Another Moscow Trial!

a statement

GAIN the world is being treated to the horrible spectacle of another Moscow trial. Among the victims this time are N. Bukharin, whom Lenin, in his last political testament, characterized as "not only the most valuable and best theoretician of the party but also legitimately to be considered the favorite of the party"; A. Rykov, Lenin's successor as head of the Soviet state; C. Rakovsky, veteran leader of the revolutionary movement in a number of countries of Eastern Europe and one of Trotsky's closest collaborators; together with a whole group of Stalin's own loyal followers and devoted henchmen of yesterday, including Yagoda, Grinko, Krestinsky, Ivanov and others. The only reason Mikhail Tomsky is not to be found in this list is that he managed to escape his bloody persecutors by committing suicide before they could get to him.

A Staggering Mass Of Unreason

And the "charges" against these men? A staggering mass of unreason, even more grotesque and nightmarish than at previous "trials"! In addition to the old story of "treason, espionage, wrecking, terror, provocation of military attack and restoration of capitalism," there is the murder of three men, including Maxim Gorki heretofore certified as having died natural deaths! Trotsky is accused of being "linked as a spy to a certain foreign secret service as early as 1921"! Bukharin is prosecuted on the basis of a fantastic misre-presentation of the inner-party struggles of twenty years ago! Both Trotsky and Bukharin are charged with responsibility for the attempt on Lenin's life in 1918! There are no words with which to characterize this obscene and bloody burlesque masquerading as a "trial"!

If these "charges" are to be taken seriously, they are an indictment of the revolution and of Lenin himself. For the prime movers of the former and the closest associates of the latter have now been "revealed" as "spies, traitors and fascist agents"! Was the whole Russian revolution a fraud, made by such creatures as these are alleged to be? Was Lenin their "accomplice" or was he a stupid dolt easily imposed upon by his colleagues in the leadership, raising traitors and spies to the highest posts of the republic! Indeed, it would not be at all surprising to find Lenin himself included in the next list of "traitors" as the source and fountain-head of all

Without doubt, this "trial" will proceed in the same old way. There will be abject "confessions" consisting of a jumble of political and factual impossibilities concocted by the G.P.U., crude discrepancies and glaring self-contradictions. And there will be the same verdicts of guilty decided upon in advance and the same series of executions to follow. Another great "triumph' will be chalked up for the Stalin-Yezhov regime of blood and destruction!

A Disastrous "Triumph"

But, in the long run, such a "triumph" will be a shattering blow to the very system it is designed to bolster up. Desperately set on perpetuating at all costs an oppressive regime long obsolete, long deprived of whatever progressive function it may once have had, confronted with a mass discontent

(Continued on Page 2)

Workers Ag

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 7, No. 11.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, MARCH 12, 1938

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FDR Halts All Reforms

Moratorium On New Deal Is Called By President For Rest Of Year

President Roosevelt has declared quiet moratorium on new reform legislation for the next period of time, it was learned last week at Washington. From now on until after the Congressional elections in November, at the very least, it will be a matter of marking time.

Even the outlook for the wagehour bill, hitherto looked upon as a Presidential "must" measure, is regarded as pretty dim at the present time. On the program for enactment at this session, however, there are the government-reorganization bill, modification of the undistributed-profits tax and the naval-building bill.

Among the factors making for this halt in the New Deal program, already foreshadowed in recent weeks, is the administration's preoccupation with rearmament and its desire to conciliate big business to the utmost. It is becoming ever clearer that the huge armaments program of the administration, as a phase of its war policy, is bringing with it a swing to reaction on all fronts.

The administration's abandonment of its own program is to be connected with a definite reorganization to the right of its main political support in Congress, the old New Deal progressives giving way to conservative anti-New Dealers who stand behind the President for the sake of his foreign policy and war preparations.

Progressives Win In Flint Elections

The progressives in the United Automobile Workers, supporters of the Martin administration, scored tremendous victory last week in the final elections in Flint Local 156, one of the biggest and most important organizations in the union. All six candidates of the progressive group were swept into office by huge majorities, leaving the "unity"-group candidates far behind.

President: Jack Little (Prog.) 7540; Roy Reuther ("Unity") 4080. First Vice-President: R. Newman (Prog.) 7262; L. Baraty ("Unity")

Second Vice-President: R. Amy (Prog.) 7154; D. McLean ("Unity")

Third Vice-President: F. Grant (Prog.) 7398; R. Webber ("Unity")

Financial Secretary: J. Austin (Prog.) 7110; G. Rose ("Unity")

James Fortier, progressive candidate, had been elected recording secretary in the primaries the week before, having received a majority of all votes cast.

"We consider this election," declared the victorious candidate for president, Jack Little, "a victory for the policies of our International union. We stand behind the International 100%."

5.000 PACK BIG WAR PROTEST **MEETING**

The big New York Hippodrome was jammed on Sunday, March 6 as over 5,000 people demonstrated their opposition to war and to the war-making policies of the administration under the auspices of the "Keep America Out of War" committee. Among the speakers were Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Norman Thomas, Homer Martin and Bertram D. Wolfe, Oswald Garrison Villard was chairman. Full details will be reported in the next issue of this paper.

WPA-Army Link Bared

Military Men Use Relief **Setup To Drive Young** Men Into Army

A concerted campaign to drive young men on W.P.A. in New York State into the United States Army, was revealed last week in this city.

On January 10, representatives of the army, navy and other branches of the armed service met in the offices of Lieut-Col. Brehon B. Somervell, local W.P.A. administrator, to discuss ways and means of "encouraging shifts of qualified personnel from W.P.A. to the vari-(Continued on Page 5)

Can U.S. Imperialism Defend the U.S.S.R

By WILL HERBERG

NTERNATIONALISM places L upon us, class-conscious workers of America, the duty of doing everything in our power to help the working masses of the Soviet Union to construct the socialist society towards which they are striving; it also places upon us the duty of doing everything in our power to come to the assistance of the Russian workers and farm ers should their country be attacked by an outside imperialist power or group of powers. We feel this duty towards the Chinese people in their resistance to Japanese ag gression, even tho capitalism and worse prevail in China and its gov ernment, headed by Chiang Kaishek, has an appalling record of reaction and bloody repression of the masses. How much more must this duty arise before us in the case of the Soviet Union, a country that has already succeeded in getting rid of its capitalists and landlords, a country in which great advances have already been made towards a new social order?

War To Help The Soviet Union?

Does this support and assistance mean that we should strive to have America enter any war in which the Soviet Union may be engaged in order to help it? That is what they believe that support of the Soviet Union would mean plunging this country into war and from this, of course, they recoil with horror.

But the whole thing is based on a very fundamental misunderstanding. No real friend of the Soviet Union or of American labor will want us to bend our efforts to drive America into war, even tho it be on the side of the Soviet Union. Why? Not because we are opposed to war "in principle," under all conditions and circumstances. No; we believe that many wars in history were progressive and deserved the and classes of the time: for example, country.

the wars of the French Revolution, the American Revolutionary War, the Civil War on the Northern side. We are against American participation in a war today because we are convinced that such participation would, in the long run, prove utterly disastrous to the cause both of the Soviet Union and of the labor movement of this country. This, surely, is reason enough!

Let us take the example* commonly offered us these days: a war between Russia and Japan in the Far East, in which China, of course, would also be involved. Suppose the United States government joined this war against Japan; what would be its real aims and objecives? Let us remember that, Hoover or Roosevelt, Old Deal or New Deal, the American governmental remains an imperialistic government, fundamentally concerned in its foreign policy with the protection and advancement of the long-range interests of capitalism in general and of the investments and prospects of American big-business groups, in particular. If we want to understand what line the American government will follow in any situation, we must ask ourselves what would the interests of capitalistic imperialism dictate.

Aims Of American Imperialism

Of course, one of the thing in the United States are afraid of; America would be out for would be to weaken and curb Japanese imperialism, its most formidable rival in the Far East, in order to tighten its own grip on China. In such a war, the United States would be fighting not for the freedom of China but rather for the privilege of exploiting it without the inter-

I may as well point out that I am discussing this situation—a war with the United States lined up with the Soviet Union and China against Japan-not because there is much likelihood of its occurring but because it is the situation generally pictured as the justification for pro-war agitasupport of the progressive groups tion under a radical banner in this

Court OK's NLRB Acts

Closed Shop Ban Denied And Board Upheld In **Five Decisions**

Five important decisions, likely to influence very materially the development of labor law in this country, were issued by the Supreme Court last week, four of them in connection with cases coming under the Wagner Act.

The court, thru a formal order, dismissed the appeal of an antiunion group among New York Rapid Transit employees against a closed-shop contract between the Transport Workers Union and the corporation with its three auxiliaries. The action came in a refusal of the high court to review a N. Y. Court of Appeals decision against granting a temporary injunction. While the Supreme Court acted largely on technical grounds and did not pass in any way on the legal merits of the closed shop, the rebuff it gave to the antiunion group may be regarded as a victory for labor.

In another important case, by a 5-2 ruling, with Justices Butler and McReynolds dissenting and Justices Reed and Cardozo not participating, the court upset an injunction granted by Federal Justice Geiger against picketing certain meat shops in Milwaukee. Judge Geiger had denied the existence of a "labor dispute" because the pickets were not actual employees of the concern but the Supreme Court disagreed and found him in error.

In two decisions, unanimous except for the absence of Justices Reed and Cardozo, the court held that the National Labor Relations Board may force an employer to withdraw collective bargaining from a company union. The court's ruling sustained the board's fight against the "Employees Association" of the Pennsylvania Greyhound Lines and the "Drivers Association" of the Pacific Greyhound Lines

The fifth labor victory came when another order promised the N.L.R.B. a review of the Ninth Circuit Court decision refusing to compel compliance with a board order directing the Mackay Radio and Telegraph Company to reinstate, with back pay, five men dismissed for strike activity.

ference of Japanese competition China would figure only as the loot, the spoils, of this vast conflict! There is nothing American imperialism would fear more than real freedom and democracy for China, for that would mean an end to all foreign exploitation and domination whatsoever, American included.

And the Soviet Union? Who is there so blind as cannot see that. however bitter may be the rivalry between the United States and Japan, the antagonisms between the United States and the Soviet Union are infinitely deeper and sharper in the long run. The U.S.A. and Japan are both capitalistic, both imperialistic powers; they fight for profits, of course, but they can always get together to take it out on the hides of the people in the colonies and at home. They both stand on the same economic system and with them it is,

Bertram D WOLFE

"DEATH AGONY OF THE COMINTERN"

FRIDAY, MARCH 11

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL 131 W. 33rd St.

(Continued on Page 5)

Viewed from the Left

= By Politicus ==

Contributors' Innings

WHILE administration policy is being shaped primarily by its drive towards war, another political determinant is the coming elections. Already the President has announced a "temporary" moratorium on reform legislation, while his various henchmen indulge their talents for the vaguest sort of attacks Both are made up of labor together on "predatory interests," in the traditional manner of American with petty-bourgeois and liberal its name. This is certainly differbig-business political demagogy. In the course of the coming elements, aren't they? Also what months, this column hopes to devote much of its space to the is the difference between this move-

(Continued from Page 1)

of his own replacements for the

victims of earlier purges: Tukha-

chevsky's successor has just been

shot, as have several of his judges;

the leadership has been cleaned out

twice over; the fates of Mezhlauk,

Grinko and others carry their own

esson. Stalin is rapidly creating a

political vacuum around himself.

ncreasingly isolated from all the

iving forces of Soviet society,

everything he does to preserve his

despotic power helps only to under-

loathsome horrors of the successive

purges and by the degradation of

Bolshevik traditions and ideals

that these have brought with them.

Stalinism Must Be Swept Away

But the socialist foundations of

n the Young Communist League,

ecuting the second and third layers upon it by history!

problems confronting labor in the! coming elections. Perhaps no bet- "little" business men can hardly traditional foundation of their ter key could be found for such be called mad; in their private class; bewildered by the onrush of comment than the following de- capacities, they are probably as events they can neither understand vastating remarks of our well- sane as the rest of us. Whatever nor master; threatened with ecobig effort to launch a mass moveknown colleague, Raymond Clap- was screwy about the affair must nomic annihilation and class "deper, columnist for the Scripps-have arisen out of their getting gradation"—what wonder is it that together, out of the "little" business the "little" business men do not York World-Telegram of February men collectively, not individually. 24, he describes the real nature of In other words, it is emphatically a the Democratic party, of which Roosevelt is the titular head, as fol
I think it all points to the fact that the small business men, col-

"The Democratic party is about to lectively as a class, are actually lose the halo of shining idealism being driven mad under the pres which Mr. Roosevelt has kept on its sure of present-day social forces. head in the last few years. It Tormented by gigantic economic soon will become apparent for forces, in the dark shadow of cal machines, grassroots Tammany dened by the prolonged economic halls, which at heart have absorbed crisis that is dissolving away every soil out of which fascism grows! nothing from the New Deal except

"In Missouri, there is the Pendergast machine, or such of it as has A New Moscow Trial for voting frauds which are being Kansas City. In Illinois, there is chiefly the odor of the Kelly-Nash machine. In Ohio it is the Dayay the topmost sections of his own machine. In Ohio, it is the Davey organization, which spends most of its time now denying graft charges. In Pennsylvania, you have the Guf-nor limits. The Stalin clique has lost In Pennsylvania, you have the Guffey machine, badly torn over the distribution of the loot. In New learned from them all greatly enable the Soviet working class to sweep out of its way the present its bearings and its sense of real-distribution of the loot. In New learned from them all greatly enable the Soviet working class to sweep out of its way the present have differed with them on cerdity. It shows no concern for world great obstacle to its advance, the lity. It shows no concern for world great obstacle to its advance, the later of the look of the look. In New learned from them all greatly in the past, however much we may learned from them all greatly in the past, how learned from them all greatly in the pas Jersey—Frank Hague in person.

"That is what you find when you turn back the rug on which Mr. of the inevitable consequences of its and be replaced by Soviet demo-Roosevelt stands. And that is the own course. It lashes out wildly, cracy if the Russian revolution is damental nature of our tengroup of pivotal states which turns destroying everything in sight, to make any progress after its dency, the disciples or followers, Presidential elections, the decisive strength of the Democratic party...

"As 1940 moves closer Mr. Roosevelt's influence is waning. More and more, as Mr. Roosevelt's influence recedes, the Democratic party organization in the balanceof-power states shows up as a collection of fat, greedy political gangs operating with mass-produc tion technique and blowing a New Deal whistle as a decoy.'

PORTENTS OF FASCISM We turn over the rest of this column to an important addendur to the discussion of the "little business men's conference, made in

a letter to us, signed W. H.:

mine it in the long run! ness men's conference, "Little Business Men Talk Big," was very interesting. But there is one aspect of the situation that seems to me to have attracted much less attention than it deserves, if, indeed, there has been any comment on it at all No one reading the accounts.

Stalin's reactionary crusade of burocratic self-perpetuation is spect. The mad ravings of the burocratic self-perpetuation is spect. The mad ravings of the burocratic self-perpetuation is spect. The mad ravings of the burocratic self-perpetuation is spect. The mad ravings of the burocratic self-perpetuation is spect. The mad ravings of the burocratic self-perpetuation is spect. The mad ravings of the burocratic self-perpetuation is spect. The mad ravings of the burocratic self-perpetuation is spect. The mad ravings of the burocratic self-perpetuation is spect. The mad ravings of the the withering contempt they design the withering contempt they design the seconomy, to some extent in the withering contempt they design the with the withering contempt they design the withing people in the withing people in the withing people in the with the withering contempt they design the with the withering contempt they design the withing people in the within the withing people in the within the within th Your column on the "little" busicountry's forces of military de- and our work. And it is the Amerfense are being weakened and de- ican labor movement that constiat all. No one reading the accounts moralized. Social, intellectual and tutes for us the final court of apof the "little" business men's getin Time or in the New Yorker (the political life is being driven, numb peal. pre-conference caucus in New York), can escape the uncomfortable feeling that he is witnessing the anties of the executioner. The socialist and labor movement abroad, the the antics of people who are not union against world imperialism, is was born as an indepedent tendency quite right in the head. I am not referring so much to the obviously lunatic fringe—to the gentlemen who traced the depression to an unknown germ or to the faces on the paper money of this country; although the serious reception that In short, the Russian revolution is these ingenious ideas received is itself of symptomatic significance. I crusade of extermination! refer to the conference as a whole, to its queer incoherence and instability, to its air of hopeless futilof the psychopathic ward.

What Kind of Anti-War Movement?

WE have received the following inquiry from a group of

It is not clear to us what the difthat is sponsoring the March 6 meeting and the People's Front

present a picture of self-confidence, level-headedness and stability? What wonder is it that they seem But so do all war-mongers. Let unable to make up their minds as to what they want and how to get it? What wonder is it that they appear ready to listen to every crack-pot and crank?

What wonder. . . . But, rememwhat it is—a group of state politi- which they stand impotent; mad- ber, it is just this class-psychological models and models.

overcome the legacy of backward-

ness and slavery left by centuries

A LREADY it is being hinted in the kept press and by the

kept correspondents of Stalinism

that the Bukharin-Rykov case is

going to have an "American angle."

Nearly a year ago (March 24,

1937), we were "warned" in the

"of the god-fathers of Lovestone-

ism, the Right opportunists, Bukharin and Rykov." We are, of

Basic Roots Of Our Movement

Our group—as part of the Inter-

Peace and Democracy?

1. Let us take the last question America Out Of War" movement ist League for Peace and Democracy is that the former is a movement against war while the latter is a movement for war, in spite of ence enough!

In the December 18, 1937 issue of the Workers Age, we characterized the League as "the first big step of the Communist Party to perialism's program of aggression." Now, of course, the League denies "for peace"! that it is for war; in fact, it claims to be for peace from first to last. us judge by program and deeds, not ly the opposite. Here is its six by words. The League for Peace point platform, as given in the and Democracy, at its very first call for the March 6 meeting: (1) congress, came out strongly in immediate withdrawal of warships favor of the Presidents "quaran- and Marines from Chinese tertine" policy and "collective secur- ritory; (2) no increase in the army ty" in general. We have shown again and again in these columns that the policy of "collective securty" is a fraud and a menace; that, f it means anything at all, it means a military alliance of one

group of imperialisms, the "demoracies," to defend their imperialthe armed intervention of world ization of the revolutionary prole-

so universal and so powerful that it imperialism on twenty fronts, to tariat. We value Bukharin and Rykov just as we do Rakovsky and Trotopinion, including working class Stalin regime. Stalinism and all no sense have we ever been, opinion; it shows no understanding that it implies must be wiped out nor could we ever possibly without regard to the fact that, for twentieth year. Again we say: the much less the factional represenevery foe, actual or potential, it revolutionary resources of the Rustatives, of one group or the other. every 10e, actual or potential, it revolutions is an proletariat will prove equal to crushes, it raises half-a-dozen more sian proletariat will prove equal to Over eight years ago, in an official crushes, it raises nair-a-dozen more sian protective with placed declaration (Revolutionary Age, December 15, 1929, we stated: 'Our struggle has never been nor can it ever be an appendix to any individual or group in the C.P.S.U., victorious or defeated." The fundamental idea contained in this state ment-that we have never been the American offshoot or branch of any political group or tendency in the Soviet Union and, in the nature of Daily Worker of the coming trials the case, can never be such—we have repeated in every official document dealing with the so-called harin and Rykov." We are, of "Russian question" from that day course, ready for the most pre-to this. Indeed, we regard this utposterous frame-up and we are not terly vicious and perverted relavery much disturbed at the pro-

Path Of Revolutionary Socialism

As for ourselves, we do not years ago what a real anti-war hesitate to say that it is basically movement should be like:* to our realistic and truly Marxian conception of the specific and "exceptional" character of our probtems and tasks in this country—as being alienated and repelled by the precisely because we believed with they are necessarily specific and the most intense conviction that no "exceptional" in every country of large sections of the middle classes healthy revolutionary-socialist the world—that we owe the efmovement could be developed in fectiveness of our efforts as an inturn their activity into definitely this country as a reflection or an dependent tendency in the general progressive class channels. This is off-shoot of one or another of the political factions in the Soviet titude that we owe so much of our should be built up—rooted in the Union. We regard it as fundamen- ideological independence and poli- labor organizations, leading the tal that revolutionary socialism in tical strength, so much of our masses of the petty bourgeoisie...." America must grow out of our own ability to formulate policy on the labor movement, must have its basis of actual conditions and the presence of petty-bourgeois and ity, to its shrill nervous atmo- the Russian revolution are strong roots deep in the soil of American real relation of forces, without liberal elements in an anti-war sphere, in which it seemed anything —stronger by far than Stalinism. reality and must strive to draw regard to extraneous factors and movement does not make it a could happen—and did. It obvious- The inexhaustible heroism and vast from that soil its inspiration and considerations. And it is to this ly wasn't good-humored rowdyism resources of the Russian working guiding principles. Only a move- line of independent revolutionary at all; it had the authentic stamp class, that enabled it in the past ment of such independent political socialism, independent revolution-

ment and the Stalinist League for | istic loot against another group of imperialisms, the fascist powers. 'Collective security" is today what the "concert of free nations" was first. The fundamental difference in Woodrow Wilson's days—a trap between the "Keep America Out to lure the masses into another ference is between the "Keep Of War" movement and the Stalin- world slaughter in the interest of big-business imperialism.

When the Panay incident took place and the administration started a campaign, which fortunately fell pretty flat, to arouse a mad jingoistic frenzy among the American people, what did the Stalinist League do? Together with a few similar organizations, it issued a leaflet on which was printed in big mobilize labor for war, the first red letters: "Once is enough! What is this is if not incitement ment in support of American im- to war? And this outfit has the nerve to call itself an organization

The program of the "Keep America Out Of War" movement is quite different; in fact, it is diametricalor navy; (3) passage of a warreferendum amendment; (4) against all schemes (such as the Industrial Mobilization Plan) to enslave labor during war; (5) cooperation for international peace but no alliances for war, declared or undeclared, under any name or pretext; (6) concentration on a struggle for labor and social reform at home. To the first three of these points, the most decisive, the Stalinites are openly hostile; to the others, they are hostile without daring to say so out loud. In short, the difference between the two movements is as clear as it is fun-

damental and far-reaching. 2. But, our correspondents ask, is not the movement we are supporting a People's Front movement? Isn't it made up of "labor together with petty bourgeois and liberal elements"? Let us examine more closely the nature of an antiwar movement and of the People's

As far back as February 1, 1936, in a criticism of the old American League Against War and Fascism, we pointed out that an effective anti-war movement must be a real "people's movement," a "broad. popular movement," embracing the workers together with all other sections of the population that hate war and want to do what they can to prevent its recurrence. To speak of an anti-war movement that excludes petty-bourgeois and liberal elements is absurd on the face of it; for the danger of war is an issue on which great masses of the people outside the working class are aroused to a fever pitch and to they cooperate with labor and follow its leadership. In the article above referred to, we outlined two

"A labor movement against war .. means a movement with a firm trade-union base and with a predominantly trade-union character. ... Such a movement could attract Obviously, then, the mere (Continued on Page 6)

* "War. Fascism and the Middle the psychopathic ward.

It is pass to overthrow the rule of the landAnd yet, taken one by one, the lords and capitalists, to beat back of a genuine international organ
| Marxism, Independent revolution | * "War, Fascism and the Middle character can form a worthy part ary Marxism, that we intend to Class," by Will Herberg, Workers adhere faithfully in the future!

| Age, Feb. 1, 1936.

The Unions in he Crisis

by the formation and activities of the Committee for Industrial Organization, is perhaps nowhere better signalized than in the new approach and actual work of the unions on the problem of unem-

The Last Crisis And This

Consider, for example, the first phase of the 1929 crisis and the activities of the craft-minded A. F. of L. Not until 1932 did that organization even approve the idea of government unemployment relief and, so weakly was its voice raised. and, so weakly was its voice raised, that the inauguration of this rethe needs and demands of the an unasked favor to labor. The organization of the unemployed exists the possibility of really took place outside of the organized trade-union movement, not merely because of Stalinist dualism but because the craft-unions refused to take any action of their own on this matter or even to assume leadership of the already organized sections of the unemployed. The C.I.O., on the contrary, after some temporary hesitation and confusion. stemming from the New Deal-Stalinist theory of the "sit-down strike of big capital," recognized the seriousness of the economic reces sion in the space of a month or two and directed its organizations to act promptly to assume the leadership of the unemployed

For the A. F. of L., composed of highly skilled workers whose num bers ever decrease but whose high dues still provide plush-linings for the union coffers, unemployment relief was a union service. For the C.I.O., composed of masses of unskilled workers, whose component unions, as in auto and steel, number their members at upwards of 400,000 it would be a financial fantasy to attempt to provide union unemployment benefits. The vast social upheaval of the industrial-union movement brings with it the necessity of political action organization of the unorganized on the economic fill TN March 1935, T. H. Wintringfields of labor's needs and interests, is a point buttressed by the work of the unions in times of crisis and unemployment, as well as in times of employment and

consequent organization.

in the very process of putting that ly socialist attitude of the I.L.P. whose own private investigation and certification is, in many localities, ificant sections of this exposure of phatically opposed to any form of gether to resist a "peace-breaker." ent dullness, our routine laziness, sufficient to establish the right of a worker to relief. In this connection, it must be pointed out that at the present time: the ardent and unsparing activity of the union, whose leaders had a special conference with President Roosevelt on relief needs of the auto workers, won the allocation of more than half the recent appropriation of \$250,000,000—meager as that sum is.

In the field of unemployment, the gress."

our labor movement, heralded ruling clique to be sure but assumthru their own class organizations The tremendous effect of this on the future development of social-

> dimly glimpsed at this time. To return to the present stage of however, the importance of this activity lies in that the unions now appear to the workers not merely as dues-paying groups which offer security on the job when times are good and there is apparently not much danger of losing a job, but as "prosperity," in the period of crisis party. and depression, which has ordinarily proved such an erosive force, undermining the whole movement of the union during all phases of

| unions are acting as a labor gov-1 is the extension of labor's political THE BASIC transformation of ernment—not as a parliamentary power to eradicate the profit system, the breeder of unemployment

> This new policy of the trade unions carries within it the germ of ism in this country can only be class political independence, as in steel and auto. The C.I.O., for development of our movement, example, estimates that at least three billion dollars are needed to take care of the unemployed. The administration, under terrific pressure thru demonstrations, confer

it an objective lesson in socialist direction. In this period of the de- not an appropriate thing for diseconomics and politics. For now, it cline of capitalism and the fosterbecomes clear to more and more ing of reactionary mass movements I want to give some idea of a few sections of the workers that, de- | by the ruling class, labor must pay | things that can be considered by spite the utmost efforts of the the keenest attention to the great our organization as a whole, and trade unions to fight unemploy- bulk of the disemployed who are that should be worked out in de- get to plenums, like this for inment and to secure relief, the unorganized, whose ranks are re- tail by the Executive Committee standing army of the unemployed, plenished by sections of the popuitself of seven or eight millions, is lation other than the working class. periodically increased by four or To provide leadership for this five millions more, not all of whom group, numbering millions, to win production again. It is no longer a to demonstrate the power and proquestion of "if only the union would gressive character of the labor utmost and gets a great deal in anti-union and fascist demagogy of the way of immediate relief-but reaction, that is the next great the real solution of the question task of the trade-union movement

In 1933, the Labor Party again

"pledged itself to take no part in

war and to resist it with the whole

In 1934, the bubble burst. The

force of the labor movement." . . .

Political Independence

much as did the organization drives | The Editor.) few words in conclusion. It is A high time that we ourselves began drawing up our own "M-Day plans." I pointed out before that the ruling class has spent a decade ences and political threats, "refuses in preparing, down to the finest deto let the people down" and re- tails, its plans for the day war is and very little leadership on the sponds with an allowance of a declared. I don't want to be an an organization of permanent val- quarter of a billion dollars—it is alarmist—one of the comrades too busy building battleships. The here told me after my October 16th immediate needs of the labor report on the war situation that the M-Day plans that workers in form by the New Deal appeared as workers in bad times as well. For movement are opposed to the war- he thought I was exaggerating the basic industries are, in general, gothe first time in our history, there mongering administration, let situation in sounding the cry of ing to get deferred classification. alone labor's opposition to war it- alarm-certainly, he must realize maintaining those organizational self, and this will certainly ener- by now that that was the moment means, for example, that our auto gains of labor, made in time of gize the movement for a labor at which the moral mobilization of the American people for war However much we welcome the was beginning—I do want to point new attitude and practice of the out that the preparation of our any other basic industries in which American trade-union movement, M-Day plans, while it does not we have many members, we will and, in many instances, even wip- in championing the cause of the need to take a decade and a half, have some relative deferment. ing it out. This unbroken activity organized workers who are unem- is something that cannot be done ployed, we must recognize that this overnight without previous thought gin to develop in the ranks of the the business cycle also brings with is but the first step in the right and planning. I know that this is

> or a sub-committee. I counted the number of women present in this plenum chiefly because I have been studying the will be taken back into industrial for them their demands and needs, M-Day plans of the government. I discovered that, while those plans do something"—the union does its movement and save them from the give the war dictators important powers over women and children by setting aside child-labor laws and women's minimum-wage laws, that nevertheless only men are subed into either the factories or the

cussing in a large committee but

ernments. . . . Action "in support of the League," therefore, means action—war—in support of a body representing in the main capitalist

governments. . . Except for the few, now very few, leaders of the Labor Party who remain pure pacifists, almost Labor Party leaders . . . forced thru the Labor Party conference at all of them believe in one or other Southport, a resolution pledging of the schemes for preventing war described as "collective security" gion are in jail. And despite that, labor to support war against a "peace-breaker"! In this resolution, or as "an international police force." . . . Each of these schemes, gular underground press that is (it is declared) that the Labor Party "must unflinchingly support each of the existent or proposed and all its works. In his book, our government in all the risks and must in fast an underground party thanks to Not only is it true that a new and its works. In his book, our government in all the risks and must, in fact and action, help the ifferent attitude characterizes and Wintringham severely criticized consequences of fulfilling its duty trade-union movement today but, and contrasted it with the genuiney socialist attitude of the I.L.P.

Within six months, by the time and financially to join in such "coltional functions and experiences are acquired. The unions are not merely "presenting their ages" within six months, by the time lective action"! This policy is stated as a necessary part of settlement of the seventh congress of the Communist International in July 1935, stated as a necessary part of settlement. are acquired. The unions are not munist International in July 1935, stated as a necessary part of settle-merely "presenting their case"; the official communist movement they act. in effect, as relief bed itself-med a similar shift from security". they act, in effect, as relief had itself made a similar shift from agencies, certifying need, investion opposition to war to support of Under this "collective-peace systems" and an excuse for a capitalist war, longer a question of long-time

a member of the Independent Labor and mass explanation of our stand We reprint below certain sign- lective-peace system: "Labor is em- "collective" world, . . . bound to- pay very dearly for our complacthe "collective-security" fraud, aggressive war but we recognize In the other, there is a world divid- our "let-George-do-it" attitude on since they are especially pertinent that there might be circumstances ed by class war in which "defense" the recruiting question. And that under which the government of means primarily defense of ruling- applies to everyone of us without Great Britain might have to use its class property. These two views any exception. military and naval forces in sup- clash within the whole labor moveport of the League in restraining ment. . . .

laid down in its resolution of 1932: to submit to the authority of the policy (of the Labor Party) cannot pieces of our best and most pre-"That this conference is of the League and which flagrantly used be overstressed. It means that war cious elements, for each day's deopinion that the socialists and military measures in defiance of its is near . . . and it means that, in lay in the mass recruiting and that sum is.

Labor parties of all nations should agree to oppose any war entered League? Fifty-nine capitalist gov- the labor movement will be at the lation's position on war. We will development of a powerful and into by any government, whatever ernments and one soviet govern- disposal of whatever government pay with months of anguish and competent labor movement that its the ostensible object of the war, ment. The League's action or in- . . . wages that war. For it is al- torture in an inferno that even our members should receive actual and ask the Labor Party delegates action at any given moment is the ways easy to make this war appear imagination does not suffice to

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE | moment, any number of our lead-(This is the last of the series of ers, of our spokesmen, of our articles based on Betritram D. Wolfe's trade-union functionaries of the report at a recent meeting of the male sex, can be effectively stilled National Council of the I.C.L.L. either by being thrown into jail or by being put into military discipline and I think that we must begin now an intensive effort to train more women in our ranks to write for our press, to learn how to speak, to draft programs, to organize, to do all of the things the bulk of which have been done only with very little participation part of women. That is one thing.

We Must Prepare For Our 'M-Day'

That is important to us. That workers will not be drafted with the same rapidity that our miscellaneous workers will be. And. in Therefore, we must consciously bebasic industries people capable of taking over the leadership and the every field that the organization will have to respond to. I don't mean merely on the top, people who stance, for our top people in all fields will be marked men. But we have to prepare second and third and fourth and fifth-line reserves, with general political education, with practise in manysided analyses on all the concrete problems in the light of our general aims.

We have to develop a great deal more of the capacity for independent leadership and initiative in ject to conscription, to being draft- every unit of the country because it is obvious that the separate rearmy. That means that, at any gions may be cut off from the enter for a while.

> I am deeply impressed by what saw happen in Spain, the example of the P.O.U.M. Its best leaders both taken— Maurin and Nin Then its entire leadership was arrested—I mean the entire leadership not the top leadership-every well-known, active P.O.U.M.ist in the land. Scores and hundreds of leaders of the P.O.U.M. in every rethe P.O.U.M. is getting out a revery effective. It is functioning as to that extent the capacity for self initiative in our own ranks.

I am convinced that we will pay very dearly with the prolonging The line of the Labor Party was an aggressor nation which declined The importance of this change of of slaughter, with the cutting to

Forgotten Words

the economic field. That this para- ham, a well-known Stalinist writer on military-political quesunionism in America extends to all tions, published his book, "The Coming World War." In it, he undertook a fairly thoro examination of the "collective-security" doctrine, then coming to the fore. The year before, the British Labor Party had changed its stand from opposition to war and rearmament different attitude characterizes our the new policy of the Labor Party to take part in collective action

they act, in effect, as relief had itself made a similar shift from gating cases and handling, in con- "collective security" and every tem," the (Labor Party) memo- speech by John McGovern, M.P., political aim, but today recruiting junction with the relief agencies word of criticism levelled by Win- randum states it would be possible proper, the distribution of funds. tringham against the Labor Party to distinguish between a war of an Party. . . . Here are two different on the war question are the burn-This is most clearly worked out by the United Automobile Workers, learning against the Labor Fatty to distinguish solution of the Colmunist International.

Tringnam against the Labor Fatty to distinguish solution on against the Labor Fatty. . . . Here are two uniterent one conceptions of war and of society. In one conception, there is a united working class will be undertaken in defense of the columnication of the conception of the conception of war and of society. In one conception, there is a united working class will be undertaken in defense of the columnication of the conception of the conception of war and of society. In one conception, there is a united working class will be undertaken in defense of the columnication of the conception of the conception

"COLLECTIVE SECURITY" EXPOSED

training in what is nothing else to bring forward this policy at the resultant of the policies of the to be against the foreign "peace- contemplate and understand. Today than governmental administration. next International Socialist Con- government members of the League, breaker," a war for "collective- each day is precious, not one moespecially the most influential gov- security," a war for peace.

Vol. 7.

March 12, 1938

SPY SCARES

THOSE who remember or have read about the wild spy scare of 1916 that helped put the be led to the slaughter the next year, will not fail to recognize the multiplying signs of another such hysteria being generated thru the efforts of the present "peace-loving" administration.

A few nondescript individuals are arrested, charged with espionage of a rather "amateurish" and "naive" variety, according to the press. Such things have happened repeatedly in the past and have been regarded as a mere routine affair, provoking little attention, if, indeed, they received any publicity at all. But now the front pages of the newspapers blaze forth with many-columned headlines about "master minds" at work in "spy rings," about G-men engaged in "secret hunts," about "mysterious communications" packed with trivialities in plain English, about "indirect connections" with the Robinson-Rubens case and what not. In quick succession, orders go out to search visitors and ban cameras at flying fields and the President "warns" against foreign radio propaganda. There are dark hints of plots to wreck the Panama Canal and to invade the "fruitful fields of California." The press works itself up into a fenzy; government agencies begin to run around in circles, creating a vast deal of excitement about nothing in particular; the masses of the people, infected with the fever, grow worried, nervous, panicky, begin to see "enemy agents" everywhere. At last, with a kind of frightened fatalism, they come to regard the outbreak of war as inevitable, the result of the wicked machinations of "certain foreign powers." It would all be very ridiculous were it not so fraught with ultimate tragedy!

The current spy scare is not just an exploit of the yellow press, as some people think; the most sober and respectable papers are as guilty as the rest. The current spy scare is part and parcel of a war psychology that the administration is deliberately fomenting in order to break down popular resistance to its war policy. It is reliably reported that, some weeks ago, a secret conference was held at the White House, attended by army and navy men, representatives of the State Department, important corporation executives, high-powered lawyers, well-known publishers and leaders of public opinion generally, at which the problem was placed by the President himself in the following characteristic form: "This nation used to be ready to fight at the drop of a hat and we must get it that way again." The unmistakable desire for peace on the part of the American people was bothering the administration, was, in fact, hampering its foreign policy. The Chicago address, urging the idea of "collective security" in the form of "quarantine," had fallen flat. Attempts to create a panic over the Panay incident had failed. The LaFollette-Ludlow Amendment could be quashed only with the greatest difficulty. The people obviously wanted peace and were opposed to foreign adventures. No wonder the President was worried. No wonder he had to call together some of his key men to work out a program of getting the people into a mood to accept war, if not actually to fight at the drop of a hat.

The spy scare, with all its trimmings, is part of this program. It is only a beginning. A short time ago, an American consul was slapped by a Japanese sentry—curious how omnipresent our diplomatic agents are in China as compared with their almost total absence from Spain. But again nothing happened; the people at home didn't seem to get much excited about it. Well, these incidents will now multiply; "insults to the flag" and to our "national honor" will not be lacking; perhaps a few missionaries will be found to fulfill their historic mission. A couple of good "incidents" are necessary and the wheels have already been started going. . . .

Thus, deliberately and with malice aforethought. is the country being driven into a war madness from which there is no way out except another world slaughter. And whom do we find in the front rank of these howling dervishes of chauvinism? Whom but the Daily Worker, which features the spy scare even more prominently than Stalin's latest bloodpurge! Wherever there is some particularly vile, upon extinguishing.

War and Revolution By Lambda

Some Lessons from History

Spain in the armed struggle would necessarily lead to the estabagainst fascism? In 1789, the whole of Europe was

still under the voke of feudalism or tariat was a tiny minority of the in order to secure internal order destruction of feudalism and the towns and villages. elimination of the hindrances to free capitalist development. Today, French and the Austrian and Prusfascist Italy and Germany are, of course, not feudal states of the sian troops produced great dismay in Paris. Many leading officers type of feudal Prussia or Austria turned out to be traitors and the of the 18th century; they are mo- old army troops, consisting mainly dern imperialistic powers in which of professional soldiers, were easifinance-capital predominates. In ly defeated by the better disciplinspite of these fundamental dif- ed and better led troops of reactionferences, the French Revolution ary Austria and Prussia. does demonstrate certain principles applicable to the present situation.

Revolution And War

There is the lesson that emerges by the reactionaries of our own out the saboteurs of the revolution, country, can only be won by the the defenders of big property and most radical completion of the in-ternal revolution so that the work- of the reactionary army officers, never have been able to win the by the wealthy bourgeoisie. The the foreign invaders.

were in sympathy with the counforeign invaders, while the Vendee invaders. in the North of France and Toulon in the South were in open revolt against the radical center of the

evolution—Paris. The Prussian and Austrian genagainst the untrained and undisciplined troops of revolutionary France would not be necessary. The appearance of their own wellroops who understood how to ficient to make the young recruits landowners. of revolutionary France run away from the battle-field in panic. In France, the "King's party" was

revolting piece of jingoism to put found, right on the job!

in his usual sanctimonious manner: against the foreign invader could phere an area of peace and sanity radical domestic revolution. This is tion and its allies are now so intent the fight against the invader may

strong army. For the same reason, HAT are the most important lessons of the great French Marat, the best representative of the "have-nots" of Paris, was op-Revolution as they apply today in posed to provoking a war which lishment of a powerful, centrally organized military machine. The leaders of the Gironde hoped that absolute monarchy. The prole-such an armed force could be used

The Masses Rise For Victory

The French Revolution was in the greatest danger of being defeated by the foreign invaders mmediately: a war against reac- when the masses of the poor of ionary foreign invaders, supported Paris and other big towns wiped ng class and the peasants are real- those who wanted a reconciliation fighting against the restoration between the monarchy and the retheir own oppressors and ex- presentatives of big capitalist proloiters when they war against the perty. The Jacobins, under the leadforeign invaders. If the French ership of Robespierre, represented evolutionaries had applied the the masses of the poor, who had slogan: "First win the war—then made the revolution and felt that think of the revolution," they would they had been robbed of its fruits war and defend themselves against short period of revolutionary terror under Robespierre began when the The first French Revolution had war against the foreign reactionto fight against foreign invaders ary invaders was in a very bad whose military superiority ap- condition and the very existence of peared to be overwhelming in com- the French Revolution was in arison with the French forces. danger. The most revolutionary Feudal Austria and Prussia, the wing of bourgeois France, the strongest military powers in Cen- Jacobins, did not hesitate to violate tral Europe at that time, backed by the "rights of property" or to per-Czarist Russia and by bourgeois secute rigorously those who en-Britain, tried to crush the French riched themselves at the expense Revolution and to reestablish the of the hungry people. Representing Bourbon monarchy in France, the most radical wing of the bour-Many officers of the French army geois revolution, the Jacobins knew that the most radical revolution at ter-revolutionary emigres, who home was necessary in order to formed auxiliary troops for the win the war against the foreign

The first French Revolution had started with a decision of the "Third Estate" at the National Asprivileges and to insist on a demofeudal lords could transform their feudal incomes into capitalist incomes, at the expense of the trained and disciplined mercenary peasants whose economic situation. therefore, did not improve, except handle their muskets, would be suf- for a small minority of independent

A Life Or Death Choice sure of such an outcome and there- to destroy the revolution and when fore sponsored the war. The the king himself proved to be in moderate party of the Girondists, conspiracy with the foreign invadwho represented the bourgeois ers, the French Revolution was upper class, wanted to use the war faced with a life-or-death choice: in order to be able to stop the re- either to continue the revolution at volution thru the formation of a home—that is, the complete expropriation of the feudal landlords (without compensation) and the over, there the Stalinites are to be eradication of the royalists with the king at their head-or else sub-Last year, at Buenos Aires, mit to the certainty of losing the Secretary of State Hull declared war. The resistance of the "people" We must create on this hemis- be rallied and stiffened only by a in a war-mad world." What a hol- the important lesson of the great low mockery this is today in French Revolution, which shows the face of the administration's cal- that, in order to defeat counterculated efforts to arouse a blind revolutionary armies invading the war frenzy among the people! It is country, a revolutionary dictatorthe mission of the rapidly growing | ship of the formerly exploited and anti-war movement to keep alive in oppressed classes against their this country that spark of "peace | former exploiters and oppressors is and sanity" which the administra- necessary so that, for the masses,

(Continued on Page 6)

WORLD TODAY

The Inside Story Of Feb. 4 Bares Victory Of The Reichswehr

(We present below a brilliant analysis of the recent events in Germany. It will be noticed that Lambda's interpretation of these events is quite different from that of the American press generally. It is only necessary to people. The tasks and the results of and protect "property" against the revolution could only be the dissatisfied "sansculottes" in the tical life of Germany, our correspondent is without a peer and that he has unusually trustworthy connections The first clashes between the with the underground labor movement of that country. -The Editor.)

London, February 9, 1938.

EBRUARY 4, 1938 represents an historic date on the Nazi calendar. In order to understand its true significance, we must discard both the prejudiced view of the German press which would interpret the blow suffered by the regime as a victory for the Nazi party as well as the confusing reports of most of the international press. Let us

February 4, 1938 marks the beginning of the decline of the Nazi regime. Open warfare has broken out among its leading factions. The first rift is here. The conflict of the leaders and their cliques reflects deep dissension within the ruling class. February 4, 1938 has been compared to June 30, 1934. The comparison may serve to clarify the fundamental changes in the situation. On June 30, 1934, the Reichswehr successfully averted an attempt on the part of the Nazis to coordinate the army. The National-Socialist party was stopped and the S. A. and Storm Troopers were made to toe the line. The Reichswehr had waged a successful defensive. On the present occasion, out of which a compromise resulted the Reichswehr, big business, and the Junkers were on the offensive. So much so that on January 28, the Reichswehr massed its troops in the government quarter and at other strategic points in the city of Berlin. The Nazis were forced to retreat before this onslaught. Neither they nor the Gestapo nor the S. S. could afford an armed conflict with the Reichswehr. They had to deal with the representatives of the army. By all the standards of bourgeois law, the leaders of the army were guilty of high treason. The compromise arrived at has actually strengthened the position of the army, of big business and of the Junkers. Hitler simply managed to save the face of his government. Hitler's "direct command" of the army was and remains fiction. As the head of the state, Hitler had been for some time commander-inchief of the armed forces. He does not even now pursembly in 1789 to abolish feudal port to be in actual charge. Goering received the uniform of a Field Marshal as consolation prize for erals thought that a real war cratic constitution. However, things having missed the post of commander-in-chief and were so arranged that the former for having his powers restricted. As commandant of the air forces, he is subordinate to Keitel, chief of the General Staff. Most of his functions in connection with the Four-Year Plan have been transferred to the Ministry of Economics. Nor did Himmler, head of the Gestapo, secure any military power. Ribbentrop became Foreign Minister but the foreign policy of the Nazi regime has been placed under the direct and systematic control of the leaders of the Reichwehr and the Wilhelmstrasse burocracy thru the establishment of the "privy council." Before February 4, the German army was led by von Blomberg who was merely Hitler's messenger boy. The new army leaders, Keitel and von Brauchitsch, are far better representatives of the army and have larger. more concentrated powers. While it is true that General von Fritsch and some of his close friends

> preciative farewell. What motivated the army, big business and the Junkers in their revolt? The army was opposed to (Continued on Page 6)

> who actually led the revolt have been eliminated or

rather pushed into the background as a result of

widespread reorganization, it is also a fact that some

of Goering's cronies have been affected-witness the

fate of General Kaupisch. The "victory of the Nazis

over the generals" is definitely Nazi propaganda

fabricated to mislead the rank-and-file Nazi and to

cover up the severe blow suffered by the regime. The

letter of farewell given by Hitler to General Fritsch

shows clearly who was more powerful on January 28

and 29. According to the most elementary rule of

bourgeois government, Fritsch should have been

stood up against the wall instead of receiving an ap-

Labor Notes and Facts

Unions in England and the U.S.A.

By ANNE LAURIER

TN GREAT BRITAIN and the United States, both highly industrialized and major imperialist powers, the trade unions are the mainstream of the labor movement. Due to the absence and atrocities, remains a working- ese people. The surest ally and supof democratic tasks for the working class to perform, the political movement in the Labor Party has grown out of the necessity of protecting the unions against hostile legislation and courts. It is dominated by the needs of the trade-union movement and, where it exists, it represents the entire working class.

collapse of coal mining, the basis

of both industry and unionism in

England. But the fight was also

more stubborn and lasted six years,

until the breakdown of the General

Strike, following which industrial-

peace talks became the order of the

day and all attempts to reorganize

the Trades Union Congress along

full industrial lines were shelved

This was paralleled in the United

States by the collapse of the amal

3. Reversal Of Roles And The

Upsurge In America-1933-1937

tion. Another depression has al-

1936. The far sharper crisis in the

United States has brought diame

trically opposite results. A differ-

ent set of circumstances turned the

government towards labor and so

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Workers Rights

In Spain

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Due to this similarity, there has cline of British capitalism and the been a parallel fluctuation in the trade-union membership of the two countries from 1898 to 1935, with Great Britain on a consistently higher level. This similarity has been accompanied by certain important differences in structure, power and ideological outlook. Since the depression, the change that has occurred in the structure of the American unions has caused a complete reversal of their former roles. Under the banner of the C.I.O., with new mass strike tactics and magnificent victories, the American labor movement has become the inspiration of world labor and has grown so rapidly that there are today over 1,000,000 more organized workers in the united States than in Great Britain.*

The history of these movements can roughly be divided into three

1. Upswing Of The Unions-1900-1920 The loss of the British monopoly of the world market at the turn o the century, led to the organization of unskilled workers and after in tense inner warfare, the domination of the crafts in the Trades Union Congress was replaced by that of the miners, the railwaymer and general workers. Growth was at first slow but, by 1910, the conflict was solved by amalgamation and culminated in the establishment of the three great industrial unions: the National Union of Railwaymen, the Transport Workers Federation and the Miners Fed-cial legislation and even encoureration of Great Britain. Member- agement of union organization. ship had risen from 1,752,000 in The conflict between the tremen-1898 to 4,145,000 in 1914. At the dous flow of new and unskilled same dates, American unions had workers into unions and the preda-501,000 and 2,687,000 members retory policies of the craft unionist spectively. In the United States, leaders of the American Federa the upswing had been even more tion of Labor brought a crisis that rapid and had brought with it the could only be solved progressively same inner crisis of organization. thru the split and the formation of By 1904, each movement had the C.I.O., which brought with it around 2,000,000 members and the an increased tempo of growth. United States was even a little Membership reached, by October ahead of the British, but it fell 1937. 3.359,000 in the C.I.O. and, behind as the industrial-union ques-by August 1937, 3,271,726 in the tion was settled favorably in Great A. F. of L., a total of 6,630,726— Britain and unfavorably in the 1.323,000 above the British union United States.

Both movements gained during 1937, the C.I.O. has risen by about the war and, in spite of ideological 2,359,000 beyond the original 1,000, differences, the leadership of both 000 members and the gain for the followed the identical policy of whole movement from 1933 to 1937 mobilizing the labor movement be- has been 3,657,000. hind the war. From 1915 to 1920, (To be continued in the the British gained 3,989,000 and the American 2,465,200 workers. By 1920, they reached a peak in both membership and militancy, with 8,348,000 organized workers in Great Britain and 5,048,000 in America.

2. The Decline-1921-1933

The post-war depression started a reduction in membership but the employers offensive was so strong that the loss was continued thruthe following prosperity period, a new phenomenon in the history of trade unionism. By 1933, membership in the United States declined to 2.973.000, a loss of 40%, and Great Britain lost about 4,000,000 members, falling to 4,392,000. In Great Britain, the fall was more absolute because of the general de-

* National Buro of Economic Research. Bulletin 68. Union Membership in Great Britain and United States by Leo Wolman.

(Continued from Page 1) port any American war in the Far after all, a family quarrel, no mat-

ter how much they may hate each "helping the Soviet Union" or "aid-

Union, despite Stalin's despotism of the Soviet Union and the Chinclass country where socialism is port that the Soviet and Chinese the various mechanisms of the being built. The Soviet Union con- masses can find is not Amerfronts the United States—that is, ican imperialism but a militant and the ruling class that runs the unafraid labor movement fighting of the A.A.A. in terms of produc-United States—not with just a imperialism tooth and nail at home problem of imperialistic rivalry but and abroad! with a desperate, life-and-death struggle for survival between two capitalism in any war it may wage lished recently. Production condiametrically opposed social and for still another reason: because trol and crop loans, it is found. economic systems, a struggle in American participation in war to- aided in stimulating farm income which there can be no compromise in the long run. If American capfascist dictatorship to this country

A.A.A. but such benefits varied italism hates Japan because it is as sure as fate. It is only neces- widely with different crops. And cutting in on its business, it posi- sary to refer to the Industrial Mob- the fact that production control tively loathes and execrates, and fears, the Soviet Union in which it Hill bill now before Congress; it emergency measure is said to be no sees a deadly threat to its very is only necessary to consult the indication "that it would be similar-

gamation movement and the failare of the 1921 fight of the miners

in which the U.S.A. may be tem- when war comes. Totalitarian war, doubtful value as a permanent porarily lined up with the Soviet the only kind of war that can be device. Nor does the ever-normal Union against Japan, it would waged under modern conditions, re- granary plan, operating thru crop gladly take the first opportunity of quires a totalitarian state. So far loans, the impounding of stocks getting together with Japan for a from liberating other peoples from and similar mechanisms, meet with As the result of the deepest dejoint attack upon the U.S.S.R.—in the yoke of fascism, America's much approval in this study. Finalpression in history both movements the name of "peace" and "civiliza- participation in war will only too ly, the Soil Conservation Act of have undergone basic changes. Due tion," of course! More than that, likely bring something very close 1936 is found, "from the standto the demoralization following the from the very beginning of the to fascism to this country. And I point of economics," to involve pay1931 debacle of the Labor Party war, the United States would be find it hard to believe that the Soments that appear "somewhat as find it hard to believe that the Soments that appear "somewhat as find it hard to believe that the Soments that appear "somewhat as find it hard to believe that the Soments that appear "somewhat as find it hard to believe that the Soments that appear "somewhat as find it hard to believe that the Soments that appear "somewhat as find it hard to believe that the Soments that appear "somewhat as somewhat as and the curtailment of social legis- on the look-out for just such an viet Union or the Chinese people indiscriminate handouts, subsidizlation by the Tory government, the opportunity of stabbing its "dear can possibly benefit by anything ing uneconomic operations in re-English trade unions have not re- ally" in the back with Japanese that will enthrone reaction and sponse to political and sectional covered their militancy and, conse- help; this would, indeed, be part military dictatorship in America, quently, have made few gains in of its essential strategy. Nothing that will cripple our trade-union membership. Full support of the would please American big busi- movement if not destroy it altorearmament policy of the National ness more in such a situation than gether as an effective force, that government has prevented any re- to give Japan a good licking, will wipe out all the gains labor enough to show it who is boss in has made in decades! sistance to lower real wages. speed-up and industrial conscript the Far East, and, at the same time, help finish off the Soviet ready been reached with only 900.-Union for good and all by over-000 new unionists and a total of throwing the soviet regime and 5.307.639 trade union members in restoring capitalism.

is to organize labor's forces in this That is what would happen ase everything went well for the country and on an international United States in the war; should scale to prevent the shipment of munitions and war materials of things go badly, what would be easier than to reach ar accomodation with Japan at the expense of exerting the utmost pressure upon Russia? Here again the Soviet the government at Washington in Union would be left holding the the same direction. Let us recall.

American Armies A Police Force Of Reaction But even that isn't the whol tory. It is very unlikely that war n the Far East could go on for long without a social upheaval in Japan and China, both of which seem to be on the verge of revolution. What will our American armies in the Far East do then? Can there be any doubt? Of course, they will join with the Japanese militarists to "restore order," that is, to crush all signs of popular best possible terms and to exmembership (1936). From 1935 to revolt wherever they may appear. The American troops would thereupon be converted into a police force of reaction, not only against to build up in our own country a accept the opportunity, they would to build up in our own country a policy. the Soviet Union but against the powerful, militant labor movement not give them any more relief." eople of China and Japan as well. Here you have the grim reality behind all of the fine phrases about America's role as "liberator" and

> The only force that could halt the murderous hand of American imperialism in such a situation would be a strong, independent and militant labor movement in this country. But that is exactly what we are not going to have if the labor movement goes chauvinist; if it joins the camp of the warmongers, operating under the cloak of "collective security"; if it falls in line behind the rearmament program, with or without "qualifications." A labor movement that is tied hand and foot to the war machine is in no position to stop that machine from being used to crush the Soviet Union and the working masses of China and Japan, in the joint interests of Japanese and American imperial-

That is why we refuse to sup-

other. But, between the United States to bait the trap. We refuse to supand the Soviet Union, it is no mere port any American war in the Far This pamphlet on New Deal farm

family quarrel. For the Soviet East precisely in the best interests

How To Help The Soviet Union

No; agitating for war is not

The way to help the Soviet Union

any sort to Japan, at the same time

for inspiration and guidance, the

great solidarity action of the Brit-

ish. French and Czech workers in

1920, who refused to handle sup-

plies sent by the "great demo

cracies" to Poland for the war

against Soviet Russia; let us not

forget the courageous movement

of the West Coast longshoremen

who rose against American inter-

vention in Siberia in 1919 by ob-

structing shipments across the

viet Union is to open the markets

of this country to its needs on the

tend to it every form of economic

upon which the Russian working

defense not only against Japan effort would be made thru "per-

but against "our own" imperial- suasion" to accomplish the same

We refuse to support American

America and USSR

Always Ready To Betray

'Soviet ally" in the Far East!

ism as well. A YEAR SUB 6mos.60 Ł now

FARM POLICIES UNDER THE NEW DEAL. Public Affairs Pamphlets No. 16. Public Affairs Committee. New York. 1938.

policies presents a pretty clear account of the plight of the farmer A.A.A. before and after the Supreme Court decision, the effects tion, prices and farm income, and general appraisal based on the very instructive studies of such ly effective for the purpose of holdwriters as Rose M. Stein and Ste- ing production continuously in line phen and Joan Raushenbush, to with markets requirements." Crop That means that, even in a war discover what we'll be up against loans, too, are regarded as of pressures.'

One of the shortcomings of this study is that it gives inadequate consideration to the differences in benefits received from the A.A.A. y various classes or income-groups f farmers; a word is said about the share-croppers but that is all.

Of course, the basic defect is hat nowhere is the question asked: What is the matter with our economic system that, in order to achieve some sort of stability, it is necessary to restrict production plow under crops, kill pigs and the ike at a time when millions are hungry, undernourished, perhaps

WPA-Army Link Bared

(Continued from Page 1) ous branches of the national de fense." "The idea," according to Colonel Magruder, acting recruit-Pacific. The way to help the So-1 ing officer for the Second Corps area, "was to purge the W.P.A rolls of those who could easily serve in the army, navy or Marine Corps and to transfer them to doassistance. But, most of all, the ing something productive for the way to help the Soviet Union is government. . . . If they did not masses can really rely in their that any "coercion" is being conhour of peril, when they may need templated but confirmed that every

> Meanwhile, the up-state W.P.A. has already been requested by the United States Army recruiting service to draw up lists of able-bodied single young men on home and work-relief with a view to obtaining their enlistment for military service. The state officers of the W.P.A. passed on the request to all local public-welfare commissioners outside of New York City pointing out that the recruiting appeal night provide "a means of reducing your relief rolls and costs." Young men on many W.P.A. projects in New York City report that they too have received army recruiting material.

> The war machine is evidently driving full speed ahead with its preparations for the next world slaughter.

Trade Union Notes

= By Observer =

The Federman Case

THE decisions of the United Automobile Workers and the I United Mine Workers Union restricting the destructive activities of the Stalinites in the trade unions caused loud and indignant protests from the direction of the C.P. and its stooges. Heywood Broun rushed in with his usual Stalinist apologetics, our organs of "liberal thought" insisted that this was the first step to fascism and that well-known labor leader and trade-union expert, the columnist, Jay Franklin, could contain himself no

longer. Deliberately distorting the position of the United Automobile Workkers, he protested against a policy which allegedly means "taking the bread and butter from the mouths of trade unionists" merely for holding certain political opi-

Of course, the whole argument is a fraud, as we have shown more is curious to note how silent all of these champions of "oppressed minorities" are in the case of the Toronto furriers, where it is the Stalinites who are doing the oppressing.

In the last election for manager of the furriers union in Toronto the candidate of the C.P. was defeated. Elected was the popular builder of the organization, Max Federman, affiliated with a Jewish radical organization, the Left Poale Zion. At that very moment, the C.P. leadership in the International Fur Workers Union began to plot and conspire to get Federman at the first opportunity. This opportunity was not long in coming.

A difficult strike and ensuing troubles gave the Stalinist clique the chance to raise the cry of misuse of certain funds for which they alleged Federman could not produce official receipts. The argument of the Toronto manager, that certain types of organization work are not easily accounted for in terms of official receipts, was met with a shrug of the shoulders. To make certain that their long-awaited chance did not go wrong, the General Executive Board mediately appointed a committee to place Federman on trial.

When the Toronto locals insisted upon their right to try Federman, the G.E.B. was forced to yield and confined its activity to bringing pressure to bear upon the membership. The results were rather disappointing for the Stalinists. The trial committee hearing Federman's case and acquainted with the work of the organization, found him not guilty. A general membership meeting delivered a final blow to Stalinist hopes by voting 4-to-1 to back Federman.

And here is where the C.P.dominated International Fur Workers Union showed that it had learned much from the Moscow trials. Completely disregarding the decision of the membership, the G.E.B. favored a rapprochement with the expelled Federman, ordered him to Soviet Union. The army is opposed turn the union office and funds over to the religious warfare carried on to a Stalinist appointee and, when by the Nazis as tending to destroy that was refused, it went to court to enjoin Federman and the union from using the name of the International Fur Workers Union. In addition, a gang of New York hooligans were imported and the Toronto fur market became a bloody battlefield.

At this writing, the battle is still on. The supporters of Federman, consisting of two local unions, have gone over into the A. F. of L. in their search for backing in the fight. Thus does the Stalinist lust for political domination of the trade unions drive workers out of the C.I.O. and into the A. F. of L.

The activities of the Stalinists in the furriers union are unique only in the degree to which they have a stranglehold upon the leadership. That this policy of extermination of their political opponents—those who stand in the way of their domination of the trade unions—is not an isolated case confined to the

fur industry is clear from their much publicized campaign to 'drive' the Lovestoneites, Trotskyites and other political opponents, from the labor movement. In so many words, the Communist Party gives the lie to its own protestations that it is a force for unity in the labor movement. In Toronto, they have been than once in these columns. But it able to carry their policy into practise and to drive an opponent out of the ranks of the C.I.O. into the A. F. of L. If they have not succeeded elsewhere, it is only because they are too weak; it is only because the membership is on guard against Stalinist disruption.

The labor movement at large has said very little about the events in Toronto and the actions of President Gold. But suppose, just suppose, that the president of the United Automobile Workers had received a report from an auditor of some local union under the leadership of a Stalinist, that finances were really and truly being mishandled? Suppose, then, that he proceeded to take steps to investigate this matter. What do you think would have happened? How the cry of "unity and democracy" would have split the very heavens! The rest you can best picture for yourselves.

But where a Stalinist union is concerned, where the victim is merely an obstacle to the Stalinist lust for power, there is total silence. The insolence of the Stalinist tradeunion leaders and their contempt for the opinion of the labor movement, is exceeded only by that of Stalin himself for the international labor movement.

G. F. MILES

World Today

(Continued from Page 4) further entanglement in Spain and the strengthening of the Rome-Berlin axis since it regards Italy as a negligible military factor and is not inclined to risk a European war because of friendship with Mussolini and Franco. The army was opposed to giving full support to the Japanese. It was in favor of a rapprochement with England and France and certain elements, particularly Fritsch and his followers, the morale of the soldiers. To sum it up, the Reichswehr is in favor of thoro and slow preparation for a war, a big war, and is opposed to the irresponsibility with which Hitler's demagogues are dissipating the strength of Germany and threatening to involve it in a premature war.

Big business had many points in common with the army. It looks upon credits granted to Italy as so much money wasted; it is anxious to get credits from England and possibly America; it feels that its business opportunities in China are being threatened by a Japanese alliance. In the Frankfurter Zeitung it aptly dubbed the Four-Year Plan as "organized distress." It is opposed to governmental interference in business. The army, of course, is in favor of subordinating all business and industry to war preparations.

The Junkers were opposed to cer-

What Was Behind Strike Of Phila. Hose Workers?

THE two-day insurgent strike in the Philadelphia hosiery market in protest against an arbitration award resulting in a wage-cut, focused attention last week on the American Federation of Hosiery Workers and some of the problems faced by that union.

To understand the strike we must go back to last August, when, as the result of negotiations between the union and a large group of manufacturers, a wage increase averaging between 6% and 9% was obtained for approximately 40% of the workers in the industry. Despite the organization efforts of the union, which resulted in the consolidation of strength in the argest hosiery-knitting center (Reading, Pa.), and other major gains, the union was unable to bring the wage level in the industry as a whole up to that in the shops which were signatory to the so-called national labor agreement.

Until October, 1937 was the biggest year that full-fashioned hosiery has ever had in America. However, when the general depression came, the hosiery industry was worse hit than most other consumers-goods industries. In Philadelphia, the most strongly unionized section, the situation was particularly acute and aggravated by the fact that, because of migration to the South and other reasons, there was little modern knitting machinery being installed. Philadelphia was thus a high-cost producing area and its 16,000 hosiery workers seemed doomed unless something could be done to attract new equipment. By December, but 20% of the Philadelphia hosiery workers were working.

In this situation, the president of the Philadelphia Branch, No. 1, made the proposal that the industry in Philadelphia could be saved granting wage concessions equal to the increase gained in August. This proposal was made in the public press just prior to a mass-meeting of Branch 1, which subsequently almost unanimously turned the proposal down. The proposal was denounced by the national officers of the union, and by workers in North Jersey and the Midwest, other sections covered by the contract.

Almost simultaneously, in accordance with the provisions of the agreement, the manufacturers moved to reopen negotiations on the wage-scale, asking for reductions amounting to much more than those offered by the Branch 1 president. The union refused to consider the question and then, under the terms of the agreement, the matter was arbitrated, with Wm. Leiserson, of the National Mediation Board, as the impartial arbitrator.

sion which took advantage of the

tain effects of the war economy in troduced into agriculture.

Neither the army nor big business nor the Junkers are opposed to the continued existence of the Nazi dictatorship as such. They cannot get rid of it for fear of the consequences. They must retain the Nazis as the instrument of oppression of the working class. The present conflict, therefore, takes place within the confines of the fascist dictatorship. But the seat of power is being shifted away from the Nazi regime to the army. The so-called totalitarian war towards which Germany is heading requires, in the opinion of Ludendorff (and the army shares his opinions), that all power, political as well as military, be concentrated in the hands of the army in case of war and that the Nazis play a secondary role. February 4, 1938 is a step in this direction.

(Continued in next issue)

Philadelphia, Pa. | complicated piece-rate method of payment to mask a wage-cut rising to 20%, in accordance with the type of work done. The higherpaid workers were the hardest hit.

> Resentment immediately arose against the award. In Philadelphia and Northern New Jersey it took the form of strike sentiment, altho the contract specifically prohibited strikes during the life of the agreement. Altho the strike sentiment was not unanimous in Philadelphia, it was encouraged by the president of the branch. The opposition to the president, Stalinist-led, offered no real suggestions at all. The meeting at which the strike vote was taken was sparsely attended and the action was protested, particularly among some of the newly organized workers. However, a meeting later in the week came to the same conclusion, first voting to rescind the strike vote and then passing it once more. In the meanwhile, the national officers of the union, while denouncing the arbitration award, condemned the strike action also, pointing out that it was in violation of the terms of the agreement. The lead offered by Philadelphia was followed by North Jersey but turned down by the other districts affected by the award, partly because of a distrust of the Branch 1 leadership on the part of the other areas.

The newspapers have carried accounts of the partial nature and ultimate collapse of the strike un- der pressure from the national organization. What they have not recognized, however, was the fact trat the strike was doomed to failure from the first. The leaders of the strike in Philadelphia had no program to offer to prevent the new wage schedule from going into effect. From the very start they were afraid to permit the majority of the members to vote on the question at all. The final vote in favor of the strike was about 800 to 400, out of a membership estimated between 12,000 and 16,000.

The collapse of the strike leaves he hosiery industry in the Philadelphia area and as a whole in an even more difficult situation than before. The best efforts of the entire union, leadership and membership alike, will be necessary to meet the grave crisis.

Var Lessons

(Continued from Page 4)

really be a fight for their own in-

Robespierre and the Jacobins insisted on the destruction of all internal enemies and on radical measures against the speculators and big landowners, even during Leiserson handed down a deci- the most difficult period of the war. The leaders of the moderate bourgeoisie, who had amassed new fortunes during the revolution, did not want any measures which violated "property rights" and made impossible a reconciliation with the reactionary foreign powers. Girondist leaders attempted to save the head of the king and to preserve the monarchy. The Jacobins insisted that the death of the king would discourage the reactionaries and inspire the revolutionaries to greater activity and vigilance. The Girondists did not want to "provoke" the foreign powers by a death sentence against the king. The Jacobins urged revolutionary propaganda against feudal oppression in order to weaken the invading armies by making the French cause the cause of all peoples against all suppressors.

The pressure of the revolutionary people of Paris compelled the Girondist leaders to put the king on trial in open court. Under the influence of the Jacobins, anti-

Movements Against War

(Continued from Page 2) People's Front by any means.

What, then, does make a movement a People's Front? mentally, two things: (1) an organizational setup attempting to unite working class organizations with bourgeois (not petty-bourgeois) organizations, especially bourgeois political organizations; and (2) a program expressing the conservatism and class strivings of the bourgeois partners in the alliance. In other words, the organizational and political predominance of the bourgeoisie, since, once you enter a political partnership with definitely bourgeois organizations, it will be their program and their outlook that will predominate.

Is the anti-war movement we are supporting of such a character? Of course not! The "Keep America Out Of War" movement so far is a movement of several hundred outstanding figures in various fields of social life sponsoring meetings and other anti-war manifestations; beyond that, it has not taken any organizational form as yet. But already the labor elements in the movement are decisive in all that counts and its program is unquestionably generally sound. The fact that a good number of the sponsors of the March 6 meeting are middleclass people and liberals no more makes it a People's Front than the thousands of middle-class and liberal supporters and sponsors of the Sacco-Vanzetti movement made that a People's Front affair.

Where the anti-war movement has gone on to a further stage of development, it is almost entirely labor in character. Look at the anti-war conference called two weeks or so ago in Detroit by the U.A.W. and other C.I.O. unions. Forty delegates were there, all trade unionists, and, when they came to elect a provisional committee, they had to leave a vicepresidency open for a representative of civic and religious organizations because there was none such present. That was a distinct shortcoming of the conference but it certainly was not a failing in the direction of the People's Front.

Two different phases of the antivar movement are beginning to develop simultaneously. On the one hand, we have activities, such as the March 6 and April 6 meetings, organized by loose committees of prominent people of all political views and all classes of society, united only by their hatred of war and burning desire to do something to prevent its recurrence. On the other hand, we have the mobilization of the labor movement against war, as expressed in the resolutions adopted by the S.W.O.C., the U.A. W., the U.M.W.A., the Chicago Labor Party, and hundreds of other labor organizations thruout the country-as expressed, above all, in such movements as that recently initiated in Detroit. In cooperation and fusion of these two tendencies under the leadership of labor, lies the hope of a broad and effective anti-war movement in the United States.

feudalist revolutionary propaganda became a powerful weapon against foreign invaders and assured the French armies the support of the peasants and towns-people in Belgium and in the Rhineland.

(Continued Next Week)

PEOPLE who assume that we should always be prosperous unless some villains upset the applecart are reckoning without economic science. Crude charges against either government or business are ruled out of economic discussion."—George Soule, in the New Republic.