# Lessons of Flint

by Observer

THE smashing victory of the progressive forces in the recent elections of Flint Local 156 of the United Automobile Workers, is one of the most significant events to occur in the trade-union movement for some time. Its significance goes far beyond Flint, far beyond the U.A.W., far beyond even the specific issues themselves.

Flint-key city in the General Motors empire—had always been regarded as perhaps the chief stronghold of the Stalinist-controlled "unity" group in the U.A.W. For months, the loud-mouthed ranters of this caucus kent on hearting of their rest kept on boasting of their vast support among the rank-and-file and raving against the Martin "burocracy." All efforts on the part of the progressives to establish some minimum of peace and harmony in the interest of the union as a whole were contemptuously spurned by the "unity" leaders, who were apparently too sure that the elections would give them a stranglehold on the Flint organization to listen to reason. They were riding high or at least so they thought or pretended to think!

The eyes of the whole industry, corporation and workers alike, were turned upon Flint. Here was the first large-scale test of strength since the Milwaukee convention last Summer, between the progressive Martin forces and the "unity". caucus opposition, with all odds apparently in favor of the latter. The election campaign of the "unity" group was quite in line with its general character-slanderous, demagogic, reckless, irresponsible. At one point, they actually tried to create a panic by the sudden "disclosure" that there were "thousands of stool-pigeons" in Flintsomehow this fantastic concoction was supposed to be an election issue! It would be impossible to describe in cold print the kind of campaign these people carried on; suffice it to say that their "big point" was that "Martin was in favor of wage-cuts for the auto workers"!!!

The progressives, on the other hand, concentrated their agitation on appealing for support of the International administration and its policy of responsibility, discipline and militancy. Homer Martin and other International leaders aided in the whirlwind campaign that culminated in a series of gigantic meetings and carried everything before it. It was an annihilating answer to the anti-union slanders not only of the "unity"-caucus factionalists in the U.A.W. but also of their political and literary allies of the type of Browder, Hathaway and Heywood Broun. It was in truth the "battle of the century"!

Then came the elections. In the primaries, one progressive got a flat majority and was immediately returned to office; the other progressives all ran ahead but final elections proved necessary to decide the contest. And decide it they did! Despite wide unemployment and mass lay-offs, nearly 40% of the union members in Flint voted-2 phenomenal record. Of the 11,620 votes cast, Jack Little, progressive candidate for president, received 7,540 to Roy Reuther's 4,080, a lead of 65% to 35%. For the five remaining offices, the progressive candidates did equally well; the entire progressive slate was swept in by staggering majorities. broad rank-and-file spoke and spoke in no uncertain terms!

The victory is indeed tremendous in scope and significance. The demagogic pretension of the "unityites" to be the chosen representa-(Continued on Page 6)

# Workers A

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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5с а Сору

#### G.M. Pact on **Grievances**

#### **UAW** Executive Ratifies Agreement; General **Contract Remains**

Detroit, Mich.

A new agreement on grievance procedure effective March 12, has been signed by the United Automobile Workers and General Mo tors Corporation, Elmer Dowell union director for G. M. locals, announced last week.

The agreement, which has been ratified by the U.A.W. general executive board, supersedes the supplementary agreement reached April 12, 1937, which the corporation gave notice of cancelling January 12, 1938. The general contract continues unchanged and with no termination date. It may, how ever, be the subject of negotiations later, Dowell said.

The negotiators for the union were Homer Martin, president, R. J. F. Thomas, vice-president, William Munger, research director, Larry S. Davidow, attorney, and Elmer Dowell.

"Our negotiations with General Motors were another example of the effectiveness of genuine collective bargaining," Dowell said. "I would like to point out that no pay cuts for men covered by the U.A.W.

#### "Good Neighbors" With Whom?

RECENT tour of James A Roosevelt, playing the role of an American Prince of Wales, included a friendly visit to the home of none other than Dictator Trujillo, bloody master of San Domingo, who recently was responsible for the slaughter of several thousand Haitaian workers.

The visit, far from unofficial, was arranged thru the offices of Ambassador Joseph Davies, plenipotentiary of these democratic United States, and served the purpose of convincing the masses of San Domingo that Washington backed Trujillo's dictatorship.

contract have taken place in G.M. altho salaried men have been cut. Provisions of the new agreement

Shop committeemen will be paid by the corporation for two hours a day when engaged in grievance work. In the March 12, 1937 agreement, the corporation undertook to pay committeemen for four hours a

day.

There shall be one shop committeeman to every 400 workers. In (Continued on Page 6)

### Hitler Annexes Austria by Arms

Campaign Of Terror Against Workers Launched; Czechoslovakia Feared To Be Next Nazi Goal; Powers Stand By Passively

reaches us from Jay Lovestone informing us that he has just left Vienna after witnessing the German invasion and the launching of a bloody campaign of Nazi terror. More in the next issue.

In a series of lightning moves, Hitler last week completed the easy conquest of Austria and decreed its transformation into a German province, while the other European powers stood by, perturbed but unwilling to take action.

The first blow was struck by Hitler on Friday, March 11, in a double ultimatum to Chancellor

#### **Blum Forms New Cabinet**

After days of confusion, augmented by the tense European situation, Leon Blum, socialist leader, succeeded in forming a new French cabinet last week, consisting largely of socialists and Radical-Socialists. Altho the communists are not represented, the new regime will be supported by them in the chamber. The former ministry, headed by Chautemps, resigned on March 9 because of the refusal of the socialists and communists to support its demand for financial decree

struct & "government of national union," from the reactionary Republicans at the extreme right to the communists at the left, but he soon indicated that he would agree to the exclusion of the communists if the right-wing elements could thereby be placated. But nothing came of these plans at the mo-

The new Blum cabinet, like that of Chautemps before it, is regarded as no more than temporary, a stopgap for the moment, a transitional stage to a "national-union" cabinet under Radical-Socialist leadership. with the socialists and right-wing groups sharing power but the communists barred and possibly in opposition. The Nazi campaign of ag gression in Central Europe is naturally expected to speed up efforts to form such a "government of na-

great and powerful as today. And never has the disorganization of capitalism been greater.

The older reformist socialists made an "angel" out of monopoly; ism and making crises "milder" and the newer pseudo-Marxists make a "devil" out of monopoly. But, in both cases, monopoly is separated from capitalism itself, converted into something that works independently of the dynamics of capitalist production.

Monopoly is not the cause of economic crises, recessions and de-

At first, Blum attempted to con-

tional union."

As we go to press, a cable Schuschnigg, demanding the "postponement" of the proposed referendum on Austria's independence and the establishment of an Austrian government more satisfactory to Germany. German troops immediately crossed the border from Bavaria. Unable to get any promise of support from either England or Italy, to whom he appealed, Schuschnigg obeyed. Seyss-Inquart, Austrian Nazi, became Chancellor and head of a strictly pro-Nazi cabinet. His first act was to "request" Hitler for some German troops to "help maintain order," thus "legalizing" the German invasion. Backed by these troops, the armed detachments of the Austrian Nazis immediately set about suppressing all protest or opposition, especially among the Viennese workers, and arranging pro-Hitler demonstrations. Wild confusion and terror reigned thruout the country.

The very next day Hitler himself came to Austria. As soon as he arrived he announced the removal of President Miklas and the conversion of the country into a part of the Reich, defying all Europe to interfere. German troops had meanwhile occupied all strategic points, especially those facing Czechoslovakia. Heinrich Himmler. head of the German secret police, promptly took over the Austrian police force and began mass arrests of socialists, communists and labor leaders. Other German Nazi agencies set to work immediately "coordinating" Austrian economic, political, social and cultural life on the German model.

Hitler's startling coup, the next step in the Nazi plans of aggression in Central and Eastern Europe, was made possible only by the certain knowledge that the other European powers, especially England and France, would stand by passively offering no hindrance of any sort. Both of the "great. democracies" limited themselves to formal protests, which were contemptuously disregarded. Italy took no action whatever, officially maintaining good relations with Germany altho it was understood that the Rome-Berlin axis had been strained to the breaking point.

The next objective in Nazi Germany's expansion is apparently Czechoslovakia. English compliance or passivity seems already indicated. Meeting over the week-end, the British Cabinet failed to give a definite answer to the French inquiry as to whether any aid could be expected from London should Germany invade Czechoslovakia.

pressions; they all broke forth in the days of non-monopoly, competitive capitalism. And monopoly arises out of capitalist production -out of competition, the growth of large-scale production, the increasing accumulation of capital, the expansion of markets. Hence, monopoly is not something alien to capitalism, and it cannot be curbed or destroyed by capitalist

(Continued on Page 2)

### Monopoly and Crisis

: by Lyman Fraser :

TN the discussion of social and erals who accepted capitalism. And economic questions, it is often necessary to recall the most elementary theory and the most simple facts, because of the efforts made to bedevil understanding and action.

That is especially true now of the argument that monopoly is the cause of the present economic recession and hard times-and in general, of the permanent capitalist crisis.

The argument is not new. Monopoly was blamed for the crisis of 1907, for the crisis of 1893, for the crisis of 1873 and for all the minor crises and depressions in between those years. All the arguments of today were made by the Wilsonian "progressives," by the Populists, by the Greenbackers.

And what is the essential point of all the monopoly arguments, old and new? All the arguments separate monopoly from capitalism. Monopoly, they insist, is not necessarily a part of capitalism; it is a "perversion" of capitalism, Hence, all the evils of capitalism, including economic crises and hard times, are not the result of capital ism but of its monopolist perversions. Destroy monopoly and "purify" capitalism and everything will be lovely.

Let us note, in passing, that all the struggles against monopoly have always ended in failure; that, while anti-trust laws were being passed, the monopoly or trust combinations of capital became bigger and bigger and more powerful.

All the old monopoly arguments were made by petty-bourgeois lib-

they are still being made by pettybourgeois liberals today. From that angle, there is nothing new. What is new is that today alleged Marxists are making the same arguments that the petty-bourgeois liberals have been making for over sixty years

#### Can Crises Be Ended Under Capitalism?

But whether the monopoly argu ments are made by liberals or "Marxists" makes no difference The conclusion is the same. If monopoly is the cause of crises, recessions and depressions, and monop oly can be separated from capital ism, then crises can be ended with in the relations of capitalist pro duction. That is a monstrous distortion of Marxist theory and of economic fact.

The arguments of some "Marx ists" today are the opposite of an older reformist socialist theory. In the 1900's, Eduard Bernstein argued that monopoly was "organizing" capitalism, modifying crises alleviating international antagonisms and the class struggle. The World War was the answer to Bernstein. In the 1920's, Rudolf Hilferding again argued that monopoly was "organizing" capitalunemployment "less threatening." The answer to Hilferding was the increase of permanent unemployment in the midst of prosperity, the crisis of the 1930's, the worst in history, and the coming of fascism in Germany.

Never has monopoly been as

Lewis COREY "FASCISM OR SOCIALISM?"

FRIDAY, MARCH 18 NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

131 W. 33rd St.

### Viewed from the Left

= By Politicus

#### Dirty Water Over the Dam

THE SUDDEN intrusion of "democratic centralism" into the THE SUDDEN intrusion of "democratic centralism" into the T.V.A. controversy, the insistence on "party discipline" by WE have just received a letter from Senor Negrin, Prime the eminent members of the majority faction, Messrs Lilienthal Minister of Spain, in reply to an and H. Morgan, lead us to suspect a forthcoming purge—and appeal which we addressed to him almost automatically throw our sympathies on the side of the three days befor Christmas. The policy advocated by Dr. Beard. "treacherous and diversionist" minority as represented by reply reads as follows: Arthur Morgan. But, of course, the well-oiled blather being

handed out on both sides of the dam serves to cover up the real cause of this powerful antawas no longer interested in, and

Tennessee Valley Authority finds tain, a long range program of social and the sympathy which your letters its authorization, not in the lofty amelioration. Roosevelt had preachidealism of the Roosevelt adminis tration, come to power in March 1933, but in Section 124 of the National Defense Act, dated June 3, 1916. While the Supreme Court went its gay way, blithely declaring unconstitutional the N.R.A. the A.A.A.. the Railway Pensions Act, etc., it found time to sober up and uphold the constitutionality of the T.V.A., because, as the Herald-Tribune put it, "it could scarcely do otherwise if the vital authority of the national government to defend itself . . . were not to be weakened." T.V.A. is an important government-controlled gan is just a little behind the therefore, been part of the traditional militarist program of the

But the New Deal blew roseate vapors around T.V.A. and scores of liberals, and hundreds of thousands gan, are out to ditch him, by fair Govern and I went to Spain we cialism must be abandoned. of isolated farmers, croppers and means or foul, for thus obstructing were given promises which were tenants believed that the governly championing the cause of the enough left over after they've paid ing its influence in the opposite capitalism: downtrodden and oppressed by fighting the bloated private utilities; that many of them would, at | last, really experience a bit of this modern civilization and its conveniences, of which they had, from

time to time, heard vague rumors. But the flare-up between the directors of the corporation reveals power to private utilities far more of the development of capitalism. than it supplied cheap power directly to communities—some estimates run as high as 80%. There is also the case of La Berry, who concealed his lowly position as a mere leader of a trade union, by the gallant title of major, until his services to the administration were rewarded with the title of Senator It seems that the minority, Arthur Morgan, has documentary evidence showing that the Senator and a group of friends were handsomely paid for their "marble" deposits taken over in the interests of further development of the T.V.A., when these deposits contained little except a rather low grade of or-

The charges and counter-charges are further enlivened by the intervention of President Roosevelt on the private correspondence of the nificance of monopoly: move constitutes the missing piece turity of capitalism, capitalism of trate economically in the midst of lower profits.

its promised and necessary pro- new capital investment: it is a nopoly and imperialism, limits the ernment cut down its expenditures, more, despite all the emphasis on gram of cheap power on a vast scale capitalism that is being strangled export of capital. Imperialism now making zero its net contribution to the utility of the navy for offensive means a clash with the private by the very abundance that it can makes crises worse because it the creation of purchasing power, wars in European or Asiatic wautilities and their exorbitant rates. now produce. But this clash, never actually real- 2. Hence monopoly represents wide thru increasing capitalist inized but always threatened, was the declining and decaying stage dustrialization of the world. definitely eliminated from the poli- of capitalism, a capitalism that is If monopoly can be separated tical arena when, a few months caught in the clutches of a per- from capitalism, then imperialism italism, which is the monopoly should triple the appropriations ago, Wilkie and Roosevelt exhibit- manent economic crisis because it can be separated from capitalism, ed such a sudden fondness for each cannot move any more to increas- too. It then follows that imperialother. Their touching protestations ingly higher levels of productive ism can be destroyed while retainof friendship were the expression activity, a capitalism that moves ing capitalism. And that concluof the deal made between the ad- toward economic and political re- sion which is contrary to all history ministration and the private-utility action and war.

#### New Promises For P.O.U.M. Release

(We take the report below from Fenner Brockway's column in the London New Leader of February 4, 1938.—THE EDITOR.)

Barcelona, January 18, 1938 Dear Friends, I have received your kind letter of December 22, which I have read with the careful attention

For the moment I can only answer with the affirmation that the governsword. The funds and energies reerned by intentions which coincide with your wishes and that they will very promptly be realized.

You may rest assured that the government over which I preside will have the occasion of receiving the applause of its English friends for the self as part of the preparations of spirit of toleration and justice which the capitalist government, doing its governs its acts.

My most cordial salutations to our friends of the Independent Labor

(Signed) JUAN NEGRIN.

It will be noticed that the Spantimes. He still seems to think that ish Prime Minister says that our power directly to the poor con- oners will "very promptly be realizsumers in the valley and its en- ed." We hope that on this occasion, virons. But Roosevelt and his words will be followed by deeds. henchmen, Lilienthal and H. Mor- When James Maxton, John Mc-

### Monopoly and Crisis

(Continued from Page 1) governmental action.

their electric bills.

ed his Sermon on the Mount and

announced that he came with the

quired for T.V.A. and similar pro-

jects, in their original intent, were

now to be diverted to imperialist

war-mongering, to battleship-build-

ing. Of course, T.V.A. is not to be

scrapped; it drops its mantle of

"state socialism" and reveals it-

Lilienthal is a good friend, poli-

It's our guess that Arthur Mor-

patriotic bit to supply nitrates.

tically, of course, of Wilkie.

Both monopoly and economic

Monopoly As An Aggravation

Monopoly, however, appears as an aggravating force in recent crises. For, while monopoly arises out of the underlying forces of capitalist production, it reacts upon and affects those forces-but does not change them.

The crisis and depression of the 1930's were sharpened by monopoly, which was strong enough to latively high levels, prevent liqui- the severity of crises thru the im- ment opportunities. scale industry and agriculture, and

interests to divert T.V.A. from its 3. Underlying those reactionary trary to all that the "Marxists" promise of social purpose and to and predatory aspects of the mo- of today were maintaining only a itself into the struggle against straits of Gibraltar, to Brazil, or perpetuate the profits of the nopoly stage of capitalism is that few years ago. private interests—of course, at the economic collectivism—an objective If the economic crisis of capital- all elementary and simple fact, it some other way. This is the new expense of masses who wanted and socialization of production-which ism can be solved within the re- but it is indispensable to creative racket created to herd the Ameri-

It follows from this analysis they are realized. that:

declining, decaying capitalism.

a struggle to convert capitalist limited, prosperity is limited. In making good the quarantine when collectivism into socialist collective the recovery and prosperity move-

making monopoly responsible for the present recession are not only vestment, which is indispensable to many naval officers doubt the utila distortion of theory and fact but capitalist prosperity. an abandonment of the struggle against capitalism, for socialism. Imperialism also is an aggravat- national income or wages in 1934ing factor in crises and depres- 37, idle capital piled up which sions today. In its earlier stages, could not be profitably used be-

dation and the lowering of cap- petus to economic activity given 4. The real cause of the depres- vice and insults to foreign govital claims, disorganize small- by the export of capital. Today, sion was the insufficiency of pur- ernments, and defending the conimperialism makes crises worse be- chasing power among the masses tinental home of the United States so on. Not only did monopoly agravate the depression but it held back and limited recovery.

Imperians makes crises worse because it has made capitalism increasingly dependent upon an increasingly dependent upon an increasingly unstable world market, not be invested in new capital, of funds between the army and of the people. Wages were not high enough. Where profits can increasingly unstable world market, not be invested in new capital, of funds between the army and of the people. That is true. But, to understand because imperialism has convert- they are a deduction from con- the navy. The idea of Germany, the side of the majority faction— the meaning of that truth, one ed many economically backward sumption. At this stage of capital- Italy or Japan sending a fleet of for it was at his discretion that must understand the general sig- countries into one-commodity coun- ism, increasing economic activity battleships conveying 500,000 tries (sugar, rubber, etc.) which is possible only thru increasingly soldiers across the seas in majestic squabble was made public. This 1. Monopoly represents the ma- become almost completely pros- higher wages and decreasingly array is simply fantastic—the

that completes the jigsaw puzzle. | highly developed productive forces | a world crisis, because the crisis | 5. The deficiency of purchasing of shipbuilding stocks has when For the New Deal to carry out and lessening opportunities for of capitalism, identified with mo- power was increased when the gov- ordinary business is bad. Furthermakes crises increasingly world- during the last six months of 1937. ters, it is the army that will have

These fundamental causes of the to do the real fighting if anything economic recession are all inher- is to be gained. If Congress votes ent in the present stage of cap- the President's naval program it stage. They cannot be overcome by for the army in order to put any destruction of monopoly since they real sense into it. are part and parcel of monopoly. But, we are told that the fasc-

A realistic analysis of the econ- ist goblins of Europe are about omic recession leads to the con- to take South America, that Musand to all theory and fact, is con- clusion that capitalism itself is solini will march in seven-league responsible, that labor must throw boots across the Atlantic, thru the capitalism, for socialism. That is that Hitler or the Mikado will do needed cheap power. The New Deal is the historical basis of socialism. lations of capitalist production by labor understanding and action.

### **Armaments are Politics**

= by Charles A. Beard =

ridgement the brilliant statement pre- icy represented by the general and sented by Dr. Charles A. Beard before specific demands made upon it by the House Naval Committee on February 9. 1938. This statement will be this inquiry, it might as well sign followed, in the next issue, by some the check, go home, and wait uncritical comments on the "isolationist" | til it is called back to authorize a -THE EDITOR.)

THE fundamental problem presented to Congress by the President's new armament program is not merely one of voting more or less money for the navy and the army. It is essentially the problem of discovering and determining the foreign policy to be expressed by any appropriation, large or small. As Admiral Rodgers has said, "all navies relate to national policies." So do all armaments. The division of funds between the army and the navy and the authorization of various types of fighting craft and machines are senseless except in terms of the uses to which they are to be put. And the contemplated uses are foreign policy in hemselves, even if no words are spoken on the subject.

The Responsibility of Congress If Congress is to vote intelligently, if it is not merely to sign a check from the White House, it

destroying monopoly and imperialism, then the struggle for so-

The general causes of this econthe normal functioning of Amer- not fulfilled. This time it may omic recession are part of the genment was seriously going about the ican "democracy." The wise money prove different; but it is necessary eral cyclical movement of capitalbusiness of providing electricity for will be on the administration gang to maintain pressure from all ist production. Within those genthem at rates which they could af- but that of the people of the countries, particularly since the eral causes are some specific ones, ford; that the government was real- valley . . . well, they haven't got Communist International is exert- peculiar to the present stage of

1. The decline and decay of capitalism means that depressions are First of all, there is the policy immore severe and prolonged, recovery and the new prosperity nore difficult to realize and more incomplete and short-lived when

2. The maturity of capitalism, 1. The struggle against monop- which is inseparable from its dethat T.V.A. contracts resold its crises are an inevitable expression oly is necessarily a struggle against cline and decay, means that investment opportunities are limited, 2. This struggle is necessarily and, as capital accumulation is and navy of the United States in ment from 1933 to 1937, there was big battleships to be used in ag-Hence the "Marxist" arguments little stimulus to economic activ- gressive warfare in the Far Pacific ity provided by new capital in- or the Far Atlantic. It is true that

3. As profits piled up and in- warfare but, if they have any utilcreased more than production, the ity, it is for aggressive mass acmaintain prices and profits at re- imperialism modified and lessened cause of the lack of new invest- from the quarrels of Europe and

(We publish below with minor ab- | must inquire into the foreign polblockade or a war arising out of the policy already approved by voting the money demanded for

> But it is said that the President alone has the right to determine foreign policy, that Congress has nothing to do with expressing the attitude of the American people toward foreign governments. In reality, this is a fiction sedulously propagated by parties interested in exalting the Executive above Congress and above the people represented by the legislative branch. Congress as a whole has powers

over foreign affairs. It alone can

raise and support armies. It alone

can provide and maintain a navy. It alone can declare war—the supreme act of foreign policy. War is foreign policy transferred from the chambers of diplomats to the field of battle. In raising and supporting armies, in providing and maintaining a navy, Congress does pass upon the foreign policy to be vindicated by arms if necessary. Congress may sleep thru its own proceedings, but the people will be called upon to pay for its action in blood and treasure when the sleeper is awakened by the demand of the Executive for war. Now, therefore, is the appointed time for Congress to probe to the very bottom the commitments of foreign policy authorized by the

President's armament program.

Two Lines Of Foreign Policy

plicit and explicit in President

Roosevelt's speech in Chicago last

October, the policy of quarantine.

Unless he was just talking thought-

essly or was bluffing, he believes

that the United States should pass

judgment on all the quarrels in

Europe and Asia, quarantine the

"wicked," and employ the army

it is defied. This policy calls for

ity of battleships for any kind of

The other foreign policy for the

United States is that of abstaining

Asia, avoiding all gratuitous ad-

kind of nightmare which a holder

(Continued on Page 5)

What policies are possible?

I think it is time we developed our experiences in the Comintern and to see where we have erred and what we should do to avoid the same mistakes.

most needed.

issue.—THE EDITOR.)

our fundamental slogan.

and the Russian revolution con-

firms these principles, altho some-

times in a thoroly unexpected and

surprising way. In the future as in

the past, we intend to hold firmly

But there are a vast number o

traditional conceptions that have

not stood up as well, that have

shown their inadequacy, that need

reexamination and revision. It is

here that our critical thinking is

What Kind Of International?

Let us take the biggest question

tion of labor and what should a

revolutionary-socialist Internation-

to these guiding principles.

I cannot emphasize too much the international foundations of our movement, the international character and substance of our movement. This is an "absolute" for us. The very question of war, which is today the central question, is an international question which has within it every problem on a national scale expressed most intensely. The very nature of capitalism today is international; or, on the other hand, take the international consequences of the Russian crisis. They are of immeasurable import, not only for the Russians, not only for the communists and for the revolutionists outside of Russia, but for the labor move ment as a whole.

Firmness in principle is the first prerequisite and the principles of the class struggle are international. Flexibility of tactics and self-direction in organization are as much prerequisites. The keystone is "exceptionalism." Without this, you cannot have a living revolutionary

For the sake of argument, let's THE Daily Worker is all up in would mean narrowing down the simultaneously they had to be ap- the "collective-security" war front, Editor.) States as well? This mechanical cial-Democratic Federation. uniformity of tactics which has tional communist movement and I selves the Social-Democratic Fed- the hold of the Republican and ties participating in soviets. believe we should be thinking of eration. In a resolution, these 'so- Democratic parties over the worka new type of international organ- cialists' issue a warning against ing masses. Of course, the consti- of the proletarian dictatorship, If it is to be taken seriously. Vyshization—flexible in relation to the 'infiltration' of Republicans and tution of the American Labor Par- otherwise than that it is necessari- insky's indictment is an indicttactics, independent and self-reliant Democrats into the American La- ty specifically bars from member- ly based on the broadest kind of ment not of Bukharin so much as

Then, of course, there is collective international leadership. One-International was similated too still Democrats or Republicans . . . make it a People's Front!

BLAZING NEW TRAILS — BY JAY LOVESTONE material some extracts from the political report of Jay Lovestone to the recent plenary session of the National by the Russian policies. And one of the reasons the Second Interna-Council of the I.C.L.L. Other sections tional collapsed so quickly when of his report will appear in the next the last "war for democracy" came was that the moment the German social-democrats went over to the THE time has now come when war camp, it was pretty hard to we must examine everything, get across the idea in other counliterally everything, objectively, on tries that the socialists should not

its own merits. We can take no- go over to their own governments. thing for granted. It is up to us The situation in the Comintern everything critically, to test everythe moment the Russian Commuthing in the light of our experi- nist Party begins to impose on "friendly" diplomatic relations If we subject the basic principles with bourgeois governments on the of Marxism, of revolutionary so- other communist parties in their cialism, of communism, to such an relations with bourgeois parties in objective and critical analysis, their countries, that is the end of we must reach the conclusion that it as an International. they stand the test of experience to

Superficially, the Comintern the fullest degree. Everything that looks like an International but this has happened since the World War is misleading, because its underlying system of leadership makes it impossible for every section of international labor to march in the most rapid and effective way it knows how on its own sector of the international front toward the socialist revolution.

This is not the kind of organizafill the tasks placed upon a revolu-

#### Role Of Party In Revolution

I want to say a few words about the role of the party in the revolution, another one of the questions like Russia was in 1917. recent events have caused us to damental role of the communist different forms that revolution pressed. would take under different condi-

For instance, I am of the opinion that the trade unions in countries leadership by the Bolshevik party. like the United States, England, and Spain will play an infinitely error for us to copy mechanically greater role in determining the or to ape the Russian experience. course, the leadership and the fate It was necessary, for some time in

### crats and the Third International was domineered almost entirely by the Russian policies. And one of And the Left S.R.s

tempt and indignation with which coct. What are the real facts? the earlier Moscow "trials" were ences internationally and in this other parties its tactics, begins to met, Yezhov and his assistants apcountry. Critical realism should be impose the strategy of momentari- parently determined to "improve" the arrangements for the "trial" official stage managers decided to by the Left S.R.'s. But, at that throw just a grain of truth into the mountain of falsehood. But it seems that the only effect they have been able to achieve is to make the grotesque frame-up stand out even nore conspicuously by contrast.

burden of the "case" against Buk- pitated a revolt of their own some harin is based on his activities as months later (July 1918), there leader of the Left Communist fac- were no more loyal defenders of tion in the early part of 1918, that the soviet power and the Bolsheis, just twenty years ago. The vik party than the Left Commution that, in my opinion, can ful- "chain of argument," if it may be nists. For this we have what the dignified as such, runs approxi- Stalinites must necessarily regard tionary International in the world mately as follows: Bukharin was as unimpeachable evidence, the situation today. We need an Inter- the leader of the Left Communists national that will be a world fed- the Left Communists were eration of parties standing firmly against the Brest-Litovsk peace on the same international founda- and so were the Left Social-Revolution of revolutionary socialism but tionaries—the Left Social-Revoluthat confronts us: What is an in- each self-reliant and independent tionaries engaged in a plot to overternational revolutionary organiza- in its organization, each itself de- throw the Soviet government and termining its policy, strategy and arrest Lenin—a Social-Revolutiontactics on the basis of its own con- ary terrorist, Dora Kaplan, made ditions and the needs and interests an attempt on Lenin's life-thereof the masses. We have in mind an fore Bukharin was the moving International as a world federation spirit of a vast conspiracy to "over-I think it is high time to think over of parties, each an equal among throw the Soviet regime, restore capitalism and assassinate Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlow."

In this ingenious construction

of the revolution than in a country

Take the question of the one reexamine very seriously. The fun- party system under the proletarian dictatorship. I am of the opinion party in a revolution is interna- that what has happened in Russia tional. It would hold true in Ger- cannot be made the universal rule many, in Russia and in the United everywhere. Even in Russia, it was States. But there are different some time before the coalition with countries in the world and different the Left S.R.'s broke up and a still conditions in these countries and I longer time before the non-Bolshebelieve we ought to look into the vik socialist parties were sup-Anyway, I can see very well that,

Virtuous Indignation

in Russia, there were a lot of factors making for a monopoly of But it would be the most fatal

party domination of an interna- A.L.P. . . . However, if honest per- who simply must have some gen- determined by the specific condi- nist faction in 1918 were such tional revolutionary movement is sons are to be barred from the uine, true-blue Democrats and Re- tions prevailing in the country, the figures as: Yaroslavsky, Menshinextremely dangerous. The Second A.L.P. merely because they are publicans in the A.L.P. in order to historical background and tradi- sky, Kuibyshev and Uritsky. Every-

By WILL HERBERG | the first four "links" are state A GAIN has the G.P.U. fallen into a pit of its own digging.

The first four links are statements of fact, altho far from precise; the fifth, the conclusion, is as fantastic a falsehood as the G. in this period of transition to view today isn't precisely the same but Dimly aware of the universal con- P.U. has ever had occasion to con-

> 1. Bukharin was indeed the leader of the Left Communist faction in 1918. And his opposition to Lenin's "peace" policy was shared time, the Left S.R.'s were a legal party, broadly represented in the soviets and, for a period, even in the government together with the Bolsheviks. Some Left S.R. leaders did indeed suggest the possibility of a coup d'etat-but the Left Communists decisively rejected the idea and broke with them as a Take one example. The main result. When the Left S.R.s precitestimony of E. Yaroslavsky, the very same worthy whose venomous diatribe against Bukharin appeared in the Daily Worker a few days

> > ago. Writes Yaroslavsky in his

"History of the Communist Party

of the Soviet Union" (German edi

tion, 1931, second part, p. 168):

"The Left Social-Revolutionaries in their negotiations with the leaders of the Left Communists, actually touched upon the question whether it would not be possible to arrest the Council of People's Commissars and put thru a coup d'etat. When the Left S.R.s launched their attack, when it was S.R.s actually become that, in 1919, a question of armed conflict with there took place a Left S.R. atthe Left S.R.s in order to liquidate tempt to assassinate him by blowtheir insurrection, then the Left ing up the office in which he was Communists naturally did not hold working. back from the front ranks of the party. At that moment, the Left attempt on Lenin's life, belonged Communists liquidated their differ-

ences with the party." And to this we may add the

Russia, to disfranchise everybody tween Bukharin and the Left S.R.s. but the workers, even giving the would have to do with Dora Kappeasants only one-fifth of a vote; lan and her murderous act is cerbut this certainly does not mean tainly a mystery, one of those that, in countries like America or typical G.P.U. mysteries. England, with their long tradition of universal suffrage, a completely party textbooks show that Buksimilar course will be pursued.

I ask you to reread the reply of Left Communist faction and the atthe Third International to the tempts of the Left S. R.s to "enter I.L.P. at the time the latter was into relations" with him were matnegotiating to join the Comintern. ters of common knowledge in 1931 One of the questions MacDonald and 1935—despite Vyshinsky's asked was: "Do you propose to dis- clumsy pretense that it was all disfranchise everybody but workers?" covered just a little while ago by And Lenin answered: "Not neces- the "ever-vigilant" Yezhov. As a sarily in the other countries."

The Spanish question brings this and Lenin above all, knew everyout most directly. I want to say thing there was to be known about say that the tactics of the People's arms fuming with virtuous in- organization instead of giving it that I would have very grave Bukharin as far back as 1918. Yet Front in France were correct at a dignation—this time not against the rapid, healthy growth that it doubts, even if the Communist Lenin and the party raised Bukcertain time. Does that mean that us but against their own allies on needs" (emphasis ours.— The Party of Spain were a revolution- harin to the heights of party leadary and not a counter-revolution- ership-editor of the Pravda, memplied in Siam and in the United the right-wing socialists of the So- Now isn't that outrageous: keep- ary party, or if the P.O.U.M. were ber of the Politburo, author of the ing people—"honest" people, too, a mass party, I would have very two drafts of the Comintern pro-"The American Labor Party," and probably kind parents and grave doubts as to the necessity gram, chairman of the Comintern. cursed the Communist Internation- the Daily Worker complains adi- good neighbors—out of the Amer- and soundness of a proletarian gov- And, in his letter of December al in many ways not only recently torially in its issue of March 2, ican Labor Party "merely because ernment monopolized by the P.O. 1922, which is usually regarded as but in a large measure since the "has received some free advice they are still Democrats or Repub- U.M. There it would certainly be his last political testament, Lenin beginning of the Comintern, this from the little group of right-wing lican"! Of course, the idea of a necessary to have a coalition of characterized Bukharin as "the best has been the bane of the interna- 'socialists' . . . who now call them- labor party is precisely to break proletarian organizations and par- and most valuable theoretician of

tions included.

#### The Price of the Soviet Purge

ROM an article by Harold Laski in the Nation of November 20, 1937:"There is no doubt but the mass executions in the Soviet Union in the last two years have greatly injured the prestige of Russia with the rank and file of the Labor Party. They do not understand them, and they feel that those who accept them without discussion are not satisfactory allies. I do not comment on this view; I merely record it. In my judgment, the executions undoubtedly cost the supporters of the united front something like half a million votes in the Bournemouth Confer-

testimony of the history of the C. P.S.U., edited by W. Knorin and written by a group from the Red Professors Institute of Party History. We quote from the book, "Communist Party of the Soviet Union" (Moscow, 1935):

"The Left Social-Revolutionaries during the days of Brest tried to enter into relations with the Left Communists, especially Bukharin, for the purpose of organizing a coup d'etat, of arresting Lenin and forming a new government" (my emphasis.—W. H.)

"Tried" to enter into relations, notice—even this bitterly anti-Bukharinist history (written in 1935!) does not claim that they actually entered into relations with him, much less got his approval for a conspiracy against

2. So sharp, indeed, did relations between Bukharin and the Left

3. Dora Kaplan, who made the to the party of the Right Social-Revolutionaries, an entirely different party bitterly hostile to both the Left S.R.s and the Bolsheviks. What any alleged relations be-

4. The above quotations from

harin's conduct as the leader of the matter of fact, the entire party, the party and legitimately looked The specific form and structure upon as the favorite of the party." bor Party. Naturally, there is al- ship those who belong to other po- mass councils, are thus matters of Lenin and the Bolshevik party! ways the danger that unhealthy litical parties. But what do such that will not everywhere follow 5. Finally, sharing leadership elements will try to capture the details matter to the Stalinites the Russian "model" but will be with Bukharin in the Left Commu-

March 19, 1938

#### NEW ROADS TO SAME WAR

THE SUDDEN shift of British diplomacy sig-I nalized in the resignation of Anthony Eden, a shift in form and tempo rather than in substance, has had a curious effect on the direction of the Administration's war propaganda. From Washington. the word has gone forth that the English events constitute a sure proof that there never existed any Anglo-American alliance and that now that the United States is left to stand up for its rights all by itself, it needs a top-flight big navy more than ever. A few weeks ago, rearmament was urged as a necessary step in implementing the "quarantine" or "collective-security" policy; today, we are told that rearmament becomes a necessity in view of the alleged isolation of the United States in world affairs. Anything is grist to the mill of war preparedness!

As a matter of fact, the whole line of Administration propaganda is a fraud from first to last, a part of the vast conspiracy centered in the White House to commit this country to a war policy from which there can be no return and to work up among the people a wild jingo fever for that purpose. The fundamental line of the Administration's foreign policy remains the same, despite events in England-an Anglo-American alliance against Japanese imperialism. Such an alliance exists today in the form of a naval "understanding," at the very least-and all the perfunctory and evasive denials at Washington cannot stand up against the facts, against such a simple and eloquent fact, for instance, as Britain's virtual cession of the Canton and Enderbury Islands in the Pacific to the United States. Such an alliance exists because of common hostility to Japan, because recent Japanese aggressions in China threaten the interests and prospects of American and British imperialism alike. It is purely a matter of imperialist politics, without the slightest real reference to the "defense of democracy against fascism." For moral effect, as bait in the trap, this piece of unvarnished power-politics had to be presented to the American people camouflaged as the "concerted action of the peace-loving democracies against the treatybreaking fascist war-makers." That was the prime reason for Roosevelt's Chicago address with its "quarantine" doctrine and this remained the main line of Administration propaganda for weeks thereafter.

But somehow this approach didn't seem to get anywhere. The American people, in their vast majority, greeted the Chicago address with cold disapproval, turned their backs on the "collectivesecurity" bait and refused to go into a frenzy of chauvinism over the Panay incident, the slapping of the consul or the recent spy scare. Then came the English events and put a finishing touch to the whole business. Imagine embarking on a collective crusade to "save democracy from fascism" with Tory England as a partner! After all, there are some things that are just simply too raw!

And so the Administration has shifted its approach. Under the circumstances, the English alliance must be played down and denied even more vigorously than in the past. In fact, the whole "quarantine" program of the Chicago address must be soft-pedalled and "collective security" put on the shelf for the moment. The same things will simply have to be achieved in another way.

From a realistic viewpoint, the English turn will not hinder the policy of Anglo-American collaboration or "parallel action" in the Far East. Chamberlain may be eager to make up with Mussolini and Hitler at any price but that has nothing to do with Japan. On the contrary, reconciliation with Italy or Germany, especially the former, would strengthen England's position in the Far East and thus enhance the value of the Anglo-American alliance from the imperialist standpoint. For a truce on the continent or in the Mediterranean would. to some extent, relieve Britain of a preoccupation with European affairs that has hitherto greatly hampered its activity in the Orient and would give it a free hand in that quarter of the globe. Over a year ago, the British Admiralty would not take up the Americcan proposal for a joint naval demonstration in the Pacific because it was worried about the Mediterranean. A few weeks from now, this factor may no

### War and Revolution By Lambda

#### Some Lessons from History

(Concluded from last week) URING the rule of the Jacobins, the military situation improved. The first great victories vere won against the foreign invaders. At the war-fronts unreliable generals were removed and court-martialled, while political commissioners sent from revolutionary Paris controlled the army

eaders and helped to create a

By J. BRAUN

strong revolutionary war morale. The "soldiers of the Revolution" applied, for the first time, new military tactics possible only for a revolutionary army. The mercenary troops of the feudal armies had to be led in close formation to the battle-field because it was necessary to maintain discipline and because the individual soldiers were unable to develop any personal nitiative during the fight. The young French soldiers, recruited from the people, attacked in quite a different manner; they not only outnumbered the enemy but displayed much greater fighting spirit

and initiative. Franz Mehring wrote about this

new kind of warfare:1 "The military technique of feudal armies was wiped out by the new manner of fighting developed by the French revolutionary volunteers. Workers, peasants and nandicraftsmen, fighting for their own interests, did not have to be driven into the struggle by force like the mercenaries. It was not necessary to keep them in closed camps. They could advance quicky, fighting in scattered groups over any area. . . . The chief failing of all mercenary armies-mass deser tion-was absent amongst them."

Great initiative of the soldiers who no longer attacked in close formation and who could individually use all natural advantages of their surroundings, did not endanger unity of action. The mer cenary troops, however, had to be kept permanently under the direct control of their officers.

Thermidor Brings Reaction

Robespierre was hated and feared by the bourgeois upper class as well as by the aristocratic feudal forces. He was overthrown and his dictatorship ended on the 9th of Thermidor (July 27, 1794).

Under the regime that followed the military situation became precarious again. Removed were the Jacobin representatives in the army.

1. Zur Deutschen Geschichte Quoted from G. Reimann: Germany World Empire or World Revolution London 1938, p. 4.

camouflage is even more fraud- confessed:2 ulent and dishonest than the talk about "quarantine." Dr. Beard and other competent authorities have sense and meaning only if war in denied this charge for no denial is

The anti-war movement must take cognizance of this shift in approach on the part of the warmongers and must adjust itself accordingly. To the threadbare demagogy of "collective security" will A working class of this character now he added the note of "continental defense" in Asiatic waters. along a line many thousands of miles removed from the American continent!

who had developed great initiative in arousing a revolutionary fighting spirit among the soldiers and who had stirred up the masses in the neighboring countries and helped them to shake off the yoke of feudalism. The French armies no longer appeared as emancipators to the people of the Nether- HE fundamental cause of the crisis of the Nazi mobilized new armies, which inflicted serious defeats on the French army and reversed the mili-

ary foreign powers saved the French revolution this time. abled Napoleon to establish his or indirectly. dictatorship on the 18th Brumaire

(November 9, 1799). Napoleon's rise and final defeat illustrate the close relationship between military strategy and revolution. His military genius would not the armies of feudal reaction.

#### Role Of Napoleon

more he felt compelled to make the feudal lords and monarchs of other countries his allies and supporters, suffer under the double yoke of profits from too much foolish risk. their own feudal lords and of the and towns-people and to arouse a of the dictatorship of the proletariat. national war sentiment. Had Napoleon been willing to carry on a real

"My system of defense was preparations for a war. worthless, because the means employed were not at all commensurate with the danger. I should no longer able to save France."

#### The Paris Commune

under a class-conscious leadership. which will ease its position temporarily. would use its arms not only against (Continued on Page 5)

p. 381

### **WORLD TODAY**

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

> London, Feb. 9, 1938 (Concluded from the last issue)

lands and the Rhineland but rather regime is to be found in the growing contradic-Soon reactionary Austria had tions, in the economic difficulties resulting from the preparations for a totalitarian war. These contradictions cannot be solved under capitalism but there is tary situation. The jealousy and still the possibility of slowing down the tempo of lack of unity among the reaction- arming, of creating a breathing spell, in which case foreign credits would be decisive in facilitating the The Thermidorians turned out to supply of raw materials and foodstuffs. The working be quite incapable of ruling the classes of England and America, in particular, must country. The big bourgeoisie was heed this warning and watch closely over Wall not yet strong enough to rule Street. It must be remembered in this connection against the opposition of the that there can be no assurance that these credits masses of the poor in town and granted to Germany will not be used for further preaction as well. This situation en-

> From our analysis, we conclude that the compromise agreed upon this time cannot last long and that there has been no real solution of the problem.

This conflict amongst the top leaders could be have been sufficient to defeat confined to the flanks of the Nazi regime. The regime armies so superior in numbers or itself will not be directly menaced until the workto conquer the greatest part of ing class takes an independent hand in the matter and. Europe, had not another factor takes over the leadership of the toiling classes, in gressive bourgeois power fighting particular, of the mass of small peasants. The reason why the working class has not stirred is to be sought These armies could not resist the in the People's Front policy which has prevented new war tactics of the "sons of the the formation of militant underground cadres. The February crisis has clearly shown: (1) that the decisive sections of the German bourgeoisie-the Reichswehr, the Junkers and big business-have In the early period of his dicta- nothing in common with the "liberty-loving bourtorship, Napoleon championed and geoisie"—the straw-man on which the People's Front introduced many bourgeois, anti- idea is based; (2) that the bourgeois forces now in feudalist reforms in Western Ger- conflict with the Nazi regime are far from desirous many. But the greater the con- of peace, that, on the contrary, they are the true quests of Napoleon became, the supporters and instigators of an imperialist war of revenge, disagreeing with the Nazis merely over methods of preparation for the war; and (3) that protecting them against imminent these people have no idea of fighting for freedom or evolution. Napoleon's regime came the amelioration of the condition of the working to be hated by the people in the class. The bourgeoisie is primarily interested in onquered countries who had to protecting its profits and its future prospects of

This conflict amongs the top leaders could beforms were sponsored at that time come the beginning of the crisis of the Nazi dictaby many army officers in Prussia, torship if the working class were capable of utilizwho recognized that, in order to ing this rift for its own purposes, for the extension overthrow Napoleon, they had to of its own freedom of movement, for the overthrow win the confidence of the peasants of the Nazi dictatorship and for the establishment

In this respect, the events of February 4, 1938 anti-feudal struggle he might have are an indication of future happenings similar to the overthrown even the power of the first conflicts within the ruling classes of Czarist Czar. Such a move, however, would Russia in 1915. It took the Russian working class have been in contradiction to his one year to regain its fighting power after its temaim of bringing "order" to Europe porary defeats in 1912-14. The present situation difand making France the new world fers from the Russian situation inasmuch as the In a word, the Anglo-American alliance and the imperialist policy Moscow, his only chance of defeatable to the consequence are ing the Czar was to precipitate a during the World War, as a result of the military of which it is the consequence, are still going strong—but under a new peasant uprising against the feudal defeats suffered by Russia and the inability of the guise, the guise of an "isolationist" landowners. But this he did not do. Czarist burocracy to carry on successful warfare, national "defense." If possible, this After his defeat, in 1815, Napoleon while today Hitler Germany is suffering a crisis as a result of the economic difficulties precipitated by

The crisis of February 4 gives renewed hope that the Nazi regime can be overthrown by the working pointed out that, even from the technical standpoint, the President's payed building program has dent's naval-building program has revolution all the means which it German working class to consolidate its strength as was capable of creating. It would an independent class force rather than relying on the the Far Pacific or the Far Atlantic have been necessary to revive all possibility of cooperation with the bourgeoisie. Thru s being contemplated. No Ad- the passions, in order to utilize a revolutionary class program, the workers will win ministration spokesman has yet their blindness. Without this, I was the support of the petty bourgeoisie. Secondly, on the ability of the international working class to prevent the world bourgeoisie from granting credits to Nazi Germany or otherwise aiding it. It is to be The bourgeoisie is always afraid expected that the Hitler regime will attempt to of a working class armed and make compromises on some very important issues

The official communist and socialist press (see Humanite and Populaire in France) interpret the crisis as a victory of the Nazis over the army and 2. Eugene Tarle: Napoleon, 1937, abound in chauvinist phrases either out of sheer

(Continued on Page 5)

### Labor Notes and Facts

#### Unions in England and the U.S.A.

IN BOTH movements, membership is concentrated and a few I industrial groups form the large majority of the organized

In 1936, in England, five trade groups made up 76.6% of total membership. The basis has been the general and industrial unions, organized since 1910: transport and communications, 24.8%; public service, 14.4%; metals, machinery and vehicles. 12.9%; mining, quarrying and oil, 12.8% and textiles, 8.1%.

the United States, the amount of

facturing industries was: clothing,

20.8% and 41.8%; paper and print-

their manufactures, 41.3% and

17.9%; textiles, 56.1% and 3.9%;

ities of the C.I.O., almost 100%

(Continued from Page 4)

metals and vehicles

War

In the United States, the changing 38% of all factory workers organ-contain communist literature, are groups reflects the swing from ized and the United States had seized and not returned if there is craft to industrial unionism. In 1935, the five major groups equalmembership. The three largest In 1930, for England and 1931 for led 69.3% of total trade-union have been leading since 1910: transport, 18.7%; building trades, organization in these basic manu-(which do not even appear among 16.1%; mining, 15.5%; clothing ing, 58.4% and 29.6%; metals and and public-service unions, the last two of which have only risen to prominence since the 1920's, have respectively, 11% and 8% of total procedure for the 1920's and 17.6%. By 1935, in America, clothing had respectively for the 1920's and 17.6%. membership. The 1937 figures reveal radical changes; the five lead- and textile 7.8%. The others were ing groups now make up 66.8% of nearly stationary. Figures for 1937 the movement, the largest of these are not available but, due to activbeing metals, machinery and vehicles, 19.7%, with over 1,300,000 can be assumed in mining and workers. Transport has been reduced to 16%, building to 12.4%, mining 10.9% and clothing 7.8%.

In spite of the new strength and basis of the American labor movement, the British is even today much more powerful. In 1930, in England, 10.5% of the total population were union members in America only 2.6%. For the gainfully employed population, the figures for trade-union organization

arc.		
	Great Britain	United Stat
1910	13.8%	<b>5.5</b> %
1920	<b>42.8</b>	11.7
1930	22.4	6.5
1937	35.0	12.0
		_

In 1930, the percentage of nor agricultural workers belonging to unions was 30% in England and 10.6% in America.

This situation is duplicated practically all trades, which are two to three times better organized in Great Britain than over here. Of these, mining and steam railroads have the highest degree of organization:

British union with 93.9% organ-

Steam railroads: In Great Britain, far as to suppress the Commune. fell from 75% in 1925 to 60.5% in 1927 and rose again to 71% in 1935. In the United States, from 45% average in 1923-30, rose to 53.2% in 1935, having reached a The expropriated capitalists and State Department would not claim high of 56% in 1932.

Manufacturing: a lower degree of organization than the two pre- against Soviet Russia in order to fields where the Japanese and main danger of the crisis of Feb- docile black labor. Lynching de-



# TWO LETTERS

(We publish below a letter from a ubscriber in Montreal which throws a lurid light on the state of civil liberties in another of our "great democracies," the Dominion of Canada. your publication Workers Age. The Editor.)

Montreal, Quebec, Feb. 25, 1938

Please discontinue mailing the Age to my home immediately. Things are going from bad to worse here. Places are being padlocked and whole libraries, regardas much as one prohibited pamphlet. The mere fact that I have not yet received my copy of the Age, having just spoken to X. and learned that his package has not arrived either, is enough to make me wonder whether investigation

All else being well, I shall get my Age from Y. every week.

has begun.

Devotedly yours,

March 5, 1938 I have received your notice of

expiration of my subscription to regret to say I cannot afford t renew my subscription at present due to unemployment. I am employed at General Motors Corporation but, since December 1937, I have been temporarily laid off. However, I am confident of being reemployed within several weeks and, if possible, I would very much desire to remain a subscriber and sincerely promise to remit at

my earliest convenience. I regard your publication as vital factor in analyzing presentday problems and have used it as a guide to my participation in alleviating economic and social conditions of the masses of underprivileged working men and women in these United States.

Trusting you will accept my explanation of financial circumstances and continue me as a subscriber

until I can make payment, I re-Fraternally yours. main

JUDGE LYNCH, by Frank Shay. Ives, Washburn, Inc., York, 1938.

I hope that Frank Shay's "Judge Lynch" will be a very popular book. If graphic descripions of the horrifying details and statistical analysis of the broad spread of lynch-law can add to the determination of decent people to do something about this ghastly practise, then the book will have well served its essential purpose. No theoretical discussion, no amount of rhetoric, can ever prove half so convincing an argument against lynching as a bald description of the death of Claude Neal or the hanging of Wesley Everest.

Every polemicist on lynchingand practically all the commentators have written polemics-has noted its peculiarly American character but few have sought causations. Frank Shay shares in this lack of analysis, primarily because he has chosen a rigid pattern for his book and has to make the facts fit into his picture of "Judge Lynch" as a sort of malignant God stalking these United States even tho it involves a good deal of distortion. There have really been several different varideclared in 1935, the army and eties of lynching and, unpleasant can people into President Roose- navy of the United States must the it may be to admit it, mobusually carried out in rural comis required by such practise or community. Such lynchings still occur for instance, the killing of Thurmond and Holmes, the San from a study of sea warfare, the Jose kidnappers in 1934, a deplornavy for which he asks could not able incident but one which was assure the protection of these fic- carried out by a mob seeking titious rights against the naval speedy vengeance, unmotivated by economic or social considerations. After the Civil War arose an-

placed squarely in the history of even the roughest correlation to sea power, when studied in relation justice. This purely oppressive alone impose victory on Japan in to the present posture of the sea lynching was designed to nullify powers in their separate strategic the abolition of slavery and did it no meaning save as one step in murder of Negroes in the South to commit themselves to the en- the poor white could vent the The second answer to this ques- tangling obligations which the anger engendered of pauperizavolves an analysis. Who is to be hour of a fateful decision has Fairly accurate lynching statistics are available from 1882 and they show a very definite increase in Similar experiences are to be and practise, in which the United World Today every period of depression up to the World War. In the war and tion of Negroes to the North began and the South became

this. Yet, there is a dangerous the reactionary army against the whether the fact is admitted or The French and British working new trend best exemplified in the the South, may we expect a great Three great big democracies stood those that decimated the I.W.W. in 1919 and 1920? One cannot be-In contempt of aggressors' furious lieve that employers fighting to preserve their sweatshop paradise Mussolini gave Eden the hot-foot, will fail to ally themselves with so tested and American a person-

### **Armaments Are Politics**

(Continued from Page 2) ANNE LAURIER Lessons oreign invaders but also against their exploiters and oppressors at can perform this water-crossing international practise and the dichome. Therefore, the capitalist class tries by every means to prevent a revolutionary working class bers of Congress may enlighten and peasantry from obtaining themselves on this point by readarms. The capitalists of today are ing the testimony of naval officers willing to make common cause on previous bills and especially on with foreign imperialists and inthe London naval treaty. But the cry goes up: "Are we vaders rather than take the risk

of putting arms into the hands of out protection in China?" To this class-conscious workers. question there are two answers This was proved by the Paris The first is that, if we had a navy Commune. With the defeat of Louis twice as big as that proposed by Napoleon, the Prussian army in-President Roosevelt, it could not vaded France. The bourgeois government did not dare to call the workers and peasants, especially Far-Eastern waters. Certainly, the working class of Paris, to arms even with such aid as Great Bri- areas, the President's program has with far too much success. The for a "people's war" against the tain might, could or should render, foreign invaders because the bour- when, as and if, the American the direction of applying his quar- in the seventy years since the from peak of 98.2% organized in geoisie was mortally afraid of the navy contemplated by the Presi-1920 to 64.3% in 1928 but rose Parisian workers in arms. The dent's program would run into mor- Asia. Next year, Congress will be 4,000—has no relation in paragain to 82% in 1935. The U.M.W. Paris Commune was established in tal hazards in any effort to imcalled upon to take the next step. ticular to crime but a great deal in America has generally been order to mobilize the workers and pose victory on the Japanese navy So the whole business boils down to economics. The peculiar threeweaker than the M.F.G.B. in Great middle classes of the city against in its own waters, the navy for to a single issue: Do the Americaste system in the South could Britain; it controlled 58% in 1924 the Prussian invaders and to defeat which the President asks cannot can people, and the Congress that endure only if the planting aristoand went to a low of 31% in 1930 the shameful sabotage of the rebut, by 1935, it rose to surpass the actionary generals and bourgeois tion of superior force. leaders. The representatives of the French bourgeoisie even went so tion in respect of protection in quarantine doctrine involves? The tion. So the Negro was lynched.

Bourgeois Defeatism In Spain

found in the Russian revolution. landowners supported the open in- that American citizens have a right to an understanding with the army ors must die. at all costs because they needed understanding with the generals arms and took up the fight against which cannot arouse the same en- Germany. Franco. And, as long as the thusiasm among the soldiers or masses keep their arms, capitula-| people at home. Another considera-| tion in the form of a "compromise" tion is revolutionary leadership with Franco, is impossible.

skilled in applying the new war A social revolution also revolutionary tactics and in using revolutionary ionizes military strategy and propaganda which often can destactics. It makes it possible to de- troy counter-revolutionary armies Leaving only two. feat foreign armies which may be before they start to fight.

velt's quarantine camp. All that not be employed to protect the law seems to owe its origin to the Congress needs to do to satisfy it- profits of traders in war-infested backwoods democratic rebirth of self on this point is to call naval regions abroad. Their duty is ful- the Jacksonian era. Lynching, officers into a secret session, vote filled in assisting in the evacua- which began on a large scale in them a retiring allowance so that tion of American citizens and the 1830's, was essentially fronthe executive axe may not fall their movable property from the tier justice-vigilantism-backed upon them, and ask them just how war zones. This is not to "scuttle by genuine mass indignation and Hitler or Mussilini or the Mikado and run." It is to follow settled miracle now, with our present de- tates of prudence No such naval the citizen to identify himself and fenses. It is high time that mem- program as the President demands his neighbors as the will of the prudence. And, according to realistic knowledge that can be gained! to leave American citizens withforce of Japan. Either way, his

program is clouded with doubts. When minutely analyzed, when other form of lynching lacking protected? Where? And in doing arrived. . . .

## what? On these points we are

(Continued from Page 4) tervention of foreign imperialism to go sight-seeing on the battle- stupidity or unscrupulousness. The panicky as it lost its cheap and save their property and profits. Chinese armies are fighting. Nor ruary 4 is that Germany will clined sharply. remains. In 1924, Great Britain had And n w it is the same with do Americans anywhere have the proceed with a more thoro and Can we look on Shay's and Spain. The "democratic" bour- "right" to insist on doing business solid program of war preparations similar books as the obituaries of geoisie knew of the plans for the as usual in war zones on land or and that the so-called "democratic" Judge Lynch? The fact that there army insurrection, even before the sea, that is, a right in defense of nations will make an "arrange- were only eight victims in 1937 outbreak. But they wanted to come which American soldiers and sail- ment" with Hitler in order to carry and the general decline for the on their own war preparations un- past twenty years would point to A war is raging in China, disturbed.

workers and poor peasants. The not, and the place for American classes must strive to counteract Shoemaker murder in Florida; a ndependent action of the revolu- citizens is out of these foreign war the attempts of their respective kind of lynching that does not kill tionary workers, however, made an zones. As the late Admiral Sims ruling class to create a hysterical its victim to terrify a racial group cry for "national unity" on the but specifically as a class foe. As impossible. They simply seized better equipped and trained but basis of the February 4 events in labor organization spreads thru

> together "boo"!

-The Brewery Worker | age as old Judge Lynch. D. S.

### Labor's Road to Peace

from Advance =

editorial on "Labor's Task in Preserv-ing Peace" that appeared in the March 1938 issue of the ADVANCE, official paper of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

THE EDITOR.)

A S the issue is raised in public discussions, in congressional debates and in private conversations, two methods of dealing with the war danger are proposed in the effort to define a right American attitude. There are the "isolationists" on the one side, and the proponents of "collective security" on the other.

The "isolationists," as the term suggests, say that Americans should not have any concern with what is happening abroad. are not to take part or in any other way get involved in what is happening in that madhouse, called the Old World, but we should arm ourselves so effectively that no Old World aggressor would dare come to our shores to

The "collective securitists" say that, no matter what we think of Europe, Asia or Africa, the fact remains that economic life today, the world over, is intimately interrelated and no nation can avoid getting involved, one way or another, in the major issues that agitate other nations. And, since it is so and, since sooner or later we are bound to get involved in international trouble, why not take care now, before it is too late, to line up the forces which stand for democracy and peace against all the other forces which want war and thus check in time the danger of a conflagration.

This argument, like the other argument, assumes strong arming of the American nation but it proposes that we get closer to the irritated spots of the Old World, while the "isolationists" say that any cooperation with the Europeans is another reckless step sure to bring us nearer war. . .

We will readily agree with the "collective securitists" that calling the Old World a lunatic asylum does not help matters. The economic rivalries back of the present crisis won't be put to rest by words. But, while by itself, isolation seems to be a lesser evil and understandings between democratic powers a most natural course to pursue, there is no assurance of safety in either course. "democratic powers" are mostly poker players in the game of empire even as are the Hitlers and the Mussolinis and he who banks on them, seeks to find support, in the words of the prophet, in leaning against a broken stick.

While isolation seems to be an unreal policy in a world as in-"collective seas is ours. curity" is anything but secure with the Chamberlains of England

> RETURNING FROM EUROPE!

Jay Lovestone

Europe Near The Abyss

a mass meeting to be held Thursday, April 7

> HOTEL CENTER 108 W. 43rd St.

(We publish below sections of an | and their counterparts in France, as security's safeguards. The issue thus isn't which policy is better but which is worse. And either policy spells gigantic ruinous armaments, costly, burdensome, and above all war-provoking. What, then, is to be done?.

A democracy which permits its military men to meddle with its laws to suit their own concepts and conveniences is bordering on disaster with its hands tied back. Already we have a foretaste in the Sheppard-Hill Bill introduced into the Congress by the War and Navy Departments representatives, of what the military mind will do to America when given a chance. There is consequently the urgent need to watch out, in view of the situation, that our democracy should remain intact and that the economic content of our liberties should be extended. A happy people will resist war. The program of labor, in these circumstances, includes insistence on the complete realization of the New Deal program and greater emphasis than ever on the strict observance of our civil liberties.

Neither isolation nor collective security holds out the promise of peace in the world. But whatever may happen to Asia or Europe, we, in the United States can, if we try hard, make a go of our economic and political possibilities. Collective prosperity rather than collective security is our safest bet for the preservation of

#### Bukharin and The Left S.R.s

(Continued from Page 3) thing that Bukharin planned and did they naturally planned and did along with him. Are all of them, therefore, to be regarded as having conspired to overthrow the soviet government and assassinate Lenin, Stalin\* and Sverdlov? Uritsky was shot by a Right S.R. terrorist in 1918. Menshinsky and Kuibyshev are now sanctified martyrs, two of the four alleged victims of the Bukharin "murder ring." Yaroslavsky is still at large writing vile, filthy articles in the Stalinist press. May we assume that, on the grounds of mere consistency, Yaroslavsky will himself stand in the dock in one of the coming trials?

The G.P.U. just doesn't seem to have any luck-the grain of truth is precisely what it is now choking on. We would advise Yezhov and his collaborators to stick to the more familiar ground of pure fiction next time, to fancy stories about espionage, wrecking and connivance with the fascist powers. They are out of their depth in party history; it just isn't their

But why Stalin? Lenin and Sverdlov were the heads of the new state but Stalin was only a secondline party leader. Why should anyone have bothered about assassinating

GEORGE HALPERN on

"C.I.O. and A.F.L."

Sunday, March 20 11 A.M.

1729 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn

Auspices: Local 117, I.L.G.W.U.

### Cal. Assembly **Backs Mooney**

By a final vote of 41 to 29, the California State Assembly declared itself last week in favor of a legislative pardon for Tom Mooney. The action has no legal standing, according to the official rulings of the Attorney General, but it was hoped that it might influence Governor Merriam. The Assembly vote came after two days of heated debate and after Tom Mooney had himself appeared before the body to make a plea for vindication and freedom.

The following day, the California Senate, stronghold of reaction, killed the Assembly resolution, after an unfavorable report by the Rules Committee, on the pretext that it was beyond the powers of the body. A resolution appealing to Governor Merriam for a pardon, remains still to be acted on, how

#### **Labor Scores Big** In Pontiac Vote

Pontiac, Mich. The United Automobile Workers

scored a signal victory here last week in the primaries for the three vacancies on the City Commission by placing its three candidates on the ballot for the April 4 election.

Inexperienced in the art of electioneering, the union did not really get under way until a few days before the primaries when it placed in nomination the names of Charles W. Barker, Arthur J. Law and Walter Hardin. The latter, head of the Negro department of the U.A.W. and one of the founders of the Pontiac local of the U.A.W. thus becomes the first Negro ever to be nominated on a municipal ballot in the state of Michigan. But, despite the late start and meager finances, the returns were amazingly favorable. Running in a field of 12, the three labor candidates finished among the first six. The candidates, in the order of their finish, are as follows: Nelse S. Knudson 2,375; Roy A. Strausser 2,128; Arthur J. Law (labor) 1,868; Charles W. Barker (labor) 1,824 Maurice E. Baldwin 1,796; and Walter Hardin (labor) 1,609.

Active preparations for the April 4 elections are now under way with the entire labor movement aroused over the possibility of placing labor candidates on the City Commission. Especially gratifying were the returns from the Negro districts, which cast approximately 85% of its ballots for Walter Hardin and the rest of the labor ticket, and from certain districts inhabited mainly by Southern workers in spite of the fact that the race question was raised in order to weaken the labor slate.

#### G.M. Signs New Grievance Pact

(Continued from Page 1) plants of 500 or less, however, there may be three committeemen. Plants of 500 to 1,000 may have five committeemen. Plants of 1,000 to 2,800 may have seven committeemen. Each committeman is to have a definitely defined district.

Adjustment of the number of committeemen is to be effected by March 15. Thereafter, adjustments can be made once every six months according to the number of workers. (In the April 12, 1937 agreement, the size of the shop committee was from five to nine, with additional members in plans of more than 3,600 workers in the ratio one to 400.)

Either the U.A.W. or G.M. can the supplementary agreement by giving 30 days notice. Previously the old agreement.

#### Labor's Decreasing Share

(From the United States Census of Manufacturers) Year **Product Value** Wages Labor's Share 1849 \$ 1,019,106,616 236,755,464 23.2% 1859 1,885,861,676 378,878,966 20.1% 1869 4,232,325,442 775,584,343 18.3%1879 5,369,579,191 947,953,795 17.6% 1889 9,372,378,843 1,891,219,696 20.1% 1899 13,000,149,159 2,320,938,168 17.8% 1909 20,672,051,870 3,427,037,884 16.5%1919 62,418,078,773 10,533,400,340 16.8%69,960,909,712 11.607.287.154 1929 16.6% 31,358,840,338 5,261,576,029 1933 16.7% 1935 45,759,763,062 7,544,338,434 16.5%

Thus, in a period of 86 years, labor's share of the value of manufactured goods in the United States has fallen from 23.2% to 16.7%.

#### ANTI-WAR APPEAL AT HIPPODROME MEET

Vigorous opposition to the war-| it be in the form of economic sancmaking plans of the Administration was voiced by every speaker at the big New York anti-war rally on March 6 at the Hippodrome. The meeting was under the auspices of the "Keep America Out of War" committee, a group of several hundred prominent figures in the labor, political and cultural fields.

Great emphasis on labor's leadership in the anti-war movement was laid by Bert Wolfe, spokes-man for the Independent Communist Labor League. He traced the roots of war to capitalist imperialism and stressed the necessity of extending the anti-war struggle into a struggle against the capitalist system. The fight against war-Wolfe concluded—does not end with the declaration of war; it enters upon a more difficult and intensive stage of revolutionary struggle against the war-making

Norman Thomas urged that the high sentiment at the meeting find expression in continued activity and pressure upon Congress in favor of the LaFollette-Ludlow war-referendum amendment and against all of the so-called "industrial-mobilization" bills. Homer Martin gave voice to the strong opposition to war prevalent among the masses of the workers, declaring that "labor will refuse to die in Wall Street's wars." "Collective security," he insisted, was really a "international company sort of unionism."

The chief speaker of the after noon was Senator Robert M. LaFollette, who concluded with the following eight-point program:

"Resist the present effort to build up our navy beyond the needs of adequate defense.

"Adopt the amendment recently introduced by twelve Senators, which will give the American people the right to vote on the question of our becoming involved in a war outside this hemisphere.

"Oppose our participation in punitive collective action, whether

60 days notice was required.

Workers now have four ways in which they can take up a grievance. Previously they had one. They can take up grievances with the foreman; request the foreman to call a committeeman; contact the committeeman at the union hall (the committeeman may leave his work to seek an adjustment of the grievance); after a district committeeman has been called in, the bargaining committee may designate another member of the committee to further investigate the complaint.

Mr. Dowell said the U.A.W. negotiators are of the opinion the changes in the grievance procedure request changes or modifications in and the 30-day notice clause constitute a definite improvement of

tions or war.

"End the fiction that war does not exist in the Far East and invoke the Neutrality Act, which will put an end to the allowed irresponsibility of our citizens remaining in war zones, travelling on belligerent ships, loaning money to belligerents and shipping their munitions to war zones.

"Oppose the war-mobilization. bill which would confer broad dictatorial powers on the Executive in time of war.

"Advocate a genuine war-time taxation measure which will take the profits out of war.

"Adhere to the principle that our wealth and productive capacity shall not be diverted to the building of armaments from the purpose of expanding our domestic eco-

"Preserve democracy at home by the inauguration of a broad program to restore and conserve our resource base; provide adequate rural and urban housing; give educational opportunity for youth; obtain more generous standards for social security; and a more equitable distribution of our annual in-

#### Lessons of the Flint Elections

(Continued from Page 1) tives of the rank-and-file "oppressed" by Martin's "burocracy," has been smashed to smithereens, so that even such a profound student of the labor movement as Heywood Broun can hardly miss it. The shady intriguers of the Stalinist stripe, together with their sanctimonious stooges, have received the kind of rebuke they can understand-a warning to keep their dirty paws out of the U.A.W. and its affairs. One thing the auto worker will not stand for and that is to permit the Stalinites to wreck his organization in order to satisfy their lust for political domination.

Most important of all, the whole country now knows that responsibility, discipline and constructive militancy, as represented by the Martin progressive leadership, have triumphed beyond challenge in the United Automobile Workers. This consideration is bound to carry great weight in the relation between the union and the big auto corporations; no longer, for example, will the latter be able to count on unauthorized outbreaks and sit-downs to play into their

On February 5, the Daily Worker carried a big front-page diatribe against Homer Martin, an editorial of the vilest sort, just dripping over with filth and venom. It was headed: "Homer Martin - For Whom Does He Speak?" Let the Flint elections supply the answer!