# Labor and **Spending**

By Lyman Fraser

BUSINESS is waging war on the government spending more public money for relief.

Business is asking the government to spend more public money to help those corporations which need financial assistance to survive.

No, there is no contradiction. Business is not opposed to government spending if the money is spent directly to help business; it opposes only the spending that directly helps the unemployed.

Labor must call the bluff of business. Labor must demand that government spend more-as much as is necessary to prevent hunger and

Business stoops to all sorts of tricks in its campaign against relief. Thus, the United States Chamber of Commerce opposes adoption by Congress of the new relief program because, it insists, government spending cannot end the depression and only private business enterprise can ena it.

But private business enterprise got us into the depression, which now for eight years has been multiplying poverty and misery. And private business enterprise has been unable to get us out of that depression.

Capitalist apologists argue that government spending has not ended the depression. That is true-partly. But the recovery movement that started in 1933, unlike the recovery in previous depressions, began in the consumption-goods industries and was the direct result of the government creating purchasing power by spending on relief. When net government spending was cut down practically to zero in the last six months of 1937, recovery went into a tailspin and crashed into a new recession, which has now become a real depression.

But the theory behind government spending was in itself only partly right. It was right in recognizing that, in this depression, an extra-economic force was necessary to start recovery. But it was wrong in assuming that, once business was stimulated by government spending, industry would move still further upward of its own momentum and spending could stop. The answer to the theory was the new recession.

For a fundamental economic change has taken place. Capitalism is declining as its capacity for expansion is limited and investmen and profit opportunities steadily diminish. Hence an extra-economic force is necessary to make up for declining capital expansion, and, under capitalism, that means government spending. And, since the crisis is permanent, a permanent program of spending is indicated.

But labor must demand that gov ernment spending cease being mere relief. It must cease being mere haphazard spending in the nature of occasional shots in the arm Labor must demand that government spending base itself on a comprehensive program of economic and social bettermentspending not only to provide work but, in addition to work under union conditions, spending on homes and other improvements that will raise mass standards of living.

Such a program will strengthen labor, strike hard blows at reaction and add to our social wealth.

And, if reaction opposes the pro gram, then labor will recognize that the struggle must go beyond capitalism-that, if economic and social betterment cannot be realized under capitalism, it can and will be realized under socialism.

# Workers A

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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# LaFollettes In New Party

#### Brands The Old Parties As Bankrupt; Labor Attitude Vital

Speaking at Madison before a crowd of 5,000 including many political visitors from other states, Governor Philip LaFollette, in his own name and that of his brother Senator Robert M. LaFollette, last week called for a new political alignment in this country and the formation of the National Progres sives of America, the starting point for a new party in the 1940 elec-

This decisive step came as the culmination of sharp and, in the last few weeks, loudly voiced dissatisfaction on the part of the La Follettes with the growing conservatism of the Administration policy in the present depression. Special criticism has been directed against the President's thoroly inadequate "spending" program and the whole philosophy of restriction of production ("economy of scarcity" on which the New Deal is based.

As proclaimed at the Madison rally last week, the basic platform of the Progressives includes the public ownership and control of money and credit; the "right to work"; "modernization of government" while guarding against "dictatorial abuse"; security founded on "a definite, decent annual income for all"; and opposition to "coddling" or spoon-feeding the American people." In its form and essence the platform is a modernized version of classical American populism. It is expected that a de-(Continued on Page 2)

# Roosevelt Woos Business; Wage Bill Is In Danger

## Southern Democrats Plan to Block Measure Urged by House Committee

prospects of wage-hour legislation in Congress this session by the action of the House Rules Committee in refusing, by a vote of 8 to 6, to "grant a rule" to the new bill recently recommended by the House Labor Committee. In the House procedure, the "granting of a rule" by the Rules Committee is the usual way of bringing a bill of this kind to the floor of the House for consideration and a vote.

The action of the Rules Committee to kill the wage-hour bill, which is an Administration measure, was made possible by a coalition on the committee of five reactionary Southern Democrats with three Republicans, thus forming a new majority.

There is now only one recourse left for the supporters of wagehour legislation in Congress-to get a discharge petition signed by 218 members of the House, which will force the bill on the floor for consideration. Signatures are already being collected but the determination of House leaders to adjourn Congress by June 1 makes it doubtful whether even this plan will prove successful.

The new wage-hour bill, as re-commended by the House Labor Committee, provides that industries in interstate commerce shall begin paying employees not less than 25

A heavy blow was dealt to the cents an hour and that this wage rate shall be stepped up 5 cents each year until, at the end of three years, the minimum of 40 cents is reached. Maximum hours are to start at 44 a week, to be stepped down two a year until the 40-hour week is reached. Except for certain stated exemptions, the Secretary of Labor would decide what constituted industries in interstate commerce. Geographical differentials are not mentioned and are therefore excluded. The employment of children under 16 is to be barred and that of young people between 16 and 18 in hazardous occupations is to be regulated. Enforcement is to be thru the federal

> Despite is many shortcomings, especially the low standards provided for and the ineffective method of enforcement thru the federal courts, the new wage-hour bill is being backed by both the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L., the first time that these two organizations have united in supporting such legislation. It is regarded as of vital importance that the principle of wage-hour legislation be recognized by Congress without delay thru the enactment of the present bill, which could be improved thru amendment in the future.

But the wage-hour bill is again in great danger, a danger especially aggravated by the reactionary revolt in Congress against the Administration. Only one thing can save the bill at the present time and that is prompt action by labor. The House leaders must be deluged with telegrams and resolutions of trade unions and other labor organizations protesting against the brazen obstructionism of the Rules Committee and demanding that action be taken on the wage-hour bill immediately.

# C.P. BACKS KELLY MAN IN ILLINOIS PRIMARY

Chicago, Ill. The primaries here in Chicago took place on April 12 and proved of considerable political interest.

The main event was, of course, in the Democratic party, since there was very little doing in the Republican camp. The Democratic machine was split as usual—on the one side, the Kelly-Nash machine, centered at Chicago (of which Kelly is mayor) and, on the other, the down-state machine of Governor Horner. For the United I States Senate, the former put up Michael I. Igoe, federal district attorney; the latter nominated Scott Lucas. The Kelly-Nash clique also started out to get rid of County Judge Jarecki, against whom they nominated another Pole, Prystalski. In this case, it was mostly a question of controlling the election machinery.

Between the two sides, there was nothing to choose: both simply corrupt patronage machines with disgraceful records. The Kelly-Nash people claimed to be the special champions of the New Deal and of the President himself, but who

could forget the Memorial Day massacre last year for which Mayor Kelly's police were directly responsible? It was a typical scramble for jobs and spoils, without a hair's-breadth of difference in principle or policy between them!

Following a thoroly misguided policy, Labor's Non-Partisan League of Illinois decided to inject itself in the Democratic primaries. They supported Igoe as a "friend of labor' despite the fact that he was a Kelly-Nash man; they also supported Jarecki. The Illinois Labor Party, to which most of the progressive unions, especially of Chicago, are affiliated, did not fall into this trap. It refused to take responsibility for or support either machine.

Then came the Communist Party. Where Labor's Non-Partisan League took only a few hesitating steps, the Stalinites went the whole hog. They began to boost Igoe, Jarecki and a whole bunch of other "progressives" in their usual reckless manner. Yes, they came out in

(Continued on Page 2)

## N.L.R.B. To Review Ford, Steel Cases

The National Labor Relations Board has taken steps to reopen ord case for further inquiry and is "seriously considering" rescinding its orders against the Republic Steel Corp., it was learned last week. This sudden and unexpected step was taken, it was presumed, because the board was disturbed by the recent Supreme Court ruling in the Kansas City stockvards case in which an administrative order of Secretary of Agriculture Wallace was thrown out asl "fatally defective" because of Mr. | duce into line with the requirements Wallace's "improper" procedure in accepting as his own the findings of the "active prosecutors of the government" without giving the packers the right of a "full and

### 16 Tycoons Give **Promise of Aid**

The revived effort on the part of the Administration to woo bigbusiness support in meeting the depression, already noticeable in the tone of the President's latest "fireside" address, brought forth last week a declaration of sixteen top-flight business and financial leaders pledging the "fullest cooperation" with the government in "bringing about recovery." The next day the President had a twohour conference with Henry Ford on the same subject.

The signers of the declaration of "cooperation" include such figures as Owen D. Young of General Electric, Winthrop Aldrich of Chase National Bank, Alfred L. Aiken of New York Life Insurance, R. H. Cabell of Armour and Co., and S. G. McAllister of international Harvester; together they represent billions in investment and employing power thruout the country. John W. Hanes, newly-appointed member of the S. E. C., was instrumental in drafting the document and getting the business men together to sign

The statement of the capitalist leaders is vigorous in its defense of big business, somewhat critical by implication of New Deal policies and open in its approval of the recent reactionary swing in Congress. The pledge of "cooperation" with the Administration is rather vague and indefinite, yet it is being hailed by Administration spokesmen as a great achievement.

No report of the President's conference with Henry Ford has yet been made public but it is believed to have been attended with very little success.

Roosevelt's sudden turn to leaders of big business, including some of the most notorious enemies of past New Deal legislation, for support and cooperation in this critical election year, probably heralds an effort on the part of the Administration to adapt itself to the recent marked shift to the right in Congress and in the Democratic party generally. It means that labor can expect very little of the Congress and the President in the coming months, even in the way of enacting those legislative measures to which the Administration stands committed in its pledges.

fair hearing" in the proceedings. By reopening the Ford and Republic Steel cases, the N.L.R.B. apparently hopes to bring its procelaid down by the Supreme Court in the Kansas City case, thus averting the danger of an unfavorable decision by the high court on appeal.

All signs point to a very significant modification in procedure on the part of the N.L.R.B. distinctly unfavorable to labor. It is even possible that the board may make important changes in its findings and decisions in the Ford and Republic steel cases as a concession to growing reactionary pressure.

#### Steinway Hall

113 W. 57 Street

New York City

## JAY LOVESTONE

"In the Heart of Europe"

Sat., May 7 8:15 P. M. Admission 50c

ALL PROCEEDS TO AUSTRIAN WORKERS SOLIDARITY FUND!

# Viewed from the Left

= By Politicus =

## Quarterly Miscellany

HAVING passed its fourteenth issue, this column will in the United Automobile Workers utilize this week's space in catching up on some items under guise of a "faction to end all have failed in their frontal attack which have served to substantiate a few of its conjectures. Our factions," was issued last week by against the leadership of the U drums have been beating the monotone of growing New Deal Homer Martin, president of the A.W. and are now seeking to enter conservatism on the road to reaction, but we are still amazed at U.A.W. This statement, which the rear door disguised as a 'faction the facility with which it's done. Take the question of cheap power, for example. T.V.A. is supposed to be carrying on terrific battle against the "private interests." Chairman Morgan is

ousted, without specific charge of ing made impossible any real largesabotage of this policy but with scale projects thru its law which enough hints, repeated with addiguarantees private profits but elitions by the White House columnar spokesmen, to amount to such a charge. Yet, a few days after Roosevelt has ousted him, before Congressional investigation, and in practical denial of legislative jurisdiction over the project, the White House, thru such people as Jay Franklin and others, lets it be known that maybe Morgan is really an idealist, too honest to handle these practical affairs, so honest as to be suspicious of anything at all out of the way. The Administrawards the Administration, which is vention. tion then has nothing more to say "letting the people down" at a dizabout the investigation of T.V.A. but shows its hand nevertheless. zying rate of speed and with a callousness remarkably in contrast The New York Times of April 21 to its professed solicitude for "one-

reports: "Roosevelt Wants to Aid Utilities by R.F.C. Spur to Equipment Buying." Pardon us, but we thought the policy was to eliminate the private utilities thru "seven little T.V.A.s" and more to come. not to finance them to greater activity. Writing in the same paper, Russell B. Porter shows some of of yesterday, to the increasing re- experience of the United Mine positive achievements of T.V.A. in lowering power costs but also indicates the turn away from this "social goal" of the New Deal, by

ending his series on the note of the military character of T.V.A. The army is moving into the valley, which is one of the best "natural munitions sites in the East. At the same time that the New Deal considers pouring money into the private utilities industry (under the category of loans to roads, word comes that its antimonopoly "drive" is to be resumed. The brazen audacity of this twofaced policy is only matched by its political chicanery: everybody knows that the approaching elections in the midst of the depression makes trust-busting the winning horse to ride-or, at least so Roosevelt thinks. It gives the appearance of being in line with traditional American "progressivism," and covers up the actual aid to monopoly extended by the Adminis tration. No real regulatory legisla tion against such gigantic organ izations as U. S. Steel, General Motors or Standard Oil is contem

without going into bankruptcy. In the sphere of housing, the government, not content with hav-

plated—on the contrary, with them

is desired "cooperation," to them

is granted gunboat convoys in the

Far East. Even if "anti-monopoly"



# Martin Hits New Manouver Of Factionalists in U.A.W.

efforts to perpetuate factionalism intend to pursue this course. C.I.O. union, follows in full:

America by "granting" \$30,000,000 presents the will of the majority down the policy for governing the estimate of Langdon Post, former of the members of the organiza- internal affairs of the organization. indicates that the elementary hous-policies and leadership are not a ing needs of New York City alone faction. The leadership of the run to about two billion. But, with union was elected at the last conproper ballyhoo, it is hoped that vention by a decisive majority of take the edge off any hostility to- erning body until the next con-

"There is always room for legitimate differences of opinion in our organization, as in any democratic organization, but, when opposition on the basis of issues degenerates How they get away with it is the into opposition for its own sake, no wonder of the age. And they'll con- union can tolerate continuance and tinue to get away with it, so long must take such measures as are as labor is willing to remain under necessary to preserve the organthe aegis of the New Deal, made ization and maintain its integrity. blind, by the unfulfilled promises This has been the policy and the Workers of America and other

A strong statement denouncing established C.I.O. unions and w

throws authoritative light on the to end factionalism.' The U.A.W internal situation in the great knows that such obvious deception will not gain support among the "The administration of the Unit- rank and file of the organization in ed Automobile Workers of Amer- the face of growing opposition to minates government capital back- ica does not speak for any faction factionalism within the union. The ing for housing, shows its supreme in the union. The administration union has not delegated to any incontempt for this basic need of speaks for the union itself and redividual member the task of laying the contempt for this basic need of speaks for the union itself and redividual member the task of laying the contempt for this basic need of speaks for the union itself and redividual member the task of laying the contempt for this basic need of speaks for the union itself and redividual member the task of laying the contempt for this basic need of speaks for the union itself and redividual member the task of laying the contempt for this basic need of speaks for the union itself and redividual member the task of laying the contempt for this basic need of speaks for the union itself and redividual member the task of laying the contempt for this basic need of speaks for the union itself and redividual member the task of laying the contempt for this basic need of speaks for the union itself and redividual member the task of laying the contempt for the union itself and redividual member the task of laying the contempt for the union itself and redividual member the task of laying the contempt for the union itself and redividual member the task of laying the contempt for the union itself and redividual member the task of laying the contempt for the union itself and redividual member the task of laying the contempt for the union itself and redividual member the task of laying the contempt for the union itself and redividual member the task of laying the contempt for the union itself and redividual member the task of laying the contempt for the union itself and redividual member the task of laying the contempt for the union itself and redividual member the task of laying the contempt for the union itself and redividual member the task of laying the contempt for the union itself and redividual member the task of laying the contempt for the union itself and redividual member the contempt for the union itself and redividual Housing Commissioner of the city, tion. Those who support the union This important task is a legitimate ecutive Board thru policies laid down by it and executed thru the administrative officers of the Interthis mere pittance will serve to the delegates to serve as the govany statements in regard to the U.A.W. not issued thru the official

> "Thru continued application of onstructive policies, the leadership of the union will secure the united support of all sincere and loyal members of the organization. The U.A.W. condemns this latest desperate move to apply the 'Trojan support of chronic oppositionists

channels of the organization

# Stalin Explains Himself

By V. Y.

**▼**N the New York Times of April significant article by Harold Denny, the paper's Moscow correspondent. From this article, we take the following paragraphs:

"One of the most important political developments of the last few years in the Soviet Union has been the eclipse of the Communist Party. It is hardly an exaggeration t say that in Russia the old Communist Party has been destroyed. Certainly, the party that Lenin knew has vanished, the bulk of its one time leaders have been disgraced and killed by their own brethren in the faith

#### The C.P.S.U. In The Past And The Present

"The Communist Party was con ceived in the beginning as a spear- only three or four men have any famous communists of Lenin's time head of the 'proletarian ditatorship' real say as to what goes on in So--a tightly knit and thoroly dis- viet Russia." ciplined phalanx of the most politically advanced minds. Within these "three or four men." First is, Czar (the much more than any coming. eventuate in strengthening the this body, the utmost freedom of course, Stalin himself, "who Czar ever was) wishing to rule by the big boys in reducing over-capitalization and capital charges

> adhere to the line in monolithic imaginable in any democratic coundone everything imaginable to 'sell acting as an observer for the Amersolidarity. Such freedom of opinion try." Third is Lazar M. Kagano- him to the country. up to that point persisted thruout vich. And fourth Mr. Denny lists Lenin's party leadership and was Marshal K. E. Voroshilov, of whom suppressed by Stalin in the course he has the following to say: of his struggle with various opposi-

> nist Party-even in advance of system of political commissars in ing between the Stalin regime and lecisions on the party's line. vist revolution, party congresses Red Army's foremost generals will immediately recognize Denny's official communist movement Stalin were held frequently. The consti- were executed as spies, the opinion dispatch to be in the nature of an can manage otherwise; the opinion tution adopted at the eighth con- grew among foreign military ob- inspired semi-official report. What of the socialist and labor movegress of the Russian Communist servers that the political police Denny says, it is safe to presume, ments is now again at a discount in party in 1919 specified that regular under M. Yezhov had taken control is not disagreeable to Stalin; on the Kremlin. congresses should be convened at of the Red Army (and Navy) and the contrary, what Denny writes is, intervals of two years. This was that Stalin would thenceforth con- in substance, what Stalin would patch acquires special significance. amended to three years at the sev- trol them also thru his faithful sup- have foreign public opinion believe. What does Stalin want foreign enteeth party congress, when porter, M. Yezhov.

in February 1934. Thus, four years; with the expulsion of the Trotskyand two months have elapsed since ists and which was extended to all ty constitution.

ful and unprincipled Henry Yagoda police—inheritors of the tradition -former secret police chief, who of the Czarist Cheka (Okhrana?) was shot last month along with -for rule by the Communist Party. men whom he insulted by his very presence in the prisoners dockthere has been no power but Stalin. and woe to him who strays from it.

Who Rules Russia?

"As well as any foreigners here can see the situation now thru the smoke-screen that the regime is able to throw over its activities,

ppinion and debate was permitted rules more absolutely than any force alone.

"In the opinion of many well-in-

the last party congress, which is a other oppositionists thru the period 23, there appears an extremely clear violation of the amended par- that saw the liquidation of the Old Bolsheviki three years ago and the "During that period, the Soviet degradation and execution of most state has admittedly become a one- of the old communist leaders withman dictatorship. Within the past in the last two years," Mr. Denny year, since Stalin was finally able continues, "Stalin has gradually to rid himself of the crafty, power- substituted rule by the political

> "But that, even for a man as strong as Stalin, is not enough, even taking into consideration the He alone decides the party line, invaluable power, thru its ramification, of the political police. Every and all, in "defense of democracy" indication is that Stalin wishes to place his rule over the country on

a stronger and wider basis. "This basis in the old Communist Party fell from under him. Those wished to be rid of him, if not to destroy him physically. So he de-

"There are innumerable indica- clear. Close contact with the Minwere cast deciding the party's Muscovy." Second is N. I. Yezhov, tions that Stalin wishes the senti- nesota Farmer-Labor party is rehead of the political police; "he ment of the people to be behind ported. A. A. Berle, representing "Thereafter, every member must wields a power over the people un- him. He and his adjutants have Mayor LaGuardia and probably

### What's Behind The Dispatch?

Anyone at all aware of the contions, from the Trotskyist Leftists formed quarters, his star is setting, ditions under which foreign corresto the Bukharinist Rightists. Since altho there are many indications pondents operate in the Soviet attitude that will be adopted by 1930, there has not been freedom that he still enjoys Stalin's favor. Union, anyone at all acquainted Labor's Non-Partisan League and discussion within the Commu- But, when almost a year ago the with the "peculiar" relations exist- its affiliated labor-political groups. the military districts was installed the New York Times's correspon- bourgeois public opinion. The "In the first years of the Bolshe- in full force and then eight of the dents, Messrs. Duranty and Denny, "opinion" of the membership of the In passing, it may be noted that, public opinion to believe about the Stalin was in full control. That was "So, by the process which began by foreign public opinion, we mean

Save the POUM! April 22, 1938.

Premier Negrin Barcelona, Spain

Independent Communist Labor League, staunch supporter of Spanish anti-fascist struggle, again appeals to you to end the persecution of the P.O.U.M. and other revolutionary workers groups. Alarming news of new shootings of revolutionary antifascists at the front and of continued imprisonments. Urge immediate amnesty in the interest of united effective resistance to the fascists. Jay Lovestone, secretary.

# Kelly Clique

(Continued from Page 1) support of Igoe, the candidate of the blood of six workers on its hands, the victims of the Memorial Day massacre last year! For them, Lucas was the arch-enemy, not only because he was Igoe's rival but also because he was-oh, horrors!-an "isolationist" and a supporter of the Ludlow Amendment. Here is what the Stalinist Midwest Daily Record wrote on April 9:

"If you are for President Roosevelt's progressive policies, you will vote for Michael L. Igoe. If you are against the progressive features of the Roosevelt program, you will vote for Scott Lucas."

The Stalinites got to work lining up organizations for Igoe and Kelly-Nash. The attempt failed in the Illinois Workers Alliance because the Alliance is affiliated with the Illinois Labor Party. The same was true of other organizations as

Well, when the primaries were over, it was found that the Horner machine had come out on top by a rather small margin. Lucas, Jarecki and others on the slate were nominated as regular Democratic candidates. But the Kelly-Nash machine is not yet thru by any means. As a matter of fact, the two machines will probably get together very soon and present a united front in the elections. Then, when Election Day comes around, we will probably find the Stalinites rallying behind the Democratic ticket, the "reactionary," Lucas, and out of loyalty to the President.

#### LA FOLLETTES FORM NEW THIRD PARTY

(Continued from Page 1)

How extensive the connections of ican Labor Party of New York, was also present.

It is impossible thus early to forecast the future of the movement initiated by the LaFollettes. A great deal will depend on the

From this angle, the Denny dis-(Continued on Page 6)

# Who Is Preparing For War and Why N. COLEMAN and E. CARROLL The A.S.U. "peace" meeting was a lethargic affair attended by an audience of 1500. The center of

By H. M. DOUTY

Clerk, official paper of the Brother-hood of Railway Clerks.—The Edi-by the House military-affairs com-

TF the citizens of this democracy are ever to influence public policy in the direction of peace, they had better make the effort now. For clearly, unless all of the signs are deceptive, the United States is drifting toward war. This does not necessarily mean that those now in control of governmental policy are consciously preparing for a new conflict. Neither, probably, were most of those in control of governmental policy between 1914 and 1917. But Wilson, who won the presidential election of 1916 because "he kept us out of war," took us into war a year later. And the situation today is alarmingly similar to the situation then. Even the slogans are the same. We are again being called upon to save the world for democracy.

#### Evidence of the War Drift

In October of last year, Mr. Roosevelt, in his Chicago speech, changed the whole direction of America's foreign policy. In his called for a "quarantine" of aggressor nations, and by aggressor nameant Japan, Germany and Italy. the world from communism (or If Mr. Roosevelt was not simply making phrases, if, in a word, he meant quarantine—then he tossed overboard the public policy written into law in the Neutrality Act. How is an "aggressor" nation quarantined? A nation is quarantined by cutting off its connections with the rest of the world—and

this means war. It is extremely important to note that the American people did not have a chance to pass upon this policy. This policy was not an issue in the 1936 presidential campaign; nothing was said of it then. The issue, unfortunately, will not be clear-cut in the congressional elections next fall and probably not even in the 1940 presidential elec-

What have been some of the consequences of this new outlook on our participation in foreign af-

Congressman Ludlow proposed an amendment to the Constitution requiring that the declaration of war be subject to a referendum among the citizens, except in case of the invasion of our shores. Since the masses of the people must bear on the face of it, a sensible and without the myths—of "democrathe burden of war, this would seem. democratic procedure. An amendment requires a two-thirds vote of Congress before its submission to the states. The Ludlow Amend- abroad the investments of other ment would have received the necessary vote in Congress had not President Roosevelt exerted severe pressure to obtain its defeat.

The Big Navy Bill invasion of our shores is extra- to our navy.)

der consideration that would con-

vert our democracy into virtual (The article below is taken from of this is the May Bill, sponsored mittee. This bill provides essentially for a universal draft of labor and industry in war-time. It grants extremely broad powers to the President over our entire national we fight in the name of "democra-

omething very close to it, at home. select group of "incidents" during place on most campuses. the past few months. Recently a spy scare, apparently involving Germany, made the headlines for a few days. An American school teacher was slapped by a Japanese soldier in Shanghai. The authentic tragedy of the Panay was exploited for war-like purposes. Other incidents of a similar nature might be

When all of these things are pieced together, we get an inkling of the menace to peace, even in geographically isolated America.

#### Why Nations Fight

The professed aims of a nation at war are rarely its real aims. Nations say they fight for democracy, or to defend their homeland, or to spread their own culture to less enlightened peoples, or to save fascism). They fight, in a word, in terms of ideals, and the ideals are largely myths. For modern war grows basically

out of conflicts of rival imperialisms. Nations fight for raw materials or for markets or to salrage investments. The historians of the World War have revealed very clearly that these factors were at the bottom of that great conflict. It has been pretty well deallocate the "war guilt" for the ast war. All of the belligerents were guilty. Underlying the noble ourposes for which we thought we vent to battle were more commonplace realities: our industry and finance, thru war trade and credits, vere tied up with the Allied cause.

These are matters of common knowledge but it is necessary constantly to reemphasize them. The next world war, if it comes, will also develop out of the national rivalries of capitalist enterprise. We may not find this out until after the war is over, unless we keep firmly in mind the real factors that propel us toward conflict. If we do this, perhaps we can see beneath the myths in time. For men.

#### Who Wants War?

Even in the case of an overpopu-The big-navy bill—the first esti- lated country such as Japan, as would be considered a pretty good demonstrations in the streets of many cases, the local leadership of mate of its cost was \$800,000,000; Professor Vinacke showed in his the present estimate is over one article in the Railway Clerk last plebiscite, such an outcome would agreed that it might be better to petent to handle these situations billion dollars; and this in addition month, the masses can expect litto the regular naval appropriation the improvement in their lot in the is why Schuschnigg was so anxiof about half a billion-has been event of a victory over China. reported favorably by the House Workers and farmers pay for war naval-affairs committee. It seems with their lives and with reduced clear that the contemplated in- volume of goods and services they crease in naval strength is not have to consume. (Think, for exneeded for the defense of our ample, of how many slums could shores. Such a navy is useful only be cleared with the billion dollars for war abroad. The danger of the we may spend in building additions

Few people care to say in so fense, for any major power or But many special groups do gain combination of powers to attempt from war and from war preparations—at the expense of the un-

tween the Stalinist - dominated security" point of view. American Students Union, whose Pledge, believing that only by allyally marked in New York City

negotiations for unity, the Student hold its own demonstration when its proposal of the slogan, "Withdraw American troops from China!", and other anti-imperialist slogans, was rejected by the Stalin-

attraction was a dull address by vert our democracy into virtual against war took place on ex-Ambassador Dodd, who only fascism in time of war. The latest Wednesday, April 27, at 11 A. M. recently came out for a "preven-For the first time since the incep- tive" war against Japan and Gerthe April 1938 issue of the Railway by Congressman May of Kentucky, tion of these demonstrations, there many. At the "peace" meetings at appeared a split in the student C.C.N.Y. and Columbia, Dodd premovement. The conflict was be-sented the extreme "collective-

> The genuine anti-war forces policy is "collective security," and under less favorable conditions the students who favor the Oxford gathered 1,200 strong at Lewisohn Stadium, where Norman Thomas life. We need to remember this: if ing themselves with the progressive addressed an inspired audience labor movement can they fight im- which included several faculty cy" abroad, we will get fascism, or perialist war. This split was especi- members. Thomas attacked the "collective-security" myth and the Along with all this has gone a where two demonstrations took Roosevelt war plans, stressing the need for independent student-labor The conflict was particularly action against the war-mongers at sharp at C.C.N.Y. After protracted home and aid to the underground labor movements of the fascist Anti-War Committee, a coalition of countries abroad. A collection for portant policy can be formulated anti-"collective security" clubs on Spain thru the Trade Union Relief or carried out by the American the campus, found it necessary to for Spain met with a generous re- Labor Party against the will of the solemnly taken.

Thomas and others addressed Hunter and Brooklyn college stu-

# How Labor Faced Hitler's Invasion

By JAY LOVESTONE

TOW did Hitler manage to accomplish the invasion of Austria so easily, something that only six or seven months before no one in Europe had thought he would even dare to attempt? Chamberlain, the British prime minister opened the door and Stalin paved the way. As a matter of fact, Hitler broke in thru an open door. Schuschnigg had really no popular support in the country. He himself cided now that there is no way to was but the representative of a certain brand of fascism-clericalfascism which, tho differing from the Hitler type, was thoroly fascist nevertheless. Thruout, Schuschnigg depended upon the Catholic Church, and to do this nowadays one must be deaf, dumb and blind.

#### Schuschnigg's Dilemma

As the situation became desperate, Schuschnigg began to realize that he could no longer rely on the Church for protection. It certainly was not unknown to him-I noticed it myself—that, two weeks before Hitler's entry in Vienna, young Catholic priests and The Schuschnigg government was Catholic students could be seen strengthened in its opposition to parading along with Nazi ele- our demands by the attitude of the ments thru the streets of Vienna. Stalinites, who were ready to give easier to worm their way into the In the plebiscite he was planning, the Nazis, being very well organized, seemed likely to win at least 30% of the votes, if not more. Without any strong forces behind without any strong forces behind insisted in our demand for freedom along lines which can only lead to him, he felt himself compelled to of the streets. turn to the workers and try to mobilize their support. At best, he sioner, said that perhaps our deliate their support. At best, he Plainly the masses of the people have nothing to gain from war. could hardly expect to get more than 75% of the vote. In an orditary of the vote in an ordit nary party election contest, this the workers to come out in mass ist propaganda for war. True, in majority but, in a totalitarian Vienna. Here, too, the Stalinites trade-union character is quite comhardly be a great triumph. That wait until Saturday. Unfortunate- even the it requires 24-hour a day ous to win the support of the broad as on Friday night Hitler's hordes such leadership? The result can masses of the people, at least during had already crossed the border and only be an uneveness of agitation

decided to turn to the labor leaders. I participated in the deliberations of the workers deputies to they did grant us the miserable against itself. formulate a policy in dealing with sum of twelve thousand shillings, Schuschnigg. The Revolutionary which was hardly sufficient to buy Socialist Party, affiliated with the up more than a few rusty revolvers ordinarily remote. It would be sui- rew people care to say in so cide, even with our present de- many words that they want war. Socialist International, a very in the pawn shops. The most tragic strong left organization, worked angle of the situation was that, on populist upheavals at the begin-

There are a number of bills underlying population. Armament nigg, it appeared that there was supposed to advise the delegates to while, this institution served its considerable difference of opinion (Continued on Page 6)

among the representatives of the tion taken by the Stalinist com-

for Schuschnigg without any ques- understandable but necessary that tion or reservation. Their motto the American Labor Party should was "Red, White, Red—with follow this structural pattern. It is Schuschnigg till death." They made primarily a labor party but it seeks no demands and asked for no con- to give concrete expression to the essions to organized labor. The leadership of labor among all sec-Revolutionary Socialists and the tions of the population. Were it to trade unionists, on the other hand, limit its apparatus merely to the demanded definite concessions to the labor movement. They took the ly exclude from the range of its attitude that, if Schuschnigg want- appeal unemployed workers, unored the workers to vote "Yes" in the ganized workers, the small storereferendum, he would have to promise to loosen up his own dictator- ous in New York, professionals, upship. Concretely, the demands were: 1. free elections in the unions; 2. the right to wear their exists the danger that the labor insignia and to carry their own party will not merely shape itself

the press; and 4. the reestablish-

ment of the rights of the workers. We also advanced a demand which we considered the most important of all, namely, to open the streets to the working masses and allow the workers to carry arms.

the emergency. He therefore finally marched into Austria.

to the workers, altho subsequently party appearing to be divided

(Continued on Page 5)

# Problems of A.L.P. Setup

By M. S. MAUTNER

New York State, the problems facing the movement for independent labor politics appear on a far higher and more complicated level and hence offer a more complete picture of certain of the contradictions involved in labor politics under capitalism than is to be obtained in other centers of Labor Non-Partisan League activity. What the American Labor Party faces today is a problem that will face labor in politics everywhere in the future: the relationship of the trade unions (which give fundamental significance to a labor party) and the traditional forms of

#### Two Faces Of Labor Party

In actual political fact, no imsponse. The Oxford Pledge was trade unions who unite to form that party. Its leadership is the leadership of the trade unions; its counsimilar meetings of Columbia, cils include direct representation of 50% to the unions as such, while the representatives of the assembly district clubs contain enough trade unionists to give, statistically, preconderant weight to this elemen n the party. But, in American political life

a party appears in public not merely by virtue of its state or city program or of its top leadership. The structure of a political machine is primarily shaped to the democratic and radical organiza- needs of vote-getting, and is contions. Very significant was the posi- sequently, organized along the lines of the geographical electoral munists. The Stalinites came out districts. Now, it is not merely trade unions, it would automaticalkeepers and tradesmen so numerstate farmers, and the like.

In this situation, however, there banners and flags; 3. freedom for to the requirements of the moment but will become warped to them by its local "friends." For, it is clear, to those vast masses whom the labor party seeks to reach and bring under its influence, the party appears thru its assembly-district clubs. To the new recruits to the American Labor Party, the local "face" is most decisive—and too often that is Stalinized, for the Stalinites naturally find it much its destruction, that is, along the and a looseness of party action The police refused to issue arms which can frequently result in the

#### Primaries And Labor

One of the great "progressive" reforms that resulted from the hand in hand with our comrades. Friday at 7 o'clock in the evening, ning of the century, was the in-At the conference with Schusch- the workers representatives were auguration of primaries. For a

(Continued on Page 5)

Office New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Phone: BRyant 9-0127 May 7, 1938 Vol. 7.

### LIFT THE EMBARGO!

TN their heroic effort to escape the fascist yoke, L the Spanish people find themselves virtually paralyzed by obstacles of two sorts. On the one side, the reactionary social and economic policy of the Loyalist regime, inspired by the Stalinites and the ultra-right socialists, has spread demoralization and apathy among the masses and has made it impossible to arouse the peasants in insurgent territory to action behind the lines, the surest way of smashing Franco. On the other side, the "non-intervention" policy of the "great democracies," sponsored by Tory England and People's Front France, has notoriously operated as a one-sided blockade, allowing Franco and his fascist auxiliaries to get all the arms and war supplies they need while virtually strangling Loyalist Spain by depriving it of the most necessary means of warfare. Such are the odds against which the Spanish people are fighting, desperately, with their back to the wall!

There is very little we can do to bring about a change in the domestic policy of the Loyalist regime, aside from political criticism and full support to the revolutionary organizations of the Spanish working class, especially the P.O.U.M. But quite different is the case with the anti-Spanish blockade, for the United States is one of the chief accomplices in this monstrous crime. As a result of the January 8, 1937 joint Congresional resolution and the Presidential proclamations following, the Spanish government is barred in direct violation of international law and our treaties with Spain, from purchasing any arms or war materials here, while such articles are freely sold to Germany and Italy for almost direct transshipment to Franco and his fascist armies. This is the shameful position in which the American people are put as a result of the Administration policy adopted in response to pressure from the British Foreign Office and reactionary circles at home.

If ever there was need for prompt and decisive action on the part of labor and all progressive sections of the American people, now is the time-to force the lifting of the criminal embargo against republican Spain! Victory for Franco would be a major disaster for the whole world, a powerful stimulus to fascism and reaction everywhere. We simply cannot afford another such calamity after all that has happened in Europe recently.

We must demand the immediate lifting of the embargo and must develop sufficient mass pressure on the Administration to make that demand effective. Despite Secretary Hull's recent letter to Raymond L. Buell, there is good reason to believe that the President can lift the embargo immediately without the necessity for Congressional action. At the same time, we must make every effort to obtain the repeal of the January 8 joint resolution and the modification of the Neutrality Act so as to exclude civil wars from its scope. This is necessary in order to buttress any action that the Administration may be

prevailed upon to take. But, if the movement for the lifting of the embargo is to mean anything at all, it must avoid any connection with the agitation for the so-called O'Connell "peace" bill. For the O'Connell bill is in its essence a move to give the President even greater power in foreign affairs than he has today by granting him the right to "brand the aggressor" and thus to choose sides in any foreign war that may break out, the surest way of involving this country in such a war along lines dictated by American imperialist interests. Nor would the O'Connell bill be of any use in the Spanish situation. The trouble is not that the President has insufficient power to act but that he has used the power he has in a reactionary direction. It was the Administration that stampeded Congress into passing, almost unanimously, the January 8 joint resolution against Spain. It was the President who, in a declaration prepared by the State Department, recently gave his blessings to the Anglo-Italian deal. It was the President who, only a few days ago, expressed himself "satisfied" with the way the ban on exports to Spain has hitherto operated. And now it is the Presiednt who refuses to take action in lifting the embargo altho it is at least partly in his power to do so. What worth in fact!

# WHY I BROKE WITH By Lambda THE FRENCH C.P.

Below are sections of the declaration f Charles Rappaport, world-famous

France recently. —The Editor.) N answer to the question, why have left the Communist Party, would like to say that, speaking rankly, there are two inaccuracies to this question. The question would be accurate only on two conditions: first, if in France there had really existed a communist party; and, second, if I had taken Kamenev and Rakovsky, I person-

an active part in it. Instead of an independent com- go thru the necessary formalities Just like 99% of all party mem- it is impractical. bers, I was merely a "sheep" without any right to think, obliged to arry out orders from above.

eadership. . . .

I Knew The Accused With my friend, Christian Rakov-, while under the whip, or they do menev and Zinoviev, Lenin's out-Radek and of Sokolnikov, former my socialist group in Paris. Bukharin, Piatakov and Krestinsky

knew since 1922. Regardless of the fact that the nethods of these revolutionaries did not always meet with my approval, I always regarded them with the greatest respect. My conscience demands that I state that I consider them absolutely incapable of committing the crimes ascribed

In the first place, their pretended they are full of invented trips, nonexistent hotels, imaginary conversations, and so forth.

Such confessions are made only ander the stress of moral torture to which the accused were subjected: fear for their own loved ones, hope of saving themselves and the possibility of continuing revolutionary activity.

No serious-minded person, capmystery that still defies solution.

To all the explanations that have been offered regarding the behavior of the accused, there must be added

Under the old Czarist regime, the country was noor and ignorant. The

has in this manner? upon every possible occasion. Such | speaking 100 different languages

anti-rascist Spain! Let us act and act promptly! tion and Congress to lift the em- modity only for export. dent has sufficient power to take munists and sympathizers. Yet

By CHARLES RAPPAPORT | the peculiar psychology of the old Russian revolutionists. The Russian revolutionist was brave and uncompromising when his opponent writer, on the occasion of his resignation from the Communist Party of by former comrades, behind whom appear to be the masses, then his attitude immediately changes. He is then ready to abandon everything, even his honor. At any rate,

he loses his uncompromising and

daring spirit. He feels weak and

When the 15th Congress of the ally advised my friend Kamenev to

#### A Fightful Situation

The latest Moscow murders point This is the party I "left" and this to a frightful situation. Secret s how far my moral responsibility agents and informers have become Many of the accused who figured ence and the lowest type of fawnthe last Moscow trials I have ing are in full flower. Independent known for a long period of time. writers attempt not to write at all troys at the root every possibility ambassador and former member of of spiritual development, every attempt at artistic creation.

Articles 125 and 130 of the widely heralded "Stalinist Constitution" guarantee freedom of themselves transferred to less important posts in order to avoid responsibility. Not many outstanding

one sixth of the earth, that socialslavery which permeates all fields, ly" relations with Germany. political, economic, and moral. This

dent greater and more arbitrary war, which cannot be erased so cludes the Soviet Union. course is the veriest betrayal of and dialects. Stalin's terroristic

(Continued on Page 5)

# **WORLD TODAY**

Hitler Prepares For Conquest Of Czechoslovakia As Crisis Grows

London, April 2, 1938.

A T the present time, there are about 200,000 German troops deployed in Austria. That is certainly too large a number for Austria alone, whose regular army amounted to only 30,000 men. It is nothing more than part of the preparations to intimidate Czechoslovakia. Another part is the campaign of the Nazi press of the Reich and of Hit-C.P.S.U. (1927) expelled Trotsky, ler's political army in Czechoslovakia, the Sudeten-German party of Henlein. This party today demands full autonomy. They declare threateningly that they munist party, there exists in and ritual of "penance." In this do not recognize the Czechoslovakian national state France—at 120 Rue Lafayette— a way, I told him, he would obtain and call upon the small German parties in the buro which registers orders from the possibility of living and carry- Sudeten district to enter their party before a cer-Stalin and his henchman, Dimitrov. ing on revolutionary work. Now I tain date, as after that date they will not allow As for my own activity in the regret immensely that I gave Ka- new members to join. Therefore, nearly all the party, it has been negligible. menev advice that is as immoral as members of the bourgeois German parties are joining the Henlein party. The Agrarian party, the Small Traders party and the Christian-Social party have already joined, so that the Henlein party now becomes the biggest single party in Czechoslovakia.

The Czech bourgeoisie is retreating in the face of goes for the decisions of the party the masters of life. People are increased pressure from Hitler Germany. The govafraid of their closest friends. It is ernment has been broadened to the right by the inhard, almost impossible, to breathe clusion of the national fascist party of Kramar. freely in Soviet Russia. Subservi- While there is a growing concentration of all reactionary and fascist forces, the non-fascist elements are deeply depressed and hopeless as a result of recent events (annexation of Austria, advance of the sky, I have been connected for not make public what they do Sudeten German Party, "unification" of the German forty consecutive years. With Ka- write. The state press—the only bourgeois parties). There is practically no activity press existing in the U.S.S.R.-is among the working-class organizations for unity of standing co-workers. I became ac- dreadfully tiresome and banal. The action. In the Social-Democratic party, there is high quainted at the beginning of the lack of freedom—regarded by tension but no action can be expected from this parcentury. The same is true of Karl Stalin as "rotten liberalism"—des- ty, which until a few days ago took part in the coalition government. Altho its minister has now resigned, the Social-Democratic party will continue to support the Czech bourgeoisie and to preach national class peace. The same applies to the Communist party. The German Agrarian party, which has speech, assembly and so forth. But now joined forces with Henlein, was always re-Bukharin, the real author of the garded by the C.P. as an ally in the future People's Constitution, is shot. Officials oc- Front. This is a typical example of how completely cupying high posts are in constant unable to estimate real class forces these neo-comfear of their lives. It not seldom munists are. It is, therefore, no wonder that a feelhappens that they attempt to get | ing of panic arises among the working class, panic which has already reached the stage where members of the C.P. are beginning to join the Henlein party! confessions stand opposed to a Soviet citizens go to sleep without series of well-established facts; fearing that the next morning will is happening in Czechoslovakia before the event. What happened in Germany after Hitler's uprising.

The position of the thousands of anti-fascist re-Yes, Stalin may well be proud. fugees in Czechoslovakia is disastrous. The Prime He has shown by the example of Minister declared, during a meeting with representatives of the German and Czech social-democrats, that ism without freedom leads to the most revolting slavery—complete every German refugee was a "hindrance" to "friend-

What of the international situation of Czechoslavery can be explained only by slovakia? The key is England. There is no doubt that the fact that the state has become the present Tory government will not give any prothe absolute master of all phases of tection to Czechoslovakia in case of attack by Gerable of cool and normal reasoning, life. Socialists have always main-can possibly believe in the sin-tained that freedom without bread one as a result of British foreign policy. The French cerity of these confessions. In any is a hollow mockery. Stalin has now open as a result of British foreign policy. The French case, one is confronted with a added a new truism: bread (and government officially declared that it would fulfill that in pretty small portions) with- its obligations as an ally but the Temps recently wrote that it would be folly for France to "commit Under the old Czarist regime, the suicide" for the sake of Czechoslovakia. The Soviet country was poor and ignorant. The Union has made intervention dependent on France. revolution, born of the debacle of We can certainly assume that France will not insense is there in giving the Presi- the war, bears the traces of the tervene without England, so this automatically ex-

power in foreign affairs when he has used such power as he already regime, a police regime. At the has used such power as he already regime, a police regime. At the price of dreadful sacrifice, the So- many intends to "free" Czechoslovakia now that it No, the cause of the Spanish viet regime has somehow succeeded has "freed" Austria but the fact that, immediately people is not served by agitating in transforming the old peasant after the annexation of Austria, a campaign of infor the dangerous O'Connell bill or Russia into an industrial state. But timidation of Czechoslovakia began, shows that we by vociferously calling for the sup- such methods cannot create new must be prepared for anything. Hitler's plan seems port of the Administration's intellectual and moral conditions in to be to finally undermine Czechoslovakia by inside foreign policy, as the Stalinites do a land with 175,000,000 people action on the part of the Sudeten-German party working together with all the minorities within the the hopes of peace, democracy and policy is deliberately continued to Prague Parliament demanding national autonomy. paralyze the political and spiritual This applies to Hungarian, Polish, and Slovakian development of Soviet Russia. De- minorities as well. The chief aim is to make Czecho-Let us demand of the Administra- mocracy—that for Stalin is a com- slovakia a German vassal state, which would break the bridge between France and the Soviet union and bargo against Loyalist Spain with- These truths are clear enough would make the Little Entente a diplomatic instruout a moment's delay! The Presi- and are understood by many com- ment of Hitler Germany. Thru the support of Engaction—let him do so—then we will they are silent. Why? For the very see exactly how much his fireside reason that Noah's sons covered in the framework of the Czech state, it may prove land and the isolation of the Czech bourgeoisie withtalks on peace and democracy are the nakedness of their father. But possible for the Nazis to carry thru their aim without having to march into Czechoslovakia.

# Labor Notes and Facts

## Trend of the N.L.R.B. Decisions

LIGURES of the results of employee elections under the Wagner Act during the first quarter of 1938 in comparison until these cases became the order with previous periods, have just been released and point to of the day and were transformed many interesting features. The most notable contrast seems to into a new machine. The great Negro fail to measure up to exbe in the relatively smaller part played in such elections by hopes for "real democracy" placed pectations. Only here and there is "independent" or plant unions. Under this label are grouped in the primaries died under the imcompany unions, more or less effectively disguised, as well as bona-fide organizations unaffiliated, for one reason or another,

with either the A. F. of L. or the C.I.O. The proportion of elections in which such organizations parin the first three months of 1938.

The record shows that, for the first quarter of 1938, "independent" unions participated in only 35 con- elections were held during the six votes. This contrasts with the March 31, 1938, have "independent" showing of such unions in the 228 unions participated with any degree elections reported during the pre- of success. The greatest success 61 contests, winning 38 and polling three months of this year, "inde-

show that the C.I.O. unions, al- results of Wagner Act elections in ways the heaviest winners, in the first quarter of 1938 by induscreased their percentage of victory and in comparison with previtories despite a slightly increased ous periods:

resistance to unionism, as measured in the number of votes cast against last three months of 1937 to 14% F. of L. unions remained approximately unchanged in proportion to machines; thru independent organall elections.

In only four of more than 35 industries in which Labor Board pendent" unions have won 7 out of

		FIRST Q	UARTER,	1938	
Industry	No. of elections		A. F. L. victories	"Independent" victories	All unions rejected
Shoe	12	3	1	7	1
Steel	28	14	3	8	3
Machine-mfg	. 49	15	19	6	9
Food-process	41	15	15	4	8
Motor-transp		1	2	8	2
				1000	

	FIRST QUA	RTER, 1938		1
Jnion	% cases participated	% elections won	% votes polled	Г
A. F. L.	57	23	13	1
C. I. O.	71	47	56	1
nd.	14	9	12	ľ
	Unions were rejected in	n 21% of the election	ns.	1
	Votes against all 11			ı

	LAST QUA	ARTER, 1937	
A. F. L.	41	23	18
C. I. O.	76	40	45
Ind.	27	17	17
	vere rejected in 20%	of the cases. Votes	against all
		ware 20%	

	20-MONTH	PERIOD	UP	то	SEPTEMBER	30,	1937.
L.		48			20		12
					<b>F</b> O		20

C. I.		76	58	60
Ind.	٠.	29	13	17
And.	Unions	were rejected in 9%	of the total, with 11%	of the
		total number of vote	es cast against unions.	

ZIMMERWALD-1915

KIENTHAL-1916

**PARIS**—1938

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# Problems of A.L.P. Setup

What Can Be Done

they should, as the political auxili-

aries of the trade unions, reaching

into other sections of the popula-

tion and bringing the program of

(Continued from Page 4)

—Stalin who destroys human be-

Why I Left the

ists is shot thru with holes.

labor to them.

INCLE TOM'S CHILDREN, by (Continued from Page 3) Richard Wright. Harper and purpose of nominating anti-machine Brothers, New York. 1938. candidates in a number of cases,

USUALLY, stories dealing with the life of the American pact of full-fledged capitalism. To- nant, sharply defined and construc- day at 2:30 they entered Vienna. day, labor, the real progressive tively rebellious force, is beginning to organize its ranks towards independence of the

BOOKS

In "Uncle Tom's Children." volume of four "novellas." Richard old parties. Thru the primaries, the Wright, a young Negro writer, does Western progressives sought to succeed in making a definite conization, labor must seek a break The four stories indicate a gra

with and the destruction of the old dual development from the purely But the primaries in New York personal resentment of the Negro tests, winning 22 and polling 8,912 months from October 1, 1937 to play a deceptive and dubious role against injustice to his race to a ready the masters of Vienna. In today. They are really the enter- crescendo of social consciousness. It the streets, I heard women speaking wedge, at the present stage of is significant that, in the first three ing to each other, saying there development, for influences hostile stories, the harassed characters are would be no plebiscite, that Seyssvious quarter, when unaffiliated has been in the shoe-manufacturing to the labor-party movement. Thru driven to desperate killings which Inquart was chancellor and that labor organizations participated in industry, where, during the first them, as is well known, the Demo- lead to their own ultimate death Schuschnigg was out. I called this cratic party machine hopes to and defeat, while, in the last, there to the attention of my friends. wield some influence in the A.L.P. is some mass action, a demonstra-Results of Labor Board elections 12 elections. The following tables Thru them, the Stalinites may, if tion and victory. Again, in the first there was no cause for alarm as it during the first quarter of 1938, present a picture of the general their relative strength is increased three stories, the grievances are of was a well-known trick of the by apathy on the part of bona-fide a nature which can occur only to Nazis to spread all sorts of rumors A.L.P. members, do a great deal of Negroes in the South but, in the in order to create confusion and damage in deflecting the party last, it is a community problem in- sentiment for themselves. When from the path of independent labor volving Negroes and whites.

tween the real economic life of the the boat, whom he is driven to kill trian tragedy. worker and the artificial forms of in self-defense in order to save his his political life. No matter how family. His wife does not survive the trip and he is compelled conservative, a genuine labor party is not quite at home in the world child when he is impressed into course of which he rescues the family of the man he has killed. The Editor.) What can be done at the present time is to mobilize the trade unions They denounce him as soon as they for far greater participation in the reach safety. He dies, trying to

American Labor Party and its escape the soldiers who have been activities. By this, I do not mean ordered to shoot him. that trade-union members are not In the third of the stories, the already in the assembly-district Negro hero kills a white man for clubs but rather that today the raping his wife, resists capture by trade unions appear only by im- a posse which fails to take him plication in the practical activities alive tho his house is burned down of the A.L.P. Thru the unions about him. The plot in the fourth week when the Executive Council directly, steps can be taken to safe- story revolves around a projected of the A. F. of L., in session at guard the party in the primaries. unemployment - relief demonstra- Washington, decided to set up the Thru greater co-ordination of party tion. Here, for the first time, the Progressive Miners of America as and unions, the possibility of con- class rather than the color element a rival to the United Mine Workflict between the assembly-district is involved. This story opens with ers by granting it a charter to clubs and the unions can be reduced! the vacillations of a Negro minisand these clubs made to function as

This and other books reviewed in these columns may be obtained at the New Workers School Bookshop, 131 West 33rd St., New York City.

starvation among his people to the Noah's mantle of the Stalin-The "friends" of the Soviet to the mill of the enemies of soan effort to prevent the demonstra- course, be greatly damaged. cialism and the Soviets. They do not see that it is Stalin himself the line in a highly dramatic sequence, the Negroes decide to come out on who is bringing grist to the mill the streets where they are met and of the enemies of the Soviet Union joined by the poor whites. It is

—Stalin who destroys human beings by the thousands and who has ingstituted the most graves are to significant that the vacillations take place before the floggings and instituted the most gruesome terthat there is no spirit of revenge ror in the land. Gigantic Russia, with its numberless peoples, suf- have no more to lose" attitude, in the demonstration, merely a "we fers indescribably under the man who rules it with absolute power.

have no more to lose" attitude which is determined and dogged.

Despite the throats and the termined that the state of Despite the threats and the ter-Against this we must raise our ror, the day is won by sheer force voices in protest, in loud protest, of numbers and quiet determina-

wherever it is still possible to tion. The book ends on the note of

speak with freedom and independ- "freedom belongs to the strong."

## Labor and Schuschnigg

(Continued from Page 3)

inform their respective organizations on how to vote in the referendum. This, however, never came to pass. At 2:30 of the same day, Hitler's Reichswehr had already crosssomething written which is poig- ed the Austrian border and Satur-On Friday at 5:30 P. M., I par-

ticipated in an important labor meeting. When the meeting was over, everybody went home to listen to the broadcast on the forthcoming plebiscite. Upon reaching the street, we noticed a change in the atmosphere. The police were very weak and the Nazis had bewe again came out in the street The first story deals with a boy- after supper, everybody realized To those two problems placed on ish prank, which because of race that the upheaval had taken place. the A.L.P.'s doorstep by the nature hatred results in three deaths and The police were already wearing of American politics, there is a a gruesome lynching. This story, swastikas and were giving the Nazi partial solution. In a long-range more than any of the others, shows salute. Like all hired servants, the sense, they represent the basic dif- the brutality of race hatred. The police quickly sensed who their new ficulty confronting labor as it seeks second story deals with the flood- masters were and tried hard to to express its class interests poli- ing of a Southern area. Mann, a please them. The Nazis were freely tically: the hampering effect of Negro farmer, is obliged to use a selling their sheet, Volksruf, and employing-class parliamentary in- stolen boat to transport his wife, shouting "Buy the Volksruf and stitutions upon labor politics, thru who is in labor, to the hospital. En drive the Jews to Palestine." Such the separation brought about be- route, he meets the white owner of was the last chapter of the Aus-

> (The above paragraphs constitute section of an article on Austria by abandon his mother-in-law and his Jay Lovestone which first appeared in the April 3 issue of the New York levee and rescue work, in the paper, The Day. Lovestone was in Austria when these events happened.

### A. F. of L. Sets Up **Dual Mine Union**

The wide breach in the ranks of labor was greatly aggravated last cover the entire mining field in the U.S.A. and Canada. The P.M.A., originally a breakaway from the U.M.W., is practically non-existent outside of a few spots in Southern Ilinois. The United Mine Workers, on the other hand, has about 600. 000 members, over 90% of those ter who has been forced by the eligible to join its ranks.

C.P. of France enter into joint conferences with labor organizers. Ever so timidly, provocation on the part of the A. he refuses to yield to the pressure F. of L. officialdom is expected to of the authority of the white mayor lead to virtual civil war in many who demands that he order his coal camps where P.M.A. organcongregation not to march. He is izers, financed by the A. F. of L. kidnapped and flogged and, return- will try to destroy the U.M.W. ing home, finds that a large group locals and tear the miners away of the Negro community has also from Lewis's organization. The Union do not want to bring grist been beaten by white vigilantes in prospects of labor peace will, of

TORONTO, CANADA

JAY LOVESTONE will speak Friday, May 13, 8 p.m. "CRISIS OVER EUROPE"

> Labor Temple 167 Church Street

By GEORGE F. MILES

# Trade Union Notes

= By Observer =

ALL reports go to show that revolt is again brewing in Bill Hutcheson's private domain the Broth of Table Hutcheson's private domain, the Brotherhood of Carpenters. The 1936 convention of the Brotherhood, largely handpicked by Hutcheson himself, adopted, at his bidding, two amendments to the union constitution. The first provided that any member who "preaches, advocates or counsels . . . disorder, dissension or disobedience of authority at a local union or a district council meeting" may be brought to trial and expelled.

The other was an anti-Red ban,

specifying the Communist Party by

After their adoption by the convention, these proposals went to a the locals, supervised by a Hutcheson-picked committee of tellers. According to the report of this committee, the first amendment was carried by a vote of 34,154 and the second by a vote of 33,041, just the necessary two-thirds majority. But, comparing the tellers reports with the returns they had filed, a number of locals discovered that there was something plenty wrong: the votes they had registered against the amendments had been switched to the "yes" column! It is said that 185 locals were treated in this way. A conservative check-

When confronted with a demand for a recount, Hutcheson declared that the election returns had been "destroyed"!

up showed that neither of the pro-

positions received anywhere near

the two-thirds majority neces-

sary for ratification.

This is the union that is the backbone of the A. F. of L., which, according to President Green, is the champion of democracy in the labor movement against the "autocrats' of the C.I.O.!

#### BEHIND CURRAN'S FLIP-FLOPS

Jack Soderberg, we that throws a great deal of light on for ninety-nine years!"

what's happening in the National Maritime Union here in New York:

"This Maritime Commission decision to revive the old Shipping referendum of the membership in Buro Sea Service hiring halls isn't so hot. What happened was this. Curran had assured the Commission that the Communist Party wasn't king-pin in the union. He was asked to make that a little more definite and also public. Hence his spouting to the press disowning the boys and girls from 13th Street. Everything was O.K. and the thirty-eight government owned ships were now ready to hire out of the hall. In the meantime, however, the C.P. gentry put the screws on Curran and the result was the half-way retraction. Curran tried to burn the candle both ends-and missed. The Commission figured it had been doublecrossed and now proposes not only to hire men at 45 Broadway in its own ships but also in those privately-owned ships that are receiving a subsidy thru the Commission. Like most people of Curran's calibre, when facing an emergency, he became panicky as usual and fell back completely into the arms of the Hudsons, Rays, Myers et all. This mess will continue until the 1939 convention when I am looking for a change in the leadership and for the union to be put back on a true course. In the meantime, the "ninety-nine years suspension club" is growing daily. Anyone raising have received the following note his voice in opposition is suspended

# Who Is Driving to War?

(Continued from Page 3) makers do, clearly. So do all those who provide materials essential to the conduct of war. So do those who wish to grab sources of raw materials abroad, or to gain favored positions in foreign markets, or want their investments protected. Some groups gain thru making loans to war-makers. Professional patriots have more to do in time of war and some people, who lead frustrated lives, like the sheer excitement. When armaments pile up, there is a strong temptation, on the part of those in control to make use of them before they become obsolete. All of these groups exert pressure on governmental administrations. And governmental administrations some-times feel that they are playing, part in world affairs.

The most peculiar group playing the jingoist game in the United States at the present time is the Communist Party. In a recent article in the New Republic, Mr. Earl Browder, the leader of the party, called for the implementing of Mr. Roosevelt's quarantine policy-to save sunny California from the Japs. The communists now stand shoulder to shoulder with the admirals and the generals, the munition makers and the D.A.R. in favor of bigger and better armaments. Why do they do this? The answer is that communist policy in this country is subordinate to Russia's foreign policy, and Russia needs, or thinks she needs, allies among the democratic capitalist powers.

The free labor movements everywhere in the world are opposed to

everywhere hates Hitler, Musso lini, the Japanese militarists and all they stand for. But we are not going to save the German or the Italian or the Japanese workers from dictatorship by going to war. If we attempt to do this, we shall be driving the nails in the coffin of our own democracy.

It seems to me that we should make clear to the administration in Washington that we do not want to join the mad armament race that grips the world. There is no need for us to join that race if our purpose is defense alone. We should, as citizens, make clear our resolute opposition to war-like foreign adventures and our adherence to a policy of genuine neutrality.

Above all, let us attack seriously thru war-like actions, an important the problems that face us at home -problems of unemployment, poverty, housing and many more. Our war upon these problems will keep us busy for a long time. Let us build an economic and social system in which air and sunshine, good food and decent housing, education and the opportunity for work, shall be the heritage of all. If, thru democracy, we can construct an economic system in which the average man can find security, dignity and freedom, then we shall make a contribution to democracy and peace in other parts of the world.

Let us do what we can to see that the resources of the world are not denied to peoples badly in need of them thru uneconomic restrictions on the movement of goods across national frontiers. Let us exert our considerable influence in the world for the reduction of fullest extent those brave people fascism and dictatorship. Labor armaments, rather than their in- across the Atlantic.

Detroit, Mich. RICHARD T. Frankensteen has become the center of sensational developments in the internal life of the United Automobile Workers as a result of his coming forward with own program recently. This program, not submitted to or discussed in progressive circles, aroused widespread resentment because some of the proposals, it was said, constitute a veiled attack on President Martin and his policies.

The situation was further complicated by the fact that the Midwest Record (stooge for the Daily Worker and the Communist Party in the Middle West) immediately responded with fulsome praise for

#### Mr. Frankensteen and his program. Stalinist Intrigue

In its issue of April 30, the Midwest Record places itself behind Mr. Frankensteen's stand in an article entitled "Frankensteen Asks Auto Union Unity." The Record insists that the Frankensteen program is an open break with the union administration. "The open break between Martin and Frank-ensteen," says the Record, "who formerly shared leadership of the 'progressive caucus,' is expected to come to a head with the next meeting of the International Executive Board, which is due to gather in early May." The Record resorts to factionalism even in its caption below the picture of Mr. Frankensteen. It refers to Frankensteen as "U.A.W. assistant president, who has issued a call to end factionalism in the auto union in order that its members unite to organize Ford's and to build Labor's Non-Partisan League. President Martin dissents.'

This article and also the activity of the Stalinist wing of the former "unity" caucus, created the suspicion that the Communist Party had placed itself behind the program of Mr. Frankensteen and intended to utilize it for its own factional purposes. Supporters of the union leadership pointed to a striking resemblance between some of the proposals included in Mr. Frankensteen's program and those raised factionally by the Stalinists in the union. Even Frankensteen's appeal against the existence of factions, it is pointed out, is in line with the repeated cries for the "abolition of factions" by the Stalinists who are secure in the maintenance of their own caucus connections because of their party structure, network of stooge organizations, and totalitarian authority over their members.

Progressives also pointed out that the Midwest Record's eulogies of Mr. Frankensteen may become extremely embarrassing to Frankensteen himself since it tends to give credence to the astonishing report recently published by the Jewish Daily Forward of New the effect that C Patry leaders had secured a working agreement with Mr. Frankensteen on the basis of suporting him at the next convention of the U.A.W. for the office of president and also of endorsing him as running-mate for Frank Murphy in the coming gubernatorial elections in Michigan.

#### Martin's Statement

The sudden appearance of Mr. Frankensteen's program aroused widespread resentment and matters were not improved when the local press ran stories giving the gist of the program. Irked by the failure of Mr. Frankensteen even to place the program before him prior to its circulation and by the factional misuse of this program by the

crease. Let us, as individuals and groups of individuals, help to the

## Arouses UAW Resentment Communist Party and its supporters, Mr. Martin struck back in the

form of a press statement in which he pointed out the danger of this program becoming a disguise for the old, unprincipled and destructive faction war conducted by the Communist Party. "Certain forces within the union," Mr. Martin explained, "have failed in their frontal attack against the leadership of the U.A.W. and are now seeking the rear door disguised as a faction to end factionalism." (Mr. Martin's statement is published in full on

page 2.—Editor.)

While the full effect of Mr Frankensteen's step on the inner relations in the union will not become known officially until the forthcoming meeting of the International Executive Board, no serious upsets are expected. Administration spokesmen have stated that progressive support has remained intact behind Mr. Martin and that every effort is being made to maintain the complete unity of the progressive forces and to clear up whatever misunderstandings have arisen in connection with Mr. Frankensteen.

Split In "Unity" Ranks While the progressive forces have remained intact, the efforts of the Communist Party to divide them have backfired with sufficient force to split the "unity" caucus wide open. It has become known that the socialists and their supporters, headed by Walter Reuther of the West Side local of Detroit, have completely broken with the Stalinists, with whom they had been in alliance. Reports indicate also that such locals as Briggs and Chrysler Local 7, hitherto "unity" strongholds, have broken with the Stalinists because of their factional and unprincipled misuse of re cent developments in the organization. Indicative of the new situation is the discussion and decision on the existence of groups at the joint council meeting of the West Side local. Despite Stalinist opposition the combined progressive and socialist forces carried a proposal in

President Martin, accompanied by delegation of Board members, in Washington on union business, took up with John L. Lewis the internal situation. Mr. Martin declared, after the conference that Mr. Lewis had given him every assurance of support of his administration and policies.

against banning groups at this

# Stalin's Own **Explanation**

(Continued from Page 2) state of affairs in Soviet Russia to-

day? 1. The old Bolshevik party of Lenin has been wiped out in personnel and organization. Stalin no longer has to look to the advanced, the communist, sections of the Russian people for his support; he has freed himself from their in-

2. He now rules as absolute dictator, with three or four loyal subordinates surrounding him. But Voroshilov is hardly to be counted among them; he seems to be about at the end of his rope-Yezhov is already on his trail.

3. Stalin's regime is strong and stable. It is based, in the first place, on the political police. But Stalin is going beyond that; he is striving to supplement the power of the G.P.U. by the power of popularity among the people. Over the head of the old communist vanguard, he is successfully (according to Denny) appealing to the "non-party" masses, especially to the "younger generation." In the called for the expenditure of public place of the party dictatorship funds for housing and relief.

# Frankensteen's Statement | France Bows **To Tory Line**

A well-defined military alliance emerged from the sessions of the Anglo-French conference that took place last week in London, attended by the prime ministers and foreign ministers of the two countries and their aides. The agreement is understood to include full cooperation of the general staffs. unified command in case of war, joint reserve stores and the pooling of military purchases.

As the price for strengthening the alliance, France strongly reaffirmed its acquiescence in the entire line of British foreign policy. French Premier Daladier even went out of his way to congratulate. Prime Minister Chamberlain on the deal with Italy and to promise that France would follow the example. "On Italy and Spain," Ferdinand Kuhn. Jr. reports in the New York Times (April 29), "and indeed on almost every point of possible disagreement, the British and French governments now see eye to eye. Even on Czechoslovakia, the French showed signs of being willing to limit their commitments after Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain had refused to go an inch beyond his 'no-guarantees' declaration of March 24."

Thus the People's Front government of France, supported by both the socialist and communist parties, publicly proclaims its solidarity with the Tory regime of England in "wooing the dictators," conniving with the fascist aggressors and abandoning Ethiopia, Spain, Austria and Czechoslovakia to the mercies of Hitler, Mussolini and France. What is the value of the Franco-Soviet pact under these circumstances? What meaning is there, except shameless deception, to the slogan of "collective security"-relying on these "democracies" to resist fascism and war?

operated thru the communist vanguard, he is trying to erect a plebiscitary dictatorship operated by a group of subservient, "nonpolitical" functionaries, who exist merely by his reflected glory. It is here that the notorious hero-cult plays its significant role. From it all, Stalin emerges as the strong man with more power than "any Czar who ever wore the crown of Musovy," who "rules more lives than any other chieftain in the history of mankind."

We need not accept this picture as a photographic representation of reality. In some respects, it is obviously distorted and overdrawn, even grossly inaccurate: the old Bolshevik party not so completely dead as it is made out; Stalin's autocratic regime is not quite so stable; his plebiscitary appeal to the masses against the vanguard is not quite so successful nor is the "younger generation" quite so worshipful in his support. But the real significance of the Denny dispatch is to be found in this double fact: first, that the trend of political development is undeniably as Stalin, thru Denny, indicates—the erection of an authoritarian oneman dictatorship on the ruins of the revolutionary communist vanguard and its Bolshevik party; and, secondly, that Stalin wants this to be clearly understood by the world at large!

#### C.I.O. UNION HITS WAR

War and war preparations were denounced by the delegates attending the first annual convention of the International Aluminum Workers Union, a C.I.O. affiliate, meeting at New Kensington, Pa., on April 4. The convention adopted a strong resolution endorsing the original LaFollette-Ludlow warreferendum amendment, demanded the withdrawal of all American armed forces from China and