

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## GENERAL MOTORS BLOCKS NEGOTIATIONS; UNION THREATENS TO SPREAD STRIKES

### Moroccan Crisis May Be Used to Blockade Spain

**French, English Navies Shift To Mediterranean To  
Defend Imperialist Interests; Rebel Drive  
Against Madrid Shattered**

Worried by the concentration of German troops in Spain, and increased German activities in Morocco, France and England are preparing to send their warships into the Mediterranean within a week. After these months of provocation, France has finally realized the danger to her own imperialist interests in Morocco, and to her own borders, and proceeded to raise her Moroccan army from 40,000 to 100,000. It is also stated that French troops will be shortly concentrated at the Pyrenees.

However, no worker, sympathetic to the struggle against fascism, can confuse these moves with aid to the Spanish loyalists. France is not proceeding to send arms and munitions to Madrid to fight the Nazis, but is mobilizing her own imperialist army and navy. This means that not only will she fight to maintain her own domination over the oppressed colonials of northern Africa, but will now be in a much better position to carry out that blockade of anti-fascist Spain which has been the purpose of French foreign policy, via Blum and the people's front, since the beginning of the Spanish civil war!

Obviously Britain is equally concerned in maneuvers of Nazi Germany in the Mediterranean. England could not stand for Nazi domination in Spain and a base in Morocco, which means guns trained on the entrance to the Mediterranean from both shores! This parallelism of immediate and long-range interests has now effected a well-working reactionary Anglo-French bloc which will attempt, under cover of "preventing aggression" and "maintaining peace," to block Soviet aid to Spain, and to uphold their own brutal imperialism.

Of course, the game of both sides has been continued. Hitler issues denials of sending troops anywhere, especially Morocco, the while these twin lovers of peace and democracy, England and France, who couldn't do anything to aid Spain but can get into surprisingly swift action to defend their own booty, still issue official press communiques concerning their feverish activities for non-intervention. And this at the very time that they discuss joint plans for blockading Spain!

What people's front France has really done to combat Nazism can best be shown by the following reprinted from L'Oeuvre, organ of the Radical Socialists:

"General Franco made the Moroccan leaders promises, apparently quite seriously, and, as a token of his good faith, immediately authorized the publication of El Rif, a Moroccan nationalist newspaper advocating autonomy.

The recruiting of natives for Franco in French Morocco is going on with the connivance of the French authorities. The rebel recruiting agent, Dr. Cortes, goes freely to and fro between Tetuan

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YVON DELBOS



Wants To Blockade Spain

### Supreme Court Voids Jailing Of Communist

The Supreme Court surprised those who believe that these gentlemen never listen to their "angry" friends, and decided that Dirk De Jonge, an Oregon communist was illegally sentenced to jail for attending a communist meeting in 1934. The decision, filled with generalities about the beauties of the American traditions of liberty and freedom, is, of course, carefully calculated to remove some of the complaints about the reactionary policies of this august institution. By speaking glibly in a decision which does not come to grips with the issue, the Court hopes to take the edge off the campaign against itself. For these same "liberal" judges originally voted to back the constitutionality of the Criminal Syndicalist Laws of 1919.

Dirk de Jonge was arrested and convicted on the basis of the Oregon Criminal Syndicalist Law. This law, a powerful weapon in the hands of the labor-baiting bosses of many western states, was not declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Nor does the decision free Dirk De Jonge, but

### Unionists! Protest Against Scabbery of Craft Leaders

**THE** craft unionists led by John P. Frey of the Metal Trades Council, have struck the first blow against the unity of the embattled automobile workers. They have definitely split the ranks of the workers. They have placed themselves on the side of General Motors and against the best interests of the auto workers. They are acting like strike-breakers and must be treated in the same way.

Trade unionists, members of the American Federation of Labor, let your voice be heard in thunderous protest against the scabbery of Frey and the A. F. of L. officialdom. Stand by the auto workers in their just fight for union recognition and improvement of conditions! Adopt protest resolutions against the action of the craft union splitters! Gather funds to aid the auto and steel workers organization drive!

**FLOOD THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL WITH  
PROTEST RESOLUTIONS!**

### FD Bans Amendment Relief Cuts Hinted

**Special Resolution Bans Arms To Spain; Hope To  
Balance Budget by 1938 If Industry Re-  
employs; Military Sums Increase**

The rushed passage of a joint resolution forbidding the shipment of arms to Spain, and the presentation of a Presidential address which Hearst characterized as "traditional" in thought, not merely were the main events of the opening of the Congress of these United States, but adequate symbols of the New Reaction.

So widespread was the pressure from the administration that only one congressman failed to vote for the arms embargo. This

merely says that the case is to return to the Oregon courts, where other charges, by implication would be considered constitutional. Membership in a working-class political party could be a charge for his conviction, or distribution of labor literature, according to the Court.

#### Why Was the POUM Expelled from the Catalan Cabinet?

An astounding revelation of the maneuvers of the Comintern in its struggle against a revolutionary policy in the Spanish struggle, its concessions to the anarchist organizations in the Spanish working-class, will be told in NEXT WEEK'S WORKERS AGE. The article has come to us from our European correspondent, LAMBDA, whose accuracy and analytical ability has been a feature of Workers Age for some time.

policy was not foisted upon the New Dealers but is a typical Roosevelt "must" law. Its passage signifies more clearly than a carload of statistics and libraries of historical analysis the reactionary foreign policy of the Administration in its defence of American imperialism.

Roosevelt's report on the "state of the union" was certainly a far cry from the challenging address he made last year (when he called out for those who would invalidate certain New Deal measures to stand up) and indicates very clearly that the difference between last October "we had just begun to fight," and the date of this speech is more than one of time.

An extraordinarily conservative speech, pleasing every bourgeois organ of both parties, Roosevelt definitely came out against a constitutional amendment as part of the new structural changes he is considering. By some sort of "education" he hopes to liberalize the Supreme Court. Actually it is becoming increasingly apparent that the next four years will prob-

### Craft Unions Split Front

**Steel Head Sees FDR To  
Urge Federal Intervention  
In Strike**

General Motors continued its refusal to negotiate with the United Automobile Workers of America, and began to turn its eyes towards federal intervention. Undoubtedly the most significant and revealing event of the week was the visit of Myron Taylor, head of United States Steel to the White House. Altho the contents of the conversation between him and Roosevelt were not made public, it is assumed that Taylor made a strong plea for Federal intervention of both open and covert nature. At this writing no move save the sending of conciliators into the field has been made. But it is the relationship of the labor movement to Roosevelt that offers the greatest possibilities for subtle intervention.

The role of the craft unions in the organization of the unorganized was clearly exposed when Frey, head of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L., ordered all GM men who are members of the crafts and not of the UAWA, back to work, and, in addition, told General Motors that the UAWA could not be recognized as sole bargaining agency for the auto workers. This becomes sheer scabbing in the present struggle against one of the giant enemies of labor. And that question of a signed contract and whom it covers is of course agitational meat for GM. Homer Martin, while denouncing the anti-labor character of the move, also pointed out that "the craft unions have not succeeded in organizing the mass pro-

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ably not reveal such "radical" measures as could be annulled by the nine old men.

The Budget report was also favorably received by the banking and industrial interests of the country. Roosevelt gave quite a bit more than a passing glance at the question of a balanced budget. He promised the latter in 1938, while for the fiscal year of 1937 the deficit he estimated would be reduced from four to two billion—on the basis of a typical Rooseveltian pipe-dream. That is, the report estimated that it would be possible to drastically reduce relief expenditures because private industry would absorb the unemployed—whereas any half-awake and one-tenth honest bourgeois economist will admit that the permanently unemployed cannot be reabsorbed. While the full relief estimate was not given for the next fiscal year (it will come under the heading of a special appropriation), Roosevelt estimated that about one billion two hundred millions would be needed—approximately one-fifth of the estimate of the unemployed unions and organizations.

(Next week's Age will carry a detailed analysis of the budget.)



# Indian Constitution Aids British Rule

by JIM CORK

THE proposed new constitution for India goes into effect April 1, 1937. A restatement of its exact nature is quite timely today in view of the fact that in many quarters misleading statements as to its character are being broadcast. Quite representative of this attitude of misrepresentation is the viewpoint of the London Economist, staid journal of liberal economics.

The leading article in the separate Indian supplement to its issue of December 12, 1936, concludes that the Constitution "... represents that gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire..." A further careful reading of the article in this journal, which prides itself in at least being faithful to sober facts, reveals the following admission:

"... As Dominion Status still remains an ultimate goal and not an immediate achievement, certain temporary restrictions are imposed on this principle as well as on the principle of self-government particularly at the center."

That there is a seeming contradiction between the two statements or that the latter may furnish the key to the inner meaning of the document, seems not to trouble our liberal journal which blithely proceeds to lose itself in a mass of figures and technical details whose net result is to lead further and further away from an understanding of the real nature of the document. In thus providing a "scientific" smoke screen, this "objective" journal is adding its class-conscious mite to the defense of the interests of British imperialism. For the new Indian constitution is as brazen an instrument of rigid imperialist control as it is possible to fashion.

Certain leading principles must be understood at the very outset. The constitution provides for a federation of the provinces of British India with those of the Indian States, i.e., an alliance of British imperialism with the hereditary feudal nabobs for mutual benefit. The hypocrisy of the claim of democratic representation is immediately revealed by the fact that suffrage is based upon property and educational qualifications, which at one stroke cuts out the great majority of the adult voting population. Representation of conservative elements is thus at a premium, whereas whole sections of the poorer classes are ruled out from the possibility of representation altogether. For instance, the agricultural laborers, numbering scores of millions, than whom there is no more oppressed class in India, can have no representation. Representation is further consciously weighted in a number of ways to favor adherents of the government. Let's see how.

**How It Works**

The constitution provides for a bicameral legislature, an upper house called the Council of State, composed of 260 members, and a lower house, the Legislative Assembly, composed of 375 members. The first important fact to note is that the states of the native Indian princes, the containing less than one-fourth of the total population of India are allotted 104 of the 260 delegates to the Council of State (40%) and 125 of the 375 delegates to the Legislative Assembly (33%). These delegates, directly controlled by the Indian princes, will of course be at the beck and call of the government. This means that the government

will need from the British provinces a mere 27 additional delegates to the upper house, and 63 to the lower, to command a majority in both. This of course it can get with ridiculous ease.

In the traditional game of divide and rule, British imperialism has found a bulwark of support, by utilizing the religious antagonisms between Moslems and caste Hindus. It is worthy of note, therefore, that the Moslems, although constituting about one-fourth of the total population of India, get one-third of the seats in both houses, whereas the caste Hindus, a clear majority of the population, get only 86 of the remaining 250 seats for the British India part of the lower house.

The British residents, less than 100,000—about one-fourth of one per cent of the population—get seven delegates to the upper house (almost three per cent) and 14 to the lower house (almost four per cent). Commerce gets eleven seats, landholders get seven. Elections further, are indirect, delegates to the State Council being elected by the upper house of the provincial legislatures, and delegates to the Legislative Assembly by the lower house of the provincial legislatures.

**A Hollow Sham**

These facts, then, make it crystal clear what a hollow sham is this constitution, from the viewpoint of "meeting the democratic aspirations of the Indian masses." It is an instrument specifically designed to keep the clamp tight. Sir Samuel Hoare, the then foreign minister knew whereof he spoke when he said it, on the occasion of the debate over adoption in Parliament:

"I would ask honorable members to look very carefully at the proposals... and if they analyze them, I think they will agree with me that it is almost impossible short of a landslide for the extremists to get control of the federal center."

Sir Samuel has good reason to be satisfied with the document. And he needn't worry about a landslide. Under the conditions indicated, a landslide against the government is manifestly impossible. But even if it were possible, it would be meaningless in view of one more fact, the supreme joker of all.

The Governor-General, answerable only to England, has certain "discretionary" powers which render the legislature subordinate to him, and destroy any illusion it might have of independent function.

Besides having absolute control over finance, foreign affairs and defense ("little" matters all), the Governor-General is given the power of veto over any acts whatsoever. This veto cannot be overridden by the legislature. He is empowered to pass emergency ordinances—so-called special "Governor-General Acts"—without the consent of the legislature. He alone, of course, will decide when there is or is not an emergency. And, finally, in the event of the breakdown of ordinary constitutional machinery, he has the power to assume by proclamation, all powers ordinarily vested in the federal legislature. Again, he will decide when the ordinary constitutional machinery has (or should be) broken down. What we have here in essence, then, apart from the meaningless parliamentary trappings, is the continuance of a naked centralized dictatorship.

It is necessary to add that the Ministry of Justice, a key post in combatting "terrorism" (read revolutionary activity), is absolutely subordinated to the Governor-General.

# VATICAN SEEKS ANTI-RED FRONT WITH NAZI REGIME

By SAUL HELD

IT SEEMED almost a direct reply, the Christmas talk of Pope Pius XI and the pastoral letter to the German Catholic Church, to the Christmas day issue of the Daily Worker wherein the Holy Ghost embraced Santa Claus under the Hammer and Sickle. But the virile proclamations of the Vatican have an import that transcends the comprehension of the People's Front Communists. It has vital significance for the international labor movement.

The two blasts from the Vatican can truthfully be interpreted as "putting the screws" on Hitler in order to realize a complete termination of the Nazi anti-Catholic drive. Declared the pastoral letter: "We Catholics are ready, in spite of the suspicion with which we are treated to give the State that which is the State's and support the Fuehrer in his struggle against Bolshevism. We must, however, demand that youth shall not be told that after the conquest of Bolshevism the State's next enemy is the Catholic Church."

"We must demand for the church that freedom guaranteed in the first article of the Reich concordat—the right to public exercise of the Catholic religion."

**No Peace With Bolshevism**

Then cleverly they hold before Hitler a false mirror whereby the latter's anti-Catholicism is made to appear identical to that of the Bolsheviks: "Bolshevism is in its innermost essence and in its deepest roots the negation of all religion. It is Godlessness organized by the state..."

The combined threat and appeal in these messages is: without the religious zeal of Catholicism backing the Nazi war-machine, against a united nation, war against Bolshevism cannot be successful.

That the power of Catholicism is too powerful to be crushed in Germany today is attested by the fact that after Cardinal Faulhaber delivered his New Year's sermon in Munich Cathedral, great throngs demonstrated their approval by standing bareheaded in the streets as the Cardinal was driven off to his palace. No storm troopers took revenge on that throng, and that can have but one meaning. In his sermon the Cardinal pledged amongst other things—"the cross must be held up if Germany is to live, for moral regeneration must keep pace with racial revival." An open and unequivocal approval of Hitler's war on the Jews. (This quotation is culled from a New York Times editorial where it received the blessings of America's wealthy Jewry.)

In the pastoral letter's reassurance? And over it all hangs the menacing shadow of the "Indian Army," of which the Governor-General is supreme commander-in-chief. An army throrly "Anglicized" since 60,000 of its soldiers (more than one-third of the total), and perhaps more significant, 5578 of its 5773 officers, are British.

**Opposition Growing**

Such is the nature of this imperialist document. At its Congress held during Christmas Week, the Indian National Congress went unanimously on record against the constitution. The struggle against its imposition will be made the point of departure for the broad fight against British imperialism as such. What the nature of that struggle should be if the oppressed Indian masses are to succeed in throwing off the yoke of British imperialism, the writer will treat in a future article.

to Hitler, we find this reply to the courting of the official Communists of Catholicism: "While somewhere in the world a pair of dreamers may believe that a compromise between Catholicism and Bolshevism is possible, such individual expressions of opinion have no weight in contrast with the thousand-voiced 'no' of the highest church organs."

**Fight For Life**

Before examining Catholicism on the American terrain, it is imperative, I believe, to briefly evaluate its role in Europe and offer additional evidence in substantiation. If the reader assumes that the evidence has unwarrantedly been magnified I plead for a fuller hearing. My contention is simply this: Catholicism is acutely aware that the world hangs in the balance between Communism and Fascism. And, in consequence, as a matter of self-preservation, must seek an alliance with Fascism. Where this entailed, and still entails, antagonism with the Fascist ideology and policies, it must utilize every power at its command to create the alliance, even to the point of employing economic sabotage.

The Vatican offers Hitler, and is consistently making good on its pledge, an international crusade against Communism. The logic of politics would indicate even more substantial contributions to Nazism—if Hitler does his bit.

**Early Basis For Hitler Support**

Contrary to popular misconceptions Catholicism was not even in Hitler's honeymoon days an ardent enemy of Fascism. During the Bruening regime it prepared to give its support to Hitler. Count Storza claimed that, "Pope Pius XI forced the German Catholic Party away from alliance with the Socialists and towards alliance with the Nationalists."

In his book on the Vatican George Seldes records: "Monsignor Kass went to Rome. To the surprise of an interviewer who expected a strong denunciation of Hitler from the ancient chief of the Catholic Party, the prelate said: 'Hitler knows well how to guide the ship. This man, bearer of high ideals, will do all that is necessary to save the nation from catastrophe. Even before he became chancellor I met him frequently and was greatly impressed by his clear thinking, by his way of facing realities while upholding his ideals, which are noble. It is wrong to insist today on what Hitler said as a demagogue, when the one thing that interests us is to know what he does today and tomorrow as chancellor. . . . It matters little who rules so long as order is maintained. The history of the last years has well proven in Germany that the democratic-parliamentary system was incapable. Two ways remained, either the American, of giving the president dictatorial power, or the Italian, institute the reign of a single party, and Germany chose the latter. . . ."

The archbishop of Bamberg invited the Catholic press "to second energetically and sincerely the efforts of the National government to realize the reconstruction of Germany and renew its economic and spiritual force."

Cardinal Faulhaber, addressing a Catholic congress in Waunstein, said: "In the liberal epoch it was proclaimed that the individual had the right to live his life as he chose and to enjoy in this world an unbridled felicity untrammelled. Today the masters of power invite the individuals to subordinate themselves to general interests. We declare ourselves partisans of this doctrine and we rejoice in this change of mentality."

**"Hymns Of Hate"**

Cardinal Pacelli, secretary of state, issued numerous reassurances to German Catholics. In one he said: "On account of the exclusion of Catholics as a political party from the public life of Germany, it is all the more necessary that the Catholics, deprived of political representation, find in the diplomatic pacts between the Holy See and the National Socialist Government guarantees which can assure them at least the maintenance of their position in the life of the nation. This necessity is felt by the Holy See, not only as a duty toward itself, but as a grave responsibility before the German Catholics, so that these cannot reprove the Vatican for having abandoned them in a moment of crisis."

Catholicism, whose entire theology is immersed in anti-Semitism, did its bit in the spade-work for Hitler. It is with little surprise that one discovers in a recently published Nazi pamphlet in the United States (The New Germany Under Hitler, by Frederick Franklin Schrader. Published by Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter, New York) a quotation extended with vast approval. From Cardinal Faulhaber's work Judaism, Christianity and Germany: "We must first distinguish between the people of Israel before the time of her visitation. She had rejected and repudiated the Lord's Anointed, had driven Him out of the city and nailed him to the cross. Then the veil of the Temple was rent and with it the Covenant between Lord and his people. The daughters of Zion received the bill of divorce, and from that time Assurers wanders, forever restless, over the face of the earth. . . . There is no other alternative: Either we are disciples of Christ or else we relapse into the Judaism of antiquity with its hymns of hate."

**Fomenting Anti-Semitism**

In the melange of fascist groups in France under the leadership of Colonel de la Rocque none is more rabidly anti-Semitic than Le Franciste, "which has adopted Hitler's platform, but has been careful not to be anti-Catholic so that the papal anti-Republicans would be eligible for membership."

Austria caught in the rising tide of anti-Semitism engulfing eastern Europe is still dominated by the Mussolini-Vatican crowd.

**Things To Remember**

Though extremely unlikely let no one be surprised if in the near future Hitler will say what Mussolini said in October, of the Lateran pacts of Feb. 11, 1929, which "sealed the peace between the Church and State," and added that

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# Lewis Blasts Steel and Auto Barons for Anti-Labor Stand

The following excerpts are taken from a speech delivered by John L. Lewis on December 31, 1936, over the Red network of the National Broadcasting Company.

**I SPEAK** tonight for the millions of workers exploited by American industry. I ask for them enlarged opportunity and increased participation in the wealth they produce. I ask for them a greater degree of industrial democracy. Their supreme need at the present time is indeed the fundamental need of our country, itself. Industrial democracy means the freedom, happiness and security which should be the inheritance of all Americans. In economic terms, it means collective bargaining and fair industrial relationships.

During the year just ended, substantial progress has been made by the working people of the country toward the achievement of this goal. In numerous industries they are building new unions for their protection and advancement.

**THE C.I.O.**

The Committee for Industrial Organization has been functioning for a year. It now has some fifteen national and international unions associated, and has been instrumental in organizing some hundreds of thousands of new members. It is educating the American workers to a greater appreciation of the value of organization, and its influence is extending into the ranks of the technical, professional and white collar groups, in a manner which indicates that they, too, will avail themselves of the opportunities for self-organization, and the opportunity to participate in the benefits of modern collective bargaining.

The Committee for Industrial Organization is carrying its plans forward. Extensive unions have been promoted and expanded in the steel, automotive, glass, shipbuilding, electrical manufacturing, oil and by-product coke industries. Tremendous enrollment of the workers is under way. Unabashed by employer opposition, they are joining the unions of their industries, literally by the thousands.

**STRIKES AND RECOVERY**

Employers talk about possible labor trouble interfering with continued expansion and progress of industry. They ignore the fact that unless people have money with which to buy, the wheels of industry slow down, and profits, and likewise capital disappear. It would

be more fitting and accurate to talk about "employer trouble"—that is something from which wage earners are suffering. I refer you to the refusal of some of the largest and most powerful corporations in this country to follow modern labor practice, or to obey the law of the land. They deny the entirely reasonable and just demands of their employees for legitimate collective bargaining, decent incomes, shorter hours, and for protection against a destructive speed-up system.

Employers who tyrannize over the employees, with the aid of labor spies, company guards, and the threat of discharge, need not be surprised if their production lines are suddenly halted.

**AUTO SITUATION**

Mr. Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., President of General Motors Corporation, in his published year-end summary, refers to the possibilities of industrial strife in industry. Is it possible that Mr. Sloan is predicting continued hostility on the part of his corporation towards the demands of its employees for fair consideration? The giant General Motors Corporation is at present pursuing the dangerous course of refusing to answer the request of the United Automobile Workers for a national conference, for collective bargaining purposes. The Union has repeatedly requested such a conference, but was told by a vice-president that any grievances should be taken up with plant managers or general managers in the various localities. It is absurd for such a corporation to pretend that its policies are settled locally. Everyone knows that decisions as to wages, hours, and other conditions of employment are made at a central point for all the plants controlled by General Motors. General Motors is, indeed, a DuPont controlled organization, and it is the DuPonts, and not the plant managers, who lay out the broad lines of labor policies. The United Automobile Workers' representatives have already been told by various plant managers that their reasonable demands must be referred to higher company officials before an answer can be given.

**STEEL DRIVE**

The steel corporations are likewise trying to avoid collective bargaining with their employees. They have tried, by fostering and subsidizing company unions, to get around the law. Instead, they have

transgressed the law. The steel companies, themselves, are organized, and they appreciate and exploit the value of organization in the conduct of their business enterprises. The United States Steel Corporation is trying to enforce upon its two hundred and twenty thousand employees the outmoded labor policy adopted by its Board of Directors in 1901, a policy which denies the right of self-organization to any employee of that Corporation, or its subsidiaries.

They have neither the moral nor the legal right to rule as autocrats over the hundreds of thousands of employees. They have no right to transgress the law, which gives to the worker the right of self-organization and collective bargaining.

The workers in the steel industry are organizing; the workers in the automotive industry are organizing; the workers in other industries are organizing; any sane concept of industrial relations would indicate that the labor problems of these industries should be settled across the council table.

**MUNITIONING FIRMS**

Recent revelations before the La Follette Sub-Committee of the Senate have revealed in part the plans of industry to club, gas and cripple workers with the lethal weapons of warfare. Huge stocks of such weapons have been purchased at enormous expense, and over five hundred thousand dollars worth of tear and mustard gas has been delivered to industrial plants, and the expenditure necessary for the purchase of these war supplies is charged to the cost of production. Who is to eat and swallow this enormous quantity of gas? You workers! This gas, these clubs, and these machine guns are intended to make you contented with your present jobs, with your present wages, with your present conditions of employment. They are intended further to compel you to accept a company-operated and company-managed union, as the agency through which you can voice your grievances. How do you like it, workers? What do you propose to do about it?

May I respectfully suggest to the LaFollette Committee, which has hauled before it a few of industry's criminal agents, that it summon industry's brass hats, however eminent, to answer why they hire and feed this anti-labor army, and why they maintain warehouses overflowing with industrial war munitions and paraphernalia. May I humbly warn the Senate that Labor wants this investigation pressed home, and wants industry disarmed, lest labor men on their march to industrial democracy should have to take by storm the barbed-wire barricades, bulled and maintained by the rapacious moguls of corporate industry. The agents of the Federal Government should enter these plants and gut them of their deadly weapons, so that Americans in the industrial communities may walk erect and enjoy, with the pride of free men, their inherent and rightful privileges.

**LABOR AND THE ELECTIONS**

Labor now (after the elections) demands the right to organize, and the right to bargain. Labor demands a new deal in America's great industries. Labor holds in contempt, those who for mercenary reasons, would restrict human privileges. Labor demands legislative enactments, making realistic the principles of industrial democracy. It demands that Congress exercise



its constitutional powers and brush aside the negative autocracy of the Federal Judiciary, exemplified by a Supreme Court which exalts property above human values. . . . The court has overstepped the bounds of its own authority and has gratuitously offended over two thirds of the nation's citizens.

**MINING PROBLEMS**

Prodded and goaded by the financial interests dominant in steel, automobile and other major industries, the coal industry has just taken an amazing action. It has done so without public rebuke or criticism. The basic agreement of the coal industry expires March 31st. The agreement contains a provision binding operators and mine workers to assemble on February 17, 1937, "to consider what revisions, if any, shall be made in this agreement as to hours, wages and conditions of employment." Notwithstanding this provision, the coal operators of the Appalachian area representing three-fourths of the nation bituminous coal tonnage, on December 15, 1936, formally notified the United Mine Workers of America that they had already met among themselves and decided upon the wages, hours and conditions of employment affecting the mine workers for an additional two-year period. They decided that the seven-hour work day should be lengthened to an eight-hour work day, at the same daily wage; they decided that the rates for tonnage workers would remain the same as heretofore; they decided that the important question of inter-district and intra-district differentials would remain undisturbed until 1939.

The plain and simple fact is that the Appalachian operators, as the result of financial intrigue, have deliberately breached the Appalachian Agreement, and have arrogated to themselves, notwithstanding the provisions of the agreement to the contrary, the power to decide for themselves the wage policies and provisions of the industry. Of course, the United Mine Workers of America will see that they do not such thing.

**G.M. Blocks Negotiations As Auto Union Prepares to Spread Strikes**

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hour for all hourly rate workers have been granted by the Studebaker Corporation here after negotiations with a committee representing Local Union No. 5, UAWA. One of the oldest and strongest locals in the International, Local 5 was organized four years ago and now has practically 100 per cent membership in the plant. Its relations with the management have been amicable for several years.

**WEST COAST GMC WORKERS MOVE INTO ACTION**

Oakland, Calif. — Automobile workers here, principally from Fisher Body, Chevrolet, and Ford plants, held a mass meeting Sunday afternoon at the Oakland Municipal Auditorium. Ed Hall, vice president of the International Union, was principal speaker.

Under the auspices of Local 76, UAWA, and with financial assistance from Federal Local 20218, an intensive drive started last month for the complete organization of automobile workers in this area



# SPAIN AND THE "GREAT DEMOCRACIES"

By WILL HERBERG

**D**IPLOMACY, like a cuttlefish, prefers to operate behind an inky-black screen of its own spewing; its best jobs, which means its most knavish tricks, are usually performed under cover of dense and suffocating clouds of sanctimonious phrases and irrelevant conventionalities. Never has this been as true as in the present Spanish crisis, and of no one more characteristic than of the British Foreign Office. If we are to understand what is really taking place behind the scenes, we must never take things at their face value but, on the contrary, be ever prepared to penetrate below the surface to the real interests and real aims involved.

## Foreign Policy And Domestic Regime

Foreign policy is conditioned by the socio-economic system holding sway and is determined by the international relations of the state as they affect the interests of its ruling classes. Foreign policy is the embodiment of what these ruling classes are out for on the world arena. Changes in political regime that fall short of social revolution, that is, that leave the old socio-economic foundations intact, hardly make much of an impression on the fundamental aims of foreign policy, however much they may modify diplomatic approaches, methods or ways and means. The most careful scrutiny can discover no real difference in the diplomacy of the France of the People's Front as compared with that of the conservative bourgeois regime of Laval. Hitler is out for the same things Stressemann labored for, both striving to advance the interests of the new German imperialism and to free it from the "shackles" of Versailles. The Weimar Republic tried to achieve these ends by conciliation and cunning maneuvering; the Third Reich, primarily by arrogant bluff and direct action. But the fundamental contours of foreign policy have remained the same.

For these reasons, it is somewhat absurd to imagine that a solidarity of foreign policy is brought about by similarity of internal regime, to prate of the "common front of democratic countries" or of "international fascism." Both are grotesque myths. With whom a power aligns itself in any particular situation is determined by the underlying interests of its socio-economic system, of its ruling classes, and not by the form of its domestic regime or its alleged "ideological" sympathies. Romantic journalists may paint fancy pictures of the world dividing into great "ideological" camps, battling for "ideals of government." The reality is much less gaudy. Powers clash over the conflict of their fundamental national interests and alliances are made, dissolved and remade from this angle. They are both fascist and are both signatories of a recent pact, Italy and Germany still have more to divide than unite them in the field of international diplomacy. Ultra-democratic France (the French government, of course, and not the French masses) continues to stifle Spanish democracy thru the perfidious "non-intervention" blockade, with little regard to "ideological" considerations; nor does that "mother of democracies," Great Britain, seem to find any "ideological" objections to the brutal fascist regime dominating its puppet-state, Portugal. Neither fascism nor democracy as such constitutes any sort of binding force in the unceasing realignments of international diplomacy; class and national interests are paramount.

ly pertinent to the present Spanish situation. Is it not generally taken for granted in the newspapers and even in more serious discussions that the "great democracies" (Britain and France) are "naturally" in thoro sympathy with the Madrid government, altho unfortunately they can't do anything about it for diplomatic reasons, and that, consequently, the sole danger comes from the fascist quarter, from Germany and Italy? This is a dangerous illusion. I do not hesitate to state that, at the present moment, the gravest menace to the future of the Spanish people comes from Downing Street, from the perfidious intrigues of the British Foreign Office tricked out in the mealy-mouthed platitudes of the pious Mr. Baldwin or the noble Captain Eden.

Great Britain owns Spain, insofar as such financial charters of ownership are still valid and will be valid in the future. The dominant foreign control of the resources, mines, mills and utilities of Spain is British. Spain is also of obviously vital importance to Great Britain because of its position in the Mediterranean, because of its strategic relation to Britain's life-lines of empire, the new, alternative ones as well as the old ones. Nor should it be forgotten that Spain is next-door neighbor to Portugal, England's traditional "ally" in Southwestern Europe.

British Aims In The Spanish Situation

It is easy enough to see what Great Britain is out for in the present Spanish crisis. The capitalist system in Spain must be preserved and the danger of socialism averted, for otherwise the claims of British finance and commercial capital would be disallowed and its economic grip over the country broken. A socialist Spain would be most disastrous to British interests in Portugal, for the latter country would very soon become part of an Iberian socialist federation. And it is pretty plain that, once outside the orbit of capitalism, Spain could no longer be depended upon to play its part in British imperialism's Mediterranean affair.

For all these reasons, Britain is concerned primarily with maintaining a stable bourgeois regime in Spain, with preserving Spanish capitalism and with safeguarding its own special position in it. From a general viewpoint, a conservative monarchy or republic would be preferable, perhaps, but such is hardly possible under the tensely strained class relations of today. Hence a fascist regime of some sort becomes necessary and official Britain has not taken much pains to hide its intense partisanship, its determined support of the rebel cause in Spain. As far back as the middle of August, Downing Street's semi-official spokesman, Augur, avowed that "it is impossible to discover in political and business circles here any signs of sympathy with Madrid. . . . On no account can Britain tolerate a Red menace. . . ." (New York Times, August 17, 1936). And only a few days ago, the United Press correspondent, Frederick Kuh, called attention to the "belief spread in diplomatic quarters that Great Britain . . . was more inclined to see a rebel than a loyalist triumph in the Spanish civil war" (New York World-Telegram, January 5, 1937).

Spain's soil, however, is incompatible with the essential interests of the British Empire, which cannot tolerate a potential enemy occupying a central position dominating imperial routes of communication. For, of course, Germany and Italy have their own calculations in the Spanish crisis. Spain are naturally interested in promoting the cause of fascism in that country for they are vitally concerned in preventing the emergence of a socialist Spain at all costs; a proletarian triumph in Spain would be a tremendous stimulus to the revolutionary workers' movement thruout the world, in the domains of Hitler and Mussolini as well. But fundamentally they are most deeply engrossed in advancing their own imperialist interests in the situation. And these interests are by no means compatible. Italy hopes to strengthen immensely its position in the Mediterranean by acquiring predominant influence over a fascist Spain and by obtaining the cession of a few strategically located points. Majorca is already in Italian hands and the control of the Balearics could be achieved with or without formal annexation. For Germany, the Spanish crisis constitutes an opportunity for imperialist expansion in a hitherto unexpected direction. A firm German grip over Spain established in the process of helping General Franco would throw the Nazis much-needed natural resources and raw material supplies and would convert Germany into a very important Mediterranean power. For the Hitler regime, it is a very great opportunity; hence its feverish activity

and its reckless arrogance in trying to get a solid foothold in Spain while there is yet time.

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HOW surprised the naive comradrades must be who took seriously the boasts of the Communist International regarding the unanimity of the seventh congress. Since this Congress several crises have broken out in various parties of the Comintern—Germany, France, Czechoslovakia—and in all cases the line of the seventh congress was involved. Let those explain who insist that there is party democracy in the Comintern and in the sections: How does it come that none of these differences came to the surface during the congress? The answer to these questions is the stifling inner-regime in the Comintern and in the sections which makes expressions of differences or opposition impossible—unless one is prepared to face the consequences.

Expulsions in Hungary

A new section of the Comintern is being reorganized now for its opposition to the anti-working class people's front policies of the Comintern. Of special interest is the fact that the drive of the Comintern leadership is directed not at some poor rank and file who was indiscreet in his remarks about "defense of the fatherland" and the subservience to the parties of the bourgeoisie, which characterizes the line of the C.I., but is aimed against the Central Committee of the Hungarian Party.

Germany And Italy In Spain

But it is precisely here that complications set in for Britain. "Frankly speaking," writes Augur in the New York Times of December 26, "the British government and majority public opinion in this country would not object to the Insurgents winning with German help. The prospect of a lasting establishment of Germans on

Spain would have no objection to Italian aid to Franco. It is hardly to be doubted, for example, that the British government was perfectly well aware of the landing of over 10,000 Italian troops in Spain in the week of New Years, about half of them on the very day before the Italian pact was signed. At present Italy seems to be still holding out for better terms but that there are good prospects for the British maneuver can hardly be doubted, for German domination of Spain would be as contrary to Italian as to British interests.

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We do not know the exact nature of the position of the comrades expelled, nor do we know where the comrades are going. We do know, however, that these expulsions reflect the deep and widespread opposition to the people's front strategy—the poison strain of reformism injected into the bloodstream of the Communist movement. This we welcome.

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# Marxist Quarterly

## A Review

By JIM COREY

**T**HE appearance of the first issue of the Marxist Quarterly, edited by Lewis Corey, is an event to be hailed by American radicals. A perusal of its contents affords sufficient ground to assert that here we have a concentration of Marxist forces that gives promise of being able to cope in a critical and realistic manner with the multifarious problems posed to American Marxists working on the theoretical front. As the editors correctly state in their introductory Challenge, ". . . Too much Marxist writing especially in America, consists of mere doctrinal exegesis. . . . With all too few exceptions, Marxist writing is not rooted in American history, conditions and problems. . . . The exposition, application and amplification of Marxism requires not dogmatic assertions of faith but bold and critical intelligence. . . ." Such a healthy attitude is a guarantee of conscious effort in the right direction.

The first issue lives up to these directives, avoids the mere parrot-like repetition of orthodoxy and strikes out boldly in many directions. What strikes one forcibly is the wealth and exceptional balance of its contents. Articles on science, art and philosophy, in addition to those on economics, politics, history, class relations, plus a rich and varied book review section. Insofar as a single issue can be that, it is a living symbol of Marxism as the most potent intellectual integration of the social process as a whole.

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and Spooks," in which he indicates how natural scientists with their "matter of fact, theory-scoring, thought-suspicious empiricism" habits, lacking the ballast of an integrative dialectical materialist philosophical outlook, are prone to embrace all sorts of spiritualist and obscurantist conceptions; an instructive article by Edward Conze indicating that Nominalism (the 14th Century philosophical system) can be understood in its social origins only as a theoretical reflex of the origins of capitalism in the 14th century; (by the way, why can't Latin footnotes which obviously contain important substantiating evidence be translated into English?). Finally there is an article by Hacker summarizing the economic antagonisms between England and the American colonies which led to the American Revolution; an interesting article by Hook on "Marxism and Values," in which he indicates his idea of the relation between Marxism as a body of knowledge and the Socialist ideals as value judgements; an article by Bern Brandon, analyzing the objective implications of the thought of the Southern Agrarians; an article on "Science and Socialism" by Benjamin Ginsburg; all these plus a solid and varied book review section. In short, an immensely promising first issue!

### "Science and Society"

The appearance of the first issue of "Science and Society" put out by those in and around the Communist Party naturally forces a comparison between the two magazines. To merely mention the two in the same breath is highly flattering to "Science and Society."

2 Science and Society, Vol. 1, No. 1. W. T. Parry, Managing Editor.

# TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

**T**HE feudal barons of the steel and auto industry have seen fit to completely disregard the demands for negotiations with the unions in the field. Instead they have chosen the road of arrogant denial to labor of its right to organize and to collective bargaining. Both industries, especially steel, have armed themselves to the teeth with revolvers, rifles, tear gas and machine guns. In addition they have let loose upon labor and its organization a swarm of snakes and rats to undermine, disrupt, and impede the organization of the workers.

Astonished that these methods have failed, they now watch the movement for organization rising in a veritable tidal wave, threatening to inundate their traditional open shop policy. Nervously, they and their spokesmen, such as the Herald Tribune, ask the question—Are we in for a general industrial war?

An indication of labor's answer to this question can be found in a recent speech of John L. Lewis (December 31). Himself responsible to no slight extent for the movement of labor now on foot, Lewis says:

"Peace cannot be achieved by employers' denials of the right to organize; by denial of conferences for bargaining purposes; by the purchase and use of arms, ammunition and tear gas; by a continued policy of arrogance and repression. . . ."

"The time has passed in America when the workers can be either clubbed, gassed or shot down with impunity. . . ."

"May I respectfully suggest to the LaFollette Committee . . . that it summon industry's brass hats, however eminent, to answer why they hire and feed this anti-labor army, and why they maintain warehouses overflowing with industrial war munitions and para-

Its immense inferiority is painfully apparent in all respects. Its balance leaves much to be desired. Its leading four articles deal with mathematics, philosophy, philology and education respectively. Nothing significant in economics, politics, history, class relations of the living present or the past, unless the puerile note by Haakon Chevalier on the "French Intellectuals and the People's Front" be so regarded.

The treatment for the most part is heavily academic and involved. Indeed, the weight of the intellectuals who have approached Marxism recently from the outside lies heavily upon it. In this connection one senses immediately the watering down of Marxism in essentials, in order to make it more palatable to liberal intellectuals who, according to People's Front axiom No. 1, must not be antagonized. A clear illustration of this danger is afforded by the leading article by Brameld on "American Education and the Social Struggle," which has a distinctly defensive tone in regard to Marxism as a whole, in which the Marxian attitude on the road to power is so watered down as to be practically unrecognizable, in which there is even an implicit attack against the "absolutism" of Marxism from the vantage point of pragmatism. And so long as the class-collaborating psychology of the People's Front outlook is maintained, just so long will the danger of a blunting of Marxist principles exist.

There is a history behind the appearance of both magazines that ought to be known. The C.P. was asked to participate in the publication of one Marxist magazine which would represent a concentration of all Marxist forces, regardless of their political affiliations. The C.P. rejected the offer for factional reasons. The result is two magazines instead of one; and for all who can read, it is patently clear that today the most capable Marxist forces lie outside of the official C.P.

Much money, time and effort are spent on this self improvement. To me it was a very novel, interesting experience to be in the "presidium" at a mid-winter examination of I.T.R. members. Each evening four working hours until they were all put through the mill, everybody comes. It's a Roman holiday. The victim has to stand at a blackboard and answer questions (by anybody) of both practical and theoretical nature. He must prove that he reads current technical literature, both foreign and domestic,

phenalia. May I humbly warn the Senate that Labor wants this investigation pressed home, and wants industry disarmed, LEST LABOR MEN ON THEIR MARCH TO INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY SHOULD HAVE TO TAKE BY STORM THE BARBED-WIRE BARRICADES AND MACHINE GUN EMPLACEMENTS, BUILT-ED AND MAINTAINED BY THE RAPACIOUS MOGULS OF CORPORATE INDUSTRY. . . ."

"If we had more social justice, we would need less charity." This is the inscription prominently displayed on one of the buildings in River Rouge, Detroit, home of the Ford Motor Company. The auto workers will soon have a chance to test Henry's belief in these fine words when the big push strikes the Ford plants. . . ."

"To advocate such a theory (industrial unionism) is not to engage in violent contest; it should challenge the calm, considerate judgement of men because there are practicabilities involved in these mass production enterprises which make vertical organization appear to be a happy solution. . . ."

"Certain it is that with the exception of one of the industries named, effort at organization on craft lines through the last half century has failed, every drive and

# SOVIET STEEL

by RALPH VAILL  
(Concluded from last week)

Broadly speaking, the personnel of a department is grouped into two divisions: 1—the engineering and technical workers, and, 2—workers. At Kuznetsk, where 13 furnaces are in operation, and the daily plan is about 4000 tons, we had 200 men and women in the first group, and about 1500 in the second. The "I.T.R.," as they are known, have the definite task given to them by the "party" to "give the proper working conditions" to the second group. Then also, collectively, and individually, they are charged with another task to raise, first their own "cultural level," and concurrently, that of the workers. Cultural level is an all embracing expression. If an engineer acquires knowledge of another language, then he raises his level. If a slagger learns how to pour a test, he grows in culture. To be "not grammatical" which means anything from all thumbs to downright illiteracy is a mark of shame. Hence, raising the cultural level is secondary only to meeting the plan. Some poor superintendent and his party secretary might be feeling smugly elated over having met last month's plan only to have a representative from the main plant party committee sail in upon them and demand that they get busy and remedy the lax conditions in the department with regard to examinations of I.T.R. and workers, to fulfill the order about organizing study groups, or providing study rooms, books, charts, etc. The instructors, lecturers, and leaders of these study courses are I.T.R. men. It is part of their social duty. Often their load is heavy in this respect. Many of them average many hours per week over and above the actual time consumed by shift work.

Every effort has been without practical results. The men in these industries, with the exception of one industry, are unorganized as it relates to the great overwhelming majority.

"If the United Mine Workers and their associates are willing to help other chartered international organizations, it would seem to me that a set of embossed resolutions should be presented to President Lewis and his associates rather than to condemn them for the unselfish motives that have actuated Mr. Lewis and his associates."

These paragraphs, taken from an article in the official organ of the Printing Pressmen's Union, were written—believe it or don't—by Major George L. Berry. No doubt of the correctness of the sentiments expressed here, but we would like to know—how does the Major square these remarks with his actions at the A. F. of L. convention where he voted for the suspension of the CIO unions? As a "military man" the major should know that in a war one cannot conveniently fight for both sides; nor, in an issue of this kind, can one hand out "embossed resolutions" with both hands while shouting "Yes" on the motion of the Executive Council to suspend the unions of the CIO.

The above paragraphs may, indeed, have been intended to smooth ruffled feelings. Despite that we believe that the Major still owes an



## Lewis Addresses I. L. G. W. U. Board; Dubinsky Reports Gains

The General Executive Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers union, meeting in Washington, D. C., listened in rapt attention as John L. Lewis, head of the Committee for Industrial Organization, described the plans for organizing the mass of the workers in the basic industries and depicted the specific problems that the CIO has encountered in the course of the organization drives in steel auto and glass. Speaking on the general problems which face the trade union movement after the last A. F. of L. convention, in which the international unions affiliated with the CIO were suspended, Lewis expressed his determination to proceed unhindered and his confidence in ultimate victory.

"I am convinced," said Lewis, in his concluding remarks, "that we will organize the whole country, that we will establish the principle of collective bargaining.

"I am convinced that with united forces, with intelligence, with determination, we will succeed to build that labor movement of which we have dreamed so many years."

The executive session of the board was also addressed by Phil Murray who heads the Steel Workers Organization Committee and by Thomas Kennedy, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers Union, and Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania.

During the early session of the board President David Dubinsky delivered a comprehensive report on the work of the union. He described in detail the union's energetic attempts to continue organization until a 100% result can be reported for the industry.

Dubinsky reported that during the previous several months the ILGWU has gained another 20,000 members bringing the total to almost 250,000. The recent gains come from the cotton garment underwear and children's dress sections of the industry.

The strength of the organization, Dubinsky stated, made it possible to renew a number of agreements without resort to strike action. He pointed to the dress industry in New York, cloak and dress industries in Los Angeles and San Francisco, raincoat trade in Boston, beltmakers in New York and dressmakers in Milwaukee. Where the associations were intransigent individual settlements with the employers were secured, as in the case of the knitgoods workers in New York.

President Dubinsky pointed to the most welcome development in the out-of-town problem in which the union has succeeded in getting a sweeping ruling against shops running away from union contracts. He reported excellent organization results in out-of-town shops around New York, Chicago and Philadelphia.

The president's report also called attention to the increased political activity of the union, and to the participation in the presidential campaign in many states. The

union, he said, was a leading force in the organization of the Labor Non-Partisan League and the American Labor Party in New York state.

Reports of steady headway were made by the vice-presidents. An interesting side-light on the problem of organization was reported by vice-president Rose Pesotta. In charge of the organization of 10,000 French dressmakers in Montreal, she reported excellent progress despite the most direct and determined resistance of the Catholic church.

In the course of his report Fred Umhey stated that fully 20,000 members participate in class work thruout the union. This is a most gratifying number and is probably larger than any other union in the country can show.

## Moroccan Crisis May Be Used by France, England to Blockade Spain

(Continued from Page 1)

and Fez, and confers regularly with the staff officers of the army of occupation, as well as with native leaders.

A conference of the Croix de Feu officers has been held at Meknes, at which many things were discussed including the possibility of a French Army coup. The mobilization of fascist elements is accompanied by intense propaganda among the natives.

At Rabat, the Croix de Feu go into Arab districts and explain that the Blum government, run completely by Jews, does not represent France and that one day it will be necessary to march against it.

The great poverty of the natives, the despondency of the settlers, the insolence of the fascists who are in control, and the lack of conscience of certain mercenaries who are ready to take part in the basest adventures—all make Morocco a soil well prepared, it seems, for a pronouncement.

Once again the international repercussions of the failure of the workers' parties of France and Spain to fight for the self-determination of Morocco, entangle these very parties in the filthy mess of imperialist plotting.

The rebels have launched their long expected "final drive" (this is the third) to capture Madrid. Moroccans, heavily flanked by Nazis, are the spearhead of the drive, while Italian and German planes bomb the city. But two months of siege, and counter-gains, have heightened the morale of the defenders, and also allowed them to create a very thoro defense. The now seasoned troops of Spanish workers, aided by the International column, has already repulsed Franco's cutthroats of international reaction.

## SOUTHERN BOSSES MURDERED 13!

With Georgia at the head of the list with five lynchings, America hung up a total of 13 mob killings for the year, according to statistics compiled by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

One of the two lynchings credited to Arkansas is that of Frank Weems, Negro sharecropper, who disappeared June 8. At that time the sheriff of the county and later Gov. J. M. Futrell stated that Weems was not dead, but would be produced in "due time." Nothing has been heard of Weems since and a few days ago, in response to a direct inquiry from the N.A.A.C.P., Gov. Futrell's office stated, "This office has no record at all concerning Frank Weems."

## Sharecropping Chicago WPA Workers Win

The convention of the American Economics Association, meeting in Chicago, heard Howard Kester, of Nashville, Tenn., member of the Executive Council of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union and author of "Revolt Among the Sharecroppers," describe conditions on cotton plantations as "more humiliating and devastating than human bondage." He proposed the establishment of cooperative farms as a major remedy.

Referring to the method of sharing the crop which is common to the South, Mr. Kester declared that "the system continues to frustrate the lives of millions."

The Bankhead-Jones Bill, Kester said, is inadequate to solve the situation, being based, he said, on an acceptance of the principle of tenancy. He characterized the Bill as aiming to relieve "the economic instability resulting from some present forms of tenancy" by lifting some tenant farmers to the status of landlords, and added "that tenancy in itself is an evil, that it is uneconomic and anti-social and that it must be abolished."

After "sitting-in" at the Illinois WPA headquarters for seven days, thirty-four representatives of Chicago white collar unions and the Illinois Workers Alliance succeeded in winning their basic demands. The agreement with which the protest was ended included the following concessions: (1) a renewal of Administrator Hopkins' promise that no persons in need would be dropped from the WPA; (2) the reinstatement, without any loss in pay of about 600 workers recently dropped; (3) a promise that no workers would be transferred to lower wage classifications; and (4) no discrimination against the participants in the "sit-in" protest.

The protest was supported by the Artists Union, the Technical and Research Employees Union, the Union of Chicago Teachers of Adult Education, and the Illinois Workers Alliance. The protest received wide support from white collar WPA workers, many of whom are faced with post-election dismissals.

political constitution no rational objection can be raised by those who are not Italians."

Lastly one of Hitler's foremost American propagandists, Father Coughlin, frankly declared in a radio sermon on November 23, 1936:

"The Catholic Church stands four-square behind the capitalist, although it dares condemn the abuses which have grown around him. When his voice is silent and weak, and his hands unclean, we will confront the communist and socialist in his defense—and if necessary die in defending the Constitution under which he gained his wealth."

ingredients of mass appeal are here. For one thing it greatly appeals to the instinct of national pride. Constantly we hear of how this man breaks a world record, of how this furnace surpasses in heat any furnace in the world. Of how the old norms of production on a certain unit as given to us by the engineers of foreign countries are far too conservative. For example, Weirton, in 1929 or '28 made 4.9 tons of steel per square meter of hearth area. This figure was used as the basis on which the new, standard 150-ton Russian furnaces were designed. The Americans said "4.2 tons are possible here." The Russians at that time, said, "we must make 4.7 tons." But a first helper in Stalinsk made a 180-ton heat in 6 hr. A furnace in Makewka made 126,000 tons for the year. A tilting furnace here made a 300-ton, high ore heat here in 11 hrs. on mixed gas. And thru it all the papers shout and scream "Stakhanovite." But the engineers, designers, superintendents and directors are, as Mr. Louis Horowitz said, "Like the man's hold of the tiger's tail chasing him round a tree," and what they are doing in the way of redesigning, revamping, and rebuilding these new furnaces and new shops so as to meet the demands created by this Stakhanovite movement is something like the dreams of a rarebit fiend. Something which I hope to describe later in an article more technical than this story is how the open-hearth man of Russia "meets his plan," "raises his cultural level" and "works in a disciplined way."

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EMIL KLEBER



Aids In Defense of Madrid

## CATHOLIC CHURCH AND NAZI GERMANY

(Continued from Page 2)

"It is of exceptional importance in the life of the people that the State and Church be reconciled in the individual and collective conscience of the whole nation." It took Mussolini all of six years (1923-1929) to admit defeat. Events move more rapidly nowadays.

Let us not forget that, two years before Mussolini ended his war on Catholicism, the American priest, Father John A. Ryan, wrote in his book *Declining Liberty And Other Papers*: "Nor is there anything in the nature of human beings or in the nature of the existing Fascist constitution which prevents the proper ends of government from being attained. If the Italian people are satisfied with this kind of

## SOVIET STEEL

(Continued from Page 5)

Hé who came nearest to meeting the plan last week has his name placed abreast a picture of an aviator, in the latest of Soviet planes floating arrogantly in some stratosphere. He who was next best zooms at breakneck speed around a dizzy curve on a Soviet motorcycle. The next one tours elegantly across country in a Soviet Ford, and so on down to the stupid peasant dragging his pig to the bazaar, and the lazy loafer asleep on a snail. Individuals who overindulge in vodka, who neglect study courses, who do sloppy work are mercilessly caricatured and completely described on other boards; and just as freely and bitterly denounced in open meetings. More and more as time goes by, the superintendents and higher officers are being exempted from this. But they are not immune by any means. For example, our superintendent months ago promised the furnace crews that he would get from the Urals, an unused Dolomite machine. He is now in lithograph, posed as riding leisurely through the gentle pine-clad Urals, on a fantastic Dolomite machine drawn by a yoke of oxen.

### Stakhanovism

Over and above all the local efforts to attain these objectives, we have here in the Soviet land an employment of "mass psychology" that has never before been equalled.

This gives the tone to life—the speed and direction to work in the

Union. It creates for us our standards, our heroes, our news. Up to 1933 it created the Udarniks and Shock workers. These were the "men of the hour," the "news-worthy" people. Then came the day of "Otlechnik," meaning a peculiar form of excellence named after a worker who had become a sort of super-Udarnik. However, all of the elements of mass appeal were not present in this "Otlechnik" movement. Japan though, by her threatening excursions in Manchuria, gave occasion to pull out the "war stop." It was pulled wide open, and while its high shrill notes were still screaming "preparedness" into every nook and corner in the land, a Don Bas miner, Alexei Stakhanov, down in the dark shaft of the Irmino Coal Mine, in one shift mined 240 tons of coal when his "plan" called for only 40 tons. That was one September day in 1935. Almost simultaneously a ball bearing maker and a hammer man in a forge shop burst through this old level of productivity into almost unbelievable high ground. Stalin called these workers to the Kremlin. Held them up before the nation as "special people." Said that the work of these men gave evidence that the I.T.R. all over the land, by stubborn adherence to "old norms" were holding back the advance of the workers to the "higher cultural level." This was the birth of the "Stakhanovite Movement." Like a wild prairie fire it has swept over this land, capturing the imagination of even the most prosaic. All of the proper



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