

NEXT WEEK:
JIM CROW IN THE
SCHOOL ROOM

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

THE ARMY MOVES IN

COLONEL Edwin M. Watson, who has been military aide to the President for about six years, was recently appointed a brigadier-general. Very soon after attaining this higher rank, he will retire to replace James Roosevelt as one of the President's secretaries.

This appointment bears significant implications. Obviously, Roosevelt is utilizing every possible opportunity to demonstrate to the Senate and to the country as a whole that his constitutional power to make appointments cannot be tampered with by law. He is making a grand gesture to remind his friends that he appreciates by hand as well as in heart loyalty to him as "chief." But even more important is the point brought home by the Army and Navy Journal. In commenting editorially on this appointment, this paper characterizes it as "an honor which as far as we know has never before been tendered to an officer of the army and navy. Yet, it is an entirely proper assignment, since General Washington, General Grant, General Sherman, General Sheridan and General Pershing, each was provided with a military secretary . . ."

So it is in the spirit of "General" Roosevelt that we are to consider this award! Yes, indeed! In the same spirit, Colonel Harrington was put in charge of the W.P.A. More and more, military men and military ideas are coming to the fore as the paragons and yardsticks. Really, the country has for decades not had a president as military-minded as F. D. R. is.

And fully in line with this whole approach is the noise now being made in Congress via the joint resolution of Senators Lodge and McNary seeking the payment of the World War debts "thru the delivery of essential war material not available in this country and the transfer of colonial possessions which would be of strategic value to us."

Well, well! What is the world coming to? Is the United States going to proclaim itself a "have-not" nation? Is it going to make demands, gentle though they be in form, upon the leading "have" nations, Great Britain and France? In the present weird world situation, nothing can be too strange for international politics.

THE STUDENTS LEARN

OUR readers will be interested to learn the findings of an experiment conducted in two psychology classes at George Washington University in the nation's capital. The students examined on current events and problems came from a representative middle-class section of the population. They were given a questionnaire bearing twenty-four names of persons and organizations, half of which were given honorable or dishonorable mention in the Dies "inquiry." All the students had to do was to tell whether they approved, disapproved or were in doubt about these individuals or organizations. A month later, one class was given press excerpts about the Dies Committee hearings, quotations from Roosevelt, Ickes and other speeches criticizing the Dies "inquiry." Immediately after this, the identical questionnaire was again offered to the students.

A comparison of the two sets of replies is revealing. The much-Stalinized New Republic confesses that "the result of all the testimony involving the communists, as well as a statement by Earl Browder, was a drop in the approval which was manifested toward the Communist Party; exactly half of the support for it was withdrawn . . ." And, lest anyone think that this revision generated by Communist Party propaganda was due to the conservative character of the students quizzed, let me call upon this pro-Browder organ which admits that "Dies himself was not popular with the students at the time of the first questionnaire, and his popularity was even less after the newspaper stories had been read."

More than that, the Communist Party's privately-owned contraption operating as the "American League for Peace and Democracy" received approval from 58%, disapproval from only 8%, and a doubtful attitude from 34% of the students. Here we must pay further tribute to the capacity of these students to recognize the essentially identical in the realm of patriotism and chauvinism. It is no accident that 70% of them simultaneously approved the American Legion and 83% of them approved the United States Chamber of Commerce.

Yes! Our American student body is developing a sense of judgment, discrimination and differentiation. And differentiation still is the beginning of wisdom and learning for all—students not excluded.

STRAWS OF IRON AND GOLD

THE movements of American warships, the not always known to the general public, are always accurate indicators of American foreign policy that should be known. Hence, we hasten to draw labor's attention to a few of these recent "peaceful" movements.

The destroyer John D. Edwards has put in some time at Hainan—an island occupying a strategic position in relation to Hong Kong, Singapore and French Indo-China with its naval base at Saigon. In this connection, we must not overlook Manila and "our" Philippines.

And the cruiser Omaha and destroyers Badger and Jacob Jones (commanded by Rear Admiral Henry E. Lackey) have about the same time paid a "courtesy" visit to Corsica.

Such visits "to help missionaries" and to shower "courtesies" may be old preludes to war but today they are straws of iron in the hurricane.

Add to this the ever more huge influx of foreign gold swelling the dollar reserves of other governments here. Such gold, held in New York under earmark, is the largest on record—even exclusive of the vast amount of Japanese yellow metal stored in San Francisco. A substantial portion of this gold has fled from London (since the New Year nearly 200 million from the City itself), Holland and Sweden. In short, a minimum of a billion dollars reserve has been accumulated by foreign central banks and governments as a protection against conditions abroad.

These movements of American destroyers and European gold dollars are, however, more than indices of the tormenting uncertainty gripping a war-ridden world. Here we also deal with a source of virulent economic infection. For one reason or another, the earmarked foreign gold of today may suddenly be rushed back to Europe and there tomorrow serve to disturb and disrupt financial life on this side of the Atlantic and provide countless additional hardships for those dependent on the dollar-dictators for the chance to earn even the most inadequate wage.

From foundation to apex, the capitalist economic system is buried in speculation and suspicion. More and more, it can rise to no higher level than monuments to "unknown soldiers" and wooden crosses to millions criminally misled.

N. Y. Assembly Kills Equality Measures

Committee Rejects Bills to Outlaw Bias

Albany, N. Y.

The Assembly Judiciary Committee killed four anti-racial discrimination bills last week, following a public hearing on the measures held jointly by the Assembly and Senate Judiciary Committees.

The measures were the Breitbart-Esquirel bill making it unlawful for public utilities to refuse to employ any person on account of race, creed or color; a bill aimed against similar discrimination on relief; the Holley bill voiding contracts if discrimination has been practiced; and a bill which would prohibit discrimination in renting or leasing of residences.

At the hearing, conducted in the Senate chamber, unanimous approval of the four measures was expressed by representatives of veterans, religious and social organizations.

These measures had been intro-

duced in order to implement the report on racial discrimination presented to the Legislature some weeks ago by a special committee as a result of a thorough investigation of conditions in the state.

Significant Line-Up

"The liberals, among them Lloyd George and Sinclair, the official leader of the Liberal party, favor the Cripps plan (of forming a Popular Front in England, with the Labor Party in it.—Editor) to a man. The Communist Party has endorsed it also. Worthy of note is the fact that considerable support has come from a number of members of the National Liberal party, which is part and parcel of Chamberlain's National government."—New York Post, March 13, 1939.

Czecho-Slovakia Annexed by Nazis

Two Puppet States Set Up Under Reich Domain; Troops Hold Land

The post-Munich republic of Czecho-Slovakia collapsed last week as it was broken up into two puppet states, both under direct control from Berlin and occupied by invading German troops.

The crisis was brought to a head thru the activities of Slovakian reactionaries under the direction of the Nazis. Separatist intrigues of these elements, headed by Premier Tiso, were resisted by the authorities in Prague and this gave Hitler the opportunity to act. A secret ultimatum was dispatched to Prague demanding the separation of Slovakia and the complete subjection of the Czech state to Germany. President Hacha of Czecho-Slovakia submitted. He sped to Berlin to learn Hitler's orders. On his return, he summoned the Slovakian diet, which promptly declared the "independence" of the country, under German "protection," and elected Joseph Tiso President. From Berlin, it was announced that had been decided to "take the Czech people under the protection of the German Reich." Hitler immediately appointed German civil and military governors for the new territory and issued orders for Reich troops to march in and take control. Thus the break-up of Czecho-Slovakia led to the formation of two German puppet states, Czechia (Bohemia and Moravia) and Slovakia, both existing by the grace of Adolf Hitler.

As the German troops marched into Prague, the masses of the people crowding the streets were openly defiant and helpless. The national anthem was sung, expressions of derision and hatred flung at the invaders and the tanks pelted with snowballs. Adolf Hitler was forced to postpone his public appearance in Prague.

In the Carpatho-Ukraine, the easternmost tip of former Czecho-Slovakia, the situation was extremely tense. German and Hungarian (Continued on Page 2)

Another "Munich"

LONDON financial circles look for a new "war crisis," like that of last September, to break within the next few weeks. . . . It will prepare the stage for the second "Munich"—this one at the expense of France or Holland in favor of Italy or Germany. . . .

"The campaign to make Switzerland a second Czecho-Slovakia is already under way. . . . It started with Italy's sudden campaign for the 'Sudeten' Italians in southern Switzerland. . . . Hitler's plan is to threaten military action to help Mussolini 'save' the Swiss Italians. . . . The next step will be for Chamberlain to repeat his 'appeasement' act. . . . This general 'appeasement' will also 'redeem' the Swiss Germans."—Walter Winchell, March 17, 1939.

Stalin Indicates Reich Alliance

Declares No Ground for War With Nazis; C.I. "Turn" Expected

A sharp turn in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, leading to a parallel turn in the "line" of the Communist International, was clearly foreshadowed last week in the address of Joseph Stalin at the eighteenth congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held at Moscow.

RAPPROCHEMENT WITH GERMANY

The main burden of Stalin's report was a slashing attack upon England and France whom he accused of en-

couraging "fascist aggressors," particularly Germany, with the object of "bribing" them to launch a war against the Soviet Union rather than turn to the West. But Germany was now disappointing the Anglo-French diplomats, Stalin maintained, for, in place of moving against the Soviet Union, it was directing its offensive westwards, pressing for further "concessions" from the "democratic" powers. "As a matter of fact," the Soviet dictator declared with obvious satisfaction, "the Germans have annoyed some of those who hoped for a Russo-German war to such an extent that they are beginning to unmask the real purposes of their policy. They flatly write in black and white that the Germans have bitterly disappointed them. Instead of moving farther East against the Soviet Union, they (the Germans) turn westward and demand colonies for themselves."

Stalin placed special stress on the point that a war between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia would be "without any real basis" and that there was every reason for "friendly relations" between these two powers. His speech, newspaper correspondents declared, was strikingly reminiscent of his well-known address in 1934 in which he plainly indicated the possibility of a Russo-German "understanding." At that time, this orientation did not lead to any concrete results, primarily because Hitler had other plans. For the last year, however, there have been persistent indications of the breakdown of the "democratic-front" policy that Russia has followed since 1935 and of a distinct shift towards a Soviet-Nazi rapprochement. Indeed, there have been reports from authoritative sources that actual negotiations have been under way for some time.

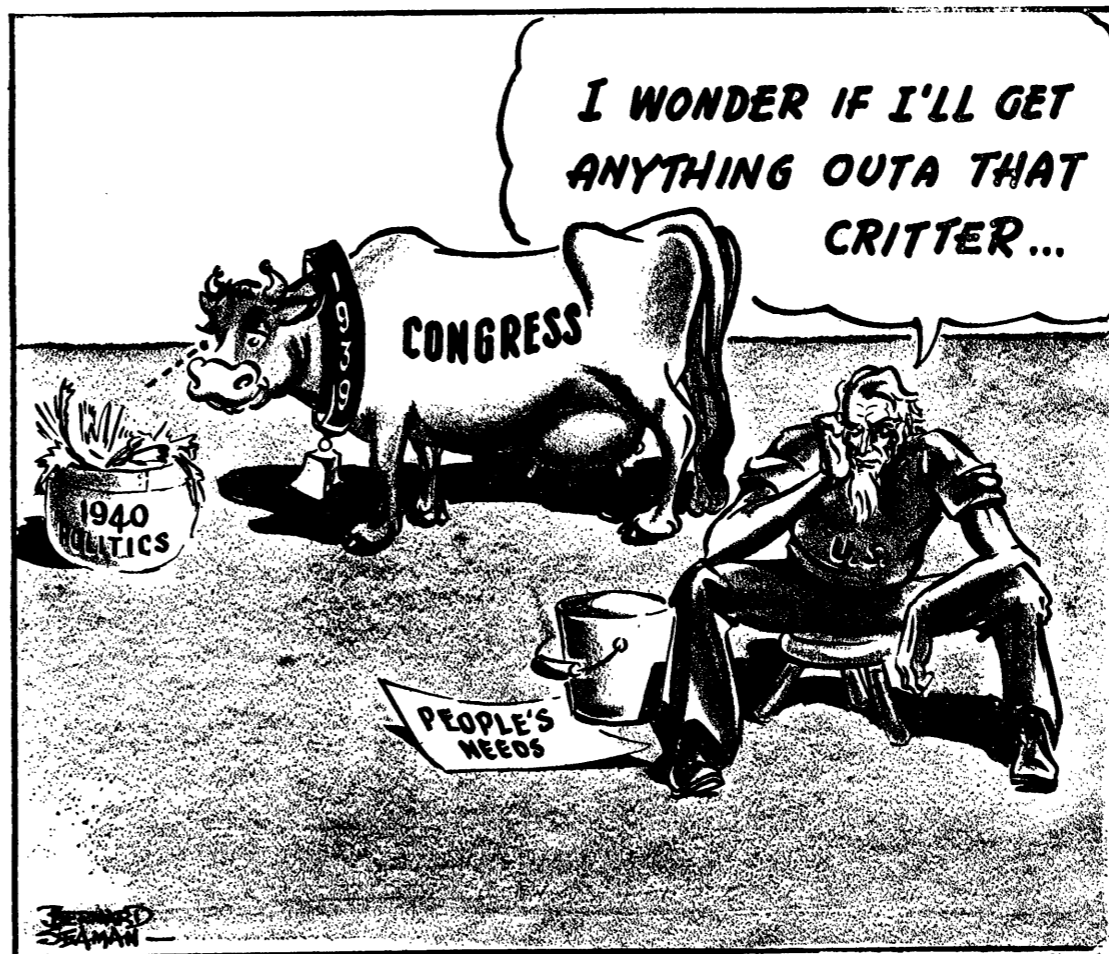
Everything Stalin said at the C.P. S.U. congress last week strongly confirmed these reports. His emphasis on the lack of any real basis (Continued on Page 3)

a pitch here that Jerome Frank and his "Save America First" contingent in the New Deal are greatly disturbed. There is a well-founded rumor that he threatens to resign from the S.E.C. Highly confidential reports from the meeting of the Senate Military Affairs Committee with the President and from visitors who have seen him within the last two days give the impression that Mr. Roosevelt is convinced that war is near and that he is not averse to involving the United States in it. It will be done, if it is done, on the basis of "protecting our interests" and "preserving democracy." This is the way the F.D.R. argument goes: War is certain before 1944. When it comes, the United States will be drawn in. Big business is trying to prevail upon Chamberlain-Daladier and Co. to postpone war, at any cost, until this axis gets its man in the White House. Given these presuppositions, why should not war be waged now by a government which is liberal, progressive and a genuine defender of democracy?

CLASH OF "LINES" IN NEW DEAL

The Federal Trades Commission and Thurman Arnold of the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of (Continued on Page 2)

DRY SPELL AHEAD



Prepare Dual UAW Confab

Withdraw Expulsion of Locals At Martin Meet

Detroit, Mich. The previously announced threat of the C.I.O. to immediately expel all local unions attending the March 4 convention of the U.A.W. in Detroit, has failed to materialize. The Thomas faction has announced that a "last chance" is being given these "misled" locals to come back to the Cleveland convention by "reconsidering their action in good faith." The immediate basis for this decision, according to Thomas sources, is the application of several locals which had attended the Detroit convention, for permission to participate in the Cleveland convention. For this reason also, the date of acceptance of credentials has been extended by the Thomas group.

Martin sources, however, point out that the decision is prompted by the small number of local unions which have registered for attendance in Cleveland.

The Thomas faction has also issued instructions to all local unions ordering the expulsion of all members who went as delegates to the Detroit convention. Several lo (Continued on Page 2)

Peace Rally On April 6

Knutson, Rankin, Wolfe And Thomas To Speak

To honor the Congressmen who had the courage and the vision to vote against the declaration of war on April 6, 1917, anti-war forces in New York will hold a meeting at Manhattan Center, 34th Street and Eighth Avenue on the anniversary of the war vote, Thursday, April 6. Arranged jointly by the Keep America Out of War Congress, Labor Anti-War Council and the Youth Committee Against War, the meeting will not only pay tribute to those who resisted the terrific pressure of the war-mongers of those days but will also be a demonstration against the present drift to war.

Among the speakers will be two Congressmen who stood firm in 1917, Jeanette Rankin, first Congresswoman to sit in the House, and Representative Harold Knutson of Minnesota, the only member left in the House who belongs to the honor roll.

Other speakers scheduled to address the meeting are Quincy Howe, author; Dr. Israel Knox, youth director; Joseph Schlossberg; Norman Thomas and Bertram D. Wolfe. McAlister Coleman will be the chairman.

Labor Peace Talks Go On

Agree To Resume Parley Where Left Off In 1937

New York City Peace talks between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. were continued last week in New York in three sessions and then adjourned to resume again at Washington within ten days, on March 24. The general drift of the discussions was reported to be rather favorable, although no definite results were achieved.

The New York sessions opened with the A. F. of L. presenting its proposal as to how the unity negotiations could best be conducted. In essence, this proposal was that present discussions begin where the unity discussions of December 1937 had left off and proceed along the same lines—agreeing on certain fields where the A. F. of L. would be ready to admit the existing C.I.O. unions with full industrial charters, and then isolating those other fields in which there was jurisdictional conflict or overlapping for special efforts at adjustment, perhaps involving mediation or arbitration.

The A. F. of L. plan was based on the view that there were no obstacles to the return to the Federation of the "original" C.I.O. unions (mine, men's and women's clothing, auto, steel, oil, etc.) but that special adjustment was necessary in the case of some twenty "new" C.I.O. unions that are, to a greater or lesser degree, dual to or in conflict with affiliates of the A. F. of L.

Altho John L. Lewis had peremptorily rejected this plan in 1937, the C.I.O. negotiators expressed themselves ready to consider it last week. This was felt to be a favorable sign for the outcome of the negotiations.

On the other hand, new difficulties arose as soon as the negotiators got down to concrete discussion. The C.I.O. spokesmen pointed out that some of the "original" C.I.O. unions, which the A. F. of L. was ready to take back without further argument, had considerably enlarged their

Jackson Presidential Boom Under Way

Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter

By FRANK HOWARD

If this paper were a daily and this letter appeared in each issue, I might be able to give the kind of hot-off-the-press news which Walter Winchell provides for his public. Inasmuch as only general trends can be outlined here, I urge you to read Winchell's column (in the Daily Mirror in New York.—Editor.) for information on WHO will be appointed to WHAT. He is the best informed columnist in the country

jurisdictions since they had left the Federation. The U.M.W., for example, has taken in chemical workers who make by-products of coal and other groups of coal-processing workers. A somewhat similar situation exists with regard to the steel and auto fields. The problem was whether the readiness of the A. F. of L. to take back the "original" C.I.O. unions would cover their expanded jurisdictions. This problem was still under discussion when the conferences adjourned last week.

A special session of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. was called for Wednesday, March 22, to consider this and other questions.

While the conferences were still under way, it became known—as already indicated in this paper—that Mr. Roosevelt had used the "big stick" at the first session of the joint peace committee in Washington. The President is reported to have emphasized that, unless some sort of peace was forthcoming, he would have to take action himself. This was interpreted to mean an appeal to the rank and file over the heads of the leaders. President Roosevelt also warned that failure to achieve peace would result in "dangerous" consequences for the labor movement, by which regulatory legislation was probably meant.

on Washington factual developments. Don't expect to learn much from his political editorializing. He has just discovered the Bill of Rights and is like a one-year old with his cooing and yelping. But he does have an inside track in the camp of the White House advisers. Last Monday, he reported that Jackson was the left New Dealer choice for President in 1940 and Winchell is correct. The boom is growing daily. If W.R. comes, of course, it will be F.D.R. The question: Will the Jackson boom and F.D.R.'s "big stick," used in its behalf, split the Democratic party?

W. W. also reported Douglas is A-1 man for the Supreme Court vacancy. Watch and see if he is right. The war fever has reached such

★
THURSDAY
March 23, 8 P.M.
★
ADMISSION 15c
★

★
SPAIN
Speaker:
Bertram D. Wolfe
★
CHAIRMAN: MINNIE LURYE
★

★
MANHATTAN CENTER
(Gold Room)
34th St. & 8th Avenue
★

N. J. Negroes Suffer Discrimination

Wide Prejudice in Employment Revealed

Trenton, N. J. Heavy inequalities under which the urban Negroes in New Jersey suffer were outlined last week at the final meeting here of the State Commission to Study Economic, Cultural, Health and Living Conditions Among the Urban Negro Population.

The commission found that Negroes do not enjoy the same facilities and opportunities as are available to other residents of the state. Big inequalities were found to exist in opportunities for employment and education for the nearly 200,000 Negroes in New Jersey.

The findings of the commission were listed as follows: "Negroes are generally restricted in private employment to unskilled and semi-skilled occupations regardless of their ability or desire to do other work. "Because of this restriction, the income of Negro workers has been especially hard hit by unemployment and loss of wages. "Because of a severe rate of unemployment and long confinement to low-paid jobs, Negro families generally suffer from extremely low incomes. "In addition to the burden of low

income, residential segregation imposes additional suffering upon the Negro population.

"Low income and poor housing conditions together with restriction of opportunity and blighting of ambition combine to produce in Negro neighborhoods a high rate of ill health, delinquency and crime.

"The attempts of Negro families to train their children properly are hampered by unequal educational opportunities especially manifested in many of the separate schools established for Negroes in southern counties of the state.

"Attempts of Negro family heads to provide security for their families in event of death, illness or accident are made more difficult by discriminatory policies practiced against Negroes by insurance companies.

"Efforts of the Negro community to maintain proper standards of health meet with inadequate support from public and private health agencies.

"Equal opportunity in civil service employment, in W.P.A. work and in non-competitive state, county and municipal employment is denied to Negro workers."

Greek Fur Leader Beats C.P. Frame-Up

Appeals to Workers to Oust Gold Clique

New York City
 IN August 1937, Charles Soulonias was expelled from the Greek Fur Workers Local 70. His expulsion was based upon charges brought against him by John Vafiades, manager of Local 70, and Irving Potash, Stalinist manager of the Joint Council Furriers Union. Soulonias was accused of being a "racketeer," "extortioner" and "spy."

All of these charges have now been officially withdrawn by his accusers. The Executive Board of Local 70, admitting the injustice done to Soulonias, has decided to reinstate him into the ranks of the union with dues paid by Local 70 up to January 1, 1939. As a result of this settlement, Soulonias has withdrawn all court actions against Ben Gold, Irving Potash, John Vafiades, etc., for libel and slander.

However, as a militant, progressive worker, Soulonias is determined to continue the struggle within the union against the corrupt and reactionary leadership saddled on the fur workers. Immediately upon reinstatement, he issued a statement in leaflet form, sections from which we reprint below.

STATEMENT OF SOULONIAS

"As it is already known, the Executive Board of Local 70 was compelled to reinstate me in the ranks of the union, from which I was expelled in August 1937 on framed charges. . . .

"Altho I do not consider this an adequate punishment for them, I accepted it as a compromise because, having the interests of our union at heart, I did not wish to give them an opportunity to squander its treasury under the pretext of 'legal expenses.' . . .

"Fur workers: This victory is not mine alone. It is your victory as well. It is our victory, the victory of trade-union democracy and working-class decency over the vicious bureaucracy which took hold of our union and now rules it by terrorism and satrapism. . . .

"This victory, however, could not be secured without the active moral and material help of a group of fellow-workers in Local 70, who waged a persistent and courageous fight against the fascist methods of the Stalinist leadership in our union. . . .

"These and other similar events in Local 70 are not accidental. They are the product of the policies and tactics of the bureaucratic leadership in the International Union. The present leadership of Local 70 is the product of the despotic frame-up against its former administration and the result of the oppression and terror against the Greek fur workers which accompanied that frame-up. It has cost the treasury of our union thousands of dollars. . . .

"How did Gold, Potash and Vafiades justify these expenditures in the books of the union? How are many more such items justified? We, the union members, do not know. Demand an accounting! You have the right to know! . . .

"Such questions are not the only ones we have to consider in dealing with the Stalinist bureaucrats. There are other and graver questions that need to be explained. These 'militant leaders of the working-classes,' in order to bring their dark schemes to a successful conclusion, did not hesitate to cooperate and ally themselves with certain of the manufacturers and contractors, such as L. Loucas, A. Apostolides, etc. They gave them concessions. They even

gave them promises that they would not annoy them by union interference in their business. It is a known fact that with at least one Greek contractor they signed an agreement, recognizing him as a manufacturer because he helped them in their frame-up against me. . . .

LEADERS OF LOCAL 70 DECLARED UNFIT

"In order to better judge the present situation in our organization, in order to better understand the quality of leadership that is imposed upon the Greek fur workers, I charge publicly and with full responsibility as to the truth of these charges, that: . . .

"1. The manager of Local 70, John Vafiades, is a former strike-breaker—a scab. The same Vafiades, in order to avoid a fine imposed upon him by the union after the strike of 1926, joined the Communist Party of which he became an organizer in various localities until the end of 1935, when he was called by Gold and Potash to the management of Local 70. . . .

"2. He received his union book in October 1935, illegally and against the rules of the union, under the assumed name of 'John Burns.' . . .

"3. He was elevated illegally and unconstitutionally to the management of our Local 70, after the ousting—by another frame-up of J. Apostole's administration in the local. As if this was not enough, he was afterwards designated (and elected) as one of the vice-presidents of our International at the Chicago convention, also illegally and unconstitutionally. His only qualification is that he is a trusted Communist Party member. . . .

"4. The position to which he was elevated without any qualifications whatever and thanks only to the Communist Party apparatus turned his head and made him dizzy with power. He became a little Hitler in Local 70, forcing the workers to acquiesce passively to all the scandals and anti-union acts of his little clique, under threats that if they didn't submit they might lose their jobs in the Joint Council shops and even their membership books. . . .

"5. In order to retain their leadership, Vafiades and his clique issued scores of membership books to various 'comrades' and 'sympathizers' who never were furriers before, while hundreds of old union members were unemployed. By this means they were able to win the last election. The scandals in these elections, by the way, were an outstanding example of Stalinist 'democracy' in our union. . . .

"6. Being a dictator of Local 70, Vafiades does not consider it 'dignified' to report to the membership the financial affairs of the union and how its money is disposed of. At the expense of the union, he is keeping under one pretext or another a number of parasites who are in reality his lieutenants and compose the 'G.P.U.' of Local 70. Under his management, the local is in the throes of bankruptcy, despite the fact that thousands of dollars in dues, taxes, fines and other impositions have been collected from the members, besides the sum of \$7,000 which was left in the treasury by the previous administration. . . .

"7. Imitating his superiors of the Joint Council and under the excuse of trying to split the Greek manufacturers association, this puppet who manages Local 70, cooperates with a group of Greek manufacturers, allowing them to pay their workers below scale, to work them overtime, to keep contracting shops, and in general to violate the union agreement. . . .

"8. In order to secure jobs for his followers and members of the Communist Party, he consents to the violation of the same agreement by the manufacturers. . . .

GOLD AND POTASH RESPONSIBLE

"The present leadership of Local 70, supported by Gold and Potash, has brought it to the verge of bankruptcy and dissolution. Instead of unity among the Greek fur workers, these worthless and traitorous 'leaders' have spread dissension and hatred. There is only one way out of the present situation. . . .

"This leadership should be immediately removed and tried by the membership of the union in accordance with its constitution and made to answer for all their illegal and anti-labor acts. . . .

"Fellow workers! Before you and the entire labor movement, I accuse the leaders of Local 70 and their patrons, 'Comrades' Ben Gold and Irving Potash, for their frame-up and anti-labor acts. . . .

"Greek fur workers! Our union, Local 70, is in danger! Save it before it is too late, by removing from its administration John Vafiades and his clique."

LABOR LEADERS DISCUSS PEACE



Representatives of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. as they met in Washington to resume unity negotiations. Left to right, seated: Philip Murray (C.I.O.), John L. Lewis (C.I.O.), Harry Bates (A.F.L.), Daniel Tobin (A.F.L.). Standing: Sidney Hillman (C.I.O.), Matthew Woll (A.F.L.), Thomas A. Rickert (A.F.L.).

Unspeakable Vileness

VILENESS is only too common in politics these days and it would be to little purpose for us to raise our voice in protest every time we encounter it in our daily struggle. But on occasion there appear examples of political vileness so unspeakably base, so utterly depraved, that it is impossible to keep silent. Here is the story.

IN the February 4 issue of this paper, in a memorial article on Lenin entitled "The Universal and the Russian in Lenin," M. S. Mautner, a member of the editorial staff, wrote the following:

"In the short fifteen years since Lenin the man died, his work has suffered untold outrage at the hands of his self-styled followers. Both the Soviet Union and the Communist International have undergone such transformation in goal, structure and philosophy that, among wide sections of the labor movement, all of the original teachings and practices of V. I. Lenin have been cast into disrepute. . . .

"Now these notes are not intended to counter such an attitude with unquestioning and dogmatic assertion of perfection. That Catholic pretension to infallibility, which has cursed the revolutionary movement so long and made impossible the flourishing of the true Marxist spirit of scientific inquiry and analysis, is fortunately foreign to our ideas. What we need is a discussion of the problem in line with the spirit of critical reevaluation that has been permeating the international labor movement during the past five years or so."

From this quotation, which we have purposely given at length, it is clear that the phrase "Catholic pretension to infallibility" could not by any stretch of the imagination be interpreted as aimed at the religious faith of the Catholics—albeit criticism of the theories or practices of any church is certainly no crime in this country. As a matter of fact, whatever criticism was implied was specifically directed against the revolutionary movement of the past. But it would be an insult to our readers to belabor this obvious point. . . .

Let us now turn to the March 11 issue of the United Automobile Workers of America, sponsored by the C.I.O. At the bottom of page 3, there is a sensational display, showing the masthead of the Workers Age with the names of Jay Lovestone and M. S. Mautner following each other on the Editorial Board, and a cut-of the opening paragraphs of M. S. Mautner's article quoted above. In heavy black pencil, the phrase

"Catholic pretension to infallibility" is circled. And below it all is the following editorial statement:

"The official paper of the Lovestone communists is Workers Age, shown above, with Lovestone's name on the masthead. On the same page is an article by another Lovestone official, sneering at a doctrine of the Catholic Church."

WHAT words are fit to describe this performance? Deliberately, in cold-blooded malice, the people at the head of the split-off U.A.W. are attempting to raise a RELIGIOUS ISSUE in their struggle for control. With carefully calculated demagoguery, they are trying to arouse the Catholic workers in the automobile industry on RELIGIOUS GROUNDS against the bona-fide U.A.W. and against the "Lovestoneites," because the "Lovestoneites" have been in the forefront in the fight to build the U.A.W. and preserve its autonomy. . . .

People who today are ready to play with the fire of religious prejudice, to stir up religious hatreds, in order to promote their narrow partisan ends, have no place in labor's ranks. They are a menace to everything that is sincere and progressive in the labor movement. They are blood-brothers under the skin to the Goebbels and the Streichers, to that whole mad crew of pogrom-mongers running wild in Europe today. They are not fit for the society of decent men and women. . . .

What do John L. Lewis and Sidney Hillman think of their agents in the U.A.W.? Do they approve of such tactics? Will they keep silent? Of the Stalinists, who are really running the show in the split-off U.A.W., it is not necessary to speak. Vileness is their nature; near-fascist demagoguery their ordinary stock-in-trade. Of them nothing better is to be expected. . . .

But how about the socialists? On the board of the split-off U.A.W., there are a number of socialists, one of them at least, Walter Reuther, of some prominence. The editor of the paper in which appears this filthy effort to stir up religious hatreds to make political capital is EDWARD LEVINSON, a well-known socialist, allegedly a follower of Norman Thomas into the bargain. . . .

We make this appeal to Norman Thomas. We know that all this will arouse in him the same feeling of revulsion and indignation that it has in us. His fellow-socialists, his party comrades, are at least partly responsible. We call upon Norman Thomas to raise his voice in public protest and repudiation. . . .

Security for Domestic Labor Urged

Chicago, Ill.
 CLIMAXING a series of legislative conferences during the past year, Chicago household employees have finally placed an amendment to the Illinois minimum-wage law for women on the calendar of the present session of the Illinois Legislature, it was announced last week by Neva Ryan, president of the Domestic Workers Association. . . .

The present law, which excludes the domestic worker and farm worker, sets minimum-wage standards for a large section of Illinois working women. The proposed amendment seeks to strike out the "domestic worker" exclusion clause in the Act. . . .

Armed with the slogan, "Legislation to include, not exclude household employees," the Domestic Workers Association, with the aid of many other trade unions and liberals, is preparing to make Illinois the second state in the union with standardized wage legislation for its domestic workers, it was stated by Miss Ryan, Wisconsin is the only state at present with minimum-wage legislation for household employees. The present session of the New York State Legislature is studying similar legislative changes in its minimum-wage law. . . .

The proposed Illinois bill, known as H. B. 302, is being sponsored by State Representative A. Andrew Torrence. A similar amendment is being sponsored in the Senate by State Senator William A. Wallace. This amendment is the first to be proposed to the minimum-wage law since its inception. Officials of the Association declared that a statewide campaign in the interest of the bill would be instituted immediately. . . .

Tenant Farmers Union Withdraws from C.I.O.

Break on Bureaucracy, Stalinist Domination

THE Southern Tenant Farmers Union announced last week its withdrawal from affiliation with the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, a C.I.O. affiliate. The order for withdrawal was issued by the executive committee of the S.T.F.U. after a referendum completed recently. . . .

In its announcement, the S.T.F.U. charged the C.I.O. union of being Stalinist-controlled and said that the break had come after a struggle of many months between the two organizations. The S.T.F.U., an independent union organized in 1934, was affiliated on an autonomous basis in 1937 with the U.C.A.P.A.W.A. . . .

The withdrawal notice also charged Donald Henderson, head of the C.I.O. union, with "arbitrary and irresponsible actions, culminating in an attempt to disrupt the Southern Tenant Farmers Union by violating the agreements between that organization and the International union, by suspending the officers of the S.T.F.U. and by attempting to set up a union dual to the Southern Tenant Farmers Union."

"Such conduct on the part of a union official," the statement proceeds, "would be incomprehensible without the knowledge that Henderson's actions are not designed to help our union or the Southern share-croppers but to impose communist control over the largest bona-fide agricultural workers' union in the South. . . .

"Henderson's attacks on the Southern Tenant Farmers Union are not new. While acting directly for the Communist Party, he made several efforts to split the

Southern Tenant Farmers Union on doctrinaire communist lines. . . . Henderson's attempt March 1 to suspend the duly-elected officers of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union is the latest action in a campaign of vilification and rumor-mongering carried on by communists, sometimes unknowingly by their friends, designed to impair the prestige and effectiveness of the S.T.F.U. . . .

The Maritime Union Mess

By JACK SODERBERG

March 7, 1939

IN the National Maritime Union given complete control as a gift, mainly because some people who once thought could be trusted turned out to be common stool-pigeons and petty racketeers. You will recall, perhaps, as far back as last November, I wrote something about the Mariners Club, King and Co. I suggested then that, if King and Co. were not guilty as charged, it was up to them to bring the accuser to produce it. Taking every reason into consideration, there seems no longer to be any question but that the Mariners Club was a conglomeration of stool-pigeons and petty racketeers and the leading light of the club was Jerry King. What conclusions can we draw in the case of King? I need not tell you what gist all this is to the Stalinite union and you can look

the effect that the union supply the necessary funds to enable King and Co. to take the matter to court. To date, King has made no move in this direction. In the meantime, his three main supporters—all officials of the union—Carluzzi, Innes and Carney, have all been exposed as precisely that which they were charged as being and, one by one, they are being expelled from the union. There remains but King. There is now a call for a properly audited financial report and for some reason or other King finds excuse after excuse not to produce it. Taking every reason into consideration, there seems no longer to be any question but that the Mariners Club was a conglomeration of stool-pigeons and petty racketeers and the leading light of the club was Jerry King. What conclusions can we draw in the case of King? I need not tell you what gist all this is to the Stalinite union and you can look

Waiters Defeat Plan To Delay Elections

Local 16 Progressives Score Big Victory

By J. T.

New York City
 A special membership meeting held Monday, March 6, at Hotel Center, called by the Executive Board of Waiters Local 16 in order to postpone the annual elections of the local due to take place April 12, the Stalinists and the discredited Stanzler group, now in full control of the local, were overwhelmingly defeated by the membership. . . .

Boom for Jackson Started

(Continued from Page 1)

Justice, with their determination to restore competition, if it kills us, are at loggerheads with the Ezekiel (Agriculture)-Frank (S.E.C.) school of thought. Ezekiel and Frank accept the development of monopolistic practices, price-fixing, etc., as an inevitable development under capitalism and advocate government regulation looking toward industrial expansion and mass distribution of commodities. Arnold says this economic-planning idea is not feasible, not consistent with our "American way of life" and would bring about a business dictatorship which would make the N.R.A. look like a labor set-up. . . .

I comment on these trends in our liberalized capitalist government to show how badly the New Deal is integrated and how many "lines" are represented in this attempt to save capitalism. There are at least two other major "lines" with leading exponents and camp-followers. The exponents are Garner and Hopkins. You fill in the rest. . . .

Another evidence of the divided Democratic party, if not the New Deal, is the fight going on within the Dies majority and Jerry Voorhis minority. Voorhis, most vigorous opponent of the reconstitution of the committee and a large appropriation for it, was placed on the committee by the left New Dealers. The cue is to watch Voorhis for fireworks. Jerry, a militant and honest liberal, was nominally a leftist member of the Socialist Party in Los Angeles as recently as 1932. Later, he was active in Sinclair's Epic campaign and now is a popular second-term New Deal Congressman who knows the radical movement better than any man in Congress, not excepting Marcanonio. He is not a Stalinist stooge and no uncritical supporter of the Administration. . . .

The strategy of Dies is to bring Kuhn and the Bund and the American Nazis and fascists before the committee soon and give them a good whitewashing, after deploring the foreign interests and connections of the Bund, the most spectacular but least important and dangerous section of the American Hitlerites. Most of the appropriation, hopes Dies, can be spent after Congress adjourns this Summer and Fall investigating the "Reds." Mr. Dies also feels that this investigation this Summer and Fall will be helpful in his campaign (and Garner's) to blacken the reputations of the Roosevelt forces so that the 1940 Democratic convention will choose a Garner-Farley-Dies man. It is reported, I think authentically, that Voorhis, and perhaps Dempsey, have other plans up their sleeves. . . .

in the automobile-union crisis. In the former situation, they have quite rightly moved to disaffiliate from the C.I.O. in order to preserve the autonomy of their union and to save it from Stalinist domination. In the latter, however, the S.Pers are among the most "loyal" supporters of the Lewis-Stalinist campaign to convert the U.A.W. into a puppet organization and are heaping slander and abuse upon those in the U.A.W. who are fighting for autonomy, democracy and freedom from Stalinist control. . . .

The excuse or rather the subterfuge the Stalinists gave as the reason for postponing the elections was the six-weeks old strike in the Brass-Rail Restaurant. But the membership refused to bite on that. The bankruptcy of the Stalinist administration in Local 16 is so obvious, so outstanding, that even the most backward workers could see that the main object of the administration in postponing the elections was to gain time—and, by the time that the World's Fair starts, jobs will be found and the administration will be able to utilize the situation and claim credit for it. They are depending on the short memories of the workers to forget the mismanagement of the union for the whole year. But the trick did not work this time. . . .

This is the second major defeat that the Stalinists have suffered within two months in Local 16. The other defeat was on the question of giving up to the bosses organization the worker's security on the job thru an "arbitration" scheme. . . .

And, if the sign-posts mean anything, if these membership meetings are to be taken as the barometer of the existing sentiment among the workers of Local 16 in the coming elections, the Stalinists and their cohorts are due for a good licking and an inglorious exit from the leadership of one of the most important locals in the culinary industry. . . .

Local 16 is still a real union because the Stalinists were prevented by the progressives from making it another bosses happy-hunting ground like Locals 6, 42, and 302. . . .

The fight of the progressives of Local 16 bears all the brunt of the heavy artillery of the Communist Party and the various bureaucrats that are out to undermine the workers conditions for their personal benefit. . . .

The progressives of Local 16 deserve the support not only of the workers of Local 16 but of all culinary workers in New York City. . . .

Prepare for Dual UAW Confab

(Continued from Page 1)

calls have already placed rank-and-file delegates under charges, among these being Fred Durrance of Motor Products Local, now a member of the International Executive Board. The suspended International Board of the Thomas faction, meeting in Cleveland on the eve of its convention, "tried" Martin and "expelled" him, after finding him "guilty" of all fifteen of the charges under which he had been placed. . . .

Questioned about the chartering of new local unions, President Martin declared that the International Board intended to grant charters to plants seceding from amalgamated local unions under control of the Thomas faction, but will not grant charters to minority groups of a local. Where some groups have already organized themselves and have elected officers, they will be recognized as provisional, and will not be extended charters for the time being. . . .

A sub-committee of the Martin Board has been busy pruning the staff of the union. The belief that financial difficulties made staff reductions necessary is being scoffed by Martin who stated that the union was in no need of funds. Reductions are being made, he stated, because the union had been overstaffed during the factional fight. However, in the ranks this is being taken with a grain of salt. Charges of political purges of all radical elements are heard frequently and admitted readily by some leaders close to Martin. Others claim that even "non-politicals" are being fired for the purpose of a more secure entrenchment of the conservative group now in the saddle. . . .

The International Board has set up national committees to coordinate the activities and plan organizational campaigns for the General Motors locals, Chrysler locals, Ford and parts plants. . . .

Nazis Annex Czecho-Slovakia

(Continued from Page 1)

troops were invading this region, which had also declared its "independence." An "understanding" was soon reached and the Carpatho-Ukraine was annexed by Hungary with Hitler's approval. It was also hinted, however, that Hungary itself might be next to be absorbed into "Greater Germany" on a "voluntary, autonomous" basis. . . .

In this situation, the main efforts of Anglo-French diplomacy were directed towards preventing the crisis from developing into an "incident" that might disturb the progress of "appeasement." The official attitude in London and Paris was to ignore what was happening and to let Berlin have a free hand in central Europe, despite the fact that at Munich both England and France had solemnly "guaranteed" the new frontiers of Czecho-Slovakia. . . .

forward to their grasping complete control at the convention in July. From Curran right down the line, it will all be Moscow ambassadors. Most cheerful. . . .

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WORKERS AGE
 131 West 33rd Street
 New York City

Chaos In New York State Unemployment Insurance

System Bogs Down Under Administrative Red-Tape

By LEE McDOWELL

SINCE the joint legislative committee investigating unemployment insurance administration in New York State began its work a few weeks ago, there have been shocking disclosures of the chaos in the payment of unemployment insurance to jobless workers. This condition is no surprise to the workers who have had occasion to apply for benefits. Nor is it any surprise to employees and administrators of the Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance of the New York State Department of Labor. Since January 1, 1938, when payment of unemployment benefits began, these employees have had to contend with the most complex procedure, every measure designed to correct an evil apparently substituting another evil in its stead.

WHY THIS CONFUSION?

The basic cause of this condition is the fact that there is no relation between the purposes of the unemployment-insurance law, the provisions of the law and the procedures designed to carry out the law.

The National Social Security Act of 1935 provided for an unemployment-insurance excise tax on employers and provisions for grants-in-aid for administration to states passing their own unemployment-insurance laws. These provisions were a tacit admission by the federal government that unemployment had come to stay and that the consequences had to be dealt with on a permanent basis. Thus the United States government finally took the step which allowed it to catch up with what Great Britain had done in 1911, the year unemployment insurance began functioning in England.

Early in 1931, a committee was appointed by the State Legislature to investigate unemployment. Its report states that "the problem of unemployment can better be met by the so-called compulsory unemployment-insurance plan than it is now handled by the barren actualities of poor-relief assistance backed by compulsory contribution thru taxation. Once the facts are apprehended, this conclusion is precipitated with the certainty of a chemical reaction. Immediately after the passage of the federal social-security law, New York State passed its own unemployment-insurance law in accordance with federal standards and the principle quoted above. The tax on payrolls in insured employment began on January 1, 1936, and, after a period of two years in which the unemployment-insurance fund accumulated, payment began on January 1, 1938. A brief review of how the law operates shows the contradiction between the purposes of the law and the operation of the law itself.

ELIGIBILITY AND COMPENSATION
Did you lose your job recently? If you worked for an employer of three or fewer workers, then do not bother to apply for unemployment-insurance benefits. Only employers of four or more workers pay into the unemployment-insurance fund. If you are an agricultural worker or a maritime worker, you are not eligible. If you worked for a non-profit organization or for the government, you are not eligible. If you worked as a domestic in a household or fewer than four domestic workers, then you are not eligible, even though your employer's business employ as many as 50 or 100 workers, because the law separates the employer's business life from his domestic life. As a matter of fact, New York State has been comparatively generous to the domestic workers since, to obtain a grant-in-aid from the federal government, the states are not required to insure domestic workers at all. Right from the very start, then, the law excludes thousands of workers from its protection.

If you did work in insurable employment for an employer of four or more, then you can apply for benefits. You will be told then that there must be a three-week waiting period of total unemployment before you can receive your first check, which will be for the fourth week of total unemployment. If you lost your job because of a strike, lock-out or industrial controversy, you will wait ten weeks, three weeks after the end of the strike, if you are still unemployed. This penalty waiting-period in case of strikes was the direct result of the pressure brought to bear by the employers for a "neutral" attitude by the state in cases of labor trouble. The law also provides a ten-week waiting-period for workers discharged for "misconduct" and for those guilty of misrepresentation in obtaining benefits. Employer definitions of misconduct have been woefully misleading and positively ludicrous, as evidenced in several referee and appeal-board hearings during the past year.

AMOUNT OF BENEFITS

The actual amount of benefits received depends on your total salary and your average salary during the base year for calculating benefits, which is the calendar year before the date of application. The benefit rate is one-half the average salary, with the minimum rate set at \$7.00 and the maximum at \$15.00. To be eligible at all, the worker must have earned at least 18 times his benefit rate and the total benefits may not be more than one-sixth the total earnings in the base year. The duration of benefits may extend to a maximum of 16 weeks and no more. The above calculation of benefits on an individual basis has necessitated an intricate system of accounting for each insured worker in the state and a complicated system of keeping track of benefits received and benefits due. Errors are inevitable and a vast amount of administrative machinery has been set up for adjusting them. But, more serious than this, the individual-account system of unemployment insurance has resulted in the granting of benefits in inverse proportion to the need for them, since the worker who has earned the least and therefore needs most help obtains the least benefits or is not eligible at all! "The barren actualities of poor-relief assistance" are still the only recourse for a large group of workers. There has been no appreciable decrease in the need for home-relief or work-relief in spite of the one year's operation of the unemployment-insurance law.

PROTECTION FOR WORKERS

The tug-of-war between employers and labor regarding the "neutrality" of the state law produced the ten-weeks penalty waiting-period for workers losing their jobs as a result of strike, lock-out or industrial controversy. At the same time, it also produced for the workers safeguards against the use of unemployment insurance as a whip to drive down wages or help break unions or strikes. If, during the time you are unemployed, the New York State Employment Service offers you a job, you may refuse under the following conditions and still maintain your rights to unemployment-insurance benefits:

1. If acceptance of such employment would either force you to join a company union or would interfere with your joining or retaining membership in any labor organization.
2. If there is a strike, lock-out or other industrial controversy in the establishment in which the employment is offered.
3. If the employment is at an unreasonable distance from your residence, or travel to and from the place of employment involves expense substantially greater than that required in former employment, unless the expense is provided for.
4. If the wages or compensation or hours or conditions offered are substantially less favorable to the employee than those prevailing for similar work in the locality or are such as tend to depress wages or working conditions.

These rights are at present largely academic since the placement activities of the New York State Employment Service have been temporarily suspended by the shutting of interviewers and placement workers to unemployment insurance to clear up the backlog of claims. When and if placement activity is resumed at a normal rate, the safeguards for workers which have been written into the law will have to be strengthened by the workers and their unions. The need for such vigilance has been shown in the few cases in which such situations have arisen. The New York State Employment Service does not inquire into the social ideas of its office managers and placement workers, many of whom have been personnel managers in private industry. Arbitrary decisions of such officials who have their own ideas as to what constitutes suitable employment, must be countered by workers cognizant of their rights under the law and by unions helping its members in appeal. It is the worker who does not belong to a union or does not ask the union to help him who has suffered most in such situations.

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Stalin Indicates Nazi Alliance

Shift of Comintern Policy Is Expected

(Continued from Page 1)

for a war with Germany, his sharp denunciation of the "democratic" powers coupled with a remarkable lack of invective against either Germany or Italy, brought out in clear relief the present orientation of Soviet foreign policy.

Aside from its significance in showing the direction of Kremlin policy, Stalin's report was almost ludicrous in its crudeness and superficiality of conception. According to this "best disciple of the Marx and Lenin," this "great father of the world's toiling masses," it is the "aggressive" powers, the "fascist war-makers," that are "peaceful" in their attitude to the Soviet Union, while the "democratic," the "non-aggressive" powers are trying to provoke war against the Soviet Union! As Stalin went on "explaining" the new orientation, it became abundantly clear how rotten has been the whole "theoretical" structure erected by the Soviet leadership to justify its policies in recent years.

NEW "TURN" IN THE C.I.

The day after Stalin spoke, D. Z. Manuilsky, reporting to the Russian congress on the world labor movement, drew the conclusions from the Leader's address for the Communist International, which, for some years, has been nothing more than an "international" agency of the Soviet Foreign Office. A shift of Soviet diplomacy away from the "democratic front" towards a rapprochement with Germany and the other fascist powers is obviously bound to bring with it the utter collapse of the Popular Frontism that has completely dominated C.I. policy in recent years. Manuilsky's speech was the official proclamation that a sharp turn in the "line" of the Stalinist parties all over the world was already on the way. Using the conventional Comintern jargon with which the Stalinists are familiar, he declared (Daily Worker, March 13):

"Application of the tactics of the united working-class and anti-fascist People's Front has given rise to certain tendencies of a Right opportunist nature, to a tendency to abate the struggle against elements advocating capitulation, the tendency to idealize the role of the so-called 'democratic' states and of glossing over their imperialist character. Appearance of such tendencies, even in embryonic form, warns of the necessity of intensifying the struggle against opportunism. Communists of the capitalist countries are not sufficiently prepared for abrupt turns in events and have not yet mastered the forms of struggle

dictated by the tense international situation."

OLD PHRASES DUSTED OFF

The significance of these words—especially the reference to being "prepared for abrupt turns"—is obvious enough. In line with the new "turn," Manuilsky took from the shelf and dusted off some of the old radical phrases with which the C.I. used to operate before the era of Popular Frontism. These phrases sounded strange indeed coming from the mouth of a spokesman of Stalinism:

"The working people want a united front of the working class of the capitalist countries with the Soviet working class. . . . This front will be a real guarantee of peace. . . . The working class of the capitalist countries, reduced to despair by crises, unemployment, poverty, fascist terror and imperialist wars. . . want to live without fascism, without capitalism. They want socialism. And it is for this reason that the capitalist world, in its last convulsions, is in a fury. It wants to save itself by fascism. But fascism will not save capitalism from destruction. . . . This [working-class] front will rouse the proletarians and working people in all corners of the globe, who are becoming aware that the time has come to settle accounts for their age-old sufferings" (emphasis in original.—Editor).

Now the workers suddenly "want

New Deal Arms Record

By JOHN T. FLYNN

If any American thinks that this government has been skimping on the matter of national defense, let him look at the following figures. They represent the total expenditures for national defense—army and navy—for the years 1933-34 to the budget just disclosed by the President.

| | |
|---------|-----------------|
| 1933-34 | \$ 540,356,000 |
| 1934-35 | 709,931,000 |
| 1935-36 | 921,684,000 |
| 1936-37 | 935,114,000 |
| 1937-38 | 1,027,841,000 |
| 1938-39 | 1,119,810,000 |
| 1939-40 | 1,668,283,000 |
| Total | \$6,933,019,000 |

The last figure for 1939-40 is, of course, the President's estimate and includes \$500,000,000 which he proposes to outline and ask very soon.

Glance at the column of figures and see how each year the amount has increased. In 1937-38 it was twice what was spent in the first year of the Administration. Now, in 1939-40, the sum proposed is three times what was spent in 1933-34. The whole total is a huge sum—nearly seven billion dollars.

(From the New York World-Telegram)

A DEADLY GRIP



British Empire Over Ireland

Labor Must Back Fight for Freedom

By JOHN FARRELL

London, England
THE recent activities of the Irish Republican Army (I.R.A.) have served to bring the "Irish question" right home to the British labor movement. One need not necessarily approve of the methods and tactics adopted but one must not pretend to misunderstand. Behind all that is happening lies the passionate desire of the Irish people to end partition and to secure freedom and liberation from the tentacles of British imperialism. With these aims and desires the British labor movement must surely associate itself. It must declare clearly that it is not going to give any support to a policy of repression and that it takes its stand with the Irish people in the struggle for complete national liberation.

The Stalinist Daily Worker, true to its Popular Front colors, sees in the recent I.R.A. activities the hand of Hitler. This is a slander. Unless the British working class associate themselves with the demand of the Irish for freedom, they may have to pay the same price as the Spanish workers have paid for not freeing the Moors.

REACTIONARY DRIVE IN ENGLAND

Meanwhile, the reactionary Unionist elements are active. An insidious campaign is being launched against Irish workers and laborers in England. The Economic League, which derives financial support from the employers of this country and which is notorious as an agent of anti-working-class propaganda and workshop espionage for the employers, is busy supplying "information" as to Irish laborers living on the dole and enjoying a higher standard of living than they would in Ireland. Attempts are being made to divide the ranks of the working class with stories of preference being given to "socialism"; only yesterday we were told by Browder and Stalin that the real issue was not socialism but "democracy"! It will be interesting and instructive to watch the Stalinist bureaucrats attempt to eat their own words and pretend that nothing is really happening after all.

WHAT NOW?

Exactly what form the new "turn" of Stalinist policy will take is not yet clear but it is evident that some effort to revive the old revolutionary formulas will be part of the unprincipled concoction that will do service for a "party line" in the months to come. The "turn" will probably reach the United States very late—for the time being, at least, the United States is still a "good democracy" and exempt from the general denunciation. But reach this country it will, bringing with it serious consequences for the labor movement and to those elements with which they have succeeded in establishing contact during the period of Popular Frontism.

Irish laborers, etc., because they are prepared to accept lower wages. In general, everything is being done to create an anti-Irish feeling in Britain. British imperialism will stop at nothing. It has been able to rule because in the past it was successful in dividing the workers among themselves.

TERRORISM IN ULSTER

The recent treaty signed with De Valera and designed to cover Britain's back militarily in the event of another war has done nothing to alleviate the position. On the contrary, repression in Northern Ireland continues with unabated fury. The Catholic minority in Ulster is violently suppressed. In 1936, the National Council for Civil Liberties pushed a report of a Commission of Enquiry appointed in 1935 to inquire into the purpose and effect of the civil-authorities acts in Northern Ireland. The following descriptions in no uncertain light the existing situation, which prefaces the report, re: state of affairs.

"Under these acts, the Home Minister of Northern Ireland is furnished with what are practically dictatorship powers, and he may delegate these powers to any police officer. The acts give unlimited powers of search and seizure, and the Home Minister may make new regulations creating new crimes at will. Habeas corpus is suspended; persons may be arrested on suspicion only and they may be kept in prison indefinitely without a trial. Persons may also be interned indefinitely on the recommendation of a police officer, and there is no right of appeal against such imprisonment and internment. Cases may be heard in camera. The Home Minister, acting on the advice of the police, may refuse to allow a person so imprisoned (or interned) to send or receive letters or to receive visits from his friends or legal advisers. Thus the prisoner, denied a trial, is also denied access to all outside aid. The bank-books of a suspect may be examined by the police and his money confiscated. The death penalty may be imposed for offenses other than murder and treason. After a prisoner's death, the Home Minister or a police officer may direct that no coroner's inquest shall be held, and thus the prisoner's relatives and friends are denied all opportunity of inspecting on the corpse any marks of possible violence in arrest or detention. The extraordinary powers contained in these acts have been in use since 1922, and they are now a permanent part of Northern Irish law."

With such laws in operation, with violent discrimination economically and politically against the national minorities, can anyone pretend not to understand the reason for the I.R.A. activities?

I.R.A. AGAINST DE VALERA

At the same time, the activities of the I.R.A. would also appear to be directed against De Valera. The haste with which the latter is rushing thru the new coercion acts shows this. At the moment, De Valera undoubtedly enjoys a great measure of popularity. However, when the masses become aware of the real meaning of the recent agreement with Britain whereby the land armies and navy are to be used to build British naval bases in Ireland, the storm will develop and break.

The labor movement in Great Britain and Ireland must associate itself now with the struggle for Irish independence and, at the same time, act independently to win the masses of the workers and farmers to socialism.

April 1st We Have a Date



See Next Issue

If We Must Die

If we must die—let it not be like hogs,
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,
While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,
Making their mock at our accursed lot.
If we must die—oh, let us nobly die,
So that our precious blood may not be shed
In vain; then even the monsters we defy
Shall be constrained to honor us though dead.
O kinsmen! We must meet the common foe;
Though far outnumbered, let us still be brave,
And for their thousand blows, deal one death blow!
What though before us lies the open grave?
Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack,
Pressed to the wall, dying—but fighting back!

CLAUDE MCKAY

Letters to the Editor

On War and Politics

Feb. 12, 1939

Editor, Workers Age
CONGRATULATIONS on the splendid paper you are getting out. It is the best labor paper I have seen. The new form is fine, especially the columns by Lovestone and Wolfe. And also the cartoon on page four.

I agree a hundred percent with your position on the war question. But I would like to have you explain two questions which often come up

when I discuss the problem.
1. How is it that the statements and speeches of President Roosevelt which you attack are also attacked by the Nazi and fascist press in Germany and Italy?
2. How is it that so many of the Congressmen and Senators who are against the President's war policy are also conservatives and some Republicans, whereas some of the President's supporters are liberals?
A NEW YORK READER

The Editor Answers:

1. In connection with the first question, our correspondent should recall that in 1915 and 1916, when the pro-war elements in this country, aided by the British propaganda machine, were conducting a vigorous campaign to drive the United States into war on the side of the Allies, the statements and speeches of the jingo war-mongers were denounced alike by American socialists and the Junker press of Germany. But from entirely different standpoints, on entirely different grounds, and for entirely different reasons! The socialists opposed the pro-war propaganda because they were against imperialistic war and their first job was to keep America out of such a war. The Germans, on the other hand, were naturally worried about America joining the Allies and thus immensely strengthening the power of the enemy. That is why a speech by President Wilson or Theodore Roosevelt would sometimes be denounced by both Eugene V. Debs and the German Junker press. Surely that did not make Gene Debs a "German agent" (as he was charged with being by the jingoes of those days)! Nor did it cast any reflections on the anti-war movement in the eyes of thinking, fair-minded people.

The same is true today. We want to keep America out of war because, under the present economic and social system, American participation in any war could only be for reactionary, predatory, imperialistic ends and would bring fascism and dictatorship at home; that is why we attack the war-mongering statements and speeches of President Roosevelt, Hitler, or Mussolini, or the Japanese militarists, carrying out their own imperialistic aggressions, naturally do not relish the prospect of interference from their imperialistic rivals; that is why the Nazi and fascist press attack President Roosevelt's war-like utterances.

As international socialists, we fight against imperialism and oppression at home and abroad, against Hitler's ruthless aggressions as well as against President Roosevelt's war-mongering. The people who try to make a case against us on the ground that Hitler "also" attacks Roosevelt's utterances, are of the

same stripe as those who denounced Lenin, Debs and Ruthenberg as "German agents" because they opposed the war.
2. As to political alignments on the war question, the matter is a rather complicated one. All parties (except the Stalinist party, which is "monolithically" jingoist!) are divided on this issue, as are also what are usually called the "liberal" and "conservative" camps. On the whole, however, it may be said that those liberals who are genuinely and independently anti-war, and not merely Administration "yes-men," are opposed to the Administration's foreign policy and war-mongering. Senators La Follette and former Representative Maverick are good examples of this type.
However, there are a number of men in Congress who, the conservative on domestic issues, are more or less against the President on foreign affairs. Some take this position because of the irresistible pressure of the people back home; others for purely partisan reasons; others, again, because they represent interests looking to Latin America rather than to Europe and Asia. Nor should we try to deny the fact that some of them are quite sincere in their deep concern that America be saved from another world war.

One impression that the "liberal" jingoes are trying to create is that the Republican party is the main opposition to Roosevelt on the war question and that it is united on this issue. Of course, many Republicans are opposed to the Administration policy for the reasons mentioned. But let us not forget that Landon, Stimson, Nicholas Murray Butler and many other prominent Republicans are actively aiding the Administration campaign. The Washington Post, a Tory paper, if there ever was one, violently attacked Senator Clark and equally violently supported President Roosevelt in the recent scandal about airplane sales to France. And the United States News of February 13 comments significantly that "the small amount of Republican opposition to the President's national-defense program has become one of the most noteworthy features of the current session of Congress."

Books

by Jim Cork

AMERICAN CASTE AND THE NEGRO COLLEGE, by Buell G. Gallagher. Columbia University Press, New York, 1938. \$2.00.

THIS book presents an instructive picture of the inferior caste status of the Negro in American society and of the baleful effect it has had on the cultural development of the Negro and the general pattern of American life. What adds significance to this book is the brilliant interpretation of the facts offered by the author.

In tracing the essential relationship between economic processes and race attitudes, the author outlines certain stages of the historical development of the American labor movement and the peculiar American conditions making for the hostility, antagonism and drastic economic competition between black and white labor. The emergence of the Negro's caste status from the peculiar development of American economy is very effectively depicted. Such anti-social institutions of American democracy as lynching, race chauvinism, segregation and the Negro's inferior status are attributed to the nature of the basic social relations upon which present-day American capitalism is based. Such institutions are held responsible for the cultural and economic lag not only of the Negro but of poor white as well.

The author contends that the chauvinistic attitudes expressed by white workers toward the Negro are not inherited absolutes but cultivated predispositions. He subscribes to the opinion that "the real significance of the term 'race' lies in its employment as a cultural symbol of group conflict and group organization. . . . Race prejudice may be regarded as a phenomenon of status. Race prejudice is like class and caste prejudice—merely one variety of a species. The focal point of race antagonism is likely to be some threat to the existing status. Every change

in status, whether of an individual or of a group, involves a change in social organization. Prejudice—that is, caste, class and race prejudice—in its more naive and innocent manifestations, is merely a reflection of the social order to change. Every effort of the Negro, for example, to move, to rise and improve his social status, rather than with his conditions, has invariably met with opposition, aroused prejudice and stimulated racial animosities. Race prejudice, so conceived, is merely an expression of conservatism. . . . Where there are social classes, there will inevitably be corresponding attitudes and sentiments."

While stressing the urgent necessity for unity between black and white labor, the author, however, believes that "the Caucasian has the bear by the tail; he cannot let go and he dare not hang on. What is he to do? He cannot let go. It is with tremendous difficulty that individual white person tears himself loose from the habits of his life-time, fouts the accepted codes of conduct of his group, loses caste and sets the current of his own life against the tide of society. And in addition to these psychological inhibitions are the sociological facts which appear in large part to support the belief that it is best to hold on to the bear's tail."

The manner in which the author deals with the segregated Negro college and the question of "equal but separate facilities" for Negroes reveals his scientific and painstaking research in the field of Negro education.
CLARENCE JENKINS

Timely Pamphlets

PEOPLE'S FRONT ILLUSION
by Jay Lovestone20c

WHERE WE STAND: Program of the I.L.L.A. 5c

NEW FRONTIERS FOR LABOR
by Jay Lovestone10c

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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HANDS OFF THE UNIONS!

In the "unity" plan presented by John L. Lewis for the C.I.O. at the first session of the peace conference in the White House, there are two points that deserve special consideration quite apart from the plan as a whole, which, as readers know, we do not regard as realistically conceived. The points to which we refer are first the one proposing that President Roosevelt preside at the sessions of the "American Congress of Labor" and, secondly, the one prescribing that the services of the Department of Labor should be invoked in mediating or arbitrating the innumerable jurisdictional conflicts that would threaten to tear apart the new federation from the very beginning.

Every progressive trade unionist must have felt a certain pang of uneasiness and regret that the resumption of peace negotiations should have taken place under pressure and direction of the White House rather than at the initiative of labor itself. This uneasiness turns into positive foreboding when so influential a labor leader as Mr. Lewis is found actually proposing to invite the government to come in and settle the inner affairs of the labor movement. Such foreboding and concern are only too well justified.

Behind the outworn, futile "voluntarism" that the A. F. of L. did not drop until well after 1929, there was always a healthy feeling of distrust of government intervention in labor affairs, even tho the government come bearing gifts. The trouble with the doctrine of "voluntarism" in the extreme form in which it was then held was that it refused to face the fact that, as a result of the big economic and social changes of preceding decades, "voluntary" action could no longer possibly meet the tremendous problems of unemployment and social security and would therefore have to be replaced by public action thru the federal and state governments. As it became more and more alien to the realities of the American situation, the dogma of "voluntarism" grew more and more reactionary until finally it collapsed altogether under the impact of the depression. Today no one would seriously propose to return to the pre-1929 attitude which rejected governmental unemployment insurance, old-age security and the like on the ground that these matters were properly within the province of the "voluntary" action of the trade unions.

But, in breaking with the outworn doctrine of "voluntarism," the labor movement has upon more than one occasion in recent years shown a tendency to lose its bearings and run to the other extreme without consideration of consequences. Positive governmental action is necessary and welcome when it is limited to its proper and legitimate field: social security in the broad sense of the term, the eradication of sub-standard conditions so as to establish minimum standards, and the legal assurance of full freedom of labor organization, the right to strike and collective bargaining. Measures like the federal social-security law, the Wagner Act and the wage-hour law, despite all defects and inadequacies, are examples of such desirable legislation.

But danger lies ahead once the government begins to go in for legislation aiming at replacing trade-union activity and rendering it superfluous, such as compulsory arbitration or wage-fixing above minimum standards, or else when it begins to intervene directly in the internal affairs and concerns of the labor movement. The boundaries between what is proper and what is dangerous in the way of governmental action are none too precise or permanent; for that reason, a spirit of vigilance and independence is all the more essential. Such a spirit has, unfortunately, not always been present in the leading circles of the labor movement. The fact that Mr. Lewis could seriously make the two proposals referred to earlier in these paragraphs is evidence enough of this. No matter how friendly labor may regard Mr. Roosevelt and his New Deal, the most elementary considerations of organizational independence and self-preservation should be enough to warn labor leaders against allowing government officers or agencies to interfere with or infringe upon the inner concerns of labor. "Friends" in the government may be all very well but the internal problems of the labor movement can best and most safely be settled by labor itself.

There are many forces in present-day America making for "quasi-public unionism," for a "unionism" deprived of its fighting and protective functions, regulated and controlled by the government and virtually converted into a part of the governmental machinery. Such "unionism," showing all too clearly its kinship with the "corporative" system of fascism, would be fatal to labor's aims and aspirations, immediate and long-range alike. Yet proposals of the type of Mr. Lewis's, by offering a crack into which the wedge of governmental interference may well be inserted, cannot but serve to open the way for this deadly menace.

The danger is great and there is only one way of meeting it: unity of the labor movement and united resistance to every move to rob labor of its independence or freedom of action!

In his message to Congress recently, President Roosevelt made a very eloquent plea against racial and religious persecution abroad. For this we applaud him. Would it not be possible, we inquire timidly, for our high-minded President to devote some of his eloquence to denouncing racial persecution nearer home, say the treatment of the Negroes in the South, which, we understand, the Nazis are taking as a model for their treatment of the Jews? How about a few strong words against lynching, jim-crowism, disfranchisement and denial of constitutional rights?

First with the Labor News!

Here's one reason why You must have

WORKERS AGE

(From Frank Howard's dispatch in the Workers Age, March 8.) (From Louis Stark's dispatch, New York Times, March 13.)

"Sources close to the President have revealed to me that F. D. R. stands ready to put on the heat if there is any attempt to evade the issue [of unity] or to refuse to unite. This informant having said to me, 'It is labor peace or else!', I asked that the President thought that it would be sufficient to threaten to reveal to the rank and file and the general public the names of labor leaders standing in the way of unity in order to bring them into line."

"At the conference, it was reported, the President... used a 'big stick' in the form of a distinct threat that peace must be made if the labor movement is to escape from something worse than war. What that something is, he did not indicate... Whether this [the President's action] will involve some form of dramatic appeal to the rank and file and the general public however, felt that what the President may have had in mind was that, rather than allow the conferences to fail, he would make a final personal appeal."

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Problems of International Reorientation

Letter of I.L.L.A. to German Communist Opposition

[Within the last few months, a number of serious political differences have arisen between the National Committee of the I.L.L.A. and the leadership of the German Communist Opposition, both of which organizations have been affiliated with the International Communist Opposition (I.C.O.). These differences relate mostly to international questions, especially to the question of a new International Center. These problems are discussed in the document we publish below, a communication of the Executive Committee of the I.L.L.A. to the leading committee of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition), dated December 19, 1938. —Editor.]

December 19, 1938

WE have read and thoroughly discussed all of your recent communications, including the one addressed to the Executive, and have come to the following conclusions, which are the unanimous opinion of our Executive:

FACTIONAL STRUGGLE AND METHODS

1. We have never desired, nor do we desire today, to interfere in the affairs of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) in any manner, shape or form. But the I.C.O. Bureau, despite its "personal union" with the A.K. (Foreign Committee of the German C.P.O.), is a different matter. We are naturally interested in the composition of the I.C.O. Bureau. It is obviously incorrect on your part to maintain that, since today all members of the I.C.O. Bureau are Germans, you may withdraw them and replace them as you please without us having any legitimate concern with it. Remember that every member of the I.C.O. Bureau, even tho he is a German, speaks for us as well. When, for example, you withdrew Comrade X, as I.C.O. contact man with the London Bureau and the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party of France (P.S.O.P.), you were withdrawing our representative as well; our relations with the London Bureau, the P.S.O.P., the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain and the others were thereby affected as much as yours. That is the real and formal ground for our concern with the organizational measures you have taken. Had these measures not affected the I.C.O. at all, we would not have said anything except, perhaps, in the way of unofficial comment and caution.

In one of your communications, you make a number of suggestions for breaking the "personal union" between the I.C.O. and the A.K. Under other circumstances, that might be a way out of the difficulty but, under present conditions, the whole thing is somewhat pointless. We have already notified you of our proposal to dissolve the I.C.O. altogether and to have the constituent elements join with the constituent elements of the London Bureau into a new International Center. Since that is our idea, there would obviously be no point in discussing plans for the reorganization of the I.C.O.

Permit us to say a final word on the factional struggle in your ranks. Obviously, our appeals have been in vain. Nevertheless, we still believe that you have made and are making a big mistake in the organizational methods you are employing. Experience should already have made it plain to what such methods lead. Perhaps, it is necessary to bend the stick backwards in order to straighten it out; certainly, it seems to us a fatal blunder to keep the stick bent the wrong way just because that is the way we inherited it from the Comintern. We managed to overcome two grave inner crises without expulsions, suspensions or any other serious organizational measures. Some comrades left us, it is true, but the choice was theirs, not ours. And we overcome these crises all the better, we believe, just because we were so sparing in organizational measures, just because we did not rush in with suspensions and removals

* This matter relates to the action of the majority of the German C.P.O. in suspending Comrade X from the A.K. and other functions on the ground of violation of discipline. In view of the fact that the A.K. has served also as the ("Small") Bureau of the I.C.O., the removal of X from the A.K. meant also his removal from the I.C.O. Bureau.

despite great provocation. We don't mean to preach to you or to set ourselves up as a model for you to follow. But we cannot help feeling the way we do about the matter because we are thoroughly convinced that the methods you are employing cannot lead to any good.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS I.L.P.

2. It is obvious that we differ greatly in our attitude towards the I.L.P., particularly in connection with the recent crisis over the conduct of the parliamentary delegation. For us, the I.L.P. is not a field of operations in which we are to "bore from within," as used to be the phrase in this country. We look upon the I.L.P. as a brother party with which we desire to collaborate on the basis of mutual confidence and trust. We have had and we still have some serious criticisms of I.L.P. policy—for example, its indecisive and hesitant attitude on the question of Labor Party affiliation. But we regard the I.L.P. as a revolutionary socialist party, a party that has already made considerable headway towards becoming the kind of party that the English working class needs and must have.

Such being our attitude, we naturally do not agree with your method of "working from below" to "force" the leaders. Such a method is conceivable only in relation to leaders in whom we have no confidence whatever and to whom we are fundamentally hostile. Such is not our attitude towards the I.L.P. leadership, most emphatically not towards Fenner Brockway and the comrades standing with him.

In one of your letters, you state that, while you believed you could go along with Brockway a certain distance, you have always felt that sooner or later a time would come when a break would be inevitable. We regard this whole approach as basically false. If you are so ready to reject such people as Fenner Brockway as revolutionary socialists, where will you ever find the people with and thru whom a new

revolutionary International could possibly be built? Our attitude is quite different. Our experience with Fenner and others like him (it is not a case of Brockway personally) convinces us that it is here we must look for the cadres of the future. Our outlook is for ever closer cooperation with them for our common aim and not for an eventual break. We emphatically reject the notion that to be a communist a person must possess a Comintern diploma, either of today or of yesterday. Because Fenner Brockway did or said this or that fifteen years ago is no reason for setting him down as an eternal "centrist" from whom nothing good can ever be expected. And this applies to the other elements of the London Bureau as well.

QUESTION OF "LEFT WING"

We differ with you also on the question of a "left wing" in the I.L.P. Of course, in the I.L.P., there are elements that are more consistent revolutionary socialists and there are elements that are far less so. In that sense, the former may be regarded as a "left wing," if we mean by that a political tendency and not an organized factional group. But the "left wing" is not to be simply identified with the so-called "I.C.O. group" in the I.L.P. In this "left wing," as a political tendency, the comrades following the line of the I.C.O. would, of course, be included, but so also would be Brockway, Bob Edwards, Aplin, McNair, and others like them. A "left wing" without these people would be nothing but a self-constituted clique without any political justification. That is why we propose a thorough reconsideration of the status and future of the Soccor (Socialist Correspondence) and of the group associated with it. Let us emphasize that we are opposed to the formation of any factions or groups in the I.L.P. I.C.O. supporters, like other I.L.P. wingers, can do their best service by being active, conscientious and militant I.L.P.ers. We are as much opposed to sponsoring or fostering factional groups in the I.L.P. as we would resent any attempt on the part of I.L.P. comrades to promote factional groups in our organization.

In one of your letters, you mention that, at the Paris Conference (February 1938), there were already differences among us in our attitude towards Brockway and McNair and that differences on the I.L.P. question also arose between you and Comrade Benjamin when he was across during the Summer. Whatever may have been your personal views and attitudes, the fact remains that we did reach a unanimous agreement. (It is worth noting that the resolution adopted by the British "I.C.O. group" during the Summer when Benjamin was there, follows exactly the same line). This conclusion you are now throwing overboard, or at least, radically revising. We still think that the position we adopted together in February and August is entirely valid and has been confirmed by events. Above all, we cannot go along with your present line of "boring from within" brother parties thru special "I.C.O. groups."

(Concluded in the next issue)

April 1st We Have a Date See Next Issue

Full Synopsis - Outline of the course on "DEMOCRACY, FASCISM, SOVIETISM" by Will Herberg 24 pages — 25 cents INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE 131 W. 33rd St., N. Y. C.

Talking It Over:

Farmers Against War

by Bertram D. Wolfe

TWO weeks ago, we printed in this column a number of statements from labor organizations showing how widespread is the determination of the American people to keep America out of war. The organized farmers of America are even more unitedly opposed to war than the organized workers. The evidence:

Statement of NATIONAL FARMERS UNION

We urge a strict neutrality program for our government during war in other parts of the world, making sure that the State Department does not permit such instruments as the embargo to be misused so as to make neutrality meaningless.

We oppose the so-called "collective-security" program which is actually nothing but favoring one set of imperialist nations as against another.

We oppose all legislation which proposes to take the profits out of war by the conscription of man-power and wealth because we realize that the powerful economic interests of this country, thru their control of the press, radio, movies and some of our legislators, could easily nullify that part of the legislation conscripting our wealth and thus leave us under a military dictatorship.

We oppose the further increase of armament expenditures because they are neither protection against war, a guarantee of international peace, nor a solution for the problems of unemployment and the business decline.

Statement of NATIONAL GRANGE

We reaffirm the stand of the National Grange to eliminate all profits from war and favor an act that will draft capital and industry as well as man-power in time of war.

2. We favor proper control of all munitions and implements of warfare and control of the same in time of peace as well as in time of war.
3. We oppose any entangling foreign alliances that may lead to war.
4. We are unalterably opposed to war of an aggressive nature.
5. We favor stronger neutrality legislation to include embargoes on basic war materials and also to prohibit American ships from carrying supplies to nations engaged in warfare.
6. We oppose the use of our armed forces to protect investments in foreign lands but advocate an armament program fully adequate to protect our country from invasion.

Statement of WISCONSIN FARMERS UNION

WHEREAS, there have been continually increasing expenditures for armaments; and

Whereas, it has been proven that the increased appropriations, especially for the navy, are not needed for defense but are planned for foreign war; and

Whereas, increased appropriations are needed for farm and work relief; now

Therefore be it resolved, that the Farmers Equity Union oppose increased appropriations for armaments.

Statement of SOUTH DAKOTA FARMERS UNION

We reaffirm our belief that the following measures are of value:

1. The democratic right of allowing those who will have to bear war's burdens, the right to vote upon whether troops and armaments shall be sent to foreign countries and foreign wars.
2. Passage and enforcement of strict neutrality laws to prevent shipment of any war materials.
3. Making a national monopoly of the manufacture of arms and munitions.
4. Encouraging the peaceful readjustment of world economic tensions.
5. Complete withdrawal of all American citizens from any war danger zone and serving notice that American investments and citizens remain abroad at their own risk.
6. Limitation of war plans and preparation to needs for national-defense only.
7. Banning of all loans and credits to nations for goods directly or indirectly intended for war purposes.

Statement of NORTH DAKOTA FARMERS UNION

We believe that the present European situation is the result, predestined by the action of those capitalistic nations, who, at the treaty of Versailles, set up the mechanism to maintain themselves in a position of economic imperialism.

We believe that it is impossible for America, even thru armed intervention, to make any material change in a situation which is the outgrowth of action taken by the imperialist nations of Europe twenty years ago.

Statement of LOUIS J. TABER, Master of National Grange

OUR most adequate defense is a happy contented people, where toil and thrift have their reward and opportunity continually awaits. . . . The greatest call for pioneering is along the pathway of peace. For centuries, brute force and bloodshed have sought to control the lives of men. . . . Let America proclaim to the whole world that we do not covet one square foot of soil or one dollar or one citizen in any other land in all the world. Let us pioneer in the pathway of peace.

From WASHINGTON GRANGE NEWS

MANY people do not recognize it, but the biggest issue facing the United States today is that of militarism—preparedness, war, or what have you.

This is of special significance to farmers—still more to Grangers. War means an end of cooperative endeavor, means speeded-up production, an artificial boom; and finally, the aftermath, the let-down, the hangover—with agriculture as the principal goat. Worse, it is the greatest threat to democracy.

Many of us were alarmed at the state of mind of those who are seeking tremendous new naval armament for America. In spite of the testimony of military experts as to the improbability of attack on these shores by foreign powers, the militarists are proceeding on the ostensible assumption that dictator nations are only awaiting the right opportunity to invade America.

That assumption is a smoke-screen to cover imperialist ambitions. The big-navy enthusiast is afraid of the economic competition of dictator nations, not of their guns. Italy, Germany and Japan have their hands full in their own backyards, as far as military operations are concerned.

But the big-navy enthusiast wants foreign trade. . . . To sustain that trade, we must insist upon freedom of the seas. To enforce that, we must have battleships, and more battleships, at what cost! In a nutshell, it's the old pursuit of the Almighty Dollar, and the devil take the hindmost, who happens to be the farmer.

From NORTH DAKOTA UNION FARMER

THE biggest problem of the farmer in North Dakota right now is how he is going to cover up the worn spots on the oilcloth with food, how he is going to buy the winter's fuel with 35c or 45c wheat.

But, if war comes, it will bring a problem just as real and just as big as our immediate needs today. If war comes to America, then American democracy is finished. Today, at least, we have hope that thru organization we may work out the farmers salvation, but if war comes then there won't even be hope. The farm organizations will either be made a tool of the war machine or, if any of them resist the profit system which makes for war, they will be crushed.

This question of war coming to America is not just a bad dream. There are forces at work today that are drawing us down the course that leads us directly into the same situation as 1914-17—only much faster. Some of the forces are conscious that the attempts to line up the United States to act with the so-called democratic nations of Europe, especially the reactionary imperialist government of Great Britain, will lead to war. Others—and we place high officials in the Administration—actually believe that war madness can be stopped if the U.S.A. puts up the bluff that it will "quarantine aggressor nations."

War is not inevitable in America—but, if it is to be stopped, now is the time to do it by unmasking the propaganda of the War Department, which even now is conducting war demonstrations in North Dakota and preparing for quick industrial mobilization.

We must combat the various forms of propaganda that fan racial hatred and foster the attitude that war must eventually come or that the United States must become the savior of democracy in the world. . . .