynching, mob violence, police brutality, segregation, and all forms of race hatred; for equal pay for equal work, for better working conditions; for



the organizations of Negro workers into trade unions on the basis of complete equality”.

The preamble and program of the American Negro Labor Congress stated in detail the position of the Negroes in the United States and outlined the methods of struggle against evils which they have to fight; it made a summary of the struggles of the Negro people internationally against capitalism and imperialist oppression.

The American Negro Labor Congress laid special emphasis on the organization of Negro *workers and farmers*. It called for struggle for the admittance of Negroes into the existing trade unions and their full participation in all offices and affairs; it called for the organization of Negroes into industrial unions in industries where no unions existed; it organized Inter-Racial Labor Conferences for “the promotion of solidarity of all workers regardless of race or color and to take steps to unionize Negro workers”.

The Congress was almost entirely of working class composition. It represented quite a departure from previous congresses or national gatherings initiated by Negroes. It served the definite purpose, in line with the trend in the industrialization of the Negro, of bringing the Negro working class forward as the decisive force in the movement of the Negro people as a whole. Although there was a large migration of Negroes into industry their organization into trade unions was weak, and their class consciousness was not widespread. There was a natural suspicion of the trade unions among Negroes because in most cases they were led by vicious white chauvinists who carried out the policies of the ruling class of separtism and segregation in the labor movement. The A.N.L.C. was faced with a most difficult task which it undertook to the best of its ability.

In meeting these tasks there were shortcomings. The A.N.L.C. proved to be too narrow. For the period of its existence it was almost completely isolated from the basic masses of the Negro people. This shortcoming was carried over into the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. The class content of the program of the A.N.L.C. which was essentially correct was, however, not carefully adopted to the feelings and moods of the Negro people. The local councils were too rigid. Instead of uniting broad masses of the Negro people through their organizations, the councils were built on the basis of individual membership composed in almost all cases of those people and individuals who were dissatisfied with the existing organizations and were breaking away from them completely. In many cases the councils had as members class conscious white workers who, together with their Negro brothers, stewed in their own juice, separated from the broad masses and knowing little or nothing about their problems and their life. The white workers quite sincerely

desired to carry out their class duty of unity with the Negro people. But unfortunately the form and the methods of work were not fruitful. In many cases sincere Negroes were driven away from the organization by bad methods of work.

I recall particularly the strict and unyielding attitude taken by leaders of the American Negro Labor Congress toward religion. This attitude prevented the Congress from becoming a mass organization. It is a long step from the occasion of an A.N.L.C. meeting at Chicago, in 1926, composed of a large number of religious people, where a leader of the organization, in the course of his remarks, said, "To hell with religion; damn the church", to the National Negro Congress where church organizations and religious people worked co-operatively with non-religious people, or where now our Negro Communists are fraternizing with church people in order to organize them in the struggle for Negro liberation. Despite shortcomings, the A.N.L.C. served a useful purpose.

#### THE L.S.N.R.—ACHIEVEMENTS AND SHORTCOMINGS

The last convention of the American Negro Congress was held in St. Louis, in November, 1930, where, by unanimous decision, the name was changed to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. There was a change in program also. The program called for the destruction of the plantation system in the South, for confiscation without compensation of the land of the big landlords, and declared for the complete right of self-determination for the Negro people in the Black Belt of the South. We make these comparisons in order to enable us to overcome tendencies that held us back and prevented the development of a broad liberation movement. Although the League of Struggle for Negro Rights stated the basic revolutionary program which is necessary for the full liberation of the Negro people, it was faced with a situation where the overwhelming masses do not yet understand this full program. Furthermore, however correct the general program was, the L.S.N.R. fell into the same sectarian method of work as the A.N.L.C. It did not base its activities sufficiently on immediate, daily needs of the people. Naturally, this narrowed down the L.S.N.R.

The most useful and practical part of the program of the L.S.N.R. was the Bill of Negro Rights and the Suppression of Lynching which aimed to develop a movement to enforce enactment of legislation for the suppression of lynching.

The organizational weaknesses also were identical to those of the American Negro Labor Congress. Calling for affiliation on the basis of the complete program, the L.S.N.R. tended to make affiliated organizations suspicious. The by-laws provided for the leadership

of struggle for the L.S.N.R. program of immediate and general demands. But stable organizations could not be drawn into united front struggle *on the basis of the full program of the L.S.N.R.*

It is precisely on this point that the National Negro Congress has made a great step forward to the advantage of the united front and joint action of different organizations.

What actually happened was the following: branches of individual members of the L.S.N.R. became invariably, as in the A.N.L.C., small sectarian branches of Communist Party members, and, as such, remained isolated and even unable to hold those people who were willing to break away from other organizations. These branches could have attraction only for unorganized Negro people. But, contrary to opinions held by many, the Negro people *are an organized people*, that is, they are members of churches, lodges, fraternal organizations, etc.

There were tendencies to organize into the L.S.N.R. people who were either eligible for trade union membership or unemployed organizations. This was a sectarian mistake of all L.S.N.R. branches.

Practically no effort was made in any part of the country to build the L.S.N.R. as a united front body organizing joint actions around immediate issues, in accordance with the first organizational form. What is to be done with the local L.S.N.R. branches? Where local branches are functioning and occupy an organized position in the community, they should affiliate with the local council of the National Negro Congress, while maintaining their independent existence. Where councils of the L.S.N.R. are small sectarian groups with no influence in the community they should be liquidated. The national organization has ceased to exist.

#### THE BROAD SCOPE OF THE NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

The National Negro Congress has wisely avoided all these pitfalls. The Congress, in the first place, avoids usurping the program of affiliated organizations. It was organized upon the basis of a united front around a minimum program worked out and agreed to by the representatives of the 817 delegates present.

Another factor that narrowed down the L.S.N.R. was the fact that out of a National Council of 86 members, more than two-thirds, or 62, were Communists. The National Council of the National Negro Congress is broadly representative of organizations and political opinion. The Council consists of 75 members, of whom less than 10 are Communists. It is composed of some of the outstanding Negro people in the United States, who are taking an active part in building the organization.

The National Negro Congress is being organized on a regional,

or district, and local council basis. A region or district is composed of several states, with a vice-president in charge. There are to be also state organizations. These are made up of city bodies or local councils within the state.

The local council is the basic form of organization. The local sponsoring committees, which initiated the movement for the National Negro Congress, automatically become local councils. These councils are to be federated bodies of already existing organizations which affiliate to the council on the basis of carrying a part or the whole of the program adopted at Chicago. There can also be sustaining members.

The life of these local councils can be justified only by their taking up and acting jointly on the issues that affect the Negro people. They can become effective in the community only by developing campaigns and struggles around these issues and by involving the membership of each organization in these activities.

The most important task to be undertaken is to unionize Negro labor and to develop a fight to break down jim-crow barriers in national and local trade union bodies.

The Congress agreed to develop a nation-wide drive to organize Negro women domestic workers. It agreed on support for the sharecroppers and tenant farmers in the South and for their organization; for a struggle against lynching (and support to the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill endorsed by the N.A.A.C.P.), for civil liberties, for the organization of consumers' and producers' cooperatives, for the development of Negro culture, for unemployment and social insurance, for defense of the rights of foreign-born Negroes, for the demands of the youth.

These are the immediate issues together with those general political issues, such as the struggle against fascism and war and for the defense of the independence of Ethiopia, which have already been dealt with in the article in the May issue of *The Communist*, that should occupy the immediate attention of the National Negro Congress and all of its supporters and sympathizers.

We Communists must organize all our forces to render great assistance to the National Negro Congress in carrying out its program. We should organize all our fractions and guide them in their work in the various organizations in which there may be Party members. If we develop systematic work on the basis of our concentration policies in the various Negro communities and carry on a fight against sectarian methods of work, we shall be able very soon to fulfil the task of developing a broad people's front among the Negro people in the United States against fascism and war and for the liberation of the Negro people.

# Clara Zetkin at the Cradle of the Second International

## REMINISCENCES

By BORIS REINSTEIN

ON June 20 of this year it will be three years since our unforgettable and universally beloved Clara left us forever. Three weeks later, on July 14—the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille, a date which the French bourgeoisie has usurped and turned into a national holiday—47 years will have passed since the centenary of the storming of the Bastille, this also being the anniversary of the opening of the First Congress of the Second International in Paris in 1889.

Thinking of the anniversary of the death of Clara, my thoughts and memories are involuntarily associated with the anniversary of the Second International Congress, and various scenes and episodes of the historic Congress come up again in my mind. I should like to give to the readers my reminiscences of one of these memorable episodes in which Clara played her characteristic role.

In 1889, Clara (who had not long before lost her husband, Comrade Zetkin), lived in Paris with her two orphaned boys Kostya and Maxim. At that time she was thirty-two years old, and not only did she possess that outstanding spiritual and mental strength which, as we all know, she was able to preserve to the last day of her life, but she also enjoyed good health. In connection with the world exhibition in Paris and with the celebration of the centenary of the Great French Revolution, the leaders of the international Socialist and labor movement who had had no International for nearly 17 years, convened in Paris, on July 14, the International Socialist Congress, or, more correctly, two congresses. The one, which was more Marxist and revolutionary, carried on its work under the leadership of the German Social-Democratic Labor Party and the French Marxists (Guesdists) and Blanquists. The other was under the leadership of the French reformists (Possibilists) and the English trade unionists. All attempts to unite the two Congresses which were simultaneously in session led to nothing.

Clara Zetkin, of course, participated in the revolutionary, Marxist Congress as a member of the big delegation (81 persons) of the German Social-Democratic Labor Party, the German trade unions,

and other workers' organizations. This delegation was headed by old Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel, Eduard Bernstein, G. von Volmar, Molkenbuhr, and others.

The keynotes of the whole Congress were international proletarian solidarity and the struggle for the eight-hour working day and factory laws. In discussing the question of labor protection and factory legislation, the Congress found it necessary, of course, to discuss also the question of women's labor in industry. Here an episode connected with Clara took place which burned itself deeply into my mind. At that time I was still a young revolutionary of hardly more than Young Communist League age, and this episode helped me and my nearest comrades in the Zurich "Circle of the Young People's Will Party Adherents", which at that time was at the crossroads between the principles of Marxism and the People's Will Party, to find the path towards a more consistent Marxist position and tactic.

Naturally, the predominating number of those attending the Congress were French—delegates from the various Socialist, trade union, cooperative, and other workers' organizations. There were 130 of them. From the ideological point of view they represented a very variegated crowd with great revolutionary temperament, most of them, however, being big blunderers, politically underdeveloped, often combining this revolutionary temperament with a petty-bourgeois ideology and an attitude almost reaching that of the "respectable" middle class. Many of them were still adherents of the petty bourgeois teachings of Proudhon and were under the influence of the Proudhonist and other "revolutionary" traditions in the French movement. Especially in the sphere of woman labor in industry, like many of his predecessors in the labor movement of France, who reflected the petty-bourgeois conditions of the middle of the last century, the period when industry in France was at an immature stage of development, Proudhon took an extreme "Left", *i.e.*, a Right opportunist, position. He and his followers came out, without the least hesitation, against women working in the factories and other industrial enterprises, arguing that this would "deprive the worker even of the home and the family".

This traditional "revolutionary" position of the French petty-bourgeois minded workers with a revolutionary temperament found expression, many years after the death of Proudhon, at the First Congress of the Second International.

When the Congress was discussing the question of the demands for factory legislation which all the proletarian parties and organizations in this newly-born International were to present to the governments in their respective countries, a certain French delegate, whose name I cannot now recollect, made a speech in which, basing

himself on the petty-bourgeois position of Proudhon on the women's question, he declared himself sharply against the use of woman labor in industry.

In essence his speech was as follows:

"The international proletariat has not had an international association for 17 years, and we were obliged to speak in every country with our bourgeoisie and our governments in our own particular and not always uniform language. The happy and long awaited day has come at last when we are raising once again the banner of the Socialist International under which, guided by the spirit of international proletarian solidarity, we unite for a joint struggle against the common enemy, so that now we can speak once again to our governments in our various countries in a common language and present our common demands. Thus, I propose that on the question of our general demands for factory legislation, and in particular on the question of woman labor in industry, we most decisively and categorically, without any compromise, demand that woman labor in industry be absolutely prohibited. Not to mention the fact that women are not adapted by nature to work in factories, the work being too hard and prolonged for women, and not to mention the fact that work in the factory inevitably tells on the health of the women herself and her children, we must not forget the fact that the woman's first duty is her household work and the care and education of her children. It is enough that the base, greedy bourgeois mercilessly exploit us working men in their factories, chaining us to their machines with the fetters of wage slavery! Now they are stretching out their greedy claws towards our proletarian women, threatening to deprive us, proletarian men, of the last that has been left us, namely, the home and the family. No, we will not allow this! We must demand the complete prohibition of woman labor in industry!"

I remember that this delegate stepped down the platform highly satisfied with his "extreme Left" speech and with an expression on his face which seemed to say: "Now, let anyone else try to be more revolutionary on this question than I."

I often think of this speech. Is it not characteristic of the position taken by the whole Second International on the question of woman labor? The arguments against woman labor which the French delegate gave at that time could be heard later, and we hear them ever more frequently at the present day from the mouths of the Social-Democratic leaders. Their slogans, "Down with women in industry!" "Woman's place is in the home!" were ever more loudly proclaimed especially as the crisis became more acute and when unemployment increased. They did not limit themselves to demands, but in practice the reformist members of the factory committees always voted at the time of general dismissals for the dismissal of women first.

The terrible inequality of women existing in Germany at present

was systematically prepared for by the Social-Democratic leaders. The fascists seized on the Social-Democratic arguments. Some of their expressions coincide almost word for word with what this French delegate said at the First Congress of the Second International.

For example, Goebbels expressed himself as follows regarding the fundamental position of the fascists on the question of woman labor:

"The woman's primary and best place is in the family, and the most wonderful task that she can fulfill is to present her country and her people with children."

He thus brutally reduced the woman worker to the level of a birth-machine. In Germany at the present time, at the orders of the fascists, those proletarian women who do not give birth to children, since they do not want to doom them to death by starvation, are even publicly branded.

Another fascist argument which does not at all sound new is the following: "We will take the women away from the factories because work in industry is injurious to their health and damages their organisms."

At the same time, in spite of dismissals, thousands of women workers are forced to work in some industries, the very ones which are most injurious to their health, namely, the infernal chemical works, so as to produce poisonous gases for the coming war.

The fascists try to assure the workers that with the return of women to the home, the family life of the workers will be restored and that owing to the dismissal of women from the factories the wages of the workers can be raised. Both these arguments were advanced by Social-Democracy before the fascists advanced them.

Let us remember in this connection how consistently Clara Zetkin always exposed the lies of the Right-wing leaders of Social-Democracy, how mercilessly she fought against them. Even when she was on her death-bed, she began to write a pamphlet on the question of the treachery of those Social-Democratic leaders.

Let us remember how decisively Clara Zetkin always came out in defense of the exploited women workers.

Today it is important to point out the clear speech of Clara Zetkin, full of sound principles, which she delivered at the First Congress of the Second International as the representative of the Berlin women workers. In this speech she took up a definite position on the question of the prohibition of woman labor.

But let us return to the discussions at the Paris Congress.



CLARA ZETKIN DELIVERS A LESSON ON THE ABC OF SOCIALISM  
AND DIALECTICS TO THE FRENCH AND OTHER "LEFTISTS"

In the discussion on this question, Clara Zetkin, as delegate of the women workers of Berlin, delivered a lengthy speech which was in reality a report. Forty-seven years have passed since then, but I still remember clearly the overwhelming impression of that historic speech. There is no doubt that the address made a stunning and unforgettable impression on me and on many others who listened to it, not only because of its eloquence, not only because of its volcanic passion, so characteristic of Clara, but also owing to the inflexible Marxist dialectic logic and the clearness of the analysis and arguments. The Communists of the present generation who have gone through various Marxist-Leninist classes, courses, universities, academies, etc., and who have at their disposal a gigantic amount of rich Marxist-Leninist literature, will not "discover America" in this speech of Clara Zetkin. All the ideas which she expressed in that speech of long ago, all her arguments and her attitude on the question of woman labor, seem to us now to be absolutely self-evident, simple, clear and indisputable.\* But 47 years ago the political level was by no means as high even in the ranks of the Socialist Parties. And even at the Congress, where an important role was played by such leaders of the Socialist movement as Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel, Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue, and G. V. Plekhanov, the speech of Clara Zetkin stood out prominently, owing to the soundness of the Marxian dialectics in it. I think that the reader will not reproach me if I take that memorable speech from the dust of the archives and reproduce it here as material for a historic portrait of our unforgettable Clara.

I give below the speech from the detailed notes (evidently an incomplete stenogram) published in the German edition of the minutes of the First Congress of the Second International, issued under the editorship of Wilhelm Liebknecht and with a preface by him.

\* \* \*

Comrade Zetkin, delegate from the working women of Berlin, spoke amid loud applause on the question of *woman labor*. She stated that she had no intention of presenting a report on the situation of working women, because it did not differ much from that of working men. But, on behalf of the working women whom she represented, she would deal with the question of woman labor from the point of view of principles. As there is no clarity on this question, it is very necessary for the international labor congress to make a

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\* See footnote on p. 571.—*Ed.*

clear and plain decision on the question, getting clear on the principles involved.

We need not be surprised [said Clara Zetkin], that in the camp of the reactionaries we meet with reactionary ideas on the question of woman labor. But it is highly astonishing that in the camp of the Socialists we meet with wrong ideas, inasmuch as a demand is advanced here for the prohibition of woman labor. The question of woman labor is an *economic* question, and we have reason to expect Socialists to show a higher understanding of economic questions than that brought forward in the demands which have been advanced here.

Socialists must know that *woman labor is a necessity* under modern economic development. The natural tendency of woman labor is to lead either to a reduction of the labor time which every individual must devote to society or to an increase in the total wealth of society. It is true the competition with the labor power of men causes wages to fall, but it is not due to woman labor as such, but to the fact that the capitalist, when purchasing woman labor, exploits it.

The Socialists must realize above all that social slavery or social freedom rests on economic dependence or independence. Those who have written on their banner—"the liberation of all mankind"—have not the right to condemn half the human race to political and social slavery as the result of economic dependence. Just as the worker is in subjection to the capitalist, so the woman is in subjection to the man, and she will remain subjected until she becomes economically independent. An inevitable condition for this economic independence is *labor*. If we want to make women free people, make them equal members of society with men, then we should neither abolish nor restrict woman labor in industry, except in definite, isolated, exceptional cases.

The women workers who are striving for social equality do not expect to obtain for their liberation anything at all from the women's movement of the *bourgeoisie*, the feminist movement, which professes to struggle for women's rights. This is a house built on sand and has no real foundation. Working women are thoroughly convinced that the question of the liberation of women is not a question standing separately by itself but is *part of the great social question*. They fully realize in modern society this question will only be solved after the complete reconstruction of society.

The question of the liberation of women is a child of our epoch and arose from the *machine*. In the epoch of the renaissance, women were on a level with men in intellectual and social respects, but it never entered anyone's mind to raise the question of their liberation. The emancipation of women signifies a complete change in their

social position from top to bottom, signifies a *revolution* in their role in economic life.

The old form of production with its crude instruments of labor tied woman down to the family, and her circle of activities did not extend beyond her home. Within the family, the woman represented an extremely productive kind of labor power. She produced practically all articles of consumption for the family. Under the old form of production and trade, it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to produce these articles *outside the family*. As long as these older production relations were in force, women were economically productive. As production relations changed, no longer permitting women to engage in production, women became mere consumers. This revolution had much to do with the reduction of the number of marriages.

Machine production put an end to the economic activity of women in the family. Big industry produced all articles more cheaply, more quickly, and on a larger mass scale than was possible under individual production, when the work was performed with the help of crude tools and production was small-scale. Women often had to pay more for the material which they bought in small quantities, than they would have had to pay for the finished product of big machine industry. Besides expenses for the purchase of raw material, they also had to spend their time and their labor. Owing to this it became a useless and unnecessary expenditure of time and energy to carry on production within the family. Although it is true that it may be useful to certain individuals to have women producing within the family, nevertheless, from the point of view of benefit to society, such activity is a loss.

This explains the fact that the good housewife of the good old time has almost entirely disappeared. *Big industry* has made useless the home production of articles necessary to satisfy the needs of the family. *It has cut the ground from under the activity of women in the home*; but simultaneously it has also *created the prerequisites for the activity of women in society*. Mechanical production, which does not require much muscular strength and skilled labor, made it possible to put women to work on a broad productive scale. Women entered industry, trying to increase the income of the family. The labor of women became a *necessity* in proportion to the development of modern industry. In this way, with every mechanical improvement introduced in our times, the labor of men is becoming superfluous and thousands of workers are being thrown into the streets, a reserve army of the poor is being formed, while wages have continually fallen lower and lower.

In the past, the wages of the husband, along with the simul-

taneous productive work of the wife at home, were sufficient to provide for the existence of the family. Nowadays these wages are hardly enough to keep an unmarried worker. The married worker is compelled, whether he like it or not, to figure also on the *paid* labor of his wife.

Thus, woman was *liberated from economic dependence on man*. The woman engaged in industry, and not having any possibility of being occupied only in the family, as an economic appendage of her husband, learned to satisfy her own needs as an economic force independent of her husband. But when women are no longer *economically* dependent on their husbands, then there is no reasonable basis for their *social dependence* on them. It is true that at the present moment this economic independence is beneficial not to the woman but to the capitalist. Owing to his monopoly on the means of production, the capitalist has got possession of this new economic factor, the woman labor, and he has allowed it to start to work only for his own benefits. The women liberated from economic dependence on their husbands have become *subordinated to the economic rule of the capitalists*. *From slaves of their husbands they have become slaves of the manufacturer*. *They have only changed one master for another*. Nevertheless, they have gained on the change. They are no longer economically of low value compared with their husbands and subject to them but are *equal to them*. However, the capitalist is not satisfied with exploiting the woman herself. In addition, he uses the labor of women workers in order *still more thoroughly to exploit the men workers*.

From the very beginning woman labor was cheaper than man labor. At first men's wages were expected to provide the necessities for the existence of the *entire family*. The wages of woman were expected from the very beginning to provide only for the support of *one person*, and even that only partly, because the woman was expected to continue working *at home*, in addition to working in the *factory*. Furthermore, the products produced by a woman at home with the help of crude tools, incorporated, as compared with the products turned out by big industry, only a small portion of the average socially necessary labor. Hence, the conclusion is drawn that women are less capable of work. On this basis women receive lower wages for their labor power. To this motive for the low payment for the labor of women should be added the further circumstance that as a rule women have fewer demands than men.

But for the capitalist, woman labor power was extremely valuable, not only because its price was low, but also because of the greater *submissiveness* of women. The capitalist put his stake on both these factors and tried to pay the working women as low wages as possible,

and, by means of this competition, to lower the wages of men as much as possible.

In the same way the capitalist used the *labor of children*, in order to lower the wages of women, and the work of machines in order to lower the wages of people in general. Only in the capitalist system of society can we find the cause and explanation of the fact that woman labor gives results absolutely contrary to its natural tendency, that it leads to the *lengthening* of the working day instead of helping to considerably shorten it, that it does not signify an *increase in the wealth* of society, *i.e.*, the greater prosperity of each individual member of society, but on the contrary only means an *increase in the profits* of a handful of capitalists and simultaneously the ever greater *impoverishment of the masses*. The terrible results of woman labor which can be felt so badly now will disappear only when the capitalist system of production is abolished.

In order to avoid being defeated in competition, the capitalist must try as far as possible to increase the difference between the cost of production of an article and its selling price. Therefore, he tries to produce as cheaply as possible and to sell as dearly as possible. Consequently, the capitalist is fully interested in making the working day ever longer without limit and in paying as ridiculously low wages for labor as he can. This tendency is in direct opposition to the interests of the working woman as well as to those of the working man. It is clear from this that there are no real contradictions between the interests of the working men and the working women. But without doubt there is an irreconcilable contradiction between the interests of *capital and labor*.

Considerations of an economic nature are against the demand for the prohibition of woman labor. The present-day economic situation is such that neither the capitalist nor the husband can *give up woman labor*. The capitalist must keep to woman labor if he wishes to be able to stand competition, and the husband must reckon on woman labor if he wants to form a family. Suppose even that woman labor were prohibited by law, the wages of the men would not rise as the result. In this case the capitalist would very rapidly compensate himself for the loss of cheap woman labor power by the wider use of more perfect machines, and soon everything would go on as before.

After big strikes which have ended in the victory of the workers, it can be observed how the capitalists, with the help of better machines, wipe out the gains of the workers and obtain the possibility of exploiting the workers as before.

If the prohibition or restriction of woman labor is demanded on the grounds that woman labor gives rise to competition, then

by the same logic one could demand the abolition of machines and the restoration of the *rights of the guilds* of the middle ages, which determined the number of workers who would be permitted to work in each handicraft.

However, not to mention the economic arguments against the prohibition of woman labor, arguments of principle make themselves primarily felt. It is precisely on the basis of principles that the women must understand the necessity of protesting with all their force against any such attempt. They must offer determined, and at the same time the most just, resistance, because they know that their social and political equality with men depends entirely on their economic independence which they obtain from their work outside the family, in society.

From the point of view of principles we women categorically protest against the restrictions of woman labor. *In no case do we wish to separate our cause from the cause of the workers in general. Therefore we do not formulate any separate demands. We do not demand any legal protection except that which labor in general demands against capital.\**

We recognize only one exception—for pregnant women whose conditions demands special measures of protection in the interests of the women themselves and of their offspring. We do not recognize any special woman question. We do not recognize any special question of the working women! We do not expect our complete emancipation either from the recognition of political rights or from the admission of women to the so-called liberal professions, or to equal education with men, although the demand for all these rights is only natural and just! The countries in which there exists so-called direct and free suffrage have shown us that in reality it is worth very little. The right to vote without economic freedom is neither more nor less than a promissory note which has the appearance of value but which cannot be cashed. If social liberation depended on political rights, there would be no social question in the countries where universal suffrage has been introduced. The liberation of women,

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\* In her refutation of the revolutionary position taken by the French delegate in regard to woman labor, Comrade Zetkin correctly denounced the declaration that woman's place is in the home and enunciated the principle that the emergence of woman labor represents a progressive phase in the development of modern society. But in her fundamentally correct stand against the exclusion of woman in industry, against continuing the social subjection of woman, Comrade Zetkin, in stating that "we do not formulate any separate demands" for working women, except in case of pregnancy, adopted a position in regard to this question which is untenable. Clara Zetkin, herself, was one of those who aided in formulating these special demands, on the basis of the experiences of women in industry.—*Ed.*

like the liberation of all mankind, will come about only as the result of the *liberation of labor from capital*. Only in a socialist society will women and workers in general obtain their full rights.

In view of these facts nothing remains for women who are really seriously striving towards their liberation, except to join the Social-Democratic Labor Party, the only party which is striving towards the emancipation of the workers.

Without the assistance of the men and to some extent even against their wishes, the women have taken their place under the Socialist banner. It must even be recognized that in certain cases women have been irresistibly drawn to it even against their own intentions—simply because of a clear understanding of their economic situation.

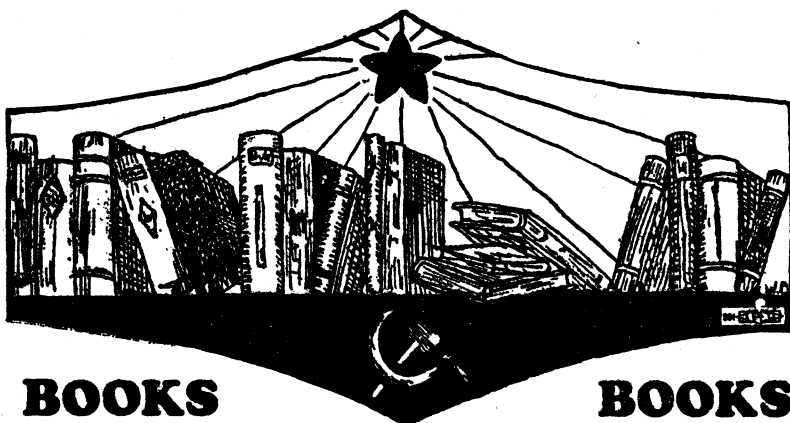
But, however this may be, they are standing under our banner and they will remain there! Under this banner they will fight for their “emancipation”, for the *recognition of their rights*.

Hand in hand with the Social-Democratic Labor Party, they are prepared to take on themselves their part of the burden and sacrifices of the struggle, but they are also unswervingly determined, in justice, to demand after the victory all the rights belonging to them. In respect to sacrifices and duties, as in respect to rights, they want to be neither more nor less than comrades-in-arms accepted into the ranks of the fighters on equal terms!

\* \* \*

The loud applause of the Congress rewarded Clara for this brilliant speech. The applause was repeated when Marx's youngest daughter, Eleanor Marx-Aveling, also a brilliant and talented orator, translated Clara's speech into English and French.

I do not know whether this brilliant report of Clara's was of any benefit to the French delegate whom I mentioned above. I only remember that this speech very much helped me and my closest comrades, who occupied a more Marxist position among the young followers of the “People's Will Party” doctrines, to strengthen ourselves in our Marxist positions, and very soon to cut the navel cord of the “People's Will” and to come out onto the broad road of the Marxian mass proletarian struggle.



**BOOKS**

**BOOKS**

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE POPULARIZATION OF  
THE LENINIST POSITION ON THE  
NEGRO QUESTION

*The Negro Question in the United States, by James S. Allen. International Publishers, New York, 224 pp., \$1.25.*

*Reviewed by A. W. BERRY*

IT is a common fallacy, peddled by bourgeois economists and liberal social scientists, that the Civil War freed the Negro from chattel slavery and introduced him to the status of free wage worker. The reason (as explained by those schooled in bourgeois social science) for the extra hard lot of the Negro under capitalism, as contrasted to whites, is the "stupidity" of the white masses, lack of culture and education on the part of the Negroes, and color differences.

In *The Negro Question in the United States* Comrade Allen exposes the time-worn theses of the capitalist and petty bourgeois ideologues. For, indeed, not only does he prove that the Civil War only partly freed the Negroes, but he also shows the real basis for the spread of color prejudice and race hatred directed against them. This book comes as a welcome answer to all the bourgeois pish-pash and figure-juggling essays on the Negro question.

In the very first chapter, "The Black Belt," it is proved that the Black Belt, synonymous with the old cotton belt, remains today the area of Negro majority after a lapse of 75 years since slavery. The migrations during the War and post-War periods, heralded by many as a means of evenly distributing the Negro population throughout the United States, left a Negro majority in the area of the cotton belt representing 52 per cent of the population. That the migrations had only a temporary effect on the Black Belt population is shown by the fact that in two regions there was an increase of Negro population during the 1920-30 decade. The importance of the population discussion is summarized by Comrade Allen as follows:

*"This is far from being merely an academic problem. For if this [Negro decrease] were the actual tendency it would amount to nothing more or less than that capitalism could still solve within its own confines and in a gradual manner, without the discomforts of an agrarian mass upheaval on the plantations, those very problems which the Civil War of 1861-65 had left unsettled. For the persistence of*



*the area of Negro majority means the persistence of the plantation economy, of which it is a result. The area of continuous Negro majority has only been slightly altered, indicating that those factors which have in the past confined a large portion of the Negro people to the territorial limits set by the slave regime still persist."*

In the chapters sub-titled "The Economic Survivals of Slavery" and "The Nature of Share-Cropping," Comrade Allen places the term "remnants of slavery" in real and concrete settings. It is in these chapters that the basic character of the Negro question, both as an agricultural and a national question, is expounded. Drawing on the writings of Marx and Lenin in the sphere of agriculture and applying these to the Southern American scene, the author points out conclusively that the status of the sharecroppers is *not* that of free wage workers. Sharecropping as a remnant of chattel slavery is exposed here as a form of labor between chattel slavery on the one side and free wage labor or capitalist tenantry on the other. This is the real and concrete form in which the heritage of chattel slavery is expressed in the sphere of economy. The subsequent social and political oppression of the Negroes is an outgrowth of this antiquated labor form. To those liberal professors and labor "purists" who seek to cover and blur over the special nature of the Negro question in America, this section of the book should bring enlightenment.

The role of finance capital in the cotton patch is explained in detail in the chapter sub-titled "Financing the Plantation". American imperialism has attached and nurtured the feudal survivals in the Black Belt. Loans to the landlords are based on crops; crops depend on a bountiful supply of "cheap and docile" labor; crops must provide enough both to maintain the landlord and repay the principal and interest on loans—hence the connection of finance capital with the frightful national oppression of the Negroes and the lack of democracy for the masses generally in the South. It is this which accounts for the special forms of class rule prevailing in the Southland. Nor is the Federal government clean-handed. Both the Hoover and Roosevelt administrations have put their stamp of approval on landlord usury in the Black Belt. Moreover, they have been actual participants in the robbery: the former, through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation; the latter, through the A.A.A. A typical A.A.A. transaction is described by Comrade Allen as follows:

"The government cotton benefit checks were in most cases sent directly to the landlords and absentee owners or to banks, insurance companies or government institutions who held claims against the farmer, and who deducted the debt due and turned the balance, if any, over to the original signer of the plow-under contract."

Beside the part the government plays as assistant to the landlords, it is becoming an important owner of land and mortgages acquired through the Federal Land Banks.

With this knowledge it is easily understandable why the governmental bodies remain discreetly silent while Negroes are lynched at the rate of one every fourteen days. Lynching, it must be remembered, is one of the weapons used to guarantee the supply of "cheap and docile" labor on the plantations in which the finance magnates and the government are so materially interested. The President speaks on occasion against "horse and buggy days" in industry and government; Comrade Allen's book would give him material showing the existence of ox-cart days in that region which he terms his "second home".

Will the application of machinery to cotton culture undermine the plantation? Many of the professors answer this question in the affirmative, and

ferently. But what with acreage reduction and chronic unemployment leaving already too many idle hands, hands to be secured almost free, on the Southern countryside, the landlords cannot be expected to make a needless outlay of capital for machinery. Even granting the introduction of the picking machines in the western cotton areas, it would only mean more rigorous exploitation of the tenants and croppers in the Black Belt. Before granting that the machines will be used in the western areas, it should be noted that there has been a tremendous decline in farm machinery generally. In many cases in the Black Belt this has taken the extreme form of substituting mules for the oxen. There have been instances even where the work of draft animals has been done by human beings.

So, in the sphere of technological improvements, sharecropping, plantation economy, Negro oppression, remnants of slavery, coupled with the general crisis of capitalism, form the modern feudal barriers to bourgeois "progress".

However, the increased use of machinery in the western areas, while not effecting a change in Black Belt feudal relations, would cause a more intensified exploitation of the toilers there. In this sense the introduction of machinery would hasten the ultimate upheaval in agriculture which would destroy the power of the landlords.

Just as agricultural machines will sharpen the class struggle in the South, so has Southern industry affected the dynamics of the class struggle. It has brought into being a Southern proletariat, Negro and white. Not to industrialization but to the working class falls the task of organizing and leading the struggle to destroy feudal reaction in the South.

The role of Northern industry in further developing the dynamics of the class struggle in the South is discussed in a special chapter. Here, too, Comrade Allen points to the mistakes of those who turned to this source as an accepted savior. For the real contribution of Northern industry to the solution of the Negro question was the transformation of nearly two million Negroes into industrial workers, laying the basis for black and white labor solidarity. But even this solidarity could only be obtained by a struggle against the "shadow of the plantation" which had followed the Negro north. For, as the book under discussion points out:

*"Capitalism has given a new base and new life to these survivals of the past, prolonged them in the North as well, by utilizing them to even greater advantage than the national differences among the immigrant workers. Color offered a convenient peg on which to hang lower wages, the worst jobs, prejudice as a weapon with which to prevent working class solidarity."*

Three highly important chapters in the book are sub-titled: "The Negro Bourgeoisie," "The Right of Self-Determination," and "The Right of Self-Determination: A Reply to Critics".

Tracing the development of the Negro bourgeoisie, Comrade Allen shows it to be a "parasitic bourgeoisie", developing only under the wing of American imperialism. Though this section of the Negro population wields strong ideological influence over the Negro people, it cannot lead the liberation struggles of the Negroes because of its peculiar development and position. Yet this bourgeoisie does not escape the national oppression under which the Negroes as a whole are suffering. For, in addition to social ostracism, finance capital has played havoc with these model bourgeois enterprises among the Negroes and shattered the basis for business as a solution of the Negro question. All of these factors accentuated during the crisis have awakened many of the middle class Negroes to the necessity of turning to the working class.

Up to this point Comrade Allen has proved his major thesis: that the Negro question is a national question; that American imperialism, by nurturing the remnants of slavery within a modern capitalist state, has left to the working class the task of completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution (either as a by-product, or as a prologue to the proletarian revolution)—therefore, the necessity of an alliance of the Negro people and the working class in the struggle for Negro liberation. Here we have the concrete historical development which provides the basis for the people's front among the Negroes—a front which must embrace a majority of the Negro people, but led by the Negro working class. The development of class unity of Negro and white workers further increases, stimulates, and strengthens the growth of the Negro liberation movement. The Negro workers provide the link between the Negro liberation movement and the working class.

But what is the final objective of the Negro liberation movement? What single demand sums up all of the issues involved? *The demand and struggle for self-determination*, answers Allen. He then proceeds in the last two chapters to explain the meaning and content of the slogan, and to refute its critics. Both from the viewpoint of democracy and the proletarian revolution, the right to self-determination is the slogan which would guarantee to the Negroes in the Black Belt those basic rights which came with the development of capitalism. It would destroy the basis for the oppression of the Negroes throughout the country by uprooting the plantation system. The national rebellion coupled with the agrarian revolution would result in a Negro republic in the Black Belt with a "democratic people's government" whose "power would lie in the hands of the overwhelming majority of the people". The revolutionary forces generating the overthrow of the landlord regime are the working class, sharecroppers, tenants, and poor farmers. Far from resulting in jim-crow, the rule of the Negroes would come as a result of their composing the majority of these revolutionary forces, and, consequently, the most revolutionary force for spreading true democracy throughout the plantation area.

This book has as its aim the popularization and explanation of the Leninist position on the Negro question in the United States. Its purpose is to make clear the tasks confronting the Negro and white toilers in connection with the struggle for equal rights and full liberation of the Negro people. It is this reviewer's opinion that the book fulfills this purpose thoroughly and brilliantly. It should become a standard work in its field for every person active or interested in the American labor movement and the Negro question.

An appendix, containing charts and maps, and a carefully worked out index, add to the value of the book as a standard reference work.

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