

# Welcome I.C.L.L. Delegates

an editorial

**T**O the delegates to the national convention of the Independent Communist Labor League, greetings!

Upon you falls a heavy responsibility, for the convention which you collectively compose is faced with tasks of immeasurable significance for our organization in its relation to the labor movement. It is the task of this convention to cast a balance of the twenty years of post-war radicalism at home and abroad and to draw the practical conclusions from this experience. It is the task of this convention to give the signal for a new departure in the life of our organization in line with the demands of the historical moment and the sweep of our own aspirations. It is the task of this convention to point out the road along which we must proceed if we are to gain the great objective towards which we are striving—the emergence of a sound, genuinely Marxist socialism out of the rising labor movement of America.

A new departure is imperatively on the order of the day. For it is a fact no longer to be ignored or denied that the three great political tendencies in the international labor movement—social-democracy, official communism and anarchism—have failed and failed miserably even in terms of their own political pretensions. Hitlerism in Germany, Stalinist terror in Russia, rapid decline towards fascism in France under the auspices of the People's Front, reactionary demoralization of the anti-fascist struggle in Loyalist Spain—such are the elements of the picture that confronts us today, twenty years after the Russian Revolution.

Social-democracy, official communism and anarchism are bankrupt, but out of them are emerging new forces of revolutionary socialism determined to hold aloft the banner of militant class struggle against capitalist reaction, fascism and war. To contribute our share to the effective consolidation of these forces on an international scale, along new lines and upon new foundations, is the first big task of our convention.

With equal determination must we make a new beginning in our own country. With the full consciousness of the road we are taking, we must turn our back resolutely upon the sectarian dualism so ingrained in American radical tradition. It is up to us to build a new kind of socialist organization in America; an organization that is an organic part of the real labor movement as it is arising in response to the needs of the workers; an organization that strives not to remake the labor movement in its own image or according to its own pet recipe but to serve the labor movement as an inspiring, leavening, class-conscious force within it. To lay the basis for such an organization, is the other great task of our convention.

In a very real sense, the two are but aspects of a single whole: what we must build is an organization thoroly Marxist in its international vision, in its revolutionary spirit, in its critical realism and constructive approach to the labor movement and its problems, in the flexibility of its methods and tactics.

A big job—but a job that must be done! And it is a job in which we must be the pioneers, for we have the keenest consciousness of its vital significance, we are best equipped in experience, will and understanding!

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## SP Attempts Ruse in UAW

Sets Up "Third" Group To  
Play Stalinist Game  
Under Cover

By GEORGE F. MILES  
(Our Michigan Correspondent)

Detroit, Mich.

Another so-called "peace" effort in the United Automobile Workers collapsed last week when a group of alleged independent "peacemakers," inspired by Walter Reuther, a member of the U.A.W.'s Executive Board, presented a program to President Homer Martin which, in every essential, could not be told apart from the program of the suspended officers.

The attempt at developing a center group for the purpose of corraling into the camp of the suspended opposition leaders all elements who would otherwise shy away from support of so destructive a force as that represented by the Communist Party and its supporters, originated with the Michigan socialists headed by Walter Reuther. Almost from the very founding of the union, Reuther had been working hand in glove with the Stalinists in the union. Under pressure from his party organization, he had temporarily developed a position of his own in the union but, during the present inner crisis, he found it necessary to join forces with the Stalinists once again.

The present maneuver of the Michigan socialists became necessary after the Stalinists found themselves unable to arouse the support of more than a small fraction of even their own supporters to back their attempts at overthrowing the present leadership of the U.A.W. Under these circumstances, it was decided to launch a third group which, under the cry of opposition to the "extremists on both sides," might meet success in winning support from sections of the membership weary with almost two years of incessant Stalinist faction war.

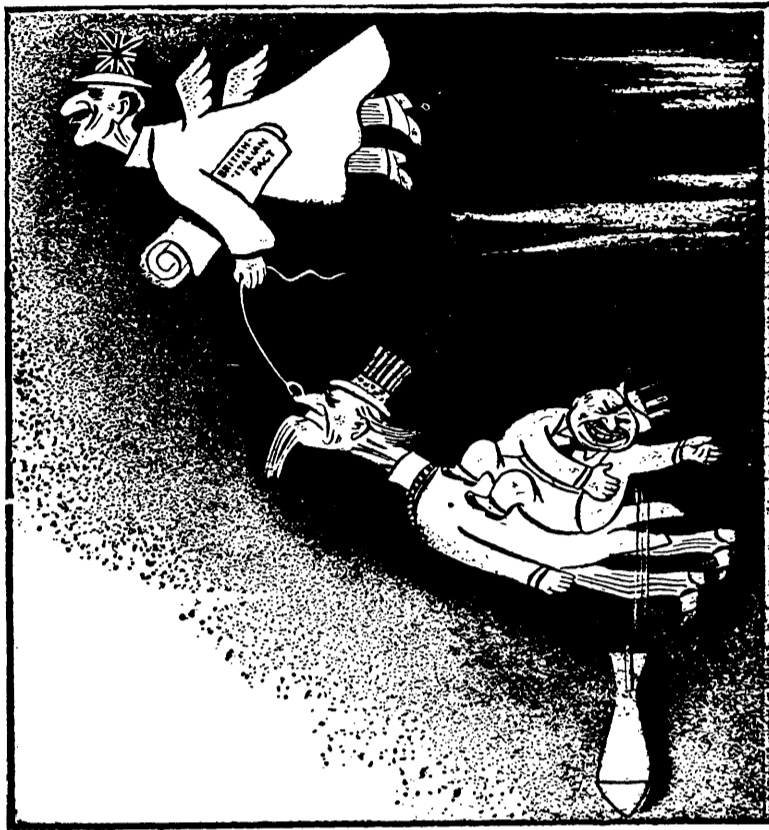
A conference of local presidents initiated by members of the "unity" caucus, was attended, it is claimed, by about forty. Spokesmen for the group, however, refused to list the forty presidents of local unions but admitted that the locals had not been consulted and those present were there as individuals.

The real nature of this gathering became apparent when a small committee from this conference, headed by Emil Mazey, a member of the Socialist Party, appeared before President Homer Martin and a number of International Executive Board members. The group proposed three planks: immediate reinstatement of the suspended officers, observance of the 20-point program approved unanimously by the last full session of the International Executive Board, and an appeal to John L. Lewis to intervene if the suspended are not reinstated within a "reasonable time."

Administration spokesmen commented on the fact that the first and third proposals were identical with those raised by the suspended Stalinists. The alleged loyalty to the 20-point program union spokesmen attributed to a desire to appear "neutral." But, they added, it is difficult to see how one can

(Continued on Page 2)

## ANGLO-AMERICAN COOPERATION



from (of all places!) the New Masses

## Browder Will Fight USSR

Stalinist Leader Says He  
Will Bear Arms In War  
Against Russia

Earl Browder, Stalin's puppet leader of the American Communist Party, is ready to fight for the United States in any war, even in a war against the Soviet Union, according to his own testimony before the McNaboe Joint Legislative Committee in New York City last week.

"If it came to a war between the United States and Russia, whom would you bear arms for?" McNaboe asked. "I refuse to admit the possibility of such a war," said Browder. But McNaboe pressed for an answer and Browder finally replied: "Under any conceivable possibility of a war, I would fight for the United States!"

"That wasn't always your attitude, was it?" McNaboe continued. "No, it was not," Browder admitted.

The day before Browder "denied" that his party ever received any orders from Stalin; such orders, he declared, would be "thrown into the waste-basket" were they ever received.

Browder also went out of his way to defend the American Legion against Professor Gellerman's recent charges of "fascistic and reactionary tendencies."

Earl Browder's testimony before the McNaboe committee has completely exposed the utterly unprincipled character of Stalinism, its cringing, crawling servility to the powers-that-be, the cynical deception and double-dealing that it has raised to a system. In one breath, Browder lauds the Soviet Union to the skies as the "workers fatherland" and Stalin as the "peerless leader of the world's toiling masses"; in the next breath, he declares himself ready to wage war against the Soviet Union and, presumably, against Stalin as well! Where, except among the fascists, can be found such brazen and impudent duplicity?

## 14 Unionists Tried In Injunction Case

Despite the State Anti-Injunction Law, Justice Cotillo last week granted sweeping injunctions permanently restraining two C.I.O. unions from picketing the Busch Jewelry Company and its subsidiaries, at which strikes are in progress. The two unions concerned are the United Retail Employees Union Local 830 and the United Optical Workers Union Local 208.

The unions have refused to recognize the injunction and have continued picketing at five stores in defiance of it. Fourteen pickets were arrested last week for contempt. An appeal to the Appellate Division for a stay of the injunction was denied and the fourteen pickets were brought before Justice Cotillo for trial.

The issue involved in this case is a very important one for the labor movement and the two unions should receive the full support of all New York City unions, A. F. of L. and C.I.O. alike.

## U.A.W. Makes W.P.A. Gains

Union Pressure Results In  
Wage-Rate Raises  
Thruout Michigan

William Taylor, United Automobile Workers welfare director, announced another sweeping victory for Michigan's W.P.A. workers last week, resulting from pressure exerted on W.P.A. authorities by the W.P.A. division of the union. Substantial increases in the hourly wage rate to all W.P.A. workers in lower Michigan were obtained.

Late last week, W.P.A. authorities in an all-state decree raised the hourly wage rates on an average of 4½ cents for all counties except Genesee, Kent, Oakland and Macomb, which received a 10-cent increase, thus abolishing the wage-rate differential existing between these counties and Wayne County.

Previously, W.P.A. workers in Genesee, Kent, Oakland and Macomb counties had worked 120 hours per month for \$60, or at a wage rate of 50 cents an hour. Under the new arrangement, W.P.A. workers in these counties work only 100 hours per month at a wage rate of 60 cents an hour. This means that W.P.A. workers in such areas as Flint, Detroit, Pontiac, Grand Rapids and New Haven all work 100 hours a month for the \$60 monthly wage. This equalization is based on the prevalence of industry and the residence of industrial workers within the designated counties.

Other counties in Michigan were grouped similarly according to the prevalence of the industrial or agricultural pursuits in each. All these counties, without exception, also received increases in the wage rate, but in varying degree.

## Union Wins Relief Aid

Dressmakers Get W.P.A.  
Project To Give Jobs  
To Unemployed

Speaking before several thousand members of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., who attended a special meeting last week, Charles Zimmerman, local manager, announced that the dressmakers union had secured a W.P.A. sewing project sufficiently large to employ several thousand now unemployed dressmakers and that hiring would begin as soon as certain technicalities would be adjusted.

Zimmerman reported that Washington authorities agreed to make provision for the project only after several months of pressure from the union and after the union, in a sharp protest from President David Dubinsky to W.P.A. Administrator Harry Hopkins, had made clear that it was going to force a showdown if W.P.A. authorities caused further delay.

In discussing the importance of the project to the union and particularly to its unemployed members, Zimmerman pointed out that it would be far more beneficial to workers in the trade than an arrangement such as is being made in the men's clothing industry, where Sidney Hillman, Amalgamated Clothing Workers president, had arranged for purchase by W.P.A. of clothing manufacturers leftover stocks. Zimmerman expressed doubts that the Hillman plan would be of much aid to unemployed garment workers. "It is my opinion," he said, "that a project of the kind we have secured will work in the interests of the unemployed, whereas the purchase of clothing and the clearing of manufacturers stocks will benefit the employers and have very little effect on the unemployed."

## Viewed from the Left

By Politicus

## Spawn of the Crisis: II

THE inner struggle in the Democratic party, which has kept pace in increasing intensity with the general rise of employer aggression, overflowed into the national political arena, in Fireside Chat Number 13. In essentials, the President has made the periodic gesture of the Administration for a new political party, supposedly of a liberal character. Actually, the theoreticians of the "new liberal party," especially the group around Tom Corcoran, are already sorely beset with their own victory which this speech was presumed to mark. For the political obligations of the Administration make it "expedient" to challenge the right to office of certain Senators and Congressmen because of their particular local strength, or their hold on various levers of the national party machine. This reason alone limits the "purge" in the Democratic party. And, of course, the "purge" itself, where carried out, as in Florida, has resulted in such dubious material for a new liberal party as Senator Pepper, who led the Southern block against the wage-hour bill.

Apparently, therefore, the strategy of the Roosevelt group proper within the New Deal circle, is to work towards a new party, but in conservative fashion and by easy stages. Whether a new party can be achieved along such diplomatic lines, is extremely doubtful—with-out taking into consideration the unifying influence of war preparations, which tend increasingly to overshadow domestic considerations.

But why do the President and the New Dealers want a new party? Why have they sharpened the struggle against their inner-party enemies, despite the fact that the New Deal program is far more conservative today than in 1933 (when the party was unified), and despite the fact that New Deal leading circles are far more receptive to the ideas of their opponents, as witness the sharp curtailment of relief funds, the moves toward labor-regulatory laws, etc.? Why does not the apparent tendency towards confluence of New Deal and anti-New Deal program result in party unity rather than greater disharmony?

The growing conservatism of the New Deal, it must be noted, takes place still within the general lines of differentiation that separated it from the traditional politics of the old parties; what has happened is that the whole struggle has been shifted to the right—with the differentiation remaining.

Roosevelt needs a new party because the employing class cannot, in any real, fundamental sense, rule thru the old type of party any longer. The "new era in American political life," however much of it may be sham in essentials, still has a strong grip on the minds of the people, of the workers, the unemployed, the farmers, the croppers. Roosevelt believes, correctly, there is no hope for the capitalist system in America if it is to be administered by the old type of political party and program. He represents and gives expression to the viewpoint of the most far-seeing and intelligent elements among our ruling class. Some partial economic reforms, some partial political reforms—these are vital, the New Deal emphasizes, if there is to be a capitalist economic system, administered by capitalist political parties. And, to carry thru such a program, which they believe to be just as important now as in 1933, the old politicians, in so far as possible, must be sloughed off.

In the reality of politics, there is not much chance for success of this policy. An employing-class party does not break with all or even most of the "copperheads," as indicated above, because thru its economic outlook and ties, it is

## Stalinist Self-Exposure!

THE Daily Worker, June 16, quotes a telegram sent to Ed. Hall, suspended vice-president, by William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party, in which a denial is attempted of the charge that the rebel group is carrying policies and orders of the Communist Party. Telegraphed Foster: "That's a goddamn lie. Tell Martin that he can't clear his skirts of the responsibility for disrupting this union by Red-baiting. He had better stick to issues; the rank-and-file will. WE DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE LIFTING OF THESE ILLEGAL UNCONSTITUTIONAL SUSPENSIONS."

Who is the "we," Mr. Foster? The Communist Party? And who is the Communist Party to dictate the internal affairs of the United Automobile Workers? Mr. Foster wires four sentences; he denies dictation of the Communist Party in the first sentence and emphatically affirms such dictation in the fourth sentence. Don't insult the intelligence of our rank and file, Mr. Foster.

(From the June 25 issue of the United Automobile Worker, official paper of the U.A.W.)

## SP Attempts Ruse in UAW

(Continued from Page 1)

he for the 20-point program and yet become the attorneys for those who have done everything in their power to defeat this program and disrupt the organization.

The nature of the discussions was not made public either by the self-styled "independents" or by President Martin. However, union leaders made no attempt to deny that the program submitted offered not the slightest basis for peace because it did not represent a legitimate peace effort. Nor can the union consider seriously the cry for immediate and unconditional reinstatement of the suspended clique. Such a stand whitewashes the suspended officers, even before charges are submitted, and absolves them of all responsibility. Only those most closely associated with the suspended Stalinists could present any such a program for serious consideration.

Spokesmen for the "third" group, it became known, pledged to "stand responsible" for the conduct of the five officers if the latter were reinstated. But a casual glance at the committee must have failed to impress the International Executive Board, for among them were Mazey and Marshall, who in no way differed in their tactics and faction careers from the suspended officers themselves.

Another proposal betraying the Stalinist origin of this new "peace offensive," was one calling upon the I.E.B. to defy its own constitution by having the case of the five suspended officers tried by a "rank-and-file" committee. Needless to say, such obvious faction maneuvers, the union said, No, thank you!

Official charges have already been mailed to the five suspended officers but the content of these charges has not been made public. The trial is slated to open on July 25.

## At the Peace Congress

Some Impressions of An Observer

By EDNA R. BEST

IF the psychology of how to fight war demands that we make peace exciting, the Washington National Anti-War Congress set a first-rate example. From the start on Saturday of the Decoration Day week-end to the finish on Monday afternoon, the meeting at Washington seethed with the excitement of thinking, doing, planning, differing and agreeing. Over a thousand delegates, the bulk from labor, peace and youth groups met first in mass session in the Rialto Theatre, facing a giant curtain on which was painted a fist crushing armaments to pieces, flanked on each side by signs "Stop War Now" and "M-Day Is Too Late". Other posters bespoke the variety and similarity of the constituent groups: "We Want Scholarships, Not Battleships," "Flint Sat Down On DuPont In Auto, We'll Sit Down On Him In War," "400,000 Auto Workers Demand Keep America Out of War", etc.

There were songs, not planned but sudden spontaneous bursts of songs from far corners of the auditorium. Such singing greeted the announcement of the collection results by Norman Thomas—"\$3,512. Now we are on our way financially as well as politically." The single contribution greeted with the most applause was that of the I.C.L.L., accompanied by Bert Wolfe's presentation speech: "This is to show that not all communists have gone pro-war! This is given by the anti-war communists of the I.C.L.L.!"

The Unknown Soldier played a new role on this Memorial Day. . . It was as if he were a delegate representing all those who had died in the war to "make the world safe for democracy." His spirit marched thru the conference halls and at the cemetery at Arlington. And Congressman Bigelow of Ohio conducted the tomb of the Unknown Soldier, who died uselessly, to the tomb of the eighty-nine who died building Boulder Dam so that the deserts might bloom and life be richer.

This was a significant introduction to the scholarly economic analysis and the searching report of the Commission on a Warless World in which Lewis Corey participated brilliantly. The work of this commission was basic since it

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dealt with the economic roots of fascism and war. It gave many of the pure pacifists in the audience a chance to see the deeper implications of their anti-war struggle. They were shown that declining capitalism, the economic crisis, the drive to find a way out of the crisis, are the direct and specific forces making for fascism. Armament economics as a method of "solving" the depression is not restricted to Germany, Italy and Japan. It is the pattern of every capitalist nation where capitalism cannot solve its economic crisis and refuses to try peaceful means.

The "alternative to war" proposed by the congress was government spending on "bread not bullets, on jobs not graves, on homes not tents on the battlefields." I quote Homer Martin whose speech was considered the high point of the congress and who speaks with the authority of a strategic union whose members would have to make the tanks and tractors and trucks for the next war.

It is clearly impossible to refer to the work of all the commissions in one article. Printed formulations should soon be available from the nine commissions of the congress. Then it will be possible to read in detail Janeway's authoritative report on the interlocking financial arrangements of England, United States, France and Germany, which creates a strong vested interest in war; of the demand for a Congressional investigation and exposure of these stakes of diplomacy; of Bert Wolfe's warning that fascism comes not merely because capitalism is in crisis but because labor is in crisis and unable to supply that leadership which alone can save the ruined middle class from embracing fascism.

A few impressions stand out—the hard-working, eager, business-like character of the congress—most of the delegates never got to see anything of Washington but the meeting rooms and hotel where they slept; the excellent planning by the steering committee which provided machinery for free discussion; the expert leadership, the concentration on a variety of inter-related problems and the phenomenon of opponents of war of all political views getting together on the basis of six vital points upon which they all agreed. A genuine united front in action, as Bert Wolfe pointed out in his report in the Age. Nobody trying to put anything over on the others; no out-and-dried resolutions brought from the home office; no jockeying for positions but a genuine tolerance and respect despite wide divergence of views—some believing that a progressive social program will be the way out for capitalism; others, like the I.C.L.L. and the Socialist Party believing it is the way out of capitalism.

The K.A.O.W. movement is on its way—it has the spirit and the substance. It has the youth and it has the experienced leadership. It has such leaders as Norman Thomas, R. J. Thomas, Homer Martin, Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, Elliot Janeway, Tucker Smith, Devere Allen, Frederick Libby, John A. Lapp, Rose Stein, Chas. Zimmerman, I. Zimmerman, Bertram D. Wolfe, Lewis Corey, Minnie Lurye—to name at random a few of the many individuals of outstanding ability, integrity, influence and leadership, who the representing diverse political, economic, labor, peace and youth groups, agree—thru conviction, not dictation—on the basic six points upon which this movement is formed to keep America out of war.

## ANOTHER GREAT DEMOCRACY!

FROM the April 21, 1938 issue of Humanite, official paper of the Communist Party of France:

"We favor an alliance between France and Italy. We favor it as friends of peace, as Frenchmen, as anti-fascists. Yes, as anti-fascists! For we believe that the interests of peace, the interests of Italy and of France, demand that Italy break away from her vassal allegiance to Germany. The axis policy is anti-Italian; it betrays the historic interests of Italy and it militates against Italian national feeling."

Only yesterday it was the "concerted action of the great, peace-loving democracies against the war-making fascist aggressors." Now Italian fascism is to be admitted into the Holy Alliance of "collective security"; has it suddenly become "peaceful," "non-aggressive" and "democratic"?

And tomorrow?—Will German fascism be likewise whitewashed to justify a possible Soviet-German alliance? What is the logic of Stalinist diplomacy?

leaders were present, they stood out in this group of generally outstanding people. In the liveliest commission of all—the one on Labor—Charles S. Zimmerman was in the forefront, the hero in an intimate little scene. A delegate from Baltimore, evidently a Stalinist from an I.L.G.W.U. local, proposed: "Let us come out 100% for the New Deal and Roosevelt. My proposal, David Dubinsky, favors Roosevelt and, since there are so many I.L.G.W.U. delegates on this commission, I think we should all come out for Roosevelt. How can a president of a union be one way and the locals another?"

From the huge audience, perched on window sills, on top of the piano and standing several rows deep, a man stood up and, according to the formula of the meeting, designated himself: "Name, Charles Zimmerman, vice president, I.L.G.W.U., New York City." Skilled and smooth and hitting just the right note, he spoke up: "I am going to have a little private conversation with this brother from the I.L.G.W.U. You can all listen in if you want to but this is just confidential between him and me. We have democracy in our union. The president can have his opinion and the locals are free to have theirs. We do not have to be 100% for the Democratic party which includes Hague and his like . . . If the brother's conscience troubles him on the score of Dubinsky and Roosevelt, I hereby officially release him!" An uproar of applause and laughter greeted this.

The most significant act of the Labor Commission was to constitute itself an autonomous body, affiliated with the congress, prepared to act as the core of a labor movement against war, around which other unions can now rally.

If nothing else had been done but this, the Congress would be memorable.

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## Patronage Politics In America

By ALBERT EDMUND

PATRONAGE in American politics has been with us so long that we sometimes tend to overlook its real significance and to forget that it is one of those institutions that are so peculiar to American history and American political life. In time, it dates back a hundred years; in extent, it covers the whole continent. It reaches into every precinct of the country and affects one out of every four families in the country. We get an idea of the widespread influence of the patronage system if we bear in mind that there are 20,000,000 persons in the United States who are aided by some form of relief; at the peak, some 27,000,000 persons were in this category. Add the regular government employees in the city, county, state, and federal branches of the government and you obtain a figure that totals about one-quarter of the total population! The New York Times recently carried information on the number of persons in New York City who are supported by government funds in the form of salaries, relief, unemployment insurance or direct maintenance. According to this unofficial survey, the households of federal, state, and city job-holders, persons on relief and others receiving public aid, embrace at least 2,200,000 men, women and children, or 29.5% of the 7,500,000 persons in New York City. On the basis of these figures, we are safe in assuming that, for the country as a whole, one out of every four persons depends upon government money for his livelihood.

## Patronage And Political Machines

The city and state political machines were built around the patronage trough. Tammany Hall even reduced it to a formula and figured that it was taking care of five persons with each civil-service job. Until very recently, patronage was primarily in the hands of the local machines in city, state and county. The two political parties were necessarily a loose federation of such machines and not truly national political parties. It is, therefore, not hard to understand why earlier Presidents could not control their own parties, for the state and city bosses, taken together, possessed more patronage, and hence more substantial political power, than did the White House. With the New Deal, federal expenditures have been vastly increased, and this has brought about a big internal shift towards national control in the Democratic party, much to the annoyance of the Republicans.

According to estimates, state, county and city expenditures run about twelve billion dollars a year, while, under President Roosevelt, federal spending has varied between eight and ten billions. It can be said that, in any given locality, the value of federal patronage at the present time is at least 75% of local patronage.

Mr. Roosevelt and his advisers have formulated their own five-year plan on the distribution of relief. The plan is based primarily not upon the needs of the community but rather upon political expediency. The deliberate manner in which federal expenditures are made to fit the needs of the New Deal political machine is graphically illustrated in a recent issue of the magazine, Life.

The New Deal spent and lent 32 billion dollars from March 4, 1933, the day of President Roosevelt's inauguration, to December 31, 1937. These figures include all relief spending, grants and loans for public works, A.A.A. payments to farmers, R.F.C. loans, loans in-

sured by F.H.A., and all other items generally classified as relief and recovery. The magazine, Life, has divided the total of each state's receipts by its total population, thus arriving at the average amount spent and lent for every man, woman and child in each state.

The citizens of western states, according to Life's figures, got much more than the citizens of southern states. In fact, the average for the ten highest western states was three times as great as the average for the ten lowest southern states. And everyone knows that the southern states are much poorer than the western states and therefore need more federal aid. Last year, the average income of each person in the first ten southern states, which got the least from the New Deal, was \$393.17, while the average income of each person in the ten western states, which got the most from the New Deal, was \$462.05. What accounts for the startling difference between the receipts of the West and the South?

The New Deal is pretty certain of carrying the South which is traditionally Democratic. But is not so certain by any means of the West, which has in the past allied itself with both the Democratic and Republican parties. The same idea seems to have been dominant in the allotment of federal funds to all other sections of the country. The New Deal is obviously following the rule long observed by political managers in distributing campaign funds: Never waste your money in a ward or county or state where you are sure to lose—or where you are sure to win!

How the system works is graphically pictured in the results

## LENIN NEXT!

IN the Stalinist press in the Soviet Union, a frantic campaign of the wildest calumny has been initiated against Rosa Luxemburg. It is now alleged that Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches organized the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania some forty years ago under instructions of the Czarist police! This horrible slander is apparently intended to serve the purpose of justifying the murder of Rosa Luxemburg's comrades-in-arms by the G.P.U. today.

Any day now, we may expect to hear that Lenin organized the Bolshevik party at the behest of the Czarist police. How else could so many old Bolsheviks, his closest colleagues, have turned out to be "spies," "traitors," "German and Japanese agents" and "fascists"?

## Labor And The Patronage System

The part played by patronage in politics is so great that it inevitably raises the question of what the patronage system means for the labor-party movement. It is true, of course, that the element of patronage affects working-class parties in other countries, but no-

## Labor And The Patronage System

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where is it such an essential and controlling element in the existence and advancement of a political party as in the United States. It will not do to turn away from this problem with indignation or disgust. Patronage is a definite part of the political system and, if a labor party hopes to muster the practical political force it needs in its long, uphill fight, it must develop its own way of meeting and compensating for the patronage-politics of the old parties.

## The I.L.P. and Labor Unity

by Jim Cork

THE Workers Age has already carried a report of the Independent Labor Party Conference held this year at Manchester, as usual during the Easter holidays. Some of its decisions on the more important questions deserve special critical evaluation. I propose to limit myself here to a discussion of two questions: (1) the question of the People's Front and (2) the question of the reaffiliation of the I.L.P. to the Labor Party. It is quite obvious that the conference as a whole reflected the growing vitality of the I.L.P., registered its sound position on fundamentals and testified to the healthy democratic inner life of the organization. These things indicate that the party is beginning to measure up to the extremely serious duty that falls upon it as the only revolutionary party in England.

## 1. ON THE POPULAR FRONT

The conference was unanimous in condemning the tactics of the Popular Front as a betrayal of the interests of the working class. Unanimously also, it supported the alternative of independent working-class action on a class-struggle basis, that is, the workers front. There was a difference of opinion, however, on the tactics to be employed if, in spite of the criticism of the revolutionary party, a Popular Front should be formed. One position expressed was that the I.L.P. should not go into a Popular Front whatever the circumstances. This point of view was in the minority at the conference and was defeated by the majority viewpoint, which was not to tie the hands of the party in advance but to decide,

when the concrete situation arises, whether to stay outside or to join for the purpose of exploding it from within. It is the writer's opinion that this decision is an error and that the viewpoint of the minority is correct.

## Brockway's Argument

The clearest exposition (and defense) of the majority point of view is contained in Fenner Brockway's post-conference evaluation in the New Leader of April 22, 1938. I quote:

"Suppose a workers front is formed with all the sense of mass solidarity which would follow. Suppose the right wing of the Labor Party and the communists urge that it be extended to a Popular Front, as they did in France. The I.L.P. would oppose this deterioration and this betrayal of the class fight. But what if we are defeated? What if the right-wing Laborists and the communists succeed in deducing the masses into support of the Popular Front?"

"Is the I.L.P. then to break off from the workers front, which is a part of the Popular Front, and so isolate itself from the masses, or is it to remain inside with the object of liquidating the Popular Front at the first opportunity?"

"France has passed thru this experience, and the Revolutionary Left decided to remain inside and to fight from within. The Trotskyists broke away and fought from outside. The Revolutionary Left have now been excluded, but they have a mass following, certainly in Paris. The Trotskyists are an insignificant force.

"This experience shows that the

## War and Armament Economics

By LEWIS COREY

LET there be no mistake about the danger of war. In this, the twentieth year after the World War, the world is moving toward another war—more destructive, more barbarous, more menacing to civilization.

And again, as in 1916, America is preparing to participate in that war.

There is the concerted nationwide campaign, organized by high government officials, to create a war psychology among the American people. There is the ear-marking by the War Department of 10,000 M-day plants for industrial mobilization and universal conscription. There is the billion-dollar appropriation for a navy capable of waging an offensive war. There is the subsidizing and building-up of the merchant marine to transport American troops to fight in foreign lands.

Twenty years ago, American troops were still fighting in foreign lands. No person of integrity now justifies that war.

It was called a war to end war. Yet today, there is danger of another and more destructive world war where is it such an essential and controlling element in the existence and advancement of a political party as in the United States. It will not do to turn away from this problem with indignation or disgust. Patronage is a definite part of the political system and, if a labor party hopes to muster the practical political force it needs in its long, uphill fight, it must develop its own way of meeting and compensating for the patronage-politics of the old parties.

Moreover, let us consider the implications of that policy. The policy of military alliances and war that is misnamed "collective security," abandons the struggle against imperialism, the final cause of modern war. Thus, the most vocal advocates of "collective security," while admitting that our own country is immune to invasion, demand the defense of American colonial possessions and American investments in China. The most reactionary imperialist interests are inflamed to promote military alliances and war.

The policy of military alliances and war that is misnamed "collective security," means greater armaments and militarism. But greater armaments must necessarily lower the standards of living of our people, because armaments mean a lower production of useful goods and services. And greater militarism means greater reaction, the encouragement of totalitarian forces to suppress civil rights and of authoritarian governments to control the independent organizations of workers and farmers—especially government control of labor unions. Greater armaments and militarism develop the preconditions of fascism.

War Leads To Fascism

And those preconditions of fascism may become fascism itself in the event of war. For war today is completely totalitarian and must be waged by means of authoritarian enslavement of the people. The war "to make the world safe for democracy against fascism" might end in the destruction of democracy and the triumph of fascism.

The struggle for peace means a struggle against war and the forces making for war. Hence the minimum six-point program of the Keep America Out of War Congress:

1. The immediate removal of American troops and marines from belligerent zones and the evacuation of American nationals who, if they stay, stay at their own risk; opposition to every expression of American imperialism.

2. No increase in the army and navy budget; work toward reduction of the present excessive military machine.

3. The democratic right of American citizens to vote on a declaration of war.

with the nations now spending three times as much money on armaments as was spent in 1913.

It was called a war to make the world safe for democracy. Yet today, democracy is in greater danger than it was twenty-five years ago, imperialist reaction is bloodier and more savage, and the new reaction of fascism threatens to engulf the world in barbarism.

Beware of False Pretenses!

The ideals of the World War were false pretenses. Let no false pretenses again ensnare us into war!

It is important to recall the false pretenses of the World War because they are reappearing in the policy of military alliances and war that is misnamed "collective security." The advocates of that policy ask us: But do you deny that security must be collective? We answer: Of course, security must be collective! But war promotes collective insecurity. Your policy is actually one of military alliances, especially with Tory England, the greatest imperialist oppressor in the world today. Your policy moves towards war "to make the world safe for democracy against fascism," as in 1914-18 there was the false pretense of making the world "safe for democracy against militarism."

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(Continued on Page 6)

WORKERS AGE

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Vol. 7 July 9, 1938 No. 28

FIRESIDE CHAT No. 13

THE President's latest "fireside chat" is by and large the same old story but there is a new twist to it that deserves consideration. Mr. Roosevelt again proclaims the traditional New Deal doctrine of preserving the present economic system of private property and private profit thru an "active" governmental policy of "continuing responsibility to meet continuing problems."

The balance-sheet he presents of the work of the Congress that has just adjourned can hardly be considered either candid or enlightening. Not a word about the 30-day filibuster that killed the anti-lynching bill, nor about the cruel mauling of the wage-hour measure, nor about the significant shifts in foreign policy, including the White House-engineered defeat of the LaFollette-Ludlow war-referendum amendment.

In dealing with the "recession," which he no longer objects to having called a "depression," the President drops overboard very much of the "sit-down strike of capital" theory; he now lays the economic decline at the door of both capital and labor, blaming the business and price policies of the former and the alleged "excesses" of the latter.

In the second place, Roosevelt complains about labor's "unwise methods which frightened many well-wishing people." That sounds very much like a New York Sun editorial tracing the depression to the sit-down strike!

Ready as he is to find mistakes elsewhere, it never seems to occur to the President to look closer home. Did not the sudden curtailment of federal spending last year, practically to the vanishing point, have some effect on economic conditions?

The new note struck in the "fireside chat" is political. We need not go into the metaphysical distinction between Mr. Roosevelt as "President of the United States" and Mr. Roosevelt as "head of the Democratic party."

In these words, the President gives open and authoritative expression to the process that has been going on at an accelerated pace in recent years: political differentiation within the national Democratic organization to the point of virtual split, with

THE VOICE OF BRITISH LABOR



AT THE JUNE 23 SYMPOSIUM-DINNER FOR BOB EDWARDS. Reading from left to right: CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN, vice-president of the I.L.L.P.; ALLAN HAYWOOD, New York regional director of the C.I.O.; ROBERT EDWARDS, I.L.P. leader, at the microphone; JAY LOVESTONE, secretary of the I.C.L.L.

Russia Loses Friends

by H. Sterbenz

(We reprint below an article by H. Sterbenz, columnist in the Cleveland Press, appearing in the issue of May 9, 1938.—Editor.)

THE good will enjoyed by the Soviet Union among the workers of the world has fallen to the lowest point since the revolution. The loss of good-will arises from the activities of the Stalin regime. In most quarters, the hopes that were aroused by the new constitution and the new electoral process have been dashed by the dictatorial actions and murderous repressions of the present regime.

The New Deal liberals, entrenched in the vast apparatus of federal agencies, aligned against the old-line conservative Democrats, dominating a number of important state and city machines. Mr. Roosevelt's appeal in his "fireside chat" is a signal and a threat—a signal to the New Deal officialdom to get on the job bringing in the votes; a threat to the anti-New Deal Democrats about the party "purge" to come.

It is even more than that. Insofar as he is addressing the men of "all parties," the President is actually hinting at a political realignment going beyond the present party system in which the really significant line-ups are within the parties rather than between them. But in this new alignment, there is emphatically no place for a labor party, for a class party of, by and for the laboring masses.

The President's "fireside chat" is, in a sense, the official opening of the 1938 campaign. It is certainly not such as to offer much reason for organized labor to continue in its unthinking loyalty to the New Deal.

It is not the purge alone, nor the fact that Stalin has managed to dispose of almost every person who enjoyed any prominence in the days of Lenin, damning enough to this may be. More disturbing than the purge are reports of repressions suffered among workers. In the damnation of Russia, I am not thinking of those supporters of capitalism who have always been the enemies of communism. I am thinking of thousands of real sympathizers, who while not active members of the Communist Party, have wanted communism to succeed, who have looked to it as the instrument of real democracy, who have been patient thru these two decades and have been willing to be patient thru other decades while workers brought this real democracy into being.

I am thinking of workers who have wearied of the long depression, which was not of their own creation, and who have lost hope in Rooseveltian palliative; of workers who have discovered in England, in France and in the United States, how capital can destroy social progress; of workers who rightly fear fascism.

Bad news has been coming from Russia at a sad time. Perhaps it may have weakened the hope that workers can improve their position thru their own efforts or that they can create a society of their own.

It is easy for the communist worker to deride the weakness of those who have become thus discouraged, and to laugh at the fear aroused by the repressive measures of the present regime in the Soviet Union. But, in so doing, he adds nothing to his cause. Those who are to make the workers society must be convinced not only of their ability to gain more than they can get from relief and public works, but also that they are not destroying the freedom that they now have. The promise of a greater freedom to posterity is not enough.

By Lambda

WORLD TODAY

London, June 25, 1938

BY a vote of nearly two to one, the conference of British cooperatives at Scarborough rejected the policy of the People's Front, that is, a so-called "peace alliance" with the Liberals. The vote was 9,382 to 4,492. It will be recalled that the Labor Party recently went on record emphatically against the same policy on the double ground that it would imply the abandonment of the socialist program of the party and it would bring it no immediate advantage of any significance.

CZECH DEVELOPMENTS

THE negotiations between the Prague government and the Sudeten leaders are dragging on behind closed doors. Anglo-French pressure on Prague has become stronger in the direction of greater concessions to Henlein in order to conclude the negotiations as rapidly as possible. At the same time, Hitler-Germany continues its tactics of exhaustion and encirclement against Czechoslovakia.

The municipal elections are over, without having brought any surprises. In the Sudeten region, the Communist Party is practically wiped out and the Social-Democratic Party has only a few remnants left. The Henlein party swept everything before it. Yet it is significant that, in the Asch district, where the Communist Opposition was particularly active and where the local C.P. followed the C.P.O. line, Henlein did not make out nearly as well as in the other parts of the Sudeten region, altho Asch is Henlein's birthplace.

LETTER FROM SWEDEN

(We publish below a section of a report by our special Swedish correspondent, S. Strandberg.—Editor.)

Gothenburg, Sweden, June 1, 1938

LOVESTONE'S speech on the People's Front in America, delivered at the Paris Conference, was very good. It has been published in two installments in Arbetar-Posten, the Socialist Party paper in Gothenburg. (The Socialist Party of Sweden is a left-wing socialist organization associated with the Paris Conference. The right-wing organization is called the Social-Democratic Party of Sweden.—Editor.)

The actions of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. are not much different from those of the Swedish Communist Party. How can they be, being based on the same general line? Hitler's annexation of Austria and his threat to Denmark's Schleswig has stimulated the peculiar Swedish People's Front policy. Now they are agitating for a Northern (Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland) Freedom's Front against war and fascism and for national integrity and glorying that our national frontier today stretches down to Schleswig. There is no doubt but that we have as good patriots (chauvinists) in the "communists" here as you have in the U.S.A. With their support, the social-democratic government has increased the military budget from 120 million to 370 million kronen (\$100,000,000) and more will come as sure as hell. At this session of the Riksdag, the increase was voted without any dissenting vote except by the socialists, the motion being based on "the danger to democracy and national integrity" created by Hitler's annexation of Austria. Meanwhile, this country's social-democratic government is helping the fascists in blockading Loyalist Spain and depriving it of arms and ammunition, of which this country is a big producer. How long the workers of Sweden will stand for this policy is hard to say. But it looks as if they were badly demoralized by social-democratic and the People's Front ideology.

The Socialist Party and the syndicalists are the only ones advocating any direct action. They are now agitating for a boycott on Swedish shipments of iron ore to Germany, which by the way, constitute about 45% of the latter's total iron import and without which Hitler could not supply Franco with war materials, in view of his own needs in that field. Of course, behind this iron-ore agitation lies the aim of widening it into a general boycott and eventually arousing the workers to a general strike (which is the only thing which could force the government to change its present policy), which in its turn might stimulate the workers of other countries, France, England, etc., into action.

BOOKS

THE EVOLUTION OF PHYSICS, by Albert Einstein and Leopold Infeld. Simon and Schuster, New York, 1938. \$2.50.

THAT one of the greatest physicists of all time can at the same time be one of the best popularizers of the leading ideas of his science, is amply proven by this book. Within the scope of 300 pages, in language non-technical and for the most part easily comprehensible, Einstein and his co-worker, Infeld, succeed to a remarkable degree in giving the lay reader an insight into the development of physical ideas and concepts from Newton to Einstein, the problems which necessitated a change in physical theories from time to time, and those as-yet-unresolved problems, to the solution of which contemporary physicists are bending all their efforts.

The Newtonian system was the culmination of the so-called mechanical view in physics. His famous law of gravitation was a majestic generalization of the then known empirical data in the fields of physics and astronomy. Its ideal was to explain all physical phenomena by "the action of forces representing either attraction or repulsion, depending only upon distance and acting between unchangeable particles."

The mechanical view held unchallengeable sway for hundreds of years, until well into the nineteenth century. Then it was found inadequate to explain certain facts in the fields of electromagnetism and light. This led to the emergence of the field theory, whose most famous proponent was the English genius, Maxwell. Newton's action-at-a-distance could not explain certain phenomena in the neighborhood of magnets or electrically charged bodies. The field theory describes the structure of the electromagnetic field. As Einstein says: "All space is the scene of these laws and not, as for mechanical laws, only points in which matter or charges are present."

The further development from the field concept to Einstein's own Theory of Relativity and Planck's Quantum Theory, the leading ideas of these theories, their differences with classical mechanics, can hardly be mentioned within the scope of so short a review. Those who are interested can, with some application, gain a good insight into these matters by a perusal of the book.

One common misconception, however, as to the relation between the Relativity Theory and Newtonian classical mechanics, can be indicated here. Newton's theory of gravitation is not by any means thrown overboard completely. By and large, it is still valid for vast fields of experience. The Relativity Theory rather continues, develops and corrects Newton's theory; it offers a more all-embracing generalization able to overcome certain contradictions that the other could not and to account for new observed facts which could not be explained on the old basis. In this sense, the continuity of physics, its problems and changing theories must be stressed. As Einstein says: "Creating a new theory is not like destroying an old barn and erecting a skyscraper in the place. It is rather like climbing a mountain, gaining new and wider views, discovering unexpected connections between our starting point and its rich environment. But the point from which we started out still exists and can be seen..."

Today, there remain many unsolved problems in the realm of physics, chief among them, perhaps, being the problem as to the nature of light. Sometimes light seems to act like a wave and sometimes like a particle. Physicists today are searching for some even more all-embracing concept

The I.L.P. and British Working Class Unity

(Continued from Page 3)

amination, of softening of principles, no matter with what safeguards or declarations in advance one goes in, is not small. Especially would this be the case if there were any vacillations at all anywhere in the ranks of the I.L.P. as to the anti-proletarian character of the Popular Front. Finally, from a practical point of view, it is scarcely possible. How will you enter if you are opposed to the political prerequisites on which the Popular Front is built? If you express your full political opposition to the basic program, will the other contracting parties allow you in? Will not entrance be possible only on the basis of abandoning your position or pulling your punches somewhere along the line? Assuming, for the sake of argument, that you are allowed in, will you be able to exercise your right of political criticism without finding yourself outside in short shrift? These are not questions multiplied merely for the sake of confusing the issue. They are questions pointing to the exceedingly impractical nature of the proposition.

There remains Brockway's argument of isolation from the masses. This argument is seemingly a persuasive one and ordinarily might be decisive. In this case, however, the question of isolation is a purely academic matter for, as I have shown above, the possibility of admission is slim indeed. In addition, there are times when, in view of the importance of the practical issues involved, a revolutionary party must stand alone and, with its independent criticism, help the masses learn thru their own experience that they have been led off the right track. Such a case is the question under discussion.

No, the revolutionary party can have no truck whatsoever with the Popular Front. It must be absolutely free and untrammelled in its fight against the Popular Front betrayal to the bitter end. That is impossible from within, no matter what the good intentions upon entrance may be.

2. REAFFILIATION TO LABOR PARTY

There were resolutions from a number of branches proposing conditional reaffiliation to the Labor Party—that is, on condition that the I.L.P. be allowed to maintain its independence of organization and agitation in a federated structure. These were withdrawn in favor of a composite resolution introduced by the National Executive. This resolution was carried by a narrow margin, 55 to 49. The resolution empowered the Executive to approach the Labor Party for: (1) united class action on class issues; (2) maximum common action against the Tory government; and (3) exploring the possibilities of securing an electoral understanding. That is as far as the resolution went. Any changes involving a new organizational status of the I.L.P., that is,

which will be able to contain within itself both of these seemingly contradictory aspects. In stressing these problems as well as the continual change in physical theories, Einstein ends the book on a rational level which is a welcome and refreshing contrast to the mystical, idealistic buncombe which certain scientists pretending to be philosophers, have handed out.

Without the belief that it is possible to grasp the reality with our theoretical constructions, without the belief in the inner harmony of our world there could be no science. This belief is and always will remain the fundamental motive for all scientific creation. Will Herberg

News of the AGE

By ROBERT MACKLIN

EMERGED as an agitator many years ago around a protest against bad food—a good grievance as any around which to develop class consciousness. It was in a lumber camp in the Adirondacks. Most of the workers were Indians from a nearby reservation. They were simple and good-humored, and would get along with. How they could stand the food, I couldn't understand. Our daily diet consisted of horribly greasy cold pork or bacon, bread and some hot stuff that was supposed to be coffee. These Indians were illiterate and spoke English quite badly, but there was hardly need of a spoken word to convey my sentiments. Very good-naturedly, they informed the boss that they could be much happier elsewhere where the food was better. Our daily fare improved considerably thereafter. Also, my brief career as a lumberjack was considerably curtailed.

One of the older men we called Chief-One-Eye for obvious reasons. He wore a flat-top felt hat turned up in the front, old college-boy style, and smoked his pipe upside down, rain or shine. He felt that he looked quite dignified and he considered himself a wise man. One Sunday morning, he pointed to the fountain pen in my hand and insisted that I had lots of money. The camp boss made out the pay vouchers with a fountain pen!

Chief-One-Eye's logic brought him to some unusual conclusions. There are, however, tens of millions of literate and intelligent men and women whose logic is far more logical, and on matters that have a vital bearing on their very existence. For example, the illusion that war preparedness is a war preventive; or that "collective security," a fancy term for war alliances, is a guarantee for peace; not to mention the many illusions that exist on workers rights and privileges under capitalist democracy.

However, there is a point nearer home that I am interested in putting across. Most of our friends and sympathizers labor under the belief that the Workers Age has an unending resource just because it has been coming out as a weekly for many years without an interruption. I can assure them all that the Age is put out with great sacrifice on the part of a small portion of our growing circle of readers, and with little fuss.

The Workers Age is not the property of a select few. It belongs to every worker that is interested in building a powerful and progressive labor movement that will end for all time war and exploitation. Perhaps Chief-One-Eye, despite his limited vision, was not so cockeyed when he saw magic in the ability to use the fountain pen. How much real power is there in the printed word of a workers paper. "Once the idea penetrates the masses it becomes power," so said Karl Marx. I know of no more effective instrument for the penetration of workers ideas than the Workers Age. It only needs more of us to back it up.

We need the support of all of

Police Raid CIO Offices

By L. BARTON

New Orleans, La. On Friday, June 24, thirty New Orleans police on "orders from headquarters" raided the C.I.O. offices here and arrested 84 persons, seized union records intended for evidence before a National Labor Relations Board hearing, destroyed other property, and in general did everything possible to damage the C.I.O.

Six of those arrested are women. They were assisting in the C.I.O. organization work and the police are quoted as saying: "We are going to run you out; we don't want you organizing here." The persons arrested were charged with "vagrancy" and "loitering." The arrests are the result of a strike called by the C.I.O. against some local trucking firms. A few days past, there was some shooting on a picket line and two C.I.O. pickets were severely wounded. Manny Moore, an A. F. of L. organizer, has been arrested and charged with the shooting.

At the time of the raid on the C.I.O. headquarters, one Dennis Pope was arrested by police. He is quoted as saying: "They turned me loose when I showed them an A. F. of L. card." Pope has card number 980 issued by the International Longshoremen's Association Local 1419, New Orleans. The card is in Pope's name. Police, when questioned, were unable to recall the incident.

The C.I.O. organized the truck drivers 100% and sent a communication to the trucking firms requesting collective bargaining. The trucking firms at once signed a contract with the A. F. of L. to avoid bona-fide collective bargaining. The A. F. of L. says that there is no strike and that it represents the drivers. The A. F. of L. reported that its men are aiding in making deliveries by trucks that the C.I.O. drivers refuse to take out.

An appeal has been made to Governor Leche of Louisiana and to the U. S. Department of Justice to investigate, and to other federal agencies to protect the C.I.O. men here that are to be used as witnesses before the National Labor Relations Board.

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## Trade Union Notes

By Observer

**WHEN** a local of a C.I.O. union joins the A. F. of L., it is news! But what's behind the news-headlines, is another story. And here is the story of San Francisco Local 34, United Office and Professional Workers Union.

Local 34 was once a banner local of the union. It grew in membership; it conducted a number of big successful strikes against private concerns; it achieved outstanding working conditions for its members. In fact, the local made such headway that it was singled out more than once for glowing praise in the columns of the union paper, the Ledger, and in the publications of the union.

But Local 34 had a progressive, non-Stalinist leadership. And so it necessarily came under the ban of the Stalinist national administration of the union. In his crusade, President Merrill found a natural ally in the Stalinist Bridges clique which has a stranglehold over a number of official C.I.O. bodies on the West Coast. At first, the effort was made to get rid of the local's progressive administration from the inside. Character assassination, trumped-up and unsupported charges, abuse and slander became the order of the day. But all to no avail. The membership had its own ideas and reelected the progressive administration by a big majority.

At the recent U.O.P.W.A. convention at Washington, the San Francisco situation was naturally an issue. Ernest Norback, organizer of Local 34, was delegated by the local to attend the sessions and lay before the delegates the facts of the case. But the Merrill machine not only denied him a seat; it refused even to grant him a voice at the convention!

After the convention, the Stalinist wreckers got down to real business. An ukase suddenly came from the General Executive Board ordering all warehouse office workers, the majority of Local 34 members, into Harry Bridges's longshoremen's union and "reorganizing" the remnants of Local 34! And, to add insult to injury, the local was informed that it could appeal against this decision—to the convention two years hence!

Such crude, high-handed bureaucracy would shame even a Hutcheson. The effects could easily have been foreseen. The membership of Local 34 would not consent to have their promising organization smashed and the only way out they saw was to join the A. F. of L. And that is what they did!

Of course, we all deplore the fact that the Local 34 membership found it necessary to leave the ranks of the C.I.O. but the responsibility for driving them out rests squarely on the shoulders of the Stalinist clique in the U.O.P.W.A. and on the West Coast.

Stalinism, with its filthy politics of "rule or ruin," is the worst enemy of the C.I.O., the most sinister menace in the ranks of the labor movement. Wherever it operates, it creates hostility to the C.I.O. from every direction. It leads to dissension and splits. It spreads ruin all around. Fortunately, Stalinist influence is visibly on the decline and it will not be long, let us hope, before the labor movement will be rid of this pestilence.

### PAINTERS ELECTIONS

By the slim majority of 615 votes, out of nearly 7,000, the Stalinist-dominated slate triumphed in last week's elections in New York Painters District Council 9. Because of the elimination of Weinstock, the Stalinist candidate was a person by the name of Ghidoni. He received 3,762 votes, or 54%, as against 3,147 votes, or 46%, for L. J. Stevens, the opposition candidate. Considering the practically unchallenged stranglehold that the Stalinists have hitherto had over District Council 9, this vote must be regarded as a big advance for the anti-Stalinist opposition.

In a statement issued the day after the elections, Louis Weinstock and Albert Ghidoni declare: "The results of the elections show that the membership at large is opposed to fascism and reaction." If we take Weinstock's word for it as to what the election issue was, we must conclude that fully 46% of the painters are in favor of "fascism and reaction"! Fortunately, the issue was quite different: the Stalinist death-grip over the painters union. And the fight has just begun!

### DECISIVE EVIDENCE

A few weeks ago, the National Association of Manufacturers conducted its own survey of 6,000 employees of manufacturing plants thruout the country. Considering the auspices, very little could be expected of such a survey. Yet one significant finding does emerge.

To the question, "Should labor have a political party of its own?", the interviewed workers answered: no, 55.3%; yes, 32.4%; and uncertain, 12.3%. Approximately the same answers were given to the question, "Would a farmer-labor party be desirable?"

A poll conducted by a manufacturers association, with all dice loaded, finds that one-third of the workers thruout the country want an independent labor party! What better evidence do we need of the vast sweep of the labor-party idea among the masses in recent years?

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# War and Armaments

(Continued from Page 3)

4. Abandonment of all existing plans for industrial mobilization and defeat of all new plans for universal conscription and regimentation, thus warning our militarists that the American people will not tolerate American participation in war abroad and war dictatorship at home.

5. No alliance or joint action with any nation or group of nations for war, or which is likely to lead to war, declared or undeclared, under any name or any pretext.

6. At home, concentration on the struggle against injustice, unemployment, bad housing and poverty, and a determination by means of that struggle to seek out prosperity rather than to find it in war trade. Abroad, increasing solidarity with the people of all nations in the struggle to abolish economic injustice and colonial oppression, and to remove the causes of dictatorial militarism.

In accordance with that final expression of international solidarity the Keep America Out of War Congress condemned the one-sided arms embargo on Loyalist Spain because this embargo favors the feudal military and fascist hordes of General Franco. The Labor Commission of the Congress, representing one-third of the delegates, demanded immediate lifting of the embargo on Loyalist Spain.

### War And Economic Injustice

The struggle against economic injustice and unemployment and for constructive economic action is crucial in the struggle for peace. Because today it is the economic crisis that drives toward war and fascism. The fascist nations, dominated by reactionary interests, are trying to "solve" the crisis by means of rearmament, imperialism and war, and are thus making the crisis worse. They are providing work by means of a system of armament economics, which gears

economic activity to the reactionary and destructive purposes of war, instead of concentrating upon a peaceful solution. Fascism inflames imperialism, while the older imperialism moves toward fascism.

That system of armament economics is becoming dominant in the imperialist "democratic" nations, England and France, and its beginnings are apparent in our own country.

The struggle for peace demands a struggle against the system of armament economics. We must use our economic resources and labor for peaceful economic and social betterment. We must build houses, improve farm lands, create new highways, reinvigorate economic activity and employment for the purpose of making our country a finer place in which to live. We must mobilize the progressive forces of labor and the forces of all progressive groups to realize that program and the social-economic and governmental rearrangements that may be necessary.

### Danger Of Armaments Economics

And, along with that struggle for peaceful economic and social betterment, must go a struggle for peaceful world economic cooperation.

The American people must act to deny American munitions and American materials for munitions to all the arming nations. It is a scandal that American corporations are arming Japan, for example, while calling upon the American people to arm against the very Japanese menace they are helping to create.

The American people must make it clear to all nations that we are prepared to use our enormous economic resources in a program of peaceful world cooperation, on the condition, however, that those resources shall be used for the constructive purpose of peace and not for the destructive purposes of war. But that presupposes that the American people force the government to abandon militarist preparations and imperialist objectives.

The struggle against war is a crusade for peace and the works of peace. We must tread the road to peace clear-eyed and unafraid, uninfluenced by prejudices and false pretenses, resolved to tie up inseparably the struggle against war with the struggle for economic justice and reconstruction.

(These paragraphs constitute the radio address delivered by Lewis Corey over WEVD on June 16 in a debate with Dr. Harry F. Ward.—Ed.)

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## Plan Struggle In Knitgoods

Several hundred knitgoods shop chairmen, at a conference held at Unity House, the summer camp of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union the week-end of June 24, enthusiastically received a report of Louis Nelson, manager of the Knitgoods Workers Union, that the union was ready to negotiate with the employers for signing a new agreement but that, if necessary, the union was prepared to declare a general strike. This conference was part of the union's preparations for July 15, the date of the expiration of the present agreement.

In addition to the New York shop chairmen, there was present a group of thirty knitgoods shop chairmen from the Philadelphia knitgoods local who came to demonstrate their solidarity with the New York local and to show their appreciation of the help given them in the past by the New York Union.

Also present at the conference were representatives of other unions and Charles S. Zimmerman, vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U. and manager of Dressmakers Union Local 22.

A telegram was received from David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U., pledging the full moral and financial support of the I.L.G.W.U. to the Knitgoods Workers Union in the event of a general strike.

The conference was an inspiring success. It demonstrated the confidence of the workers and their support of the union. The shop chairmen left the conference with a strengthened determination to go back to their shops and carry on their activities.

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