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SOUTHERN WORKER

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Review of the Month

The Liberty Leaguers' offensive against the mandate given by the people in the elections of last November burst into full view during the last days of this session of Congress. This was clearly seen in the efforts of the reactionary tools of Wall Street in both the Republican and Democratic Parties to hurriedly adjourn and thus discredit the Roosevelt administration in the eyes of the people by killing or castrating the most important measures backed by labor and the common people.

The Nomination of Senator Black for the Supreme Court, in the face of this, to fill the vacancy left by the reactionary Van Devanter, hit the floor of Congress and especially the Southern reactionaries like a bombshell. Black, an ardent supporter of Roosevelt, one of the authors of the Wages and Hours Bill, a staunch advocate of the President's High Court Reform Bill, was the one Southern Senator who voiced the needs of the Southern people for vital progressive legislation in no uncertain terms. His nomination is without question a victory for the common people of the entire country. Statements by John L. Lewis, chairman of the CIO, and William Green, president of the AFL, throwing their entire support behind the nomination of Black did much to quell opposition to Black in the Senate. Additional pressure upon the Senate to immediately confirm Black's nomination, by local unions and councils of both the CIO and AFL left that body's actions in little doubt.

The reactionaries' chagrin at the appointment of Black to the Supreme Court—yet their delight at getting him out of the Senate—is best expressed in the following excerpt from an editorial in the **Birmingham Age-Herald**:

"There was joy at the idea of Hugo Black on the supreme bench but in some hearts it clashed with regret at losing his services in the Senate. Contrariwise, there was nothing less than alarm at the thought of Senator Black on the High Court, but in such feeling there was intermingled relief at his prospective passing from the Senate."

With Black out of the way, the reactionaries are now trying to fill his seat with one of their own kind. Donald Comer, who is being openly and widely backed by both the **Age-Herald** and the **Post** and the mill-owners. As soon as Comer's name was mentioned, however, the Birmingham Industrial Council passed

a special resolution denouncing him. This attack and the gathering labor support for Cooper Green, Birmingham postmaster, indicates an awakening realization of the part labor must play in the election of public officials. Comer, who heads one of the largest textile companies in Alabama, has attempted to pose as a liberal. In actual practice he has bitterly opposed union organization, kept wages in his mills at less than the subsistence level, and during the worst of the depression, closed the doors of his Avondale Mill to thousands of workers.

The Filling of Black's Unexpired Term in the Senate must not be left in the hands of the political machine in Alabama which does the bidding of T. C. I., the mine and mill owners and landlords. The opposition to Black's reelection to the Senate which was already being widely spread through the propaganda of the reactionary clique in the Democratic Party attempting to consolidate its forces and choose one of its' own kind for Black's seat. But the solid South is no longer the solid South in the sense that it represents the stranglehold of the capitalists in the Democratic Party of the South upon the common people. More and more throughout the entire South the workers and farmers and professional and lower middle classes are coming together in an effort to drive the Democratic Party towards progressive channels. Even the **Birmingham Post** gave recognition to the strength of this movement throughout the state when it recently published a list of possible choices by Governor Graves for Black's seat. Included in the list was William Mitch, president of District 20 of the United Mine Workers and one of the leaders in the Southern CIO organizational drive.

Even more outstanding than this example of labor's growing political consciousness, however, are recent developments in Gadsden, a town of 50,000 completely dominated by the murderously reactionary policies of Tom Girdler who not only controls Republic Steel but has a big interest in the other large mill in the city, Goodyear Rubber's Dixie Plant. Here the rubber and steel workers in collaboration with all the other workers and the middle class people have taken one of the most decisive steps towards independent political action by the common people throughout the South. The Law and Order Committee, initiated by the Central Labor Union in which both CIO and AFL are united, has already served notice that it intends to run a slate of fair candidates in the next Democratic primaries. These candidates will be expected to back a "Little Wagner Act" for Alabama; the abolition of the deputization of company thugs; as well as enforce freedom of speech, press and assembly.

Gadsden is not the only place where this realignment of forces is taking place. In Birmingham during the last city election, Noel Beddow, local SWOC director, ran second to Jones mainly because of the support labor gave him. That Beddow did not roll up a larger vote than he did, or even win the election, is in a major part due to the fact that he did not have enough support from the lower middle class and even stronger support from the unions because he did not run on a clear cut program of the common people's immediate needs. Had he openly declared his support of a "Little Wagner Act," of a housing program to clean up the 22 slums of Birmingham, of increased educational appropriations, of a program to lessen the tax burden on the poor and increase it on the rich by repealing the sales tax, and actively campaigned among the unions and the middle classes on just such

a program, it is very possible that he would have been elected President of the City Commission.

In Chattanooga, too, this regrouping of forces is going slowly forward. The appearance of the Volunteer movement, largely made up of middle class people, for the avowed purpose of reforming the local administration in Hamilton County is a promising sign, because not only is it a movement of the middle class and professional groups, but many of the leaders of this movement are also leaders in Labor's Political Conference, which itself, includes representatives of CIO and AFL unions. The basis is already laid for close cooperation between the decisive voting sections of the population in Chattanooga for a program of liberal legislation to clean up machine politics by electing representatives of the common people on a program of repealing the poll tax, better housing, labor legislation, educational facilities and other needed measures.

In the Carolinas the activity of Labor's Non-Partisan League and the organization of a League for Progressive Democracy by liberal intellectuals and professionals in Raleigh, the capitol of North Carolina, is another indication of the movement of Southern masses towards practical action in the political arena which will be consolidated with the forces of progress all over the country into an American Peoples' Front Government.

While these organizations are taking the lead in the cities and industrial towns, a similar development has not yet appeared in the countryside. Farmers, embittered by the lack of legislation to meet their needs (See Jerry Coleman's article on a legislative program for farmers on Page 10) are in danger of falling prey to the demagogy of the Liberty Leaguers and not only place a tremendous block in the path of labor's march forward, but actually become the storm troopers of fascism in this country and thus prevent the achievement of aid for themselves. Both labor and the lower middle classes must bring their program of progress to the share croppers, tenants and small farmers of the South if they expect any measure of success in defending democracy and preventing the fascists' attainment of power in the United States.

Nationwide Consolidation of vigilante harbingers of fascism is becoming a realistic menace as the sharpening of issues between the working class and the ruling class becomes more evident in the United States. The organization of vigilante movements, embryo fascist bands, is not the only sign of this. The open statements of reactionaries in Congress clearly prove this. Ohio, Michigan and Pennsylvania, the great industrial states which saw the recent strikes in auto and steel have become centers for these organizations. In Pennsylvania a conference of vigilante groups challenged the authority of the federal government. The growth of organization among the workers in the South has brought forth from the mill owners and plantation owners the same sort of lawless terrorism to suppress the labor movement. Such activities as the brutal beating of union workers in Gadsden, the expulsion of CIO Director Yelverton Cowherd from Laurel, Mississippi, and ILGWU Organizer Ida Sledge from Tusculum, Mississippi, of Noel Beddow, SWOC Organizer, in Cleveland, Tennessee, the tarring and feathering of Socialist Herbert Harris and organizer George Lamme in Texas reveal a concerted effort throughout the South as well as the North to suppress unionization

of workers as well as to ignore if not abolish the fundamental constitutional rights of the people.

In fact the Liberty Leaguers of Wall Street and their Southern agents in Congress, Senators Pat Harrison, Carter Glass, Byrd, Smith and such Representatives as Rankin and Cox are relying upon the still largely unorganized South to form the bulwark of reaction against the march towards progress now being led by the CIO and progressives. This was revealed at a mass meeting recently held in Birmingham at which Republican Representative Claire Hoffman from Michigan speaking to a specially invited audience declared, "Constituted authority has fallen down in the North and East, and if the CIO is to be checked, the South must do the job. We of the North look to you of the South to save us." Many union men managed to gain admission and hiss Hoffman and his red-baiting sidekick Joseph Kamp, vice-president of the Constitutional Educational League which recently came down from New Haven, Connecticut, to establish a Southern committee with headquarters in Birmingham.

The reactionary Southern Congressmen are brazenly doing their utmost in Congress to assist in putting over the national program of the Liberty Leaguers. Such examples as the statement by Representative Rankin of Tupelo, Mississippi, in Congress that the people of Mississippi would be provoked to revolt if the CIO did not clear out of his state and of Representative Cox of Georgia who declared, "I warn John L. Lewis that no second carpet baggers expedition of red organizers will be tolerated in the South. They will be met by the flower of Southern manhood and they shall reap their just fruits," are not isolated speeches. Witness the campaign of the most of the Southern Congressmen against the Wages and Hours Bill, the Wagner Housing Act, the Schwellenbach-Allen WPA Bill and others.

Said Senator Smith of South Carolina in attacking the Wages and Hours Bill, "If South Carolina living conditions are so kindly that it takes only 50 cents a day to live reasonably and comfortably, and in New England it takes a dollar and a half, then must we raise the wages in the South to a dollar and a half?" Aside from the defense of the Southern wage differential which results in a lower standard of living for the South, this statement is perhaps one of the baldest admissions of the terrible conditions of the common people of the South yet made on the floor of Congress.

As Reaction Gathers its Forces labor must unify itself. The Communist Party, through its national chairman, William Z. Foster, has pointed out that to build a united people's movement against fascism and for peace and progress, not only must labor unite with the farmers and professionals and intellectuals, but labor must heal the split within its own ranks. The road to such unity must go in the direction of one solid labor organization. Such an organization has already been envisioned by the Communist Party in its proposal to the CIO unions, the AFL, the Railway Brotherhoods and other militant progressive independent unions to hold a Labor Unity Conference for the purpose of uniting American labor on the basis of the CIO's program of militant progressive organization of the unorganized. There can be no compromise with the diehards of the Executive Council of the AFL. To do so would be an overwhelming setback for the American workers at a time when they are moving

as they have never moved before. Not only has the Communist Party taken the initiative in calling upon labor to unite its ranks, but it has also shouldered its responsibility as the most advanced section of the working class to use its influence within all sections of labor movement to bring this into reality as soon as possible.

While the question of the unity of the American Labor movement is the most important consideration facing workers all over the country, it is particularly important at this time that the tremendous CIO drives consolidate what gains the unions have already made in contracts, higher wages and better working conditions. The leaders of the CIO, as the leaders of the most progressive labor movement ever organized in the history of the United States, must realize that theirs is the responsibility to build the strength of the unions on the basis of educating the union membership in the fundamentals of progressive unionism and widespread participation of all union members in all union activities. This is particularly true in the South where there has been an unprecedented influx of workers who have never been in unions before.

Everyone Recognizes the Improvement of economic conditions throughout the country, and everyone except the capitalists recognizes the fact that at the same time there are nine million or more workers in this country who are still unemployed. The Roosevelt Administration has retreated before pressure from the Liberty Leaguers to partially ignore the plight of these millions and their families by cutting WPA relief wholesale. The result has been that the relief workers have been thrown back on the mercies of state, county and city authorities. In no place have these authorities the means for providing employment for the millions of unemployed. In some cases, such as Atlanta, Birmingham and Chattanooga, the city administrations have attempted to cover their refusal to aid the unemployed by actually spreading propaganda, saying that the majority of those dropped from WPA are being reabsorbed by private industry. But even the United States Conference of Mayors, headed by LaGuardia of New York was forced to give the lie to this when it voted to support the Schwollenbach-Allen WPA bill, sponsored by the Workers Alliance which would prevent the discharge of any WPA worker who could not secure employment in private industry at prevailing wages. It would also furlough, instead of discharge, WPA workers who secure private employment of a temporary nature.

Labor, progressives and liberals and the Communist Party has taken the offensive against this threat to the living standards of the masses all over the country by giving unqualified support and assistance to the National Job March which the Workers Alliance led from every section of the United States to Washington August 23, to bring pressure on Congress for the passage of the bill.

The Japanese Military Fascists, allies of Hitler, are making war upon China in an effort to add the Northern Chinese provinces to Japanese dominated Manchuria. Quick to see a threat to the billions of American dollars invested in China, the American capitalist press is bitterly denouncing this second invasion of China. Editorial after editorial, the country over, has pointed out that Japan was a signatory to

the Kellogg Peace Pact, initiated by the United States. Yet they do not protest the invasion of Spain by Hitler and Mussolini.

The question facing the American people today is will they allow the American government together with England and France to permit Japan to do with China what Hitler and Mussolini are trying to do in Spain, and what Mussolini practically unhindered did in Ethiopia.

The sham of the American "neutrality" laws is now more clearly evident than before. **The New York Times** points out:

"As has long been foreseen elsewhere than in Congress, the cash-and-carry policy (of the neutrality laws—Ed.) might in operation make the United States a virtual ally of Japan against China because Japan with her naval control of the Pacific, could obtain for cash what she needed in this country and China could not, lacking naval power. This would be in the face of the Nine Power Treaty which is designed to assure the territorial integrity of China."

The fight of the Chinese people against the invasion by Japan is the fight of the common people all over the world against war and fascism. From the events of the past few years: the seizure of Manchuria by Japan, the conquest of Ethiopia by Mussolini, the invasion of Spain by both Mussolini and Hitler, the signing of a virtual war pact by Japan and Hitler against the Soviet Union and now the second invasion of China by Japan, it is dawning upon the American people that the fascists are attempting a redivision of the markets and resources of the world regardless of the wishes of the people who inhabit the countries where these exist. This can only culminate in another world war.

Secretary of State Hull's comment on the Chinese situation during the latter part of July contains many able observations. For example:

"There can be no serious hostilities anywhere in the world which will not in one way or another affect interests or rights or obligations of this country. . . . We advocate abstinence by all nations from the use of force in pursuit of policy and from interference in the internal affairs of another country. . . . We advocate faithful observance of international agreements. . . . We stand for revitalizing and strengthening international law."

Fine principles . . . to which Mussolini and Hitler were hypocritical enough a few weeks ago to claim adherence in a note to the State Department after receiving the American Government's statement of policy. But it is not enough to simply state principles. "The time has come when our government must boldly insist that the treaties to which it is a partner must be honored," Congressmen O'Connell, Coffee, Hill, and Bernard declared in a proposal to Secretary Hull. These two treaties are the Kellogg Pact which outlawed war and the Nine Power Treaty, guaranteeing the territorial integrity of China.

To really put these treaties in practice, to repeal the so-called "neutrality" laws which serve only to help the aggressors in both China and Spain, a wide people's movement it needed. This, the Communist Party is helping to create. At the same time, it is taking the lead in organizing demonstrations of solidarity with the Chinese people and the loyal Spanish people's fight against fascism.

—L. C.

BUILDING THE NEW SOUTH

By R. F. HALL

Report of R. F. Hall, District Secretary to District Committee Meeting—District 17 of the Communist Party, Birmingham, Ala., Aug. 6, 1937.

WHEN we look for the most important difference in the conditions facing our Party today and the conditions we faced when this District Committee was elected in March 1936, we find it in the incontestable fact of the growing legality of our Party in the South. We do not have an open Party headquarters in Birmingham, but there are many indications that such a time is not far off. Known party comrades live openly and walk the streets of Birmingham without being molested by either police or thugs. Compare this with conditions of only a few months ago when it was possible for Chief of Police Hollums to tell the newspapers that he had instructed his officers "to arrest all known Communists at sight and pin anything on them to hold them."

Yet in the space of eight or ten months we find a growing recognition of the fact, on every side, that the Communist Party is a legal Party with the same right to exist and promote its ideas as the Democratic or Republican Parties. In its issue of July 24th the *Birmingham Age-Herald* supports this point of view. On its editorial page this paper warns those businessmen's organizations that have announced their intentions of "combatting Communism."

"Let's go slow about asking officials to pass new ordinances. Let's go slow about trying to deny Communists their constitutional rights to preach their doctrines. Let's not become Fascist in our fights on Communism."

This growing legality is more evident in Birmingham than in other sections of our district. But in my opinion, this situation is reflected, even if to a lesser degree, in Mobile, Montgomery, Atlanta and Savannah. It is only in the rural sections of the Black Belt, in Mississippi, and in some industrial towns, such as Gadsden, that real terror against our Party, against the Negro people, and against militant organization continues to flourish.

The growing legality of our Party is not due to the fact that the big corporations, the steel companies or the landlords have begun to love us. Their attitude remains that of Tom Girdler and the Republic Steel Co. who would crush, if they dared, not only the Communist Party but every other progressive organization of the people.

The relative legality of our Party is clearly not a gift from the reactionaries. It flows from the demand of the people for greater freedom and more democracy. Nor should we overlook the fact that our Party has helped to inspire that demand through its own work and activities.

THE growing legality of our Party in the South is, therefore a part of the general extension of democratic rights which we are witnessing throughout the country. The people have demanded and have won a larger share of democracy and a greater measure of

security. There is a Southern differential in democratic rights just as there is in wages, and so we Southerners are still tagging behind our brothers in other regions. But we are one nation, North and South, regardless of the wishes of the Tories, and they are finding that they cannot continue to flout the national laws of our country. Thus, even in the South, the right to organize is becoming a reality under the Wagner Act. (Applause.)

What are the reasons for this extension of democratic rights in the South? What are the reasons for the relative legality of our Party?

1. The whole national situation as a result of the defeat of Landon and the reactionary forces and the election of Roosevelt on a progressive platform, backed up by what was clearly an alliance of labor and the progressive forces. No one has even tried to deny that the election results were a mandate of the people to Roosevelt demanding greater democracy, the right to organize, the enforcement of Constitutional rights.

2. The cleavage of the Democratic Party, even in the South, where the liberal and progressive elements are beginning to part company with the reactionaries. This cleavage is expressing itself already in the preparations for the Democratic primaries next May and it is clear that the reactionary bourbons and lynchers do not have, in the Democratic Party in the South, the smooth sailing which formerly they took for granted.

3. The rapid growth of militant labor organization under the banner of the CIO, especially in the mass production industries such as steel, rubber, textile, and auto.

4. The fact that our Party has emerged from its sectarian past, mobilizing all the forces of progress against reaction, fascism and war. In this period it has correctly brought forward the role of our Party as the inheritor of the best traditions of liberty-loving America. Our slogan has been "Communism is the Americanism of the 20th Century". The national prestige of our Party has been a great help to us in the South where our own forces are relatively weak.

5. The Supreme Court decisions in the DeJonge and Herndon cases. In both of these cases, even a packed Supreme Court admitted the right of any American, under the Constitution, to be a member of the Communist Party. In the Herndon case, the decision was regarded as a victory not only for our Party but for the entire Negro people.

6. Correct work, in spite of some shortcomings, in the campaigns of our Party around the Jack Barton case and in the demand for the punishment of the floggers of Prof. Gelders.

THIS picture is not complete, however, without some extended remarks on the changing attitude toward the Negro people in the South. I do not think any one here would deny that there is a breaking down in the Jim-Crow lynch spirit, that among the masses of people there is a growing tolerance on the Negro question on the part of Southern workers and intellectuals.

This new attitude is a result not only of the work of our party; it is also the result of those factors which have in themselves made for the extension of democratic rights and the relative legality of our Party. The organizing drive of the CIO is one of the most important of these factors. It is highly significant that the CIO in organizing Negro workers is putting into practice a policy long advocated by our Party, of abolishing Jim Crow locals and organizing the Negro workers on a basis of trade union equality.

At the same time, this new attitude on the Negro question is to a great extent responsible for the new attitude toward our Party. Inasmuch as our Party has been the first to come forward for complete equality and has led the struggle for Negro liberation, it could not be otherwise. A trade union worker who after years of prejudice learns that he must organize together with the Negro worker and struggle shoulder to shoulder with him for better conditions, naturally remembers that it was the Communists who first told him that great truth. The white middle classes who are beginning to learn that the Southern differential which lowers their standard of living is due to the fact that Negro and white are divided knows very well that this is the position the Communists have always held. White progressives are finding out for themselves that denying the Negro people the right to vote means cutting down the possibility of a progressive vote at election time, thus making a reactionary victory all the more probable. They cannot forget that it was the Communists who first trod on the toes of old prejudices by shouting this up and down the land.

The best elements among the Southern intellectuals are carrying this a step further. They begin to see the Negro as a great and noble people. The persecution of the Negro has awakened their strongest humanitarian ideals and they feel the suffering and privation of the colored race as a blot on their conscience. John Brown is becoming a great hero to many Southerners nurtured in traditions of Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis.

OUT of the dialectics of this situation has come the tremendous victory in the Scottsboro Case, the complete freedom of Olin Montgomery, Eugene Williams, Willie Roberson and Roy Wright. I am sure that our District Committee will hail this as the great victory that it is, pointing out the role of our Party and the I.L.D. in this fight and instructing our Party in District 17 to redouble its efforts for the freedom of the five boys facing a living death in prison. (Applause.)

Without detracting one bit from the splendid work of our brothers and sisters north of the Mason and Dixon line and throughout the world who sacrificed and struggled for the freedom of these boys, I think it necessary to point out that their struggle might have been in vain had it not been for the new attitude, the changing attitude of the Southern people themselves. The work of our Northern brothers, and ours, too played a part in bringing about this new attitude in the South, but let us also give credit to the masses

of non-Party Southern people, workers, farmers and intellectuals, who finally saw through this shameful frame-up and out of their own decency and honesty brought such pressure on the state and the courts as to make possible this great victory. They have proven how groundless were those provincial slanders of the Southern people uttered by Samuel Leibowitz at the conclusion of the first trial at Decatur.

This new attitude toward the Negro question is of great significance for us and for the Southern people. The growing recognition of the rights of the Negro people means at the same time a growing recognition of the leading role of our Party. Since we have been from the start the outstanding champion of Negro rights, we stand or fall as the Negro people stand or fall. We should find it highly gratifying that we are making headway in showing the Southern white people that they too stand or fall as the Negro people stand or fall.

I have dealt with this subject at some length because in this period our Party must concentrate on increasing the proportions of white workers to Negro workers in the ranks of our Party. Already we see indications of a large influx of new white Southern trade unionists into our Party. It will be well for us to remember at such a time, and see that this fact is impressed on our new comrades too, that in the South especially we can never afford to forget how closely wrapped together are the fortunes of the white common people, the Negro people and the Communist Party.

THIS is not meant to encourage those comrades who would try mechanically to force white workers or intellectuals to accept our position on the Negro question. We cannot cry "white Chauvinism" against every Southern progressive white who still carries with him, despite a generally progressive position, considerable remnants of the old race prejudice. We must approach this problem with tact and understanding. We must look on such a white progressive as one who is sick, not as one who is malicious or bad. We must realize that this sickness is hurting him, even more than it is us. The encouraging fact is that the sickness is curable. A sick man can be made well if he is given the proper care.

I expect this sort of problem may express itself very sharply in the next elections. We do not propose to support lynchers for office, regardless of what ticket they may run on. But there will no doubt be occasions when, again regardless of party label, we give support to an honest progressive candidate who has shown genuine sympathy for labor and the farmers but who has not recognized the correctness of our position on the Negro question. Enemies of the working class and of our Party (and they will be no less enemies of the Negro people) may try to make capital of our support of such candidates and charge us with "selling out" the Negro people. But we will prove them liars by our constant campaign of educating the Southern white people and by our unceasing struggle for the rights of the Negro people, in other words, by our deeds.

FOR A PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT

Part Two of a Report by R. F. Hall

THE growing legality of our Party in the South is especially important because the task of building and leading a progressive people's movement is that of a legal Party. The task of defending and extending democracy is the task of a Party whose democratic rights are recognized. We need legality to make our work most effective, and at the same time, every success in this work will be reflected in more legality and greater democracy not only for our party but for every progressive organization of the people.

A progressive people's movement in the South faces special difficulties here. Such a movement we call the People's Front. Under some circumstances it would be called a Farmer Labor Party, but in all cases, we mean the same thing. We mean an alliance of the trade unions, the farm organizations, the Negro people and their organizations, the middle classes and their organizations, the left wing Parties such as the Communist and Socialist Parties, and the progressive liberal elements in the old parties. This alliance is formed for the purpose of organizing all those who

stand for democracy against the threat of fascism represented by the reactionary capitalists. This alliance, or People's Front, fights for the interest of the people, social security, jobs, relief, higher wages, the right to organize, the rights of the Negro people, and the civil liberties of the whole people. It supports a program of progressive legislation and works for the election of those candidates, generally from its own ranks, who can be counted on to fight for such a program.

The People's Front is not accidentally born. It is organized and built by the most conscious, the most advanced, the most devoted representatives of the common people. For us to recognize that there are enormous obstacles in the way of building the Peoples Front in the South should not in any way deter us from our determination to bring this about. What are these obstacles? We can enumerate a few:

1. The disfranchisement of thousands of white and Negro citizens through high poll taxes.
2. The special disfranchisement of the Negro people.
3. The relative weakness of the trade union organizations in the South although this is being rapidly overcome as the drive of the CIO pushes ahead in textile and steel.
4. The prevalence of illiteracy and the lack of educational facilities.
5. The division of the population, into whites on the one hand and the Negroes on the other.
6. The fact that since Reconstruction the reactionary landlord class has held a stranglehold on the ruling party in the South, the Democratic Party, and together with the industrialists who have come in later have dominated every branch of civil and political life in the South. The Solid South has meant the solid, almost unbroken rule of the most reactionary elements.

These obstacles themselves show how vital a Peoples Front is in the South. Nor should we forget that the special persecution, the special depths of poverty and degradation suffered by the people in the South Front here than in other sections where more freedom may result in a stronger and faster growing People's already prevails.

A SUCCESSFUL People's Front in the South will strengthen the national People's Front. The economic royalists in the North in their struggle to beat back the rise of the progressive people's movement nationally have found their natural allies in the Southern reactionaries. This is especially true in Congress where Southern Senators such as Byrd, Glass, Byrnes, Pat Harrison and Bankhead, and Southern representatives such as Rankin of Mississippi and Cox of Georgia, have been used by the Liberty Leaguers to fight the Supreme Court bill, the wages and hours bill and to attack the CIO. The Roosevelt Administration is being knifed in the back on every occasion by that Southern landlord, Jack Garner of Texas, the vice president of the United States.

The reactionaries are also using an old slogan of



EARL BROWDER

General Secretary, Communist Party

the Southern landlords, a doctrine which they have partially succeeded in making a guiding "Constitutional" principle of the Supreme Court, in order to split up the progressive forces and to prevent the national coalition of democratic forces. That doctrine is "state's rights". In 1865 that doctrine meant slavery. In 1937 it means very much the same thing.

As Comrade Browder pointed out in his historic report before the recent Central Committee meeting, this doctrine is very much an issue today. The issue takes the form of a struggle between Roosevelt and the progressive forces on the one hand, and the reactionary coalition opposing him on the other hand. Our Party supports the Roosevelt position of more power to the federal government to deal with national questions. We cannot agree with the reactionaries that "state's rights" includes the right of Southern employers to flaunt the Wagner Act and deny Southern workers the right to organize. We cannot agree with the reactionaries that "state's rights" includes the right of Southern mill owners to pay less than Northern wages. We cannot agree that it means the right of Southern landlords to lynch Negroes.

We know that the interests of the Southern people are best served when constitutional rights, the right to vote, wages, hours, are recognized as national affairs within the jurisdiction of the national Congress and national government.

Comrade Browder pointed out that for us the issue is much deeper and more far-reaching.

"That this issue can exist at all is a sign of the incomplete unification of the country (Comrade Browder said). The American bourgeoisie was never fully able to unite our country into one nation; it compromised with all sorts of localisms and particularisms which divide the people. These divisions, originating under the influence of precapitalist forces (slavery, landlordism, colonialism) have now been taken over by the upper bourgeoisie as its strongholds in the fight against the people. That is why the Republican Party, originally a party of national unity (under Lincoln) has been transformed into the party of localism against the nation." (Communists in the Peoples Front, Earl Browder—Price, 10c.)

We are Southerners, and we love our South, but we agree with Comrade Browder that:

"The setting up of the locality against the nation . . . is used to paralyze all efforts at social legislation and to prevent further democratization. Only by fuller, more complete national unification can the economic problems of the masses be even approached; only thus can effective democracy be established."

Breaking up the judicial dictatorship and setting up a national electoral system that guarantees the rights of citizenship promised in the Constitution, a vital task of the national People's Front movement, will benefit the Southern people even more than it will the people of other sections.

Comrade Browder pointed out that while in the past we have conceived of the People's Front taking the form of a Farmer Labor Party immediately, that this is not necessarily the way it will work out. The People's Front is being born now, he said, in the womb of the disintegrating two old parties. It may not fully

emerge as a fully developed party of the People's Front until after the elections which have brought it close to power or placed it in power.

NOR can we say as we have in the past that the Republican Party and the Democratic Party are merely tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee, representing identical interests and identical programs. As these two old Parties begin to fall to pieces, we find the progressives, especially the labor elements led by the CIO and Labor's Non-Partisan League, concentrating around the Democratic Party and having a very large influence in the affairs of that Party. In the same way we find the reactionaries concentrating around the Republican Party and using it as their very own instrument against the Administration and against the people.

We cannot look on the Democratic Party as one Party. We must see it as a battleground on which the reactionaries and progressives are fighting for control. Since we know that the interests of the people will be served and the building of a People's Front hastened by the victory of the progressives, we cannot remain neutral. It is our Communist duty to help the victory of the progressives in every way possible.

This is especially important for us in the South. The difficulties in the way of a minority party getting on the ballot are well known, and in our own district we were arbitrarily kept off the ballot in Georgia. In Mississippi the requirements are so stiff that we were beaten before we started. At the same time, the Democratic primaries are in themselves elections and the masses of people, once aroused, can exert real influence. It will be remembered that they did this, in a campaign led by labor, when they voted out the reactionary Power Trust Congressman, George Hudleston, in Jefferson County.

We are seeing this issue of whom shall the Democratic Party represent already expressed very sharply in the preparations for the Democratic Senatorial primaries in Alabama. Although the primary elections are eight months off, there is already a national concentration of reactionary forces and money to defeat Senator Hugo Black for re-election. Commonwealth-Southern, which owns the Alabama Power Company, Republic Steel, the du Ponts and the rest of Liberty League crowd, are out to defeat Black because of his fight for progressive legislation, including some important labor bills, and because he is one of the most competent spokesmen for the Roosevelt Administration. It seems to enrage these gentlemen beyond words that a Southern state should be represented in the Senate by a consistent progressive.

It is clear that progressives will seek the re-election of Senator Black and regard the election campaign as one of the most important struggles in the entire country. But if Black is re-elected he will be re-elected by an Alabama People's Front, perhaps not a fully matured People's Front, but at least by conscious and determined alliance of most of the forces that compose a People's Front. By this we mean labor, the middle classes, the progressives and left-wingers, and the farmers.

It is because the reactionaries understand this that they are attempting to block this alliance by propaganda among the farmers, seeking to turn the farmers against the workers and the middle classes.

We know too much about how the fascists worked in Germany and Italy not to be impressed by this

danger. It must be realized that the New Deal did not bring the same benefits to the working farmers that it did to the workers. Mr. Roosevelt and Secretary Wallace leaned too heavily for advice and support on the Bankheads, the Cappers and the big farmers and landlords generally. So when the Supreme Court killed the NRA, there was widespread indignation among the workers. But when the Supreme Court killed the Triple A, the working farmers regarded the Court as their benefactor, a protector of their interests against the Administration. There is some evidence that Roosevelt and Wallace are learning their lesson and that they will work with the Farmers Union, the organization of the working farmers, rather than with the Farm Bureau, the organization of the big farmers and landlords. But much damage has already been done.

Coughlin, Lemke and the other stooges of the fascists have already made much capital over the situation. They are due to make even more, including the defeat of Black, unless the unity of the workers and farmers can be cemented. A big responsibility lies on the CIO and the progressive elements within the Farmers Union to bring about this unity, both by showing them the community of interests between labor and the farmers, and also by such pressure on the Administration as to hasten a more liberal policy towards the working farmers, tenants and share croppers.

THE problem in the South is not only to bring together the forces that compose the People's Front. Our problem is also to strengthen those forces, to help them organize so that they can play within the People's Front a thoroughly effective role.

1. This means that we must participate in the CIO drives to organize the workers in the mass production industries. The CIO has done a splendid job in the South in organizing particularly the steel and textile workers. Communists have done effective work in these drives and have generally speaking established themselves in the eyes of leaders of the CIO as devoted, self-sacrificing, union builders. We must help to put these new unions on a solid basis, especially by introducing and encouraging inner-union democracy and by working out a program of trade union education for the new union men and women.

We must build the new CIO unions, such as that of the agricultural workers, the laundry workers, the maritime workers, the office workers, retail clerks and the Newspaper Guild. In the Southern states especially we must work to build powerful unions among the agricultural workers and the lumber workers.

Outside of the CIO we must pay more attention to the railroad workers who are in motion at this time, seeking to carry their organization along progressive paths and oust the reactionary leaders. The railroad workers have older union traditions than any other group in the South and have learned to use the ballot in their fights.

William Green and his Southern stooges, George Googe, Holt Ross, and Company, are continuing their splitting, disruptive dual union policies. They are making the goals of outworn prejudices against Northerners, Negroes, Jews, in the best fascist style, in an effort to block the CIO drives. And they are going to the employers and offering contracts which

give the workers the status of company union members.

But we would make a mistake if we took for granted that the AFL members approved of these policies. A great majority of the AFL workers are against such splitting tactics and if given some progressive organization would mobilize their forces to support trade union unity. It is up to our Party to build the AFL unions in the building trades and to give all the aid we can to the unity move.

2. Among the farmers, tenants and share croppers we must help build the Farmers Union and help the progressives in that organization establish a progressive leadership.

3. Among the Negroes we must build the National Negro Congress, which is the Negro People's Front. We must concentrate on building the NAACP as the mass organization of struggle for Negro rights.

4. We must take the necessary steps to build organizations among the middle classes. One of these is the American League against War and Fascism. While workers and farmers must play an important role in this organization, it is at the same time the organization which can very effectively reach large sections of the Southern professionals and intellectuals. We must realize also that one of our big problems in the South is to arouse the Southern people out of their indifference to foreign affairs, their feeling of isolation from conflicts abroad. The struggle in Spain, in which three Birmingham boys are fighting on the side of democracy, the struggle in China where imperialist Japan is seeking to enslave the Chinese people; the danger of the fascist war makers attacking the Soviet Union or some other democratic country and thus engulfing the world in another war; these are things which must be brought into the consciousness of the Southern people.

5. A definite part of the People's Front movement are the unemployed and especially the main organization of the unemployed, the Workers Alliance, which it is our duty as Communists to build and aid in the struggle against lay-offs and for adequate relief. The unemployed constitute a powerful reserve in the fight for unemployment insurance, old age pensions and other social legislation.

6. Under this point I wish to discuss defense organizations. Another comrade will deal with this in detail but here I want to point out that a successful defense movement is in itself a People's Front. It is important that we try to give organizational form to these movements but we cannot be mechanical. We must work with great care and tact lest we build an organization and leave out the very people for which the organization was intended. I believe that this is the mistake which was made in the I. L. D. in the South.

A successful example of a broad defense movement is the Gadsden Law and Order Committee, set up by the Gadsden Central Labor Union. We have the highest praise for the level-heads, the courage and the determination of the Gadsden labor leaders. Neither red-baiting, the AFL-CIO split nor the attacks of thugs and police have prevented them from going ahead to build a non-sectarian movement in defense of civil rights. They have laid the basis for a real People's Front in that county and have given inestimable service to the people of Alabama by blazing a new trail towards democracy.

(To Be Continued)

WHAT COMMUNISTS WANT IN FARM LEGISLATION

By JERRY COLEMAN

THIS Spring, Secretary Wallace told the public the AAA had failed to aid the lower two-thirds of the farm population. He indicated that the administration would give more consideration to the dirt farmers in the new AAA legislation. Since then the signs of a rift between the Administration and the Farm Bureau Federation, the so-called farm organization that is controlled by Wall Street bankers and rich farmers, have become noticeable. In addition, and of greater importance to cotton farmers, there are indications all is not well between the Administration and reactionary Southern Democrats who controlled the final form of the Administration's farm policy.

In 1932 farmers were going broke on 5 cent cotton. Hoover was swept out of office because the masses wanted a liberal program such as Roosevelt outlined. Unemployment had reached the 17 million mark. Wages and hours had been cut and farm markets and prices suffered accordingly.

The New Deal Administration was limited by the rules of the profit system that caused the great economic collapse. The New Deal had to tackle the farm problem by methods of artificial price fixing and production control while it tackled the basic problem of increasing the consuming power of the masses through labor legislation.

The AAA tried to cut down stores of cotton, wheat and so forth that glutted warehouses and depressed prices by cutting down on production. The AAA contracted with farmers to rent part of the land that normally yielded the major crops. Prices were fixed at higher levels and guaranteed by a government loan program and rent was paid on the idle acres.

This artificial attempt to help the farmers through a scarcity program could have had some results had it not been for the sabotage and greed of reactionaries in the New Deal Party. Senators like John Bankhead, Pat Harrison, Carter Glass and the late Joe Robinson all represented the banker-industrialist-landlord interests of the South. They asserted themselves as Roosevelt's right hand men and proceeded to strangle the AAA. Regardless of the intentions of liberals Roosevelt placed in the Administration, they were held in check by these reactionaries in Congress.

The Communist Party never has and never will endorse the principle of scarcity in a farm relief program while "one third of the nation is ill-clothed, ill-housed and ill-nourished" for lack of the very things such a program denies them. However, when the government embarks on such a scarcity program, the Communist Party strives for the most beneficial possible results and for constructive changes that give more aid to working farmers. At the same time the Communist Party advocates a program of plenty and security, using the government's own figures to show that farm acreage should be increased 20% to provide enough for at least a third class diet (given as the

lowest health safety diet by the Department of Agriculture) for all the people.

IN the last few years the loop-holes through which reactionaries controlled the AAA and discriminated against the dirt farmer have also given birth to a fight for constructive change. The millions of dollars in AAA payments to rich farmers and banks and corporation farms gave the upper third of farmers a large increase in annual income and increased the class division between Wall Street "gentlemen" farmers and the working farmers. It caused the Administration to re-examine its policy of using the Farm Bureau as an advisor because the Bureau interests are proven to be the exact opposite of the welfare of millions of American dirt farmers.

Now that a new Soil Conservation (AAA) program is being worked over in Congress the farm organizations should bombard Congress with demands for constructive changes. The Communist Party must arouse farmers and labor in the fight for constructive amendments, especially around the following issues:

1. The total rental and soil conserving payments to a corporation, or large farm should not exceed \$5,000. The payments to dirt farmers should be increased, with specific guarantee in law that share croppers and tenants on the plantations receive rental payments on their share of the crop and all soil conserving payments direct.

2. Cotton prices should be pegged at a minimum of 15 cents per pound to relieve the dirt farmers of the increased pressure from higher prices, higher rents, and increased taxes.

3. That county Cotton Control Committees be required to have at least 50% representation of small farm owners, tenants, or share croppers, white and Negro. The past practice of allowing the County Farm Agent to nominate candidates and railroad elections which placed control in the hands of the most powerful financial and political interests in the county and caused the farmers a lot of trouble, must be abolished. The attitude toward these committees, representing the deep-rooted hang-overs of slavery, was expressed by a Mississippi landlord when asked why Negroes were not placed on the committees. His reply was, "You don't put chickens on a poultry board, do you?"

The Farmers' Union and other farm organizations can play an important role by nominating their own slates for these elections and rallying their own members to vote in these slates. Ed Kennedy, former national secretary of the Farmers' Union and stooge for Father Coughlin, who opposed the AAA and discouraged the fight to control it, really aided the Wall Street crowd and hindered the union farmers from getting some benefit from the AAA.

4. The plantation owners signing contracts with AAA must be required to have written contracts with the share croppers and tenants on the plantation that guarantee the right to gin and sell their own crops, to lease the land for a period of at least 10 years so

they can benefit from soil conserving work and to get production loans independent of the landlord. There should also be included a provision barring discrimination against any union farmer. The raw deal that share croppers and tenants got under the AAA from reactionary county officials must be exchanged for a fair deal under democratic conditions.

TENANCY LEGISLATION

THE Resettlement Administration, established under the New Deal to aid share croppers and tenants driven from the land under the AAA and to feel out a program of farm ownership to check the rapid rise in tenancy, met with much the same fate as the AAA. An adventure in this field that could have really aided a section of the disinherited, was sabotaged and strangled by the same reactionary crowd.

One positive thing Resettlement has done, it has helped give voice to the landless farmers' cry for land. The Share Croppers Union and the Southern Tenant Farmers Union had blazed the trail. Wall Street, with its control over reactionary Congressmen, raised the cry against subsidizing landless farmers and the Chamber of Commerce got out a report trying to prove tenant aid was not necessary.

The President's Farm Tenancy Commission, flirting with the reactionaries to win their support, had to be embarrassed publicly before it allowed one white share cropper of the STFU as a member. This testimony at the hearings conducted by this Commission, as presented by unions and landless farmers themselves, proved the immediate need of a land program to rehabilitate the rural slums. The Commission Hear-

ings and the publicity and union pressure following them, forced the reactionaries to compromise on tenant legislation.

The extent of the reactionary compromise was expressed in the Bankhead Tenancy Bill just enacted by Congress. The amount of money appropriated was so meagre it can benefit only one farmer per county per year. In the next three years it can provide farms for only 20,000 tenants, while tenancy increases at the rate of 40,000 per year. The method of control in the counties is by appointment of committees of three, taking democratic control away from the farmers and giving it to reactionary interests.

The position of the farm unions, progressives should be a new and vigorous campaign for the Boileau Farm Tenancy Bill. The Boileau Bill provides five hundred million dollars to start a farm ownership program. A program of this scope will not only check yearly tenancy increases effectively, but will place 60,000 of the present tenants on their own land each year. Control of the entire program under the bill would remain in the hands of dirt farmers through provisions for democratic elections and specific instruction that a majority of committees must be actual working farmers and farm tenants. Discrimination on radical, religious or political lines is specifically prohibited. Interest rates on loans would be one and one-half per cent instead of the three per cent provided in the Bankhead Bill. The Bankhead Bill omits aid to co-operatives while the Boileau Bill provides for it. Under the Boileau Bill the title to the land would be held by the Farmers' Security Corporation until it was paid for, thus preventing foreclosure or eviction by any bank, insurance company or private creditor. The Bankhead Bill provides no protection for the purchaser.

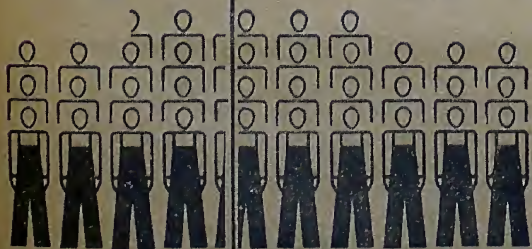
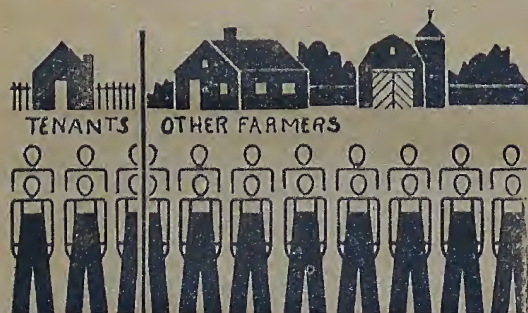
The progressive features of the Boileau Bill form the basis of a tenancy program the farm organizations can fight for as amendments to the Bankhead Bill in the next session of Congress. The same reactionary bunch will be in Congress next year, along with the progressives. A strong fight will have to be waged to get progressive amendments passed.

THE FARM LOAN ACT VETO

AT the height of Wall Street's strike-breaking drive against the steel workers and the CIO, President Roosevelt vetoed the Farm Loan Act in the name of "economy." Roosevelt, giving in to hysterical threats of Wall Street, showed very clearly the need for a strong farmer-labor alliance to keep middle-of-the-roads from being pawns of the bankers. If the farm organizations had given whole-hearted support to the steel strike and if the CIO and AFL had given full support to the Farm Loan Act, it seems pretty certain the steel strike would have been more successful and Roosevelt would not have wilted under the bankers' blast and vetoed the farm bill.

The small farm owners depending on government crop loans will have to redouble their fight and secure the support of labor if they are to make Roosevelt and Congress provide federal loans where banks and private creditors hold out.

THE space here does not permit a full statement on other important farm legislation, but a few of the most important subjects are the following. A genuine mortgage moratorium law and a mortgage re-finance bill must be passed as a check on farm foreclosures and



Each symbol represents 200,000 farmers

PICTORIAL STATISTICS, III

The chart above shows the increase in tenancy in the United States since 1880. Out of every 100 farmers, 42 are now tenants as compared with 25 in 1880 and 35 in 1900.

evictions. The Frazier-Lemke Mortgage Re-Finance Bill contains inflationary money-raising schemes that must be amended. Taxation and the tax structure should be reconsidered by Congress because today the small farmers bear the brunt of taxation while banks and corporations do not have as high a rate of taxation and in addition have dodged taxes with impunity for years. The Sales Tax laws in the various states should be repealed and increased taxes on corporate profits should be instituted. A graduated land tax should be passed to aid in checking the concentration of land in the hands of the banks and corporations. In 1910 only 19% of the farms were 1,000 acres and over. Tenancy has increased from 35.3% in 1900 to 50 per cent in 1936. More than 80% of the Negro farmers are tenants or share croppers. In 1934 it was revealed that 67,302 farmers belonged to 111 insurance companies and 21,447 farms belonged to 170 banks.

Homestead Exemption laws, that exempt homesteads valued up to \$5,000, should be passed in every state. State laws with smaller Homestead Exemptions should be amended upward to \$5,000. In Mississippi 60,000 farms were expropriated for non-payment of taxes in the first nine months of 1932. Between 1933 and 1936 the states came into possession of 800,000 farms because farmers were unable to pay their taxes.

All county, state and federal funds going to the Farm Bureau Federation through the Extension Service and otherwise should be stopped at once. The United States Senate investigation of the Farm Bureau gave abundant proof that it was a racketeering outfit that exerted its influence to rally farm support

for reactionary political interests and Wall Street sponsored legislation allowing graft and profiteering by the banks and corporations.

THE WORKER-FARMER ALLIANCE

IT is clear that neither labor nor the farmers separately can exert enough pressure to win what is due them through the county, state and federal legislative bodies. Nobody knows this any better than the reactionaries who are exerting every influence to split the farmers away from labor and line them up with fascist movements.

In Alabama, for instance, there is no reason why the sheriffs and other county officials in Walker, Etowah and other strong union counties cannot be union men or union supporters. There is no reason why their representatives in the state legislatures cannot be union men. There is no reason why progressives cannot be sent to Congress in 1938 by a strong worker-farmer alliance.

The Communists in the cities and towns and on the farms must carry on a persistent educational campaign to show all workers and farmers the urgent need of a worker-farmer alliance and help in initiating joint actions. Successful work in this direction will show the need and prepare the broadest struggle for the right of Negroes to vote.

The split in the Democratic Party and the Republican Party, isolating the reactionaries and destroying their influence, the building of the People's Front against fascism and for progress depends on the rapid development of a strong worker-farmer alliance.

All Scottsboro Boys Are Innocent

The following is the text of a Resolution on the Scottsboro victory, adopted by the District Committee, District 17, Communist Party, August 6, 1937, at enlarged committee meeting at Birmingham, Alabama.

SIX and a half years of heroic struggle have at last produced a magnificent victory in the Scottsboro Case. The four out of nine innocent Negro Boys who have now been set free owe their lives to the workers and farmers, liberals and progressives, not only of the South, but of the whole nation and the whole world, who have fought so bravely and so long for their release.

More has been won in this victory than the saving of the lives of four innocent boys. A victory has been won over the lynch methods of the big landlords, over the vicious Jim-Crow system which results in poverty and oppression for the Negro people. A victory has been won against the attempt of reactionary big industrialists to keep the unions weak by keeping the workers divided. A victory has been won over all the forces of reaction and tyranny which are pressing towards fascism.

This victory has been made possible by the broadest united action of trade unionists, liberals and progressives working together in the Scottsboro Defense Committee.

We Communists are very proud of the role our Party has played in mobilizing and organizing this

broad defense group and in supporting and assisting in its work. We are also very proud of the role played by the International Labor Defense, which kept the boys alive until the united committee was organized, and which has ever since played a leading constructive role in the work of the united committee.

A SUBTLE but vigorous campaign is being carried on in the press to save the faces of the reactionaries who have been defeated in the Scottsboro Case. The purpose of this campaign is to convince the people that the Scottsboro Case is over and that the lives of the four who were released were bought at the expense of abandoning the fight for the other five. The statement of the Scottsboro Defense Committee that the fight will go on has exposed the real nature of this campaign. The truth is that the release of four of the defendants is the first fruit of the campaign and indicates that continuing the campaign will win freedom for the others. The prosecution's admission that some of the defendants are innocent is an admission that all are innocent, because the evidence is the same as to all nine.

The Communist Party hails the victory which has been won. We declare that this victory does not end the case, but brings the defense into a new and stronger phase. We call on all unionists, liberals and progressives, and all who believe in liberty and equal justice, to carry on the fight until all nine Scottsboro Boys are free.

From A Southern Worker in Spain

The young man on the cover is Kenneth Bridenthal, a Southern worker and member of the Communist Party who is fighting in Spain on the side of the democratic government.. This letter to a friend and co-worker in Birmingham is printed below as it appeared in the BIRMINGHAM POST.

Albacete, Spain

Bro. Ed Levett
Secretary, Workers Alliance
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Sir and Brother:

I presume you are still secretary of the Workers Alliance, so I am sending you this letter which I hope can be read in all the locals.

Maybe you and some of the brothers have been wondering what happened to me. I know I've been thinking about our organization and all the men and wondering how you have been getting along.

To tell the truth, I didn't want to leave—in a way. I know the Workers Alliance in Birmingham is going ahead toward bigger struggles and better victories for the men and women who have to work for a living and I wanted to have a part in those struggles and victories. After all, Alabama is my adopted state, my home, and those are my people.

But when I say I didn't want to leave that has to be explained. Nobody made me leave and nobody used any pressure on me. On the other hand, tough as it's been for us in Alabama to gain the right to live and fight those reactionaries who would take away all our rights, and even our work and wages, I kept thinking of others that had it tougher. Especially during the last months I kept watching the developments of the fight of the Spanish people against the Liberty-Leaguers, steel-barons, big landlords and other reactionaries and so-called aristocrats in their country.

What really galled me was the way Hitler and Mussolini came in with their guns, airplanes, troops, and bombs, to kill men, women and children who didn't want any more than to be let alone, to work, live and get a little education and improve their condition. The thing that scared me was the thought that, if fascism and nazism mean what they were trying to do in Spain, then it probably wouldn't stop in Spain. Fascism, if allowed to go on, and it has clearly shown it wants to go on, would get to us sooner or later in one form or another.

I figured that those two blood crazed dictators, their followers and rich backers had to be stopped once and for all if there was going to be any democracy left in the world at all.

Well, it was only a step from that to the decision to do something about it. You Brothers know that I never dodged a struggle to gain what we thought was just and right in Birmingham. This is a tougher fight but, since its got to be fought, I want to do my share and get it over quickly.

To some of the fellows who went to France to fight for democracy in the last war, my coming over and here may seem sort of far-fetched. I know the working people didn't get anything out of that but death and misery—not in any country. But this is something different and tens of thousands of men from

practically every place in the world are here fighting in the International Brigade of volunteers against fascism because they know it's different.

There are German workers who came to strike a blow here against Hitler who smashed their trade unions; Italian workers hitting at Mussolini for enslaving them and making their living conditions the worst in Europe, workers from the South (I've met several from Alabama and there are a number from Birmingham), workers from everywhere who want democracy enough to fight for it.

I am proud to be one of these men (most of them from unions and labor organizations at home) and I am proud too that the Americans are so well represented and have proved themselves so well.

There's one more thing that I think I ought to mention. That is the role that the Communists and the Communist Party are playing in the fight against fascism. From the first shot of fascism the Communists have been right in the front ranks in the fight to defeat it.

You've probably guessed it, but I wanted to tell you that I am a Communist. I joined the Communist Party of the United States after I saw the stand they took on organization, wages and conditions for the workers back in Alabama. And, if I hadn't realized how right they were in the interest of the common people, and how they can stand the gaff under fire, I saw it here.

Well, I just wanted to tell you that I hadn't left the struggle. Communists never do. As long as there is something to be done by and for the common people the Communist Party will be there trying to do it, together with anybody else who wants to fight for progress.

So don't let them cut the WPA quotas, while I try to maintain Alabama's good name in the fight for bread, freedom and democracy here.

Down with Fascism and Reaction!
Good luck to the Workers Alliance.

Faternally,
Kenneth Bridenthal

JOIN NOW!

After reading the Southern Worker, I can see that the Communist Party is the best political organization which fights for the demands and rights of the common people of the South.

(.....) I want more information about the Communist Party.

(.....) I want to join the Communist Party.

Name.....

Address.....

City..... State.....

(Fill this coupon out and send it to the Southern Worker,
Box 1182, Chattanooga, Tennessee)

LAND OF BUILDERS

By LARRY FRENCH

IMAGINE a country in which there is no unemployment whatever, in which there is a job for every man and woman who wants one, doing useful work at a comfortable living wage.

Imagine a country in which, year after year, wages continue to go up and prices continue to go down.

Imagine a country in which everyone can get the medical care one needs, in which every child can get an education, not only grammar and high school, but college and technical education, regardless of his parents' means.

Imagine a country in which no one has to worry about what will happen to him when he is forced to quit work because of disability or old age, and in which everyone gets a vacation with pay every year.

It sounds like heaven, doesn't it? But it isn't heaven, it's just the cold facts about the life of every person in the Soviet Union today.

During the years from 1929 to 1936 every capitalist country—every country in which the bosses own the machinery of production—went through a great crisis and depression. Machinery came to a halt; thousands were thrown out of work and faced starvation. But, in the Soviet Union, the progress of the people toward a better life did not even slow down in those years. Instead, production in large-scale industry in the Soviet Union increased in 1936 to more than four times what it had been in 1929. In the rest of the world production was slightly less in 1936 than it was in 1929.

In 1932 and '33—years that marked the bottom of the depression for the capitalist world—the U. S. S. R. successfully completed the first of its great Five Year Plans and launched a second. This year, 1937, the Second Five Year Plan is drawing to a close. Let us take a look at what these two plans have accomplished.

Wages have steadily increased and are still steadily increasing. The average wage of 1936 was 22 per cent higher than it was in 1934. And the average wage of 1936 was 21 per cent higher than that of 1935.



This rest house at Sochi is one of the thousands of vacation spots where Soviet workers spend their vacations of a month or more with full pay.

When this year is over and the average wage for 1937 is worked out it will show a similar steep increase.

And farm income has kept pace with wages. Today the average Russian member of a collective farm gets about 100 times the annual income that he got as a peasant under the Czar.

Hours of work have been cut down until no one works more than seven hours a day, five days a week, with one full day of rest (the Soviet week is six days long instead of seven).

Production, the index of a nation's real income, has climbed as steadily as wages. Industrial production increased six per cent in 1933, 18 per cent in '34, 20 per cent in '35, 31 per cent in '36. Agricultural production has been stimulated by the development of collective farming and use of machinery, with the result that the harvest was an all-time record for the country and that of 1936, in spite of a drouth, was almost as large.

WAGE increases tell only a small part of the story of the increased living standards of the Soviet worker. A great social security system has been developed which takes care of all the aged and also all who are disabled or otherwise unfit to work. Unemployment insurance exists although every able-bodied person has work. Every person has free medical and dental care. Education in the colleges and technical schools is not only free but, in many cases, the student receives an allowance from the government while he studies, to prevent his being a charge on his family. The government spends huge sums every year on the construction of new schools, kindergartens and playgrounds, new theaters, parks and recreation centers.

And every phase of Soviet life is planned out according to the desire of the people. The production schedule of a factory is planned in advance by the workers in that factory. All the plans are co-ordinated into one big commission of representatives of all occupations and all sections. In this way things are accomplished which would be impossible in the planless chaos of capitalistic America.

In ten years the people of the Soviet Union have performed a miracle. They have transformed a backward, feudal country into a modern industrial nation. And they have achieved and consolidated the triumph of Socialism in their country. Such a miracle could not be performed by people living under a dictatorship of a minority over a majority of the people. Such a miracle can only occur when the creative energy and genius of a people is set free by liberating them from the oppression of an exploiting class. It can only occur when the collective effort and initiative of a people is guided by a vanguard party, such as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under its great leader, Joseph Stalin.

Today the reactionary big capitalists of the world, fearful of losing their power to the workers and the common people, are conducting a world-wide drive to stop all progress and establish fascism. They are carrying on this offensive in some form in every country. But the victory of Socialism has been so firmly established in the U. S. S. R. under the First and Second

LAND OF BUILDERS

By LARRY FRENCH

IMAGINE a country in which there is no unemployment whatever, in which there is a job for every man and woman who wants one, doing useful work at a comfortable living wage.

Imagine a country in which, year after year, wages continue to go up and prices continue to go down.

Imagine a country in which everyone can get the medical care one needs, in which every child can get an education, not only grammar and high school, but college and technical education, regardless of his parents' means.

Imagine a country in which no one has to worry about what will happen to him when he is forced to quit work because of disability or old age, and in which everyone gets a vacation with pay every year.

It sounds like heaven, doesn't it? But it isn't heaven, it's just the cold facts about the life of every person in the Soviet Union today.

During the years from 1929 to 1936 every capitalist country—every country in which the bosses own the machinery of production—went through a great crisis and depression. Machinery came to a halt; thousands were thrown out of work and faced starvation. But, in the Soviet Union, the progress of the people toward a better life did not even slow down in those years. Instead, production in large-scale industry in the Soviet Union increased in 1936 to more than four times what it had been in 1929. In the rest of the world production was slightly less in 1936 than it was in 1929.

In 1932 and '33—years that marked the bottom of the depression for the capitalist world—the U. S. S. R. successfully completed the first of its great Five Year Plans and launched a second. This year, 1937, the Second Five Year Plan is drawing to a close. Let us take a look at what these two plans have accomplished.

Wages have steadily increased and are still steadily increasing. The average wage of 1936 was 22 per cent higher than it was in 1934. And the average wage of 1936 was 21 per cent higher than that of 1935.



This rest house at Sochi is one of the thousands of vacation spots where Soviet workers spend their vacations of a month or more with full pay.

When this year is over and the average wage for 1937 is worked out it will show a similar steep increase.

And farm income has kept pace with wages. Today the average Russian member of a collective farm gets about 100 times the annual income that he got as a peasant under the Czar.

Hours of work have been cut down until no one works more than seven hours a day, five days a week, with one full day of rest (the Soviet week is six days long instead of seven).

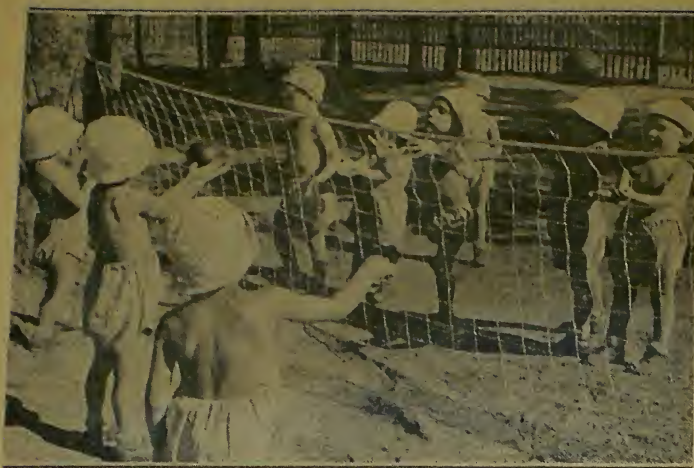
Production, the index of a nation's real income, has climbed as steadily as wages. Industrial production increased six per cent in 1933, 18 per cent in '34, 20 per cent in '35, 31 per cent in '36. Agricultural production has been stimulated by the development of collective farming and use of machinery, with the result that the harvest was an all-time record for the country and that of 1936, in spite of a drouth, was almost as large.

WAGE increases tell only a small part of the story of the increased living standards of the Soviet worker. A great social security system has been developed which takes care of all the aged and also all who are disabled or otherwise unfit to work. Unemployment insurance exists although every able-bodied person has work. Every person has free medical and dental care. Education in the colleges and technical schools is not only free but, in many cases, the student receives an allowance from the government while he studies, to prevent his being a charge on his family. The government spends huge sums every year on the construction of new schools, kindergartens and playgrounds, new theaters, parks and recreation centers.

And every phase of Soviet life is planned out according to the desire of the people. The production schedule of a factory is planned in advance by the workers in that factory. All the plans are co-ordinated into one big commission of representatives of all occupations and all sections. In this way things are accomplished which would be impossible in the planless chaos of capitalistic America.

In ten years the people of the Soviet Union have performed a miracle. They have transformed a backward, feudal country into a modern industrial nation. And they have achieved and consolidated the triumph of Socialism in their country. Such a miracle could not be performed by people living under a dictatorship of a minority over a majority of the people. Such a miracle can only occur when the creative energy and genius of a people is set free by liberating them from the oppression of an exploiting class. It can only occur when the collective effort and initiative of a people is guided by a vanguard party, such as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under its great leader, Joseph Stalin.

Today the reactionary big capitalists of the world, fearful of losing their power to the workers and the common people, are conducting a world-wide drive to stop all progress and establish fascism. They are carrying on this offensive in some form in every country. But the victory of Socialism has been so firmly established in the U. S. S. R. under the First and Second



These are the children of workers in Moscow factories. These little sun-tanned and strong volley ball players receive the best possible medical attention free at day nurseries, run by the factories their parents work in.

Five Year Plans that the reactionaries cannot carry on any broad campaign in the Soviet Union. They are forced to get individuals to act as spies for them to prepare for a war against the Soviet Union and to act as wreckers to try to slow down the triumphant growth of Socialist industry. But, even in this attempt, they have failed. The vigilance of the people has exposed these spies and wreckers and gotten rid of them.

The capitalist-controlled newspapers of our country have nothing to say about the tremendous victories of the Soviet Union on the economic front. But, when a nest of spies and wreckers in the Soviet Union is uncovered and executed, they shriek "dictatorship" and raise a great outcry. But they will not succeed in deceiving American workers by this trick, because these are the same newspapers that tell lies against the unions and against the interests of the common people in our own country.

Side by side with the achievement of Socialism in the Soviet Union goes the achievement of a new and higher form of democracy. The first great forward step in this direction was the adoption last year, of the new Soviet constitution, the most democratic constitution ever written. The fact that this new constitution could be adopted indicates that economic classes, and with them the exploitation of man by man, are disappearing from the Soviet Union and Socialism is progressing toward its final and most perfect form—Communism, the classless society.

BUT the people of the U. S. S. R. are far from contented with the magnificent things they have already accomplished. Instead, they are already drawing up a Third Five Year Plan, more ambitious than the other two, which will be launched next year.

Typical of this new plan is the proposed rebuilding of Moscow. The Municipal Construction Department of the Moscow Soviet has announced that the next five years will see the construction in the city of 133 new apartment houses to house 2,000,000 people. But this is only 25 per cent of the total planned construction for the city, which includes 319 new school

buildings, 60 hospitals and maternity homes, 700 children's nurseries, 549 kindergartens, and many other buildings.

A part of this vast plan is already under way and construction is going on all over Moscow. An American woman who recently visited the Soviet capital wrote back to a friend: "The town is terribly overcrowded, but it is being rebuilt overnight. It's as if New York were building three new subways, extending Central Park down to the Battery, tearing down the slums and building ten Empire State buildings all at the same time."

Or, as if Birmingham were extending Avondale park to 20th Street, building ten new Comer Buildings and tearing down and rebuilding all the slum areas.

Frank Lloyd Wright, world-famous American architect, recently went to Moscow as a guest of the Congress of Soviet Architects. He saw the plans for the rebuilding of the capital city, and for other vast Soviet construction projects. The following is part of what he had to say:

"Recently at the Moscow building exhibit I saw a splendid exposition of plans and models for the buildings, towns and cities in the Soviet Union. That exhibit could not be equalled in the world today. . . .

"I believe the Russian people to be naturally sensitive to beauty, kind at heart, generous by nature—strong, and in the long run, hardest of all peoples to fool by superficial pretense. . . .

"If they worship heroes—well—the heroes now belong to them—to the people.

"If they are proud of their achievements, those achievements are by way of their own heads and hands. Achievements, too, belong to the people. . . .

"Out of the new Freedom that is the U. S. S. R. should come other great art treasures for the future. I am taking back home with me an impression of vast accomplishments—the greatest hope I have ever had for the future life on earth."

FOR A MEMORIAL

Nellie Clark, young Georgia textile worker, died a little less than a year ago as a result of the brutal treatment she received at the hands of Atlanta police when she was arrested for organizational activities. A member of the Communist Party, she was known and loved by hundreds of workers for her devotion to the common people's struggle for a better life in the South.

Her grave beneath Stone Mountain is unadorned because her parents are unable to buy a tombstone. But her friends and comrades, feeling that her last resting place should be made known, have decided to set up a monument to the devoted work of this tireless young worker who gave her life that others following her might have more than she had. They ask all of our readers to contribute whatever they can afford to help erect a tombstone at Nellie Clark's grave. Contributions should be addressed to Nellie Clark Memorial Fund, Box 1871, Birmingham, Ala.

That they may live

The path of destruction cut by Franco's troops on peaceful Spanish cities dispossessed and made homeless countless adults as well as thousands of children. Dr. Norman Bethune, world famous child specialist of Canada, who has just returned from war-torn Spain where he has been mending shattered little bodies, says:

"There were thousands of children along the road. We counted at least 5,000 under 10 years of age, at least 1,000 of them bare foot and clad only in single garments. They staggered and stumbled, with cut and bruised feet, along the white flint road while the fascists bombed them from the air and from the sea.

"Our cars were besieged by a mob of frantic mothers and fathers who with tired, outstretched arms, held up to us their children with their faces swollen and congested by four days of hunger and sun dust.

SAVE THE CHILD VICTIMS OF FASCISM

"How could we choose between a child dying of dysentery and a mother stolidly watching us with great, sunken eyes carrying against her open breasts her child born on the road two days before."

Multiply Bilbao a thousand fold and you have the picture of the plight of hundreds of thousands of Spanish children. These children must be fed; they must be clothed, and they must be housed in the hundreds of homes the Spanish government has taken for this purpose.

Here is YOUR chance to alleviate tremendous suffering and give a home to these countless fascist-made orphans where their little worn bodies will receive expert nursing care. **DO NOT DELAY.** Send your contribution immediately.

- () \$550 will equip a home for 20 war orphans
- () 250 will equip bedrooms for 20 war orphans
- () 180 will maintain a home for 20 war orphans for 1 month
- () 100 will equip a kitchen and office for 20 war orphans
- () 50 will equip a classroom for 20 war orphans
- () 30 will provide equipment for 1 war orphan
- () 12 will equip an infirmary for 20 war orphans
- () 9 will maintain 1 war orphan for 1 month
- () 4 will maintain 1 war orphan for 2 weeks
- () 2 will maintain 1 war orphan for 1 week
- () 1 will maintain 1 war orphan for 1/2 week

Make checks payable to Helen W. Gifford, Treasurer, North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—381 Fourth Avenue, New York.

My contribution of \$..... is to be applied to the purpose checked.

Name.....

Address.....



NORTH AMERICAN COMMITTEE TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY
 Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Chairman
 Rev. Herman F. Reissig, Executive Secretary