# Workers

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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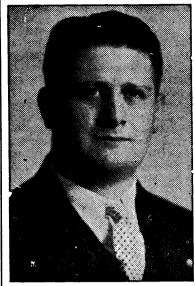
### Huge Budget For Big Navy

#### F.D.R.'s Special Message Makes Arms Outlay Two Billions

Speeding up America's drive to war, President Roosevelt sent a special message on "national defense" to Congress last week. In it, he called for an extraordinary outlay of 800,000,000, in addition to the regular budget provisions of a billion dollars for the coming fiscal year. The proposed expenditure, to be implemented by the Vinson Naval Bill, concerns itself almost exclusively with the creation of "navy second to none," which the President considered the chief task in view of the increased probability

It is clear now that the closest understanding exists between Great Britain and the United States as to common action in the Far East against the Japanese threat to their imperialist position. The Roosevelt message was hailed in the British press as a victory for the Tories, the war party of the empire. England looks upon this naval building program of American imperialism as an aid to the establishment of common front against Japan.

Anti-war organizations have already expressed their hostility to the armaments program. It is necessary for labor immediately to make known its opposition to the Vinson Bill to create a navy to defend the vested interests of American employing class overseas.



RICHARD T. FRANKENSTEEN

### U.A.W. Hits Relief Bias

#### Frankensteen Appeals To **Detroit Council On** Mayor's Ruling

Detroit, Mich. The Detroit Common Council last week gave a public hearing to Richard T. Frankensteen, United Auto Workers vice-president, who protested against the decision of the Welfare Commission to sever its connection with the union.

The action of the commission was due to pressure brought to bear on the members by Mayor Richard Reading, Frankensteen declared. The arrangement between (Continued on Page 6)

## Lewis Calls for AFL-CIO Unity

## A.F.L. Council In

The next steps in the crusade against the C.I.O. were the main topic of discussion at the quarterly session of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. that began at Miami on January 24.

Exactly what the action of the council will be is not yet clear. That no real steps towards unity will be forthcoming became obvious when President Green summarily rejected John L. Lewis's proposal for the free admission of all C.I.O. unions into the Federation. There is great pressure for the immediate expulsion of the suspended unions, or at least some of them, such as the U.M.W.A. and the A.C.W. On the other hand, there is the feeling that it might be more advisable to play a game of "watchful waiting," meanwhile playing upon differences of opinion in the C.I.O. with the hope of disrupting and destroying it.

The same problem arose in connection with the appeal of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor against President Green's orders to split the labor movement of that state by expelling all C.I.O. (Continued on Page 6)

## Bare Child Labor Fraud

By a vote of 124 to 17, the New Tork State Assembly passed the Nunan-Moffat resolution memorialzing Congress to pass the Wheeler-Johnson Bill, now before that body. During the heated debate on the subject, the A.L.P. delegation took a sharp stand against the resolution, pointing out that the action of the majority of both old parties vas an evasion of their responsibilty in ratifying the child-labor amendment, defeated by these same people in the last session of the State Legislature.

A sensation was caused when the A.L P. Assemblyman Monaco made n sharp attack against the "organbeyond his words. American capized church" as the "invisible powitalist democracy, determined to er" that had been strong enough to defeat the child-labor amendment last year.

In opposing the Nunan-Moffat resolution, the A.L.P. Assemblymen made it clear that the measures proposed were a "hoax" impossible of enforcement. "We, who come from the ranks of labor. speak from the heart of labor," said A.L.P. Assemblyman Brenner. "We know its soul. We know (Continued on Page 5)

#### Miners Meet Hears Ban on Wage Cuts Attack On C.I.O.

Nearly 2,000 delegates, representing over 6,000 locals with about 600,000 members in 34 coal-producing states of the United States and Canada, met last week at Washington in the biennial convention of the United Mine Workers of America. In addition to the problems of the U.M.W.A. proper, a number of very important questions of concern to the labor movement as a whole came up for consideration.

In his opening address, President John L. Lewis described the course of the present economic depression in its effects upon the workers and came out with a strong warning against the slashing of wages and prices, as a way out of the crisis. Utilizing the convention as a tribune from which to address the country as a whole, Lewis declared with great emphasis that the labor movement did not intend to take any wage-cuts under pressure of the present depression.

Lewis also took the opportunity to make another appeal to the A. F. of L. to open its doors to the millions of C.I.O. members without discrimination or restriction. Let "charters be issued to the C.I.O. unions," he urged, "and later a joint convention called to arrange the details. It will put the controversy back in the ranks of labor where it belongs and not in the public yard."

William Green, presiding at the sessions of the Executive Council of the A.F. of L. at Miami, prompty rejected Mr. Lewis's proposal.

Naturally, the CI.O. was one of the central points of discussion, since the U.M.W.A. has, from the very beginning, been the back-(Continued on Page 6)

### Farrell, Hacker At Feb. 4 Affair

James T. Farrell, author of Studs Lonigan" and one of America's most significant writers, and Louis M. Hacker, Marxist historian, will be among the speakers at the send-off party for the delegates of the Independent Communist Labor League to the international revolutionary socialist conference in Paris. The affair will take place on Friday. February 4, at Rivera Hall, 131 West 33rd Street.

The send-off party will be in the nature of a demonstration of solidarity with the revolutionary socialist forces fighting reaction and fascism against the greatest odds thruout the world, especially with the revolutionary anti-fascists in Germany and the P.O.U.M. in Spain.

Other speakers at the send-off will be Lewis Corey, outstanding economist and writer, Jay Lovestone, Bertram D. Wolfe and Edward Welsh. Charles S. Zimmerman, head of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., will be chair-

Tickets are \$1. All funds will go to the P.O.U.M. and to underground Germany.

## The Tory Roosevelt

(We publish below the front-page editorial article of the January 7, 1938 issue of the Tribune, an English socialist paper published in London. The Editor).

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S speech to Congress . . . conveyed a message of great importance to all men and nations.

"It would seem," he said, "that world peace thru international agreements is most safe in the hands of democratic representative

in and by those nations where democracy has been discarded or has never developed." Here is a clean bill of health to

those governments which, under the mask of democracy, pursue imperialist aims and are prepared to go to war for objects which menace true democracy as strongly as the programs of the fascist dictatorships. . . . This is a misreading of facts which every member of the labor movement and every lover of peace will hotly contest.

governments-or, in other words

peace is most greatly jeopardized

It cannot be said too clearly that the aims of capitalism, whether directed by a fascist dictator or by so-called democratic politicians, are essentially identical and mean the same ruthless exploitation for workers, with mass unemployment. the same destruction of political liberty and the same drive to war.

President Roosevelt's conception of democracy is thus shown to be the same as that of Neville Chamberlain and Anthony Eden. It expresses itself in the same language and adopts the same means to demonstrate its will for peace-rearmament.

For it came as no surprise that President Roosevelt, after denouncing the war aims of the fascist dictatorships, made a characteristically veiled threat to pile up even

Here, again, the facts go far protect and extend its economic dominion, is already rearming as fast as possible and the Panay incident was welcomed as a godsend by the American armament ring

The need of American, in common with British, capitalism to pursue economic expansion at almost any cost, is made clear by the internal situation of the United (Continued on Page 2)

## SWOC Backs Ludlow Bill In Strong Anti-War Stand

Committee, with nearly 500,000 members in its ranks, went on record against war, war preparations and a foreign policy leading to war, in a resolution adopted at its recent convention at Pittsburgh. The same resolution endorsed the LaFollette-Ludlow Amendment for a popular referendum before the declaration of a foreign war.

This resolution, headed "Requiring a National Referendum for Declaration of War and for the Withdrawal of American Troops and Civilians from China," served as the basis of the very similar resolution adopted by the United the dying; and

Automobile Workers three weeks WHEREAS, an attempt is now ago. Following are the main points included in the S.W.O.C. statement:

- 1. A denunciation of the organized campaign to drive this country into a war in the Far East "merely for the purpose of protecting the vested interests" of American big business.
- 2. "Wholehearted endorsement" of the constitutional amendment for a war referendum.
- 3. The withdrawal of American armed forces from the Far East.
- 4. A foreign policy not for the "protection of (American) vested interests in foreign countries" but "expressing the wholehearted desire of the American people for international peace."

Altho this resolution was adoptit has so far received no publicity at all in the press, including the Stalinist press which devoted columns to the S.W.O.C. convention.

The Steel Workers Organizing | So complete is the conspiracy of silence that meets any important expression of anti-war sentiment in this country today!

The S.W.O.C. resolution is herewith reproduced in full: WHEREAS, in recent months

the international situation has become most acute with the undeclared wars now under way in Spain and in China; and

WHEREAS, labor is most vitally interested in any policy of this country which may involve the people of this country in a war with another nation, because of the fact | more arms. that, in a war, labor does most of

being made by the organized press of the country to involve the American people in a conflict with Japan merely for the purpose of protecting the vested interests of a few large scale American corporations in China, such as the Standard Oil Companies, and, for the protection of such interests, American Marines and soldiers have been dispatched to China to remain in the (Continued on Page 2)

#### SEND OFF TO I.C.L.L. DELEGATES TO PARIS CONFERENCE

Speakers: James T. Farrell, Louis ed as far back as December 1937, M. Hacker, Lewis Corey, Jay Lovestone, Edward Welsh, Bertram D. Wolfe and others.

Chas. S. Zimmerman FRIDAY, FEB. 4 **CHAIRMAN** 

RIVERA HALL 131 W. 33 Street

8 P. M.

Admission: \$1. Refreshments Served

Stalinists Strengthen Fascism

thought it worth repeating—and

less resolve to seize power' by any

ocratic republic, while repulsing the

fascist invasion, was stabbed in the

then we, like our brothers of the

This is a pledge to play a coun-

I want to emphasize that al-

ready, now, the Communist Party

s using the slogan of "the strug-

gle against fascism" to strengthen

certain fascist tendencies develop-

ing here at home. How? I enum-

erate a few moves in that direc-

he Executive. By whitewashing the

By whitewashing and endorsin

the Roosevelt housing-plan fraud.

By endorsing and urging Roose-

By endorsing his war prepara-

By developing a war psychology.

By urging a classless national

I quote now the Christmas Eve

The Communist Party is sup-

known as "Change The World" carry out the socialist revolution."

plementing this direct campaign

which reads: "Scratch an isola-

By fostering the "Stand behind

velt to carry out more vigorously

crime against Spain.

his Chicago war speech.

the President" attitude.

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

(This is the second in a series of

TARL BROWDER has sunk so

In the Defense of the Spanish Re-

The speech "on Spain" complete-

puppet dictatorship in Cuba. The

go, which has just murdered 12,000

series of wars of conquest and

solent fascist states all over the

world. Already, they have invaded

the Americas, have seized Brazil.

right at our doorstep, are taking

over Cuba and are preparing an

armed insurrection in Mexico

against the Cardenas republic'

This, at the expense of the Span-

ish people, is a whitewash of Amer-

cian imperialism. The welfare not

only of American imperialism now

concerns Earl Browder, but even

of French and British imperialism.

He continues: "It would mean con-

verting China into a Japanese col-

ony, and immediate menace to

French Indo-China, India Australia

(Emphasis mine—B.D.W.).

have massacred 8,000 Haitians

bloody dictatorship in San Domin- harmless.

China they will surely open up a working class.

Roosevelt's Chicago Speech."

recently.—The Editor.)

articles based on the stenogram of the steps "to aid the Spanish people,"

low that he does not hesitate to I think it worth repeating here:

play with the Spanish issue in or- "The Communist Party repudiates

der to sing the song of prepared- now, as in the past, all theories

ness for the U.S. I have here in and porposals looking toward a

10th, a speech by Earl Browder any utopia upon the majority of

at the Hippodrome: "Next Steps the people. We repudiate the 'reck-

public." A headline in this article minority. If there should arise in

ly whitewashes American imperial- back by the 'uncontrollable ex-

ism. Now, the United States has tremists' (a minority of the anar-

United States has endorsed and Spanish Communist Party, would

supported a bloody dictatorship be in the forefront to suppress

has set up and supports a agents of fascism, and render them

Haitian toilers. How does Browder ter-revolutionary role in the next

fight this ruthless imperialism in war, even before it is asked. I say,

Latin America? I quote: "If Ger- this is a new low in the entire his-

man and Italian fascism are vic- tory of strike-breaking and treason

torious in Spain, and Japan crushes in the history of the international

aggression on the part of the in Strengthening The Fascist Trend

Brazil. The United States such 'extremists', who are really

endorsed and supported a bloody chists and the Trotskyite P.O.U.M.)

the Daily Worker of December forcible imposition of socialism

By Politicus

NO stranger spectacle has crossed the political stage of the country in a long time than the parade of tycoons in blustering undress before the Senate Committee on Unemployment Relief. For three weeks, Senator Byrnes and his associates cross-examined such leaders of industry as Lammot DuPont, and Labor Council, was discussed Knudsen of auto, Pelley of the railroads, Wood of Sears Roebuck. Fairless of steel; such high eminences of the administration as Marriner S. Eccles and Secretary Wallace, and various 21. Allan Haywood, regional di-

One uninitiated in the game might be led to expect that the "radical" politicians of the New Deal, or some of the trade unionists might have hinted at the relationship between the present economic crisis and our economic system of profit-making; that the captains of said Mr. Towers." industry would be loud in their denunciations of those who even so much as insinuated that the motive that industry is run for profit is force of industry was anything positively heretical. Wherein lies other than the highest ideals of the sly hypocrisy of both the admaterial and spiritual service to ministration and its opponents in

Quite the contrary, however, took place. It was the capitalists who protested that industry was run for profit; who urged again and again that any "remedy" for the crisis take into consideration that men cannot be employed to produce unless the products are saleable in a profitable market; who insisted complicated political intrigue but was governed solely by the possibility of sure, quick and high

For example, William Knudsen, head of General Motors, informed the Byrnes Committee that his corporation had laid off 60,000 workers. Instantly, he was asked by one of the bright boys of the "council of the wise, rich and well-born," as to the possibilities of the immediate rehiring of these workers. Knudsen implied that he would be overjoyed to accomplish such a feat (which is doubtful) but what, he plaintively inquired, would these workers do? Automobiles. Mr. Knudsen informed an astounded Senate committee, are not manufactured to fill the actual physical need for cars but to fill an "effective" need, that is, one backed up by money.

Or, consider the dry and slightly saddened wit of Walter S. Tower, New York Times reports the scene its socialist opposition.

(Continued from Page 1)

RESOLVED that this conven-

tion does hereby give its whole-

hearted endorsement to the consti-

engage in any war other than one

of defense against invasion of this

RESOLVED, that the President

of the United States immediately

citizens and their families in the

war area that an opportunity will

be afforded to them to be removed

from such war area and that, un-

less they afford themselves of such

opportunity, no further protection

ican government and that, after

having given full opportunity to all

such American citizens and their

families to be removed from such

war area, the President withdraw

RESOLVED, that it is the ex-

pression of this convention that the

United States from China; and be

all of the armed forces of the

it further

will be given them by the Amer-

issue a warning to all American

country; and be it further

war area; now therefore, be it

SWOC Backs Ludlow Bill

national referendum on the ques-

tion of whether this country should the American people for interna-

tional peace.

"The Senator pressed Mr. Tower o say what he felt might be done to help the steel industry rise from

its present low production status. "'It would help some if some people were to place some orders,

Now in this era of the "sit-down

strike of big capital" the notion the ruling class? Both wings of the ruling capitalist class of this country are determined that the economic crisis shall not appear to have its roots in the economic system, in the very laws of capitalist development and decline. Both groups, New Deal and anti-New Deal, are straining all their ener-

gies to stamp this crisis as stemming from political causes: for those captains of industry who testified at these hearings, the causes of the crisis are to be found n the program of the New Deal, in its "encouragement" to labor, its corporate taxation policy, its social legislation; for the New Deal, the crisis is manufactured by the opposition of a "small group" of wicked capitalists, who refuse to nvest capital and set the wheels of industry turning, because of their political opposition to the program

Thus, the capitalist class, as who e, defends the profit system, attempts to hide the fact that no political program which accepts as xiomatic the perpetuation of captalism (the professed philosophy of Roosevelt) can overcome by legislation, decree or pious wish, the succession of crises which constantly increase the misery of the nasses and which increasingly speed the drive towards war.

It is against this political unity executive secretary of the Amer- of the adherents of the profit-makican Iron and Steel Institute. The ing system that labor must decelop

A YEAR SUB

6M05.60 E

## Zimmerman Declares CIO Council is Help to Unity

to coordinate the activities of the C.I.O. unions barred from the A F. of L.-controlled Central Trades at a conference of a number of C.I.O. unions held here on January rector of the C.I.O., was chosen to

serve as temporary chairman and Charles S. Zimmerman, manager of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W., temporary secretary. The conference considered rules

and regulations to govern the funcioning of such an industrial union ouncil as well as other matters. The proposals finally approved are to be sent to all local unions of C.I.O. affiliates in the city for dis- like for my political opinions is not cussion and approval or amend-

the response of the unions. ence William Green, president of whatever for his remarks. No fairthe A. F. of L., publicly denounced minded person can regard as a Eimmerman as a "Lovestone com- 'splitting manouver' the action of munist" and condemned the move a number of C.I.O. unions of this as a "splitting manouver, obviously city in getting together to discuss and Labor Council. Nor is there designed to embarrass President how best to unite their efforts for

The question of setting up an in- | forts to bring peace." In reply to dustrial union council in New York, this outburst, Charles S. Zimmerman declared in a press statemen

> "President Green of the A. F. of L. has seen fit to launch a public attack on the conference recently held by some C.I.O. unions in this city to discuss the advisability of setting up an industrial union council. Not only does he single me out for special denunciation because of my political affiliations, but he brands the whole conference as a 'splitting manouver, obviously designed to embarrass President Dubinsky in his commendable efforts to promote peace between the A

very important in itself and should nent, further action to be based not be allowed to becloud the issue. On the real issue, it seems to me, Immediately after this confer- Mr. Green has no justification

"Mr. Green's expression of dis-

### !??!

Communist Party o Maryland on the occasion of the Lenin Memorial Meeting, January 30, 1938:

"Lenin would hail Secretary Ickes and Assistant Attorney Jackson for their battle against the American 'sixty families' of fascistmonopolists.... And it is the fear of the spirit of Lenin that is abroad in the world today that prevents the economic royalists of America from carrying thru their threats to assassinate Presi-

Apparently, stark, raving lunacy is now part of the Stalinist course!

dent Roosevelt."

egislation, extending aid to weaker organizations and otherwise asisting each other. Whatever split there is in the labor movement of this city was obviously created many months ago when Mr. Green ordered the expulsion of these unions from the Central Trades any justification for reading into Dubinsky in his commendable ef- the purpose of promoting desirable our actions any idea of 'embarrass-

> and the Philippines." When he begins defending in perialism, he goes the whole hog, not only with the American government but with the governments of all our potential or imaginary al- editorial of the Daily Worker:lies. He goes further—he white- three sentences of it—"Landon's "workers government" ("prolewashes the Roosevelt act of message to Roosevelt represents tarian-socialist dictatorship") restrangling the Spanish government a chiding of certain Congressional by embargo: "When the United cliques which resorted to an ir- Russia would arouse to revolution Russia. States government, thru its Con- responsible advocacy of the Lud- the working masses of Western gress, shamefully broke all its low Amendment in their efforts to Europe, which was already ripe for treaty obligations with the Spanish knife effective discussion on Amer- socialism, and the socialist prolerepublic and imposed a blockade ica's course following the Panay tariat there, once in power, would meney, in the first place—conductthat the U.S. Congress, in its pres- begin at the water's edge,' not of In 1905, Lenin had already clearly for the "revolutionary democracy" able support for democracy." It supremacy. . . . It is for Roosevelt spective:6 was Roosevelt, the President, by to move boldly forward, as the executive order, that promulgated American people desire it." the embargo, and Browder uses it for an attack against Congress and for the strengthening of the arm

#### Whitewashing Fascism

ist dictatorship for war purposes.

ism of other potential allies in his Communist Party further strength- shevik paper, Sotsial-Demokrat, democracy. imagined line-up for the coming ens the fascist tendencies in Amerhis remarks on Poland: "There is potentially fascist organizations. I ception finds a very similar forminformation that the Chicago quote now from the West Side ulation:7 speech, coming at a moment when Flash, published every week by the the Polish fascists were pressing 10th A.D. unit of the Communist for complete fascization of the Pol- Party, and not without the sancish state and alignment with Hit- tion and direction of the New York | Social-Democracy, June-July 1905. ler, heartened the Polish anti-fasc- district office and not against the ists sufficiently to defeat at least line of the Central Committee of Proposed by the Editors of the Sot- his views, on April 17, in his progressive in our culture; still for a time this conspiracy." In the party. The West Side Flash sial-Demokrat, in Sotsial-Demokrat, famous "April theses" before a worse, the crisis threatens to stifle other words, Poland is not yet fasc- heads this issue: "We, The Peo- October 26, 1915.

| ist because it has not joined Hitler! | ple . . ." Its only other headline Still in the name of the next is: "American Legion Promotes Peace." I quote from this article on report on "Problems of Strategy and Browder repeats the pledge of the the recent convention of the Amer-Policy in the Struggle Against War" Communist Party of the United ican Legion:

made by Bertram D. Wolfe to the States to be the agent of counter-"The American Legion, now plenary session of the I.C.L.L. held revolution in connection with the holding its convention in N.Y. coming war. Maybe some of us feels that the peace of the U.S. is don't know the language of that in immediate danger. pledge. At any rate, Browder

"That is why the question peace is playing such a prominent role in the Legion's activities.

that a conference of all progressive groups in the United States standing for peace would really and precious thing whose appreciarepresent the overwhelming majorty of the American people

"Such a conference could be a remendous force to arouse action says: "The Struggle For Spain is America anything similar to the a Struggle For Implementing situation in Spain, where the Demto maintain peace.

"We of the West Side should see to it that our boys in the American Legion should support and promote such a program.'

(The next article in this series will

By WILL HERBERG

(Concluded from last week)

TNDERLYING all the activities

of the Bolsheviks from 1905 to

formulated theory of the course

and perspectives of the Russian

revolution. In its social content,

the revolution would be bourgeois-

democratic in character-here they

agreed with the Mensheviks and

disagreed with Trotsky, who insist-

ed that it would be proletarian and

socialist. Because of Russia's his-

torical backwardness which faced

it with the tasks of a bourgeois

revolution in the twentieth cen-

tury, the revolution could achieve

success only under the hegemony

of the proletariat in close alliance

with the revolutionary petty bour-

geoisie ("revolutionary-democratic

dictatorship of the proletariat and

peasantry")—here in disagreement

with both the Mensheviks, who

placing Czarism. Revolution in

proposed "a few theses" written

1917 was a consistent and carefully

Lenin's Genius As

By LEWIS COREY is a slave, where there is democra-(The paragraphs below were delivred as a radio address on Fanuary

Capitalist Decay Stifles Progress

T may seem strange to speak of a cultural crisis in America when very one is anxious about the ecoomic crisis that now prevails in our country. But the two crises are related to one another. How closely they are related may become clear when I say that to me culture is something different from that rare

8. 1938.—The Editor.)

tion is limited to a small elite. Culture is a part of social living. There is no truly great culture unless it draws within itself increasngly larger masses of the people. Culture is truly great where all people may work in dignity and ecurity, live in peace and fraternity with one another; where they are not frustrated by barriers of privilege and caste and where they may all aspire to continuously finer appear in the coming issue.—The ways of living. Culture is greater

and similar institutions must be

regarded as organs of insurrection

as organs of revolutionary power

. The social content of the im

pending revolution in Russia can

only be the revolutionary-democra-

tic dictatorship of the proletariat

and peasantry. . . . 6. The task of

the proletariat of Russia is to com-

plete the bourgeois-democratic re-

indle the socialist revolution in

Europe. The second has now be-

come extremely close to the first;

question of the different classes

nevertheless, it still remains a

that are collaborating with the

proletariat of Russia; for the first

task, the collaborators are the

petty-bourgeois peasantry of Rus

sia; for the second, it is the prole-

One thing is clear: the classical

cialist revolution in Western Eu-

rope, which itself would follow a

Then came 1917 and the Feb-

bourgeois-democratic revolution i

tariat of other countries.'

6. V. I. Lenin: Two Tactics of ceptions in remarkably clear form riers of caste.

(Continued on Page 5)

volution in Russia in order

cy instead of oligarchy, where there is peace instead of war. Achievements Of Capitalism

One of the greatest of all cultural achievements was the Enlightenment of the earlier stages of capi talism in the 18th century—the Enlightenment that preached faith in man, faith in reason, faith in progress. All that is creative in odern culture is closely linked to the faith of the Enlightenment That faith in man, in reason, in

progress was most highly realized n the America of a hundred years ago. In a new world freed from the tyranny of the old, all things seemed possible and aspiration was unbounded. There was measurable economic equalitarianism in the form of widespread ownership of small productive property. Political inequality was destroyed and democracy was the great ideal. Opportunity appeared unlimited. The right to education was granted to all, and education meant the fulfillment of equality, the democratic solution of social problems, the reative realization of new and higher ways of life. Peace and progress everlasting were considered possible in a new world that was not oppressed by monarchical

Political Leader Whatever one may think of that earlier culture, it was animated by faith in man and no truly great culture can arise without that faith

> The promise of that earlier culture was only partly fulfilled. For the masses of our people were converted into propertyless dependents on the property of a small minority. Political democracy was increasingly limited by increasing conomic inequality. The masters of great wealth acquired the culture of artificial social graces and of museums in their homes, but the democratic culture of the masses was restricted. Yet aspiration resecond and separate task, for it is mained and the hope of greater

#### Capitalism An Obstacle Today

Today, aspiration and progress are threatened by the permanent economic crisis of capitalism. Men today cannot aspire freely because they are oppressed by increasing Bolshevik scheme contemplated a unemployment and economic inselooked to the liberals to take the socialist revolution in Russia only curity. The hope of greater prolead, and Trotsky, who spoke of a as a third stage, following a so- gress is menaced by interests which progress would destroy. The economic crisis creates

new and wholly unnecessary poverty at a moment when we possess all the technical and economic Juary revolution. The Bolshevik means for the final abolition of leaders in Russia-Stalin and Ka- poverty. Economic opportunity is against it, solely on the ground bombings. . . . But Landon took turn around and help the Russian ed their policy on the basis of this because there are scores of thouthat it was in trouble and suffering care to tell Roosevelt that he was workers advance towards the so-scheme, which to them meant that sands of unemployed youth coming invasion, this was a demonstration speaking only of the conflicts that cialist revolution in that country. the basic task of the moment was out of our colleges; girls and boys ent composition, is a very unrelidomestic struggles for political formulated this three-stage per (proletariat and radical petty unable to get the chance to work bourgeoisie) to complete the bour- at the job. If work cannot be pro-"We must not be afraid of a geois-democratic revolution, with vided for our educated vouth there complete victory for social-demo-cracy in the democratic revolution no thought of socialism for which Russia was obviously not yet "ripe" cation. The economic crisis multi-. for such victory will enable us and which would become a pos- plies discontent among the disposfor war by the vilest attacks on to rouse Europe and the socialist sibility only after the triumph of sessed masses of our people and, of the Executive, in other words, those who are against war. Or proletariat of Europe will then socialism in Western Europe. This since democracy gives that disconnected the socialism in Western Europe. for a deliberate step towards fasc- December 3, we find a headline in throw off the yoke of the bour- orientation brought the Bolsheviks tent a chance to express itself, the Daily Worker under the column geoisie and, in its turn, help us to very close to the Left Mensheviks there is a growing reaction against and, indeed, there was a movement, democracy among the ruling class. Just ten years later, towards the supported by Stalin, for the fusion The great ideals of democracy and Next, he whitewashes the fasc- tionist and find a fascist." The end of 1915, the editors of the Bol- of the two "factions" of social- equality are rejected. Consider the words of one influential American On April 16, Lenin returned to educator: "Democracy minimizes "war against fascism." Here are ica by endorsing semi-fascist and by Lenin, in which the same con- Russia from his long exile. Even distinctions of worth, idealizes the before setting foot on Russian soil, mass, flatters the man in the he had given deep thought to the street." That educator makes a "4. Soviets of workers deputies rapidly developing Russian situ- mockery of the ideals of education ation and had formulated his con- and urges the erection of new bar-

> 7. V. I. Lenin: A Few Theses, Now that he was back, he presented threatens all that is democratic and (Continued on Page 5)

in his series of "Letters from Afar." Hence, the economic crisis

## The Tory Roosevelt

(Continued from Page 1) tates, to which President Roose-

There, as elsewhere, capitalism is in crisis. The upward movement workers grows worse; there are and abroad. strikes all over the country; and over twelve million are unemploy-

Against this state of affairs, paper sword of heart appeal and is capable of sustaining it socialcalls upon capital and labor to get together for mutual advantages. The New Deal was never able to give practical economic shape to this illusory, because economically

Here, again, the President stands n the same ground as Neville politician, must resist all necessary economic change and content himself with parroting the sentimental appeal of his political ancestor, In Strong Anti-War Stand Disraeli.

foreign policy of the United States system, denouncing the tendency in our social order. shall not be formulated or made of American capital to agglomerdependent upon the protection of ate into trusts.

His predecessor, Theodore Roothe vested property interests in foreign countries of the large cor- sevelt, over twenty years ago, used introduced in Congress requiring a that such foreign policy should ex- just as ineffectually; for it is the and trustify against the economic security and well-being of the

In all practical sense, President Roosevelt pursues the same aim as Neville Chamberlain—as Hitler, for the matter of that—namely, the stabilization of capitalism at the highest possible economic level.

The consequences of this must e an ever more ruthless fleecing of the workers and an increased and increasing army of permanent unemployed. And it matters not at all that the President uses language which at times seems "revolutionary." On the economic field, deeds alone matter.

It is not given to mortal man to run with the hare of capitalism and hunt with the hounds of labor; he must end by exposing his lack of social understanding and by betraying what he thinks is his mission.

people all over the world.

To British workers it should l which followed the great slump particularly instructive, for it ceased some time ago and for the serves to uncover the deceptive past six months, there has been a pretensions of the National govsharp descent into another depres- ernment in its claim to represent sion. The condition of the mass of the interests of democracy at home The interests of democracy and

capitalism are irreconcilable. De-

The supreme object lesson to British workers of President Roosevelt's address is a warning against all attempts to square the circle of supplying the bread-andbutter needs of the masses and en-

It also points a path for workers to follow politically away from lister motives into my actions or to all reformists, who claim to be attempt to create or play upon able to establish peace and pro- differences where they do not exist sperity without essential and, in a the brutalities of the private profit real sense, revolutionary, change stretch of the imagination, contri-

mocracy can only be established in its true form by socialism, which operation to the mutual advantage

Chamberlain who, as a capitalist suring peace thru capitalism, however "advanced" and "reformed."

contrary, we are all vitally interested in achieving sound unity in the labor movement and I sincerely believe that our attempt to coordinate the activities of the C.I.O. unions of this city can become a The speech to Congress reveals | real contribution to this cause. It the impossibility of necessary so- seems to me that what we are dovelt devoted the greater part of his cial change under capitalism, not ing should help eliminate any posonly to the Americans but to sibility of mutual aggression or 'raiding' and should facilitate cooperation between C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions of this city on the economic and political fields. In recent months, there have been a number of welcome examples of such cooperation on both sides in strike situations in this city. Coordination among the C.I.O. unions against the Central Trades Council but may be made to promote coof both C.I.O. and A. F. of L. That is why I am convinced that the steps we are taking in discussing the question of a C.I.O. industrial council are not in any sense hostile to the peace efforts of President Dubinsky or any one else but. may on the contrary, be made to con-

tribute to the same general aim. "If President Green is really so oncerned with achieving harmony n labor's ranks, he could do better. it seems to me, than to read sin--something that cannot, by any bute to the cause of unity."

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#### **WORKERS AGE**

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February 5, 1938.

#### "COLLECTIVE SECURITY" SELF-EXPOSED

THE sinister reality behind the glib phrase of "collective security" is revealed with startling clarity in the proposals on the Far-Eastern situation made by Walter Citrine, as head of the I.F.T.U., to the present session of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. The heart of these proposa's, which are detailed elsewhere in this issue, and the "indispensable condition" for any "concerted action," according to the I.F.T.U., is the following:

"An explicit guarantee of mutual aid from the United States of America, Great Britain, the Dominions, the U.S.S.R., France and the Netherlands in the event of a Japanese attack upon the armed forces or the territories of any of the participants....'

We can only be grateful for such a frank and forthright statement; it will help greatly to clear away the mists of confusion and deliberate fraud that have been raised by the war party to hide the true nature of "collective security." What are the immediate conclusions we can draw from the I.F. T.U. proposal?

"Concerted action" of the "great democracies" is utterly futile and meaningless unless it involves a mutual security pact in the form of a military alijance, that is, unless it clearly recognizes that such action is, in its very nature, essentially a prelude to war. What, then, becomes of the pretty fable of "collective security" as the "alternative" to war? An "alternative" to war should not require a military alliance as its "indispensable condition"

The "democratic" powers are to undertake to aid each other in case of a Japanese attack on their armed forces or territories. What are the "armed forces or territories" of Great Britain, of France or of the Netherlands open to Japanese attack? Does anybody in his right mind contemplate a Japanese invasion of Europe at the present time? Of course not! What is meant is a Japanese attack on the colonies of the "democratic" imperialist powers and on the armed forces stationed there! What is meant is a Japanese attack on Hongkong, on Singapore, on Indo-China, on the Dutch East Indies! "Collective security," therefore, means a mutual military alliance of the imperialist "democracies" to protect each other's colonies, each other's imperialistic loot, from the aggressions of hostile imperialist groups. In particular, it means for the United States to bind itself to go to war to guarantee the ill-gotten gains of the robber powers of Europe.

But more than that! It means for the Soviet Union to bind itself to do the same thing. When the Franco-Soviet pact was signed, we were emphatically assured that it definitely excluded Soviet assistance to France in "defense" of the latter's colonies. Now, in the name of "collective security," the Soviet Union is to place itself under the obligation of using its Red Army to secure the colonial possessions not only of France but of England and the Netherlands

In a word, "collective security" means collective accumulated loot of one group of imperialist robberpowers against the greedy aggressions of another.

And this outrageous proposal naturally meets with the enthusiastic approval of the right-wing socialists, the Stalinites and all other chauvinistic elements in labor and "liberal" ranks. In fact, it may well be regarded as the first fruits of the rapprochement between the I.F.T.U. and the Soviet trade unions. Apparently the latter regard it as their chief mission to convert the I.F.T.U. into an instrument of the bankrupt foreign policy of the Stalin regime. And in these efforts, they are sure to have the "cooperation" of Jouhaux and Citrine, for the Stalinist policy falls in only too well with the reactionary course of Anglo-French diplomacy.

Fortunately, anti-war sentiment is so strong among the American working masses that even President Green, who himself signed a circular letter in favor of "collective security" only a few weeks ago-together with Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker, by the way—was forced to say no to Citrine's kind invitation, Evidently public opinion has not yet been "prepared" to the point where I.F.T.U.

## UNEMPLOYMENT IN **NAZI GERMANY**

By S. AUFHAEUSER

(We publish below an article by S Authaueser on certain aspects of the German economic situation, written pecially for the Workers Age. Aufhaeuser, a Left socialist, was the head of the government employees federation in Germany before Hitler. Today, he is working in Czecho- of Nazi Germany employs fa lovakia for the International Federation of Trade Unions as head of its government-employees department.

THE EDITOR.)

UCH has been said in the international press concerning the reduction of unemployment in the Third Reich by the Hitler regime. In 1933, Germany counted nore than 6,000,000 unemployed; in 1937, this figure was reduced to 500,000. No other country has achieved such an amazing record. Let us see how the Nazis accomolished this feat.

What Are The Figures Worth?

First of all, how are unemployment statistics compiled? The official unemployment figures are The extraction of iron from the so computed exclusively on the basis called "native" mines takes four of persons registered at the state times as long as in the Swedish ands of anti-fascist workers who man mines are less rich in ores are shut off from any possibility of It is an indisputable fact that the finding employment, are either manufacture of synthetic products omitted or put down as "unemploy- requires more labor power than the ables." These "unemployables" are, processing of natural raw mateof course, not registered. That rials. Before the production of the there is a good deal of "invisible" unemployment even the Reich Em- ed for substitutes must undergo ployment Service has admitted. But special machine operations requireven those who are registered at ing more employment. But such the employment agencies are class- employment is really a waste of ified as to the degree of employability. The basis of classification is purely arbitrary, permitting the elimination of hundreds of thousands of unemployed from the official statistics. This explains why the reports of the employment agencies and those of the sickbenefit associations differ by about a million. It must be remembered too, that fully a million were absorbed into the army, that 500,000 ed the importation of raw materials youths eighteen years or older are in general. at present in labor camps and that at least 500,000 are wearing the uniform of one of the numerous goods; today the German foreign Nazi party organizations, such as trade has been greatly disrupted the Storm Troopers, to say nothing by the autarchy system with the of the tremendous staff of func- result that those foreign raw mationaries employed by the German terials which are indispensable to Labor Front and other Nazi party Germany have become very exorganizations. In addition, the Nazi government has increased its civil lack of credit are the evils that service staff to gigantic propor-

are by no means an indication of result of the manufacture of subtrue prosperity for even the million and a half workers employed in the unemployment which, in reality, i armament industry are not producing real values. And that is the story of how

Hitler has reduced unemployment. His friends abroad will insist employment but that there is an shortage of labor in the Third actual shortage of skilled labor. Reich. Strangely enough, this How come? For one thing it has shortage has not resulted in higher been impossible to train German wages but rather in a systematic youth for industry because of the reduction of the standard of livtime devoted to military educa- ing Lack of food, of clothing, of tion. For the past four years, Ger- the most modest cultural means, man youths have been drilling night and day and have neglected labor shortage. This also explains

Green can take his stand openly with the war mongers.

Yes, international labor action is necessary but not for imperialism and war. International action is necessary in order to effect a worldwide embargo against Japan thru is the price paid by the workers of independent labor "sanctions," thru concerted trade-union action to prevent the shipment of arms, munitions and war materials to that country. That is the counterproposal that the American labor movement should make to the

I there does exist a real shortage of skilled young workers.

Economic Meaning Of Increased

Taking the above points into consideration, it is nevertheless true that the present war economy more workers than are employe during a period of normal business prosperity. The question we mus ask is: Is this increased employ ment economically tolerable and it of benefit to the German people? The plan to make Germany eco nomically self-sufficient (autarchy) calls for the building up of a huge industry manufacturing synthetic (substitute) products. A closer examination of this new industry yields the reason for the reduction of unemployment. The manufacture of synthetic raw materials is so costly as to make competition on the world market impossible. The cost of manufacturing synthetic gasoline and synthetic rubber is five times as high as in the produc tion of the natural raw materials memployment agencies. The thous- mines—the reason being that Ger end-product, the materials employhuman labor-power and, in the final analysis, under a system of monopoly capitalism, the difference is borne by the workers as a whole. German autarchy needs certain natural raw materials for the manufacture of synthetic raw materials: for example, in order to manufacture artificial cotton, wood s required. Raw material autarchy has thus modified but not eliminat

Formerly natural raw materials were exchanged for manufactured pensive. Lack of raw materials and beset German industry which is forced to make adjustments at the The official unemployment figures expense of the workers. The net stitutes is an apparent reduction of nothing but a waste of human ef-

#### The German Labor Shortage

The Nazis boast that there is are the results of the much-admired their vocational studies so that why the manufacture of production goods in Germany has been increasing while that of consumption goods constantly decreases. Light industry is today below the level of the depression years. The employment of workers increases but their standard of living declines. That Hitler-Germany for the "reduction of unemployment."

#### CONTRIBUTE TO THE \$10,000 DRIVE

## **WORLD TODAY**

Who Is In Soviet Parliament: Terror Continues Despite Promises

London, January 15, 1938.

THE following is the official report of the social composition of the deputies to the Supreme Council of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the so-called "Soviet parliament":

7% are industrial workers actually at work;

21% collective-farm workers actually at work; this means a total of 28% workers of all sorts and

25.2% government officials;

20.4% Communist Party officials;

8.6% Red Army, Navy and Airforce officers-not single rank-and-file soldier;

7.2% G.P.U. agents;

6.4% intellectuals:

4.3% factory directors, managers, etc.:

0.7% trade-union officials.

These figures speak for themselves!

#### SOVIET TERROR

THE question whether terrorism would be con-L tinued after the Soviet elections has been answered in the affirmative

On December 16, 1937—four days after the elections-eight former leading party and soviet functionaries were executed as "traitors." among them: Karachan, Soviet ambassador, party member since 1917; Yenukidze, former secretary of the Soviet Central Executive Committee, one of the oldest party members, long-time personal friend of Stalin; Orachelaschvili, also a Caucasian Party member and friend of Stalin since 1903. Rutzutak, member of the Polburo, who disappeared recently, is being characterized by Pravda as one of the most dangerous enemies of the people. He, too, is slated for execution-if, indeed, he is still alive. Almost the entire present and former leadership of the C.P. of Poland has been arrested. Rudzutak, Alksniks and both Meshlauks are Letts. Yenukidze and the others are amongst the oldest Georgian companions of Stalin. It was Yenukidze who introduced Stalin to the Bolsheviks. The terror is, apparently, being waged on the basis of nationalities.

The continuation and intensification of the terror after the elections refutes the statements of the Stalin clique that the elections were a "vote of confidence" for the regime. On the contrary, it proves conclusively that opposition against the Stalin regime is growing, that Stalin must wade deeper and deeper in blood in order to prolong his control and finally that no stone is being left unturned to assure the personal dictatorship of Stalin.

#### POLISH COMMUNISTS JAILED IN MOSCOW

ELIABLE information has come about the arrests among Polish communists in the Soviet Union. Practically every single well-known Polish communist has been arrested in Moscow. Among them are: M. Lensky, until recently general secretary of the C.P. of Poland; Bronkovsky, until recent ly member of the E.C.C.I.; S. Pruniak, who served many long prison terms with Dzerzhinsky in Czarist Russia; Vera Kestrzeva, who has played a leading role in the Polish labor movement since the turn of the century; Valecki, who has been active in the revolutionary movement for 40 years: Varski, the 73-old, ailing leader of the Polish C.P.; Lapinski; J. Ring. Varski was a close collaborator of Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg.

There are rumors that some of these have already been shot. The same reports also indicate that Bukharin, Rykov and Rudzutak have been executed.

#### SHOOT GERMAN COMMUNISTS IN U.S.S.R.

TNFORMATION is also at hand that two wellknown German communists long resident in Russia have been shot in the purge. One of them is Kippenberger, former member of the Reichstag. The other is Felix Wolf, an old commuist, who was an adherent of the left wing in the Social-Democratic Party and later a member of the Spartacus League.

## **Labor Notes and Facts**

THE real meaning of the proposal to ban union "coercion" Edwin S. Smith, member of the N.L.R.B., in an address before which Marceau Pivert is the leader, 2, from the Independent News, a It is hard to say which of the two the International Juridical Association in New York:

"This specious suggestion ignores the fact that, whereas coercion practised by the employer, may break up a union and deprive thousands of men of the right to bargain for their liveon the commission that will draft on the commissio lihood, coercion by a union will infringe only upon the rights of

some few individuals. Moreover, if the coercion is of a sort that uses violence or even threatens it a complaint to the police court should put a speedy stop to it.

"The most dangerous thing about the proposal to prohibit coercion by unions is that the employers would inevitably seek to have the Nayou join the union,' this is ecowho hears this message knows that his bread and butter is at stake if he becomes a member of the union. Such a statement may cause thousands of neonle to forego their CAPITALISM IN DECAY sands of people to forego their right to collective bargaining and

to improve their economic status. "What is the presumed result if a union organizer or a union member says to a non-union employee: all efforts to move onward to new If you don't join up, you may be and higher cultural levels. Reacout of a job some day when we get tion scoffs at progress for progress this plant organized'? Does any now threatens its interests. reasonable person suppose that this statement is comparably coercive in its effect on a worker to a hint by an employer that he may close down if the union gains war. Modern warfare, with its hor- also end in a new and higher culany strength? If this kind of plea rifying efficient weapons of deture. to join a union were really coercive. half of the plants in the country would have had closed-shop contracts long since. Yet one trembles to think of what a hostile court may mean the coming of the black enough. We must set in motion a ufacture. With the difficulty of which contains language by a union organizer such as I have ward American rearmament as a

#### BRITISH LABOR LAW

A full analysis of British la bor legislation, written by V. Henry Rothschild 2d, and published as the leading article in the government program of subsidized January issue of the Columbia Law low-cost housing. The majority of Review, challenged claims that our people cannot afford to rent or British labor legislation restricts buy new homes; 15,000,000 Amer-

Rothschild declared that current that are unfit to live in. Let us proposals in this country for regu- provide homes and jobs for worklation of unions are similar to de- ers. Let us rebuild the country and mands which were raised and de- so raise the levels of economic ac- all the means and purposes of feated in Great Britain sixty-five tivity. If business cannot do the years ago. Regulation of labor or- housing job, and it cannot, let soganizations has been rejected in ciety do it thru the government. Britain as a "relic of feudalism," the article asserted.

British legislation put an end to the doctrine of criminal conspiracy spending on low-cost housing. Why dustry is now capable of producin labor disputes, the survey destroy in labor disputes, the survey destroy is now capable of productions and oppose in grant oppose in gran clares. Provisions dealing with the other? The economics are the when we can produce more. registration and publication of same in both cases. In both cases financial statements are of "an en- the government must spend, the leisure—not the degrading leisure tirely voluntary nature and have government must borrow and tax; of unemployment but the creative in reason, our faith in progress. It never been used to establish gov- in both cases, the mass-production leisure of fewer hours and days of is that faith that animates the laernment control over labor unions," industries are stimulated and the working. We have the technical, Recognition of unions by indus-

try, rather than regulation, has and armaments are destructive. made British unions responsible, Government spending on housing the article concludes. strengthens the progressive labor forces of the nation; armaments

#### TRANSFER OF AFFILIATION

A local union that transfers its provide means for the stifling of allegiance from the American discontent, while profits are piled Federation of Labor to the Com- up for the magnates of finance. mittee for Industrial Organization, In cultural and human terms, changing its name in the process, there is only one choice. Let us does not thereby forfeit its rights use our economic resources for the under contracts made with employ- constructive purposes of peace and poses of understanding, to make it ers before the shift, Supreme Court | not for the destructive purposes of | possible for all the people to act Justice Peter Schmuck ruled last war, for progress and not reaction, week. As a C.I.O. local, it can com- for life and not death. pel employers to accord it all the | If culture shrinks from the great rights and privileges it received in social problems of our age, it will the contract it signed as a member ensure its own death. You cannot riers of privilege and caste, instead of the A. F. of L., the court held. separate the cultural from the so- of constantly erecting new barriers.

The case concerned injunction proceedings brought by the World

tional Labor Relations Board, ad- Board informed Congress in its anministering such a statute, define nual report on January 6 that legal bear a rough correspondence to would be unconstitutional. The acts by the employer which the statement was made in the face of Board's decisions have found were a reviving drive to amend the ployer says to his workers: 'You Board operates, and to take steps may be out of a job some day if to restrict trade-union activities.

The board said, in a discussion

York, Local 65, a C.I O. affiliate.

Trading Corporation against United Wholesale Employees of New

#### UNCONSTITUTIONAL!

The National Labor Relations union acts as coercive when they limitations of the right to strike coercive. For example, if an em- Wagner Act, under which the

and definite sort. Every worker no curb on strike rights. Such adjustment of controversies."

(Continued from Page 3)

Most dangerous of all cultural

struction, may destroy the whole

savagely reactionary passions; it

tivity, and increasing armaments

is one factor driving toward war.

ican families now inhabit homes

But the very people who favor

government spending on arma-

breed militarism and reaction and

for the time being, thru a great aims.

## Win in Paris

the French Socialist Party, of at the conference of the Seine Federation, the biggest subdivision of resolutions of policy for the federation's congress.

The Pivert group obtained 14 nembers out of 27; the Zyromski group, a more centrist aggregation with some Stalinist connections got seven; and the Blum rightwing group, no more than 6. Both Pivert and Zyromski vig-

orously attacked the new Chauemps cabinet, which the Socialist Party is supporting. Pivert assailed the new government as a regime preparing the country for war.

"limitations . . . would no doubt be unconstitutional." It explained the statute was "designed to eliminate the causes of the large proportion in loyalist hands: Luis Luia. Hononomic coercion of a most sinister of the Wagner law, that it imposes of strikes . . . and for the peaceful rio Riesgo, Eusebio Escolano and

| cial. You cannot solve the cultural

crisis without solving the economic

And bear in mind that the cultu-

ral crisis has two aspects, that it

represents a struggle between re-

actionary and progressive forces.

The cultural crisis in America may

All that is progressive in our cul-

order. That new order is socialism.

Let us consider its concrete mean-

Necessity Of Socialism

out rather its slaves.

It is socially desirable to insure

It is socially desirable to increase

It is socially desirable to increase

organization and the skill, to pro-

duce an increasing amount of goods

and services with a decreasing

It is socially desirable to increase

ing is the monopoly of the few,

they have the power to oppress the

many. We should give our youth a

higher education, give it to all our

young people-not simply for pro-

fessional purposes-but for pur-

more intelligently on the great

It is socially desirable to have

more democracy, to destroy all bar-

problems that face them.

amount of labor.

our output of goods and services,

crisis, for they are inseparable.

STIFLES PROGRESS

threats is the growing menace of end in cultural decay; but it may

culture. War lets loose the most fend it against such dangers. But

We must raise economic activity | ing in terms of what we can agree

ments are opposed to government to release the abundance that in-

### Lefts in S.P. | PLEDGE MAURIN **EXCHANGE**

The revolutionary left wing of he French Socialist Party, of WE have received the following dispatch, dated January Finally, after many weeks of on that occasion for, in his theses, hesitation, the Negrin government Lenin threw overboard, as obsolete facilitate the exchange of Joaquin course which he himself character-Maurin (P.O.U.M. leader in the ized as involving "steps towards hands of Franco.—The Editor.).

> Justice at the time of the visit of of the situation despite its highly the McGovern-Challaye delegation specific character and had framed o the Spain, authorized McGovern a policy, bold yet realistic, that I.L.P. member of Parliament.— The Editor.), in the name of the Spanish government, to offer to ertain English personages a list fascist prisoners to facilitate Maurin's exchange.

Recently, the International Red Cross received a communication from its Spanish section to the effect that the government was disposed to exchange for Maurin the following right-wing deputies now Jose Aiuzcun Moreno.

## **Bare Child** Labor Fraud

cries out against the danger of child labor." Closing the debate I. M. Minkoff, head of the A.L.P. delegation, pointed out that, on this question, the labor movement is completely united, both the C.I.O. and the State Federation of Labor the world, the revolutionary-demohaving gone on record against the cratic dictatorship of the prole-Nunan-Moffat resolution.

laws interstate transportation of serfdom, monarchy and privilege. fabric of our civilization and its ture is threatened and we must de- goods manufactured by child labor -but it provides for no inspections against private property, . . . the a purely defensive struggle is not and no control at the place of man-struggle for socialism. . . . night of fascism and cultural death. larger struggle to use all that is identifying goods made by child nev is that even now, in 1917, he The economic crisis drives to- progressive in our culture to move labor, except at the point of pro- sees only the past of the revoluonward to higher levels, which duction, enforcement would be lit- tionary-democratic dictatorship of means of increasing economic ac- means moving toward a new social the more than a cruel joke.

licans voted against.

conomic security to all by mastering our economic system in a ramocracy, thru the freedom that tional and planful manner. Today, comes from economic liberty and our inability to provide work for security and the independence and millions of people, while there exist understanding that comes from subject old schemes and old formgreater leisure and education. working, shows that we are not masters of our economic system

to ensure peace and progress.

bor movement and the millions of levels of economic activity are economic and natural resources, the manual and salaried workers organized within its ranks. The struggle for political democracy. Now that labor movement is the education. As long as higher learn- great force working for the economic and social democracy that will create a finer culture because it fulfills more fully our faith in in progress.

> "He Communist Party has adopted the entire program of liberalism except its saving grace of tolerance." -Jennie Lee, well-known English socialist.

(Continued from Page 1)

The Wheeler-Johnson bill out-

The perpetrators of this hoax would have liked to remain anonymous but, upon the vigorous deand provide work. We can do that, upon as being socially desirable mand of the Laborites, a roll call was held in which all the A.L.P.ers. eight Democrats and four Repub-

That is possible thru economic de-

In a word, it is socially desirable abandon them without a qualm if

I think we can agree on all those socially desirable objectives. Knit them together and they are the light of the new situation. Thruout basis of a new social order that it all, we find the same thing: conomic democracy of socialism

The cultural crisis in America tests our faith in man, our faith American labor movement of the 1830's was a great force in the April 1917. man, our faith in reason, our faith

Bertram D. Wolfe

25c per copy

New York City

socialism." Again, literally at one Irujo, who was still Minister of glance, he had grasped the essence would prepare the way for socialist revolution in the immediate future -before any proletarian upheaval in Western Europe! And now began the campaign-highly successful, as it turned out—to reorientate the Bolshevik party to "rearm" it

Lenin As A

(Continued from Page 3)

**Politician** 

with a new doctrine and a new perspective. To the Bolsheviks who upbraided him for his abandonment of the old ideas, Lenin answered in the words of Hegel: "Theory, my friend, is grey but green is the eternal tree of life." The old Bolshevik formula of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry," he said, had already become a reality-"in a certain form and to a certain extent"-ir the February revolution but it had been realized in a new, different and entirely unforseseen way. It was necessary not to "cling to a past theory" but to "take cognizance of actual events, of the precise facts of reality"; not to look back but to go forward. "It would not be amiss," he declared, "to recal that, in my article 'Two Tactics' (July 1905), I particularly pointed out that: 'Like everything else in tariat and peasantry has a past and a future. Its past is autocracy

. . . Its future is the struggle mistake made by Comrade Kamethe proletariat and peasantry. when, as a matter of fact, its future (socialism.-W. H.) has al-

ready begun."8 Again history vindicated Lenin in the November revolution!

Here we have three illustration Lenin's surpassing political genius at three widely separated periods of his life and, in all three, we find the same thing: an incredibly rapid grasp of the situation in all its newness and originality; an unhesitating readiness to julas to the test of reality and to they are found wanting; and an uncanny skill at formulating new approaches and new policies in the lary-socialist aims and principles, to the Marxist method of realistic social and political analysis, combined with the utmost flexibility in strategy and tactics. With Lenin, Marxism was, indeed, no dogma but a manual of action!

8. V. L. Lenin: Letters on Tactics,

#### CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN'

131 West 33rd Street

### **Trade Union Notes**

= By Observer

GREAT deal has appeared in the press about the recent Lewis-Lamont-Tugwell conference with President Roosevelt. Lewis's official statement to the press, as spokesman of the group, was a mere formality but what he said at the conference itself was anything but that. In the New York Post of January 15, Robert S. Allen reports at length the general line of Lewis's remarks. Perhaps the most significant section is the following:

"In the talk with the President, Lewis sharply criticized the Ickes-Jackson attacks on business. He held that, instead of denouncing large corporations, the government should take steps to see that their efficiency and technical power be used to the greatest advantage in increasing production and keeping down prices.

You have to reread these lines two or three times to get the full implication. It means that American labor's most authentic spokesman, for such Lewis is today, has come out flatfootedly against the whole "trust-busting" nonsense that has afflicted American "progressive" politics for half a century. Lewis turns his back on the threadbare petty-bourgeois utopiapanaceas now being made to serve their turn again in the latest spasm of New Deal demagogy. Largescale production-which, under the present economic system, necessarily means big corporations and trusts-represents a progressive development from the technical and industrial standpoint. It is senseless to try to unscramble the eggs or to turn economic progress backwards by "breaking up" big trusts into little competing companies; it just can't be done and wouldn't be so very desirable if it could. The main thing is to utilize the advantages of large-scale industry for the public benefit in the way of increasing production and keeping down prices, as Lewis urges. Experience teaches us that, in the long run, this can be fully accomplished only by making the trusts public, or social, property, owned and operated by a labor govern-

It is amusing to note the embarrassment of the Stalinites in this situation. As devotees of the "People's Front," they worship at the shrine of "trust busting" and hail Ickes and Jackson as latterday Lenins. But, on the other hand, nothing must be done to "offend" Lewis or to admit that there can possibly be the slightest difference of opinion with him on anything. In this clash between hypocritical, crawling servility and the sacred "line," both somehow prevail. The Stalinist press goes on raving in the style of 1890 populism but a dead silence is discreetly maintained as to Lewis's most significant pronouncements on the subject!

#### THE "WHITNEY PLAN"

In the welter of "unity" plans and proposals, have you noticed "Whitney plan"? It was advanced two weeks ago by President Whitney of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. The idea is to set up a sort of super-council of labor, consisting of an equal number of representatives of the C.I.O., the A. F. of L. and the independent railway brotherhoods. The functions of this Council of Labor would be varied, including the coordination of labor's economic and political activities, as well as the effort to achieve unity in the trade-union movement embracing the brotherhoods side by side with the Federation and the

It is obvious that the "Whitney plan" is no short-cut to unity. For the problem here is not in getting the two sides together for a discussion; that would not be so difficult. The problem is to get the craft-union chiefs who are the real

Whartons, the Freys and the Hutchesons—to permit reunification on such a basis as will allow the free and unhampered development of industrial unionism as the standard system of labor organization. Any other basis would be disastrous to the real and permanent interests of labor and would make not for genuine, lasting unity but ather for impotence and demoralzation and, in the end, for even worse division than we have yet

Nor would the good offices of the railway brotherhoods as a sort of The third resolution reaffirmed "impartial mediator" alter this the union's assurances against unessential problem would still remain, altho, of course, the pressure of these powerful unions in the right direction would be more than welcome.

But if the "Whitney plan" is not a short-cut to unity, it has considerable merits on other counts. Such a Council of Labor would help reduce the scope and intensity of inter-union conflict as well as facilitate cooperation in pushing social and labor legislaion-both greatly to be desired at the present time. And, of course, the general atmosphere for unity discussions would be vastly improved.

But is the "Whitney plan" practical? There is a well-authenticated report that, at the recent "peace" negotiations in Washington, John L. Lewis proposed to his colleagues that they call upon the Federation to help form a joint C.I.O.-A. F. of L. council for united action on the legislative field. But the other C.I.O. leaders, so the story runs, thought the notion fantastic under existing circumstances and it was dropped. In our opinion, Lewis was absolutely right and his idea quite sound. It's only a pity that the C.I.O. didn't go thru with it and put the matter straight up to the A. F. of L., for every effort to further cooperation among the various sections of the labor movement, however limited such cooperation may be, is something eminently worth while.

Lewis's idea for a joint legislative council of A. F. of L. and C.I. O. is generally along the same lines as the "Whitney plan". Both, we think, merit serious consideration from the labor movement.

#### DANGER AHEAD

While we're on the "unity" ques- continue for two weeks. tion, we'd like to say a word on the unity resolution recently adopted by the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor. Of course, the stand it took in opposition to the A. F. of L. split order, is to be heartily greeted. But we have a great deal of apprehension about the last paragraph of Resolution No. 2. which reads: "Be it resolved, your committee recommends to the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. to resume peace negotiations and, in the event that such negotiations should fail again, that we appeal to the President of the United States, reto bring about peace in the organized labor movement."

Don't the Pennsylvania unionists realize what they're letting themselves in for when they call upon the federal government to interfere in the internal affairs of la- or statements of fact has been rebor? It's a direct encouragement futed or even seriously challenged. power in the A. F. of L.—the of the idea of governmental re This is vindication indeed!

### UAW BOARD MAPS PLAN IN WAR ON CRISIS

course on three fronts, the International Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers, meeting at Detroit last week in its first session of 1938, passed resolutions dealing with the depression, war and industrial relations.

Maintenance of wage levels, reduction in the cost of living, adequate relief and a federal low-cost housing program, were demanded in the first resolution, which assailed tactics of big industrialists in he recession.

The second supported the prooosed LaFollette-Ludlow war-refeendum amendment, asked withdrawal of U.S. military forces from China, endorsed the boycott of Japanese goods and voiced disapproval of the administration's armament program. (The anti-war resolution was published in full in the January 22 issue of the Workers Age.—The Editor.)

The third resolution reaffirmed situation very materially, for the authorized strikes, declared belief in the mutual responsibility of employer and employee in carrying on collective bargaining and asked for immediate resumption of negotiations with General Motors.

Passed unanimously, the resolutions revealed a sober facing of facts and sound analysis of complex developments.

Reports from the Ford organizinz committee, the G.M. committe, aviation and farm-implement or-

### **UMW Meet In** Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

bone of the industrial-union movement. The convention endorsed completely "each and every action of the International officers in promoting the principles of industrial unionism thru the C.I.O." and decided that the U.M.W.A. should continue its contributions to the cause of industrial organization."

When the delegates got down to organizational questions, the old problem of district autonomy came up. After a vigorous discussion, it was decided that the 18 districts which did not yet have it be granted a limited degree of autonomy, providing for district conventions to elect all officers except president and secretary-treasurer, who will continue to be named by the International office. There are altogether 30 districts in the U.M.

Continued support to the Roosevelt administration was pledged by the convention, altho a number of third-term resolutions were not acted upon.

The convention is expected to

gulation of unions, to which the President is leaning already. And what that would mean to the labor movement, we don't have to explain!

#### SOUND AND FURY

The Stalinites have launched a frantic campaign of denunciation against the Stolberg series on the C.I.O. that has just completed its run in the Scripps-Howard press. Every connection they have in the C.I.O. is being mobilized in this holy crusade. And thereby they questing him to call President are merely confirming Stolberg's Green and President Lewis to meet main thesis of the factional, disruptive line of the Stalinites in the C.I.O.

It is significant that, amidst all the hysterical outbursts from Stalinist and near-Stalinist sources, not one of Stolberg's conclusions

Realistically charting the union's | ganization directors, the Women's Auxiliary as well as other committees and delegations, were heard by the board.

The resolution adopted on the economic situation and the program of organized labor, follows:

"After four brief years of business improvement, industry and the country are again plunged into a sharp decline, reaching proportions that amount to a depression. Once more, a period of recovery, with prosperity for business, has seen the production of goods run away from the purchasing power of the masses. Increased production per man-hour made possible an industrial output, at the peak, 22% above pre-depression levels, while 8,500,000 remained unemployed. Profits passed the pre-depression level by 17% and prices skyrocketed to reduce effective purchasing power still further.

"When depression began to set in again, the big industrialists took advantage of the situation. They forced a slash in relief even before the slump started, and cracked down still further when depression was in sight. With the reduction in government spending during 1937, the prosperity bubble burst.

"Lay-offs and shut-downs have brought lengthening lines of workers back to relief stations. Automobile workers have suffered seriously. On top of this, the industrialists are attempting to use the depression to defeat progressive legislation and to weaken the power of the organized labor movement.

"The U.A.W. outlines the following program which organized workers and the public must realize is necessary to prevent this depression from becoming even more serious:

"1. No wage-cuts: Wage-cuts mean lower purchasing power, longer and worse depression.

"2. Lower cost of living: Bring rents and prices down to levels workers can afford. During recovery, prices ran away from the ability of labor to pay.

3. Adequate relief: This is the quickest means of increasing purchasing power and of stimulating ecovery.

"4. A federal low-cost housing program: Lack of housing facilities, with consequent high rents, and the failure of the building industry to keep pace with recovery for the past four years, combine to make this one of the most necessary and important steps for stimulating recovery.

"5. Funds for relief and housing instead of armaments: Escaping depression by armaments and war is economically unsound and is disastrous for labor which must do the dying in war.

"The International Executive Board of the U.A.W.A. calls upon all its locals to strengthen their machinery for handling relief cases, for obtaining adequate relief appropriations and for proper administration of relief.

"The U.A.W.A. calls upon its members and upon organized labor and the public generally to strive diligently for this program for alleviating the depression and working toward recovery."

#### A.F.L. COUNCIL IN ANTI-C.I.O. MOVE

(Continued from Page 1) unions. Decision on this appeal was reserved.

The Executive Council considered the request of the International Federation of Trade Unions that the American labor movement call upon the government to join with other "democracies" and the Soviet Union in "financial and economic embargoes" against Japan backed up by a military alliance of these powers. In view of the strong

#### War-Mongers At End of Rope

TN the January 26 issue of the Daily Worker, there is the usual jingoistic diatribe by Harry Gannes, in the course of which he says:

"Similarly the United Auto Workers resolution on war-a prize product jammed thru by Lovestoneites, looks to isolated security" (emphasis ours .-- The Editor.)

Of all the brazen, unscrupulous chicanery, this takes the cake!

The anti-war resolution of the United Automobile Workers is almost identically word for word the resolution adopted by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee convention last December! Did the 'Lovestoneites" "jam it thru" at the S.W.O.C. convention too?

Where were all the Stalinist heroes of chauvinism at the S.W. O.C. convention? Why didn't they open their mouths there?

The anti-war resolution of the U.A.W. was adopted unanimously at the board sessions two weeks Where were Mortimer and Hall, the Stalinist "unity"-group leaders on the board? They spoke against the resolution; why didn't they have the guts to vote against it? Did the "Lovestoneites" "jam it thru" them too?

It must be a bad day for the war makers when they have to resort to such tactics!

## U.A. W Hits Relief Bias

(Continued from Page 1) the commission and the U.A.W. was one where the commission accepted preliminary investigation reports by union investigators to expedite relief.

The council heard both Frankensteen's charges and Reading's reply, which was to the effect that what the city wanted to see was if they could handle the welfare thru their own commission and investigators and recognized charities.

Frankensteen maintained the mayor's experiment would result in a great deal of hardship and suffering. He also took the mayor to task for a statement that the U.A.W.'s connections with welfare activities might lead to "abuses." Reading then agreed that U.A.W. investigators made no more errors than regular welfare investigators.

G. R. Harris, chairman of the commission, replied to a question of the mayor by saying: "The U.A.W.'s aid has materially expedited matters and saved the city

None of those who spoke, including councilmen, had a single word of support for the mayor. He was the only individual in the council chamber that suggested there as any reason tne arrange ment with the U.A.W. should be terminated. Reading tacitly admitted that the commission had taken action at his instructions.

By his statements, Harris showed he regretted the loss of the U.A.W.'s assistance. Councilman Edward J. Jeffries questioned the mayor at length and indicated he was unable to see why the action against the U.A.W. had been taken. The council asked Frankensteen

to present the union's case formally in writing.

peace sentiment in the ranks of the workers, the council was forced to reject this scheme of military 'collective security."

Executive Council sessions will probably continue for two weeks.

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