# I.L.P. On Soviet Purge

an appeal

(We publish below an appeal of the Parliamentary Group of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain to Joseph Stalin. This appeal was handed to Soviet Ambassador Maisky for transmission to Moscow. —THE EDITOR.)

the British workers in 1917 to hail the victory of the Russian workers and peasants over Czarism, the landlords and capitalists. In the Russian revolution, we found inspiration for the workingclass movement of our country and of all lands.

With pride, we watched the Russian people lay a foundation, despite the severest obstacles, of a new socialist society. We did everything possible to advance the solidarity of our working class with the Russian masses in their progress towards a society free from exploitation and oppression.

But recent developments in the U.S.S.R. have shocked us. Because of our faith in Soviet Russia and the support which we have given it, we are compelled now to voice our protest.

The workers of Britain can never be convinced that the majority of the Bolshevik leaders, the most intimate associates and co-workers of Lenin, men who gave their all to the cause of the workers, have become, as if overnight, champions of capitalism, spies and agents of the imperialist powers and tools of fascist reaction.

We cannot believe that even a fraction of the sweeping accusa tions against tried revolutionists like Zinoviev, Kamenev, Trotsky Piatakov, Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsky and Rakovsky have any foun dation.

If the charges were true, we would be compelled to conclude that there was something inherently wrong in the Russian revolution to attract such degenerate types to the top of the ladder of leadership. That explanation we unreservedly reject.

The very nature of the "confessions," the manner and technique of the trials, their preparation, the inconceivable character of the alleged crimes, not only fail to convince—they have the opposite ef-

This is not working-class justice. It is an insult and an injury to all international working-class ideals and interests.

It is an outrageous travesty on the most elementary human rights and a bestial crime against the most fundamental advances towards social decency registered by worst capitalist reactionaries have shown themselves capable of such methods of treating working-class leaders and working people.

It is not the prisoners who have been on trial at Moscow. It is the system of burocracy which has grown up since the time of Lenin. If, as the evidence at the trials suggests, any "opposition" in Russia, however sincere its socialist purpose, is compelled to take secret forms, the responsibility rests with the burocracy which has denied it democratic expression.

At this moment of growing fascist reaction, when increasing sections of the capitalist world appear to be returning to the dark ages under the lash of the Hitlers and Mussolinis, it is vital for the U.S.S.R. to show the way towards the extension of genuine workingclass democracy and freedom. Yet, it is precisely at this moment that (Continued on Page 2)

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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5c a Copy

### A.L.P. Maps New Fight

Alex Rose Declare Party Will Bring Big Issues To People Of State

The American Labor Party will carry the fight for the measures which were killed in the Legislature to the people, it was announced last week by Alex Rose, state executive secretary of the party. The issues on which the Labor Party will wage its campaign are the Child Labor Amendment; the high cost of living, including a workable solution of the milk costs, utility rates, high rentals and prompt construction of low cost housing, and other measures dealing with the basic welfare of the people of the state. The Labor Party's proposal on how to meet these problems, said Mr. Rose, is to elect more Laborites to the Legislature. In support of this contention, he cited the liberalizing effect the presence of five Labor Party members in the Assembly has had on their colleagues in Al-

"The American Labor Party accepts the minor accomplishments sible for a great forward stride in the progressiveness of the Legis- in the State Senate."

### The Paris Conference

International Gathering Lays the Basis for Revolutionary Unity; ICO Plays Big Role

By A. P.

ROM February 19 to 24, there took place in P took place in Paris an international conference at which were represented the parties affiliated with the London Buro for Revolutionary Unity (I.L.P., P.O.U.M. Italian Maximalists, S.A.P., etc.) as well as the I.C.O. and some of its sections, including the I.C.L.L. of the United States. Altogether, organizations from nineteen different countries participated. The I.C.O. took part in this conference in order to stimulate the concentration and collaboration of those revolutionary-socialist and anti-Stalinist communist forces that are ready to take a stand for the principles of the proletarian class struggle against the reformism of

lature but that stride was not enough.

"The Legislature did much but left more undone. The pressing problems which beset our people have not been met. The Labor Parof the 1938 State Legislature as a ty is convinced they must be met victory and the major failures as | and that, in the face of the evida challenge," said Mr. Rose. "The ence of this session, they will only presence of five members of our be met if more Laborites are reparty in the Assembly was respon- turned to the Assembly and a COMING SOON!

RESOLUTIONS of the recent INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY CONFERENCE in Paris

Two Speeches by JAY LOVESTONE At the Paris Conference will be published in coming issues of the WORKERS AGE

the 2nd International and the neo reformism of the 3rd International. The Paris conference made definite tion. On the whole, the conference consideration and discussion of important problems of the international labor movement, something especially significant in view of desperate confusion generated by

#### Role Of The I.C.O.

The delegation of the I.C.O. was in a position to support most of the resolutions of the conference. The general resolution on the perspective of the international working class movement was based on a joint draft of the I.L.P., the Italian Maximalists and the I.C.O. Drafts of the I.C.O. were also taken as the basis for the resolutions on Spain and the People's Front. On the other hand, the I.C O. voted against the war resolution because this resolution called for a policy of revolutionary defeatism for all capitalist countries engaged in war, including those allied with the Soviet Union. The I.L.P., altho it voted for the resolution, shared the viewpoint of the I.C.O. on "mixed" wars. On the "Russian question," no resolution was adopted. By a majority vote, a draft was accepted as a basis for discussion but it was so self-contradictory that even its advocates did not urge that it be accepted as a definite decision. On the other hand, the L.L.P., the I.C.O. and the Socialist Party of Sweden proposed a resolution alliances. It is a powhich called for the defense of the all along the line. Soviet Union as a workers state with a socialist economy; for detrade unions and the soviets; for the struggle against Stalinism and solidarity with the revolutionary opposition to the Stalin regime in the Soviet Union. This resolution received a considerable vote but a minority.

On a whole series of questions comradely discussion.

and welcome progress in this direc offered an opportunity for serious reformism and Stalinism.

the conference adopted a clear stand. Above all, it unequivocally rejected the whole People's Front policy. On other questions, clarity is still to be created and to this the I.C.O. is ready to contribute thru

The resolutions will be transmit (Continued on Page 2)

# Britain Bars Czech Help

#### Chamberlain Grants Free Hand To Nazi Germany In Central Europe

In a carefully worded statement, designed to allay discontent in his own conservative ranks, British Prime Minister Chamberlain last week presented to the House of Commons a preliminary view of the government's policy in the present European crisis. Most important in the declaration was the announcement that Germany could have a free hand in Czechoslovakia and in Central Europe generally, since no "vital" British interest was involved.

The main points in the Chamberlain statement were:

- 1. Flat rejection of any pledge to aid Czechoslovakia in case of a German invasion.
- Aid to France, Belgium, Iraq, Egypt and Portugal, should these countries be attacked. In each case, vital Empire interests would demand prompt British action in a crisis. But it was also made perfectly clear that this pledge would not apply to any involvement France might get into thru its Soviet or Czechish pacts.
- 3. Vigorous prosecution of negotiations with Italy in order to arrive at a "friendly agreement" as soon as possible.
- 4. Continuance of the "non-intervention" system for Spain. 5. Some vague and meaningless

words about the League of Nations. In substance, the Chamberlain declaration means that Great Britain will continue guiding its foreign policy strictly by its own imperialistic interests but will place even greater emphasis than in the past upon "wooing the dictators." All notion of a "democratic front," on which the fantasy of "collective security" is based, is now openly scouted, just as it was when Eden held the Foreign Secretaryship, despite the latter's fine words about "honor" and "duty." Chamberlain has also made it clear, altho without actually saying so, that Central Europe is to be regarded as a German sphere of influence, that the fascist insurgents are to continue to receive English backing in Spain, and that France is to be broken away from its Soviet and Czechish alliances. It is a policy of reaction

Chamberlain's pronouncement is bound to accelerate the shifts now mocracy in the C.P.S.U., the Soviet under way in European international relations. France is said to be already modifying its pledges to Czechslovakia and its attitude to the Soviet Union. Anglo-Italian negotiations are reported to be drawing to a positive conclusion, altho it should not be assumed that the deep-going antagonisms between the two imperialisms have been more than temporarily bridged. Hitler has openly announced that "the Reich will act again across her borders if necessary," which is generally taken to refer to the Polish Corridor even more immediately than to Czechoslovakia. And the isolation of the Soviet Union grows deeper and more menacing as Stalin's suicidal foreign policy continues to play right into the hands of the imperialist war-mongers.

In labor's ranks, there is desperate confusion as to policy and (Continued on Page 2)

# THOMAS HITS HULL'S *NEW PRO-WAR SPEECH*

of State Hull immediately after the latter's address before the National Press Club recently.

THE EDITOR.)

We have read with deep interest your comprehensive statement of an American foreign policy. With most of its statements of abstract ideals in international relations we are in hearty accord. Nevertheless, we find in the implications of your speech, both in what you said and what you left unsaid, another indication of the Administration's drift toward war.

We speak against a background of certain definite convictions. We mankind. Up to now only the want the maximum possible cooperation d States peace; the maximum possible isolation from war. We believe in world trade but not war trade and believe that the costs of comparative isolation from war trade can be far more easily borne by an intelligent country than the costs of

war. We believe that the one sure effect of America's entry into war would be war dictatorship and virtual fascism at home. To this such measures as the May Bill for universal conscription clearly point.

We believe that American participation in a new world war would be as unsuccessful as American participation in the first World

(We publish below the open letter | War in the establishment of genusent by Norman Thomas to Secretary ine democracy and peace. New war will not cure the ills which old war caused. We defeated the Kaiser only to get Hitler. By that precedent what would the next world war do? It would be waged by the same methods or worse, and by similar alliances of imperialist powers. It is not thus that fascism will be defeated in America or in the world.

> Against this background of our own conviction, we raise the following questions based upon your speech of March 18:

One: Why do you ignore the neutrality law which the Administration of which you are a member supported but never enforced? How can you explain in terms of justice or reason the rigorous en forcement of what you call neutrality against Loyalist Spain but no enforcement at all of neutrality against the dictators who have wantonly attacked her?

Remember that the Spanish Government was elected "by orderly processes" which you so desire to

By what right do you substitute the President's proclamation of May 1, 1937, addressed only to American shipping, for the enforcement of the neutrality law, the non-enforcement of which has clearly helped Japan rather than

(Continued on Page 2)

JAY LOVESTONE Just Returned from Europe Speaks on "Europe Near the Abyss" HOTEL CENTER - APRIL 7 - 8:00 P. M.

= By Politicus ====

#### The Seattle Elections

ONCE again labor, under the most difficult conditions, some self-inflicted, polled approximately one-third of the votes in a municipal campaign—and once again the enemies of in- Congress that is extremely impordependent labor politics have delivered their homilies on the tant and promises to set a preceinherent sinfulness of labor tickets. For the supporters of the Roosevelt Administration, as well as for its opponents, the lesson of Seattle is the same as the lesson of Detroit as they lesson of Seattle is the same as the lesson of Detroit, as they conceive of it, a lesson of defeat thru independence. The branches should endorse the Amer-

political appeal.

the big shipping interests of the

West Coast that Meyers be pub-

licized as a freak. Still there seems

to be that "tetched in the haid"

strain in Washington insurgent

politics, its most sensational out-

cropping occurring in the case of

Zioncheck. Is the labor movement

committed to "flower-pots on

hydrants," and is its program of

hope best symbolized by clowning

bandmasters? The forces working

for the political independence of

labor can hardly be said to have

aided their cause and ours thru the

Seattle labor had to fight no

merely the employers but also the

Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

tention to two important decisions.

The resolution on the international

working-class movement, drafted

the following program of revolu-

tionary-socialist collaboration and

imperialism.

class-collaboration.

capitalist class.

"The basis of collaboration

4. Support of the revolutionary

5. Defense of the socialist revo-

lution in Spain and of the P.O.U.M.

6. Defense of the Soviet Union,

The Paris

Herald-Tribune, which supported the same LaGuardia in New York as did the American Labor Party. speaks of "the revolt of Seattle against the proletarian dictatorship." The New York Times decries the trend of American politics towards class divisions and the transference of economic relationships into politics thru a "separate party instrument intended to advance the interests of a single economic group," and rejoices that the "old traditions of a political democracy in which men vote as citizens" has been vindicated by Seattle, as it allegedly was by Detroit.

These journalist historians of the employing class pervert even choice of Meyers as standardthe most recent history, so fresh in the memory of the participants and interested observers, that it cannot yet be called "history." What was the lesson of Detroitone of defeat, of the impossibility tics? Far from it, as the New York Beck's "voluntary N.R.A." For Times well knows. The amazing labor to shoulder unqualifiedly the and indelible achievement of the program of the New Deal is to workers of Detroit was that they keep itself tied to a program that were able to get as high a vote as is growing increasingly conserand with these forces limited al- under this Administration. most solely to the auto union.

Seattle polled proportionately as high a vote as did Detroit and A. F. of L. and that taste of perconsequently even higher than did verted "labor government" that the the American Labor Party in New ordinary voter of Seattle got thru York. But there are other features Dave Beck's regime. These were in the Seattle campaign that make tremendous odds, with no need of it rich in teachings for the rising lengthening them. labor-party movement. First, the split between the American Federation of Labor and the Committee for Industrial Organization was of far greater significance in that section of the country than in Michigan. Seattle is the home of Dave Beck: Washington, as well as Oregon, the scene of the truly ted to all participating organizadualist conflict, inflicted by the A. tions as soon as they are ready in F. of L. on the C.I.O. in the lumber final form. Here we will call atindustry and other fields.

In the primaries, the A. F. of L. supported the then Mayor Dore, intimately connected with Dave by Lovestone and Brockway and Beck— and not with thread of the adopted by the conference, contains whitest or purest linen, either. When Dore was defeated, the Beck group retired from public participation but "their support went quietly to Langlie," the conservative candidate who promised to "clean" labor's house for it. This invitation to this conference: F. of L. to consider supporters of the C.I.O. as "enemies of labor"! The Seattle Labor Council, under Beck's domination, announced itself "unalterably opposed to any candidate backed by subversive groups ciples and politics of the American peace-time of social-patriotism and national the following was adoptwho are in conflict with the prin-Federation of Labor."

This deep split in the ranks of labor itself naturally alienated struggle for emancipation by the Stalinist) communist organizations democratic as opposed to a fascist middle-class groups who, regard- oppressed peoples of all the in this manner does not mean the country, the people have a right to less of the truth, felt that the eco- colonial and semi-colonial countries artificial formation of a new Inter- vote on a war which they, in a very nomic crisis was caused or ag- and the linking together of the national... It will serve, however, different sense than the Congressgravated by the fight between the movement of the colonial peoples as a center for the regeneration men at Washington, will have to C.I.O. and the A. F. of L., and for freedom with the revolutionary and reconstruction of the interna- fight. who can in any case be won to struggle of the colonial workers tional working-class movement and It is no violation of representalabor's cause only when labor itself against their exploiting class. is bold, clear in policy and united in ranks.

But the C.I.O. itself started off as its leader. Deal character of its program and national working-class action on a be truly revolutionary."

## ALP Forbids AYC Tie-Up

The State Executive Committee of the American Labor Party decided last week on a question of

The direct issue was whether ican Youth Congress, send delegates to its conferences, etc. The advantage and in the interest of policy, as outlined and explained to all the branches in a general communication, shows a consciousness of the role of the A.L.P. and indicates also that the party is aware of the danger of permitting some of its essential functions to be "taken over" by outside organizations.

The policy of the party, as outined in the communication, is substantially as follows: The American Labor Party represents the nterests of the working people as ducted directly thru the American whole, and therefore the interests | Labor Party. Therefore branches | ened. We know that, in Britain, the of the youth as well. If there is any are forbidden to take any action trials and executions, the firing worthy project or a necessary bill tying themselves up with the squads and "suicides," have served introduced into the legislative American Youth Congress. bodies, the A.L.P. will consider it The implications of this position political campaign itself. To the on its own merits and endorse it for the numerous other "outside" and to strengthen immeasurably voters of Seattle, the issue was if it sees fit, just as it endorses organizations are clear. The prece-New Deal or anti-New Deal, the bills introduced by Democrats and dent here established should and former sponsored by the C.I.O. but known thru the practise of Dave in line with the needs of the workers. Since the American Labor Par- mocracy, People's Rights Committy functions in this fashion as the tees, etc. The American Labor ill-inclusive political movement of Party, as the labor movement orabor in this state, there is no need ganized on the political field, does for the branches to endorse or af- not need "outside" agencies to they did, politically inexperienced vative and to allow the forces of filiate to outside agencies of any work thru but can take care of its as they were, with so short a time reaction to profit by the growing sort. The work of the party on any interests directly, thru its constiin which to mobilize their forces discontent with things as they are field, such as the defense of the tuent unions and affiliated Asseminterests of youth, can best be con- bly District branches.

### How Can They Be Trusted?

"A SSUME that Stalin is correct and that the Old Bolsheviks now being executed are fascist spies. How do we know that other communist parties are not filled with spies and fascists of the same type? What worker wishes to entrust his fate to a party of this sort?

"Or assume that Trotsky is correct and that the trials are frame-ups. How do we know that similar frameups would not be arranged in other countries where the communists might gain the upper hand? Again, what worker wishes to entrust his fate to a party of this sort?" —Editorial in March 18 issue of The Kenosha Labor, official publication of the Kenosha Trades and Labor

# THOMAS HITS HULL'S NEW PRO-WAR SPEECH

(Continued from Page 1) China in the sale of its gold to our

e the foundation of international Hague of Jersey City? order" to keep our gunboats on the Yangtze where they never should have been, and to invite a repetition of Panay incidents?

class basis-advocacy of prole

7. Recognition of the necessity: should be the acceptance of the 1) to overthrow the apparatus of squelched in Congress. We think following principles included in the the capitalist state; 2) to establish that you do yourself and the Preslish, during the transition to so- ident less than justice when you 1. Class action as the basis of the cialism, a revolutionary working- imply that a referendum "would is the fruit of Frey's amendment to the "non-partisan" policy of the A. F. of L. to consider supporters of capitalist state, war, fascism and dictatorship"—which, whilst destroying the power of the capitalist lations." 2. Condemnation of the Popular class, will provide the maximum Front, proclaimed by the 2nd and of democracy for the working class only on the assumption that the 3rd Internationals, as a form of and will not repeat the errors and people can be made to fight a war terror of the Stalinist regime."

> On the question of a new Inter-3. Rejection in war-time as in every form of civil peace with the

| worth the risk?

Why should our government be Treasury and in the procuring of so much more concerned with this sort of protection to its citizens Two: Do you mean to tell the abroad than with the protection of American people that it is essential American citizens now against, for o our dignity, our trade, or "the instance, the peonage of the cotton undamental principles which must country or the tyranny of Mayor

Three: We do not understand the vehemence of your condemnation of the principle of a referendum before foreign war. Did not What conceivable good is done your party in 1924, at a convention by those gunboats and marines at which you were an important delegate, accept this principle?

Moreover it seems to us a little tarian democracy in the Soviet strange that you devoted so much time to discussing an issue which the Administration so drastically

> Is American diplomacy effective of which they do not approve?

We submit that the case for the Ludlow Amendment never was that it would be a sure panacea against "The collaboration of revolution- war. The case for the Ludlow ary-socialist and genuine (anti- Amendment was and is that, in a

for the preparation of a revolu tive government to let the people tionary Marxist International who are allowed to vote directly under appropriate political and or- on taxes to vote on this most ter- opposed action of the federal govganizational conditions as they rible tax of all. Moreover, with ernment to protect American citidevelop. It will serve to stimulate the aid of modern devices like the zens against lynching at home. with two self-imposed and unland of the October Revolution, and organize all the forces in the radio and electrical recording apWe do not ask these questions necessary handicaps—the candidate against imperialist aggression, for working-class movement which paratus, there could be a discussion merely rhetorically. We ask them for mayor, Lieutenant-Governor the purpose of defending the con- are preparing the way for a work- and vote on the great issue of war because we think they are vital to Meyers, and the exclusively New quests of the revolution by inter- ing-class International which shall and peace in less time than it took the most important issue which some Senators to tell just why they confronts the American people.

# ILP Appeals On 'Purges'

(Continued from Page 1) the present regime in the U.S.S.R. is resorting to methods and practices that savor of the fascist terror, that are entirely foreign to and have no place in the workers movement.

We cannot believe that you realize how much harm, how much incalculable and irreparable damage, you are inflicting thru this ruthless terror upon the cause of the entire international working class and the ideals of socialism. The most bitter foes of the Soviet system could never have done as much to shake the faith of classconscious workers and to cause doubt and demoralization in their You are committing a grave er-

ror if you think that this savage terror strengthens the international position of the U.S.S.R. against the threat of attack by the fascist and imperialist powers. On the contrary, the position of the U.S. S.R. is being disastrously weakonly to paralyze working-class opinion on behalf of the U.S.S.R. the hands of the Chamberlains and Halifaxes in their moves to isolate the Soviet Union.

We cannot condemn with sufficient vigor methods and policies which are dangerously undermining the moral influence and political prestige of the Russian revolution among the workers of the world, which have done terrific harm to the military and economic position of the U.S.S.R., and which have encouraged the imperialist war-makers in all capitalist countries to drive the world into another inferno.

In the name of international working-class solidarity, in the name of the cause of socialism, on behalf of the very ideals which inspired the Russian workers to their victorious revolution, we call upon you to end this regime of blood against the trusted associates of Lenin, against those who but yesterday were your worthy comrades, your own colleagues, against scores of thousands of workers, for years members of the Communist Party, now suffering in dark dun-

In the name of the victory and unity of the workers of all lands, we call upon you to stop these trials and killings, to empty the Soviet prisons of the workers now languishing in them and to restore the U.S.S.R. to its rightful place the vanguard of humanity marching towards a free, classless society, to the better day of so-JAMES MAXTON, M.P.

GEORGE BUCHANAN, M.P. JOHN McGOVERN, M.P. CAMPBELL STEPHEN, M.P. (The I.L.P. Parliamentary

FENNER BROCKWAY (General Secretary, I.L.P.)

ENGLAND BARS CZECH AID (Continued from Page 1)

paralysis in action. In England, the labor movement vigorously denounces the Chamberlain government for its Czechoslovakian and Spanish policies. But in France, both the socialist and communist the same line in international affairs under English direction. Of independent working-class action in the crisis, there is but little sign.

# **About the LaFollette Anti-War Program**

By M. S. MAUTNER

point program for "peace."

Strong Side Of Program

the people; for vigorous opposition

to the naval-expansion bills; for

the rejection of the "collective-

security" swindle. This aspect of

his statement is of greatest im-

portance because it contains the

program of the labor and progres-

sive movement not merely against

war but for housing, increased so-

cial security, extended educational

facilities, unemployment relief, etc.

examine certain secondary items in

the program, by and large expres-

sive of that traditional American

isolationism discussed in last

week's Workers Age, or expressive

of opposition to war but not to the

economic cause of war, capitalism,

the limitations of the LaFollette

program become apparent. And

here it should be made clear that

the weakness and confusion of

these aspects of the program are

more than LaFollette's private

vagaries—they are typical of the

ideas prevalent among the great

masses of the people in their op-

What are these features which

we believe to be inadequate and

ineffective in the struggle against

imperialist war? First, the recogni-

tion of need for a navy sufficient

for "adequate defense"; secondly, a

call to invoke the Neutrality Act in

the Far Eastern crisis; and, thirdly,

faith in the efficacy of a "genuine"

measure to tax the profits out of

"Adequate Defense"

position to war.

When, however, we come to

A T THE March 6 meeting of the "Keep America Out Of War" movement, Senator Robert Spanish-American war! There is M. LaFollette enunciated eight no "defense" in the rearmament points for an immediate program plans of the war-mongers. And isn't against war. This program, in it fantastic, even from a militarykeeping with the character of the technical point of view, to speak meeting and the movement grow- seriously of an invasion of the ing around the forces that spon- North American continent by the sored it, had as its central feature "hordes of fascism," Japanese of opposition to the Administration's European? The whole notion of program hurtling the country to- "continental defense" as distinct wards war. Peace movements of from imperialistic war falls to various sorts, especially in times pieces in the light of the realities of emergency, have arisen in this of the situation and to keep harpcountry in the past, usually to ing on it is certainly no way to be pierced upon the barbed hook of government demagogy; plans. usually to accept the statements of Our opposition to fighting for peaceful intent made by the rulers Standard Oil in China does not, of the nation as the programmatic however, mean that we have no basis of a movement hoping to prereal interest in the struggle of the vent the very war these rulers were preparing in secret. One need only recall the fate of the People's League For Peace and Freedon

organized in 1916 by the Socialist Party, liberals, and pacifists, which took as its starting Wilson's ten-The primary importance and relative soundness of the Senator's eight-point program lies in its opposition to the war-mongering activities of the Roosevelt Administration. LaFollette calls for support of the war-referendum amendment: for the diversion of funds from armaments to housing and other vital social projects; for struggle against the various warmobilization bills which would foist a reactionary dictatorship upon

preted as anything but defensive. But this "defense line" happens to fight the Administration's war

Chinese people against imperialist Japan. Invocation of the Neutrality Act would apply to both belligewar. We do not want China to be hindered in her struggle against Japan. On the contrary, we want to facilitate that struggle and aid the Chinese masses in getting rid of imperialist exploitation of every sort, including that of the United States. Real aid to China against nternational imperialism can only

# Of Labor

THE proposed seven bills (of I the Industrial Mobilization Plan) grant the President authority to create special machinery for control over the nation's man-power, over channels of public information and opinion, and over industry. Control over industry is limited, however, to the confines established by the Constitution. . . . The existing cabinet departments, the Plan points out, are not adaptable sity when the mass labor move-

cise all authority and control which the prosecution of modern war demands."—Rose M. Stein: M-Day. be given by a socialist labor govstruggle against American im-(Continued on Page 5)

# War Mobilization The United Front and **American Labor**

By ALBERT EDMUND

(We publish below, as discussion naterial, an article by Albert Edmund, a member of the St. Louis group of the I.C.L.L.—THE EDITOR.)

THE united front in any coun

I try becomes a practical neces-

to war-time performance. Their ment is divided over basic issues duties are in the first place de- whether economic or political, and fined by law and, in time of war, where, as a consequence, organizalegally defined restrictions might tional unity is impossible. The conprove embarrassing. Secondly, the tinued existence of the C.I.O. and various cabinet departments are A. F. of L. as two competing tradecreated 'to serve' the people. In union centers lifts the question of time of war, the active cabinet the united front of labor from the does not serve the people; it uses realm of formulas to the realm of united front was largely a mechareality. The current depression and nical transfer of a conception esthem. Therefore, an emergency body must be established to exerlabor movement have made the as France and pre-Hitler Germany. united front an urgent necessity. the Brotherhood of Railway Train- apply in one country and have no rents. It would not simply stop ernment which can have no vested men, in the February issue of his place in another. It may occur at shipments to Japan; it would also interest, no financial stake, in the prevent the Chinese from acquiring Far East. Therefore, what we want a united front—a mailed fist—and the working class. But, at every munitions and necessary financial is not the invocation of the Neu- a common cause." And John L level, it retains its proletarian support for their really defensive trality Act, which would be dam- Lewis is reported to have raised character. In any case, the workaging to the Chinese cause, but as- the question in the course of the ing class must have reached the sistance to China thru international final negotiations with the A. F. of level of independent existence abor action to stop shipments of L. in Washington some months either in trade unions, a mass poliwar materials to Japan and thru ago. In the New Republic of Janu- tical party or both. Nay, more, the perialism at home. The program the final day Mr. Lewis, with deep two or more bodies of organized of the anti-war movement, to be feeling, urged that a joint, unitedeffective, must develop its in- front committee of the A. F. of L. from the very birth of the labor and C.I.O. be established to repre-

sent labor in its dealings with Congress and on all broad, general questions affecting the interests of workers." Include representatives from the independent railway brotherhoods in this joint committee and you have the united front of labor in the United States.

#### Specific Form Of The United Front

Naturally, the united front in from what we might have imagined it to be on the basis of the experience of certain European coun-

In fact, the original idea of the the resultant difficulties for the sentially suited to such countries

The uneven development of cap It has found authentic champions italism also makes for the uneven in the highest councils of labor. development of the working class. Alexander F. Whitney, president of The united front may, therefore. ary 26, T. R. B. describes it: "On united front is possible only where labor exist side by side, either movement or because of a split. A world-wide split in the labor movement took place shortly after the Russian revolution. In Russia, the split liquidated itself thru the successful proletarian revolution. But n the other countries, the working class remained divided in varying degrees. We may thus distinguish four groups of representative countries: 1. The Soviet Union with the dictatorship of the proletariat; (Continued on Page 6)

# Fascism Over Latin America

= by Ellen Ward ===

and fascist influence in Latin America. Subsequent articles will deal with for greatly diminished rivalries be- had been made thru Ertzeberg Brazil, Argentina, Mexico and Cuba, tween the United States and Eng- Brothers, a German concern. As no to be followed by a final article dis- land on the South American con- such shipment is possible without cussing political conclusions.

-THE EDITOR.)

THE threat of war is the key t the understanding of all political manouvering in Latin America today. Germany, Italy and Japan have become aggressively active not only for reasons of commerce but in preparation for the next war. It is obvious, of course that it would be difficult to wage a war on a world scale without the raw materials of Latin America. The western hemisphere fed Europe during the last war and supplied a good part of its munitions. The Allies could not have won the pansion of German trade in Brazil, war without that help.

England And The U.S. A. In Latin America

ica controlled all the exportable billion dollars there, or more than two-thirds of the total foreign investment. England and the United States also control the machinery "Adequate defense" to LaFollet- with which all our southern neighte probably means defense against bors carry on their economic exurge increased armaments with this continent.

poses against some mythical inva-sion? Of course, they weren't even Italy and Japan, plus the Anglodreaming of joint naval action with American understanding in prepa- In Porto Alegre, Brazil only a perts. Germany is selling munitions But it is in Brazil where the course, they couldn't conceive of English-speaking countries a com- million dollars worth of arms was country. In many cases the Krupp exists, and we shall therefore exdoing a thing that could be inter- mon task in Latin America—to discovered. It had been sent direct- and Rhine Metall Barsig wares are amine Brazil in the next article.

(In this issue, we begin a series preserve the status-quo—at least in | ly from Germany to Flores da Cun

foreign lands. Of that, the Anglo- in Latin America. American share was 83%; the German, Italian and Japanese share only 17%. In 1936, the Anglo-American share had dropped to 72% while the German, Italian and Japanese had climbed to 28%.

This increase in favor of the fascist block was made possible thru government aid, thru direct diplomatic pressure, intensive propaganda and lavish funds in a campaign of unstinted bribery. As a counter manouver to the ex-

for example, the United States granted a sixty million dollar gold

Until very recently, Anglo-Amer- sparing no expense in propaganda thruout Latin America. They sub- with Ecuador for fishing rights in Palmas, ten miles from Lima. Steel wealth of Latin America. Great sidize the local press, the publish-Britain and the United States have ers, the lecturers, the news buros, a combined investment of over ten extend free cable services, arrange "good-will" flights and uniformed visits of all kinds in the mad push for, if not active allies, then tical conclusions. friends, at least.

Latin American dailies are floodgreat ease under precisely this It is, of course, true that, all Photographs of Hitler and Musso- in the State of Michoacan. formula. Was not the whole bur- during the post-war years, Eng- lini, almost life-size, appear with German capital has just been inden of the Navy Department evid- land and the United States have great frequency. With the aid of vested in a cellulose manufacturing lini's best agent in South America. ence at the Congressional hearings been rivals in the rich Latin Amer- the Catholic Church, Italian paid plant in Valdivia (southern Chile), Mussolini has sent him fascist inon the Vinson Bill, the need of ican market; often very bitter propaganda has "molded" a large where 8,000 acres have been pur-structors to train the Peruvian naval expansion for "defense" pur- rivals, indeed. But the present ag- part of South American public chased for exploitation by the most police in how to meet the danger

articles by Ellen Ward on fascism economic relationships. For the ha, governor of the State of Ric time being, therefore, we can look Grande do Sul. The arrangement the approval of the Nazi govern In 1929, all of Latin America ment, it is obvious as to who i mported 65% of its needs from financing the fascist organizations

#### Fascist Armament Booms

The fascists are also promoting armament booms on the southern continent itself. They are pressing o supply them with warships, airplanes and munitions. Japan has offered Brazil and Chile, 200,000,-000 yen worth of battleships to be paid for half in cash, over a tenyear period, and half in coffee.

A little while ago, the Japanese ubmitted to the Brazilian Federal Hitler has done. Italy has also see rade Council a \$100,000,000 plan up an assembly plant for bombing for the reorganization of the Brazi- planes on the coast of Peru. Last lian merchant marine. Japan is year, the Peruvian government credit to President Getulio Vargas. also bidding for the construction of signed a contract with the Caproni Berlin, Rome and Tokyo are two modern cruisers for Chile. It aircraft Company of Milan for the is, at the same time, negotiating construction of this plant at Las the Galapagos Islands—just off the for this plant came from Germany mainland. One has only to examine and the plant was constructed the map to see how close Ecuador under the direction of the German is to the Panama Canal. It is not engineer, Herr von Stach Galtzdifficult to draw the proper poli- heim. The factory is now turning

In Mexico, Japan has two com- on the South American continent. missioners on the Federal Fished with subsidized fascist features, eries Board. It is also busy negoti- legrini, director of Italian civil invasion of the American continent. change with the rest of the world long articles explaining the ating there for the concession to aviation, concluded negotiations in It should be pointed out, however, and their combined sea-power "superior" philosophy of the totali- build a modern harbor in Manza- Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil for that the war-mongers can and do guards their numerous stakes on tarian states and their special ade-nillo—a port on the Pacific, in re- an air line linking Rome and quateness in our troubled times, turn for oil and mining concessions South America via Gibraltar.

being exchanged for South American foodstuffs and raw materials. Germany is also negotiating with Venezuela for the construction of two destroyers. It has established scholarships in Berlin for officers of the South American armies. In May 1937, Colombia signed a

treaty with Germany opening the door to its investments in the oil industry. Italy has sold warships to Brazil

and Argentina and is marketing munitions and aircraft thruout the South American continent.

Mussolini has sent air and military missions to the more important countries and has established military scholarships just as out Caproni planes and selling them

A few months ago, General Pel-

The Peruvian dictator, Benavides, has turned out to be Musso-

England in the Far Pacific! Of ration for war, has given these two short while ago, a shipment of one to almost every South American largest organized fascist movement

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April 2, 1938 No. 14

#### "PREVENTIVE" WAR

THE New York World-Telegram of March 23 **Description** publishes the following dispatch:

"A warning that Germany, Italy and Japan, 'when united in the next war,' will form the strongest military power since Napoleon, was sounded here by Dr. William E. Dodd, former ambassador to Ger-

"'If France, the United States and Russia want to maintain the status-quo,' Dr. Dodd continued . . ., 'they had better declare war on the three military machines before they gain too much momentum." And the news report is very accurately headed: "Dodd Urges War To Balk Dictators."

Dr. Dodd is an honest man, a frank and forthright man. He scorns the cheap hypocrisy of the Stalinist-"liberal" demagogues who pretend that "collective security" is the road to peace. He knows that the "collective action of the great democracies" is utterly meaningless unless it means ultimately action for war. He knows it and says so right out loud-for which he deserves our thanks. It clears the atmosphere and makes it possible to discuss the question intelligently.

Dr. Dodd favors a "preventive" war, a war of the non-fascist states against the fascist group just as soon as possible and under conditions most favorable to the former in order to forestall such a war later on under conditions most favorable to the latter. We may overlook Ex-Ambassador Dodd's diplomatic naivete in assuming as a matter of course that Germany, Italy and Japan will be allies in the coming war; the reality of international politics is somewhat more complicated. But the viewpoint he voices still deserves serious consideration.

Why are we against a "preventive" war? Not because we are against war in general and in the abstract, as our readers well know. We are against a "preventive" war because we are profoundly convinced, on the basis of all political logic and experience, that such a war not only would not achieve its alleged aims but would actually lead to results diametrically opposed to them. A "preventive" war against fascism, a crusade for "democracy," would in reality lead to the extension of reaction and fascism far beyond their present limits.

Does anybody think that Tory England, the backer of Franco and the eager wooer of Mussolini and Hitler, would enter any war out of love for democracy or hostility to fascism? Or People's Front France. which so cold-bloodedly abandoned first Ethiopia and then Loyalist Spain despite treaties and covenants? Or New Deal America, partner in the one-sided blockade of Spain and patron of the bloody dictators, Batista of Cuba, Truiillo of Santo Domingo and Vargas of Brazil? Nonsense! Any war these powers would ever wage would be a war for the advancement of their own imperialist interests, specifically, as Dr. Dodd puts it, "to maintain the status-quo." But, in such a war, neither democracy nor fascism would play any role, except as demagogic camouflage. It is entirely to be expected that, should Germany or Japan be defeated in such a war and the danger of revolution arise, the imperialists of the "democratic" stripe would join with their late enemies, the imperialists of the fascist stripe, to restore "law and order," that is, to install a "strong" regime, probably in the form of a military dictatorship. The great crusade for democracy would then end in a counter-revolutionary crusade of reaction, and it is inevitable that it should do so, for our "great democracies" are also imperialistic and therefore thoroly incapable of waging a genuine war of liberation and progress.

And, while our armies are busy spreading "democracy" abroad at the point of the bayonet, what would happen at home? Is there any doubt that a military dictatorship closely akin to fascism would be lifted into power in England, France and the United States, to the virtual extinction of all democratic institutions and popular rights? Can there be any doubt that the regime thus established would persist after the war on a permanent basis? The great crusade against fascism abroad would then end with the establishment of something very close

#### Free Anti-Fascist Prisoners!

REPUBLICAN Spain is fighting with its back to the ing in prison as a result of the wall. Franco's hordes, reinforced bloody Stalinist crusade against by contingents of "volunteers" the revolutionary sections of the sent by Mussolini and Hitler, Spanish labor movement. are breaking thru the Aragon front and invading Catalonia. today, men who could inspire Barcelona is in danger!

ment, when Loyalist Spain tage the anti-fascist struuggle: should be mobilizing its every it is an unforgivable crime available resource of man-power against the Spanish people. The and fighting spirit, over 15,000 liberation of the anti-fascist revolutionary anti-fascists are prisoners from the jails of Loyto be found in the jails of the alist Spain has now become vital Republic, the victims of the to the cause of anti-fascist de-Stalinist G.P.U. in Spain. Thou- fense! All enemies of fascism, sands of P.O.U.M.ists, Left so- all friends of Loyalist Spain, cialists, members of the U.G.T. must now once again raise their and C.N.T.-F.A.I., the best fight- voices demanding the immeers against fascism, the leaders diate release of all the anti-fasof the great mass upsurge that cists in the prisons of the Rerouted Franco in the first days public!

To keep these men in prison and invigorate the resistance to Yet, at this desperate mo- Franco, is deliberately to sabo-

# LEON BLUM ON THE MOSCOW TRIALS

(We publish below an article by he speaks out—and again diplomatic Leon Blum, French Premier and so- reasons play no small part. Leon cialist leader, that appeared recently Blum's article on the Moscow trial Stalinist regime in the U.S.S.R. Now political interest.—THE EDITOR.)

T IS painful, terrible. I know it, | sequences you are so much afraid stances in which no one has the right to suppress his thoughts. solidarity with the Soviet govern That is why I want to express my ment. You should condemn, as we houghts openly.

I believe in the necessity of the eople's Front in France. I believe the necessity, or rather in the nistorical inevitability, of prolearian unity. I believe that the Franco-Soviet pact is one of the conditions of the European balance and therefore of peace in Europe. believe that, as long as the Berin-Paris-Tokvo axis remains in exstence, the interests of peace, not o speak of the agreement between France and Soviet Russia, require rapprochement between Russia nd the great Anglo-Saxon democracies, England and the United

And precisely because, on all hese questions, I have such a firm pinion and such definite convicons, I am greatly disturbed and cast down by the Moscow trial.

People's Front. It hampers work for proletarian unity. It provides material to reaction at home and Union? abroad in its fight against the Franco-Soviet pact. It creates in the English and American democracies an atmosphere of unfavorable sentiment on the question of a closer approach to the Soviets. It these columns more than six years paralyzes, perhaps for a long ago. I would very much like to subtime, the efforts at mediation that France, in my opinion, should

Our communist comrades wil say to us, they are already saying to us: That's your own fault. This sentiment, of whose con-

o fascism at home In a word, a "preventive" war, the form of a "war for democracy," might very well fall in with the imperialist power-politics of the "great democracies." But, for People's Commissars and high officials mocracy and freedom but fascism and reaction. That is why we are against Dr. Dodd's plan of a we have in the loyalty of those who against Dr. Dodd's plan of a have taken their places?' "preventive" war

in the Populaire, official paper of the may be regarded as a public demon-S.P. of France. Our readers will un- stration of his intention, already obderstand that we do not share Blum's vious on other grounds, to oust the views on the People's Front, Euro- Communist Party from the People's bean diplomacy, Dan's politics or vir- Front and to reorganize the latter by them. ually anything else. We publish the including groups to the right of the article because it is a protest against present coalition. Only such a per he Moscow trial coming from an im- spective would have opened the portant figure in the international so- columns of the Populaire to a word ialist movement, a man who, during of criticism against the Stalinist the two years preceding the date of this article, justified by his diplomatic silence all of the atrocities of the fore, both for its intrinsic and its

I feel it. But there are circum- you yourself have helped to create . . . You should act as we do. in do, the traitors and justify, as we do, the penalties. . . .

But here we are asked the im possible. We don't possess that form of faith that does not take the sense of justice into consideration. Our reason continues to function. It functions almost against our will. We can only believe in that which we are in a position to understand.

Our communist comrades will add, as they are doing already: But the trial in Moscow is completely normal and regular. . . . The proceedings take place in accordance with the constitution and the laws. before a regular court at public sessions. The indictment is backed up by evidence that all jurists of the world regard as superior even to reasonable conviction—the confessions of the accused. To question such evidence, does it not mean The Moscow trial hurts the to be influenced by hostile prejudice, by class enmity, by a secret

dreadful question about the confessions that I myself discussed i scribe to all of the interpretations offered us. I would very much like to believe what has frequently been told me-that, for the accused in

(Continued on Page 6)

1. Severac, vice-secretary of the an article in the previous days's Popu-In this article, he said the following: "If so many generals, marshals

By Lambda

### **WORLD TODAY**

Austrian I.C.O. Presents Position On Struggle Against Hitler

(We publish below a brief report from the I.C.O. roup in Vienna as well as a leaflet issued by it in the risis. It will be noted that the letter was written after the reorganization of the Schuschnigg cabinet along Nazi ines but before Hitler's invasion of Austria.

-THE EDITOR.)

Vienna, February 20, 1938.

WE have just heard the ridiculously demagogic but also threatening speech of Hitler. Our ittle country will certainly be influenced by itpartly attracted to it by its economic content and partly intimidated by its threat of force.

The sentiment here, in general, is very bad. Among the workers, there are two moods: one group sees how serious things are but thinks that all is lost and does not believe in the possibility of quick action of the working class. The second group is, to be sure, highly indignant but does not see the danger and believes that the situation is like what it was in 1936. "They will again clip the Nazis' wings and perhaps the foreign powers will also have something to say." This gross underestimation during the first days came to this: that even the foreign press spoke of a victory for Schuschnigg and our own press concealed the course of events and the accompanying conditions and lied about

In some factories, there were short, spontaneous protest strikes. So far, no material has appeared from either the Revolutionary Socialists or the Communist Party. We have circulated the enclosed leaflet in a number of factories and also in R.S. circles. And we have also arranged a discussion with the R.S. people on policy. They are against the slogan of arming, for they feel that even the first steps in this direction cannot be taken, not to speak of carrying the matter thru.

We are of a different opinion for the following reasons. The government press reports, in a highly inflated manner, of course, demonstrations of tradeunion elements in the factories for an independent Austria and for preparedness for defense. Schuschnigg, too, is interested in showing that the workers support him. And, at legal meetings, people say: Well, yes, we are prepared. But put weapons in our hands; organize the means of defense!

It seems to us that a campaign should be conducted in which we say, on the one hand, what the Christian-Socialists want to hear and, on the other, what we ourselves want and what would set the movement going organizationally and strengthen its consciousness of its own power.

This situation will not last long. It is said that Schuschnigg is being reproached with capitulation by his own clique and, as the situation sharpens, as it soon must, a split in the government block will most likely come, especially if Hitler takes further action soon. Whether we can count on any real resistance from these people depends on our estimate of the situation among the police and the army command. It is to be taken for granted that, in a crisis, half of the police and army could not be used leaning to the foes of the Soviet against the Nazis. For the moment, the imprisoned socialists are free and that means a great deal. I In this way we are driven to the count, however, on an immediate resumption of the dreadful question asked by Severac campaign of persecution of the workers movement, yesterday. We are driven to a only even more severe and along German lines.

AUSTRIA FACES COORDINATION

Workers! Comrades!

Schuschnigg has taken the first step toward coordination with National-Socialism. In the Berchtes-Moscow, confession was the last gaden discussion, he allowed Hitler to dictate: the admission of the Austrian S.A. into the Fatherland Front; the coordination of the Ministry of Public Security; the coordination of the army. There will French Socialist Party, had published follow a customs and monetary union and a similar political situation in Hungary. At Berchtesgaden, laire, dealing with the Moscow trial. Hitler threatened Austria invasion by German troops and civil war.

In this situation, Schuschnigg found himself ready the masses, it would bring not de- were really in the service of foreign to accept the German conditions and thus to abandon powers, especially Germany and all his patriotic principles. A feeling of dissatisfac-

(Continued on Page 5)

# BOOKS

HOW WE SPEND OUR MONEY by Maxwell S. Stewart. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 18. Public Affairs Committee, New York.

money for necessities and have gress not only minimized the antilittle left over for conveniences, war implications of the Pilgrimage not to speak of luxuries, accord- but did not even mention the wording to Maxwell Stewart's careful "peace" in the call for the march study here under consideration.

Northeast and Far West, and 40% ford Pledge, youth affiliate of the of the white and 60% of the Negro families in the South, are found mittee, and its supporters, to make not to spend enough money for it a Pilgrimage against war. food to provide an "inexpensive but adequate diet." Housing standards are also shown to be seriously number of anti-war banners such

is, presents an instructive picture C.I.O.'s Fight Against the May of how the typical American family Bill," to be displayed in the disposes of its income. It is based streets of Washington during the on a recent investigation of expen- parade which took place on Saturditures of wage earners and clerical day, March 12, were prevented dependent anti-imperialist foreign cannot be heard to assert that the workers carried out by the Buro of from doing so by the Stalinist lead- policy and demand its adoption retaliatory conduct of his employ-Labor Statistics and a subsequent ers running the affair, who were Study of Consumer Purchases, con- afraid that this would embarrass United States cease protecting rights is necessarily a bar to their ducted as a W.P.A. project by the the "most cordial" President in the the investments of the bankers and Buro of Home Economics and the White House who "was so enthu-Buro of Labor Statistics.

dollar spent by American families act otherwise after the President go to provide the three great neces- had told them that "the American Another 17 cents go for necessities scarcely less urgent—transporta- tises"? tion, medical care and personal care, leaving 8 cents for education recreation, church and community welfare. The average American working-class or white-collar family does not put aside a cent in savings, the study reveals.

Only one-fourth of the families investigated in North Atlantic cities had a really satisfactory diet. About 45% had a satisfactory diet with no margin of safety, while 30% fell short of the mini- Stalinites so much desired. mum requirements for health and efficiency. Most of the inadequate diets were found among families with low incomes. Families with poor diets usually did not have a reasonable standard of living with regard to other necessities.

Altho families differed widely in the way in which they spent their President Roosevelt in a petition money, it was found that certain from the Youth Committee for the broad generalizations were posa smaller proportion of the total, on the basic necessity—food. The on the basic necessity—food. The outlay for housing and personal of the National Council for the Prevention of War; Dorothy Detaction of War; Doroth care, on the other hand, remains care, on the other hand, remains at about the same ratio until very, men's International League for high income brackets are reached, when it tends to decline slightly. Clothing expenditures are relative—
ly stable but tend to rise relative—
ly stable bu ly in the higher income levels. The share of the total spent for all the remaining items, such as automobiles, medical care, recreation, education, gifts and contributions, rises rather rapidly with each increase in income.'

Wide variations are housing standards, as well as in and cultural opportunities to meet housing costs. About 90% of the the needs of the population. . . families of wage-earning and To provide every American family dared to lift a finger in defense of workers! clerical workers in Philadelphia with a liberal diet and at the same Austria. Abandoned by the Westlive in houses which have inside time permit the purchase of such ern powers and without the supflush toilets, running hot and cold necessities and comforts which are water, electric lights and gas or ordinarily associated with this diet electricity as kitchen fuel. In Rich- would . . . require an increase of mond, Virginia, only 37% of the production by some 70% or 80% renters and 15% of the home-own- above the 1929 level. . . ." But why ers among the lower half of the can't we reach this socially neceswage earners have these facilities. sary minimum level of production?

penditures for reading matter is try's plant and resources to full revealed to average only about \$6 | capacity? Why, instead, are we a year, which suggests that the offered an "economy of scarcity" reading matter is limited to a daily based on the restriction of producpaper. At the level of the average tion? These questions, which go American, the outlay for reading to the very root of the problem the only force which can bar the material is about \$10 a year- and expose the irrationality and way and which can unite all antienough for a daily paper and an bankruptcy of the capitalist sys- fascists beneath its flag. Schuschoccasional five or ten-cent maga- tem, are neither asked nor answer- nigg woos the workers in order to

study concludes, "it is primarily

# Anti-War Youth Present Peace Petition to F.D.R.

THIS year's American Youth Congress Pilgrimage to Washington "for a better, happier and healthier America" took place on Most Americans spend all their March 10-12. Since the Youth Conitself, it became the responsibility One-third of the families in the of the Youth Committee for the Ox "Keep America Out Of War" com-Supporters of the Youth Com-

mittee who brought with them a as "Support the U.A.W.-S.W.O.C. The study, as a whole, brief as it | Anti-War Stand" and "Support the siastic" about the Stalinist display. Roughly 75 cents out of every In fact, how could the Stalinites sities: food, shelter and clothing. Youth Congress is the finest thing mands. for democratic habits and prac-

> The Stalinites were also determined not to let the Youth Commit-"disobeyed." Despite this "order," thousands of leaflets calling upon the young people assembled in Washington to "make it a Pilgrimage for peace," were distributed during the parade, thus destroying the "respectability" which the

Demands for drastic reduction of armaments, immediate withdrawal of armed forces from China and from all other foreign territory amendment and abandonment of all plans for "industrial mobilization." were presented the same day to Oxford Pledge. This petition was Peace and Freedom; Oswald Garrison Villard: Norman Thomas: Wolfe; and other national figures. are false. Over 20,000 signatures were submitted by the Youth Committee delegation to the President.

"Youth has a right to speak out

because the nation does not pro- Interior and supreme commander found in duce enough food, clothing, shelter over the police. On the lowest income levels, ex- Why can't we use all of the couned in this pamphlet. But you are win their favor and so squeeze out "If the diet and living standards | provided with the necessary factual | better terms for himself from Hitof a large proportion of the Amer- material for reaching your own ler. But the readiness of the proleican people is unsatisfactory," the conclusions and that's a great deal. tariat to defend Austria will not be R. W. | misused for this. The strikes in the

loudest against war. Youth fills THE National Labor Relations Board handed down its first the trenches," the petition stated. "Youth sounds a note of warning: abroad! No naval expansion! No instate approximately ninety C.I.O. members. military dictatorship for Amer-

ployed relief and the American Youth Act.

# LaFollette

War And Profits

quick time the "superfluous" com-

their localities to keep America out

(Continued from Page 3)

ward off the threats arising from the workers at home and rival imperialists abroad. The employing class gets out of economic crises thru war, which uses up in doublemodities resulting from capitalist making, obviously it is impossible an issue for a mass peace movepassage of a war-referendum to conduct a capitalist war with ment but to believe that any legisprofits removed. Things can be made lation can make war a profitless

decision involving a sit-down strike last week, directing the Fansteel Metallurgical Corporation, North Chicago, Ill., to re-The board did not specifically rule upon the legality of a sit-down strike, but did overrule the company's contention that

delegates to continue the drive in the strikers. "There can be no doubt," the of war by vigorous opposition to board said, "that the direct and imthe naval-expansion and May bills mediate cause of the strike was and by urging the withdrawal of the illegal activity of the respontroops from China and the transfer dent (the company). Nor can there of all war funds for housing, unem- be any question as to the gravity of the respondent's unlawful course of action. "Even assuming that the strik-

ers' conduct was violative of cer-

tain state laws carrying criminal

penalties, we cannot say that the

respondent is therefore guilty in

"One who engages in persistent

and open defiance of a national law

ees in seeking to secure their

"Furthermore, in view of the

jection on that score is put for-

| Vienna metal factories were con-

ducted against Hitler but it can

Comrades! We do not support

cism by the brutal and bestial

Show your determination to de-

obstacle the defense of the Aus-

rian people against Nazi-fascism!

Strengthen the illegal workers

Build an Austrian fighting from

To which the League could reply

You made me what I am today.

SUBSCRIBE NOW

TO WORKERS AGE

-The Brewery Worker

with the English people.

Why are you dissatisfied?"

man imperialism.

rganizations!

reinstatement.

ward in good faith.

uncomfortable for some individual venture for capitalism is sheer il-

THE WORLD TODAY

tered. The complete coordination of never be said that they were held

Austria is a question of only a for Schuschnigg.

# War Stand respondent is then any lesser degree.

industrialists in China; let it cease fostering reactionary dictatorships fact that the respondent did take in Latin America; let it grant the back a large number of the sit-Philippine people complete inde- down strikers, we find it difficult to pendence. These should be our de-believe that the respondent's ob-

Of course, the real trouble with tee distribute any anti-war leaflets the profit system. Capitalism goes conduct, the orderly processes of and warned that physical force to war not to give up profits but to collective bargaining, which the would be used against those who stabilize and increase them, to act is designed to encourage, would Amalgamated Association of Iron, verproduction and which gives life in the larger interests of the capto a dying economics by creating | italist state, but war is totalitarian markets for death. If the entire and so are its profits. A war-profits purpose of imperialist war is profit- tax bill might conceivably become

capitalists or groups of capitalists lusion.

(Continued from Page 4)

Fatherland Front is already shat-

short time. All contrary reports

That same Sevss-Inquart, who

was unmasked as guilty of high

treason by the documents discover-

ed in Teinfaltstrasse, Schuschnigg

has now made his Minister of the

port of Italy, Schuschnigg would

have been compelled to rely on the

working class in a defensive strug-

gle against Hitler. But fear of the

oppressed masses made him shrink

from such a step. That he has am-

nestied imprisoned revolutionists

and that he took an erstwhile so-

cial-democrat into his Hitler-ap

pointed government, will help only

to hide his more pronounced course

In Austria, the working class is

toward Nazism.

The signers urged pilgrimage participation in a sit-down should be a bar to reinstatement of Steel and Tin Workers of North America. The strikers withstood one three-hour tear gas attack by approximately 150 sheriffs deputies but were driven from the plant on

Labor Notes and Facts

and "knock-out" gas. Upon request, the N.L.R.B. ruled, he company must recognize the C.I.O. union as sole-bargaining agency for its production em-

February 26 by a barrage of tear

In ordering reinstatement of the strikers, the board ruled that employees hired since the strike must be displaced if necessary to make room for the reinstated employees.

#### RURAL DISTRESS

Corrington Gill, assistant W.P. A. administrator, told the Senate Committee on Unemployment last week that at least 3,500,000 rural families, or more than one of every four such families in the United States, received public assistance at some time during the depression.

While most of these 3,500,000 "The outstanding fact revealed families are no longer receiving by the record is that, had it not its failure to connect war with been for the respondent's illegal public assistance, according to Mr. Gill, many are still not far above

He further asserted that the heavy turnover in rural cases inhave taken place." dicated destitution to be even more The C.I.O. members sat down February 17, 1937, after the com- widespread than was shown by data pany had refused to bargain colon grants of relief. lectively with their union, the

"In many rural areas the need for aid has increased faster than state and local relief expenditures, with the result that large numbers of rural families are experiencing serious privation. The unmet need is most acute in the cotton States. where it is estimated that 200.000 destitute rural cases are receiving no form of aid at all."

#### WAGES IN COTTON TEXTILE

The Buro of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor recently made a study of the movement of hourly earnings in the cottontextile industry, with special reference to the extent of differential between the North and South.

The study shows that the spread between cotton workers earnings in the North and the South increased during the year ending July 1937. cotton-textile industry had been slavery of Hitler-fascism and Ger- generally decreasing. The trend was reversed after 1935. By July Therefore, we call upon you to: 1937, Northern cotton mills were reporting the payment of an averfend Austria against Hitler every- age of 50.0c an hour, as compared where in the factories and unions! with the average of 39.7c reported Demand immediate organization of by Southern mills. Such a regiona The Austrian dictatorship, under defense-workers defense in the variation in hourly earnings, although Schuschnigg's leadership, has not factories and the arming of the smaller than during the period July 1924 to July 1933, was Strengthen the struggle for your definitely larger than any which rights and the struggle against the had prevailed during the operation cowardly clerico-fascism which has, of the cotton-textile code under the shown itself to be the greatest N.R.A.

#### N. Y. MINIMUM WAGES

Elmer F. Andrews, Industrial Commissioner of New York State, gainst fascism, brown and black! recently announced that a minimum-wage scale is to be fixed for the 13,000 women employed in the English poll shows that the 8,000 beauty shops thruout the eague of Nations is losing favor State.

Andrews appointed a board of nine which, under the authority of the minimum-wage law for women and minors, will survey the industry and make recommendations. The board will be the second to function under the law. Some time ago, the results of a survey of a board in the laundry industry were put into effect.

# **Trade Union Notes**

= By Observer :

THE big Stalinist build-up in the trade-union movement is apparently beginning to crack up at last. In the U.M.W. there was recently reenacted the constitutional clause barring Stalinites from membership, which means that Lewis has a club to swing over them whenever they get obnoxious. In the U.A.W., they are on the run under the blows of the rank and file who are up in arms against their war-mongering and irresponsible demagogy. The attitude of Dubinsky and other needletrades leaders on Stalinist faction-

al intrigue, is well known. And now Joe Curran and the National Maritime Union! If there is one place where the Stalinites have had a free hand to show their stuff, it is the N.M.U. If there is one place where the union leadership has been ready to give the Stalinites all the confidence and credit in the world, it is the N.M.U.

But something seems to be happening even in the N.M.U. Last week Joe Curran submitted a report on the inner union situation to a meeting of the deck division of the union. Some sections of this statement are very much worth quoting:

"There are a couple of factions within the union that are going to have a dangerous effect on the union if they are not curbed." One faction is composed (according to Curran) of "ship-owners stooges," undercover agents of the A. F. of L. seamen's union and "a bunch of professional pie-cards."\*

"This is one faction and then there is the other faction, the communists, and they are almost as bad as these pie-cards. . . . They have political ambitions and it is evident from the way they are working that it is only a means to an end for them. They spend most of their time recruiting members for the party instead of aiding and bettering the conditions of the seamen. These factions forget that the first thing to be done here is to build the union and to work for the best interests of the men. The membership should definitely tell both of these factions that there is no room for them in the union; either they must go to work to improve the conditions of the seamen and better their interests or they are going to get out. . . . If any party is going to try to inject the interests of their party, I believe it must be stopped." Indiscriminate charges of "communism" should be ignored but, at the same time, the union "is not going to fall for anybody's personal or political am-

An investigation of the staff and

### Leon Blum on the Moscow "Trials"

(Continued from Page 4) sacrifice, the highest sacrifice to the cause of the revolution-altho such heroism does not seem to go ith treason and hired espionage. However that may be, it is a fact that people who, only a few months ago, figured as among the greatest personages in Soviet history, have confessed to deeds which our reason refuses to accept, which come into conflict—as was the case also in previous trialswith real material impossibilities and which, I have the right to add, are established as morally false by ourselves.

We are asked to believe the confessions. That means to believe that Madeleine Paz is lying when she states that she has never met and never known Krestinsky. That means to believe that Dan is lying when he declares that he has never met and never known either Chernov or the German police official, Oberhaus. Such things cannot be asked of us. There is not the slightest reason for me to regard my friend, Madeleine Paz, as a ing out, which is dangerous, and liar or my friend, Dan, as a liar keeping silent, which would be disand a spy. There can be no state graceful?

editorial policy of the Pilot, official union paper, is under way. The deck division, one of the three sections of the union, has already voted to remove all non-seamen (virtually all Stalinites) from the staff of the Pilot, to reserve the columns of the paper for union matters and to bring charges against the "disruptive" groups.

Elections are coming in the N.M.U. Perhaps the present internal clash will be smoothed over for the moment. But only for the moment. Sooner or later, every de cent, democratic, progressive union will have to settle accounts with the Stalinites, will have to get rid of them from all positions of leadership and influence. And not only the N.M.U. Watch the transport workers, the retail clerks and certain sections of the T.W.O.C.!

\* Apparently, the reference is to the group around Octave Loones. This group issues the Rank-and-File Pilot an oppositional paper. On March 25 Loones was expelled by a vote of 224 to 12 at a union membership meeting altho a trial committee appointed some weeks before reported 4 to 1 against expulsion.

## United Front In the U.S.A.

(Continued from Page 3)

2. Germany, France, etc., with the proletariat about evenly divided between the socialist and communist movement; 3. Great Britain, with the Communist Party a mere chip of the mass labor movement; 4. the United States with a radical movement thoroly isolated and

Now let us see how the united front applies to each group. In the Soviet Union, the Communist Party is dominant and completely controlls the working class thru the party and state organs. There are no other parties in existence and no united front comes into consideration.

In Germany and France, the labor movement was divided into the socialist and communist camps. To effectively combat reaction and the assaults of the capitalist class, united action by the whole working class was an absolute necessity. But there were two proletarian armies in the field. And, since the split had been caused by the irrepressible conflict of opposing principles, the merging of the two par-

reason-for a socialist statewhich can prevent me from declaring aloud my full solidarity with them. And when I think particularly of Dan, when I recall the greatness and nobility of his life, his years of struggle and sacrifice of which I have been witness-when I think that the most shameful of all accusations have been heaped upon him by people who, in spite of everything, know him, then I cannot help shouting out my indignation.

These are the feelings which I cannot restrain within me. I know very well that tomorrow they will be utilized by the common enemies of Soviet Russia and socialism. That is not my fault. Why am I compelled to choose between speak-

# UAW Fights High Cost of Living As Crisis Deepens

By GEORGE F. MILES

Detroit. Mich.

UTOMOBILE production con-A tinues in low gear. The week ending March 12 produced 57,438 cars as compared to 54,445 for the week ending March 5 and 56,677 for February 26. Production during the week ending March 12, 1937 was 103,649 or almost 100% more than the same week this year.

Production is expected to sag still further this week. Buick and Fisher Body in Flint closed down for a whole week and new lay-offs are expected in Chevrolet.

#### U.A.W. ACTS AGAINST HIGH COST OF LIVING

Continued growth of unemploy ment has centered attention on re lief and on the high cost of living. In as far as relief is concerned, the United Automobile Workers has great progress to record. It has just begun a drive to organize the unemployed automobile workers into an auxiliary organization under the direct supervision of the union.

In addition, a preliminary conference on the high cost of living was initiated by the U.A.W. for March 30. The committee calling the conference consists of Homer Martin Richard Frankensteen, Russell J Merrill and F. J. Michel of the U.A.W.; Eve Stone, Zola Kennedy and Eunice Crooks of the Women's

ties was impossible. The fact that the two working class parties differed on the question of revolution did not mean that there were not a great many points of agreement on the immediate issues facing them. A united front was not only desirable but possible. In France, the spontaneous action of the workers forced the socialist and communist parties to enter a united front and saved the labor move ment from destruction in 1934. In Germany, on the other hand, the failure to develop a united front resulted in the triumph of fascism. In each case, the united front, because it embraced the whole working class, had the power to alter history. And power is the essence of politics and of the united front as well.

In England, there is no problem of united front because the labor movement is united. The Labor Party is the labor movement poli tically. The slogan of united front can only distract the attention of the advanced workers from their real task of winning the masses for revolutionary socialism. The united front, unfortunately, is not an incubator for the hatching of revolutionists. Nor must it be mistaken for a Trojan horse which can be used to capture the citadels of labor. The revolutionist is not at war with the labor movement and need not resort to tricks. It may seem obvious but it is necessary to say that the function of the united front is to unite. Where there is no division, there can be no united front.

Until the formation of the C.I.O. there could be no real united front in the U.S. A., for the unit of the united front is a whole army of labor. Altho there have been many splendid united-front actions, they never amounted to a united front of labor, as they embraced only a tiny fraction of the labor movement. The first quality every united front must possess precisely mass quantity.

The united front in the United States is taking shape under the exceptional conditions which have made for the division of the labor movement in such a specific form and at such a time. Unlike the European countries, the split has occurred over the forms of tradeunion organization and not over the question of reform versus revoAuxiliary of the U.A.W.; Chester Graham of the Michigan Farmers Union and Charles Lockwood, attorney known for his campaigns against the milk trust.

The conference initiators discussed the following program: (1) educational campaign on cost of living problems; (2) organizational campaign among labor and farmer groups for action to combat high prices. (3) action to effect the low ering of Detroit rents and pressure on the Detroit Housing Commission to obtain the \$10,000,000 earmarked for Detroit by the U.S. Housing Authority; (4) lower utility rates for gas, electricity and telephone; (5) rural electrification; (6) reduction of the price of milk

lution. The expulsion of the U.M. W.A. from the A. F. of L. now gives de-jure recognition to an accomplished fact—the split in the American labor movement. split was inevitable. But the conditions are such as demand a united front on common issues. Lewis recognises the fact. Whitney proclaims it. Only the A. F. of L. seems to be hostile to the idea. But, certainly, even the A. F. of L. will have to admit that there are common aims on which the A. F. of L., the C.I.O. and the indepen dent railway brotherhoods can ge together. It is regrettable that Lewis's proposal for "a joint, unit ed-front committee" has not gone beyond the columns of the Workers Age and New Republic, for T.R.B. reports: "Mr. Lewis's own fellows in the C.I.O. called the plan quixotic and it was not seriously discussed." Let Lewis place this proposal before the whole labor movement. A proposal that meets the needs of the whole labor move ment cannot be ignored. The C.I.O can thereby prove itself the true representative of the interests of the whole working class. If the A F. of L. persists in its dog-in-themanger attitude, it can only lose thereby and hasten the victory o the C.I.O. as not only the main stream of the American labor movement but as the sole body of organized labor. Should the A. F of L. be compelled to accept the offer of a united front, then the labor movement as a whole stands to benefit immediately and the C.I.O., being the progressive force will gain organizationally as well At the same time, it will tend to further solidify the ranks of the C.I.O. itself. The A. F. of L., too will garner some new members since the reservoir of unorganized workers is so full.

### 1??!

N incident in the Stalin-A ist purge in the Soviet Union:

Sept. 30, 1937—Twenty-five members of the Young Communist League sentenced to eight or ten years imprisonment for participating in spiritualistic seances "to hold intercourse with Trotskyists in the spirit world."

and, at same time, protection of the farmers' income; (7) improvement of the quality of food.

Invitations to this conference have been extended to the Detroit Federation of Labor, local unions of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. as well as to farmer groups.

#### WAYNE COUNTY L.N.P.L.

The Michigan gubernatorial campaign injected itself into the sessions of Wayne County Labor's Non-Partisan League held on March 20. The 190 delegates representing 60 local unions listened to the sharp denunciation of Harry S. Toy, candidate for Republican gubernatorial nomination, as "not only a violent reactionary but a legal spokesman for the Ford Motor Co." and finally adopted a call to Michigan labor to rally behind the candidacy of Governor Murphy. A state conference of Labor's Non-Partisan League will be held in June. Resolutions were also adopt? ed dealing with housing, revision of the welfare administration, opposition to the May Bill calling for drafting labor in case of war, for freedom of Mooney, for a wagehour bill and for the unity of the C.I.O. and A.F.L.

The election of officers and the executive committee provided evidence that the factional opposition in the U.A.W. and its own inner divisions become issues no matter what the aims and purposes of any particular conference may be. In this case, Richard Frankensteen, progressive vice-president of the U.A.W., ran for chairman of the League and was opposed by Emil Maxey, a leader of the "unity" caucus. The latter was defeated badly because the "unity" caucus split wide open with the Stalinist wing supporting Frankensteen because Mazey's expressed opposition to the endorsement of Governor Murphy for reelection.

The same division between the Stalinist and socialist wings of the 'unity" caucus must have prevailed thruout the election of the executive, for leading socialists now charge a double-cross by their erstwhile allies and insist that the Stalinists have stacked the executive with their own allies.

#### First-Hand Report from Austria!

#### JAY LOVESTONE

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